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AN ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCING OF NATIONAL AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND, 1850 to 1922.

Thesis presented to the University of Dublin in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Ph.D.

by

Áine Hyland

April 1982

This thesis is entirely my own work and has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university.

Aine Hyland

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INTRODUCTION

The present educational system of Ireland is unique in the western world. It is essentially a system composed of privately-owned and managed schools which are largely state-financed. Coolahan states that

> The (Irish) education system is predominantly a state-aided one, with the state providing the vast proportion of finance for capital and current expenditure although most of the institutions are not publicly owned or controlled.[1]

The system as it is today has evolved over the past 150 years and is the result of a complex series of events and controversies during that period. The major educational issues of the period were debated and fought out between two great world powers – the British government and the Catholic church – each of which was intent on imposing what it regarded as an ideal educational system on an impoverished people. The financial cost of the system was largely provided by the former power while the structure of the system was largely determined by the latter. A recent analysis of public expenditure on Irish education refers to the influence of these two powers in the following terms:

> The structure of the modern system (of education in Ireland), which took place in the nineteenth century, reflects two principal historic influences. One is the devout Catholicism of the large majority of Irish people, and the still larger majority of the population of the present day twenty-six county Republic. The other is the fact of centuries of foreign rule. The schools were for several centuries an important area for struggles over religion, language and nationality. These two influences, devout Catholicism and the struggle over foreign rule, individually and in combination, produced today's aided, "managerial" system.[2]

This thesis does not attempt to adjudicate between the two major powers involved in the educational controversy. Neither does it attempt to pronounce on the merits or otherwise of the system which emerged from the conflict. While an educational system which is both universal and state-aided is undoubtedly an unusual one, contemporary

evaluators seem to indicate that such a system may have more to offer in the present-day educational climate than a monolithic state-controlled system.[3] Whether this argument is valid or not, it cannot be denied that many of the issues confronted and discussed in this thesis are of as much significance today as they were when they were debated in the last century.

The controversy between Church and State in the area of education in the nineteenth century has been extensively documented and discussed, and both Church and State have been criticised for their failure to take adequate account of the specific needs and problems of the Irish people.[4] Writing in this regard in 1920, Michael Tierney complained:

> Irish education has scarcely ever been considered as a purely Irish problem with its own difficulties and its own aim altogether distinct from anything H.G. Wells or the English reformers wrote of.[5]

Looking back at the histories of Irish education which have been written since the foundation of the state, it might be argued that analyses of nineteenth and early twentieth century education in Ireland have tended to over-emphasise the specifically Irish problems and to ignore the broader implications of control by international powers. There is no doubt that the approach of the Catholic Church authorities to the development of Irish education was strongly influenced by Church teaching on education which emanated from the Vatican during this period.[6] It is equally true to say that the attitude of the British government to Irish education was effected by educational and administrative developments in other parts of the jurisdiction, particularly in the rest of the United Kingdom, in the same period.

This thesis attempts to analyse the development of Irish national and intermediate education the period 1850 to 1922 from a broader perspective than has previously been done. It does not challenge the conventional view that compromises made by church and state determined to a large extent the ultimate shape of the system as inherited by an independent government in 1922. But it enlarges the concept of "state" as previously held and indicates that many

different factors influenced the attitude of the state to education in the period in question. The thesis is primarily an analysis of administrative and financial considerations in the field of education and sets out to demonstrate that these considerations exercised a significant influence on educational developments during the period. The role of the Treasury is considered in some depth and the thesis questions the traditional view of the Treasury as a powerful body intent on preventing educational development by restricting government aid to Irish education. This view of the Treasury is epitomised in Akenson's remark that

> the treasury authorities in London could divert Irish educational funds to pay for some other imperial venture any time they wished. [7]

The argument sustained in this thesis is that the power of the Treasury was much more limited than has traditionally been held. It upholds the view that the Treasury would have liked to fit Irish education into the same mould as the other educational systems in the United Kingdom but it demonstrates that the Treasury could only succeed in doing this if the political will existed to bring about such change. In analysing the role of the Treasury in Irish educational development, the thesis distinguishes the extent to which the motivation for reform was based on educational or administrative considerations on the one hand and on financial constraints on the other.

The material used in researching and presenting this thesis fell broadly into three categories: (1) official reports and documents which were published during the period in question; (2) reports, documents and correspondence which were confidential or classified during the period to which they related and which have only recently become available; (3) secondary sources, i.e. books, periodicals and newspaper reports which indicated contemporary and subsequent opinion on events which were related to education in the period. In some areas, the findings which emerged from the different sources were contradictory. In particular, some of the internal correspondence undermined popularly held contemporary views on the extent to which the Treasury was responsible for preventing educational development in Ireland in the first two decades of the twentieth century. This view has become part of

accepted educational history, but some of the material presented in this thesis will suggest that many educational innovations were vetoed by the government, not by the Treasury, as part of the government's broader political strategy in relation to Irish affairs. Perhaps the most striking example of this was the failure of the Intermediate Board to obtain approval for the appointment of permanent inspectors in the period 1902 to 1908, a failure which has traditionally been attributed to Treasury veto. In its annual report for 1903, the Intermediate Board implied that its failure to appoint permanent inspectors was the result of Treasury refusal to sanction these appointments.[8] Two years later the Report of Messrs. Dale and Stephens on Intermediate Education in Ireland stated that recommendation 11 of the Vice-Regal Commission of 1898 (Palles Commission) regarding the appointment of inspectors had been "adopted in principle, but not carried out, owing to the action of the Treasury."[9] But internal correspondence in Dublin Castle indicates that the Treasury was not consulted on this issue until 1907 and that earlier decisions to veto such appointments had been made by the Irish Executive, without reference to the Treasury.

Another difficulty which had to be faced in the course of the research was the conflict between the theory of the educational situation and the reality. The theory was, on occasion, buttressed by propaganda emanating variously from church and state and care had to be exercised in using material from such sources. The most obvious example of this contradiction was the continued statement by the government that the objective of the Irish national school system was the integration of children of different religious denominations although statistics from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards indicated that this objective had not been achieved and was no longer being pursued. Other such contradictions were evident in material relating to the Intermediate school system and these conflicts between theory and reality indicated that contemporary statements which were not supported by evidence had to be treated with caution.

The issue of veto power arises throughout the thesis in relation to many different issues and institutions. It will be shown that educational innovation and change could effectively be vetoed or prevented by a number of different groups and that as a result it could be very difficult to introduce effective reform in a system which had

the support of any one of its constituents. The aphorism that the most radical development that might occur would be the retention of the status quo might well be applied to Irish education in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It also explains to a large extent why the system remained unchanged after 1922, since the new government was aware that any interference with the educaticnal system as it had evolved in earlier generations would be strongly opposed by the vested interest groups in Irish education, the most powerful of whom had been instrumental in shaping and fashioning the system to their own design.

At this stage it might be useful to indicate the backgound to the system of administration of Irish services in the nineteenth century. Following the Act of Union in 1800, Ireland was ruled from London and although separate bureaucratic structures were established to administer many of the Irish services, overall responsibility for Irish affairs rested with the British government. London might be described as the political centre and Dublin, the administrative centre. The theory of administration distinguishes between 'politics' and 'administration' and defines politics as the taking of decisions and administration as carrying these decisions into effect.[10] In practical terms, the distinction is not as clearcut as the theory might indicate. Political considerations affect administrative practices and many writers would argue that the two areas cannot and should not be separated. Writing more than 150 years ago, Henry Taylor stated that "the hand which executes a measure should belong to the head which propounds it...".[11] More recently, Sir Henry Bridges has written:

> It is a cardinal feature of British administration that no attempt should be made to formulate a new policy in any matter without the fullest consultation with those who have practical experience in the field and with those who will be called upon to carry it out.[12]

Any analysis of decision-making and administration in the area of Irish education must take into account a wide range of bodies and structures on both sides of the Irish sea. In London, major decisions relating to Irish affairs were made in Parliament and such decisions could have either a direct or an indirect effect on education. The British government, and particularly the Cabinet, decided issues of

Each one of the agencies shown on the diagram played a part in the development of state-aided education in Ireland in the nineteenth century. It was rarely possible to say at any one time that a given outcome was the direct result of an action or intervention by any one body. It is over-simplistic to give credit to one agency for a specific development or to blame another for its failure. Outcomes were almost always the result of a complex inter-relationship of factors and it is this inter-relationship which this thesis attempts to analyse.

A brief outline of the status and position of each agency may help to indicate its relative power and influence.

Parliament

In education, as in other public services, the ultimate decisions regarding the extent of state involvement were made by parliament. In this regard, Basil Chubb has written:

> Effective parliamentary control is, if nothing else, constitutionally necessary. However excellent the civil service organization and efficient its action, the fact that it spends public money means that Parliament must assess its work and satisfy itself that value is being given. It is not wholly a question of administrative technique, for constitutional needs demand that Parliament be reassured. 14

In the area of education, it will be seen that the extent of parliamentary involvement varied from time to time. Parliamentary control over Irish education could be exercised at two levels, at the level of major administrative reform and at the level of debating annual estimates. The control of Parliament over day to day educational administration was limited. This was less true in regard to the administration of English education and the factors which led to this situation will be discussed in the thesis.

Government, Cabinet and the Irish Executive

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Irish Education Boards were represented at Cabinet level by the Chief

Secretary, who was also answerable to Parliament for the work of the National and Intermediate Boards. Referring to this responsibility in 1880, Chief Secretary Lowther stated:

> ... the Chief Secretary is responsible to this House for the Education of Ireland and, for the matter of that, no Secretary would wish, nor do I think any hon. Gentleman would desire, that he should get rid of that responsibility. Responsibility must be accompanied with power to some extent; and therefore I may state that I am responsible for the Education of Ireland, and I also feel that I ought to have, as I have, some power over its management. 15

The responsibility of the Irish executive to Parliament in relation to Irish education was generally acknowledged but the extent of the power and control which the executive could exercise over Irish education was less clearly defined. The letter from Lord Stanley to the Duke of Leinster in 1831 in which the duties and powers of the National Board were set out had stated that the role of the Board was "the superintendence of a system of national education in Ireland" and had added:

> A full power will of course be given to the Board to make such regulations upon matters of detail, not inconsistent with the spirit of these instructions, as they may judge best qualified to carry into effect the intentions of the Government and the legislature. 16

The lack of clarification of the relationship between the Board and the Irish executive in the area of the management of the system was to lead to many problems in subsequent years. These problems, together with related developments, will be referred to and discussed in this thesis.

Treasury

The role of the Treasury in relation to Irish education is analysed in some detail in this thesis. It is recognised throughout that the Treasury's role was subordinate to that of the government in relation to educational development. Nevertheless, the Treasury had a vital part to play since it occupied an important position between the departments charged with administering government funds and Parliament which

voted these funds. The Treasury's place in the triumvirate of responsibility is concisely described by Chubb as follows:

> The fact that Parliament usually defines only ends does not imply that departments are therefore free to choose their means. The Treasury holds a central supervising position, difficult to define but clearly recognized and fostered by Parliament. And since efficiency in the nation's affairs cannot normally be measured in terms of profits gained, but is seen in welfare which is wellnigh impossible to measure or define, the complicated business of the state is done according to rules. It falls to the Treasury to make many of these rules which are of a supra-departmental level. 17

The Treasury's role might be summarised as one of reassuring Parliament that its wishes in relation to public expenditure were being carried out.

The Treasury was also formally charged with the co-ordination of the different departments of the Civil Service. In this capacity it was empowered to investigate the organisation and procedures of different offices and to recommend and suggest reforms when necessary. No additional staff appointments could be made without Treasury approval and the involvement of Treasury officials in this aspect of departmental life provided them with an insight into the internal organisation of government offices. In the case of education, the Treasury used its powers of co-ordination to bring changes in the English education office to the attention of the National Education Office in Dublin and vica versa. When administrative changes in the English education system resulted in economies in government expenditure the Treasury attempted to bring pressure to bear on the Irish Education Office to introduce similar economies. Developments of this nature are charted in some detail and the outcome is analysed and discussed as the thesis proceeds.

It will become evident that in the process of comparing the procedures of the education offices in Dublin and London, Treasury officials drew comparisons between educational costs in England and Ireland. The criterion used in such comparisons was simple - total government expenditure was divided by the number of pupils in attendance

in the schools being aided, and this result was described as average government expenditure per pupil. During the early period under consideration, there was little difference between such expenditure in Ireland and England. But after 1870, the situation changed significantly and the factors which caused this change are detailed and examined in the thesis. There are many educational historians who would reject this admittedly simplistic comparison of educational expenditure in Ireland and England and would argue that such a comparison ignored the essential difference between the two countries - differences of population distribution, of denominational affiliation and of educational structure. But the fact remains that such a comparison was a standard part of Treasury procedure and in order to understand more fully the views and attitudes of the Treasury and of the British government to Irish education the significance if not the relevance of such comparisons must be admitted. It would perhaps be more relevant to compare total per capita expenditure on education in the two countries, regardless of where the money for such expenditure came from. A comparison of this nature would show that finance from all sources, government and local, was greater in the case of English than of Irish education. This was a reflection of the difference between the systems of education in England and Ireland and resulted from the fact that money for English education was available from local rates from 1870 onwards. But the Treasury adopted the point of view that its concern was with the rate of expenditure from the central exchequer, and that other considerations were not germane to its comparison. The problems arising from this approach will be duly discussed in the course of the thesis.

National and Intermediate Boards and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction

The bodies involved in the direct administration of state funds to Irish primary and secondary education were the Board of National Education, set up in 1831, and the Intermediate Education Board, set up in 1878. The system of administration by Boards was a common one in the nineteenth century and many boards, like the Education Boards, were set up as an *ad hoc* response to a need.[18]

The composition of both boards was designed to ensure that the different denominational interests were represented in the decision-

making structure of Irish education at national and intermediate level. The powers and duties of the boards were wide-ranging, in particular those of the National Board. It was responsible for the administration of a considerable amount of money from the central exchequer every year and it had power to frame rules and regulations for the distribution of this money. The power of the Intermediate Board was more limited and was subject to Parliamentary approval under the terms of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1878 under which it had been established.

The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was set up in 1899 and its duties and powers included the development of technical instruction in Ireland. It is not proposed in this thesis to examine the role and development of the department at length, but certain aspects of its structure and approach are of relevance to national and secondary education. Insofar as this is the case, the thesis will advert to these aspects of the work of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and discuss them in the context of other educational developments.

The Irish Parliamentary Party

The role of the Irish Parliamentary Party in relation to Irish education should not be underestimated. In the period under consideration, the Irish Parliamentary Party represented a majority of the Irish people in parliament and the power of this party was particularly significant when on more than one occasion it held the balance of power in Westminister. The significance of political power in the area of education became apparent when efforts were made by the government to introduce major reform of the system of Irish administration, including educational administration. On these occasions, the Irish Parliamentary Party became a force to be reckoned with and the inter-relationships between the party and other agencies in the circle of power and influence are charted and discussed in the thesis.

Churches and Teacher Organisations

The extent to which government decision-making in the area of Irish education was affected by different pressure groups in Irish society

will become clear as the thesis develops. The influence of the three main churches, the Roman Catholic Church, the Established Church and the Presbyterian Church, was a major factor in determining the role of the state in Irish education in the first half of the nineteenth century. As the century progressed the influence of the Established and Presbyterian churches became less marked and that of the Catholic Church became more powerful. By the turn of the century the Catholic Church was largely satisfied with the educational system which it had helped to shape in earlier decades and in the years 1900 to 1922 efforts by the government to change the system were strongly opposed by the Catholic authorities.

Other forces to be reckoned with during this period were the teaching bodies. The most powerful of these was the Irish National Teachers Organization which had been set up in 1868. By 1900, the I.N.T.O. had achieved considerable influence in political circles and this influence was effectively used in the period 1900 to 1920 as will be seen in later chapters of the thesis. The inter-relationship between teachers, managers, members of the Irish Parliamentary Party and the government will be analysed and discussed and will serve a further indication of the complexity of the decision-making process in Irish education.

Development of state intervention in education in Britain and Ireland in the early years of the nineteenth century

Before embarking on an analysis of the financing and administration of education in Ireland after 1850, it is desirable to examine briefly the background to state intervention in education in the early decades of the nineteenth century and the developments in the educational systems of Britain and Ireland in the years before 1850. During the period in question Britain underwent great political, social, demographic and economic change. Unlike some other countries in Western Europe where an element of social equality was achieved only after revolution and bloodshed, social reform in England came about as a result of constitutional change.[19] Legislation for electoral reform was passed in the 1830s and the enfranchisement of the lower classes effected the attitude of the ruling classes to education. It became gradually accepted that if the poorer classes had the right

to vote, they would exercise this right more effectively if they were literate.

It was, however, some time before the notion of state intervention in the area of education became accepted. The predominant attitude to moral and social problems in the early years of the century was utilitarian. The Utilitarians strongly supported the concept of self-help and in general they deplored an attitude of dependency on state aid.[20] But in Ireland it was increasingly clear that without some financial support from the state, educational provision for the vast majority of the population would remain inadequate. Efforts in the early years of the century to channel state aid to education through voluntary agencies were unsuccessful, largely because such agencies were either avowedly proselytising agencies or were seen by the people to be so. When the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland (the Kildare Place Society), which had been set up in 1811 as an undenominational society, and which was distributing over £25,000 of state money per annum to schools in the 1820s, was accused of proselytism, the government realised that a different approach would have to be taken to solve the educational problems of Ireland.[21] In 1831 Chief Secretary, Lord Stanley, decided to establish a Board through which state aid to Irish education would be channelled. In keeping with the prevalent attitude to state intervention in education at the time, the system set up under the National Board was essentially an aided one, designed to aid and support local initiative in the provision and maintenance of primary schools. An essential feature of the system was the requirement that local funds would have to be provided. In this regard it was stated in the Stanley letter that the National Board

> will invariably require, as a condition not to be departed from, that local funds shall be raised, upon which any aid from the public will be dependent.[22]

Since it was the government's intention to foster integration between the different religious persuasions in the country through the system of national education, the Stanley letter made it clear that one of the main objects of the Board "must be to unite in one system children of different creeds". However, in the light of later developments it

is important to remember that the Board itself did not have the power to set up schools (other than Model Schools). Consequently when the Churches failed to co-operate in the provision of integrated schools the Board had the option of either refusing to grant aid to denominational schools and thus prevent the spread of national education throughout the country or to aid the increasing number of denominational schools. The Board adopted the latter course and as a result, by the end of the 1860s, Ireland was adequately provided with state-aided national schools, most of which were under denominational management.

In the period from 1831 to 1851, the national school system in Ireland developed rapidly. In the early years of the system the number of schools which were recognised and aided was in the region of 1,000. These schools catered for about 150,000 pupils and received grants from the National Board totalling around £30,000 per annum. By 1850 over 4,500 schools catering for more than 500,000 pupils were in receipt of state aid to the value of £125,000.[23] The rapid growth in the school system was matched by a parallel growth in the administrative machinery of the Office of National Education in Dublin. In January 1832, the permanent staff of the office consisted of one clerk. By mid-century there were 45 men employed in the work of administering the system and the work of the office was organised under five different branches.[24] The cost of administration accounted for about 5% of the annual vote and this proportion remained relatively unchanged until after mid-century.

In England, state aid for elementary schools was not made available until 1833, two years after the National Board had been set up in Ireland. In that year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp, proposed to Parliament

> that a sum of money not exceeding £20,000 be granted by His Majesty in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of school houses for the education of the poorer classes in Great Britain. [25]

This vote was passed and for six years the Treasury distributed an annual grant for the purpose of building schools throughout the country. By 1838, the Home Secretary, Lord John Russell, had come to

the conclusion that a more formalised system of administering the vote was required. He initially proposed to set up an independent board or committee on the lines of the National Board in Ireland, to administer the grant for English education, and he wrote to the Marquess of Lansdowne asking him to

> form a Board or Committee for the consideration of all matters affecting the Education of the People. 26

One of the main opponents of this proposal was Lord Stanley, who only eight years earlier had been responsible for the setting up of the National Board in Ireland. In 1839, Stanley expressed his concern about the setting up of a board or committee as suggested because of the lack of definition of the powers of such a body. He said

> So long as the Committee was irresponsible, so long as its object was undefined and uncertain, so long as its powers were unlimited, and while the exercise of those powers was not checked, not fettered, not restrained, not limited by Parliament, so long would it remain a fertile source of new plans. 27

Clearly the notion of a committee which would be "a fertile source of new plans" was unacceptable to Stanley as such a body would continually require additional state funding for these plans. Stanley's concern was that a committee which was responsible for administering public funds should also be directly accountable to Parliament for the distribution of these funds. Perhaps now that he was in opposition, Stanley regretted the extent to which the National Board in Ireland was independent of Parliament.

In the event, the committee set up in 1839 to administer the vote for English education was a Committee of the Privy Council. Although this Committee was theoretically a sub-committee of the Privy Council, in practice the extent of its accountability to Parliament remained undefined until mid-century. Like the National Board in Ireland it was not required to obtain parliamentary sanction for its rules and regulations in the early years and the relationship between

the Committee and Parliament was vague. Also, like the National Board, its scope and direction expanded rapidly in the early years. From an annual grant of £20,000 in the 1830s, the parliamentary grant to English elementary education increased to £150,000 in 1851.[28] Referring to this rapid growth of the English education department, Redlich and Hurst wrote in 1903

> This growth of a large administrative department with rules and principles of its own creation, without any assistance from the legislature, is the most remarkable instance of the experimental and empirical fashion in which some of the great English institutions have developed.[29]

The educational policy adopted by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in England was one of aiding voluntary bodies to provide education for the poorer classes. In this respect its approach was similar to the approach of the National Board in Ireland. The policy of indirect rule adopted by the government in the administration of British education has been described by G.S. Osborne as follows:

> The government administered popular education with the benevolence due to a reasonably well-behaved colony, which, though not worthy of more than a modest financial investment, can be relied upon to cause no embarrassment, and, with a little encouragement, will progress steadily towards self-government.[30]

Unlike the National Board in Ireland, the Committee charged with administering the education vote in England was not originally a separate department of the civil service. Its officers and staff were employees of the Office of the Privy Council in London and during the early life of the committee there seems to have been some confusion as to how many members of staff were engaged exclusively on work relating to the education vote.[31] However, at least one source suggests that by the mid-1840s, the number of clerks employed in the London Education Office was about the same as in the Dublin Office.[32] But the available evidence suggests that the organisation of the London Office in the early years was less efficient than its counterpart in Dublin.[33] There appears to have been no formal division of labour and no clear lines of demarcation between the different areas of administration. The

organisation of the office during this period has been described as "primitive".[34]

In the following chapters, the developments in the Education Office in London in the years after 1850 will be charted and compared with developments in the Office of National Education in Dublin. It will be seen that although the system of education in Ireland gradually diverged from the system in the rest of the United Kingdom and developed along independent lines, the procedures adopted by the Dublin Office were similar to those adopted in the Education Office in London. Consequently, although the systems of education of Ireland and Great Britain were not strictly comparable at any stage, the Treasury regarded it as a valid exercise to compare the work of the two offices - both of which were civil service establishments charged with administering a parliamentary vote for education. In the years prior to 1870, the Irish office emerged as the more economic and efficiently run department, but after 1870 this distinction was achieved by the English office. The system of administering the Irish education vote became more complex after the introduction of payment by results in national schools in 1872 and this complexity was reflected in higher administrative costs in the National Education Office. From that point onwards, the Treasury put increasing pressure on the Irish government to reform Irish education along the lines of the rest of the United Kingdom and the story which emerges in this thesis is one of continuing controversy between the three central bodies involved in educational administration- the Irish government, the Treasury and the Education Boards.

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CHAPTER I

EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN AN AGE OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

1852 - 1868

When the government set up the National Board in 1831, it was hoped that the education system would act as an agency of social and political transformation in Ireland. The Stanley letter had stated that one of the main objectives of the National Board would be to unite in one system children of different creeds.[1] Yet the system established under the terms of the Stanley letter was an aided one. The Board did not have power to initiate educational provision; the provision of schools was left to voluntary initiative and the role of the Board was limited to granting aid and support for such initiative. In this respect, the title "National" education was somewhat misleading. The system could only become a national one if local interest was widespread and if applications for aid came from all areas of the country.

The administrative procedures established by the National Board recognised the voluntary nature of the system. Financial aid from the Board was conditional on the availability of an adequate local contribution. The Board's early rules favoured joint application from two or more different denominations and preference was given to such joint applications.[2] But the Board's rules did not preclude it from granting aid to denominational schools. After the first few years, the number of joint applications decreased and the Board realised that if the system was to develop as a national system grants would have to be given to denominational applications. Moreover, conflict between the different churches and the government in the 1830s and 1840s on the question of educational policy had resulted in a victory for the churches.[3] In 1850, less than 4% of the 4,500 schools in the country were under joint management.[4] The system had effectively become a denominational one.

Althouth the system was de facto denominational, the rules and

regulations of the Board took no account of this. The Board's rules required that every national school "be open to children of all communions" and school managers were required to ensure that no child could be compelled to attend instruction in a religion to which he did not belong.[5] The same rules applied to all schools, regardless of the denomination of the manager and the system of inspection was common to all schools. The administrative procedures of the National Education Office in Dublin ignored the denominational reality of the system. The procedure which had been introduced in 1831 to cope with an undenominational system remained unchanged when the system became denominational.

In one important respect the administrative system recognised the denominational problems of Irish society. The membership of the National Board was carefully balanced between the different denominations. In 1831, three members of the Board belonged to the Church of Ireland, two were Roman Catholics and two were Dissenters.[6] As the system developed, the Board was enlarged but the denominational balance was always an important one. By mid-century, there were twenty members on the Board, ten Catholics and ten Protestants. The senior posts in the administration of the system were also shared equally between Catholics and Protestants. The paid Resident Commissioner was alternately Catholic and Protestant, and there were two secretaries, one a Catholic and one a Protestant.[7]

An analysis of the development of educational administration in the period after 1850 will show that the government compared the Irish administrative system with the English administrative system. Government intervention in education was more limited in England than in Ireland; no effort was made to use the education system to transform the social or political structure of society. From 1839, state aid to English education was administered by a Committee of the Privy Council. This Committee granted aid to schools of all denominations and the denominational character of these schools was explicitly recognised. The administrative procedures took account of the denominational nature of the system;the English inspectorate was denominational and schools could insist on being inspected only by an inspector of their own religion.[8]

It can be seen then that although the theoretical basis of the Irish and English systems of education may have differed, the English and Irish systems were comparable, in two basic essentials, by 1850 - they were both de facto denominational systems and they were both voluntary aided systems.

In this chapter it will be shown that the growing formalisation of Civil Service procedures in the period after 1852 infringed on educational administration both in Ireland and in England. Inquiries into public administration included an investigation of the Education Offices in Dublin and in London. The administrative system of the Dublin Office was found to be relatively economic and efficient, whereas the procedures of the London Office were cumbersome and complex. The explicit recognition of a denominational system of education in England contributed to the administrative complexity. In Ireland, although the system was de facto denominational, the administrative procedures did not take this into account, hence educational administration in Ireland was less complex and therefore more economical than in England.

It will also be shown that during this period, accountability and efficiency became important criteria in the administration of government funds. Efforts were made to apply the notion of accountability to the Education Offices in Dublin and London with varying degrees of success. The power of the Treasury in relation to government departments in general grew in the 1860s, and this growth in power would infringe on the autonomy and independence of the Education Offices.

The appointment of W.C. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852 can be seen as a milestone in the development of public administration. He was anxious to introduce a degree of uniformity within the Civil Service and in this context the establishments responsible for administering the education vote in Great Britain and Ireland were seen as comparable institutions. Gladstone was also determined to ensure that government money would be administered

economically and efficiently and that steps taken by one department to improve its efficiency in any area would be brought to the attention of comparable departments with a view to the extension of such efficiency. Gladstone's first contribution to reform was the setting up of a committee to review the organisation of the Civil Service.[9]

The Northcote - Trevelyan Report

During the 1840s, there had been a growing demand for the reform of public administration and this was allied to a call for a greater degree of economic stringency and tighter control of public expenditure. The Crimean War in 1854 was a major setback to the stability of the British fiscal system. This war cost the exchequer nearly £70 million and the financing of the war absorbed over 40% of the central government budget.[10] The Civil Service showed itself to be quite inadequate to cope with the demands of a war of this magnitude and this inadequacy led to further demands for the reform of the Civil Service. A contemporary writer wrote in 1861:

> When, during the Crimean War, the lamentable breakdown of the several government departments impressed itself deeply upon the public mind, the public clamoured for reforms. [11]

The call for reform of the Civil Service should be seen in the context of a growing criticism of patronage in the allocation of public posts. Patronage was not only condoned by the government; the machinery of government actually supported it. Russell described how the government in the early decades of the century "completely organised and adopted this kind of patronage to the purpose of parliamentary influence".[12] In 1849, Sir Charles Trevelyan, then Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, had condemned the Civil Service of the day as overstaffed in numbers and accused it of being inactive and incompetent. He pointed out the need for reform and urged that only properly qualified persons should be appointed to government offices. He criticised the prevailing attitude which regarded public departments

> as a means of securing a maintenance for young men who have no chance of success in the open competition of the legal, medical, and mercantile professions ....

and alleged that

> the dregs of all other professions are attracted towards the public service as a secure asylum, in which, although the prospects are moderate, failure is impossible, provided the most ordinary attention be paid to the rules of the department.[13]

In 1853, Gladstone appointed Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Charles Trevelyan, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, to enquire into the organisation of the Civil Service. The Northcote-Trevelyan report was presented to parliament in February 1854 and the main recommendations were as follows:

(1) the recruitment into the Civil Service of "a thoroughly efficient class of man" by a proper system of open competition

(2) the universal application of the principle of promotion on merit

(3) the introduction of uniform standards of Civil Service appointment and a proper division of labour between "intellectual and manual work".[14]

The report pointed out that the Civil Service generally was in need of reform and that its operations should be more tightly controlled by the government. It recommended the setting up of a new department to exercise this control, and this department, the Civil Service Commission, was set up in 1855.

The powers of this Commission were limited in its early years, but its existence provided machinery which enabled Civil Servants to be recruited by open competitive examination and it ended the aristocratic domination of the Civil Service which had hitherto existed. Open competition gradually replaced patronage as the normal method of recruitment to the Civil Service and this eventually led to a meritocratic and more bureaucratic form of public administration.[15]

The setting up of the Civil Service Commission also helped the growth of Treasury control over government offices generally.

Treasury ministers were answerable to parliament for the work of the Civil Service Commissioners and the approval of the Treasury was required for regulations drawn up by the Commissioners. Since the Commission was responsible for recruitment to all government departments, the Treasury gained ultimate control over all appointments.[16]

The gradual development of Treasury control over government expenditure during Gladstone's years as Chancellor of the Exchequer reflects his concern with economy and efficiency in the allocation of public funds. Gladstone has been described as a man

> who saw the duty of a statesman to the community chiefly in sound finance and in the creation of the treasury traditions with which he was closely associated in those years, implying strict economy and probity in the expenditure of public money.[17]

The essence of his fiscal philosophy was economy. He wrote: "Economy is the first and great article in my financial creed".[18] In later years he held that

> The Chancellor of the Exchequer should boldly uphold economy in detail: and it is the work of a chicken-hearted Chancellor when he shrinks from upholding economy in detail, when because it is a question of only two or three thousand pounds, he says that is no matter. He is ridiculed, no doubt, for what is called candle-ends and cheese-parings, but he is not worth his salt if he is not ready to save what are meant by candle-ends and cheese-parings in the cause of the country.[19]

Gladstone's concern with economy and efficiency was soon to be felt in the area of educational administration, both in Dublin and in London.

Treasury Investigation of the Office of National Education in Dublin - the Monck Inquiry 1855/6

In an effort to ensure a tighter control of government expenditure a rigorous investigation of all departments responsible for administering state funds was initiated after 1852. These investigations were carried out by Treasury officials between 1853

and 1855 and in October 1855 the National Education Office was included among the offices to be investigated. In that month, Trevelyan set up a small committee

> to conduct an enquiry into the establishment of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland and to report any alterations which may appear to them to be required to increase the efficiency of the Establishment, to simplify and expedite the transaction of the business and to improve the arrangements under which the expenditure of the Department is conducted and accounted for.[20]

The committee was instructed

> to visit the Departments of the Establishment; to inspect the various forms and books used in conducting the business - to examine such individuals in the office as may be necessary to ascertain the nature and extent of their duties - to see if the various processes of business can be simplified and abridged; and to report whether any or what alterations are to be made in the existing rate of salaries.[21]

The members of the committee were Viscount Monck, a member of the Board, W.H. Stephenson, a principal clerk in the Treasury and William Seton, an assistance.

The powers of the committee were limited to an investigation of the administration of the office. The committee was not asked to report on the structure of the system of elementary education in Ireland. Their brief was confined to an examination of the office of national education as an administrative department.

The Monck committee was reasonably satisfied with the administrative approach of the National Board. They found that an office which in 1833 had administered a parliamentary grant of £25 to less than 1,000 schools catering for 100,000 pupils had expanded over the 20 year period until in 1854 it was responsible for a grant of over £215,000 to 5,200 schools attended by over half-a-million children. The proportion of the grant spent on administration had remained at less than 5% during the period and the committee found

that the system under which the office was organised was, on the whole, satisfactory. There were six different departments responsible for different areas of administration:

I Inspection (and Registry) Branch
II Agricultural department
III Buildings (or architectural) department
IV Finance branch
V Correspondence and minute branch
VI Book Stores

The total staff of the office consisted of 75 men ranging in rank from the Resident Commissioner to junior boy copyists. Apart from the senior officials - secretaries, accountants and chiefs of inspection - there were seven different grades of clerks.

The committee approved of the decision-making procedure of the Board. They found that a number of sub-committees sat weekly to consider detailed submissions from the clerical staff to the Board and the Board itself endorsed the recommendations of these sub-committees and discussed major policy issues.

The committee reported that the amount of work processed annually by the National Education Office was considerable. It was calculated that about 122,000 letters and documents were received in the office every year, in addition to over 20,000 inspectors' reports.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Monck inquiry was its acceptance of the fact that the national school system in Ireland had become a denominational one. It did not advert to the dichotomy which existed between the objectives of the Board as embodied in the Stanley letter and the realities of the system being administered in 1855. One of the committee's main recommendations related to the dual secretaryship which it suggested should be abolished. They seemed surprised to find that

> it is not the fact that subjects connected with one religious persuasion are brought before one secretary and subjects connected with any other religious persuasion before the other.

On the contrary, they found that

> all correspondence, however controversial it might be in some of its elements, would go before one secretary, and all matters of inspection, whatever might be the religious persuasion of the district or of the scholars to which they referred, would be brought to the notice of the Board by the other secretary.

It would seem that the committee had expected to find that the Irish office might operate along denominational lines in the same way as the system of the office of the Privy Council in England where the denominational reality of the school system was reflected in the administrative system.

The Monck committee made a number of detailed suggestions as to possible improvements in the organisation of the office. It was suggested that responsibility for the architectural work related to national school buildings should be transferred to the Board of Works

> whose special province it is to take charge of public buildings and who have a large staff already employed in duties of an anolagous nature all over the country.

analogous ?

The Agricultural branch should be amalgamated with the accounts section and a greater control should be exercised over the cost of agricultural education. The committee felt it was their duty

> to advert (to the) general question of the State carrying on undertakings of the nature of these farms on which great sums are expended without the possibility of any effectual check upon the expenditure being exercised either by the government or by the National Board.

The committee found that there was no uniformity in the salary structure of the different grades of clerks employed. The Board paid additional allowances to almost every member of staff as well as the salary which had been approved by the Treasury. The committee recognised that the Board claimed the power to pay such allowances

> by virtue of that passage in Mr. Stanley's letter which gives them absolute control over the funds which may be annually voted by parliament, and

> which they are directed to apply (amongst other purposes) to defraying all necessary contingent expenses of the Board.

but they maintained that

> it is contrary to the spirit and practice of the regulations by which every public establishment is guided in directing its expenditure, that the power of making additions in the form of extra allowances to the fixed salaries of the persons on the establishment should exist and ..... that (it) should no longer be exercised

In making this statement the Monck committee was clearly pointing to the dichotomy that existed between the terms of the Stanley letter and "the regulations by which every public establishment is guided in directing its expenditure". But the committee had no doubt as to which rules should be obeyed by the Board - it should come into line with other departments and should ignore the terms of the Stanley letter in this respect. The concern of the Treasury with uniformity was also apparent in a further recommendation relating to the travelling and subsistence expenses of inspectors. The committee recommended

> that the mode in which the inspectors of every class are paid for expenses incurred during their absence from home on official duties, should be uniform in principle.

The report gave details of the work carried out by each head of department and on the whole commented favourably on the efficiency of each department. An indication of the detail entered into by the committee is given in the following extract from the report on the work of the accountant, Mr. Claridge. The committee found that Mr. Claridge combined his duties as accountant with

> the superintendence of the domestic arrangements of the training schools in the neighbourhood of Dublin and upon the discipline and dietary (SIC) which obtain in them.

It would appear that Mr. Claridge had prepared "some highly interesting

and very elaborate reports" on these matters but that committee regarded it as

> quite evident that such duties form no portion of those which are usually assigned to an accountant.

They recommended that in future, Mr. Claridge's duties should be "strictly confined to those which appertain to the office of an accountant and cashier".

As an office of the Civil Service, the Education Office in Dublin had the advantage of having been set up relatively late in the first half of the nineteenth century and it was consequently free of the worst excesses of patronage. Its Resident Commissioner was the only paid member of staff specifically nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. There is no evidence that any other members of staff were appointed by patronage in the early years and the records show that the National Board was one of the first offices to recruit staff through the open competitive examinations of the Civil Service Commission as soon as it was set up in 1855.

Although, on the whole, the Monck committee found a well-organised office, it made certain recommendations for change. Among these recommendations were the reduction of the number of branches or sections from 6 to 4 and a reduction in the number of clerical staff from 75 to 58. The transfer of the architectural work to the Board of Works would contribute to the decrease in the staff of the National Education Office. Other areas of re-organisation were also suggested by the committee in order to reduce the number of clerks. They pointed out that some clerks were duplicating the work of others and they suggested changes in procedure which would minimise the amount of duplication. They also suggested that teachers' salaries should be paid by cheque instead of by post office order. The newly passed Stamp Act had greatly simplified the method of payment by post and the committee felt that the use of this new system would reduce the number of clerks required in the accountant's office. The number of different grades of clerks should also be reduced from seven to four.

The overall impression gained from the report of the Monck Inquiry, was of a well organised, efficient department, where areas of work were clearly delineated and systems and procedures were laid down and adhered to.

Committee of Inquiry into the Privy Council Office, 1853

A Treasury inquiry had been carried out into the Privy Council office in London two years before the Monck inquiry into the Irish Education office.[22] This inquiry had been more critical of the London office than the Monck inquiry was of the Dublin office. The committee of inquiry into the Privy Council office reported in August 1853. It found that the union of several departments in the office of the Privy Council tended "not to efficiency, but to confusion" It was felt that the system of administration carried out by the Education Office was "very elaborate", and the committee stressed the need for the utmost care in its administration. The report stated:

> A central department can only carry on the direction of so complicated a system by the aid of very perfect machinery;[23]

and it implied that the machinery of the Education Office in London was not as efficient as it should be. The report emphasised that

> great and increasing pressure of work upon this department renders it peculiarly important that every exertion should be made to reduce its modes of action to the greatest simplicity of which they are capable, and to curtail all unnecessary business.[24]

The report was also critical of the ambiguity of the position of the Education Office in relation to the office of the Privy Council and it suggested that the two offices should be separated and that there should be no connection between them "except their common subordination to the Lord President".

The inquiry into the English office had found that the explicit recognition of the denominational system in England had

contributed to the complexity of the administration. The report effectively issued a warning that a continued growth on the basis of existing procedures could result in a breakdown of the system unless steps were taken to simplify the administration of the grants. The inquiry also questioned the accountability of the Education department and this led to a formalisation of the position of the department in 1856.

Accountability of the Education Offices

In the early years of both the Irish National Board and the committee of the Privy Council on Education, there was confusion as to the extent to which they were accountable to parliament. Efforts were made in the 1850s to clarify the situation and in 1856 the ambiguity about the relationship between the committee of the Privy Council and parliament was removed. As a result of complaints from members of parliament that they were not effectively informed of the proceedings of the committee, an Order in Council was passed on 25th February 1856 renaming the committee as the Education Department.[25] The new Department would be placed under the Lord President of the Council

> assisted by a member of the Privy Council, who shall be the Vice-President of the Committee,

and would be directly answerable to parliament. The new Education Department took over the duties of the committee of the Privy Council and of the Department of Science and Art. The measures introduced as a result of the Order in Council of 1856 were designed to remedy two obvious defects in the system of administering English education - the absence of any responsible Minister of Education in the House of Commons and the lack of co-ordination among the various state agencies concerned with different aspects of education. Before 1856 the Home Secretary had answered any parliamentary questions that had arisen in relation to the vote for English elementary education. After 1856 the Vice-President of the committee of the Privy Council took over this duty. In practice the reform of 1856 was not as successful as had been hoped. The allocation of responsibilities between the President and the Vice-President of the committee of the Privy Council

was not clear and the full co-ordination of education which had been one of the objects of the measure was not achieved. In particular the links between the Education Department and the Charity Commission "remained tenuous and unsatisfactory", but nevertheless a degree of co-ordination was achieved.[26] The Education Department was an important prelude to a unified central administration. Moreover, the notion of accountability to parliament for the Education Department had been firmly established.

In Ireland, the question of the extent to which the National Board should be answerable either to parliament or to the Irish executive in Dublin Castle had become an issue in 1853, when different factions within the Board held conflicting views as to how the intentions of the government in relation to mixed education should be implemented.[27] Archbishop Whately contended that two books on the Board's lists Scripture Lessons and Lessons on the Truth of Christianity should be required reading in all model schools and he proposed that the Board should amend one of its rules (Rule 8) to compel teachers in model schools to use these books. Other members of the Board objected to Whately's proposal and the matter became a contentious one in 1853. The outcome was a decision in June 1853 to remove one of the books, Lessons on the Truth of Christianity, from the list of approved books on the Board's list - a decision that angered Whately and some other Protestant members of the Board. The Board also decided to amend itsrules to make it clear that they did not insist on the Scripture Lessons being read in any of their schools. Whately appealed to the Lord Lieutenant, the earl of St. Germans, to veto the change in rules but the Lord Lieutenant took no action on the matter. As a result, Whately and two other Protestant members of the Board, Blackburne and Greene, resigned. Following their resignations an inquiry was demanded in the House of Lords and a Committee of Inquiry was appointed in February 1854.[28]

One of the issues discussed by the committee of inquiry was the question of the relationship between the National Board and the Lord Lieutenant and the extent to which the Board should be answerable to parliament. Among those who gave evidence to the select committee of the House of Lords was Lord Granville who was Lord President of

the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in England from 1852 to 1855. In his evidence, he suggested, inter alia, that

> no change be made in any fundamental rule of the Board without the approval (of the Lord Lieutenant) and that a statement of the grounds upon which the commissioners may deem any alterations or additions necessary shall be embodied in the minutes.[29]

Lord Monteagle, who was Comptroller-General, proposed to the select committee the following resolution:

> that whilst it is expedient for those reasons (i.e. reasons showing the great benefits to the country resulting from the system of National Education) to adhere to the fundamental rules of the Board, it is the duty of parliament to omit no precaution which can prevent these rules from being set aside or their efficiency in any degree impaired by a departure from the principles of freedom on conscience and respect for religious liberty on which the system rests.[30]

The above extract from the evidence of Monteagle shows his conviction that the National Board should ultimately be responsible to parliament. Lord Granville, on the other hand, regarded the National Board as answerable in the first instance to the Lord Lieutenant. Both of them concurred in the opinion that the Board should not have power to change its fundamental rules without higher approval.

The committee of the House of Lords did not agree on any recommendations, but its report did produce action. As a result of the findings of the committee, the Loard Lieutenant, the Earl of St. Germans, suggested to the commissioners that they revise their rules with a view to making them perfectly clear and explicit.[31] In a memorandum dated 26th September 1854 the Lord Lieutenant made 26 specific suggestions about the tules and regulations for national schools. In his memorandum, he made it clear that all alterations, omissions and additions in the rules of the Board should be submitted to him for his consent. He also stated that no fundamental rule was to be changed without his sanction.[32]

Following the Lord Lieutenant's intervention, the commissioners appointed a sub-committee to consider the proposals and to draw up a revised version of the rules. This revision was approved by the Board and the revised rules were sanctioned by the Lord Lieutenant in 1855. The revised code contained a new rule, Rule 4, which stated

> The commissioners do not change any fundamental rule without the express permission of the Lord Lieutenant.[33]

While this rule was undoubtedly a departure from the previously held position of the National Board, it was a long way from conceding total accountability to the Lord Lieutenant.

The new rules also stated the "fundamental principle" of the national system for the first time.

> The object of the system of national education is to afford <u>combined</u> literary and moral, and <u>separate</u> religious instruction, to children of all persuasions, as far as possible, upon the fundamental principle, that no attempt shall be made to interfere with the peculiar religious tenents of any description of Chirstian pupils.[34]

But the term "fundamental rule" as used in Rule 4 was not defined, consequently the National Board retained a great deal of freedom in framing its rules and regulations. The report of the committee of the House of Lords did not bring about any change in the position of the National Board vis-a-vis parliament. The Irish executive would continue to answer to parliament for national education although its own powers in relation to the Board were ambigious.

<u>Further efforts to establish the accountability of the National Board</u>

The Irish executive had failed in 1854 to ensure that the Lord Lieutenant would have absolute control over the actions of the National Board. But is successfully established in 1856 that it was responsible to parliament for the administration of the education vote and that consequently the Treasury could not contact the Board directly. The Treasury would have to address all communications

relating to education to Dublin Castle in the first instances and, if necessary, the Irish executive would contact the National Board. The opportunity for establishing this procedure arose when the Treasury attempted to communicate directly with the National Board on the question of the recommendations of the Monck report.[35] In March 1856, the secretary to the Treasury, Trevelyan, sent a copy of the report to the National Board without first consulting the Irish executive. Reports on the Board of Works and on the Poor Law Board which had been completed at the same time had also been sent directly to the Boards concerned. Horsman, who was Chief Secretary at the time, alleged that he first learned of the completion of these inquiries from an article in the Dublin Evening Mail on 14th March 1856. His anger over the Treasury's action in communicating directly with the National Board and in seeking their comments on the report is evident in a letter sent by him from the Irish Office in London to James Wilson, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, on 11th April 1956.[36] This letter expressed the Irish government's concern on two counts. Firstly, the Chief Secretary wished to establish that any correspondence from the Treasury relating to any of these Boards should come in the first instance to the Irish executive in Dublin Castle which was responsible to parliament for the work of these Boards. Secondly, he felt that the Monck committee had gone beyond its terms of reference in some respects. He was surprised at the proceedings of the committee

> as on a perusal of the reports, he finds that they are not confined to financial matters, but treat of questions of general policy, not hitherto supposed, to fall under the cognizance of the Treasury.

He was adamant that the terms of reference of the committee did not give them authority "to enter on any controversial questions of general policy".

Horsman was particularly incensed by the recommendation relating to the abolition of some of the posts of secretary of the Board. He was at pains to point out to the Treasury that

> The arrangement which assigned to a mixed Board of Protestants and Roman Catholics a Secretary of each persuasion was recommended by considerations other than a mere convenient distribution of office work. It laid the foundation and was accepted as a security for a just and impartial exercise of the functions of the National Board, and by removing just grounds of jealousy or alarm it ensured on the part of different religious bodies that confidence and co-operation that were essential to success.

The action of the Treasury committee in involving itself in a policy matter of such political delicacy was particularly unacceptable, and Horsman went so far as to accuse the Treasury of taking action

> calculated to disturb the relations of the National Board with the government and the public.

This letter indicates that the Irish government in 1855 regarded the Treasury's role as limited to purely financial considerations. It recognised its role in ensuring economy and efficiency but it should have no function in interfering into government policy. It was simply one department of the Civil Service and had no authority to interfere into other government departments. The concluding sentences of Horsman's letter make this attitude very clear:

> He feels it unnecessary to assure Their Lordships of his anxiety at all times to further their endeavours to secure economy and efficiency in the public service, but he is also sure he need not point out to them the embarrassment that must arise from the irregular interference of one public department with the constitution and conduct of others not under its control.

The Chief Secretary was adamant that policy considerations formed no part of the Treasury's mandate, and he pointed out that he would

> view with alarm the effects of a constant desire on the part of the Treasury to regulate these matters of government for which the Irish executive is responsible.

The events leading up to and arising from the Monck inquiry had

established a number of important criteria in relation to the operation of the National Board.

1. The Lord Lieutenant was responsible to parliament for the actions of the Board.
2. The Treasury had a right to involve itself, through Dublin Castle, in the financial affairs of the Board.
3. The Board was required to obtain the consent of the Lord Lieutenant to any change in its fundamental rules. The limitations of this requirement implicitly recognised the freedom of the Board in areas not relating to fundamental rules.

Definition of Fundamental Rules

The revised rules of the National Board of 1855 had failed to define the phrase "fundamental rule". This failure resulted in a confrontation between the Board and the Irish executive in Dublin Castle in 1864. In that year a controversy arose on the Board as a result of a proposal to change the rules to allow for a payment of a higher than usual salary to "young persons of great merit" to act as first class monitors in "a few very large and highly efficient schools".[37] The schools in question were the better convent schools and the proposed new rule would effectively allow these convent schools to be recognised as denominational teacher training establishments. The Presbyterian members of the Board objected to the new rule and pressure to veto the proposed rule was brought on the Chief Secretary, Sir Robert Peel, both by the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and by the respresentatives of the Ulster national education association. Peel wrote to Alexander Macdonnell, Resident Commissioner of national education reminding him that the commissioners had no power to alter any fundamental rule without the express permission of the Lord Lieutenant. In his letter of 30th January 1864 he stated that:

> The attention of the Irish government has been drawn to certain contemplated changes in the fundamental rules of the system of national education in Ireland, the effects of which will be seriously to imperil the principle upon which the system is based and I am to remind you, as Resident Commissioner, that

> the Board of Commissioners, as incorporated by Royal Charter, has no power to change any fundamental rule without the express permission of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. 38

In their reply, the commissioners asserted that there was nothing in the charter of incorporation of 1845 which forbade the Board to change any of its rules but they accepted that

> by one of the rules which were approved of by the government in 1855, it is provided that the commissioners are not to change any fundamental rule without the express permission of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. 39

They denied that the rule in question was a fundamental rule and they set out as follows details of what they considered were the essentials of the fundamental rules.

1st Those rules which protect the children from interference into their religious opinion. On the faith of these rules parents send children to the National Schools.

2nd Those rules which entitle the pastors to give religious instruction to children in vested schools.

3rd Those rules which regulate and confirm the rights of the patron, and the succession in case of vacancy. The grant of land is often given on the faith of these rules.

4th The rules which give to managers the right to use the schools, or to the public the right to visit them, in order to see that they are properly carried on.

They maintained that

> nothing in the nature of an increase of salary, or an expenditure of money, can be considered as involving the change of a fundamental rule. Matters of this nature must be subject to frequent changes, they affect only the tax-payers who are protected by the necessity on the part of the Board or obtaining the consent of the Treasury and of the House of Commons for any alteration in the expenditure.

This letter from the Board to the Chief Secretary was an important

one in the history of the Board. On the one hand, it recognised without question the authority of the Treasury in financial matters. On the other hand, it represented a hardening of attitudes on the part of the Board to the question of answerability to Dublin Castle. The commissioners regarded their reply as a very important assertion of the rights of the Board vis-a-vis Dublin Castle and they afterwards pointed out that the letter was based

> on a minute of the Hon. Judge Longfield and which had the approval of the following distinguished legal members of the Board, viz. the Rt. Hon. the Lord Chancellor (Brady), Chief Justice Monahan, Lord Chief Baron Pigot, the Attorney General (O'Hagan), the Solicitor General (Lawson), John O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C. and Dr. Andrews, Q.C.[40]

The definition of the fundamental rules which was set out in the commissioners' letter was not controverted by the Chief Secretary and this was interpreted by the Board as an acceptance by him of the definition given by them.

By the 1860s, one can detect a divergence in the paths of the Irish National Board and of the English Education Department. Following the Order in Council of 25.2.1856, the accountability of the English Department to parliament had been established, although the precise nature of this accountability had not yet been clearly defined. The National Board, on the other hand, had achieved a degree of independence in relation to the Irish executive and consequently in relation to parliament.

Strengthening of Treasury Control over Government Expenditure

Treasury control over the departments involved in administering government funds, including the Education Offices in London and Dublin, was strengthened by two measures passed in the 1860s. An Order in Council in 1861 laid down that the estimates of all government departments had to be approved by the Treasury before being presented to parliament. Under this Order, a Public Accounts Committee was set up to monitor public expenditure.[41] A further measure, the Exchequer and Audit Act, was passed in 1866. The provisions of this Act required

the Treasury to ensure that all payments made out of public money conformed to proper official authority, that they were in accordance with the purposes of the parliamentary votes to which they were chargeable and that the total of these votes was not exceeded. It established that expenditure not approved by the Treasury was not properly chargeable to parliamentary votes. It firmly established the concept that money would be annually voted for each department under specific heads for clearly defined purposes. Money voted by parliament would have to be used for these purposes within a given year. Any sums not expended within the year would have to be surrendered to the Treasury.[42]

The passing of these two measures was to have a wide-ranging effect on the "spending departments". The provisions which prevented departments from transferring savings from one year to the next and from one "head" or section of the vote to another would require departments to prepare their annual estimates with great care. It would make the task of departmental planning more difficult than it had hitherto been. The provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Act gave the Treasury power to intervene in the details of the spending of the votes of the different departments and by implication to involve itself in the interpretation of policy. This expanded power to the Treasury was resented by many departments.

The Report of the Newcastle Commission and the Introduction of Payment by Results in England

The growing concern of the government with economy and efficiency in the expenditure of public money led to the setting up in 1858 of a commission under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle to

> inquire into the present state of popular education in England .... and to consider and report what changes, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of people.[43]

The report of the commission was published in 1861. The commission was critical of the system of elementary education in England and concluded that "the system has not effected ... a general diffusion of sound elementary education among all classes of the poor".[44] It

found that the machinery of administration was complex and intricate and that consequently administrative costs were proportionately very high. The Permanent Secretary of the Education Office, R.R.W.Lingen, suggested that the only way in which the system of elementary education could be extended to cover the whole country would be by simplifying the method of payment of grants.[45] Assistant Secretary, Harry Chester, recommended a "system of testing by examination, and paying by results".[46] He felt that such a system would greatly simplify the task of administering the grant. Other evidence supported this call for the introduction of a system of payment by results. Such a system was already successfully administered by the Science and Art Department.

The Newcastle Commission recommended that the existing method of paying grants for elementary education in England be replaced by

I A grant paid by the government out of general taxation and conditional on a certain level of attendance, the fulfilling of certain conditions by managers and on a satisfactory report from the inspectors.

II A sum derived from the county rates based on the results of an examination in the three Rs, conducted by examiners appointed by county boards of education.

The commission stated that the purpose of this new system of administering the grants would be

> first, to maintain ... the quality of education by encouraging schools to employ superior teachers; secondly, to simplify the business of the office in its correspondence and general connection with schools in receipt of the grant; thirdly, to diminish the rigour and apparent injustice of some of its rules. [47]

The proposal to introduce payment by results in England was thus motivated to some extent by the need for simplifying the work of the Education Office in London.

Report of the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure

Another report published during this period which affected the

government's attitude to the financing of English education was the report of the Select Committee on Miscellaneous Expenditure which was presented to the governemmt in 1860.[48] In his evidence to this report, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, S. Laing, compared the cost to the government of English and Irish public education. He reported that in England the per capita cost from the parliamentary vote for education was £1, whereas in Ireland it was only 10/-.

Laing also contended that the Treasury had no control over the education vote in England nor was there any way of estimating what would be the expenditure in a given year. He recommended that the Treasury should have greater control of expenditure on education and that no decision should be made by the Education Department without reference to the Treasury.[49]

It would appear that the comparison made by Laing of per capita costs in Ireland and England was a false one. The parliamentary grant to Irish education in the late 1850s was in the region of £250,000, and the average attendance of pupils was around a quarter of a million pupils. This would give a per capita cost per pupil in attendance of about £1, a figure similar to the English per capita cost.[50] Laing's error may have been partly due to the vague and misleading terminology used in the annual report of the National Board up to the end of the 1850s. The Board in its introductory paragraphs of the report used the phraise "attended by" to describe the number of children enrolled in the schools. For example, the annual report for 1856 reads as follows:

> On the 31st December 1855, we had 5,124 schools in operation, which were attended by 538,426 children. At the close of the year 1856, the number of schools in operation was 5,245, attended by 560,134; showing an increase in the schools in operation of 121; and in the attendance for the year 1856, as compared with the year 1855, of 21,888 children.

An analysis of the statistics later in the report make it clear that the figure of over 560,000 referred to here was, in fact, number on rolls and that the average attendance as a proportion of enrolment was only 45% or 254,000 pupils.

Payment by Results in England, 1862

The immediate outcome of the two reports - the Newcastle Commission and the Report on Miscellaneous Expenditure - was the revision of the English Education Department's Code in 1862.[51] Under this revision, a system of payment by results in English elementary schools was instituted. A single results grant would be paid for each pupil who passed an examination at the end of the year. There would be no other grants (apart from capital grants) to schools.[52] The complex and cumbersome system of grant payment which had operated for over twenty years was replaced by an administratively straightforward single payment. An article in a current periodical stated:

> Simplification is the key-note of the Revised Code. This is carried out with regard to book grants, by abolishing them; with regard to grants for drawing, by abolishing them; with regard to grants for industrial work, by abolishing them; with regard to grants for infant schools, by abolishing them; with regard to grants for ragged schools, by abolishing them; with regard to special grants for evening schools, by abolishing them; with regard to retirement pensions, by abolishing them; with regard to grants to school societies, by abolishing them; with regard to small building and furnishing grants, by abolishing them.[53]

The other recommendations of the Newcastle Commission in relation to the setting up of county boards or the levying of a local rate for education were not implemented at this point.

The Revised Code of 1862 was devised by the Vice President of the Privy Council on Education, Robert Lowe and by R.R.W. Lingen, Secretary to the Board of Education. In her book The Education of the People, Mary Sturt states that it was generally accepted at the time that as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gladstone was also involved in this work and that he exercised an important influence in the matter.[54] His concern was with economy and it seems clear that he was determined to stop the increase in the English education vote or perhaps even reduce it. The "harsh, economical formula" of payment by results quickly produced the hoped for economy in education spending.[55] In

1862 the education vote in England was £840,000. By 1864 it had fallen to £705,000.[56]

Parliamentary Grant to Irish Education, 1852-1867

The Treasury's misunderstanding of the terminology used by the National Board in its annual report was to the advantage of Irish elementary education. The annual parliamentary vote to Irish education increased from over £164,000 in 1852 to almost £318,000 in 1862.[57] The grant per pupil in average attendance almost doubled from 0.58 p to £1.11 in the same period.

But, it would appear that by 1862, the misunderstanding in relation to the term "attendance" had been clarified. In that year the annual report of the National Board clearly defined the different terms used. It was stated:

> On the 31st December 1861, we had 5,830 schools in operation, which had on their rolls, for the year then ended 803,364 children; with an average daily attendance, for the same period of 284,726 children; and an average number of children on the rolls for the year, of 531,014. At the close of the year 1862, the number of schools in operation was 6,010. The average daily attendance of children for the year was 284,912; the average number of children on the rolls was 533,570; while the total number of distinct children at any time on the rolls for the year was 812,527. (Emphasis used in the annual report)[58]

A footnote in the report then gave a clear definition of each of the terms used.

The rapid increase in the parliamentary vote to Irish education which had been experienced during the 1850s, came to an end in 1862. The per capita grant to Irish national education did not increase between 1862 and 1867.[59] No doubt, the economies introduced in England under the Revised Code of 1862 effected the attitude of the government and the Treasury to the financing of Irish education. It is also likely that the realisation by the Treasury officials that their earlier assumptions about per capita costs were wrong effected the situation. The following table shows the number of schools,

average attendance of pupils and the amount of the parliamentary grant to Irish elementary education in the 1850s and 1860s:-

TABLE 1.1

Number of schools, average attendance of pupils and parliamentary grant to national education, 1852, 1857, 1862 and 1867

Year	No. of Schools	Average Attendance	Parliamentary Grant	Av. Parliamentary Grant per Pupil in Average Attendance
1852	4,875	282,575	£164,577	£0.58
1857	5,337	268,397	£223,530	£0.83
1862	6,010	284,912	£317,635	£1.11
1867	6,349	321,683	£357,836	£1.11

60

It can be seen from this Table that although the parliamentary grant to Irish education increased from £317,635 in 1862 to £357,836 in 1867, the average attendance in national schools had also increased and the per capita grant had remained static at £1.11 per pupil during the years after the introduction of payment by results in England. The success from an economic point of view of the new system in England would inevitably lead to pressure for the introduction of a similar system in Ireland and this pressure began to be exerted by the mid-1860s.

The beginning of payment by results in Ireland

In June 1866, Chief Secretary Fortescue, wrote to the Commissioners of National Education informing them that

> Her Majesty's Government are desirous of drawing the attention of the Commissioners to the important principle upon which the remuneration of the teachers of schools supported by the State has with such marked success been recently regulated in England and Scotland; I refer to the principle of State payments apportioned to the ascertained results of education.[61]

There was no suggestion that payment by results should be immediately introduced in Irish national schools. The Chief Secretary suggested a much more limited application, recommending that the system be introduced first in Model Schools

> to be followed by its gradual development, not necessarily in the precise form which it has assumed in England but with such modifications and adaptations of the Commissioners, profiting by English experience, with their own knowledge of the wants and circumstances of Ireland, may recommend.

The Chief Secretary's letter was remarkably polite and clearly conceded the right of the Board to take the initiative for educational reform in Ireland.

Fortescue's proposal was considered at two Board meetings in June 1866. As a result of their discussions, the Board wrote to Fortescue expressing

> their general approbation of those proposals and their readiness to co-operate with the government in carrying them into practical effect. 62

But the defeat of the government some weeks earlier resulted in changes in the administration. Fortescue was replaced as Chief Secretary by Lord Naas and the question of introducing payment by results in Irish national schools was temporarily shelved.

Summary

It may be found useful at this stage to summarise the developments in educational administration in the period 1852 - 1867. Both the Irish and the English systems were effected by Gladstone's efforts to rationalise public administration and to achieve economy and efficiency in the public service. The question of the accountability of all departments involved in spending public money also became an issue and efforts were made

to clarify the extent to which the Irish National Board and the English Education Department were accountable to parliament and the mechanism through which this accountability would operate. In England an Order in Council in 1856 defined the relationship between the Education Office and parliament and appointed a Vice-President who would be directly responsible to parliament for the education vote. In Ireland efforts around the same period to define the situation were less successful. The revised rules of the National Board in 1855 required the Board to obtain the Lord Lieutenant's approval for any change in fundamental rules but it did not require the Board to lay its rules before parliament. By 1856, it had been established that parliament could intervene in matters relating to English education but not in matters relating to Irish education. The extent of the control that could be exercised by the Lord Lieutenant over Irish education was also limited.

Perhaps the most significant development of the period was the growth of Treasury control over all government expenditure. Legislation in 1861 and 1866 established the right of the Treasury to monitor the expenditure of all government departments. The power of the Treasury in this regard was accepted by the National Board in Ireland and from the early 1860s onwards this control was stringently exercised by Treasury officials.

Before 1860, the government grant to Irish education had grown systematically. A fortuituous (or perhaps deliberate?) ambiguity in the use of statistical terminology in the annual reports of the National Board contributed to this growth. The inaccurate use of the term "attendance" seems to have given the Treasury the impression that Irish education was cheaper per capita than English education. This ambiguity was removed after 1860 and Treasury control of expenditure became more stringent. The introduction of payment by results in England in 1862 added to the tightening of the Irish education budget and the economic success of the new of the new system in England would inevitably lead to government pressure on Irish education to move towards a similar system. It is likely that payment by results would have been introduced in Ireland before 1870 were it not for the change of

government of 1868. Gladstone's accession as Prime Minister in 1868 would lead to many changes and the effect of these changes on Irish education will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER I - REFERENCES

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CHAPTER II

EDUCATION DURING GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY, 1868-1874: THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

The period from 1868 to 1874 was one of wide-ranging reform in the United Kingdom. A Liberal government with Prime Minister Gladstone at the helm introduced sweeping changes in many areas, and education was among the areas reformed. The election of Gladstone's party to government in 1868 was due in no small measure to the fact that the previous year, the Second Reform Bill had extended the vote to the urban working class population of England. The new government believed that an enfranchised population should also be an educated one. The aided system of elementary education which had existed in England since the 1830s had been found by the Newcastle Commission in 1860 to be inadequate to the needs of a growing population and steps would have to be taken to reform this system.

The educational systems of Ireland and Scotland were also in need of reform. Payment by results had not yet been introduced in either of these countries and it seemed clear that the introduction of payment by results should be accompanied by other reform measures. The Argyll and Powis Commissions had been set up in Scotland and Ireland respectively in 1864 and 1868 to inquire into the whole question of elementary education and when these commissions reported in 1867 and 1870 it was expected that legislation would be introduced by the government to implement their recommendations.

Other reform measures introduced during Gladstone's First Ministry had an indirect effect on the development of education in the United Kingdom. In 1870 open competition for entry to the Civil Service became compulsory; the following year Local Government Boards were set up; the Universities were opened to men of all religions and in Ireland the Church of Ireland was disestablished.[1]

Forster's Elementary Education Act 1870

In England, attitudes to state intervention in elementary

education were changing. As a result of the Reform Bill of 1867, the balance of political power was in favour of nonconformity. In earlier decades members of the Dissenting Churches had been suspicious of state intervention, which they saw as upper class paternalism by a predominantly Anglican government. Following the Liberal success in the 1868 election, this suspicion faded. The concept of state intervention in education became more acceptable. In any event, many groups who had earlier opposed any extension of government aid to education, were beginning to acknowledge defeat in the struggle to provide schools from their own resources. One of the most influential campaigners for voluntaryism, Edward Baines, told his followers in 1867 that their cause had run its course and that they should now support state education.[2]

The appointment as Vice-President of the Education Department of W.E. Forster in 1868 signalled the government's intention to reform the system of elementary education in England. Efforts had been made to introduce legislation to this effect in 1867 and early 1868 but sectarian rivalry had prevented the passing of this legislation.[3] In February 1870, Forster introduced an Elementary Education Bill in parliament. In proposing this Bill, Forster made it clear that in England the voluntary system had not been as successful as it should have been. There were many areas of the country with inadequate educational provision and a large proportion of the school age population had no access to schools. Forster believed that every child had a right to education. The extension of the vote to everybody was a factor in this regard:

> Now that we have given them political power we must not wait any longer to give them education.[4]

The new Bill proposed

> to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up the gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours.[5]

Under the terms of the Forster Act, the Education Department would be empowered to investigate the educational provision in each district and to determine whether such provision was satisfactory and adequate. In the case of any district where the provision was found to be unsatisfactory or inadequate a new local authority, the school board, would be set up with power to provide new schools. The schools board would also have power to levy a rota, to build and maintain new schools, to provide teachers and if necessary to enforce the attendance of children.[6] (The school districts were based on the civil parish in the rural areas and on the borough in urban areas. The London School Board was responsible for the entire London metropolis.)

A significant provision of the Act was the discontinuance of capital grants for voluntary schools. Under the terms of the Act, no more capital grants for buildings would be made from the central exchequer after 31st December 1870. This provision set a limit to the multiplication of denominational schools at the public expense and was an effective barrier to the growth of the denominational sector.

The 1870 Bill preserved the diversity of the English education system and it also asserted the principle of local as opposed to central control. It accepted the notion that education was the right of every child and that it was the duty of the community to provide educational facilities.[7]

Once the Bill became law, the whole question of the relationship of the state to education was transformed. Before 1870 the Education Department had been mainly concerned with administering a grant in aid of voluntary effort. After 1870, the Department was an executive body, with power to ensure that efficient elementary education was provided throughout the country. The system of elementary education in England was no longer an aided system. The state had the power to take the initiative to ensure that schools were provided throughout the country. After 1870, the Education Department was involved in the administration of a national system of education.[8]

The financial provisions of the Forster Act required that the cost of education be equally borne by three groups, by parents (by way of fees), public taxes (administered by the Education Department) and local funds (from local rates).

The Scottish Education Act 1872

State aid to Scottish education had been administered through the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in London since 1839. But payment by results had not been introduced in Scottish education in 1862. The terms of reference of the Newcastle Commission in 1858 had limited its investigations to education in England and Wales and it was not until 1867 that a government commission was set up to inquire into Scottish education. This commission under the chairmanship of Lord Argyll, first met in 1864 and it published its report in 1867.[9] Its recommendations were wide-ranging and included the following:

1. A Board of Education should be set up to compile a census of accommodation, supervise building and advise the Committee of Council on the distribution of the grant. This Board would be an administrative body, questions of policy would still be a matter for the Committee of Council.

2. Public elementary schools should be set up, aided by the rates, to "fill the gaps" in areas where educational provision was inadequate.

3. Payment by results should be introduced in Scottish elementary schools.

The Forster Act of 1870 had made it clear that its provisions would not extend to Scotland or Ireland.[10] The government had stated that "a corresponding Scottish measure" would follow in due course and in 1872 an act was passed

> to amend and extend the provisions of the Law of Scotland on the subject of education in such manner that the means of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland.[11]

The new act enabled the implementation of the recommendations of the Argyll Commission. Scotland was to be organised in almost a thousand

school districts and each one of these was to have a school board.[12] As in England, the duty of these boards would be to ensure adequate educational provision in their district. The new boards were empowered both to establish schools and to accept the transfer of existing schools. The main sources of revenue of the boards would be a grant from parliament, a local rate and fees paid by the pupil. The central authority for Scottish education would continue to be the Committee of Council in London and the administration would be carried out by the "Scotch Education Department", located in the offices of the Privy Council. To assist the central authority and the local boards during the early years of the system, a temporary Board of Education was set up in Edinburgh.

The provisions of the 1872 act for Scotland had a similar effect on Scottish education as the Forster Act had on English education. The Act enabled schools to be provided on a planned basis; it removed the onus for school provision from voluntary groups to elected school boards; it provided for the sharing of the cost of education between the central authority, the local authority and the parents. After 1872, Scotland could also be regarded as possessing a nationwide system of education.

After the 1870 Act in England and the 1872 Act in Scotland, the powers of the English and Scotch Education Departments were considerably wider than those of the National Board in Ireland. The National Board had no executive powers (other than in the case of Model Schools); it did not have the power to plan the educational provision of an area or to intervene in the case of areas of inadequate provision.

Powis Commission 1868 - 1870

We have seen in the previous chapter that the government was pleased with the economic effects of payment by results in English schools and that the Chief Secretary, Fortescue, had suggested that the National Board in Ireland consider the possibility of extending this system to Irish schools.[13] In summer 1867, the Chief Secretary, Lord Naas, reiterated the government's belief that such a system would be beneficial to Irish education. He said that

> He believed it would be of the greatest advantage to the national system of education in Ireland if some system of payment by results could be introduced.[14]

He also indicated that he intended to set up a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole system of primary education in Ireland.

The precedent of setting up a Royal Commission before embarking on any major re-organisation of the system of education had been well established in England and Scotland where the Newcastle and Argyll Commissions had preceded the introduction of legislation to reform the systems there. The decision to set up a Royal Commission in Ireland was also prompted by conflicts between the Churches and the National Board in the mid-1860s on the question of the content of school books published by the National Board and by the demands from the Catholic Church for government recognition of a fully denominational system of education.[15] In January 1866, Cardinal Cullen had presented a memorial from the Irish Hierarchy to the Home Secretary, Sir John Gray, calling for the recognition of denominationalism by removing all restrictions on religious teaching in National Schools and by revising the rules of the Board to take account of this. He also demanded the abolition of Model Schools and the recognition of denominational training colleges.[16] In the memorial to Lord Grey, the Irish bishops pointed out that the Irish system was de facto denominational; what they wanted was a formal recognition of this reality. They argued that

> This would be simply to recognise the fact that these schools are denominational and to change the rules of the Board so as to deal with them as such - rules which, so far as regards religious instruction, in this large class of schools, are not merely vexations but absurd; for they prohibit the fullness of religious teaching and all religious teaching during the hours of secular instruction, upon the assumption that the schools are mixed, whereas the pupils are exclusively of one religion or another.[17]

In spite of Lord Naas' announcement in August 1867 that he intended to set up a Royal Commission to inquire into primary education, this commission was not set up until January 1868. In

the meantime, the education issue continued to cause controversy. The outbreak of the Fenian Rebellion in 1867 was linked by Cardinal Cullen to the undenominational nature of the National School system when he stated: "This ought to convince our rulers that education without religious control is well calculated to promote rebellion".[18] The Daily Express deplored the low literacy rate of the population and suggested that lawlessness was linked to lack of education. It called on the government to set up an inquiry into the educational system, stating that

> Ignorance is something more than the negative of knowledge. That it is the fruitful parent of crime the judicial statistics of the empire abundantly prove.[19]

The Royal Commission, set up in January 1868, to inquire into primary education in Ireland, was under the chairmanship of Lord Powis. It consisted of 14 members, 7 Protestant and 7 Catholic. It undertook a major survey of education in Ireland and its report and evidence covered nine volumes. It presented its final report to parliament in 1870.[20]

Four aspects of the Powis Commissioners' deliberations are germane to this thesis. The first is the question of the formal relationship between the National Board and parliament. The Commission felt that steps should be taken to reduce the independence and the power of the Board and it expressed the opinion

> that it is desirable to adopt the present practice of the Committee of Council in England, that no * alterations of any rules, regulations or by-laws should be put into operation until such alterations shall have been laid for one month before both Houses of Parliament, the alterations having been shown in distinctive type.

This recommendation was in keeping with the government's desire to establish the accountability of administrative departments of the public service. Apart from bringing the National Board into line with the English Education Department, such a move would be in keeping with the growing practice of ensuring that Irish departments would be answerable to parliament. During the 1870s all newly

* Revised Code, iii, 150, 1869

formed departments were required to lay their rules before parliament. The Intermediate Board, set up in 1878, was required to lay all its rules before both Houses of Parliament within three weeks of making them.[22] In 1879, when an act was passed under which a pension fund was set up for national teachers the Teachers Pension Office was required to lay "copies of all rules before both Houses of Parliament".[23] When a General Pensions Board was set up in 1877 it was required to obtain the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council to its rules and these rules had to "lie on the table of each House of Parliament for 40 days before being enforced".[24]

The second aspect of the Powis Commission which shall be discussed here is the question of local control and local aid. The Commission found that the system of state aid in support of local initiative which was the basis of the Irish national school system had worked satisfactorily in the previous decades. They found that the country as a whole was well supplied with schools and that the voluntary nature of the system had resulted in adequate educational provision. The population of the country was 5½ million and the number of national schools was approximately 6,500. The Commission reported that "the existing school accommodation has been shown to be very nearly equal to the wants of the people, some districts excepted".[25]

But the Commission was critical of the relatively small amounts contributed to education from local sources and it ~~was~~ recommended that the grants made by the Board to Irish schools should bear "a fixed proportion to the amount locally contributed"[26] and that in default of voluntary local payments, the requisite local contribution should be raised by rate.[27] It was also recommended that if the principle of an educational rate be adopted, such rate should be raised like the poor-rate "which is paid half by the owner and half by the occupier".[28] The suggested amount of this rate was 3d. in the £. The Commission felt that in all, the aggregate local contribution should account for not less than one quarter of the total cost of education in any area.

The Powis commission also recommended that power be given to local authorities to erect schools in areas where the existing

building was the private property of a teacher and where the building was in need of repair or replacement. There was no suggestion that the local authorities should intervene in areas where adequate provision had been made by the churches.

As regards the denominational issue, the Commission felt that the Board's rules should be revised to recognise the reality of the situation in areas where there were at least two schools, one Catholic and one Protestant, with an average attendance of at least 25 pupils in each. It recommended that if both schools had been established for more than three years, then each of the schools should be recognised as a denominational school, and that the rules of the Board should simply safeguard the right of children of a different denomination to absent themselves from religious instruction.[29]

The findings of the Powis Commission in the matter of local control and denominational recognition differed significantly from the findings of the Newcastle and Argyll Commissions on education in England and Scotland. In the first instance, the Powis Commission had found that Ireland was adequately provided with elementary schools whereas England and Scotland had been found to have serious deficiencies in this regard. The question of making arrangements to make good a deficiency in educational provision did not arise to any great extent in Ireland and insofar as it did the solution suggested was similar to the English and Scottish solution, i.e. that local authorities be empowered to build or repair schoolhouses. The recommendation of the Powis Commission that the state recognise the denominationality of the existing schools was in keeping with the system in England and Scotland, which explicitly recognised the denominational nature of existing schools.

Two main factors had contributed to the situation whereby Ireland found itself adequately provided with schools by 1870. The first was the falling population of the country in the aftermath of the famine years. The second was the zeal with which the churches had provided schools for children of their own congregations. These factors meant that the Powis Commission did not feel called upon to recommend, as its fellow-commissioners in England and Scotland had

done, that locally elected school boards be established throughout the country to make good educational deficiencies and to monitor education in every district. In any event, the Powis Commission, representing as it did, the interests of the different denominations in Ireland, was not likely to have suggested changes in the structure of Irish education which would be unacceptable to the churches.

The third aspect of the Powis Commission which concerns this thesis is the question of payment by results. Much of the evidence to the Commission related to this question. Cardinal Cullen favoured the introduction of such a system in most areas of the country but felt that some exceptions might need to be made in very poor areas where attendance of children was low.[30] Bishop Moriarty of Kerry also favoured payment by results but he felt that teachers should also be given a basic salary.[31]

Of particular significance in this regard was the evidence of Patrick Keenan, Chief of Inspection. He was strongly in favour of introducing a system of payment by results in Irish national schools, for the following reasons:

1. He felt that it would benefit junior pupils as it would provide an incentive to their teachers to move them up to higher classes. He pointed out that 45% of all pupils in national schools were in First Book and that only 7% were in Fourth or higher classes.

2. Attendance was very low with only 33% of pupils making 100 or more attendances.

3. He felt that payment by results would stimulate local funding of the school system.

Keenan argued that results fees should be paid in addition to the class salary of teachers and not in lieu of salary as was the case in England. He felt that some part of a teacher's salary should be basic

> to recompense the teacher for his care of the irregular attenders, the idle and the stupid and also with a view to conferring upon him an official individuality [32]

In making this recommendation, Keenan was reflecting the views of

the government on the matter. Lord Naas had made it clear in August 1867 that the government was in favour of payment by results as a supplement to teachers' salaries. He referred to the fact that

> Great objection to it (payment by results) was made because it was thought it might have the effect of diminishing the remuneration of many teachers who were already inadequately paid, and therefore it should be considered whether payment by results should not be supplementary to the salaries at present given.[33]

Although much of the evidence to the Commission favoured the system of payment by results, many witnesses held the opposite point of view. Clergymen of the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches opposed the proposal, arguing that examinations could not measure the value of true education.[34] Four teachers who were called to give evidence, all strongly opposed the introduction of payment by results.[35]

In its final report, the Powis Commission recommended in favour of a system of payment by results combined with class salaries for teachers. It stated that

> to secure a better return for the outlay and labour of the national system, each teacher, besides a fixed class-salary, should receive an addition according to the number of children whom the Inspector, after individual examination, can pass as having made satisfactory progress during the year.[36]

This recommendation took into account both the "English experience" and "the wants and circumstances of Ireland", as had been suggested by Chief Secretary Fortescue four years earlier.[37] Teachers would retain a basic class salary and this would be augmented by results fees based on the success of their pupils at an oral examination at the end of the year.

The fourth aspect of the Powis Commission which shall be referred to briefly here is the question of the organisation of the

National Education Office, or the Official Establishment, as it was referred to by Powis. The findings of the Commission show that by 1868 many of the recommendations of the Monck inquiry of 1855, regarding the work of the office, had been implemented. The work of the office was now carried out by four departments, as suggested by Monck. These were:

I	The Correspondence department	
II	The Accountant's department	(a) Cash Office (b) Book-keeper's Office
III	The Inspection department	(a) Inspection Office (b) Salary Office (c) Registry Office (d) Statistics (e) Agriculture
IV	The Book Office and Stores.	

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The total staff of the office consisted of the Resident Commissioner, two Secretaries, six Heads of Departments and fifty clerks. The reduction in staff suggested by the Monck inquiry would appear to have been attained. The number of different grades of clerks had also been reduced from seven to four; the grades in 1868 being Senior Clerks, and First, Second and Third Class clerks. A uniform scale of salary for clerical staff was also in operation.*

clerks The evidence to the Powis Commission showed that all permanent staff recruited to the staff of the National Education Office after 1858 had been recruited through the Civil Service Commission on the basis of open competitive examination. The procedure followed by the National Board in relation to each appointment was as follows. The Board nominated an equal number of Protestant and Catholic candidates to compete for the vacancy. The candidates were then required to sit an examination set by the Civil Service Commission. Following the examination, the Commission notified the Board of the name of the successful candidate and this man was then appointed by the Board. Before his appointment was ratified the successful candidate was required to produce a satisfactory certificate of age, general good health, moral character and "regular habits".

In the ten-year period between 1858 and 1868 a total of 23

* It is of interest to note that the salaries of First Class Clerks ranged from £315 - £400 p.a; Second Class Clerks received £180 - £280; Third Class Clerks were paid £80 - £170. The average annual

clerkships in the national education office were filled in this way. Of these 23, 19 were Roman Catholics and 4 were members of the Established Church.

In 1868, the six "head of department" posts were distributed equally between Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians - two members of each denomination serving as a head of department. The accountant, James Claridge, and the clerk in charge of the Correspondence department, belonged to the Established Church; P.J.Keenan, joint Chief of the Inspection and Statistical Department and William A. Gordon, Assistant Accountant and Book-keeper, were Catholics; and W.A. Hunter, joint Chief of the Inspection and Statistical department and Arthur Todd, storekeeper, were Presbyterians. But, at a more junior level, the majority of the staff were Catholics. Of the 48 clerks listed in the Board's return to the Powis Commission, 30 were Catholics, 13 were members of the Established Church, 4 were Presbyterians and 1 clerk, J.C. Taylor described himself as a Christian. (Taylor became one of the joint secretaries in the 1880s.)

The Powis Commission made no recommendation about the official establishment. It would appear that the Commission felt that, insofar as this matter was covered by their terms of reference, the procedures and work of the office were satisfactory.

Outcome of the Powis Commission - the question of Educational Legislation

If the government had hoped that the Powis Commission would provide a clear mandate for more direct state intervention in Irish education, it would be disappointed. The Powis Commission did not recommend a transition from an aided to a provided system; nor did it recommend the setting up of local school boards as had happened in England and Scotland. It did not provide a blueprint for legislation as the Newcastle and Argyll Commissions had done. Moreover, its recommendation that the denominational character of Irish education be explicitly recognised would be difficult for the government to implement.

The report of the Powis Commission was welcomed by the Freeman's

Journal, which saw its recommendations as "a very decided step in the right direction, and as such will be received with satisfaction in Ireland".[40] It particularly welcomed the proposals regarding denominational recognition as

> sufficiently ample to secure to all the benefits of the secular education of the schools without danger of interference with religion.

The Catholic bishops immediately started to build up pressure on the government to introduce legislation to implement the section of the report relating to denominational recognition. In November 1870, Bishop Gillooly wrote to Gladstone informing him that the Irish hierarchy would measure the sincerity of the government's concern with Irish education by its willingness to introduce legislation to reform the system.[41] In May 1871, Archbishop MacHale published an open letter to Gladstone informing him that

> no further toleration can be allowed to those delusive and insulting experiments by which it has been sought to win the confidence of the Irish people and to persuade them to acquiesce in alien and anti-national projects of instruction.[42]

In January 1872 the Catholic hierarchy again issued a statement calling for explicit recognition of a denominational system of primary education.[43] This call was supported the following month by Cardinal Manning in England who stated that "a Catholic nation has all right, human and divine, to Catholic Education".[44]

The claims of the Catholic Church were not supported by the Church of Ireland. In January 1872, the Synod of that Church upheld the National School system as then constituted and attacked the Catholic bishops whose demands for a denominational system they described as "ultimately subversive of civil and religious liberty".[45] The Catholic stance was also condemned by the non-conformists in England who had earlier supported the Catholic bishops in their demand for religious equality. The Nonconformist journal put forward the point of view that the government had to be consistent in its approach to education in the United Kingdom as a whole. It stated

that the government had two options

> either to advance in the direction of secular education alike in England and Ireland, or in that of denominational educational endowment in both islands.[46]

By 1872 there was no doubt as to which action the government had taken in relation to Great Britain. It had clearly advanced "in the direction of secular education" in the provisions of the Education Acts of 1870 and 1872 for England and Scotland.

In any event, the terms of the Church Disestablishment Act of 1869 would make it very difficult for the government to give explicit support to denominational education in Ireland. The 1869 Act had just put an end to state support of the Church of Ireland; the government would not wish to introduce legislation which would have the effect of supporting any other denomination or denominations.[47]

In February 1872, Bishop Cullen wrote to Gladstone stressing the urgent need for legislation to reform Irish education. He repeated the "serious grievances" suffered by Irish Catholics in relation to education and informed Gladstone that

> They now expect that their wrongs will be redressed and that through your powerful influence some compensation will be made for past injustice, by establishing a system of public instruction of which Catholics rich and poor may avail themselves for their children, without exposing their faith and morals to danger.[48]

Gladstone replied that he hoped to introduce legislation soon to deal with the matter. He indicated that as soon as the Scotch Act was passed, he would introduce measures for Ireland. He pointed out that each piece of legislation was

> intended to combine as far as circumstances permit, a certain consistency of general principle with a due regard to any peculiar features which each case may present.[49]

In this sentence Gladstone was clearly warning the Irish

hierarchy that any legislation to reform the Irish national school system would be designed to bring the Irish system into line with the systems newly introduced in England and Scotland. Some months later Chief Secretary Hartington emphasised this point more clearly when he wrote that the Catholic bishops

> demand an amount of control on their part over the system of State Education which I do not think the government or parliament would be justified in conceding.[50]

By the early months of 1873 Gladstone had effectively decided to take no action on the question of Irish national education. It was clear that he would not succeed in drawing up legislation which would be acceptable to his own parliamentary supporters and to the Catholic hierarchy. The conflicting demands of these two groups could not be satisfied. Gladstone decided to do

> what the Pope, I think Gregory XVI, did in the case of the Irish National Education, namely, leave each bishop free to take his own course on his own responsibility.[51]

The failure of Gladstone to legislate for Irish national education meant that the status of the National Board in relation to the Irish executive and to parliament was not formalised. It also meant that there was an increasing gap between the theory and the objectives of the National school system as enshrined in the Stanley letter and in the Rules and Regulations of the Board and the reality of the national school system at grassroots level. The lack of legislation also resulted in a continuance of the situation whereby the local contribution to elementary schools was inadequate but the government had no power to insist that this inadequacy be supplemented from local rates.

After 1870 a comparison between the Irish and the English systems of education from an administrative point of view was no longer valid. The Irish system was still an aided one whereas the English Education Department had been given the power to provide schools. The Acts of 1870 and 1872 had made provision for significant increases in local aid to English and Scottish education

through local rates, but no such provision had been made for Ireland. Under the British measures, reduced exchequer funding would go hand in hand with improved educational provision. There was no doubt that the Treasury would become less sympathetic to requests for increased funding of Irish education.

Robert Lowe and R.R.W.Lingen - Political and Permanent Heads of the Treasury

The correspondence between the National Board and the Treasury in the early years of the 1870s, shows that the Treasury was indeed unsympathetic to demands for increased government subvention of Irish elementary education. The recommendation of the Powis Commission that results fees in Ireland should be paid as a supplement to teachers' salaries meant that the introduction of payment by results in Ireland would increase the cost of education, not decrease it, as had been the case in England ten years earlier. Moreover, the government's failure to introduce legislation which would enable a local rate to be levied, meant that this increase would have to be met from government and not local funds.

The situation was not helped by the fact that the political and permanent heads of the Treasury during the period in question were Robert Lowe and R.R.W.Lingen. These men had been Vice-President and Permanent Secretary, respectively, of the Education Department in 1862 and had been instrumental in drawing up the Revised Code under which payment by results had been introduced in England.[52]

Robert Lowe was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868. He was an albino and had been Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council from 1859 to 1864. As an administrator, Lowe was hard-working and efficient. He was an able politician and a fluent speaker. But he was not popular and he provoked widespread antagonism. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was "orthodox in his financial principles and severe in his parsimony".[53] He held the post of Chancellor from 1868 to 1873. In earlier years, Lowe had spent eight years in Australia, where he had played a prominent part in political life. During his time in Australia he had acted as Chairman of the Select Committee to Inquire into Education in

the Colony. In that report Lowe's antagonism to denominational education was evident in the statement that "the first great objection to the denominational system is its expense". He indicated that he favoured an undenominational system of education and recommended that the Stanley letter of 1831 be used as a blueprint for Australian education. He recommended the setting up in Australia of

> Lord Stanley's system of national education, the only plan sufficiently comprehensive to include both Protestant and Catholic. [54]

That report was published in the mid-1840s when it is unlikely that Lowe would have been aware of the extent to which the Irish system was moving towards denominationalism. By the time Lowe had become Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868, he found himself dealing with a system of education in Ireland which was in practice denominational.

In 1870 he appointed his colleague from the Education Department, R.R.W.Lingen, as Permanent Secretary to the Treasury. Lingen had been formally involved in education since 1846 when he and two other commissioners had been appointed by the government to inquire into the state of education in Wales. Their report had been a severe criticism of Welsh education and was regarded by the Welsh as part of a conspiracy to stamp out the language, religion and nationality of the Welsh.[55] In 1847 Lingen became an examiner in the Education Office in London and two years later he was appointed Secretary to the Committee of Council in succession to Kay-Shuttleworth who was forced to resign as a result of ill-health. Key-Shuttleworth had, by the time of his retirement, established a cordial working partnership with the professional educators, their employers and advisers.[56] During Lingen's term of office this friendly atmosphere changed gradually into one of coolness and ultimately into one of hostility. Mary Sturt states that

> Within a few years, Lingen had made himself hated by all the partners in the business of education. His snubbing replies had imprinted on half of the rural parishes of the country a deep conviction that the Education Department

> was their natural enemy. The teachers felt that he was conducting their affairs "without a spark of sympathy, and no further care than that connected with supply demand". His fellow officials detested him. One clerical inspector wrote: "The general treatment of the public and the almost uniform treatment of the Inspectors by the office has been insolent, tyrannical and unwise in the highest degree" ... For twenty years the image of this personality was cast large on the education of the country. [57]

It was Lingen's reputation as a strict economist that resulted in his appointment as Permanent Secretary to the Treasury in 1870. It was said about him that

> he was resolutely determined that the expenditure of public money should be severely checked, and his temptation was to look with a suspicious and grudging eye upon every claim involving an increase of outlay. [58]

Lingen was Permanent Secretary to the Treasury from 1873 to 1885 and during that time he became so unpopular with heads of departments that by the early 1880s Chancellor of the Exchequer, H.C.E.Childers, complained that it was extremely difficult to work with him. Even Gladstone himself admitted that Lingen was a "ferocious economist".[59]

These, then, were the two men who would be responsible for monitoring expenditure on Irish education during the early years of payments by results. Their previous record made it unlikely that they would by sympathetic to demands for increased central funding of Irish education, a system which was in effect a denominational one. Moreover, they would find it difficult to accept that the system of payment by results which they had devised as an economy measure would have the effect of increasing the government vote to Irish education.

Appointment of Treasury Remembrancer, 1870

Lowe's concern with economy was evidenced by a further appointment made by him in December 1870. This was the appointment as

Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland of H. Murray. The post of Treasury Remembrancer had originally existed in Ireland from 1817 to 1837. In 1837 this post was superseded by that of Paymaster of Civil Services in Dublin, a relatively junior post held until 1860 by a Mr. Gray.[60] On his death in that year the office of Paymaster was abolished and from 1860 to 1870 the Pay Office at Dublin was under the charge of a clerk from the General Pay Office in London. In 1870 the Treasury decided to appoint "a special and confidential adviser in Dublin", as they felt that

> the consultative officer, to be of any service, must in that capacity be independent of all authority save the Treasury, in fact that he should, as far as possible, represent the Treasury in Ireland. [61]

The new appointment was

> intended to supply the want which the Treasury had for some time been increasingly experiencing of an officer resident in Dublin to whom they might look for the supply of local information and confidential advice on Irish matters. [62]

The role of the Treasury Remembrancer in relation to the Irish departments was to discuss details of the annual estimates with department heads if clarification was required. The Treasury Remembrancer had no power to take a decision. His function was advisory. If the Treasury in London wanted further details in relation to any financial request the Treasury Remembrancer in Dublin

> undertook the necessary enquiries, and returned the paper to the Treasury with his report and advice; and the Treasury then gave its decision. [63]

The setting up of the office of Treasury Remembrancer in 1870 indicated that the Treasury would henceforth exercise a tighter control of expenditure by Irish departments. The fact that Ireland was removed by some hundreds of miles and an expanse of sea from the Treasury headquarters in London would no longer preserve it from

Treasury scrutiny. One of the first departments to suffer from this closer scrutiny was the Office of National Education in Dublin.

Correspondence with the Irish Executive about Payment by Results

In this section, it will be shown that during the years 1871 and 1872 efforts by the National Board to secure an increase of £100,000 in the parliamentary grant to Irish education for the purpose of introducing results fees were thwarted by the Irish executive and the Treasury. The Treasury's concern was with economy in educational spending, and with this end in view, it was hoped that Gladstone would introduce the promised legislation to reform Irish education and that this legislation, like that passed for England and Scotland, would transfer some of the costs of elementary education from the central exchequer to local rates.

But Gladstone failed to introduce the hoped-for legislation, and the National Board's demands for additional financing occurred in a context where there was no immediate prospect of increased funding for Irish education from the rates.

On 14th January 1871 a special Board meeting was convened to discuss the question of applying to the Treasury through the Lord Lieutenant "for an addition to the sums allowed for the payment of salaries of teachers of national schools".[64] The Board agreed that an average increase

> of at least 50% ought to be made to the remuneration of the teachers of the ordinary schools and that this increase ought to be based on the principles of payment according to results.

It was estimated that this would require an increase in the grant of about £100,000 and it was decided that a preliminary letter should be sent to the government to try and establish if the Treasury would be prepared to agree to this increase.

In early February Chief Secretary Hartington replied that

> he has ascertained that the Lords of the Treasury would not be prepared to sanction so large an increase to the estimates as that recommended (£100,000) until they have the plan before them[65]

and he asked the Board to submit a detailed scheme for the distribution of the increase. By 14th February, two schemes for the distribution of the additional grant had been prepared, one by the Secretary, Dr. Newell,and one by the Chief of Inspection, P.J.Keenan. The Board ordered that both of these schemes should be "privately printed" and circulated to each commissioner.[66] This was done and at a well-attended board meeting on 28th February it was ordered that

> Mr. Keenan's plan be adopted, as far as it makes the payments to the teacher beyond his fixed salary, to depend upon the amount of information acquired by his pupils and the number who have acquired such information.[67]

Only one commissioner dissented from this resolution - Mr. Gibson, a Presbyterian barrister, who had been a member of the Board since 1848. (Gibson had been a member of the Powis Commission and he had voted against the Commission's recommendation that payment by results be introduced.)

Other aspects of Mr. Keenan's plan were rejected by the Board. The Board "declined to consider that portion of Mr. Keenan's plan which deals with the question of local rating" and it also ordered "that the paragraph headed 'Management' be struck out". As no details of the proposals on rating or management are available we do not know how Keenan's scheme might have altered the administrative system of national education. The proposal to introduce rating was not raised again. One of the commissioners, Judge Morris, made an effort to revive the discussion of the managerial system. In April 1871 he gave notice of a motion which he proposed to move

> that the managerial system requires improvement and with the view that the modifications in the relations between manager and teacher recommended by the Primary Education Report be considered and if approved of be adopted.[68]

This motion was voted on by the Board at its meeting of 6th June and following a division, the motion was defeated.[69] Those who voted against the motion asked that their reason for opposing the motion be recorded - their opposition was based on "grounds of its inopportuneness".

In June 1871 the Board was notified by Chief Secretary Hartington that the government was not prepared to sanction the full scheme for the introduction of payment by results in that year. It would approve a limited scheme for third class teachers only - the salaries of those teachers to be supplemented by results fees. This limited scheme, which was estimated to cost £18,573, would be introduced "as a temporary measure".[70] The Board expressed its regret that the government was not prepared to implement the whole plan which they had submitted but they reluctantly agreed to implement the scheme for third class teachers.

The Board was confident that a full scheme of payment by results would be brought into operation in the financial year 1872/73. The education estimates for that year included the provision of over £100,000 for results fees but the Treasury initially refused to sanction this item.[71] At its meeting on 12th March 1872 the Board expressed its "unfeigned disappointment" at the Treasury's refusal and wrote to the Chief Secretary as follows:

> The Board view with the greatest concern the decision of the Lords of H.M.Treasury in relation to the estimate of £104,091 for an increase to the income of the National Teachers. The Board desire to remind Lord Hartington that the claim of the Teachers for an increase of pay has been directly and indirectly acknowledged in various official quarters during the past 8 to 10 years and that the expectation of teachers have received such encouragement that a further postponement of relief would have a baneful effect upon the general operation of the National system. [72]

There is no doubt that the sum of over £100,000 asked for by the Board was a very significant increase. The total parliamentary grant for national education in 1871 had been £408,000. The Board's

demand would require an increase of over 25% in the annual vote.

But the Board was not prepared to accept the refusal of the Treasury to approve this increase. In April Patrick Keenan, who had been appointed Resident Commissioner some months earlier, went to London where he had meetings with Gladstone, the Cabinet and the Treasury in an effort to resolve the impasse.[73] The real reason for the government's reluctance to approve the Board's scheme emerged as a result of these meetings. In July 1872 the Chief Secretary wrote to the Board informing them that the question of introducing the new scheme

> has engaged the most careful consideration of H.M.Government. They have observed, with great regret, the small amount of Local Contribution to the cost of National Education in Ireland.[74]

He then pointed out that this was the reason why the government had earlier refused to sanction the scheme:

> H.M.Government hesitated to sanction a large addition to the amount provided by the State without requiring some increased contribution from local sources.

He reminded the Board that the Powis Commission had recommended the introduction of local education rates in areas where the voluntary local contribution was inadequate and he pointed out that some action would have to be taken to provide for the introduction of local rating. However, he conceded that it might take some time to work out a satisfactory system and he informed the Board that the government would agree to approve the money necessary for results fees "as a temporary measure" for three years

> on the understanding that at the expiration of that time, all questions relating to the position of the Teachers and the relationship of the Parliamentary Grant to Local Contribution should be brought, for reconsideration, before the Government and Parliament.

The additional grant for results fees became available during

the financial year 1872/73 and the new results programme for national schools came into effect that year. The introduction of payment by results involved an increase of over £100,000 in the parliamentary grant for Irish national education in its first year. The grant increased from £408,389 in 1871 to £516,081 in 1872.[75] By 1876 the grant had increased to £645,949 - an increase of 58% in the five year period.[76] In the previous five year period the increase had only been 14%.

The following table gives details of the annual parliamentary vote to national education; the number of schools and the number of pupils in average attendance for the period 1868 to 1874:

TABLE 2.1

Annual Parliamentary Vote; number of Schools and number of Pupils in average attendance, 1868 to 1874

Year	Annual Parliamentary Vote	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils in average attendance	Av.Parliamentary Vote per pupil in average attendance
1868	£301,700	6,586	354,853	£0.85
1869	£380,000	6,707	358,560	£1.06
1870	£394,209	6,806	359,199	£1.10
1871	£408,389	6,914	363,850	£1.12
1872	£516,081	7,050	355,821	£1.45
1873	£542,222	7,160	373,371	£1.45
1874	£565,646	7,257	395,390	£1.43

This table shows that in 1872 when payment by results was introduced, the average parliamentary grant per pupil in average attendance increased from £1.12 - the approximate level at which it had stood for the previous ten years - to £1.45 per pupil. It remained at this figure for the following three years - the years in which the government had agreed to pay the additional parliamentary vote as a

temporary measure.

The controversy over the introduction of payment by results in Ireland indicates the dilemna faced by the government in relation to the question of imposing "a certain consistency of general principles" on the systems of education in Ireland and in Great Britain.[78] The reality of the education system in Ireland differed from that of Great Britain. Ireland was adequately provided with schools, England and Scotland were not. Some action needed to be taken in England and Scotland to make good the deficiencies in school provisions and public opinion was ready to accept the solution introduced by the government - the setting up of local school boards which would be supported by local rates. Such a solution was neither necessary nor acceptable in Ireland and yet without some change in legislation, the burden of educational costs would continue to be carried by the central exchequer. Moreover, the unique system of payment by results which had been developed for Ireland would increase the cost of education by 25%, but local rates were not yet available to alleviate this burden.

The introduction of payment by results in Ireland widened the gap between the amount of state aid given to education in Ireland and in Great Britain. The educational systems of Ireland, England and Scotland evolved along different paths after 1872. Yet the Treasury continued to regard them as comparable systems and used the same norms to compare them. Insofar as the comparision related to per capita costs, the Irish system compared unfavourably with England and Scotland as shall be shown in the next chapter. But as an office of the Civil Service, the National Education Office in Dublin compared favourably with public offices in the rest of the United Kingdom.

Order in Council, 4th June 1870

In 1870, contemporaneously with the publication of the Report of the Powis Commission, the recommendations of the Northcote-Trevelyan report relating to recruitment and organisation in the Civil Service were put into force in an Order in Council dated 4th June 1870.[79] Under this Order a competitive test became obligatory for admission to certain departments and situations of the Civil

Service and the Treasury's role in the co-ordination of the different departments was strengthened. As a result of the Order in Council, the secretary to the Treasury, R.R.W.Lingen, wrote to all government departments, including the Irish National Board, drawing their attention to the provisions of the Order and asking them to classify their staff in a standard form. The National Board complied and classified their staff as follows:

1 Resident Commissioner
2 Secretaries
1 Accountant
2 Chiefs of Inspection
1 Registrar
1 Book-keeper
1 Storekeeper

Clerks under Regulations I

4 Seniors
8 Juniors

Clerks under Regulations II

6 Seniors
12 Juniors
25 Writers
Principal messenger
Assistant messengers
Gatekeeper
Housekeeper

80

It is significant to note that in 1870 there were no "staff officers" on the staff of the National Education Office. Staff officers were administrative officers usually recruited from sources outside the public service without the test of examination at entry. Clerks under Regulation I were recruited by an open competitive examination "of a severe kind" and Clerks under Regulation II were recruited from an examination of a simple kind. "Writers" were described as men without security of tenure or pension rights who, after passing a

simple qualifying examination, were employed on the simplest mechanical duties for a wage of tenpence an hour.[81]

The details given in this return were consistent with the returns submitted to the Powis Commission. They indicated that the clerks employed in the National Education Office had been recruited through competitive examinations and that the provisions of the recently passed Order in Council relating to recruiting procedures would create no problems for the National Board.

Playfair Committee, 1873-75

During the years 1870 to 1874 there was a great deal of confusion in the Civil Service about the classification of staff and that confusion also existed in the National Education Office. An Order in Council dated 19th August 1871 abolished the grade of temporary writers and this led to much discontent in the service generally.[82] A parliamentary committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Otway, which reported in 1873, questioned "the wisdom of the regulations then in force" and sought to undermine confidence in the earlier Northcote-Trevelyan report.[83] The government immediately set up another committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Lyon Playfair and this committee, which consisted of six heads of department and two members of parliament, were instructed to inquire into:

1. The method of selecting Civil Servants
2. The question of transfer of Civil Servants from one department to another.
3. The possibility of grading the Civil Service, as a whole "so as to obviate the inconveniences which result from the difference of pay in different departments".
4. The system under which it would be desirable to employ a class of Writers for duties of less importance than those usually assigned to established Clerks.[84]

The Playfair Committee reported in December 1874 and it basically supported the recommendations of the Northcote-Trevelyan report that recruitment to the Civil Service should be on the basis of open competitive examination. It also felt that there should be clear distinction "between those classes of Clerks who do the higher and more responsible work and those who do the inferior work". There

should be no automatic promotion from lower to higher grades and staff should be appointed

> on the distinct understanding that they have no claim to go beyond the maximum of of the service salary of the grade in which they are placed, and that any further advancement must depend on special official aptitude.

The committee recommended that there should be four basic divisions of staff:

1. Administrative or Staff Officers, who should be chosen by merit from within the Service or from outside and whose number and pay should be fixed with reference to the work of each department.

2. A Higher Division with "remuneration such as would attract men of a liberal education who would otherwise go to the open professions". The pay proposed was £100 p.a. rising to £400 p.a. by triannual increments.

3. A Lower Division recruited by a competitive examination in "subjects included in an ordinary commercial education". Age limits should be fixed at 17 - 20 years, and the salary should start at £80 p.a. rising to £200.

As a reward for special aptitude and "meritorious service" in the performance of specially important work, these scales of pay could be supplemented by "Duty pay" not exceeding £100 p.a. for the Lower Division and £200 p.a. for the Higher Division.

4. A grade of Boy clerks should be set up to superseded the grade of Writers - the boys to be aged from 15 to 17 and recruited "by competitive examination of a very limited character". 85

The Playfair Committee adverted to the fact that in the re-organisation of some departments there would be redundancies. They were also aware that some older members of staff might have to be persuaded to retire and they recommended that some financial incentives be introduced for these older members of staff. A pension scheme was not yet standard in the Civil Service, nor was a retirement age fixed until 1890.

When the report of the Playfair Commission was published it

was considered by the Commissioners of National Education who wrote to the Treasury on 8th April 1875 dissenting from some of the recommendations. They disagreed with the proposal to dispense with the grade of Writers. They also disapproved of the proposals to have two separate and distinct grades of clerks, "the higher not springing from the lower", and two distinct schemes of examination for admission to the public service. They wrote:

> The Board are of opinion that once a man is admitted to the Service he should have free vent for his abilities and be eligible for the highest departmental post to which his success and capacity may fairly recommend him.

They also disapproved of the substitution of duty pay for the old class promotions:

> In the opinion of the Board the system of a definite minimum and a definite maximum for each class, the increments to be earned and awarded on a principle of absolute merit, is preferable to the proposal of a "Service" and a "Duty Pay". A man always knows that if he conducts himself properly and does his duty efficiently he is sure under the former system to reach his maximum. This security is worth an immensity to him. The plan of duty pay would, on the other hand, be one of positive uncertainty to him.

The other disadvantage of duty pay was that it "was attached to the post, not to the man" and if the business was materially modified the duty pay was no longer "properly claimable". The Board's objection to this was as follows:

> The man himself would commit official suicide who would suggest the abolition or material change of his own duties and he might naturally regard any proposal from another in that direction as a personal wrong. 86

Gladstone Committee

Following the setting up of the Playfair Committee in 1873,

the Treasury appointed a committee to inquire into the condition of the Civil Service in Ireland. The members of this committee were W.H. Gladstone, M.P., a Junior Lord of the Treasury, R.J.C. Hamilton of the Board of Trade and H. Murray, Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland. This committee was subsequently referred to as the Gladstone Committee.[87] Its terms of reference were

> to ascertain and report in specific detail office by office of those presented to you by the Irish Government with the concurrence of this Board .....
>
> 1. Whether the arrangement for the conduct of the business of the office are such as to involve an unnecessary expenditure of labour and in what way, such waste, if any, can best be avoided.
>
> 2. Whether the duties of the office properly adjusted are such as to supply each member of the present establishment of officers and clerks with what would be reckoned a full day's work, in a well conducted private office and if not how the establishment should be reduced within proper limits thus defined.
>
> 3. Whether having regard to the duties to be performed and to the facility or difficulty with which a supply of fully competent persons is to be obtained the actual rate of remuneration in each case is adequate, excessive or defective.

The Committee was told that the Treasury believed that

> it will be found practicable to meet every just demand for an increase of remuneration without an increase of the aggregate cost to the public

and they were asked "to conduct your proceedings with this end steadily in view".

As well as the three named members of the Committee, the permanent head of the department being investigated would be appointed ex officio to the Committee "his appointment powers being strictly confined to his own office only .....".

When the appointment of this Committee was announced the National Board wrote to the Treasury asking that any committee inquiring into Irish education be empowered to investigate the conditions and salaries of the clerical and professional staff of the office with a view to granting an increase in their salary and allowances. The Treasury reply to the Board indicated their willingness to institute a general inquiry but warned

> that such inquiry will be conducted with the greatest care not to increase the public burdens by a more general increase of salaries.[88]

The Treasury was determined that re-organisation would not be accompanied by increased costs and stated that

> Proposals from the heads of departments showing cases where it may be proper to raise salaries should also show how this advance may be reconciled by more perfect organisation with the same or diminished total cost.[89]

The Gladstone Committee started its inquiry into the Office of National Education in December 1873 and by March 1874 it had completed its report. Copies of the report were sent to the Chief Secretary "for observations" and to the National Board "for your consideration and remarks".[90] The Board was informed that their comments

> should be in the first instance addressed to the Irish Government who would transmit them to My Lords with any observations on the part of the Lord Lieutenant which His Excellency might desire to make, thereby concentrating the correspondence.[91]

The recommendations of the Gladstone Committee were briefly as follows:

1. Salaries of some grades of clerks should be increased.
2. The dual secretaryship should be abolished and if necessary a second paid commissioner should be appointed.
3. There should be an increase in the number of inspectors employed,

as it was felt that "the work of the District Inspectors is at present and has been unduly severe since the additional grant for Results was sanctioned by Parliament.

4. Model Farms should be disposed of.

5. Fees in Model Schools should be increased.

6. Books and school materials should no longer be supplied below cost. [92]

The Committee felt that the cost of implementing the first three recommendations would be offset by the savings resulting from the last three. Hence, they believed that their proposals would not lead to an overall increase in the vote for national education.

The National Board considered the recommendations of the Gladstone Committee and in December 1874 they wrote to the Irish executive setting out their views on the report.[93] The Board substantively accepted the committee's recommendations except for the proposal that the dual secretaryship be abolished. In this regard they stated

> The Commissioners most respectfully dissent from the statement that the duality in the case of the Secretaries leads to an increase in the number of officers beyond the demand for the work itself. They believe that no evidence to this effect was submitted to the Departmental Committee who enquired into the arrangements of the office. The Commissioners are satisfied that the time of both Secretaries is fully occupied. Their duties are in their nature highly responsible and confidential.

The Chief Secretary supported the Board's views about the abolition of the dual secretaryship and he informed the Treasury that he wished

> to leave untouched for the present this question as well as that raised with reference to the appointment of a second paid Commissioner. [94]

On 2nd December 1874 the Treasury wrote to the Under-Secretary expressing satisfaction that the Irish executive and the National Board were prepared "in the main" to accept the recommendation of

of the Gladstone Committee and giving their approval to the implementation of the necessary changes. The Treasury agreed that the question of the dual secretaryship be temporarily shelved.[95]

The papers relating to the staffing and organisation of the National Education Office during the period 1868 to 1874 suggest that as a department of the Civil Service, the office continued to operate satisfactorily as it had done in earlier decades. The Dublin Office had submitted to the dictates of the Treasury in relation to staffing, salaries and office organisation. The only significant fault found by the Gladstone Committee in 1873 was the same as had been adverted to by the Monck Committee of 1855 - the dual secretaryship. But this was more than a question of office organisation - it was a political matter which the Irish Government was not prepared to confront at this stage.

Summary

Gladstone's First Ministry, from 1868 to 1874, was a ministry of wide-ranging reform in England. The role of the state in the provision of education for the masses was explicitly recognised under the provisions of Forster's Education Act of 1870. Voluntaryism was superseded by the planned and systematic intervention of democratically elected school boards. An aided system was replaced by a provided system. The gaps left by an inadequate denominational system were filled by undenominational school boards. The 1870 Act in England provided a national system of elementary education accessible to all.

Between 1870 and 1880 the number of elementary schools inspected by the Education Department more than doubled from 8,281 to 17,614. The number of pupils enrolled increased from less than 2 million to almost 4 million and the average attendance of pupils as a proportion of enrolment improved from 65% to 70%.[96]

Similar developments occurred in Scotland during the same period. The report of Argyll Commission of 1867 indicated that while in some areas voluntary agencies had not succeeded in providing

sufficient elementary school accommodation, in other areas, duplication of facilities occurred. The solution provided by the government in the Scottish Education Act of 1872 was a system based on the English system. School boards were set up in every district and these boards were entrusted with the task of providing adequate and suitable schools for all Scottish children.

In Scotland the majority of voluntary schools opted to become board schools after 1872. In 1875, 70% of all elementary schools were board schools; by 1880, this proportion had grown to 80%.[97]

Both in England and in Scotland the school boards were empowered to raise funds by levying a local rate for education. This new source of funds resulted in an improvement in the quality and quantity of educational provision without a pro rata increase in the cost to the Central Exchequer.

In the early years of the Liberal Government, similar measures were envisaged for Ireland. But the report of the Powis Commission did not support such a move. There was no shortage of school accommodation in Ireland. Consequently, the question of providing school boards to fill the gaps did not arise. In any event, the concept of undenominational education, inherent in the school boards of England and Scotland, had been tried and had failed in Ireland forty years earlier. What was required in Ireland was a recognition of the de facto denominational system which had evolved by 1870.

But a non-conformist government could not justify legislation which would formally endow denominationalism, particularly since one of the first actions of that same government a year earlier had been the disestablishment of the existing Established Church, the Church of Ireland. The failure of the government to introduce legislation to reform the Irish educational system also meant that no action was taken to solve what the Treasury saw as a major problem in Irish education - the lack of an adequate local contribution. This problem delayed the introduction of payment by results for almost two years and it was only after agreement was

reached that measures would be taken by 1875 to improve the localy contribution, that the government consented to increase the parliamentary vote by almost 25% to enable the new system to be introduced.

Throughout the period, the National Board co-operated with the Treasury in its efforts to introduce a degree of uniformity in the staffing and organisational procedures of Civil Service offices generally. Staff was graded and regraded in the period 1870 to 1874 when conflicting instructions regarding grading of clerks emanated from the Treasury. The situation stabilised again after the Playfair Report of 1873 and in the subsequent investigation of the Irish Civil Service by the Gladstone Committee, the National Board emerged satisfactorily.

Gladstone's first term of office as Prime Minister had been beneficial for Irish education. The per capita parliamentary vote had increased by almost 50% during the period although the extra money granted in 1872 was seen as a temporary increase. The reconsideration of measures to increase the local contribution coincided with the election of a Conservative government in 1874 and we shall see in the next chapter how this affected Irish education.

CHAPTER II - REFERENCES

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CHAPTER III

DIFFERENCES IN EDUCATIONAL FINANCING IN IRELAND AND THE REST OF THE U.K.: 1875 - 1885.

In the last chapter it was shown that educational legislation introduced by the Liberal government in England and Scotland in 1870 and 1872, was designed to solve the many problems highlighted by the Royal Commissions of Inquiry which had reported in the 1860s. In this chapter an effort will be made to identify the extent to which this legislation achieved its objectives. The educational systems of England and Scotland developed along similar though not identical lines in the period in question and the creation of school boards with power to levy a vote for education meant that in Great Britain much of the additional cost of education which resulted from the increase in the numbers of children attending school, was met from local sources, either through the rates or through voluntary subscriptions and school fees.

The Irish educational system also continued to grow during this period. But efforts made by the government to increase the local contribution to Irish education were not as successful as the steps which had been taken in the rest of the United Kingdom to achieve this end. The Treasury's attitude to expenditure on Irish education will be examined in the light of the difference in the proportion of the cost of education met from local sources in the respective countries. During the period in question the budget for Irish national education was subjected to greater Treasury scrutiny than in earlier decades and some effort will be made to distinguish the extent to which this scrutiny was (a) a result of the variation in the relative costs to the government of Irish and British education and, (b) an indication of the growing control of the Treasury over expenditure in all government departments.

Political efforts to restructure Irish administration generally will be briefly alluded to and the indirect effects of this on educational administration will be considered. In spite of much activity both in administrative and political areas in the period

1875 to 1885, the system of Irish education at the end of the decade remained substantively as it had been ten years earlier, although the systems in England and Scotland had undergone radical change.

National School Teachers (Ireland) Act, 1875.

In the last chapter, it was shown that the introduction of payment by results in Ireland added over £100,000 p.a. to the parliamentary grant for Irish education. The payment of the additional grant was agreed by the government in 1872 as a temporary measure for a period of not more than three years on condition that at the end of that time some action would be taken to improve the local contribution to national education.[1]

In summer 1875 the Chief Secretary, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach announced in parliament that

> the time had come to check the increase of government payment for Irish education without a corresponding payment from local sources .....[2]

He went on to give details of the measures proposed by the government to improve the local contribution towards national education. An extra grant of £120,000 would continue to be paid by the government for national education, as it had been since 1872, but the payment of part of this grant would be conditional on matching local funds being made available from local rates. The mechanism under which these rates would be collected was set down in the National School Teachers (Ireland) Act of 1875.[3] Under the terms of the Act, the Poor Law Unions throughout the country were enabled to levy a rate for national education if they chose to do so. Those Unions which opted to collect the rate were called "contributory unions", and those which did not, were called "non-contributory unions". The Local Government Board was empowered to act as the intermediary between the guardians of the Poor Law Unions and the National Board in relation to the collection of the rates. The Local Government Board would invite each Poor Law Union to become a contributory union and to contribute "out of the rates for the destitute poor", a sum equal to one-third of the estimated results fees required for that

union. The union would then transfer the amount collected to the Local Government Board which would in turn credit such contributions to the account of the National Board. The procedure set down under the act was administratively cumbersome.

The terms of the act were permissive not compulsory. Each Poor Law Union had the option of becoming contributory or remaining non-contributory. But teachers in non-contributory unions suffered. If a Poor Law Union decided not to contribute, the teachers in that union would be paid only a third of the fees earned by the pupils' examination results.

The teachers objected strongly to the terms of the act. They had no control over whether a union decided to become contributory or not, yet their income was effected by the decision of a union. The I.N.T.O. put pressure on the government to amend the act and in 1876 an amendment was passed which allowed one-half of the results fees to be paid to teachers in non-contributory unions provided that at least three shillings and four pence per child per annum in average attendance was contributed locally. In 1880, a further amendment allowed the National Board to match whatever amount local sources could raise in non-contributory unions, even if this fell below 50% of the amount earned in results' fees.[4]

The 1875 Act was not a success. More than half of the Poor Law Unions opted to remain "non-contributory" unions. Of the 163 Unions in Ireland, only 73 were ever at any time "contributory".[5] The following table gives details of the amounts collected from local rates and from fees and subscriptions during the period 1875 to 1888. It also shows the total amount available for national education (parliamentary vote plus local contribution) and shows local contribution as a proportion of total funds.

TABLE 3.1

Total funds available for national education; local contribution from rates, fees and subscriptions, and local aid as a proportion of total funds, 1875 to 1888.[6]

Year	(a) Total Funds (Parliamentary grant + Local Contributions)	(b) Local Contribution			(b) as % of (a)
		Local Rates	Fees and Subscriptions	Total	
	£	£	£	£	
1875	752,147	27,918	84,860	112,778	15%
1876	784,135	30,500	107,686	138,186	18%
1877	786,301	21,688	119,377	141,065	18%
1878	802,048	16,791	125,420	142,211	18%
1879	820,891	12,805	126,258	139,062	17%
1880	862,507	8,324	131,817	140,141	16%
1881	872,112	9,840	132,404	142,244	16%
1882	876,753	11,906	134,386	146,292	17%
1883	878,026	14,404	137,284	151,687	17%
1884	913,385	11,957	145,401	157,358	17%
1885	973,519	14,434	145,083	159,516	16%
1886	1,015,835	16,689	147,173	163,862	16%
1887	1,040,422	15,898	150,473	166,371	16%
1888	1,065,355	17,684	149,146	166,830	16%

The above details show that the highest annual amount collected from local rates was £30,500 in 1876, i.e. less than 4% of the total amount spent on national education. The combined local contribution towards national education (local rates, fees and subscriptions) accounted for no more than 18% of the total expenditure in any one year.

The failure of the National School Teachers' Act of 1875 was in start contrast to the success of the 1870 Act in England. In 1883 the Proportion of local aid to current expenditure in Ireland (excluding maintenance of buildings) was 16%. A detailed study that year made available figures for local aid which included maintenance and repair of premises and receipts from sale of school books and these

figures indicated that the total proportion of local aid to national school expenditure in Ireland computed in the most favourable way possible was 21.7%. The comparable figure in England was 55.1%.[7] This comparison was computed on the following basis:

TABLE 3.2

Income and Expenditure on National Education in Ireland showing parliamentary grants and local contributions separately, 1883.

Income of Schools from Local Sources:-		
Subscriptions and Endowments		40,453
Rates (Contributory Unions)		11,906
School Pence (i.e. fees)		93,933
Repairs of premises, etc. etc.		28,311
TOTAL		£174,603
Add estimated amount of receipts from pupils in purchase of requisites (say)		25,000
		£199,603
Expenditure per appropriation account 1882/3:-		
Public Education Ireland	713,698	
Rates, Buildings, Stationery, Audit etc.	39,718	
	753,416	
Deduct receipts paid to Exchequer	35,553	
		719,863
Total Grants and Local Aid		£919,466
Percentage of Local Aid to total		21.7

TABLE 3.4

Income and Expenditure on elementary education in England and Wales, showing parliamentary grants and local contributions separately, 1883.

Income of Schools from Local Sources:-		
Endowments		154,161
Rates		840,947
Voluntary Contributions		717,089
School Pence:-		
From Pupils		1,621,021
From Guardians		38,721
Other Sources		65,012
		£3,436,951
Expenditure per Appropriation Account 1882/3		
Public Education (England & Wales)	2,788,989	
Rent, Buildings, Stationery, Audit	14,787	
		2,803,776
Total Grants and Local Aid		£6,240,727
Percentage of Local Aid to Total		55.1

Five years later it was estimated that a total of £6,827,189 was spent on elementary education in England and that the government grant was £2,866,700, or about 42%.[8] The same year the government grant for Irish education was exactly twice that proportion, 84%.[9]

It can be seen from these figures that the act of 1875 was not effective in solving the problem of inadequate local contribution which had been pointed out by the government and the Treasury in 1872. The greater proportion of the cost of national education in Ireland continued to be paid from central funds in the 1870s and 1880s and this factor widened the gap between the financing of Irish and English education.

The average cost per pupil of elementary education in England was just over £2 in 1883 and in Ireland it was just below £2 per pupil. But because the local contribution in England represented such a large proportion of the cost, the average parliamentary grant per pupil in average attendance in England was only £0.92. In Ireland the comparable government grant amounted to £1.53 or 66% more than in England.[10] It was not surprising then that the Treasury would like to have seen an improvement in the amount of local aid contributed to Irish education.

Multiplication of Small Schools

Another area in which the gap between the Irish and British systems widened was in relation to the number and size of schools. The acts of 1870 and 1872 in England and Scotland effectively ended the development of a denominational system and thereby controlled the growth of schools. The school boards set up under these acts were charged with planning the educational provision of their area. The boards would decide what the optimum number of schools in their area would be and this total figure would include denominational schools and board schools. Once this optimum number of schools was reached, no further schools would be recognised in a district.

In Ireland no such provision existed and the number of schools supported by the National Board continued to grow. In 1870 there were 6,806 schools operating in the country.[11] By 1885 the number had increased to 7,934.[12] The number of pupils in average attendance had also increased from 359,199 to 502,454. The following table gives details of the number of schools and the number of pupils in average attendance from 1870 to 1885.

TABLE 3.5

Number of National Schools and pupils in average attendance 1870-85.[13]

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils in Average Attendance	Average size of School
1870	6,806	359,199	53
1871	6,914	363,850	53
1872	7,050	355,821	50
1873	7,160	373,371	52
1874	7,257	395,390	54
1975	7,267	389,961	54
1876	7,334	416,586	57
1877	7,370	418,063	57
1878	7,433	437,252	59
1879	7,522	435,054	58
1880	7,590	468,557	62
1881	7,648	453,567	59
1882	7,705	469,192	61
1883	7,752	467,704	60
1884	7,832	492,928	63
1885	7,934	502,454	63

Whereas the number of schools had continued to increase in Ireland after 1870, the situation was reversed in Scotland by the 1872 act. Before the act was passed there were over 5,000 schools in Scotland; by 1879, the number had fallen to 3,893.[14] The situation in England was somewhat different. The number of schools there had more than doubled from 8,281 in 1870 to 17,614 in 1880.[15] But the average size of school in England was more than twice the size of the average Irish school.

This point was made by the Treasury in the mid-1870s, when the attention of the National Board was drawn to the discrepancy between the average size of school in Ireland and in the rest of the United Kingdom. The Treasury pointed out that in 1875 the average school size in Ireland was 53; in England and Wales it was 135, and in Scotland it was 111. The following figures were

produced by the Treasury to indicate the differences in the three countries.[16]

TABLE 3.6

Comparative statistics for Ireland, England and Scotland, showing estimated population; estimated number of children of school age; number of primary schools and number of pupils in average attendance, 30 June 1875.

30 June 1875	England & Wales	Scotland	Ireland
Est.population	23,944,459	3,495,214	5,309,494
Est.no. of children of school age	4,788,892	699,043	1,061,899
No. of primary schools	14,140	2,900	7,267
No. of pupils in average attend.	1,911,558	322,974	389,961
Proportion of children of school age in average attendance	40%	46%	37%
Average size of school	135	111	53

In spite of the fact that Ireland had more than twice the number of schools in proportion to its population than Scotland and England, the proportion of children of school age in average attendance at school was lower in Ireland than in either of the other two countries.

The comparison with Scotland was seen by the Treasury as particularly relevant. Geographical and demographic factors were similar in Scotland and Ireland, yet the average school size in Scotland was greater than in Ireland and the proportion of children attending school was higher. In this regard D.H.Akenson states that the Treasury

> seemed unable to realise that Ireland was neither England or Scotland and that the religious situation in Ireland and the educational precedents established prior to the 1870s made larger schools impossible.[17]

It is likely that the Treasury was well aware of the difference between Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom. But the Treasury was also aware that the Act of 1872 in Scotland had called a halt to the proliferation of denominational schools. The role of the Treasury was clearly defined as controlling the expenditure of the different government departments and introducing an element of uniformity in the administration of the different votes. It was inevitable that the Treasury would continue to make comparisons between the systems of education in Ireland and in the rest of the United Kingdom.

The role of the Treasury had in any event been strengthened in this regard by a recommendation of the Playfair Committee which had reported in 1875. This committee had recommended that more power should be vested in the Treasury and had stated:

> We are of opinion that the position(of the Treasury) in relation to other Departments should be as strong as possible; that it ought to have the means of making itself accurately acquainted with the wants and conditions of the other Departments; and that it should thus, whilst acquiring their confidence, be able to exercise an effecient and intelligent control. These objects, might, we believe, be attained if the Treasury were from time to time, in revising the several offices, to summon to its aid a small Committee or Council composed of Heads of Departments who would thus bring the experience of one office to bear on another and assist in introducing such an amount of uniformity as is practicable and desirable.[18]

This recommendation was seen by the Treasury as justifying its interference in the details of the administration to its vote for National Education both in regard to its "bringing the experience of one office to bear on another" - in particular the experience of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Britain - and in introducing an element of uniformity in the administration of the vote

of the vote.

Order in Council, 12 February 1876 and Re-organisation of National Education Office

Some of the recommendations of the Playfair Committee were embodied in an Order in Council on 12 February 1876.[19] The Order in Council was concerned more with the details of clerical appointments within the Civil Service than with the relative powers of different departments. The main effect of the Order was the creation of a new grade of clerk - to be called a Lower Division Clerk - but the Order also indirectly empowered the Treasury to investigate the staffing of the different departments. The old grade of Writer was abolished and this necessitated re-organisation of many departments, including the National Education Office in Dublin.

Only two years had elapsed since the Gladstone Committee had reported favourably on the staffing and organisation of the Dublin Education Office, yet by 1876 significant increases in staffing had occurred. In the two year interval the number of clerks employed had increased from 58 to 83 - an increase of over 40%. Much of this increase had been necessitated by the extra work involved in collecting and distributing the Poor Law rates under the Act of 1875, an Act which as we have seen earlier contributed less than £30,000 to the funds available for national education. The National Board justified the increase in their staff as follows:-

> Since 1874, short as is the interval, the development of the National system has been .. rapid ... The introduction of the Contributory Rating Act, of the Teachers' Residences Act, of various minor regulations, and the expansion of the Results system have increased the work of the office to a very great extent. [20]

The cost of the official establishments, i.e. salaries of staff, allowances etc., had increased from £17,539 in 1871 to £22,679 in 1876 - an increase of almost 30% in the five year period.[21] However, this increase was proportionate to the increase in the parliamentary grant during the same period.

Following negotiations between the National Board, the Irish

executive and the Treasury in May and June 1876 it was agreed that the clerical staff of the office should be reconstituted, taking into account the provisions of the Order in Council of February 1876, and that the clerical staff should be re-organised with a view to ultimately achieving the following numbers in each grade or class.[22]

1	Book-keeper
10	First Class Clerks
1	Store Keeper
30	Second Class Clerks
1	Pay Clerk
19	Lower Division Clerks
21	Copyists
TOTAL 83	

Appointment of Financial Assistant Secretary in the National Education Office

When this agreement had been reached, the Treasury decided once again to raise the question of the dual secretaryship.[23] This time the issue was raised in the context of appointing a senior official who would be directly responsible for drawing up the annual estimates and ensuring that the Board's expenditure during the year would be strictly in accordance with these estimates. The Treasury alleged that the Board was not sufficiently careful on this score and stated that

> a not illiberal grant was, during the last financial year, largely exceeded without due warning to this Board (i.e. the Treasury) and without, as it seems to my Lords, an adequate effort being made to check the rate of expenditure so as to bring it more within the limits of the Vote .....

The Treasury was not satisfied that sufficient care had been taken "either in framing the estimate, or in regulating the expenditure" and they expressed grave doubts

> as to whether the arrangements now subsisting are such as to secure a satisfactory financial control over the expenditure in that Department. [24]

They suggested that the financial arrangements of the Board be re-organised and that

> one officer of high and comparatively independent rank (be appointed) ... responsible for such details and .... entrusted with the duty of preparing the Estimates and regulating the expenditure so as to keep it within the bounds of the provisions made for each branch of the service.

They recommended that one of the joint secretaryships be abolished and that the new officer in charge of the Board's finances be called "a Junior Secretary and Accountant".

The reaction of the Board to this suggestion was mixed. The Commissioners had no objection to appointing a special officer in charge of finances but they were not prepared to abolish one of the secretaryships. They reiterated their statement made two years earlier in regard to the necessity for two secretaries. However, they were prepared to compromise; they would agreed to the appointment of a "Chief of Finance", and to a regrading of the posts of secretaries as junior and senior secretary.[25]

The Chief Secretary,Hicks-Beach, accepted the suggestion of the Board and on 16th October he wrote to the Treasury proposing the compromise put forward by the Board. In December, the Treasury accepted this compromise and Lingen wrote to Hicks-Beach stating that the Treasury was

> pleased to approve of the appointment of an officer, to be called Financial Assistant Secretary, in place of the present Clerk in charge of accounts, at a salary of £650 by £25 to £750 p.a. [26]

The letter continued

> My Lords, in selecting this officer's title, and in fixing so high a salary for him, intend to mark the importance and to a certain extent the independence (subject of course, to the Commissioners) of his position.

They would rely upon the Board

> to select for this situation some gentleman not only of tried ability, but who is still in the prime of life, who will come fresh to the work, and may be expected to conduct with undiminished energy for some considerable number of years.

The new appointments were made on 1 February 1877. J.C.Taylor became Senior Secretary and M.S.Seymour became Junior Secretary. The new Financial Assistant Secretary was Mr. Young. To enable these appointments to be made, Mr. Kelly, Secretary, and Mr. Claridge, Accountant, were asked to resign. Mr. Kelly was 68 years of age and Mr. Claridge was 70. Both of them had been employed by the Board since 1833.[27]

Treasury Policy in the 1870s.

The appointment of the Financial Assistant Secretary was a clear indication of the Treasury's determination to maintain a tight control over the expenditure of the National Board. Estimates would have to be framed more carefully and the Board would have to ensure that no overspending occurred under any of the sub-heads of the vote. The requirements of the Exchequer and Audit Act of 1866 would have to be adhered to in relation to the practices and procedures of the National Board.

A number of examples occurred in the 1870s and 1880s of Treasury questioning of the expenditure of the National Board. Among these were the insistence of the Treasury in 1874 that grants for teachers' residences should not be greater than 50% of the cost and that the local contribution should be 50% and not 33% as requested by the Board.[28] In 1875, the Treasury suggested that fees in Model Schools be increased. In 1878, the Treasury insisted that the Board reduce the results fees paid for extra subjects in National

schools by £62,000 on the grounds that the newly established Intermediate Board provided for these subjects and that the National Board no longer needed to encourage the teaching of these subjects.[29] The Treasury letter included the following statement

> Parliament having granted a libera lscheme of Intermediate Education for Ireland, perhaps the Commissioners will consider that it is no longer necessary for them to make an effort to have many of the extra subjects now set out in their school programme and not perhaps properly appertaining to the instruction given in Elementary Schools for the independent poor, taught and paid for by the State.

In 1881 the Treasury refused to allow teachers who had received a retirement gratuity to return to the teaching service on any terms whatsoever.[30]

D.H. Akenson maintains that the annual scrutiny of the Board's estimated by the Treasury became more searching during these years.[31] He instances examples of the Treasury's efforts to reduce the annual estimates and accuses the Treasury of "seriously hamstringing" the operation of the National Board. This annual questioning of estimates should be seen in the broader context of Treasury policy in relation to the expenditure of all government departments. The Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in England between 1878 and 1880, Lord George Hamilton, also complained about the Treasury's actions.[32] He was a meticulous Vice-President and shortly after taking up office, he decided to cut down on all unnecessary expenditure in the Education Department. He went carefully through the estimates of his department for 1879/80 and omitted a number of items, submitting to the Treasury only what he believed to be absolutely necessary. He described the outcome in his autobiography:

> I received a reply from the Treasury to the effect that the estimates must be reduced by £10,000. I wrote back pointing out that I had already reduced them by more than that amount, and I asked on what ground this demand was made. In reply I was informed that it always had been the practice of the Treasury to cut down education estimates by £10,000 and to that rule they intended to adhere.

The Treasury maintained that it had a duty to question the expenditure of government departments generally. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury, R.E.Welby, wrote in 1879 that he regarded the Treasury as

> the chief and superintendent of a body of departments which collects the revenues and generally conducts the financial operation of the state ..... [33]

He asserted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer

> is justified in requiring his colleagues to show the reasons which lead them t o propose increase of expenditure and if not satisfied he may refuse his sanction leaving them to appeal to the Cabinet if they cannot acquiesce.

The Treasury could also use discretion in deciding which of a number of demands on a limited budget should be satisfied. An officer of the Treasury could

> exercise a judgement as to which of the departmental demands before him is most pressing, and can give it a preference.

This interpretation of the Treasury's power gave freedom to its officials to make a value judgement in relation to the relative importance of various schemes submitted by a department. This intrusion by the Treasury into the realm of policy-making was resented by many departments.

Parliamentary Vote to Irish Education 1875-1885

In spite of what may have appeared to be a closer scrutiny of the National Board's annual accounts in the 1870s and 1880s, the annual parliamentary vote to Irish education continued to increase in the period 1875 to 1885. This increase was matched by an increase in the average attendance of pupils so that the average grant per pupil in attendance remained stable during the ten-year period at around £1.55, as the following figures show:[34]

TABLE 3.7

Annual parliamentary grant to national education, number of pupils in average attendance and average grant per pupil in average attendance; 1875-1885.

Year	Parliamentary Grant	No. of Pupils Av.Attendance	Av. Grant per pupil
	£	£	£
1875	639,368	389,961	1.64
1876	645,949	416,586	1.55
1877	645,236	418,063	1.54
1878	659,837	437,252	1.51
1879	681,829	435,054	1.57
1880	722,366	468,557	1.54
1881	729,868	453,567	1.61
1882	730,461	469,192	1.56
1883	726,339	467,704	1.55
1884	756,027	492,928	1.53
1885	814,003	502,454	1.62

However, given that the parliamentary vote per pupil in average attendance was 66% higher for Ireland than for the rest of the United Kingdom, Ireland had little to complain about.

Revised Code of 1872 in England

We have already seen that the provisions of the 1870 Act in England resulted in a significant growth in the number of schools and pupils in the country between 1870 and 1880. The number of schools and pupils more than doubled in the period and the amount of the parliamentary grant increased from £894,561 to £2,487,667.[35] The growth in the numbers of schools and teachers inevitably caused an increase in the work of the Education Office and the staff of the office grew from 73 permanent clerks in 1869 to 174 in 1879. The Treasury was reluctant to allow this increase of staff to continue and in 1879, Lingen wrote to Sandford, Permanent Secretary to the Education Department that

> My Lords cannot but view with uneasiness the apparently unlimited extension which is being allowed, year after year, on one plea or another,

to the numbers and cost of the Education Department.[36]

The following year an inquiry was carried out by the Public Accounts Committee on the expenditure of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education.[37] This enquiry was carried out at the request of the Comptroller and Auditor General. The Public Accounts Committee recommended that the Code of the Committee of the Privy Council be simplified to enable a more economic distribution of funds and in 1882 the president of the committee, Earl Spencer and its vice-president,Mundella, produced the Revised Code of 1882. Under this code three significant changes were introduced in the Education Department's rules for administering the parliamentary vote.[38] Instead of computing the amount of the results fees earned by each teacher on the basis of individual pupils' examinations, fees would henceforth be based on the percentage of passes obtained by the class. For example, if 100% of pupils passed, each child would earn 100p., i.e. 8"3d; if only 50% passed then the per capita grant would be 50p, i.e. 4'2d. The attendance requirement was changed from a minimum of 250 attendances for every child presented at examination to a requirement that the children should be on the register for at least six months prior to the examination. The third change was the introduction of a "Merit grant", "which would serve to distinguish between the good and the merely competent".

The Revised Code of 1882 simplified the work of the Education Department.[39] The clerical staff and the examiners no longer had to check the attendances of individual pupils nor to identify the number of subjects passed by each individual pupil. But from an educational point of view the provisions of the Revised Code caused many problems. The Code gave additional power to the inspectors and some inspectors interpreted the new Code so rigidly as to make life very difficult for the teachers. But, while the 1882 Code may not have been popular with the teachers it was effective in achieving the objectives of the Treasury - the simplification of the work of the office and the reduction of administrative costs.

It is relevant to note that the framers of the Revised Code

of 1882 were Earl Spencer and A.J.Mundella, President and Vice-President of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. The author was undoubtedly Mundella, but he worked closely with Spencer who fully supported the approach adopted by Mundella.[40] Spencer was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in April 1882.

Report on the possibility of greater economy in the administration of Irish National Education, 1884.

We have seen in the previous section that the revision of the English Code in 1882 was prompted by a Treasury suggestion that the system of administering the education vote be simplified in order to reduce expenditure on administration. Following the simplification of the Code in England the Treasury made efforts to put pressure on the Irish National Board to introduce similar economies in its administration of the National Education vote.[41] In December 1883 the Treasury wrote to Dublin Castle suggesting that the Irish national education system could be simplified in the same way as the English office and stating that

> it appears to my Lords to be deserving of consideration whether the Commissioners of National Education might not usefully communicate with the English Department upon this subject, in relation among other points to greater facility in meeting the demands of the Comptroller and Auditor General.[42]

In February 1884 the Commissioners of National Education

> expressed their readiness to avail themselves .... of such additional means of simplifying the work as might be found practicable on communication with the English Department.[43]

They asked the Secretary to the Board to investigate the matter and in June 1884 J.C.Taylor submitted to Resident Commissioner Keenan a 300-page confidential report comparing in great detail the administration of National Education in Ireland with that of primary education in England.

The report stated at the outset that there were a number

of basic differences between the educational systems of England and of Ireland - differences which made it difficult to compare the two systems. The National Board was much more involved in administrative details than the English office because of the difference in the structures of education in the two countries, and this led to a greater volume of work in the Dublin Office than in the London Office. For example, almost 143,000 pieces of correspondence came in to the Dublin Office each year as against 137,000 into the London Office; and the Dublin Office sent out 217,000 pieces of correspondence whereas the London Office sent out 142,000 pieces of correspondence. Much of the complexity of the administration in Dublin stemmed from the fact that Irish national teachers received a class salary in addition to payment by results,whereas the total state payment to English teachers was on the basis of results. Moreover, the Irish Office had responsibility for the following areas which the English Office did not.

1. Model Schools
2. Gratuities for monitors or pupil-teachers.
3. Agriculture department.
4. Books, apparatus and school requisites.
5. Loans or grants for teachers' residences.

None of these areas were administered directly by the Education Department in England. The concept of model schools was unique to Ireland; agricultural schools were not aided by the English Department. The English Department did not involve itself with books or school requisites nor with grants or loans for teachers' residences.

6. Stoppages for premiums for pensions. Under the provisions of the Teachers' Pensions Act of 1879, a special office had been established in Dublin Castle, administered directly by Treasury officials, for the payment of pensions to Irish national teachers. Teachers' pensions were partly funded by the income from capital of £1,300,000 from the Church Disestablishment Fund, and partly from deductions from teachers' salaries. The National Education Office was responsible for computing and making these deductions. There was no

comparable teachers' pensions scheme in operation in England.

7. Building grants for new schools and improvements. These grants were administered by the National Board in conjunction with the Commissioners of Public Works. In England, capital grants from the central exchequer had been abolished under the Act of 1870. Capital projects were the responsibility of school boards there.

8. Ensuring that the fundamental rules of the National Board in relation to religious instruction were complied with. The National Board maintained that since it was the duty of the National Education Office to ensure that

> no attempts shall be made to interfere with the peculiar religious tenets of any description of Christian pupils

a great deal of additional work devolved on the inspectors and on the office staff in this regard. School timetables had to be checked to ensure that they were compatible with this rule, and the Board had to exercise control over the content of schoolbooks, not only secular, but religious as well. As a result, "duties of a delicate and critical nature often devolve on inspectors and office staff". On the other hand, no such administrative duties devolved on the English Office. The Conscience Clause of the 1870 Act was straightforward and simply required a certificate to be signed by school managers there to the effect that

> this school, is and will henceforth be conducted as a public elementary school within the meaning of the Elementary Education Act, 1870 (section 7)

9 & 10. Inspection of Workhouse and Industrial Schools. Industrial and Workhouse schools were administered by the Home Office in England and not by the Education Department. Consequently, the English Department was exempt from responsibility in this area, whereas the inspectors of the National Board in Ireland were responsible for inspecting Workhouse and Industrial Schools.

As a result of the additional areas administered by the Irish National Board, the cost of administering the vote in Ireland was almost three times greater per pupil in average attendance, than the

cost of administering the vote for England and Scotland. The total staff in the English Office was 277 and the annual cost of administration was £61,430 and a school attendance of 3,598,865, an average cost of 4.25d per pupil in average attendance. In Ireland the Education Office staff consisted of 121 clerks and the cost of running the official establishment was £24,641. The average daily attendance of pupils in Ireland in 1883 was 467,704 and the cost per pupil was 12½d, i.e. three times the cost of administration in the London Office.[44]

The report contained full information on the type of work carried out both in the London Office and the Dublin Office; it described in detail the responsibilities of each member of staff and the procedures followed in the different sections of both offices. It found that the Dublin Office was organised in four sections; I Inspection branch; II Accounts branch; III Correspondence branch; IV Stores department. The work of the London Office was subdivided among 12 divisions, each in charge of a senior member of staff.

The staff of the Dublin Office had increased by over 50% since the re-organisation of the office in 1876 despite the efforts of the Treasury in that year to introduce a scheme of rationalisation. In 1884, there were a total of 121 clerks on the staff instead of the 83 agreed under the "Playfair Scheme" of 1876. The following figures compare the staff in 1884 with the staff as proposed in 1876.[45]

TABLE 3.8

Details of the clerical staff of the National Education Offices in 1876 and 1884

	Staff proposed under Playfair Scheme of 1876	Actual staff in 1884
Book-keeper	1	1
First class clerks	10	11
Storekeeper	1	1
Second class clerks	30	20
Pay Clerk	1	1
Lower division clerks	19	37
Copyists	21	50
TOTAL	83	121

The report went to great lengths to justify the positions of every member of staff. Taylor could not envisage any major change either in the system of payment of grants to schools or in the overall organisation of the office. Despite the specific request of the Treasury that the Irish system be examined in the light of changes made in England under the 1882 Code there is no indication that the report made any real effort to identify whether such changes could realistically be introduced in Ireland. The only recommendations made in the rep ort related to points of detail regarding the internal organisation of the Dublin Office. It was recommended:

1. That a new Branch be set up in the office in Dublin to take over responsibility for teacher training; agriculture; model schools; statistics; and the examinations of teachers and monitors.

2. That the Inspectors be asked to draft the letters to managers and teachers arising out of their visits to schools. This would be in line with the practice in England and would reduce the time spent by copyists in the office. If this change were effected "several copyists could be dispensed with making a saving of £1,022".

3. That the clerical staff adopt a seven-hour day system instead of the six-hour day worked prior to 1884. The adoption of a seven-hour day had been recommended in the Playfair Report but had not been forced on any Irish department. If a seven-hour day were adopted, the extra work of the new Branch could be carried out without an increase in staff "nor could the seventh hour be a weariness to any healthy man". The report felt that there would be no great difficulty in adjusting remuneration. An increase in the number of hours worked would reduce the number of copyists by about seven men and seven boys "representing a saving of £987". The Lower Division Clerks could claim an extra £15 p.a. each for working the seventh hour (Order in Council of February 1876), but this cost could be met out of the savings in Copyists wages. A "moderate addition" might be granted to the Second Class Clerks and the First Class Clerks might be left free to attend six hours as before.

4. It was also recommended that adequate facilities be made available for obtaining warm food "according to the constitutional needs of the Clerks". This facility was available in the English office:

> There seems every reason why the enormous staff in this Department should receive similar treatment and have luncheon cooked on the premises.

It was proposed that a basement room be fitted up as a kitchen by the Board of Works and that the clerks would supply the materials for their luncheon at their own charge. The recommendations concluded:

> A staff of well fed men with good vital force may, it is hoped, be maintained under such an arrangement who will not regard honest work for seven hours as a strain upon their energies.

The report was completed in December 1884 and was signed by J.C.Taylor, Secretary to the Board, who expressed himself

> conscious of the great difficulty of the task attempted .... and of the impossibility of reducing the expenditure on administration and inspection to the English rate.

The fact that Taylor found it impossible to reduce the expenditure on administration and inspection indicates the futility of asking any department to report on its own efficiency. It was extremely unlikely that any head of department would recommend the reduction of his own staff and Taylor was no exception. His recommendations were insignificant in the light of the major study which he had undertaken. The report is an interesting study of administrative procedures and working conditions in Civil Service offices in Dublin and London in the 1880s; it also makes enlightening comparisons between the systems of education in Ireland and in Great Britain. But is does not appear to have had any effect on the administrative structure of National Education. There is no indication that Taylor's report ever left the Education Office in Dublin. No reference to it has been found either in the Chief Secretary's papers in Dublin Castle or in the Treasury records in London. Perhaps it was felt that those

areas of the report which had shown the considerable extra cost involved in administering the Irish educational system as compared to the British system, could be used by the Treasury against the National Board and that it was therefore decided to maintain a degree of discretion in the dissemination of the report's findings. There is no doubt that material that admitted that the cost of administering elementary education in Ireland was three times greater than comparable costs in Great Britain would not have been helpful to the Irish situation.

Government efforts to reform Irish administration, including educational administration

Taylor's investigation of the work of the London and Dublin Education offices coincided with political discussions on the re-organisation of Irish administration. At this point it is necessary to go back a few years in time to 1880, when the Liberal government under Gladstone had been returned to power. Gladstone was anxious to introduce measures to ameliorate the Irish situation and in 1881 a Land Act was passed in an effort to control rents and give security of tenure to tenants.[46] The following year Lord Frederick Cavendish and Welby, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, drew up a scheme for Land Purchase. Gladstone felt that this might be an opportunity to develop Local Government in Ireland and at the same time to devolve responsibility for elementary education on to locally elected provincial bodies. In April 1882, he drafted a Bill under which provincial councils would be created in Ireland. These councils which would be democratically elected would take over the duties of the Land Commission and of the National Board. In describing his proposals to Lord Granville, Gladstone wrote of the difficulties of governing Ireland through Dublin Castle. He stated

> The Irish are too strong to be governed by an agency which has to them a purely English character, and which has its seats in Downing Street and in Dublin Castle .....[47]

Under the provisions of Gladstone's proposed Bill, four provincial Councils would be set up and administrative and financial responsibility for national schools in each province would be transferred from the National Board to each Council. The parliamentary vote for

education would be administered by the councils and further funds for administrative purposes would probably be provided by the Treasury. Other detailed financial provisions were to be worked out by the Treasury, but it is likely that had the Bill been passed, a more satisfactory provision for local aid to education than existed under the 1875 Act would have been developed.

Gladstone appointed Earl Spencer as Lord Lieutenant in April 1882 and the following month he appointed Cavendish, who had worked with him on the drafting of the Bill, as Chief Secretary.[48] But on the day Cavendish took up his appointment as Chief Secretary, he was murdered, together with Under-Secretary Burke, in the Phoenix Park. During the subsequent months the question of law and order was uppermost in the mind of the governemnt and legislation for devolution of administrative responsibility for education was shelved.

There was some public discussion on the feasibility of the plans proposed by the Irish government for the devolution of Irish administration. Arnold Graves, who was keenly interested in Irish education and who was subsequently secretary of the Commissioners for Education, read a paper to the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society in June 1882 in which he pointed out that any reform of Irish administration should move towards a co-ordination of the different areas of education in Ireland.[49] He referred in particular to "the great gap in the educational ladder" between the National Board and the Intermediate Board which had been set up four years earlier.* He pointed out that education in Ireland was administered by no fewer than nine different boards or bodies,+ and he suggested that the time had come to co-ordinate all these areas of education in "a supreme education department presided over by a Minister for Education". He referred to the fact that

> There are some who hold that it would be of importance to bring our education system under the English educational Department as at present constituted.....

* For further discussion, see Chapter V

\+ National Board; Intermediate Board; Endowed Schools' Board; Erasmus Smith Schools' Board; Incorporated Society; Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests; Science and Art Department of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in England; University of Dublin; Royal University.

but he did not favour such a move. His proposal did not, however, ignore the possibility of a link between the educational administrations of Ireland and Great Britain. He pointed out that England already had what he called "two Ministers of Primary Education - the President and Vice-President of Council". If a single Minister for Education were appointed for Ireland

> Instead of one, there should be three Vice-Presidents of Council - one for each Kingdom and the present seems a fit time for making such appointments for it is obvious to all that the Irish Executive is overworked, and that for the despatch of business in Parliament the services of another Irish Minister are urgently required.

In other words, Graves' proposal would create a parliamentary link between education in England, Scotland and Ireland. Each country would have its own Vice-President of Council responsible for education, who would effectively act as Minister for Education for that country. It is significant to note that three years later, in 1885, a Secretary of State for Scotland was appointed and that he was also designated Vice-President of the Scotch Education Department.[50]

But a proposal which would bring the administration of Irish education into line with the system in Great Britain was not in keeping with what Gladstone had in mind. His proposals were mainly concerned with administrative devolution and educational administration was seen as part of the devolution.

At the end of 1882, Gladstone indicated that he still hoped to reform Irish administration. In a letter to Trevelyan he stated:

> As long as the portentous centralisation of the present system continues, government will be to the common Irishman, I am afraid, an exotic, a foreign thing .... Provincial bodies would I hope be capable of rendering far greater service than any weaker bodies could.[51]

But Gladstone failed to convince his Cabinet of the value of Provincial Councils for Ireland, and by summer 1883 he had reluctantly dropped his plans for such councils.

In 1884 and 1885 the question of the reform of the Irish administrative system was again very much a politically live issue. A scheme produced by Radicals, Chamberlain and Dilke, proposed the setting up of an Irish Board which would be independent of Parliament and of Treasury control.[52] Such a Board would deal with "the education question and the land question" and possibly also with "railways and other communications". Following discussions with Parnell, it seemed as if such a plan might be acceptable to the Irish party and to the Catholic hierarchy. It was discussed by the Cabinet in spring 1884, and by April the situation was promising. The plan as discussed by the Cabinet proposed the setting up of a Central Board with responsibility for primary education (and possibly higher education), for Poor Law and Sanitary administration and for Public Works of all kinds.

But the Irish executive, represented by Lord Lieutenant Spencer, Campbell-Bannerman and Under-Secretary Hamilton was opposed to the scheme. Spencer wrote that the only Central Board he could support would be a Board of Education elected by School Managers and Poor Law Guardians and he believed that even that might have to have a nominated element. When the scheme was formally discussed by the Government in May, the proposal that a Central Board be set up was defeated. "All the peers except Lord Granville were against it. All the Commoners except Lord Hartington were for it".[53] The split in the Cabinet over the scheme resulted in the resignation of Gladstone in May 1885. He was returned to power in spring of 1886 and he tried to get support from his Cabinet for a Home Rule Bill. But by early summer it was clear that such support would not be forthcoming and with the fall of Gladstone in June 1886, hopes for Home Rule for Ireland faded.

During the period 1882 to 1886, while the various proposals for Irish administrative reform were being discussed, it appeared likely that responsibility for the funding of Irish elementary education would be transferred from the Treasury to either Irish Provincials Councils or to a Central Board. It was also likely that these proposals would have resolved the problem of the inadequate local contribution to Irish education, by making provision for levying a local rate for education. But Gladstone's efforts to introduce Home

Rule failed and the administrative system of education in Ireland was the same in 1886 as it had been half a century earlier.

Summary

The period 1875 to 1885 saw a widening of the gap between the systems of education in Ireland and in the rest of the United Kingdom. The Acts of 1870 and 1872 in England and Scotland had, to a large extent, achieved their objectives by the early 1880s. The Scottish system had become rationalised in the ten-year period, the problem of duplication of educational facilities had been resolved and the majority of schools had become board schools. In England the number of pupils and the number of schools had doubled between 1870 and 1880 and education was available for all children by 1880. With the expansion in the provision of schools it was inevitable that the cost of Education would increase but much of the increase in England and Scotland was paid for from local funds. Efforts by the government to stimulate the provision of local funds for education in Ireland by the Act of 1875 were largely unsuccessful. Of the total expenditure on elementary education in Ireland in 1884, only 22% was paid from local funds and of this 22% only 4% was paid from local rates under the Act of 1875. In England and Scotland on the other hand local funds accounted for over 55% of total expenditure on education. In terms of government expenditure on elementary education the average grant per pupil in average attendance in Irish schools during this period was in the region of £1.55; in England and Scotland the comparative figure was less than £0.90.[54]

In this context it was not surprising tha t the Treasury compared the system in Ireland unfavourably with the English and Scottish systems. In particular, the attention of the National Board was drawn to the steady growth in the number of schools aided every year in Ireland, where the population was falling. The average size of school in Ireland was less than half the size of its Scottish counterpart, despite demographic and geographical similarities. The denominational system in Ireland contributed to the multiplication of small schools there, a problem which had been solved in Scotland by the 1872 Act.

The inevitable consequence of a growth in the Irish and English systems was a growth in the size of the respective administrative establishments. Both the London and the Dublin Education Offices expanded by almost 100% in the ten-year period 1870 to 1880 and in 1880 the Treasury asked the English office to simplify its administrative procedures with a view to reducing administrative expenditure and increasing efficiency. The Revised Code of 1882 achieved the desired simplification and in 1883 the Treasury suggested that the Irish Education Office follow the example of England and simplify its administrative system. A lengthy report produced in 1884 provided no solutions to the complex administrative procedures of the National Education Office. It did, however, produce figures which showed that the administration of Irish education was three times more expensive than educational administration in Great Britain.

Action on this report was forestalled by political considerations during Gladstone's Second Ministry from 1880 to 1886. Liberal efforts to introduce an element of Home Rule through administrative reform would have involved the abolition of the National BOard and a radical restructuring of the Irish education system. Gladstone's earlier scheme was based on Provincial Councils but he failed to get Cabinet approval for this scheme. A later proposal emanating from the Radical wing of the party envisaged a Central Board which would inter alia, subsume the responsibility of the National Board. But this proposal failed to win the approval of the House of Lords. With the defeat of Gladstone in 1886, plans for administrative reform for Ireland were forgotten. The National Board retained its responsibility for national education. But the earlier problems of lack of answerability and accountability had not been solved; the problem of inadequate local contribution had only marginally improved after 1875; and the lack of any adequate control over the proliferation of small schools was adding to the expense of Irish education.

The policy of conciliation adopted by the Conservative Government to Ireland after 1886 would not make it easy to tackle the problems of Irish education, and this question will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

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CHAPTER IV

ADDITIONAL STATE FUNDING FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION, 1886 - 1897

The defeat of the Liberal Government in 1886 was the end of an era as far as the attempted reform of Irish administrative structures was concerned. The new Conservative Government under Salisbury was a strong government and was to rule Britain for a period of 20 years with the exception of a short break from 1892 to 1895. Salisbury had no ambition to reform Irish administration and his government's policy in relation to Irish affairs was one of conciliation.[1] This policy, allied to legislation and financial measures designed to alleviate the burden of local contribution to English education, was advantageous to Irish education. Government funding of Irish national education increased at a faster rate during the period 1886 to 1897 than it had ever done in the history of the Board. Free primary education was introduced throughout the United Kingdom and as a result it was generally accepted that the state had an obligation to contribute to a greater extent to the cost of elementary education than previously.[2]

In this chapter it will be shown that the extent of Treasury control over government departments generally was curtailed during the premiership of Salisbury and this curtailment undoubtedly contributed to the growth in state funding of education. Salisbury's disaffection with the Treasury was strengthed by the findings of a Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service in 1888-90 (the Ridley Commission).[3] This commission reported that the relationship between the Treasury and other government departments was not "harmonious" and that this lack of harmony was injurious to the efficiency of a number of departments. The findings of the commission effectively halted the growth of Treasury control over Civil Service departments, a growth which had occurred during the previous thirty years.

The Irish National Board and the Catholic Hierarchy, 1886-1897.

In Ireland, the defeat of Gladstone's government meant that the question of reforming Irish administration, including the structure of

the education system was no longer an issue. The position of the National Board as an administrative body was more secure than it had been for quite some time. While the vested interest groups in Irish education were critical of certain aspects of educational administration, the overall concept of administration by representative boards was acceptable to them. The Catholic hierarchy had two main objections to the National Education system as it then existed.

1. They felt that the Rules and Regulations of the National Board should be changed to recognise and accept the de facto denominational situation of Irish national schools. They pointed out that such a change had been recommended by the Powis Commission in 1870 but that no action had been taken by the government to implement this recommendation.
2. They were of the view that the National Board should be reconstituted to be "fairly representative" of the Catholic population of Ireland. The members of the National Board as then constituted were 50% Catholic and 50% Protestant. The Catholic bishops believed that the proportion should be based on the relative proportion of Protestants and Catholics in the population. This would give a greater number of places on the Board to Catholic representatives.[4]

In making these points, the Catholic hierarchy implicitly accepted the concept of administration by boards. In a memorandum sent by the Episcopal Committee on Education of the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland to the Lord Lieutenant in 1885 the policy of payment by results operated by the National Board was endorsed by the Hierarchy, a policy which they felt "has contributed largely to the improvement of primary education in Ireland".[5] All in all, the bishops were not anxious to see major changes introduced in the method of administering the grant for national education.

The attitude of the Catholic Hierarchy was endorsed by the report of the Educational Endowments Commission of 1886-87.[6] The members of this Commission were Lord Justice Fitzgibbon and Anthony Traill (both members of the C. of I.); Lord Justice Naish and Rev. Dr. Molloy (Roman Catholics) and Prof. J.B. Dougherty (Presbyterian)

who was later to become Under-Secretary in Dublin Castle. The report of 1886/7 commented on the anomalous position of two groups of elementary schools - the schools of the Christian Brothers and the schools of the Church (of Ireland) Education Society - neither of which were eligible for grants from the National Board because of their avowedly denominational character. The Commission recommended that the Rules of the National Board be amended to admit these schools into the system and stated

> If State aid for elementary education were available upon conditions which would admit the schools now excluded, the efficiency of these schools would be promoted, and their existing endowments might be applied to supplement the public grants, and to provide special instruction of an advanced king for the more promising children of the poorer classes.

By the end of the 1880s, it was clear that while certain changes in the system of administering national education were being sought by those affected by the system, these changes could be contained within the existing system of administration and would not require structural reform.

On the other hand, the Irish executive in Dublin Castle was not happy with the system of administration by boards which had proliferated in Ireland during the previous decades. In 1887 a new Under-Secretary, J.W.Ridgeway, was appointed to Dublin Castle, having previously spent some years in the Indian Civil Service. He felt that

> nothing could be more chaotic and effete than the present system of government by Boards. For at present Ireland is ruled by a congeries of Boards - who are by statute semi-independent - and by the Treasury in London. These Boards have the power and licence to commit blunders but on the Chief Secretary rests the responsibility. [7]

He recommended that elected local authorities be established in the counties and provinces, and that extensive powers be devolved on these authorities. He proposed the abolition of all the Boards, including the National and Intermediate Boards and their replacement by one or two Under-Secretaries. The whole Irish administration would then clearly be the responsibility of a single cabinet minister.

But Ridgeway's scheme did not meet with the approval of the Irish government and it was not proceeded with.[8]

Ridgeway's proposal coincided with the passing of the Local Government Act in England under which County Councils were set up throughout Great Britain with power to administer certain local affairs and to levy a local rate. The provisions of this act did not apply to Ireland. Perhaps the government felt that until a comparable act was passed for Ireland, the question of devolving responsibility for educational administration to locally elected bodies should not be raised.

In the 1890s, the government was again subjected to pressure from the Catholic Church to amend the system of national education to admit the schools of the Christian Brothers into the system. The question arose in relation to the school attendance provisions of the 1892 Act which the Catholic hierarchy were prepared to accept if the government would attempt to modify the national system to enable the Christian Brothers to participate.[9] In 1892 the then Chief Secretary, William Jackson, wrote to the Board suggesting that they should consider whether or not the conscience clause from the Intermediate Education Act could conveniently be embodied in their regulations. He felt that such an action might overcome the objections of the Christian Brothers to the National Education system as then constituted. As a result of Jackson's request, the Board took steps to amend its rules. But by the time the new rules were ready for submission to Dublin Castle, a change of government had occurred and the new Chief Secretary was John Morley, a Radical member of Gladstone's party. When the revised rules were submitted by the National Board to Morley, he found himself in a dilemma.* He (Morley) felt that the rules had gone too far in recognising the denominational character of national schools. On the other hand, he was aware that nothing in the new rules would have been precluded under the 1870 Education Act in England which had included a Conscience Clause (The Cowper-Temple Clause) to protect denominational minorities.[10] But Morley did not want to be

* Under the revised rules, the Board would be permitted to grant aid to an "unmixed" school in any area which had at least 2 schools of 3 years' standing, one Catholic and the other Protestant, each having at least 35 children in average attendance. A conscience clause based on the Conscience Clause of the Intermediate Board would operate in such schools.

associated with a change in the Board's rules which would explicitly recognise the denominational character of Irish national schools. He wrote to the Board suggesting that the matter be deferred for a period of counsel and deliberation. Less than three months later the Board submitted a slightly revised proposal which Morley found no less unacceptable. Under-Secretary, David Harrell, advised against accepting the new rule and said that there was not sufficient unanimity among the commissioners to require the government to take decisive action. At this point Morley decided to ask the Attorney-General for his advice and on 28th February 1893 a telegram was sent to Attorney-General MacDermott asking him

> what are the statutable powers of the Lord Lieutenant as to the fundamental rules being changed by the National Board.[11]

The question about statutable powers posed by the Chief Secretary to the Attorney-General indicates that the lack of definition of the formal relationship between the National Board and the Irish executive which had been an issue in 1855 and 1864 had not yet been clarified in 1893. Ironically the Attorney-General did not find it possible to clarify the situation in 1893 and a telegram from him to Dublin Castle in reply to Morley's request stated that "he was absent (from Dublin) prosecuting for Crown at Longford" and suggested that the solicitor general be asked to advise on the matter. In the event, the whole question of changing the Board's rules was shelved for over a year during which time negotiations proceeded on the terms of the school attendance provisions of the 1892 Act. It would appear as if Morley had originally hoped to use this Act to formalise the relationship between the National Board and the Irish executive. A draft of the Bill "for the Better Regulation of National Education in Ireland" contained the provision that

> all rules made after the passing of this Act by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland shall be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant for approval.....[12]

Had this provision passed into law, the independence of the National Board would have been curtailed. Hitherto, the commissioners were required to obtain approval from the Irish executive only for changes

in "fundamental rules". The new provision would have required the approval of the Irish executive for changes in all the Board's rules. But the Bill which was eventually passed excluded this provision and the Board retained its independence in relation to changing its rules.

In the period 1892 to 1895 when Morley was Chief Secretary it would appear that the only administrative reform considered by the government was reform within the context of the existing Board structure. With the defeat of the Liberal government in 1895, Morley was replaced as Chief Secretary by Gerald Balfour. Shortly after his appointment, Balfour made it clear that he was not prepared to sanction any change in the rules of the National Board which would give explicit recognition to denominational education.[13] There is evidence that in the early years of the Conservative government, after 1895, the question of discontinuing the system of administration by boards in Ireland generally was again under consideration. In 1896, Under-Secretary Harrel wrote:

> The system of administration by Boards, no doubt possesses many advantages where there is an exercise of uncontrolled authority, but in the case of an official department, acting under and amenable to the orders of the Lord Lieutenant, it does not appear to have anything to recommend it. The Board system is cumbrous in its action, and prejudicial to departmental discipline and efficiency. There may be safety in much counsel, but one man should be responsible.[14]

Harrell suggested that the administrative system be re-examined and that the question of abolishing the Board structure in the case of official departments be reconsidered. Balfour took no action on this suggestion but the Under-Secretary's memorandum is indicative of the growing discontent within the Irish executive with the system of administration by boards. Between 1885 and 1898 one can detect a distinct change in the attitude of the Catholic Church authorities to the question of reform of the administrative structure of education. During Gladstone's Second Ministry when the setting up of Provincial Councils or of a Central administrative Board was under consideration, there is no evidence that the Irish Hierarchy voiced any objection to such developments. But after 1885 it was quite clear that the Catholic Church did not want any change in the administrative structure of

education. It may well be that the Irish Hierarchy were effected by the disquiet which had been voiced in England by Cardinal Manning about educational developments there.[15] The success of the English Board schools was threatening to seriously affect the voluntary schools, many of which were struggling for their continued survival. Perhaps the Irish hierarchy feared that any change which would involve the abolition of the National and Intermediate Boards might ultimately result in a development of a system of education in Ireland along the lines of the English educational system, a system which was proving unsatisfactory to Catholic interests there.

Education in Great Britain - The Cross Commission, 1888

In England, the question of education was a major issue in the general election campaign of 1885. During the early 1880s, rivalry had developed between the voluntary schools and the board schools. The board schools, with funding from local rates, were anxious to assert their supremacy over voluntary schools, many of which were fighting for survival because of shortage of funds. Cardinal Manning used the election campaign to secure a promise from Lord Salisbury that if the Conservative Party were returned, he would appoint a Royal Commission to review the system of education in England.[16] This promise gained many Catholic votes for Salisbury's Conservative Party, but the outcome of the election did not give the party a clear majority. The balance of power lay with the Irish party under Parnell.[17] During the short life of the 1885 government, a Royal Commission was set up under the chairmanship of Sir Richard Cross "to inquire into the working of the Elementary Education Acts" and to make recommendations for any changes considered necessary.

The commission consisted of 23 members and when it reported in 1888, the commissioners were divided into a majority and a minority, eight of the commissioners eventually writing a minority report. The majority report found that the demand for school accommodation in the country as a whole had been "fairly met" by the provisions of the 1870 Act. It supported the right of voluntary effort to work "pari passu with a school board" in providing accommodation to meet an increase in population. It also recommended that voluntary schools should be supported, like the Board schools, from the rates.

From an administrative point of view, the Cross Commission found that the work of the Education Office in London had become increasingly complex in recent years and that the staff there were involved in examining in "tremendous detail" reports on every school in the country. It recommended that responsibility for much of this detail should be removed from the central office and taken over by the local authorities which were about to be set up under the proposed Local Government Act of 1888. On this issue, the report stated as follows:

> ... if in the impending re-organisation of local government of the country, education were recognised as one of the most important branches of that local government, and arrangements were made for gradually connecting it, more or less, with the civil administration of each locality ... such an arrangement would ... tend to decentralise the present system ..., relieving the Education Department of innumerable administrative details, and largely reducing the cost of its staff, while retaining for the Education Department powers of general control, which have been of the greatest value in the past. [19]

But the Commissioners did not agree as to how a system of local government should be administered and no action was taken on this aspect of the report for a further fourteen years.[20]

The report gave a lot of attention to the financial side of education. It was found that the government grant to elementary education in England and Wales in 1886 amounted to £2,866,700. This represented 42% of the total expenditure on elementary education, the remaining 58% being met from local funds, both voluntary and levied. The overall cost per pupil in average attendance had increased from £1.14.8 per pupil in 1876 to £1.19.5 in 1886, an increase of 13% in ten years.

In his evidence to the Commission, R.R.Lingen, now Lord Lingen, was critical of this increase. He stated that

> My own opinion is, be it worth what it may, that the cost per scholar is larger than it need be at this time.

He believed that "the salaries of the teachers in many of the large towns are larger than they need be" and he also felt that the availability of "unlimited funds" in board schools meant that "the golden rule of 'making things do' is very much overlooked"in those schools.[21]

On the question of payment by results, the Cross Commission was divided. While virtually all the evidence to the Commission condemned the results system, the report did not recommend its abolition. It suggested instead that the system should be mitigated by making a much larger part of the grant fixed and that the teachers should be paid fixed salaries.[22]

Changes in Elementary Education in England, 1890 and 1891

In 1890, the Code of the Education Department was revised and the system of payment by results was modified. Results fees in respect of individual subjects were abolished and were replaced by a capitation grant based on school attendance. The programme in elementary schools was considerably broadened to include subjects such as drill, cookery, science lessons and manual work.[23]

In 1891, arrangements were made to introduce free elementary education in England. Education for children aged from 5 to 15 had been compulsory since 1880 but for many years there was a growing acceptance of the problem of enforcing compulsory attendance in a system which was not free. In 1889 free education up to Fifth Standard was introduced in Scotland. In 1891 a Bill was passed in the British House of Commons to provide for free elementary education in England and Wales. Under this Bill fees for elementary education were effectively abolished and a grant of 10/- a year was paid to schools for every child aged 3 to 14 in average attendance. The 1891 Act was successful in increasing the average attendance at elementary schools - between 1892 and 1893 the attendance increased by 120,000.[24]

Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service 1888 - 1890
(The Ridley Commission)

At the same time as the Cross Commission was inquiring into the

system of elementary education in England, a commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of Sir Matthew White Ridley was investigating the offices of the Civil Service. The terms of reference of this committee were reminiscent of earlier committees of inquiry into the Civil Service. Inter alia, the commission was asked to state

> Whether, in your opinion, the work of the different offices is efficiently and economically performed; whether it can be simplified; whether the method of procedure can be improved; and whether the system of control is deficient or unnecessarily elaborate.[25]

The Commission presented four reports at intervals of about a year, the last report being submitted in July 1890. Among its recommendations were the following:

1. That the hours of attendance should be fixed for all clerks at seven per day.
2. That the line of demarcation between Lower and Higher Division Clerks be raised and that a smaller proportion of the clerical staff should be recruited to the Higher Division.
3. That the terms Lower and Higher Division be renamed First and Second Division.
4. That "Duty pay" introduced after the Playfair report be abolished.

The Treasury agreed with the recommendations of the Ridley Commission, in particular that a seven-hour day be introduced throughout the Civil Service and that steps should be taken to introduce a compulsory retirement at the age of 65. On 21 March 1890 an Order in Council directed that

1) Lower Division Clerks be renamed Second Division Clerks - this new Division to have two grades - a higher grade and a lower grade.
2) Promotion to a higher grade should be made "according to positive merit, and not according to seniority".
3) All Clerks appointed subsequent to the date of the Order should be required to "give a regular attendance of not less than seven hours daily".

The Order of Council established a consistent standard in relation to salary, annual holidays, and sick leave. It also abolished the concept of "duty pay" which had been introduced in 1876.[26]

A further Order in Council dated 15 August 1890 directed that Civil Servants should retire at the age of 65. However, a few special cases were recognised and these were "temporarily exempted" from the Order. Among these were Sir Patrick Keenan, Resident Commissioner of National Education, and P.W.Joyce, Professor in the Marlborough Street Training College. They were both described as

> (possessing) peculiar qualifications which are essential to the performance of their duties and which it would be difficult to replace by a fresh appointment.

It was agreed that they should be allowed to continue in office for a further three years and two years respectively.[27]

The Ridley Commission was the last major Commission of inquiry into the Civil Service in the 19th century. By 1890 the position of the National Education Office in Dublin as regards staffing, salaries etc., had become stabilised. The Orders in Council which followed the Ridley report did not effect the Dublin Office to any great extent, as many of these measures were already in practice in the office. The seven-hour day had already been introduced and consistent standards in relation to salary, annual holidays etc. existed. But the National Education Office was lacking in one significant area - the area of Upper or First Division clerks. The Ridley Commission had emphasised the need for "men of more liberal culture in order to discharge satisfactorily the consultative and deliberative work" in the Upper Division. These men should be recruited between the ages of 20 and 24

> by open competition examination in subjects grouped in the manner prevailing in the examinations for honours in the Universities.[28]

But there were no Upper Division Clerks in the National Education Office; all senior posts were promotion posts filled from the ranks of Second Division clerks recruited under the clerkship examimations of the Civil Service. The lack of university graduates among the senior adminis-

trative staff of the office was regretted by a Resident Commissioner many years later.[29]

The Ridley Commission and the Treasury

The earlier commissions of inquiry into the Civil Service had recommended that the role of the Treasury in relation to other government departments should be strengthened.[30] The Ridley Commission, on the other hand, found that by the late 1880s, the Treasury had achieved a strong role in this regard, but that in the process, it had become very unpopular with the other departments. The Commission felt that the control of the Treasury could be made "more effective and harmonious" by the setting up of a Permanent Consultative Committee drawn from the Treasury, the Civil Service Commission and "the Great Revenue Departments". Such a committee would have power to discuss matters such as additional staffing and office re-organisation and "all proposals for increased expenditure". The Commission believed that this Consultative Committee

> would be of great value in securing uniformity of regulations, in suggesting reforms, in facilitating transfers, and not least, in bringing about harmonious action between the Treasury and the other departments. [31]

In the following years the Treasury effectively blocked the setting up of a Consultative Committee so that the outcome of the Ridley Commission in regard to Treasury control was less significant than the fact that it had been established by 1890 that the Treasury had become almost uniformly unpopular within the Civil Service. This unpopularity became evident at many levels of the Civil Service and within the government. Prime Minister Salisbury "had to distate for the Treasury".[32] He was the only Prime Minister of the 19th or 20th century who refused to take the post of First Lord of the Treasury. As a result of his action, the Treasury was less powerfully represented in the Cabinet in the years of Salisbury's Ministry than at other times in its history.

Concern about undue Treasury interference in Irish affairs was expressed by Under-Secretary J.W.Ridgeway in 1889. He felt that the

Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had too much power in relation to Irish matters. He alleged that the Lord Lieutenant in council was frequently overshadowed by the Lord Chancellor and that decisions relating to Irish matters were being taken by the Treasury.[33]

There is evidence that the Treasury officials were unsympathetic to the education departments during this period, since they saw them as unnecessarily expensive and overdependent on central funds.* Throughout the 1880s the Treasury brought considerable pressure to bear on the English Education Office to moderate its demands for extra staff[34] and we have seen that it was the Treasury which had suggested modification of the Education Code in 1882 and 1890 with a view to decreasing the cost of educational administration in England.

The Treasury was also antagonistic to the Irish departments generally around this time. In his history of the Treasury, Henry Roseveare states that among Treasury officials at the end of the 19th century there was

> an exasperated conviction that Irish administration was feckless, corrupt and utterly demoralising to the Irish themselves .....[35]

An extreme example of this exasperation is the following statement by a principal clerk in the Treasury, F.A'c Bergne, who dealt with Irish education in the 1880s. The National Board had made an application for an increase in the results fees to teachers and the Treasury was not prepared to accede to this request. The principal clerk noted on the file that

> the proposal is bad enough as a sample of the indifference of the Irish offices to public interest when it clashes with the perquisites of a class of officials, but it seems to me to be also demoralising to the teachers themselves. I assume for the most part they are Romanists ...[36]

But the Financial Secretary to the Treasury was not prepared to be associated with such a discriminatory remark and he asked Bergne to tone down his memorandum. Instead of doing this Bergne added insult to injury by writing

* See Lingen's evidence to the Cross Commission referred to earlier in this chapter.

> it is no use shutting our eyes to what is certain to happen if you put if in the power of low-class Irishmen to plunder the public.

At this point the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself "heavily censured" Bergne for this remark.

George Goschen and the Equivalent Grant

But, in spite of apparent Treasury antagonism to Irish education in the last decades of the 19th century, government funding of national education increased significantly during the period as will be shown later. The man largely responsible for this increase was George Goschen, Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1887 to 1892. Goschen was well-disposed to "the spending departments" of the Civil Service,[37] and was fortunate that during his term of office, revenue to the Exchequer showed an upward rise following a steady decline during the previous ten years.

Goschen's attitude to the spending departments was to some extent a reflection of a change in public opinion on the matter of government expenditure. Lord Welby, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, referred to these changing attitudes in his evidence to the National Expenditure Committee of 1902 as follows:-

> ....comparing early days, say in the sixties, with later days, one saw a distinct difference in public opinion; ... to put it very roughly, with the eighties, public opinion has changed, and it no longer puts much stress upon economy; that change at once finds its reflection in the House of Commons,and I should say that from that time the wind was in the sails of the spending departments, and ... the effective power of control in the Chancellor of the Exchequer proportionately diminished. That had an effect .... throughout the service even in administration.[38]

Three legislative measures passed during Goschen's term benefitted education in all three countries. The first of these acts was the Probate Duty Act of 1888. Under the terms of this Act, it was agreed that a half of the total amount received as Probate duty should be surrendered from the Imperial Exchequer to England, Scotland and Ireland, in relief of local taxation. It was to be distributed between

the three countries giving to England a share amounting to 80%, to Scotland a share amounting to 11% and to Ireland a share amounting to 9%. This allocation was based on "the general contributions of each country to the Exchequer". In his budget speech setting out this proposal, Goschen said

> This division is, if anything a little too favourable to Ireland, as its contributions are in reality, only 8.7% but I have felt obliged to give the benefit of the doubt to the poorer country.[39]

The "relief of local taxation" in the Irish context was interpreted as referring to the local taxation requirements under the Teachers' Salaries Act of 1875, and under the new act payments would be made from income on probate duty to compensate for contributions from the Poor Law Unions.

Two years later the Customs and Excise Act was passed. This bill was introduced to raise duties on intoxicating liquors, in the hope of encouraging temperance. Initially the government intended to spend the revenue on compensation to publicans whose licences were to be revoked. However, this proposal met with determined opposition in the House of Commons and after 25 days of debate the government accepted a compromise that the "whiskey money" should be given to the county councils to be used for education.[40] In Scotland it was used to remove school fees for children under Standard V; in Wales it was applied to the intermediate schools; in England it was used for technical education in the towns and for agricultural schools in the country. In Ireland where the Local Government Act had not yet been passed the money was paid directly to the National and Intermediate Boards.

The principle of the Goschen ratio was also applied to the "whiskey money". It would be distributed each year to England, Scotland and Ireland in the ratio 80: 11: 9. In Ireland £78,000 of the "whiskey money" would be paid to the National Board and the remainder would be paid to the Intermediate Board.[41]

The Goschen ratio indirectly established a connection between

educational expenditure in the three countries. Every time a grant was given by the central exchequer to local authorities in England to relieve local taxation, Scotland and Ireland would be entitled to an equivalent grant. But, while the Goschen ratio established a link between English and Irish education, it did not preclude Irish education from benefitting from educational increases independently of the English situation. The Goschen ratio ensured that central government money given in relief of local taxation in England would have to be matched by equivalent grants for Ireland. In addition to the equivalent grants, Irish education could and did obtain increases in the general parliamentary grants. There is no evidence that Goschen had intended that the Irish equivalent grants should invariably be applied to education. In later years it was alleged that the government was obliged to allocate equivalent grants to Irish education* but no support for this allegation was ever produced. As early as 1894, Chief Secretary Morley admitted that he himself was unsure about the meaning of the original legislation and that he would attempt to ascertain the correct legal interpretation of the act.[42]

The introduction of the Goschen ratio strengthened the power of the Treasury to co-ordinate educational expenditure in England, Scotland and Ireland. Since Goschen's proposal was beneficial to Ireland in the short term, there were no objections to its introduction. But in the long term the ratio was used by the Treasury to compare total public expenditure on education in the three countries. Since Irish education was dependent on central funding to a greater extent than English education, because of the absence of a compulsory local rate in Ireland, the comparison was detrimental to Irish education.

Irish Education Act, 1892

Compulsory education had been introduced in England in 1880 by Vice-President Mundella.[43] Three years later it had been unanimously resolved in the House of Commons

> That is is expedient to introduce into Ireland the principle of Compulsory Education, with such modifications as the social and religious conditions of the country require.[44]

* In 1903, Chief Secretary Wyndham decided to allocate the Equivalent Grant due to Ireland as a result of the 1902 Education Act in England for purposes other than education. For further discussion of this matter, see chapter VIII.

But it was not until 1892 that measures were introduced in parliament to introduce compulsory education in Ireland. Under the terms of the Irish Education Act of 1892 parents in 118 cities and urban areas throughout the country were required to send children between the ages of 6 and 14 to school for at least 75 days a year.[45] Rural areas were excluded from the requirements of the Act and even those areas covered by the Act were not obliged to operate its provisions. The fact that there were no County Councils in Ireland in 1892 was a distinct disadvantage but the act provided that should County Councils be established by some future parliament, each council could enforce the compulsory attendance provisions in its domain if it so desired.

The act of 1892 also provided for free primary education in Ireland. The act followed the precedent established the previous year in England and used Customs and Excise funds to abolish fees in all national schools in which the average fee per pupil had been six shillings or less per annum. Only in schools in which the fee exceeded that amount could any fee be charged and then only the difference between that amount and six shillings.

The Act of 1891 in England had provided that a special grant of 10/- per pupil in average attendance would be paid to every school, from the Customs and Excise fund in lieu of school fees.[46] In Scotland a sum of £265,000 was estimated as the equivalent grant and in Ireland the amount was computed at £210,000.[47] Two Acts of Parliament were passed to enable these monies to be given to Scotland and Ireland but a controversy arose between the National Board and the Treasury in relation to the interpretation of the Irish act.[48] Section 18 of The Irish Education Act, 1892 fixed the grant at £210,000

> or such other amount as Parliament may determine having regard to the amount of the (English) Fee Grant under the Elementary Education Act, 1891.[49]

In the year 1892/3, the first year of the payment of the grant, the National Board applied for 75% of £210,000 when they were submitting their estimates. But the grant paid in England was greater than anticipated. Scotland's grant was increased on a pro rata basis but

Ireland's grant was not. Despite protracted correspondence on the matter, the Treasury would not agree to increase the Irish grant and the matter was finally brought to the attention of the Government and of the Cabinet in 1895. The report of the National Board for 1895 included a long statement on the position of the Board on the matter.[50] As a result, the Treasury was asked to prepare a memorandum for the Cabinet setting out the situation as they saw it.[51] The following detailed account of the correspondence between the Treasury, the Irish executive and the National Board provides an insight into the problems experienced by the National Board in obtaining what it regarded as its due equivalent grant.

The Treasury admitted that Ireland had not got her full share of the grant. In relation to the first year when only 75% was received, the Treasury claimed that this was the result of two factors.

1. The Supplementary Estimate from Ireland was late. It should have been received by June 1892 but the Chief Secretary had written a personal letter to the Treasury on 11 June 1892 pointing out that it was absolutely necessary not to take the vote on the supplementary estimate until after the Education Bill was passed.

2. The National Board itself only asked for 75%, i.e. £157,500 in its estimates. The reasons given for this were:

> that the conditions of payment by the Commissioners do not admit of the passing of the Teachers' quarterly claims until after the close of the quarter, which, in this instance, was the close of the financial year.

The Treasury commented on this:

> There is no doubt about the fact; but is is not the fault of the Treasury; the National Education Commissioners and the Irish Government must share the responsibility for any inconvenience caused to them by their own 'conditions of payment'.

The statement added:

> It appears that the machinery of payment is much more complicated in Ireland than in England or Scotland; and that the reason why the payments in respect of the quarter ended 31 March cannot be made before the end of the quarter is that in Ireland payment is made direct by the Government instead of through the Managers of the schools as in England.

The Treasury statement claimed that the Irish National Education Commissioners had looked after their own interests very badly.

> If it is admitted that Ireland has had less than her share, it can be clearly shown that for this result the Treasury is not directly and hardly indirectly, responsible; that the Irish Government are largely responsible, but that the National Education Commissioners are mainly responsible. It must be admitted in justice to them, that they have had considerable difficulty, as pointed out in their printed Memorandum of April 1896, from having to communicate with the Treasury through the Irish office, but even when this is allowed for, they are responsible for most of the trouble that has occurred.

However, even in its own defence, the Treasury had to admit to some of the blame. For example, in 1893 the National Board had asked the Treasury

> to state the precise significance of the reference to the amount of the English Fee Grant in connection with the determination of the amount of the Irish Grant under the Irish Act of 1892.

The National Board claimed that as a result of the reply given by the Treasury to this letter, they were precluded from applying for more that £210,000. The Treasury admitted a certain responsibility saying:

> The Treasury, it is true, returned a rather misleading reply which led the National Education Commissioners to think that the Irish Grant could not be increased without special action being taken by the Parliament.

The Treasury was subsequently critical of the National Board for accepting this reply. They said:

> ... the National Education Commissioners, instead of resisting this decision, apparently let the whole matter drop, and again inserted in their Estimate for 1894-5 the fixed sum of £210,000.

By this stage, the National Board realised that very firm action

would have to be taken with the government and the Treasury on the Irish claim. On 28 November 1894 the National Board made a formal claim through the Irish government for an increase in the grant and for the arrears of the equivalent grant since 1892. On 6 December 1894 the government supported this claim and transmitted it to the Treasury. The Treasury then accepted that the principle of the Goschen ratio should be applied to this grant and the estimate for 1895/6 took cognisance of this ratio. But the arrears question had yet to be settled. The question had been tentatively raised by the Commissioners in their letter of 28 November and had been definitely submitted by them to the government on 4 January 1895. However, it was a full year later - 4 February 1896 - before the Irish government submitted the claim to the Treasury. Within a week the Treasury had accepted the claim and made arrangements for paying the arrears. The amount paid was approximately £108,000 of which about £13,000 went to the convent and monastery schools in the form of an increased capitation grant and the rest was paid to the teachers' pension fund.[51]

After 1896, the method of payment of the Customs and Excise grant was revised. Instead of basing the amount on the average attendance in England it was agreed that a grant of 10/- per pupil would be paid for all pupils in average attendance in Irish national schools.[52] In this way, it was hoped that the grant would act as an incentive to increase average attendance,which was still very low by the end of the century.

The correspondence between the National Board, the Irish executive and the Treasury on the question of the school grant due to Ireland under the 1892 Act was a good example of the difficulty experienced by the National Board in having to deal with the Treasury through the Irish executive. Delays and misunderstandings arose which might have been avoided if the Board could have corresponded directly with the Treasury. Moreover, the fact that Irish education was not directly represented in the Cabinet added to the confusion. It may be that the Treasury had deliberately used the situation to withhold from Irish education money that was rightly due to the National Board. If this had been the Treasury's plan, then it did not succeed and the outcome of the controversy was that the National Board eventually succeeded in having the 1892 Act amended so that instead of basing the school grant on the Goschen ratio, the grant would in future be based on the number

of children in average attendance in Irish national schools.

Childers Commission

The decision to base the Irish school grant on numbers of pupils in agerage attendance instead of on 9/80ths of the school grant paid to English schools coincided with the publication of a report on financial relations between Britain and Ireland. In 1894 a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of H.C.E. Childers had been set up to inquire into this matter and in 1896 the final report of the Commission was published.[53] During the course of the inquiry the Chairman, Childers, died and the O'Conor Don took over as chairman. The final report of the Commission was not unanimous. The Irish nationalist members signed the majority report and unionist members and government nominees, including Lord Welby, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, signed a minority report. The majority report argued that Ireland had been seriously overtaxed since 1800. It was estimated that in 1895 a total revenue of £8,034,000 had been contributed by Ireland to the Exchequer but that public expenditure on Irish affairs had totalled only £5,938,000. It was also alleged that Ireland was contributing in tax revenue, an amount equivalent to one-eleventh of the total tax contributed in Great Britain. The signatories of the majority report felt that the relative taxable capacity of Ireland was a great deal less than this - not more than about one-twentieth. The implication of this report was that either expenditure on Irish services should be significantly increased or that tax revenue from Irish sources should be considerably reduced.

Treasury officials did not agree with the findings of the report which they felt were simply the unsubstantiated views of a nationalist clique.[54] A long critique of the report was prepared for the Cabinet by E.W.Hamilton, Under-Secretary of the Treasury, in which he stated:

> Mr. Sexton and his friends flatter themselves that they have triumphantly proved their case of gross grievance which with them was a foregone conclusion.

He was not prepared to accept that the report solved any problems:

> The result then of this elaborate inquiry is that while it goes very little ways towards solving the difficulties of the Irish financial problem, the hands of the Government are greatly hampered by the opinion almost unanimously implied if not expressed in the Final Report that Ireland is overtaxed as compared with Great Britian.

While he conceded that the government might have to reconsider the question of Irish taxation he believed that any concessions in the area of tax revenue

> should be accompanied with a rigid scrutiny into Irish administrative charges, with a view to effecting some economies.

During the succeeding decade the question of the inequity between the revenue accruing to the central exchequer from Ireland and central government spending in Ireland continued to be a controversial issue. But the Goschen ratio of 80: 11: 9 remained in force in relation to the allocation of the"Whiskey money" to education until 1910. The school grant on the other hand was no longer allocated on a proportionate basis after 1896. From that year onwards, this grant was a capitation grant, computed on the basis of the average attendance of children at Irish national schools. Ironically, the very year in which it was decided to base this grant on average attendance was the year in which attendance at national schools began to decline. From the introduction of payment by results in 1872 to the year 1896 the average attendance had increased systematically from about 356,000 to 535,000.[55] The average attendance in 1896 was the highest in the history of the National Board. Due to a decline in the young population of the country and the fact that attendance rates at less than 65% of enrolment were low in relation to other countries of the U.K., the average attendance at national schools began to fall after 1896, with a consequent decrease in the annual school grant.

Parliamentary Grants to Irish National education, 1886 - 1898

During the period from 1890 onwards, there were three separate grants made by the central exchequer to Irish national education - the annual parliamentary vote, the Customs and Excise Grant of 1890 (£78,000)

and the School Grant under the 1892 Act (and later amendments). The grant of £78,000 was a direct addition to the income of the Board and was paid to schools in lieu of local rates under the 1875 Act. There is ~~no~~ evidence that the grant under the 1892 Act did not increase the total income of the Board to the extent anticipated and that it was offset to some extent by a reduction in the annual parliamentary vote.[56] The following table gives details (insofar as they are available) of the total grants paid from the central exchequer to the National Board in the years 1886 to 1898:

TABLE 4.1

Funds paid from the Central Exchequer to the National Board, showing separately (i) Annual Vote, (ii) Customs and Excise Grant, (iii) School Grant, under 1892 Act, for the years 1886-1897. [57]

Year	(i) Annual Vote	(ii) Customs & Excise Gt.	(iii) School Grant	(iv) Total Funds from Exchequer
1886	£851,973	--	--	£851,973
1887	874,051	--	--	874,051
1888	898,525	--	--	898,525
1889	917,847	--	--	917,847
1890	918,316	£78,028	--	996,344
1891	866,539	78,684	--	945,223
* 1892	1,017,301	78,181	--	1,095,482
* 1893	1,069,969	78,000	--	1,147,969
* 1894	1,099,792	78,000	--	1,177,792
1895	904,088	78,000	234,000	1,216,088
1896	931,187	78,000	255,000	1,264,187
1897	943,560	78,000	255,000	1,276,560 +

* School Grant not shown separately.

\+ It will be noted that total figures for the years 1889 to 1896 (incl.) do not correspond with the figures given on p.325 of D.H.Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment. The figures quoted in Akenson are taken from the summary figures of the annual reports. The figures above are taken from the Annual Accounts of the Board (also in the Annual reports) which give details of the Board's income from all sources for those years. It would appear that the summary of the Board's income quoted in the annual reports of the years 1889-1895 was lower than the actual income. In the early years of the 1890s, the Customs and Excise grant was excluded from the summary. In other years, supplementary grants were excluded. As far as can be ascertained, the above figures are an accurate indication of the total income of the Board from the central exchequer.

During the same period the annual average attendance of pupils increased from 490,484 to 521,141 and the average grant per pupil in average attendance increased from £1.74 to £2.45 - an increase of 40%. The following table gives details of the number of pupils in average attendance and the average grant every year from 1886 to 1897.

TABLE 4.2

Total grant to national education from the central exchequer; average attendance and average grant per pupil every year from 1886 to 1897. [58]

Year	Total Grant	Average Attendance	Average Grant per Pupil
	£		£
1886	851,973	490,484	1.74
1887	874,051	515,388	1.70
1888	898,525	493,883	1.82
1889	917,847	507,865	1.81
1890	996,344	489,144	2.04
1891	945,223	506,336	1.87
1892	1,095,482	495,254	2.21
1893	1,147,969	527,060	2.18
1894	1,177,792	525,547	2.24
1895	1,216,088	519,515	2.34
1896	1,264,187	534,957	2.36
1897	1,276,560	521,141	2.45

It will be noted that the average grants per pupil in 1890 and 1892 were somewhat higher than the grants for the subsequent years in each case. This was largely a result of a sizeable drop in the average attendance for those years. But overall, the annual grant increased gradually during the period in question and the *per capita* grant in 1897 at £2.45 per pupil was higher than it had ever previously been.

Problems regarding Building Grants

In spite of the more buoyant economy under Goschen and the increase in the grant for current expenditure, the question of the amount of capital money paid from central funds for the building and improvement of national schools became a contentious issue in 1887. Capital grants

for national schools had been available from 1831 onwards. From 1831 to 1885 these grants had been paid out of the vote for national education.[59] As a result of the recommendations of the Monck Committee in 1855 responsibility for school building was transferred from the Commissioners of National Education to the Commissioners of Public Works, and the amount required for building each year became a charge on the vote of the Office of Public Works. After 1855 the National Board was responsible for deciding what schools should get a capital grant and what the amount of the grant should be and the Board of Works was responsible for paying the grant. Both the administrative complexity of the system and the inevitable time-lag which occurred between the sanction of the grant by the National Board and its payment by the Board of Works led to difficulty in estimating in any one year how much money would be required for capital projects. The situation was further complicated by the fact that Treasury procedure required unexpended monies to be returned to the Exchequer every year thus requiring the budget for the following year to compensate for any short-fall. The Treasury's attitude to capital grants for Irish schools was unsympathetic. Under the 1870 Act in England and the 1872 Act in Scotland grants were no longer paid from central funds for school buildings. But such grants were still being paid to Irish schools. Moreover, the National Board tended to overspend its budget on capital. On 8 December 1887 the Treasury noted that it was likely that the National Board would exceed estimated expenditure for building grants by £10,000 in that year. The Treasury would not accept

> that it was ever the intention of the government to place in the hands of the National Education Commissioners authority to incur unlimited obligations to be defrayed from the Exchequer ... they exercise their power under no statutory authority .... (thus) it is in the power of the Treasury to place a limit to the amount up to which grants may be made, or at least to the amounts which may be paid in any one year.[60]

The Treasury stated that they would pay no more building grants until the whole question was settled, and they proposed a much tighter control over capital expenditure. They wanted the amount to be spent on school building grants to be clearly specified in the estimates each year and they proposed that once the estimates were agreed in parliament this

sum should be binding on the Commissioners. They also suggested a closer liaison between the Board of Works and the National Board to enable proper planning and budgeting. They suggested that a sum of £40,000 a year be provided for building grants for the next three years. The Board's initial reaction was one of horror as they had already committed themselves to an expenditure of £40,000. At the Board meeting of 10 April 1888, it was stated that:

> since the institution of the national system, 57 years ago, nothing so serious or momentous has happened.[61]

This was a rather dramatic reaction from the Board since the Treasury was simply insisting that the Board follow the same accounting procedures in the matter of capital as they followed in the matter of current expenditure. It would have been easier for the BOard if they had been allowed to exercise a greater degree of freedom in the area of capital expenditure but it was unrealistic to expect that the Treasury would continue to overlook the laxity of the Board in planning its capital expenditure programme. The Board eventually agreed to accept the Treasury's offer of an annual grant of £40,000 for building for the years 1887 to 1890. The Treasury also agreed to pay an additional £30,000 for capital projects previously sanctioned by the Board and not yet paid for.[62]

The annual amount for capital expenditure was reduced to £30,000 per annum in 1891 and this amount continued to be made available for building grants from then until 1896.[63] In 1895 the Board again considerably overspent its allocation of building grants. They spent almost double the amount of the vote for that year and as a result they were compelled the following year to suspend all building grants for a considerable time.[64] In December 1895 the Treasury warned that they felt under no obligation t o continue providing £30,000 a year for school building after the triennial period 1896 - 1899.

There followed a long correspondence with the Treasury in which the Board proposed that the annual grants for buildings should be converted into "grants-in-aid". This would enable unexpended balances to be carried over from year to year and the Board would be in a better position to regulate expenditure. (A total of £29,965 had been returned

to the exchequer as unexpended balances for the seven years ended 31 March 1895.) The Board also pressed for an annual grant of £60,000 per year for building.[65] As might be expected, the Treasury refused to agree to the proposal that the annual building grant would be voted as a grant-in-aid. Grants-in-aid had been gradually discontinued to all departments since 1866 and it was unrealistic to expect that a new grant-in-aid would be allowed. Following further negotiation, the Treasury finally agreed to raise the annual grant to £40,000 for the years 1896 to 1899.

The acceptance by the National Board of the Treasury's conditions regarding the allocation of the building grants has been cited by D.H.Akenson as indicative of the fact that the Commissioners of National Education in the 1880s and 1890s were "almost totally without political weight". He contrasted their "surrender on issue after issue to the Lords of the Treasury" with the actions of their predecessors of the 1830 to 1850 period. He concluded that the weakness of the Board vis-a-vis the Treasury was a result of a change in quality of the men chosen as commissioners, and stated that this

> meant a consequent reduction in the influence and authority of the commissioners of national education as a corporate body.[66]

This thesis interprets these events in a different light. The acceptance by the National Board of the conditions laid down by the Treasury is seen as indicative of the growing strength of the Treasury, not as a decrease in the strength of the Board. The actions of the Commissioners of National Education in the 1880s are seen in the context of a powerful Treasury department whose procedures were laid down by legislation and by Orders in Council, binding on all departments of the Civil Service. Seen in this way, it could validly be argued that the Commissioners of National Education had no option but to accept the Treasury's conditions, and that this acceptance was in no way a reflection of the weakness of the Board.

As in previous examples of protracted correspondence in relation to current expenditure, the National Board emerged relatively successfully from its encounter with the Treasury on the matter of the

building grants. The outcome of the negotiations was an agreement by the Treasury that an annual grant of £40,000 continue to be allocated for national school buildings. The overall situation of the National Board in relation to central exchequer financing by the end of the 19t_ century was very satisfactory. The average parliamentary grant towards the current costs of elementary education in Ireland ~~were~~ was in the region of £2.45 per pupil. In addition a further capital grant of £40,000 was available through the Board of Works vote bringing the total education grant per pupil up to over £2.50. In England the comparable amount was less than £1.80, despite the sizeable increase in the parliamentary vote to elementary education there under the terms of the 1891 Act.[67]

In terms of the overall situation during the period of payment by results in Ireland the parliamentary grant had increased from £394,209 in 1870 to £1,276,560 in 1897 - an increase of over 220%.[68] The increase in the average grant per pupil during the same period had been almost 200%. Since the Wholesale Price Index had fallen from 135.6 in 1871 to 93.2 in 1898,[69] the increase in the value of the parliamentary grant in constant prices was over 300%. Since the average attendance in the schools had increased by only 42% during the same period we can see that Irish national schools had been very generously treated by the exchequer during the period of payment by results.

Summary

The period from 1886 to 1898 was a period of consolidation for the Irish National Board. The rate of exchequer funding to Irish education through the National Board increased significantly during these years. The Board as an administrative body seemed to have had achieved a greater degree of acceptability among the Catholic hierarchy than in earlier years - possibly because the Church now realised that any alternative system might be based on the English model, a model that was proving unpalatable to the Catholic hierarchy in England. During the years of the Conservative government from 1886 to 1892 and from 1895 to 1898, no moves were made to make any concessions to the Irish Catholic hierarchy on the question of explicit recognition of denominational schools, as had been recommended by the Powis Commission in 1870 and as the bishops had called for on many occasions since. It appeared as if some concessions in this regard might well have been made by the Liberal govern-

ment through Chief Secretary Morley in the period 1892 to 1895 but the defeat of this government in 1895 ended any hopes to such reform. The correspondence between the National Board and the Irish executive on this question again underlined the anomalous position of the National Board in relation to the Executive and to parliament. The Board had power to amend its rules without reference to the Lord Lieutenant; yet the Lord Lieutenant had to answer to parliament for the actions of the Board. It was not surprising therefore, that the Executive was prepared to contemplate the abolition of the Board structure of administration but no action was taken on the matter at this stage, possibly because of the absence of a viable local authority structure.

In England the period in question was notable for the gradual phasing out of the system of payment by results in elementary schools, and for the introduction of free primary education in 1891. The abolition of fees in primary schools was facilitated by the availability of funds under the Probate Duty Act of 1888 and the Customs and Excise Act of 1890. Chancellor of the Exchequer, George Goschen, was largely responsible for allocating these revenues to education and he was also responsible for devising a system under which Scotland and Ireland would benefit on a proportionate basis from any additional funding "in relief of local taxation" to English education.

We have already analysed the extent to which Irish elementary education benefitted from the additional grants and we have seen that in spite of apparent Treasury antagonism to Irish administration and to education departments generally, the funding of national education in Ireland in the period under review increased at an unprecedented rate.

But the good days of Irish national education were soon to end and ironically financial cutbacks coincided with the abolition of the results system - a system that had originally been devised to ensure that education would be both cheap and efficient.

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CHAPTER V

STATE INTERVENTION IN INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION IN IRELAND 1878 - 1898

In an earlier chapter we have seen that in the first half of the nineteenth century the notion of state intervention in education was not popular.[1] By mid-century it had been reluctantly conceded that some state support might be necessary to provide basic elementary education for the poor; but it was generally believed that secondary education was the reserve of the middle classes and as such should not be supported by the state. In all countries of the United Kingdom, certain endowments existed in support of intermediate education, but in Ireland these endowments were used exclusively in support of Protestant schools as the Penal Laws of earlier centuries had precluded Catholics from benefitting from them. Intermediate education for Catholics was provided on a limited basis by various religious orders and diocesan seminaries.

A number of committees sat in the years from 1830 to 1870 to inquire into the existing endowed secondary schools. In 1835 a select committee under the chairmanship of Thomas Wyse examined various Foundation schools in Ireland and recommended that a denominationally mixed intermediate education system be established.[2] In 1854 a Royal Commission was set up to inquire into Endowed Schools in Ireland and this commission which reported in 1858, recommended that the endowments be redistributed to take account of Catholic schools and that a new mixed board should be set up to administer these endowments.[3] It was suggested that any school benefitting from endowments should be required to offer combinted literary education to pupils of all denominations. In other words, the commission recommended the establishment of a mixed system of intermediate education based on the original tenets of the national school system as laid down in the Stanley letter. Predictably, the Catholic hierarchy objected to such a plan. In March 1859 a large meeting of Catholics, both lay and clerical, was held in Cork and it was resolved that

> No form of intermediate education is suited to a Catholic people, unless it be granted to them in separate schools, and on terms always strictly in accordance with the teaching and discipline of the Catholic Church. [4]

Eight years later, in 1867, Cardinal Cullen reiterated the Catholic Church's objection to any move to introduce a system of mixed secondary education, when he stated:

> It is quite necessary that we should preserve our intermediate educational establishments in their present independence and free from all Government control. [5]

In England a Royal Commission was set up in 1864 under the chairmanship of Baron Taunton (formerly Henry Labouchere, who had been Chief Secretary in Ireland from 1846-7) to inquire into post-elementary education in that country, particularly those schools financed from endowments. The Taunton Commission recommended a rationalisation of endowments which were at that time available for intermediate schools, and suggested that a scheme of state-aided intermediate education be established on a provincial basis.[6] A year later the Endowed Schools Act re-organised the existing endowments and charitable trusts for education but it did not extend state aid to intermediate education. Nevertheless the recommendations of the Taunton Commission suggested that public opinion was changing in favour of state intervention in intermediate education.

In Ireland the government had made a number of tentative efforts in the decades before 1878 to intervene in the area of intermediate education. In 1859 following the publication of the Royal Commission on Endowed Schools, it was indicated in the House of Lords that the government had plans to introduce a system of mixed intermediate education in Ireland.[7] During the subsequent decade, no moves were made by the government to develop a system along these lines as the Catholic hierarchy had made it clear that such a system would not be acceptable to them. In the early 1870s, the question of state aid to intermediate education became a live issue again. In February 1873, the Catholic hierarchy sent a petition to Gladstone asking for state support for Catholic intermediate schools.[8] Around the same period,

the O'Conor Don, a Catholic M.P., suggested that

> some such system as payment by results, applying the endowments to different schools in proportion to their success in teaching, might usefully be adopted. [9]

In June 1874 a Member of Parliament for Limerick, Richard O'Shaughnessy proposed a motion

> That the present state of intermediate education in Ireland is unsatisfactory and requires the immediate and serious attention of Her Majesty's Government. [10]

Chief Secretary Hicks-Beach, replied that the Government would give the matter attention.*

The provisions of the Irish Church Act of 1869 contributed indirectly to the decision of the government to intervene in the area of Irish intermediate education. Under this Act the Church of Ireland was disestablished and revenues from funds previously applied to the established church were made available to the state for redistribution. The possibility of redistributing this income in such a way that all denominations would receive equal funds was initially considered by the government. But it was finally decided that this method of allocation would not be adopted and instead the 1869 bill provided that the former revenues of the funds of the Church of Ireland would be distributed for general measures of social welfare, to be distributed by the state without religious distinction:[11] intermediate education was one area which benefitted from Church disestablishment. In 1878 the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act was passed, and under this act a Board of Commissioners was set up with responsibility for administering a fund for intermediate education.[12]

On 21 June 1878, the Lord Chancellor introduced the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Bill in the House of Lords. In his speech introducing the Bill, he said:

* For a full discussion of events leading up to the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 see J.Coolahan, The Origins of the Payment by Results policy in Education and the Experience of it in the National and Intermediate Schools of Ireland, Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, T.C.D., 1975, Chapter VII.

> My Lords: if I describe what is the state of intermediate education in Ireland at present, I can only use an extremely short expression - its state is decidedly bad. Intermediate education in that country is defective in quality and it is inadequate in quantity.[13]

Two years earlier, the Chief Secretary, Hicks-Beach, had produced a draft scheme for an Intermediate Education Bill. In 1877 he won the support of the Lord Lieutenant, Marlborough, for his scheme. In December 1877, he presented a memorandum to the Cabinet proposing the introduction of a payment by results method of endowment for Catholic schools affiliated to an Intermediate Education Board.[14] During the preceding months, Hicks-Beach had involved himself in careful negotiation with lay educationalists and with the R.C. hierarchy. When the Bill was introduced in June 1878 clerical approval had been in principle secured. The Bill proposed a system which would give indirect state subsidisation for Catholic schools and as such was by and large acceptable to the Catholic bishops. Dr. Conway described the scheme as "admirable ... excellent" and assured the Chief Secretary that the bishops were

> most sensible of the courtesy you have shown and of the confidence you have reposed in them, as well as the fair and impartial spirit with which you have addressed yourself to so vexed a question.[15]

Under the terms of the Intermediate Act of 1878, the Lord Lieutenant was empowered to appoint an Intermediate Board of seven men who would be responsible for administering grants to intermediate schools. The powers of this Board were limited. Unlike the Commissioners of National Education, the Intermediate Commissioners could not give grants for the setting up of schools, or in any way to regulate the conduct of intermediate education.[16] Their powers were limited to acting as an examining body and to paying premiums to schools on the basis of the results of examinations. The other major difference between the two Boards was that the Intermediate Board gave funds to explicitly denominational schools. Schools receiving aid from the Intermediate Board had to observe a conscience clause forbidding pupils to attend religious instruction which his parents and guardians had not sanctioned, but otherwise the denominational nature of intermediate schools in receipt of aid from the Board was accepted by the new Board.

The method of financing intermediate education set out in the Intermediate Education Act was based on a system of payment by results. The newly set up Board of Intermediate Commissioners was given a capital sum of £1 million from the Church Temporalities Fund. This capital would be invested and the income from the investment would be used every year to finance a scheme of payment by results based on

(a) the provision of exhibitions and prizes to students, and

(b) the payment to managers of schools of "fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students.[17]

As this money was the only income at the disposal of the Intermediate Board, all costs incurred by the Board, including administration, examinations etc. had to be met from this income. As a result, the Intermediate Board was spared the annual scrutiny of the Treasury and of Parliament which was the lot of government departments financed by annual vote of Parliament. The role of the Irish government and of the Treasury in relation to intermediate education was limited, but not non-existent. The government appointed the seven Commissioners of Intermediate education; it also appointed two (paid) assistant commissioners and approved other staff as required. Moreover, the rules and regulations of the Board were subject to the approval of the government. Because the Board was set up under an Act of Parliament, significant changes in the rules had to be ratified by Parliament and would have to be embodied in an amending Act. In this sense, intermediate education was legislatively subject to Parliament, which national education was not. But the Annual Vote for National Education was laid before the Houses of Parliament and in this way the National Board was financially more dependent on Parliament than the Intermediate Board. The expenditure of the National Board was also dependent on Treasury sanction which was not the case with the expenditure of the Intermediate Board. The annual income of the Intermediate Board was fixed and the allocation of the income was a matter for the Board within the limits of its annual income. In this way, the Intermediate Board differed from the National Board whose income was not fixed but who had to submit and get approval for each item of the vote from the government and Treasury. The National Board practised a method of budget financing whereas the Intermediate Board's

system was fixed income financing.

Under the terms of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1878, the Board had to obtain the approval of the Treasury to the appointment of examiners "and such other officers as they deem necessary for the purposes of this Act".[18] Salary increases also had to be approved by the Treasury. In addition, section 10 of the Act required the Board to prepare accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the capital and revenues "derived from all funds under the control of the Board" and to submit these accounts to the Controller and Auditor-General

> to be audited, certified and reported upon with reference to the provisions of the Act, and in conformity with the powers and regulations prescribed in the Exchequer and Audit Departments Act, 1866, for the rendering and auditing of appropriation accounts.

Under the terms of this Act, the Treasury reserved the right to question any item of expenditure which it might regard as not covered by the power of the Intermediate Board. Treasury approval was thus necessary for any changes in the rules and regulations of the Intermediate Board insofar as they related to financing. But in spite of the fact that the Intermediate Board was set up by an Act of Parliament, it was not a department of the Civil Service. Its staff was not subject to Civil Service rules relating to recruitment, grading, salary or superannuation. As late as 1914 the Assistant Commissioner of Intermediate Education, Mr. W.F.Butler, in his evidence to the Commission on the Civil Service said:

> We have adopted Civil Service regulations as regards hours and leave and rates of increment, but we are not regarded as Civil Servants by the Civil Service Commissioners or by the law authorities. [19]

On a number of occasions, while giving evidence he re-iterated "We are not Civil Servants". He explained that the staff of the Intermediate Board

> are held to be in the employment of the Board and not directly of the Crown. We are paid out of the ordinary income of the Board and do not come in any way under the purview actually of the Civil Service Commissioners.

On the other hand, the fact that the 1878 Act required Treasury approval for salary increases for the staff of the Intermediate Board, gave to the Treasury a certain power over certain aspects of staffing of the Intermediate Board. Referring to this aspect in 1914, W.F.Butler discussed the ambiguous situation of the staff of the Intermediate Board. He maintained that when it suited the Treasury, members of staff of the Intermediate Board were treated as Civil Servants. He stated

> Where it suits the Treasury, where there is a limitation, they impose certain hours upon us and they look very strictly into such matters as sick leave and pension.

But when it was a question of getting salary increases in line with the staff of the Civil Service in general, members of the Intermediate Board staff were not seen as Civil Servants. Mr. Butler alleged that in such instances

> the Treasury always refuse to give way to our men on any claim corresponding to what Civil Servants would get. [20]

Following the setting up of the Intermediate Board in 1878 the £1 million from the Church Temporalities Fund was invested at 3.25% per annum. This rate and payment of the principal was guaranteed by the Treasury for a period of 18 years from 24.2.1879. The annual income of the Board from this source up to 1896 was in the region of £32,500.[21] Under the initial terms of the 1878 Act, the Board could not apply the savings of one year towards meeting a deficiency in a succeeding year. As a result of this restriction the Board found itself in the early years with an annual surplus which it was not in a position to use. This surplus was used to create a reserve fund. In its first report for 1879 the Board stated:

> There is little doubt that the claims on the funds in future years will largely exceed those of this year and will be sufficient to absorb the whole of the annual income; and it is highly ~~poibable~~ probable that ultimately the fund may prove inadequate to carry out the intentions of the legislative. [22]

This forecast by the Board proved to be accurate and the number of students examined by the Board increased from 3,954 in 1879 to 5,561 in 1880 to 6,952 in 1881.[23] The increase was particularly significant in the case of girls - in 1879 only 736 girls were examined, whereas by 1881 a total of 1,805 girls presented themselves for Board examinations.[24] As a result of the increase in the number of students presenting themselves, the amount paid in results fees increased from £7,778 in 1879 to £15,828 in 1881.[25]

In the annual report for 1880 the Board expressed its satisfaction at the increase in the number of students presenting themselves for examination but it also expressed concern that its annual income might not be sufficient to meet the demands made. It was stated that

> It will, therefore, become necessary for the Board, unless further sums are placed at their disposal, to diminish the number and amounts of their rewards and lower the scale of the Results Fees. [26]

In the years 1881 and 1882 educational considerations became a function of administrative and financial constraints. At the end of 1881, the Board felt that the income for the following year would not be adequate to meet the growing demands on the system unless changes were made in the method of distributing the money. The capital assets of the Board had indeed been growing since 1878 because in the early years the unexpended income had been re-invested, but the terms of the 1878 Act precluded the Board from spending savings from one year in a subsequent year. Therefore, in 1882 the Board found it necessary to change its rules so that monetary payments both for results fees and for exhibitions and prizes to students would be reduced. The pass mark for each subject was raised from 20 to 25%. The number of divisions in which a student had to pass was raised from two to three. The results fees were decreased by 50% and both the number and value of prizes and exhibitions was reduced. Before 1882, 1 in 10 students

were awarded prizes or exhibitions; as a result of the change in rules the ratio was reduced to 1 in 15.[27]

The change in rules in 1882 led to a fall in the number of students presenting for examination. The number decreased from 6,952 in 1881 to 6,614 in 1882 and the percentage who passed fell from 67% to 60% The Board, in its annual report for 1882, acknowledged

> that this falling off is mainly to be attributed to the reductions in the Amount of Exhibitions and Prizes and in the scale of Results Fees, which the financial position of the Board at the end of 1881 obliged them to announce in the Rules for 1882.[28]

Predictably, the schools objected strongly to the reduction in fees. A deputation met the Chief Secretary, Forster, in January 1882 and represented to him that if the new rules were not amended the system of intermediate education would be abandoned altogether by many schools.[29] Two months later, in March 1882, the Standing Committee of the Headmasters' Associations presented a joint memorial to the Board in which they argued that the reduction in the results fees and exhibitions resulting from the changes in the rules for 1882 had "gone far to defeat the object intended by the Act".[30]

As a result of these representations an amending Act to the 1878 Act was passed in 1882, allowing the Board to use its surplus funds and effectively negating the clause in the 1878 Act which had precluded the Board from transferring the savings from one year to a subsequent year or years.[31] The outcome of this measure was that the Board had at its disposal in 1883 a surplus of over £15,000 accumulated from earlier years. This enabled the rules to be relaxed again and in 1883 it was decided to increase the scale of results fees by 33% and to restore the original proportion between the number of prizes and exhibitions and the number of students who passed.[32] From 1883 onwards these prizes were again awarded to one in ten students instead of one in 15 as had been the case in 1882.

The removal of the restriction in relation to carrying over funds from year to year meant that from 1882 onwards the Intermediate Board

had the option of either spending its surplus income in a subsequent year or of re-investing this income. In view of the criticisms of the schools in 1882 of the limited amount paid out in fees and prizes one would have expected that after 1882 the Board would have taken a policy decision to spend as much of its income as possible. Surprisingly, this did not happen. In the years between 1882 and 1889 quite a large proportion of the Board's income was re-invested annually and the amount made available for the payment of fees and prizes did not increase significantly.[33]

A large proportion of the Board's income was paid out in prizes and exhibitions to individual students. Exhibitions worth £20 a year and tenable for three years were awarded to students who obtained the highest places at the examination for the first year and who passed in at least three divisions.[34] Exhibitions worth £30 a year and tanable for two years were awarded to students obtaining the highest places at the examination for the second year and who passed in at least three divisions. In addition to the exhibitions, silver medals and book prizes were awarded to students who passed in three divisions at least and obtained a certificate of merit in two of them.

The following table gives details of the total expenditure by the Intermediate Board on results fees and prizes. It also indicates the number of students presented at the Board's examinations and the average amount of results fees paid by the Board in respect of each student presented for examination in the period 1879 to 1890.

TABLE 5.1

Amount paid by the Intermediate Board on (i) results fees, (ii) exhibitions and prizes to individual students. Number of students presented at the Board's examinations and average fees paid in respect of each student, 1879 to 1890. 35

Year	Total Expenditure on Results fees and prizes	Exhibitions and Prizes	Results Fees	No. of Students presented	Av. Fees per student
	£	£	£		£
1879	12,463	4,685	7,778	3,954	1.97
1880	19,377	9,334	10,043	5,561	1.81
1881	25,412	9,584	15,828	6,953	2.28
1882	16,068	10,009	6,059	6,614	0.92
1883	14,230	8,664	5,566	6,162	0.90
1884	17,560	9,267	8,293	5,504	1.51
1885	16,675	9,802	6,873	5,181	1.33
1886	23,249	12,223	11,026	5,542	1.99
1887	24.634	13,453	11,181	5,931	1.89
1888	26,218	14,173	12,045	6,058	1.99
1889	23,228	13,104	10,124	6,533	1.55
1890	20,723	11,816	8,907	5,236	1.70

This table shows that the average amount of results fees paid by the Board in respect of each student who was presented for the Board examinations fell from almost £2 to less than £1 per capita between 1879 and 1882, whereas the amount paid in exhibitions and prizes more than doubled in the same period. By the second half of the 1880s the average fee per pupil had stabilised around the original 1879 figure but the number of students being presented for examination had not increased significantly in the ten year period.

A comparison of the income of the Board and the amount allocated for results fees and prizes shows that in the 1880s less than 50% of the Board's income was paid out to the schools and the students participating in the intermediate education system. Apart from the high carry-over of surplus income, the main reason for this was the fact that all administrative costs had to be met by the Board from its

own income. The administrative costs were returned under two headings - the office costs, i.e. salaries of the assistant commissioners, office staff, heating, rent and stationery etc; and the costs of the examinations themselves, i.e. salaries, emoluments and expenses of examiners, costs of printing and distributing examination papers, costs of renting centres and paying superintendents etc. Some of the latter costs were offset by examination fees but the proportion covered in this way was usually less than 10%.

The costs incurred in conducting the examinations were high. In the early years of the Board, generous fees were paid to the examiners who were responsible for setting and correcting the examinations. A minimum of £50 was paid to examiners in Greek, Latin, English and Mathematics up to a maximum of £100. A minimum of £30 was paid to examiners in modern languages, physics, drawing and music up to a maximum of £60 and a minimum of £20 was paid to examiners in arithmetic up to a maximum of £100.[36] To earn the maximum, examiners were required to correct 500 papers. In addition, a sum of £20 was paid "to each male local examiner, in addition to his locomotive expenses" for work connected with supervising the examinations.

In the early years, some criticism was made of the high cost of administering the funds of the Intermediate Board. A member of the Board, the O'Conor Don, pointed out in 1879 that £11,315 was spent in distributing £12,000.[37]

The cost of administration (including examination costs) accounted for up to 50% of the Board's expenditure during the period 1878 to 1890 and compared unfavourably with the proportion of the vote (less than 10%) spent on administering and inspecting national education. As a result of the fixed income system of the Intermediate Board and the fact that administrative costs had to be met from income, a major problem arose when administrative costs began to increase. The Board regarded expenditure on administration as a first priority and the salaries of administrative and examining staff had to be paid regardless of other expenditure. The amount available for educational purposes, i.e. results fees and prizes etc., consequently suffered. In the earlier years of the Board, administrative costs did not cause a serious problem but as the office staff increased and inflation grew,

the problem became more acute.

The following table shows the costs incurred on administration and examination; the total outgoings of the Board (i.e. results fees, exhibitions and prizes and administrative and examination costs) and administrative and examination costs as a proportion of the total outgoings of the Board in the period 1882 to 1890. It can be seen from this table that administrative and examination costs accounted for between one-third and one-half of the Board's expenditure during this period.

TABLE 5.2

(a) Costs incurred by the Intermediate Board on administration and examination; (b) Total outgoings of the Board; (c) Administration and examination costs as a proportion of total outgoings in the years 1882 to 1890. 38

Year	(a) Expenditure on			(b) Total Outgoings of the Board	(a) as % of (b)
	Adm.& Exam.	Adminis-tration	Exam-ination		
	£	£	£	£	
1882	13,621	3,737	9,884	29,689	46%
1883	12,364	3,561	8,803	26,594	46%
1884	10,972	3,416	7,556	28,532	38%
1885	10,711	3,417	7,294	27,386	39%
1886	10,736	3,074	7,662	33,985	32%
1887	11,895	3,529	8,366	36,529	33%
1888	12,230	3,587	8,643	38,448	32%
1889	12,589	3,363	9,226	35,817	35%
1890	11,147	3,445	7,702	31,870	35%

The fact that the Intermediate Board was not a Civil Service department was a disadvantage in this respect. Its obligation to meet all of its expenses from its endowment reduced significantly the amount available for distribution to the schools and pupils. Moreover, the knowledge that they were bound by statute to live within their means meant that the Intermediate Commissioners were more cautious than their counterparts on the National Board in relation to

expenditure. The National Board could always have recourse to a supplemental estimate or at worst to the Treasury's Contingency Fund. The Intermediate Commissioners had no such option. They were bound by the limits of their own income and they were meticulous in expending within these limits. Their concern not to overspend in any year led to a situation where they underspent at least 10% (and sometimes up to 18%) of their annual income, as the annual accounts for the years 1882 to 1890 show.

TABLE 5.3

Annual accounts of the Intermediate Board for the years 1882 to 1890 showing total income and sources of this income, including amounts carried over from previous years. 39

Year	Total Income	Amount carried over from previous yr.	Interest on Securities	Interest on Cash on Deposit	Examination Fees
1882	49,630	15,898	32,683	55	994
1883	37,174	3,623	32,552	82	916
1884	40,893	7,303	32,708	54	827
1885	38,942	5,206	32,869	92	774
1886	40,659	6,728	33,058	65	808
1887	38,417	299	33,151	42	853
1888	40,904	1,608	33,020	25	869
1889	37,802	875	32,911	31	932
1890	35,649	1,926	32,790	65	761

The Intermediate Board found that the system of fixed income financing caused constraints which were different to those suffered by boards working a system of budget financing. The National Board adjusted its budget to take account of any changes in its rules, or in the number of schools, teachers or pupils benefitting from its grants. The Intermediate Board on the other hand, had to adjust its rules to take into account the limitations of its income. In its report for 1887, the Intermediate Board stated:

> There are so many variable elements upon which the amount of the Board's expenditure depends that it is extremely difficult to calculate the effects of any changes in the amounts payable for Results Fees and Exhibitions. 40

An example of the problems encountered by the Intermediate Board in calculating the effects of any change in its rules was the situation that resulted in 1886 and 1887 when the value of results fees and exhibitions was increased. We have seen that in the years 1884 to 1886 almost 18% of the Board's income was unexpended and carried over to subsequent years. In order to use more of its current income, the Board decided in 1886 to amend its rules. It increased results fees by 20% and also increased the value of exhibitions, but this resulted in a deficit of almost £2,500 in 1887. In 1888 the deficit was £5,440 and this had to be met by using part of the accumulated surpluses of earlier years.[41]

Following this action, the Board warned that it could not continue to use its reserve fund in this way. In the report for 1888 it pointed out that the capital assets in the reserve fund had fallen to less than £13,000, and it stated that

> as the Board considers it advisable to hold a substantial reserve fund, they have, in view of the steady increase in the number of candidates, endeavoured to frame their rules in such a way as to avoid the necessity of diminishing this fund to any considerable extent.[42]

The following year the Board introduced a new procedure which would ensure that the problems encountered in 1887 and 1888 would not arise again. They repeated their determination not to use their reserve fund and decided that henceforth

> the amounts of Exhibitions and Prizes (should be fixed) upon the principle that the residue of the deficiency should be apportioned, as nearly as might be, reliably between the total sums awarded for "Rewards" and "Results Fees" respectively.[43]

This new rule simplified the administrative procedures of the Board, and provided a mechanism which ensured that the Board would not commit itself in advance to spending more than its income. It enabled the Board to wait until after the examination papers were corrected to decide on how much could be paid on results fees. From an administrative point of view, this action was beneficial in that it enabled the Board to balance its budget. But it was undesirable from an

educational point of view. The amount of money available would henceforth control the proportion of passes obtained by pupils rather than vice-versa. It would from now on be a case of the tail wagging the dog.

In 1889, the Catholic hierarchy called on the government to increase

> the amount of the Funds allocated by the State for the carrying out of the system which is admitted on all sides to be totally inadequate.

They also asked that "the results fees obtained by schools should be increased".[44]

In 1890 the government overcame the problem of the underendowment of intermediate education by allocating a portion of the newly available whisky money to the Intermediate Board.[45]

Under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, a sum of £78,000 was set aside for primary education and

> the residue shall, unless Parliament otherwise determines, be paid to the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland and be distributed and applied by them amongst schools to which the provisions of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act apply for both or either of the purposes following, but for no other purposes, namely
>
> (a) for the payment to Managers of Schools complying with the said Act, of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students;
>
> and
>
> (b) for the payment of prizes and exhibitions and the giving of certificates to students, according to a scheme to be settled by the said Board with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant and Treasury.[46]

The residue which became available for intermediate education from Customs and Excise duties (known as the whisky or taxation money) varied from year to year, as the following figures show:

TABLE 5.4

Amount of money available for intermediate education under the Local Taxation Act, 1890 in the years 1891 to 1900.[47]

	£
1891	39,042
1892	47,527
1893	44,164
1894	44,261
1895	40,719
1896	47,233
1897	50,842
1898	54,175
1899	57,975
1900	71,400

While the availability of such a large amount of additional money eased the financial problems of the Intermediate Board, the annual variation in this money during the period created many difficulties. The problems involved in forecasting educational expenditure remained unchanged although the large increase in the Board's funds made such problems less apparent until later years when the amount available from the whisky money fell.

In the first few years after the local taxation grant became available, most of the money allocated to the Intermediate Board was invested and very little was spent on either results fees, exhibitions or prizes. In 1891 almost £33,000 of the local taxation money was invested in 2½% stock[48] and the following year over £46,000 was invested in a similar stock.[49] By 1894, a total of £85,000 of the local taxation money had been invested in a new investment account and this account in turn yielded a further annual revenue for the Board. In 1892 and 1893 the Board spent only 36% of its income on results fees, exhibitions and prizes.[50]

The action of the Board in building up its reserve fund to this extent, seems to have given the impression in Dublin Castle that the Intermediate Board was overendowed. In 1895, the parliamentary secretary to the Chief Secretary, Mr. Pearse, suggested that the "unapplied" income of the Intermediate Board might be diverted to

technical education.[51] At a meeting of the Technical Education Association for Ireland, the chairman Dunbar Barton, reported that at a parliamentary committee meeting this suggestion had been made and that a second reading of the Bill to amend the law relating to technical education in Ireland had been postponed to enable the Chief Secretary, Morley, to look into the matter. But the Technical Education Committee was not in favour of applying for money which had been allocated to intermediate education and they passed a resolution

> that the committee are of opinion that it would be unwise to apply to have any portion of the Intermediate vote devoted towards technical instruction.

In any event, the Intermediate Board had begun to take action to enable it to expend a higher proportion of its income on fees and prizes. In 1892 the value of results fees, exhibitions and prizes was increased. A new Preparatory Grade examination for pupils aged from 12 to 14 years was introduced and a new Commercial course was introduced for Middle and Senior Grade examinations.[52] In 1894 the Board again amended its rule sto offer a further increase in results fees. By doing this, the Board expected

> to induce managers of schools to present an increased number of pupils for examinations, and with the number of passes and results fees earned, the amounts payable for money prizes and exhibitions must increase.[53]

The changes in the rules led to the expected increase in expenditure on results fees and prizes and exhibitions in the period after 1892 as the following table shows:

TABLE 5.5

Expenditure by the Intermediate Board on Results Fees and Exhibitions and Prizes in the years 1892 to 1899.[54]

Year	Expenditure on		
	(a) Results Fees (£s)	(b) Exhibitions and Prizes	(c) Total (a) + (b)
1892	22,651	10,035	32,686
1893	28,992	13,218	42,210
1894	45,781	15,080	60,861
1895	54,868	15,437	70,305
1896	52,782	15,532	68,314
1897	48,870	17,361	66,231
1898	49,455	18,465	67,920
1899	53,094	18,798	71,892

In spite of the large increase in the Board's income from the Whisky Money in the 1890s, it was found necessary in 1895 and 1896 to withdraw some money from the Capital Reserve Fund to meet current costs. In order to ensure that such action would not be necessary the following year, the amount of Results Fees paid to Preparatory and Junior Grades was reduced.[55]

This reduction was necessitated in part by the fact that the Board's interest on securities fell from over almost £34,000 in 1896 to £29,000 in 1897 and subsequent years. This reduction was due to the fact that the £1 million which had been first invested in 1879 was re-invested at a less favourable rate in 1897.[56] In that year, the original debentures of the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland expired, and the Land Commission renewed them for a reduced rate of 2¾% per annum, guaranteed by the Treasury, as they had been before. The fall in the interest rate meant a loss of £5,000 per annum in the Board's annual income after 1896.

As a result of the availability of the Local Taxation money for intermediate education, the income of the Board had more than doubled in the period between 1878 and 1899. The total results fees paid to

schools had increased fourfold in the same period and by 1899 the amount spent on results fees, exhibitions and prizes accounted for over 70% of the Board's income.

Many of the problems encountered during the early years of the Intermediate Board had been overcome. The schools seemed reasonably satisfied with the amount available to them in results fees. The proportion of the Board's income being spent on administration had fallen to an acceptable level. With the availability of the plentiful Local Taxation money, funds were no longer a major problem for the Intermediate Board. During the late 19th and early 20th century, the Board was in an enviable position - it was unfettered by the tightening purse strings of the Treasury. It enjoyed a degree of autonomy in regard to availability and distribution of funds which was probably unique among departments of the government. But the basis on which the funds of the Board were administered, the system of payment by results, was falling out of favour in Great Britain and Ireland. The impetus for change had already been felt in English education and it was inevitable that Irish education would be affected by the same winds of change.

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CHAPTER VI

TOWARDS A NEW CENTURY
1898 - 1900

The conciliatory attitude of the Conservative government to Irish education in the period 1886 to 1898 has been discussed at some length in Chapter IV. Although Irish primary education was costing the exchequer more per pupil than English education, the government took no effective action during that period to reduce central government aid to Irish education, nor to bring it into line with elementary education in the rest of the United Kingdom. The question rationalising the system of secondary or intermediate education did not arise as English intermediate education was not in receipt of systematic state aid in the nineteenth century. But attitudes to State involvement in education were changing and these changing attitudes together with other factors affected the government's approach to Irish education in the period 1898 to 1900.

The Bryce Commission in England, 1894-95

The climate of opinion at the turn of the century was not in favour of systems of education which were aided but uncontrolled by government. The laissez-faire approach of the mid-century had given way to a school of thought which favoured an increased role for state action in social and educational affairs.[1] It was in this climate that in 1894 a commission was set up under the chairmanship of James Bryce

> to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies and having regard to such local sources of revenue for endowments or otherwise as are available or may be made available for this purpose and to make recommendation accordingly. [2]

The Commission reported in 1895 and its main recommendations were as follows:-

1. The setting up of a central authority for education - elementary, secondary and technical, with a permanent secretary and a Minister directly responsible to parliament.
2. The establishment of an educational council to advise and assist the Minister.
3. The setting up of Local Authorities for Secondary Education "to supply, maintain and aid schools".[3]

The Board of Education Act, 1899

Efforts were made by the government in 1896 to introduce a Bill which would implement all the recommendations of the Bryce report but because of strong opposition to the provisions of the Bill in relation to the composition of local education authorities, it was withdrawn in June 1896.[4] In 1898 the government introduced a further bill which enabled a single Board of Education to be set up in England. This Bill was passed in March 1899 and although its measures were permissive rather than mandatory it succeeded in creating a single Board of Education by merging the Education department, the Science and Art department and the Charity Commission into one body. The new Board of Education would have responsibility for the "superintendence" of primary, secondary and technical education in England and Wales and the existence of a single administrative department would ultimately lead to economy in administration. The Board's permanent staff was placed under a single secretary, the first of whom was Robert Morant.[5]

The precedent created by the setting up of a unified department of education in England with responsibility for all areas of education was to have a significant effect on the attitude of the Treasury to Irish education. Hitherto, expenditure by the Irish National Board was compared by the Treasury to government expenditure on English elementary education. After the 1899 Act, the Treasury would view educational expenditure on all areas of Irish education in the light of the parliamentary grant to the English Board of Education. The lack of co-ordination between the different branches of education in Ireland would lead to problems in this regard.

Attitudes to the Treasury

The Treasury had other reasons to look for economy in the area of education during this period. The outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 created unprecedented demands on the resource sof the central exchequer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1895 was Sir M. Hicks-Beach, who had been Chief Secretary to Ireland in the 1870s and 1880s. But Hicks-Beach's Irish connection did not make him more sympathetic to the cause of Irish education. As Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was "dour and toughminded" and did not fear unpopularity among his colleagues. He had no time for extravagence and was particularly unsympathetic to the spending departments. Although there was a surplus of revenue in the early years of his term of office as Chancellor, he resisted efforts to increase public expenditure. He was supported in his attitude by the First Lord of the Treasury A.J. Balfour, whose sympathies lay openly with the military departments.[6]

The Treasury's determination to reduce government expenditure on the spending departments generally was mitigated somewhat by the continued negative attitude to the Treasury by Prime Minister Salisbury. In 1895 he remarked that

> when the Treasury lays its hand on any matter connected with the future development of the British Empire the chances of our Imperial policy are small. [7]

In 1899 he again criticised the Treasury and pointed out to Hicks-Beach that

> I think you do not sufficiently allow for the very peculiar position given by our system to the Treasury, and which is very galling to other departments. That the Treasury should say that any expenditure is excessive or thriftless in regard to the aspects for which it is intended is obviously within its functions. But in practice the Treasury goes much farther. It acts as a sort of court of appeal on other departments .... I am bound to say that as a result of my experience during some fifteen years of cabinet office that I think in small matters the Treasury interferes too much. [8]

These views were expressed by him in a private letter to Hicks-Beach but less than a year later he voiced similar sentiments on a public occasion. In his address on the Queen's speech opening the new session of the House of Commons on 30 January 1900 he said:

> At the present time I feel assured that the powers of the Treasury have been administered with the greatest judgement, and the greatest consideration .... but I say that the exercise of its powers in governing every department of the Government is not for the public benefit. The Treasury has obtained a position in regard to the rest of the departments of the Government that the House of Commons obtained in the time of the Stuart dynasty. It has the power of the purse, and by exercising the power of the purse it claims a voice in all decisions of administrative authority and policy. I think that much delay and many doubtful resolutions have been the result of the peculiar position which, through many generations, the Treasury has accepted.

He then added

> .... the control of the Treasury has done harm ... it has had the effect of discouraging, of impeding, and of taking away the freedom and diminishing the initiative of the respective departments. I think it is an evil. [9]

It was not surprising then that this criticism was echoed regularly by public servants and members of the public during the following years. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin and a member of both the Intermediate and National Boards, said in March 1900:

> .... it is a very discouraging thing and it necessarily has a very deterrent effect to feel beforehand that one can do nothing unless he can succeed in first instructing and then converting to his views a number of people whose very identity is unknown to him; who live, in fact, during official hours in London, like the judges we read of in the tribunals of the old Venetian Republic. It requires no small stock of persevering determination to take such a thing in hand at all. [10]

Belmore Commission, 1897-98

Because of the Board's awareness that the Treasury could exercise an effective veto over any change in educational policy by refusing to sanction expenditure necessary for change, the Board had refused to introduce change in the national school programme in 1896 without the support of a Vice-Regal Commission. In March 1896 the National Board asked the Lord Lieutenant to receive a deputation on the subject of revising the national school curriculum.[11] The Lord Lieutenant replied that the Board was free to revise the programme without consulting him. But the Board refused to accept this reply as they realised it would be virtually impossible for the Board alone to introduce any significant changes.[12] They would need to have an assurance of support from the government and the Treasury for the financing of any changes. Palles wrote to the Lord Lieutenant complaining that because of the "stranglehold the Treasury held upon the throat of Irish education" it was virtually impossible for the Board to introduce any changes of its own accord.[13] He pointed out that seven years had been spent in correspondence with the Treasury about the question of introducing a kindergarten system into Ireland; that on five occasions the Board had been frustrated by the refusal of the Treasury to allow kindergarten to be introduced because of the anticipated cost and that on seven additional occasions the same request, when made by the Irish government, had also been refused sanction. The Lord Lieutenant finally agreed to accede to the request of the Board to set up a Vice-Regal Commission and in January 1897 a commission was set up under the chairmanship of the Earl of Belmore to

> inquire and report with a view to determining how far and in what form, manual and practical instruction should be included in the educational system of primary schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland. [14]

The Belmore Commission had fourteen members, ten of whom were also Commissioners of National Education. The other four members were the Earl of Belmore; T.B.Shaw, an inspector of science and art in England; J.Struthers, inspector of schools in Scotland and Monsignor Molloy of Dublin.

The recommendations of this Commission were to a large extent influenced by developments in elementary education in England and other countries during the previous decade. In England the Cross Commission in 1888 had suggested that the policy of payment by results there be reconsidered and that a system of fixed salaries for teachers be introduced. Changes were made in the English Code in 1890 to enable the Education Department to pay a fixed grant to schools in lieu of payment by examination results. By the end of the decade the system of payment by results had been effectively abolished in English elementary schools.[15]

The Belmore Commission was also affected by developments in European thought at the end of the nineteenth century. The period in question saw the emergence of what became known as the New Education Movement.[16] Proponents of this movement were opposed to the type of education given under the results system. Ireland was particularly affected by the attitude of the group known as "the practical educationists". This group saw the inclusion of an element of manual instruction as an essential part of the school curriculum - they also favoured the inclusion of science, drawing, nature study and physical education.[17] The New Education Movement was influenced in turn by the educational ideals of Froebel and Pestalozzi. These educationalists stressed the importance of providing adequate educational facilities for kindergarten occupations for very young children. Kindergarten had been introduced as an optional subject in Irish national schools in 1892 but this option had not been widely availed of before the end of the decade.

In Ireland the narrow nature of the primary school programme had been criticised by the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Walsh, when in 1886 he advocated the introduction of manual training in primary schools.[18] Dr. Walsh was appointed to the National Board in 1895 and he soon became involved in the move to reform Irish education. His main supporters on the Board were Chief Baron Palles, and Professor Fitzgerald both of whom believed that the national school programme should be reformed.[19] Palles, Fitzgerald and Walsh were all members of the Belmore Commission which published its first report in February 1897 only a month after it had been set up. The Final report was signed in June 1898 and its findings were to have a far-reaching effect on

Irish education.

An analysis of the report of the Belmore Commission indicates the extent to which its findings had been affected by the philosophy of the New Education Movement and by recent developments in English education. The Commission was critical of the programme which existed in Irish national schools at the time; stating that

> The present system which consists largely in the study of books is one-sided in character and it leaves some of the most useful facilities of the mind absolutely untrained.[20]

It recommended the introduction of a wider curriculum, noting in particular the growing trend towards technical education. It stated

> A strong desire exists throughout the country, and it is growing stronger every day, for the introduction of a general system of Technical Education.[21]

This was undoubtedly a reference to the movement led by Horace Plunkett, which resulted in the setting up in 1899 of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, referred to later in this chapter.

Among the subjects which the Commission felt should be introduced in Irish national schools were Kindergarten and Educational Handwork, Drawing, Elementary Experimental Science, Cookery and Laundry Work, Singing, School Discipline and Physical Drill.

The Commission was not in favour of extending the system of payment by results to the new subjects which it recommended. In this regard the report stated

> While it should be open to the Inspector to examine individual pupils, we think that the grant awarded to the teacher, in these subjects, should largely depend on the general efficiency of his own zeal and industry, on the efficiency of his method of teaching, and on his power to arrest and hold the attention of his class.[22]

The Commission accepted the idea that the role of the school should be wider than merely that of imparting a knowledge of the three R's. It envisaged that the new system of education

> would give an all round training to the faculties of the children, and would thus lay a solid foundation for any system of higher education - literary, scientific or technical - which might afterwards be found suitable to their talents and circumstances. [23]

This was a new view of the national school system. Hitherto, the national schools had been seen as providing a rudimentary education for the poorer classes. Henceforth, their role would be analogous to that of preparatory schools, where pupils would be prepared for either secondary academic education in the intermediate schools, or for technical training in the newly established technical schools.

But the Commission made no effort to redefine the institutional arrangements under which such a radically new approach to elementary education should be administered. It would have been reasonable for the government and the Treasury to have taken the point of view that a structure which had been set up in 1831 to administer "a system of National Education for the poorer (lower) classes of the community" would not be a suitable structure for administering a system of education whose underlying philosophy had undergone such radical change. It is quite clear that the government's attitude to the Board changed significantly shortly after the publication of the report of the Belmore Commission, and the effects of this will be discussed in a later chapter.

In October 1898 the National Board endorsed the findings of the Belmore Commission and set up a committee to consider the report "with a view to giving effect as speedily as possible to its recommendations".[24] An important aspect of the general reform of the national school system introduced by the Board in 1900 as a result of the recommendations of the Belmore Commission, was the abolition of the system of payment by results.

The decision of the National Board to abolish payment by results

meant that in this regard the Irish system of primary education was about to come into line with England. But more radical structural reform would not be within the powers of the National Board. A move towards a co-ordinated system of education, such as had recently been effected in England under the 1899 Act, could only be undertaken by the Irish government.

Commission on Intermediate Education, 1898-99

There were also indications that the Intermediate Board was not fully satisfied with the system which it had administered since 1878. In January 1898 the Commissioners of Intermediate Education passed a resolution calling on the Lord Lieutenant to set up a commission to enquire into the system of intermediate education in Ireland. The resolution was as follows:[25]

> That this Board, as a result of their experience of the working of the system established by the Intermediate Education Act, 1878, feel satisfied that there are many defects in the system, with several of the more serious of which they are powerless to deal under the existing statutes, and they therefore request His Excellency, the Lord Lieutenant, to constitute the Members of the Board with such others (if any) as he may think fit, a Commission to enquire into the system and into its practical working, and to report whether any enlargement of the statutory powers of the Board is desirable with a view to the improvement of the system.

The request of the Intermediate Board that the commission should be made up of the members of the Board and "such others a sthe Lord Lieutenant might think fit" suggests that the Intermediate Commissioners were influenced by the format of the Belmore Commission which had been set up a year earlier to investigate the question of manual and practical instruction in national schools. But the Lord Lieutenant was anxious to minimise the cost of the Commission on Intermediate Education[26] and in April 1898 when he authorised the setting up of the commission under the chairmanship of Lord Palles, he specified that it should consist simply of the seven members of the Intermediate Board: Lord Chief Baron Palles; Justice Madden; Rev. George Salmon; The O'Conor Don; Rev. Todd Martin; Dr. Barkley and Archbishop Walsh. The terms of reference of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Commission (hereinafter

referred to as the Palles Commission) were sufficiently broad to enable the Commissioners to carry out a thorough investigation of the system and, if necessary, to recommend radical change in the structure of Intermediate education in Ireland. The commissioners were asked

> to inquire into and report upon the system of Intermediate Education in Ireland, as established by the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, and into its practical working. Also as to whether any reforms or alterations of the present system are desirable, and, if so, whether further legislation is necessary for carrying them into effect.[27]

Like the Belmore Commission, the Commission on Intermediate Education in 1898 was strongly influenced by educational developments in the rest of Europe. In their final report, the commissioners referred to developments in Germany where much had been done to improve the methods of secondary education by developing the system of Realschulen, and extend it so as to meet "modern needs". They also referred to the situation in France where a commission on secondary education had been sitting and where "widespread discussion has taken place in that country on the subject of this department of education". Reference was made to "similar activity" in the United States of America where the methods used in secondary schools had recently been the subject of inquiry.[28] The position within the United Kingdom was seen as particularly relevant. The findings of the Royal Commission set up in 1894 to consider "the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of Secondary Education in England" (the Bryce Commission) were found to be of "much assistance". The situation in Wales was also examined. A Departmental Committee of inquiry on secondary education had been set up there in 1880 (the Aberdare Committee) and an Act had been passed in 1889 under which secondary education had been organised. In Scotland similar measures had been passed in 1886 when a system of inspection for secondary schools had been established and a leaving certificate examination had been instituted.

It is interesting to note that although the Commission on Intermediate Education had studied the systems of secondary education in these countries, it did not comment on the potential effect that the administrative structures of these systems might have on the system of Intermediate education in Ireland. In Wales the Welsh Intermediate

Education Act of 1889 had set up local education authorities charged with the duty of working out schemes of intermediate and technical education for each country. The Welsh Act was the first to use the administrative possibilities of the newly formed county councils for the purposes of education.

Close on the heels of the Welsh Intermediate Act had come the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. This Act authorised the new local authorities of England and Wales to levy up to one penny on the rates for technical and manual instruction. The provisions of this Act were based on the findings of the Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (The Samuelson Report) which had issued its findings in 1884. The Samuelson report had recommended inter alia

> that local authorities be empowered, if they think fit, to establish, maintain, and contribute to the establishment and maintenance of secondary and technical (including agricultural) schools and colleges.[29]

But the Act of 1889 made no provision for including secondary education among the responsibilities of the local authorities in England.

In view of the overt recognition given by the Intermediate Education Commission of 1898 to the changes which had taken place and were continuing to take place in secondary education in other parts of the United Kingdom it was surprising that the commission did not recommend a radical change in the intermediate system in Ireland.

An analysis of the minutes of the commission suggests that there was an element of disagreement among its members as to the extent to which the system should be reformed. Predictably, Dr. Walsh was in favour of abolishing the system of payment by results.

A document, which was in effect the first draft of the Palles report was submitted to the meeting of 25 April 1899 by Dr. Walsh.[30] This document was entitled "Suggestions by His Grace, the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, for a re-arrangement of the system of distributing the funds at the disposal of the Board", and was circulated to the members of the commission in advance. The opening words of this document indicate that there had already been disagreement among the commissioners as to what recommendations should be made in the final

report. The statement reads:

> The scheme formulated in outline in the following suggestions is not put forward as indicating the view of any member of the Commission as to the lines upon which he individually considers that a reform, to be really satisfactory, should be worked out. It is suggested simply as a scheme in favour of which a unanimous agreement may possibly be arrived at by mutual concessions - the view of the member of the Commission who makes the suggestions being
>
> (1) that unless there is a unanimous Report, it is hopeless to look for an amending Act,
>
> and
>
> (2) that without an amending Act, it is not possible to work out any very useful amendment of the existing system.

Dr. Walsh then went on to outline the "essential starting-points" of the scheme:-

> (1) The discontinuance of the system of making the Board's grants of money to the schools in the form of "results fees", that is to say, of fees payable to the schools in respect of their successful students individually, the condition of payment in the case of each student being that the student shall have passed a prescribed examination.
>
> (2) The discontinuance of the system of distributing the Board's Exhibition and Prizes amongst the students receiving an Intermediate education in Ireland, on the basis of the relative successes of all those students at a common examination.

In this first draft, Dr. Walsh was adamant that the abolition of payment by results and of the scheme of exhibitions and prizes administered by the Intermediate Board would be a necessary prerequisite to any reform. He stated that "if these points are not accepted, the scheme falls to the ground".

Dr. Walsh's scheme proposed that a common examination would continue to exist, but that this examination would be "checked by a system of inspection". In other words, he appears to have been recommending a

system of school-based assessment, moderated by inspectors. A satisfactory report by the Inspector on "certain specified matters" would be a "condition precedent to the making of any grant to the school".

Dr. Walsh's proposal to abolish payment by results in intermediate schools was consistent with his views on payment by results in national schools, where the previous year, as a member of the Belmore Commission, he had paved the way for the abolition of payment by results in national schools. But Dr. Barkley, Provost of Trinity College, disagreed with Dr. Walsh.[31] He submitted a statement in which he supported the system of written examination as the main criterion for the distribution of grants to intermediate schools. He stated:

> While a general examination throughout Ireland is maintained, it appears to furnish a much better means of ascertaining the most deserving candidates than any system of allocating prize money to schools.

He was also in favour of retaining the system whereby one examination paper should be used both for results fees and for prizes and exhibitions, stating:

> There seems no reason why prizes and honours should not be determined by the same examination as that which determines passes, as at present, honours questions being added to the pass questions on the papers, or substituted for a portion of the pass questions.

Basically, the Provost was in favour of retaining the status quo and of making no effective change in the system. Palles and Madden supported Dr. Walsh's scheme. The commission was divided on denominational lines, with the Catholic members favouring a gradual moving away from payment by results in intermediate schools and the Protestant members supporting the existing system.

The commission met on 25 April 1898 to consider Dr. Walsh's document and the proposed amendments to the document. The meeting decided to postpone Walsh's two main proposals and the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

(1) That grants be distributed on the basis of a common examination in writing, checked by a system of inspection; and that a satisfactory report by an inspector "as to certain specified matters" be a "condition precedent" to the making of any grant to the school.

(2) That whilst the amount of the grant to each school be determined by the result of t e general examination, the idea of payments being made on the basis of the answering of individual pupils should be eliminated.

A sub-committee was then set up to consider the other proposals submitted to the meeting, and this sub-committee, consisting of Justice Madden, Todd Martin and Archbishop Walsh, drafted the final report.

The final report of the Commission did not, as might have been expected from its broad terms of reference, recommend a major reform of the system of Intermediate education in Ireland. It interpreted its terms of reference in a very narrow way. It made no effort to consider an alternative system of financing from central government funds and it appeared to assume that intermediate education in Ireland was hidebound by the provisions of the 1878 Act. While recognising that as a result of the recommendations of the Bryce Commission, English intermediate education would shortly be financed from central exchequer funds, the Palles Commission did not even consider this possibility for Irish intermediate education. The commissioners were quite adamant that

> What has to be determined is, not the claim of a school to participate in a public grant limited in amount only by the willingness of Parliament to vote money for the advancement of secondary education, but the shares in which a definite endowment ought to be distributed among the secondary schools in Ireland, in proportion to the educational work done by each.[32]

There was no indication anywhere in the report that the "definite endowment" was inadequate, nor was there any criticism of the limiting effects that funding from an endowment had on the system of education. The Commission saw its function in a very limited way and felt that its most important task was

> the consideration of the best practical test of the relative efficiency of schools for the purpose of determining the proportions in which they should participate in the funds at the disposal of the Board.

In this statement, the Commission accepted the concept of payment by results - regarding it as a sine qua non of the system of Irish Intermediate education. The only question at issue was the extent to which payment should depend on inspection or examination. In this regard the Commission stated

> Whatever be the system adopted - examination or inspection - the results of its application must be the differentiating of school from school, with the inevitable consequence that what is awarded to one is withheld from others.

The Commission was essentially in favour of a system which would

> preserve those features of the present system by which the confidence of the public has been gained, and at the same time render the work of the Board more effective in the promotion of Intermediate education in Ireland. [33]

It felt that it would be impossible to devise a system which would be absolutely free from objection, and stated

> ... what is to be sought for is not an absolutely perfect system, but the best practical system, having regard to all the circumstances with which the Intermediate Education Board has to deal. [34]

The system which the Commission finally recommended was a system of payment of a "normal school grant". Under this system, the grant to a school would be based, not as hitherto on the performance of individual students at the Board examinations, but on the general performance of the schools' pupils in the examinations, supplemented to some extent by a system of inspection. The Commission felt that

> many of the objections (to the existing system of payment by results) may be removed by the substitution of a method of distribution in which the dominant factor shall be, not the answering of each individual pupil, but the general efficiency of the school, ascertained by the test of such an examination as we have indicated, supplemented by inspection. [35]

While recognising the importance of inspection, the Commission was not prepared to recommend

> that the report of an inspector should be substituted for a public examination of students as the basis of the distribution of the school grant. [36]

It could be argued that this and other recommendations made by the Palles Commission in regard to subjects available, exhibitions, prizes etc. could have been implemented under the terms of the 1878 Act and that there was no need either for a government commission to recommend them or for further legislation to implement them. The Commission itself recognised that the powers of the Intermediate Board allowed for quite a lot of flexibility in the system. For example, a suggestion that a consultative committee "representative of those who are engaged in the practical work of education" might be set up to advise the Board, was not made "the subject of a specific recommendation" by the Palles Commission, on the basis that this and other suggestions "can be dealt with by the Board, by rules consistently (SIC) with the existing system".[37]

Another suggestion that some of the Board's funds should be used "in the support and development of young and struggling schools in districts where they are urgently needed" was not sympathetically received by the Commission. They did not think it would be possible "to frame a general scheme universally applicable to such cases", and consequently they did not

> recommend that the legislature should be asked for powers to enable the Board to give special grants in aid of schools as circumstances.[38]

The cautious tenor of the Palles report is indicated in the

following statement regarding the implementation of the recommended changes regarding the payment of the school grant. The Commissioners felt that

> if the necessary powers are granted by legislation, we desire that there should be reserved to the Board the discretion of using these powers tentatively in the first instance. 39

W.J.M. Starkie, who had become Resident Commissioner of National Education some months earlier, and was afterwards a member of the Intermediate Board, referred to the problem of drafting the final report of the Palles Commission as follows:-

> The Vice-Regal Commission of 1899 had some difficulty in producing a unanimous report. The Provost thought the then existing system of examination did not admit of improvement while the Chief Baron and the Atchbishop wished to sweep away the Examinations altogether and to substitute Inspection for them. The result was a compromise engineered by Judge Madden who drew up the report and persuaded the Provost to sign it. As you say, it states that the examination is to be the main thing, but it proposes a bonus for Inspection. 40

It is likely that the government and the Treasury were disappointed that the Palles Commission did not recommend a more radical reform of the intermediate system of education in Ireland. The Commission called for no fundamental structural, administrative or financial change. The government's economy measure in 1898 when they refused to appoint anybody other than the intermediate commissioners themselves to constitute the (Palles) Commission of inquiry, was a classic case of false economy. The long-term cost to the exchequer of an unco-ordinated system of education in Ireland was uncalculably greater than the insignificant amount which it would have cost to extend the membership of the Commission beyond the limits of the Intermediate Board.

Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, 1899

A rationalisation of the structure of Irish education and a devolution of educational control on the lines of the reform being carried out in England at the time, would have been possible in Ireland under the terms of the Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1898. With the passing of this act, elected local authorities were set up in every county and county borough in Ireland and these local authorities had power to levy a rate for various local services. Similar legislation had been passed in England in 1888 and following the passing of that Act responsibility for technical education had been taken over by the local authorities. The passing of the 1898 Act in Ireland paved the way for administrative reform in many areas, including education. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction which was set up in Ireland in 1899 used the new local authority structure to provide an administrative framework for its system of technical instruction. Under the provisions of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, local committees were set up in each county and county borough with responsibility for technical instruction in their area.[41] Precedents for such use of local authorities existed in England, Scotland and Wales where locally elected committees and boards had power to levy a rate for certain educational expenditure. The local technical instruction committees in Ireland were given power under the provisions of the 1899 Act to levy a local rate for technical instruction. Such a move was welcomed by the Treasury as the availability of funds from local rates meant that the burden on central exchequer funds would be eased. The new Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (D AT I) was financed from three separate sources:

(1) from what was called the Endowment Fund
(2) from interest on accumulations thereof
(3) from Parliamentary votes.[42]

The Endowment Fund consisted of "certain annual sums paid over to the Department each year under the provisions of the Act of 1899" and from capital sums allotted to the Department by the act. The Fund consisted of:

(a) The annual sum of £78,000 which had previously been paid to the C.N.E.I. out of the Customs and Excise Act of 1890.

(b) The annual sum of £70,000 out of the annual income from the surplus of the Irish Church Temporalities Fund.

(c) An annual sum of £12,000 - equivalent of the salaries of judgeships abolished under the Supreme Court of Judicature (Ireland) Act 1897 plus any other savings under this Act.

(d) An amount of £6,000, heretofore "paid out of such money in connextion with instruction given in Ireland in agriculture, exclusive of any such instruction given in elementary schools".

The annual income provided in this way was £166,000. It is significant that the money used to create the Endowments Fund was not an additional grant from the central exchequer to Ireland. The funds allotted for this purpose had previously been available for other aspects of Irish expenditure. More than 50% of the annual income of the Fund - £84,000 - was money which had previously been available to the National Board; £6,000 for agricultural education and £78,000 from the Customs and Excise Grant.

It seems clear that the government had initially considered the question of using the opportunity offered by the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, to co-ordinate the systems of primary, intermediate and technical education in Ireland. Chief Secretary Balfour afterwards admitted that he was aware of "a great want of harmony and co-ordination between the different branches of the educational system in Ireland" at the time of the passing of the 1899 Act, but he felt that it would be "very unwise to attempt to raise the question in connection with the Bill".[44] Balfour recognised that

> it would be extremely desirable to introduce more system and co-ordination into education in Ireland in its different aspects than had hitherto been done,

but he seems to have lacked either the political will or the courage to introduce radical administrative reform as had been begun and was about to be developed in England and Wales. Instead, he used the 1899 Act to set up a Consultative Committee

> for the purpose of co-ordinating educational administration and representative of the Board of Primary, Intermediate, Agriculture and Technical Instruction. [45]

The members of the Consultative Committee were a representative each of the National and Intermediate Boards and three members of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The main purpose of the Committee was to avoid overlapping and friction between the new Department and the two Boards. In practice, the Committee rarely met and later events will show that it had little effect on the independent development of the three administrative bodies.

The setting up of the Vice-Regal Commissions on primary education (the Belmore Commission) and intermediate education (the Palles Commission) in 1897 and 1898 seemed initially to indicate that major reforms of the Irish education system were imminent. The passing of the Local Government (Ireland) Act of 1898 had created a structure within which a radical reconstruction of Irish education could be contained. The newly set up Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction seemed to be a first step towards possible use of the new structure.

The developments of the period led a newspaper report of October 1898 to speculate as follows about the likelihood of reform:

> In the educational world, we are on the eve of great changes. Experiment and the breakdown of the old cast-iron ideas regarding education render and make possible vital reforms. [46]

But these hopes were only partially realised. The reforms recommended by both of the Commissions were limited. They were related mostly to the content of the curricula with some reference to the method of distribution of grants. The broader issues of educational structure and co-ordination were not adverted to, both commissions taking the point of view that such questions were not within their terms of reference. It may well be that when the commissions were set up in 1898, the government was not anxious to interfere in any way with the structure of Irish education. Certainly the action of the government in limiting the membership of the commissions to members of the respective education boards (with a few additional educational experts in the case of the Belmore Commission) would suggest that radical reform of structures was not what the government wanted.

The failure of the commissions to recommend structural reform and of the government to take any action to introduce such reform meant that after 1899 the structure of Irish education was significantly out of line with the structure of education in England. This lack of uniformity between the English and Irish systems would create serious disquiet in the Treasury. Moreover, under the new structure of education about to be introduced in England, all levels of education would come under the control of the local authorities, and a proportion of the costs of the three branches of education, primary, secondary and technical would be paid for by the local rates. This would reduce the cost to the exchequer of education and would, therefore, be welcomed by the Treasury. But the Catholic Church authorities in Ireland feared that any element of local authority involvement in education would mean a decrease in Church control and they would strongly oppose any such move in Ireland. In the absence of structural reform both the Irish Executive and the Treasury became gradually unsympathetic to the requests of the National Board for additional financing required to finance curricular and associated reforms in the national school system. The absence of adequate finance would have serious implications for the success of this reform as will be seen in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER VII

INNOVATION IN IRISH NATIONAL EDUCATION: CAUSES AND RESULTS OF INADEQUATE FINANCING 1899 - 1902

The report of the Belmore Commission of 1898 recommended major curricular reforms in Irish national education. The problems of introducing curricular change in any educational system at any time are complex and a necessary condition of any such reform is the availability of adequate financing and flexibility in the allocation of funds. An analysis of the situation of the National Board in the early years of the revised programme of 1900 will show that the funds at the disposal of the Board were inadequate for the purposes of curricular reform and that the system for distributing these funds were inflexible and allowed little or no discretion to the Board in the dispersal of the funds. These two factors led to severe problems in the implementation of the reform envisaged by the Belmore Commission and were to a great extent responsible for many of the problems encountered by the National Board in the early years of the century.

The man responsible for translating the ideals of the Belmore Commission into the reality of a new programme was W.J.M.Starkie. In December 1898, C.T. Redington, who had been Resident Commissioner of National Education since 1894 died unexpectedly.[1] He was replaced by Dr. Starkie, who immediately prior to his appointment had been President of Queen's College, Galway. Starkie was a Greek scholar and had been on the staff of Trinity College, Dublin, before his appointment to Galway. He became Resident Commissioner in February 1899 and he set to work immediately to devise a new curriculum and a new system of payment of grants to national schools.[2]

A plan for the implementation of the recommendations of the Belmore Commission; December 1898

Prior to Starkie's appointment as Resident Commissioner, the Board had committed itself to implementing the recommendations of the Belmore Commission.[3] It had also drawn up a plan for the introduction of the new subjects but this plan which was approved by the government early in 1899 did not envisage the abolition of payment by results in

national schools. The original plan included a detailed estimate of the cost of introducing new subjects, the major part of the cost being required to pay salaries of organising inspectors of the new subjects. The estimated cost of the new scheme was stated to be as follows:

(1) For "teaching the new branches"; £25,000 per annum

(2) "The progressive cost of the organisation" to be £19,000 in the first year; £25,000 in the second year and £30,000 in the third year. The Board felt that "these sums will probably not be exceeded and after a few years will be reduced".

(3) For building, and improvement grants, £5,000, in the first year and £10,000 a year "for some years after". The Board regarded this "as part of the initial expense, which after some time will almost disappear".[4]

The estimated cost of the new scheme a senvisaged in early 1899 was unrealistically low, as later events will show. Although it has not been possible to find direct evidence that this scheme was agreed by the Treasury, Chief Inspector Downing afterwards maintained that the scheme had been approved by the Treasury and that they had "laid down what we must agree to if we want to be financed for the new scheme".[5]

The "Resident Commissioners" schemes of July and November 1899

The fact that the proposed scheme was approved by the Treasury did not prevent Starkie from drawing up a significantly different scheme some months later. In July 1899 Starkie's preliminary scheme was submitted to and accepted by the Board.[6] This scheme referred mainly to the context of the new subjects envisaged and did not contain any details of change in the system of payment to teachers. It did, however, indicate that the system of teacher payment was under consideration and affirmed that "as contemplated by the Board, it is not a matter that will involve any increase in expenditure". The scheme was transmitted to Dublin Castle on 26 July 1899 and in October the Irish government wrote back to the Board requesting that when submitting their preliminary estimates for 1900/01 further details regarding the Board's proposals for change should be included.[7] The

final details of the proposals were approved by the Board in November 1899 and it was ordered

> that application be made to Her Majesty's Treasury for sanction to the adoption of same, as constituting an improved system of regulations for the work of the Department. [8]

Starkie's scheme of November 1899 was a significant departure from the scheme drawn up and approved by the Board a year earlier. The earlier scheme was concerned mainly with adding new subjects to the existing school programme and making arrangements for the training of teachers in the new subjects. Starkie's scheme was much more radical and far-reaching. It envisaged a re-organisation, not only of the school programme, but also of the system of payment and promotion of teachers, of the method and organisation of inspection and of the system of administration in the central office in Marlborough Street. The most significant aspect of Starkie's proposal was the abolition of payment by results, and therefore of the Results Programme, and the introduction of a Revised Programme. In this regard he proposed that

> After the termination of the current financial year, the system of payments to National School teachers, generally known as the "Results System" be discontinued and no further examinations of schools for results be held after 31 March 1900". [9]

The abolition of the results system required a new system of payment of teachers and a revision of the system of classification and promotion. Starkie's scheme provided for teachers' salaries at fixed rates according to scales approved by the Board and the Treasury. These salary scales which were to come into effect on 1 April 1900, would be on an incremental basis and the intention was that

> no Teacher in any Grade on 1st April 1900 will receive a fixed salary of less amount than his or her average income from the State during the three years ending on 31st December 1899, or 31st March 1900 .... or less than such Teacher's actual salary for the year ending on either of the dates mentioned.

An analysis of Starkie's proposals at this point indicates that

difficulties would arise in their implementation. On the one hand, he had stated that his scheme "would not involve any increase in expenditure"; on the other hand, he had guaranteed that no teacher would receive a lesser salary under the new system than under the old. In order to find money for teachers' salaries, the other expenses of the Board would have to be significantly reduced. Starkie's scheme contained provision for reduction in other areas, particularly in the costs of administration and inspection but the reduction of these costs would be a slower process than Starkie had initially envisaged.

Cutbacks in the Treasury grant to National Education

By the time the scheme was ready for submission to the government and the Treasury, Irish education had just begun to experience the first serious cutback in public expenditure for over thirty years. Exchequer grants to national education had fallen from £1,286,734 in 1898/99 to £1,281,117 in 1899/1900.[10] They were to fall again the following year, as these figures show:

TABLE 7.1

Total Parliamentary Grant to Irish National Education, 1898/1899, 1899/1900, 1900/01. [11]

Financial Year	Ordinary Grant	School Grant	Customs & Excise	Total
1898/1899	953,734	255,000	78,000	1,286,734
1899/1900	953,117	250,000	78,000	1,281,117
1900/1901	1,024,069	250,000	—	1,274,069

The fall in the grants to Irish National Education were part of a general cut-back by the Treasury on the expenditure of the spending departments. As a result of the Boer War, military spending in 1898, 1899 and 1900 was very high. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Hicks-Beach felt he was "being milked by the spending departments" and he dug in his heels on a number of projects.[12] The Irish National Board was one of the departments which suffered as a result of the Treasury cut-back.

Another reason for the reduction in the Parliamentary grant to national education was the transfer of the Customs and Excise grant to the newly established Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. This accounted for the loss of a block grant of £78,000 to the National Board. Efforts were made by Balfour in later years to insist that national education had not suffered financially as a result of the transfer of the Customs and Excise money to technical instruction. In his evidence to the Digby Commission of 1907 he maintained that the £78,000 had been "made good to the commissioners". He stated:

> ..... that was a clear addition to the monies paid for Irish purposes; the Act merely states that the sum of money that had been paid to the Commissioners was now to be paid to the Board; but the £78,000 was made good to the Commissioners. [13]

This is only partly accurate. While the figures show that the amount of ordinary grant was increased in 1900, the increase was not sufficiently great to compensate for the loss of £78,000. When one realises that the wholesale price index rose by 8 points between 1899 and 1900 one finds that the value of the total grant to national education fell by 8½% in constant prices between 1899 and 1900.[14] From a financial point of view it was an insuspicious climate in which to introduce curricular reform.

There is also some evidence to suggest that even at this early stage, the Irish executive in Dublin Castle was considering the possibility of major structural reform of the Irish education system, and that therefore it would not support proposals which would strengthen the position of the National Board. A letter from a member of the National Board to Starkie in November 1899 suggested that the Irish government was already thinking in terms of setting up an Education Department in Ireland, based on the newly established English Board of Education, and that this new department would be responsible for all areas of education.[15] In this letter the Board member (whom Starkie did not name) expressed severe criticism of what he saw as the unsupportive attitude of both the Irish executive and the Treasury to the Board's proposed revision of the programme. He wrote:

> I consider the conduct of these two bodies to be absolutely indefensible,and I shall deem it my duty to steadily resent the slightest encroachment by either of them on our rights. It has given me a foretaste of the action of the Education Department contemplated for Ireland, with the irresponsible rule of English and Irish Treasury and Castle Clerks.

On the other hand, Starkie afterwards insisted that the Irish government had promised him its full support in introducing the necessary reforms to Irish education. He stated that in April 1899 Chief Secretary, G.W. Balfour, "promised me the full support of the Government if I undertook the needed reforms",[16] and that a year later in May 1900, he had a letter from Balfour as follows:

> On the whole, I think you have every reason to congratulate yourself on having been able to carry your scheme through so nearly intact. Like others, you have experienced some of the difficulties which all legislation for Ireland presents; but I consider the result of your efforts to be a really great reform, and it is in no conventional sense I heartily felicitate you on your success. [17]

This letter indicates that Balfour was happy to support Starkie's proposed reform, but it does not suggest that such support would include additional financial provision.

First Lord of the Treasury, A.J. Balfour, also expressed support for Starkie's scheme but he gave no indication that he would press the Treasury for additional financial support. On the contrary, he expressed surprise that Starkie had succeeded in getting Treasury approval for the new system. In November 1899, A.J. Balfour met Professor Fitzgerald, a member of the National Board, in London. Professor Fitzgerald, referring to this meeting, wrote to Starkie as follows:

> I saw A.J. Balfour in London and told him of your coup d'état. He was very much pleased and evidently wished he could work the House of Commons as well. He approved highly of what I told him of the changes proposed, and was surprised that the Treasury consented, till I told him of the quid pro quo. [18]

This reference to a quid pro quo almost certainly refers to the fact, which becomes clear in later correspondence, that Starkie had promised the Treasury that the cost of administering the vote, i.e. the cost of running the office and the inspectorate, would be reduced under his proposed scheme. Starkie believed that any increases resulting from his proposals would be offset by the savings effected in administration.

In November 1899 the National Board wrote to Dublin Castle submitting details of the proposed Revised programme and asking for government and Treasury approval.[19] The following month the Treasury replied asking that the estimate s for national education for 1900/01 be submitted in two forms, "one based on the existing official procedure and one on the new scheme".[20] The two estimates were duly submitted and on 8 January 1900 the Treasury wrote to Dublin Castle giving their approval in principle to the new scheme.[21] Their main proviso was that there should be no increase in the parliamentary vote for 1900/01 over and above the vote for 1899/1900. They considered that there would be no justification for any increase

> until a substantial increase has been shown in the numbers of children in average attendance.

Both the number of pupils attending national schools and the percentage of the enrolment in average attendance had declined systematically since 1896, as the following table shows:[22]

TABLE 7.2

Average daily attendance and percentage of enrolment in average attendance in national schools, 1896 to 1900.

Year	Average Daily Attendance	% of Average Enrolment in Daily Attendance
1896	534,957	65.6
1897	521,141	63.9
1898	518,799	64.2
1899	513,852	64.5
1900	478,224	62.0

Yet, in spite of this decrease in average attendance, the annual parliamentary grant had increased annually until 1898/99. The Treasury

had clearly decided that this increase would have to stop unless attendance increased.

As regards the revised programme, the Treasury assured the government that

> my Lords are ready to co-operate with His Excellency and with the Board of National Education in measures for expending the sum granted by Parliament to better advantage from the point of view of elementary education than now appears to be the case.

But the Treasury was adamant that the new system should not reduce Treasury control. They reserved to themselves

> complete liberty as to the scale and conditions of such payments, the numbers in the proposed Higher grades and all other details of the scheme .....

The letter contained detailed recommendations about various aspects of the scheme. Most of these suggestions related to the financial implications of the changes but some of the provisos touched on educational policy. One suggestion read:

> We think that part of the teacher's emolument should be in the nature of a "Merit Grant".

The Treasury also felt that the opportunity should be taken of "restricting more than at present the State aid to very small schools". While conceding that

> the proposed changes in the curriculum of elementary schools appear, so far as their Lordships can judge, to be improvements,

they felt that it might be necessary to provide for limiting the extra number of subjects that pupils could take. They imposed a number of conditions on the grant for manual and practical instruction. Stating that "a round sum" should be provided in the estimate for this purpose, "leaving details for subsequent consideration", they stipulated that the money should be expended only

> upon measures for instructing existing teachers in the new subjects which they will ultimately be expected to teach.

Necessary instruction in the new subjects for "future teachers" would have to be part of the Training Colleges' programme without any further state assistance. They also agreed that grants could be given towards the cost of equipment but that no additional money would be made available for improved or additional accommodation required as a result of the new subjects. Any capital sums would have to be met out of the existing building grants, and

> they could not hold out any hope of an increase in the total sum provided for building grants.

Having again reminded the Board of the importance of taking great care "to avoid an increase beyond the limit to which my Lords are prepared to give", the Treasury asked that the Resident Commissioner discuss the whole question with the Treasury Remembrancer with a view to coming to an agreement about the final estimate. Unless an "approximate agreement" on these details was reached, they warned that it might not be possible to introduce the new system in the coming financial year.

In this letter the Treasury had made conditions that were potentially very restrictive to a department involved in educational innovation. These restrictions imposed a severe restraint on the Board's freedom in the area of educational policy. The Treasury had asked that measures be taken

1. to improve the rate of attendance at schools
2. to reduce the number of small schools
3. to ensure that an element of the teachers' salaries would be based on what would now be called 'productivity'
4. to limit the number of extra subjects on the programme.

The Treasury had also set down constraints in relation to the training of teachers for the new programme. The requirement that necessary changes in the programme of the training colleges and in the provision of necessary equipment in the colleges should be met without any increase in the allocation to the colleges was unrealistic, as also

was the insistence that no additional capital would be available for reconstruction or improvement schemes necessitated by the revised programme.

The National Board found itself in a dilemma when these Treasury conditions were received. The problem before the Board was, as one member wrote to Starkie, "whether the reform is to be stopped until an additional grant can be got". To this question, he felt "there was only one possible answer" - to proceed with the reform.[23] The decision to proceed was taken by the whole Board,[24] and the new system of payment of teachers came into effect on 1 April 1900.

It can be argued that the Board made a serious error in proceeding with the reform of the system without adequate funding. A comparison of the introduction of the results system in 1872 and the revised programme of 1900 is revealing. The Board in 1871 had asked for an increase of 50% in the parliamentary grant before implementing the system of payment by results and they succeeded in getting an increase of 30% from the government and the Treasury.[25] In 1900, on the other hand, the Board introduced the revised programme despite a warning that no extra funds would be available.

The revised programme was introduced in all national schools as planned by Starkie in September 1900. The problem of devising a scheme for the payment of teachers to supersede the dual system of salary plus results fees which had existed since 1872, was greater than Starkie had anticipated. Given the constraint imposed by the Treasury that the total cost of the new scheme should not be greater than the results system, it was almost impossible to ensure that no teacher would be financially penalised. Although the new scheme proposed that each teacher's salary would be computed on the basis of his average annual salary during the preceding three year period, in practice this was difficult to implement because of the financial restrictions imposed by the Treasury. A statement from the Board to the Killanin committee in 1919 referred to the difficulties imposed by this restriction ass follows:

> The transfer of the teachers from the old system of Results' Fees to the new system of grade salaries in 1900 presented considerable difficulties, which largely arose owing to the fact that the new salaries had to be so adjusted as not to increase the total payments to be made from Parliamentary grants. Hence it was impossible in making the transfer to deal generously with all cases of hardship when there was no power to draw upon on increased Parliamentary vote ...[26]

Lack of money also created problem sin organising in-service training courses. While money was available for paying the salaries of organisers of the new subjects, there was initially very little money available to buy the equipment necessary for introducing the new subjects. The range of subjects included in the new programme included subjects that would not only be expensive to introduce in the schools, but would also require a great deal of money for in-service training. There is evidence that more experienced officers of the Board tried to alert Starkie to the financial problems which were inherent in the scheme. In July 1900 the Chiefs of Inspection, Downing and Purser, submitted a detailed memorandum to Starkie on the proposed scheme and they warned that the cost of supplying the necessary equipment for the new programme would be such as very few schools could meet. They felt that this alone was a strong reason for limiting the new scheme and felt that new subjects should be introduced gradually. They pointed out that

> in view of the difficulty hitherto experienced of getting even a pane of glass in when wanted, or of providing a little fuel in winter, we cannot believe the large amount of money needed for the new subjects will be forthcoming.

But the advice of the Chiefs of Inspection was not heeded and the Revised Programme and its associated reforms were launched in September 1900.

Re-organisation of the National Education Office

The introduction of the Revised Programme of 1900 resulted in a re-organisation of the office staff. When the Treasury agreed to the provisions of the Revised Programme they stipulated that a reducation

should be made in the staff of the office to offset any additional costs involved in the new scheme.[28] Other changes in the office staff were incidental to a re-organisation of the inspectorate resulting from the abolition of payment by results. Before 1900 the chiefs of inspection had been involved in the mainly administrative work of checking the results lists furnished by inspectors and calculating the results fees. This work was no longer necessary after 1900 and Starkie decided to send the chiefs (now to be called Chief Inspectors) back out "into the field" to act as supervisors of the inspectorate.[29] Administrative work relating to inspectors' reports was carried out after 1900 by the newly appointed "Examiners". In 1900 J.J. Hand was appointed Senior Examiner and T.A. Day became Junior Examiner.[30] They were paid salaries of £520 to £600 per annum. A comparable post of Examiner had existed in the London Education Office since 1847 when the first two examiners were appointed to scrutinize inspectors' reports.[31] The English examiners had been appointed by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in an effort to exercise a greater degree of control over Her Majesty's Inspectors who were felt to have too great a degree of independence. The appointment of the Irish examiners in 1900 was a similar effort to curb the independence of the inspectorate. The examiners in the English office were university graduate sspecially recruited to the grade. The posts of examiner in the Irish office were promotion posts and were filled by senior members of the existing clerical staff.

Starkie decided to use the opportunity presented by the re-organisation of the office to rid the Dublin Office of senior members of staff whom he felt were unable to cope adequately with their responsibilities. He regarded the two Secretaries as falling into this category and later stated that

> The two Secretaries were well over 60 years of age and incapable from age and delicacy to cope with the exceedingly heavy labours of their office. [32]

He also stated that

> The Secretaries were so incapable of mastering the cases to be submitted to the Board, and of explaining them in an intelligible way, that I had practically to act as Secretary myself until they resigned - one of them at my request in October 1900. [33]

The Secretary who resigned in 1900 was M.S. Seymour and on his resignation A. Hamilton became Senior Secretary and Lemass became Junior Secretary. In January 1903 Hamilton retired, having reached the age of 65, and the following month Lemass became Senior Secretary.[34]

The removal of the Chiefs of Inspection from the office in 1900 necessitated a re-organisation of the office staff. Prior to 1900 six First class clerks were employed in the Inspection Department at salaries ranging from £315 to £500 per annum. With the abolition of payment by results these clerks became technically redundant. There were a total of 13 First Class clerks employed in the office in 1899 and Starkie proposed to reduce the number of these posts to six. He would achieve this by not filling the posts of First Class clerks as vacancies occurred. In taking this action to reduce the number of First Class clerks, Starkie was obeying an Order in Council of 1898 whic h had

> enjoined a reduction in the size of the First Division and prescribed that no work suitable for a Lower Division of the service should be allocated for performance to a Higher Division ..... [35]

Starkie also proposed to increase the salaries of the remaining First Class clerks - the new minimum of the scale would be £420 and the maximum would be £600.[36] A further proposal was that six "of the most meritorious and efficient" Second Division Clerks be recognised as Junior Staff Officers, with salaries from £300 to £400. Starkie felt that these new posts would provide

> A stimulus to work and efficiency on the part of the staff by an immediate and prospective flow of promotion. [37]

While Starkie agreed to abide as far as possible by the Treasury's requirement that the office staff be reduced, he pointed out that

> the new work thrown on the Department in connection with the scheme of Manual and Practical Instruction which would have necessitated an increase of the staff under the arrangements hitherto in force, will, to a certain extent neutralize the saving in cost effected by the simplification of the Rules. [38]

But he assured the Treasury that he would lose

> no opportunity of effecting economic reforms in regard to the numbers and constitution of the headquarters staff.[39]

By 1905, he had achieved this aim. Between 1899 and 1905 the total number of clerical staff had fallen from 83 to 78 as the following table shows.[40]

TABLE 7.3

Number of clerical staff by grade, employed by the National Board in 1898/9 and in 1904/5.

	Number of Clerical Staff		
Grade	1898/9	1904/5	
First Class Clerks	13	6	
Second Class Clerks	3	6	(Staff Clerks)
Second Division Clerks	45	45	
Assistant Clerks	22	21	
TOTAL	83	78	

The re-organisation of the office staff resulted in a reduction in the cost of administration. The costs involved in administering the vote fell from £26,220 in 1900/1 to £25,045 in 1904/5; this represented a decrease from 2.1% of the parliamentary vote to 1.8% over the five-year period, as the following figures show:[41]

TABLE 7.4

Total Parliamentary Vote for National Education and total cost of central establishment in the years 1900/1 to 1904/5.

Year	(a) Total Parliamentary Vote for National Education	(b) Total Cost of central Establishment	(b) as % of (a)
1900/1	£1,274,069	£26,220	2.1%
1901/2	£1,287,771	£25,396	2.0%
1902/3	£1,315,748	£26,342	2.0%
1903/4	£1,358,501	£25,339	1.9%
1904/5	£1,393,225	£25,045	1.8%

While the re-organisation of the office staff and of the inspectorate resulted in some relatively small savings in the cost of administration it caused a great deal of tension between Starkie and his staff. The chiefs of inspection were particularly angry at what they saw as their demotion. They objected to Starkie's action and the Board responded by suspending both of them.[42] They were subsequently re-instated but only after they offered an unqualified apology and a guarantee of future loyalty to the Board. There is no indication that the office staff objected to the re-organisation. The new system offered increased promotion prospects for many grades and although the overall numbers in the office were reduced the salary and prospects of the remaining staff were somewhat improved.

Problems related to the Payment of Teachers and the Resignation of Archbishop Walsh from the National Board

The new system of consolidated salaries for teachers had come into effect on 1 April 1900, but the new Rules and Regulations setting out full details of the salary scheme were not finalised and published until July 1900.[43] In the early months, there was confusion among the teachers as to the effect that these change would have on their salaries. When they finally realised the full effect of the new rules, there was great dissatisfaction in teaching circles around the country. Under the results system, teachers had been classified according to their results in the final training college examinations. A teacher who had achieved a high level of success in the training college could enter the teaching profession as a first class teacher. This system

was abolished in 1900 and a new scheme of grading was introduced. There would be three grades of teachers (Grades I, II and III) and all teachers would enter the service on the third grade.[44] Entry to second and first grade would be by promotion depending on size of school, training, ability, general attainments and inspectors' reports. The numbers in the higher grades were fixed as follows:

Grade II	2,500 men	2,000 women
Grade I (2)	500 men	400 women
Grade I (1)	300 men	270 women [45]

In addition to these changes, the new rules laid down that no teacher could become a principal of a school unless he had been trained "in a recognised Training College". Before 1900 training was not a condition of any teacher appointment.

There was strong teacher objection to the new rules and salary scheme. In May 1900 the I.N.T.O. requested a meeting with the Resident Commissioner to discuss the matter but Starkie refused to meet the deputation.[46] When details of the scheme were published the I.N.T.O. issued a statement condemning the changes. The following extract from the statement indicates the attitude of the teachers.

> When the teachers saw among other things, that grading of schools was to take the place of classification of teachers, that the rules were to be retrospective and that at one fell stroke the classification of almost half the teachers of Ireland, won by study and efficiency, was to be swept away, their consternation may be imagined. [47]

Because of Starkie's refusal to meet the I.N.T.O. deputation, the I.N.T.O. arranged to put their case to the Chief Secretary. On 18 July 1900, Balfour met the I.N.T.O. deputation, which was accompanied by the M.Ps. from the Irish Parliamentary Party, J.Redmond and P.O'Brien.[48]

This was to be the first step in a growing politicisation of the I.N.T.O. in regard to the National Board. Starkie's refusal to meet a deputation from the I.N.T.O. would have serious repercussions in later years. The I.N.T.O. alleged that Balfour was sympathetic to their problem but that "he declared he had no power to interfere with the rules of the Commissioners". As the problems of the teachers

worsened in autumn and winter of 1900, the I.N.T.O. requested a further meeting with the Chief Secretary. In December 1900, they met the new Chief Secretary, Wyndham, who also expressed support for their cause.

Meanwhile, the teachers were using every possible means to gain redress from the Board for their grievances. Archbishop Walsh was their greatest ally on the Board and he supported the teachers in their calls for reconsideration of their salary claims. By the end of 1900, many teachers had found that their salaries under the new scheme were less than their total income under the system of payment by results. Early in 1901 the Board wrote to the government asking for a supplemental grant of £80,000 to meet the unforeseen additional costs of teachers' salaries. This letter was signed by the financial assistant secretary to the Board, Mr. Young. But the Treasury refused to sanction this additional money, stating that

> (My Lords) can hold out no hope of a special addition to the vote for this purpose. [49]

The rules of the Board for 1901 had contained a clause which would allow the Board some flexibility to recompense teachers who claimed that the new system operated unequitably in their cases. But because of the financial difficulties of the Board, it was impossible to meet the numerous demands being made under this clause. Starkie afterwards referred to the problems encountered by the lack of adequate finance:

> In transferring the teachers from the classes to the grades, it was necessary to consider individual cases of grievances. As the satisfaction of these was very costly, and as no additional money was forthcoming, it may be readily understood that our position was nearly desperate .... [50]

The sheer volume of correspondence received in relation to cases where inequity was alleged was enormous.

> The department was deluged with upwards of 40,000 letters from managers during the year and special consideration was claimed in 2,753 cases. [51]

Many teachers whose claims for extra salary had been rejected got in touch with Dr. Walsh, since

> his well-known interest in the affairs of teachers and his earnest desire for impartial justice made him, in an especial manner, the court of appeal against official decisions. [52]

Dr. Walsh tried to handle the complaints of these teachers but he was frustrated by the attitude of Mr. Young. Walsh took the point of view that all cases in which inequity was claimed should come before the Board. Young held that the volume of complaints made it impossible for each case to be put before the Board and as financial assistant secretary, he himself dealt with a large number of cases without reference to the Board.[53] The matter came to a head in June 1901, when Walsh wrote to the press disassociating himself from the actions of the financial assistant secretary and claiming that there was "chaos and confusion" in the office.[54] A week later he resigned from the National Board and his resignation caused an uproar in educational circles.[55] The matter was debated in the House of Commons where Redmond called for a public enquiry.[56] Resolutions deploring the situation which led to Walsh's resignation were sent to the Chief Secretary from many quarters. The I.N.T.O. called for an enquiry and some managerial groups called for the resignation of Starkie as Resident Commissioner.[57]

Wyndham's disaffection with the National Board

The resignation of Dr. Walsh had important political implications for Irish education. Walsh had represented the Catholic hierarchy on the National Board and his resignation could be construed by the Irish government as a vote of no confidence by the Catholic Church in the Board. Within six months of his appointment as Chief Secretary, Wyndham had had indications that at least three politically powerful groups in Irish life - the Irish Parliamentary Party, the Catholic hierarchy and the I.N.T.O. - had lost confidence in the National Board. It appeared that the Board was no longer representing the mainstream of Irish educational opinion. Neither was it serving the political needs of the government. By autumn 1901, Wyndham had alerted Starkie to the fact that he was unhappy about the constitutional position of the National Board. A controversy had arisen on the Board regarding the

actions of two Protestant members, Drs. Traill and Evans, who had become involved in a public discussion in the newspapers concerning inspection and organisation of national schools. In connection with this controversy, Dr. Traill asked to see the inspectors' reports on a specific national school but he was refused access to these reports by the secretaries to the Board. Resident Commissioner, Starkie, supported the secretaries in their refusal on the grounds that Traill would use information from these reports to support an argument against Evans.[58] Starkie was disturbed by the implications of this controversy and he appealed to Wyndham for assistance. Wyndham's reply to Starkie was sympathetic but it also indicated his concern about the ambigious position of the National Board. In his reply to Starkie, he stated:

> It is clear to me that, as I feared, your position on the National Board involves difficulties only less great than the services which you have rendered, and are rendering to the cause of education in Ireland. I am also convinced that the constitutional relations between the Board and the Resident Commissioner, based as they are on the relics of antiquated provisions now atrophied by disuse, demand the close and proximate attention of the Irish government ..... [59]

Starkie may well have subsequently regretted his action in bringing "the antiquated provisions" of the National Board to the attention of the Chief Secretary. The charter of the Board was indeed antiquated - it had long since become absolete and it was unlikely to survive the "close and proximate" examination promised by Wyndham. Events of later years would no doubt lead Starkie to regret his action in involving the Chief Secretary in the internal politics of the Board.

Continuing Problems with the Treasury 1901-1902

Meanwhile the Board's problems with the Treasury continued.

The Treasury refused to sanction the initial estimates of the Board for 1901/2 on the basis that

> the estimate as submitted shows a net increase of £18,714 over the original estimate for the current year and a net increase of £36,520 over the actual expenditure of 1899-1900. [60]

In March 1901 the Treasury laid down conditions regarding the payment of grants for equipment for manual and practical instruction.[61] They reminded the National Board that in Great Britain expenditure for such equipment was provided by the locality, and added that in Ireland

> in the first instance each school where the new subjects are to be introduced should be called on to provide the necessary appliances at their own expenses.

They also stipulated that the equipment should only be given to a school where there was already a teacher fully competent to use it. Again the situation in England was quoted:

> They understand that English experience is opposed to the sudden supply of apparatus to teachers not fully qualified to use it.

The following year the Treasury again refused to sanction the full amount of the estimates. They pointed out that

> the Board of National Education ask for a total provision exceeding by some £5,000 the grant for the present year .... on the other hand, the number of children to be provided for is 480,000 as against 500,000 in the present year. [62]

This continuing insistence that expenditure should be related to the average attendance at schools added to the problems of the National Board. The concept of relating grants to attendance had been conceded in 1895 in relation to the additional school grant in lieu of fees provided under the 1892 act.[63] The Treasury was now attempting to extend the relationship to the total parliamentary grant for national education. As the average attendance had falled from over 520,000 in 1898 to less than 484,000 in 1904 the amount of the school grant had fallen from £255,000 in 1898/9 to £235,000 in 1905/6.

There had been no increase in the average parliamentary grant per pupil in average attendance between 1900 and 1901. The grant

increased slightly in 1902 as the following figures show:[65]

TABLE 7.5

Number of Schools, Number of Pupils in Average Attendance and Total Parliamentary Grant 1900 to 1902.

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils in Average Attendance	Total Parliamentary Grant	Av.Grant per pupil in Av. Attendance
1900/1	8,684	478,224	£1,274,069	£2.67
1901/2	8,692	482,031	£1,287,771	£2.67
1902/3	8,712	487,098	£1,315,748	£2.70

In November 1902 the Board wrote to Dublin Castle requesting that the annual equipment grant be increased from £12,000 to an estimated £17,800 for the year 1903/4.[66] They pointed out that the subject of equipment grants

> is one that has engaged the serious attention of the commissioners and they have from time to time made earnest representations to the Treasury, pointing out the necessity for liberal treatment of the schools in the matter of equipment grants necessary to introduce successfully the new subjects of manual training, science teaching and in girls' schools, cookery etc.

The Board's application was endorsed by the Chief Secretary who stated

> .... the Irish government is disposed to view increases under these heads with greater favour than those caused by additional pay to the teachers.[67]

But the Treasury was not prepared to sanction the applications stating that

> .... in view of the large provision which it will be necessary to make for Irish educational services by means of a supplementary estimate during the current year and of the uncertainty which still exists regarding the application of the proposed grant connected with the recent Education Act, they must decline for the present

to sanction the suggested increase of £5,800 under Subhead F.2. [68]

The following table shows the amounts sanctioned for equipment grants during the years 1900/1 to 1905/6.[69]

TABLE 7.6

Amount paid in Equipment Grants from 1901/2 to 1905/6

Year	Amount
	£
1900/1	10,000
1901/2	4,594
1902/3	11,138
1903/4	10,300
1904/5	4,967
1905/6	1,435

The Treasury also refused to sanction the setting up of teaching "centres" which would be fully equipped with all the necessary apparatus for teaching cookery and laundry.[70] Such a scheme had been submitted by the National Board in November 1901 and had been approved by the government. But the Treasury refused to sanction the proposed scheme.

An area which was particularly badly hit by the attitude of the Treasury was the area of capital expenditure. An annual grant of £35,000 was voted for school buildings during the period 1901 to 1903, but this was not sufficient to replace all the old school buildings around the country. The Revised Programme was difficult to implement in the unsatisfactory old buildings which housed national schools in many parts of the country. Not even the newer buildings had been designed with the Revised Programme in mind. The building of a new school required a local contribution of one-third of the cost from the manager and managers in poor localities found it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to raise the requisite sum. In April 1902 the National Board made a proposal to the government that a loan should be advanced for building grants in poor localities, the loan to be equal to the local contribution required to secure the grant and to be repay-

able in 35 years, principal and interest at 5%.[71] But the Treasury did not approve this proposal. On the contrary it warned that the Commissioners "must look forward to the discontinuance of building grants at an early date".[72] In June 1902 they repeated this warning stating that they could not

> contemplate the continuance (of these grants) for any lengthened period now that it is intended to make a large grant to Ireland to correspond to the increase of expenditure from the English Education Vote which is provided for in the Education Act of last session. [73]

Summary

An analysis of the position of the National Board in the period 1899 to 1902 indicates that for a number of reasons the year 1900 was not the most auspicious time in which to introduce major innovation in Irish primary education.

In the first place, the general economic climate was depressing; for the first time in the history of the National Board, the parliamentary vote to Irish education had declined. This decline was due to a number of factors, among which were the fall in average attendance of pupils in national schools; the transfer of the Local Taxation grant of £78,000 to the newly created Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and general budgetary cutbacks resulting from demands on the Central Exchequer arising out of the Boer War. A situation of unprecedented inflation had developed in an economy which had experienced a long period of stability and even deflation in previous decades. The Wholesale Price Index (1900 = 1900) had fallen from 135 in 1870 to 88 in 1896. From that year onwards there had been systematic inflation as the following table shows.[74]

TABLE 7.7

Board of Trade Wholesale Price Indices (1900 = 100)

Year	
1896	88.2
1897	90.1
1898	93.2
1899	92.2
1900	100.0

In 1898 a preliminary scheme of educational reform based on the recommendations of the Belmore Commission, had been submitted to and approved by the Irish executive and the Treasury. This scheme was a limited one which basically provided for the introduction of some additional practical subjects as suggested by the Belmore Commission, the appointment of organising inspectors for these subjects and the setting up of inservice training courses in the new subjects for existing teachers. The scheme also made provision for the introduction of these subjects, some of them on an optional basis in the Training Colleges. The 1898 scheme did not envisage any major change in the method of remuneration of teachers or in the system of paying grants.

With the appointment of Resident Commissioner Starkie in 1899, the situation changed significantly. Starkie's plans for educational reform were much more radical than the plans submitted and approved in 1898. He decided that the opportunity should be used to introduce wide-ranging reform and his plan, which was approved by the Board at the end of 1899, included the abolition of the system of payment by results, the introduction of a new scheme of classification and payment of teachers, and the re-organisation of the inspectorate and of the administrative staff. While the scheme proposed by Starkie was theoretically admirable, it failed to take into account a number of important constraints. The major constraint was lack of finance both central and local. Starkie was aware that the Treasury would not provide additional financing for his scheme, consequently he anticipated a re-allocation of costs within the Board's overall budget. Starkie proposed to reduce the costs on administration and inspection and to use these savings to finance whatever additional costs would occur. But he under-estimated the additional costs which would arise in the change-over from a system of payment by results to a system of consolidated salaries on an incremental basis; and he over-estimated the savings which he could effect by administrative re-organisation.

The other area which Starkie failed to take into account was the area of local contributions. The national school system was an aided system and state aid was provided for certain aspects of education on condition that an adequate local contribution was forthcoming. We have already seen in earlier chapters that the question of local aid for Irish education was a contentious issue and that the proportion of

educational costs met by the locality was considerably less in Ireland than in the rest of the United Kingdom. The experience of previous decades had shown that it was unlikely that additional local aid would be forthcoming for any proposed innovation and a more experienced Resident Commissioner would have taken this into account in developing educational innovation. The Revised Programme as devised by Starkie, would require expensive equipment and materials; the rules of the Board stated that the provision of school equipment was the responsibility of management, not of the National Board. Even if such equipment were provided, the question of storage space became an issue. Many schools were without shelves or cupboards to store such equipment. Inadequate desk accommodation was also a problem. Under the results programme, desks were provided for only half the pupils in average attendance.[75] The approach of the Revised Programme assumed that every pupil would have a desk. The design of school buildings was also unsuitable for the new method of teaching. More floor space would be necessary and if it were to be provided the capital costs, both to the exchequer and to local sources would be significant. But none of these issues were taken into account by Starkie in the original proposal which he submitted to the government and the Treasury.

Another major factor to which Starkie was insensitive was the question of human relationships. Co-operation from those directly involved in educational innovation is desirable even if financial incentives are available. Without financial incentives, goodwill and co-operation are essential to the success of innovation. By failing to consult with teachers and inspectors in relation to the content of the Revised Programme, Starkie made a major error. By unilaterally changing their conditions of employment (in the case of teachers by chaning the salary structure and of inspectors by re-organising their circuits and workloads) Starkie created a situation of mutual suspicion and antagonism. Starkie's continuing refusal to negotiate with the teachers' representatives in the I.N.T.O. resulted in a situation where the teachers used other avenues available to them to redress their grievances. They appealed to Archbishop Walsh, who represented the Catholic hierarchy on the National Board and they appealed to the Chief Secretary, both directly and indirectly through the Irish Parliamentary Party.

By 1902, it appeared to the Irish executive that the vested interest

groups in Irish education, specifically the teachers and the managers, had little confidence in the administration by the National Board. This realisation coincided with developments in English education which would radically change the whole system of administering the parliamentary vote there. It appeared as if the time might at last be ripe for administrative reform in Irish education. In the next chapter we will discuss the effect of the English reform on the Irish system and the extent to which the changes in England were reflected in the financing and administration of Irish education.

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CHAPTER VIII

WYNDHAM'S PROPOSALS FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM, 1902 - 1905

In Chapter VI, educational developments in England in the years around the turn of the century were discussed. It was seen that the Bryce report of 1895 had led to the creation in 1899 of a unified Board of Education charged with "the superintendence of matters relating to education in England and Wales". Efforts had also been made in the years 1897 and 1898 to implement the other main recommendation of the Bryce Commission, i.e. the setting up of local authorities which would have power to "supply, maintain and aid secondary schools", but these efforts had failed because of disagreement as to the composition of such local authorities.[1] In March 1902, a comprehensive Education Bill was finally introduced in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, A.J. Balfour. Under the provisions of this Bill, the existing School Boards in England and Wales would be abolished and Local Education Authorities would be set up in every county and county borough. The Local Education Authorities would take over the duties of the School Boards in relation to elementary education and would also be responsible for the provision of secondary and technical education within their jurisdiction.[2]

The position of the voluntary schools was considerably improved by the Bill of 1902. Voluntary schools would henceforth be maintained by the Local Education Authorities and in return the Authorities would have power to nominate one-third of the managers of the school and also to intervene in the appointment and dismissal of teachers except on religious grounds. The provisions of the Bill in relation to grants for maintenance, were welcomed by the voluntary schools many of which had great difficulty in meeting maintenance costs.[3]

The Bill was discussed at considerable length in the House of Commons. It occupied 58 days of debate and was finally passed in November 1902. The passing of the Bill was a significant step in rationalising educational administration in England and Wales, a rationalisation which had begun with the setting up of the Board of

Education in 1899.[4]

The newly established Local Education Authorities had power to levy a rate for education and were responsible for the distribution of both central and local funds. The Act simplified the system of government grants to English education. Under section 10 (1) of the act, the following government grants would be paid to every Local Education Authority:

(1) A sum equal to 4/- per scholar

and

(2) An additional sum of 3 halfpence per scholar for every complete 2d per scholar by which the amount which would be produced by a penny rate on the area of the authority falls short of 10/- per scholar. [5]

The Local Education Authority would pool the government grants for education in their area stogether with the income accruing from their local rates in a common fund, often referred to as the Part III fund (from Part III of the 1902 Act).

Under Section 7 (1) of the Act, the Local Education Authorities were responsible

> for maintaining and keeping efficient all public elementary schools within their area which are necessary, and have the control of all expenditure required for that purpose, other than expenditure for which under the Act has to be made by the managers of the non-provided schools.

The managers of the voluntary schools were required

> to provide the schoolhouse, free of charge, to the Local Education Authority, and to keep in good repair and to make such alterations and improvements in the buildings as may reasonably be required by the Local Education Authority. [6]

The government grant was thus paid as a block grant to the Local Authorities, which in turn were responsible for all educational expenditure, including the payment of teachers' salaries in their area.

From the Treasury's point of view, the system of payment of a block grant to local authorities was administratively much more convenient than the system which operated under the National Board in Ireland. Because of this and because of the Treasury's role in bringing about uniformity within the entire civil service, it was predictable that pressure would be brought to bear on the government to reform the structure of Irish education, along the lines of the newly reformed English system.

Moreover, the passing of the 1902 Act in England had financial implications for Ireland. One of the provisions of the Bill was an increase of about £1,400,000 in the grant from the central exchequer to English education"in relief of local taxation". The precedents established by Goschen under the 1888 and 1890 Acts indicated that Ireland would be entitled to an equivalent grant of about £185,000 per annum.[7] A letter from the Treasury in June 1902 had clearly stated that this grant should be allocated to Irish education.[8] It would appear that the Treasury envisaged that much of this money would be allocated for national school buildings, and in May and June 1902 letters from the Treasury to Dublin Castle warned that the National Board "must look forward to the discontinuance of building grants at an early date"[9] and implied that this "discontinuance" was related to the additional grant that was due to Ireland as a result of the Education Act of 1902. In the meantime, the Treasury refused to contemplate an increase in the annual grant for school buildings or the introduction of a loan scheme which would enable school managers to get a loan to enable them to provide the one-third local contribution.

Treasury Committee on National School Buildings in Ireland - Design and Financing, August 1902.

In August 1902, the Treasury appointed an inter-departmental committee to report on national school buildings from the point of view of both design and financing.[10] The chairman of the committee was the Treasury Remembrancer, Sir Robert Holmes, and the other members of the committee were R. O'Shaughnessy and W.J. King from the Board of Works and W.J.M. Starkie from the National Board. Mr. Robson, consulting architect to the English Board of Education, was also present at the enquiry.

The terms of reference of the committee were as follows:

(1) "To consider the Standard Scale of cost as recently revised by the Board of Works and to report whether it accurately represents the cost, under present conditions, of providing school accommodation in Ireland."

(2) "To consider and report whether any and, if so, what modifications are needed in the Standard Plans of the Board of Works in view of modern educational requirements."

The Standard Plans used by the Board of Works in 1902 had been drawn up in 1890 when the Results Programme was still in operation in national schools. It was clear that some modifications of these plans were necessary in the light of the educational requirements of the Revised Programme.

It X

~~However,~~ It is not intended in this thesis to discuss at length the question of school design and its relationship to educational philosophy and curriculum. It is sufficient to say that the committee was aware of the shortcomings of the plans in the light of new educational developments. The report stated

> We are satisfied that the existing Standard Plans require to be modified in view of modern educational requirements, and that such modifications, especially in large schools, must add greatly to their cost, but we also recognise that in existing circumstances the expression of our opinion in the form of a recommendation would be a mere counsel of perfection.

The real dilemma facing the committee was the question of the cost of providing adequate and up-dated school accommodation throughout the country. They adverted to the problem not only of obtaining sufficient money from the central exchequer for this purpose but to the difficulties encountered by school managers who found themselves unable to provide the one-third local contribution towards the cost of any capital works. The question of lack of maintenance of vested schools was also raised. Such maintenance was the responsibility of school management but it was often neglected due to lack of local funds. The committee discussed the problems involved under the managerial system in carrying out a major building programme and suggested that

consideration be given by the government to the question of setting up local education authorities for this purpose. The report stated:

> .... we venture to express the opinion that, if things are not allowed to remain as they are, it will be found necessary, owing to the certain difficulty of obtaining increased voluntary contributions, to make the local rates liable for one-third of the cost of these schools.

The members of the committee were aware that in making this recommendation they were going beyond their terms of reference but they felt that as

> it is inseparable from the discussion of any comprehensive scheme for the improvement of Irish National School Buildings, we should not be treating Their Lordships fairly in ignoring it, while making recommendations which, without this solution, we do not believe to be practicable.

The committee also knew that such a change would require legislation, that there would be difficulties and that it might involve "considerations of policy outside the scope of the inquiry". But they concluded that

> the question is one of the very greatest importance to the country and if this be admitted and also that the only solution of it is through the rates, we cannot think that the consideration of it can be long postponed.

It was also suggested that in cases where the management or the trustees defaulted on the question of maintenance, the responsibility should be transferred to the locality who would pay such maintenance out of the rates. In this regard the committee stated as follows:

> In the case of schools (vested in trustees) .... there is no provision for maintenance beyond the undertaking given by Trustees, which is seldom observed and is found impracticable to enforce. The result is that buildings which have been erected, to the extent of two-thirds of their cost, at the expense of the State, are gradually falling into such disrepair that, if not soon taken in

> hands, they will have to be restored at a very considerable cost. No one can contemplate such a state of things without coming to the conclusion that action of some sort cannot long be postponed, and, as there can be no reason why the Treasury should undertake the maintenance of these schools .... we are forced to the conclusion that the locality, which, in the person of the Trustees, originally undertook liability for maintenance, should in default of the latter, meet the liability out of the rates.

The report of the Building Committee clearly suggested to the government that a radical change should be introduced in the system of administering building grants if there was to be any significant improvement in the physical condition of the national schools of Ireland. It indicated that there could be no improvement in the situation if responsibility for local contribution for capital and total responsibility for maintenance remained with managers. But the suggestion that any part of the cost of education should be transferred to the local rates would be a controversial one, as the committee realised, and was an issue that would have to be decided at government level.

The report was presented to the Treasury and the government in November 1902 but it was never published. It s findings and recommendations were deliberately suppressed by the government,[11] and in 1904 the Chief Secretary personally rewrote the Dale report removing from it all references to the report of the Building Committee.[12]

Although the report of the Building Committee was not published it had a wide-ranging effect on education in Ireland. The first indications of its effect were evident in a speech given by Starkie in Belfast in September 1902.

Starkie's Speech in Belfast, September 1902

In this speech, given to the educational section of the British Association, Starkie criticised the Irish managerial system which he said was "such as no other country can parallel".[13] He suggested that Irish local authorities

> follow the example of every other similar body in the world and levy a rate for the purpose of education.

He emphasised the importance of the lay involvement in education, adding:

> Decadence and decrepitude are the inevitable destiny of a country in which no inducements are offered to laymen ..... to devote themselves to those disinterested pursuits to which every country that has advanced civilisation owes its position .....

This speech was made on 11th September. The Building Committee had sat on 3rd, 4th, 5th and 8th September and its findings were obviously fresh in Starkie's mind. He was aware that the recommendation that some of the cost of education should be put on the rates, would shortly be considered by the Treasury and the government. But he totally underestimated the strength of the Irish objection to any such proposal and within days of his speech he was the subject of a bitter personal attach from the Catholic clerical managers. Fr. Curry of Drogheda accused Starkie of being an anti-clerical in educational matters. He stated:

> I wish to establish beyond controversy notwithstanding denial, that Dr. Starkie attacked the Catholic Clerical managers in Belfast and that his remarks were pointed at us alone. His charges may be applicable to other managers, but against priests alone were they directed ...[14]

The 'Leader' carried a series of 12 articles entitled "A Reply to Dr. Starkie's Attack on the Managers of National Schools", written by Rev. M. O'Riordan, Ph.D.,D.D.,D.C.L. Fr.O'Riordan condemned Starkie on his choice of audience "made up mainly of Orangemen and foreigners". He stated

> The imprudence and impropriety of selecting the occasion, place and audience which he did select for his impeachment tells, I think, against his fitness for the responsible official position which he holds.[15]

The outcome of these attacks was the setting up of the Catholic Clerical Association of Managers of Irish National Schools which was established by the Catholic Hierarchy at its meeting in Maynooth in October 1903.[16] At that meeting the following resolution was passed:

> We feel called upon to declare that the terms of offence and disrespect which the Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland allowed himself to use with regard to the great body of clerical managers of national schools in Ireland and his unfounded charges of incompetence and neglect against them, have rendered communication between them and the national education office extremely difficult; and furthermore that the prospect of the fundamental changes in the system of national education which the Resident Commissioner's statement seems to point to has created a feeling of distrust and anxiety.

Starkie's speech was also condemned by an extreme Protestant organisation, the Belfast Protestant Association, on the grounds that Starkie was part of the 'Ultramantane Conspiracy' and that the Educational Section of the British Association had been manipulated by 'Romanist wirepullers':

> The place of honour was reserved for the individual whom Ulster accused of doing more harm than any other layman to accomplish the ruin of education in Ireland and that not by accident, but by set purpose. [17]

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The (may) attacks on Starkie's address indicated that any changes in the Irish educational system would be resisted. Both the setting up of the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association, and the statement from the Catholic Hierarchy expressing their "distrust and anxiety" at the prospect of change in the structure of Irish education should have been a warning to the government. The Catholic Church had given its first indication that it would oppose any efforts to involve local authorities in primary education. The Church's control and power over Irish education had been won after a bitter struggle in the nineteenth century, and this control would not easily be relinquished.

From his own point of view, Starkie may not have been very wise to have given public expression to his views on the managerial system. One wonders what he thought he would gain by such a speech. He clearly had more to lose than he had to gain and the bitter attack by school managers meant that Starkie had by now no allies left within the Irish education system. The extent to which Starkie had antagonised teachers, inspectors and managers has been discussed in Chapter VII. Perhaps Starkie's speech wa sa deliberate effort to test reaction to the possibility of local education committees. If so, there was no doubt as to what the reaction would be. There would be no support from the managerial interests for any such move.

Wyndham's suggestions to the Treasury for reform of Irish education

In spite of the indications that any efforts by the government to "put Irish education on the rates" would be resisted by the vested interest groups, Chief Secretary Wyndham intimated to the Treasury in December 1902 that he would favour such a move.[18] He was concerned, not only with the inadequacy of the local contribution to Irish national education, but also with the whole basis of administering government grants to national education in Ireland. He was particularly concerned with the lack of control which the government could exercise over the Boards which administered education in Ireland. In a letter drafted personally by Wyndham to the Treasury in connection with the education estimates for 1903/4 he referred to the "anomalous constitution" of the National Board which he felt was "not a satisfactory representative of the state". He stated that the defects of the Board "as a representative of the Government" were obvious. As far as the allocation of funds were concerned it had "power without responsibility". As regards teachers and managers, it had "responsibility without adequate power". He referred to the system in England and Scotland where the "responsibility of providing elementary education lies, in default of voluntary effort, on locally elected bodies". He praised the work of the new local authorities in Ireland and the "businesslike way they have done their work" and he stated that in the view of the Irish government

> it is desirable to enlarge their responsibilities although doubtless advisable to proceed gradually and with caution.

As regards the equivalent grant which was due to Ireland as a result of the 1902 Act in England he stated that the new grant would not necessarily be devoted to educational purposes but "would be expended in whatever way might seem best suited to Ireland's peculiar needs". He admitted that the improvement of education was necessary but felt that one of the principal causes of "the defective provision made for education" was poverty. He regarded it as a matter of great urgency to

> stimulate and assist the efforts now beginning to be made towards economic amelioration,

and he proposed to allocate a proportion of the equivalent grant for this purpose. He felt that if local poverty were ameliorated, the local contribution towards education might increase. He proposed that the equivalent grant should be expended

> not only on educational services but also on the promotion of schemes for economic improvement of a character approved by the Treasury,

and urged

> that the new grant for Irish purposes shall not be apportioned among the educational or other services shown in the annual estimates, but shall be paid to a fund which the Lord Lieutenant has the power of reserving until a satisfactory scheme is presented for his approval. It is only in this way that His Excellency is confident of bieng able to restrain expenditure on the part of the various semi-independent bodies which at present administer education in Ireland.

He referred to the "contrast between the increasing cost of education and the decline in the number of children attending school" and he stated that

> the Lord Lieutenant is not satisfied that the increased expenditure for each child educated is justified by a proportionate improvement in the education received.

The views expressed by Wyndham in his letter were fully supported by Under-Secretary Sir Antony MacDonnell. MacDonnell had earned a distinguished reputation in the Indian civil service.[19] He was a Catholic who had been appointed Under-Secretary in October 1902 as part of Wyndham's policy of conciliation. It had been agreed privately that he would have more than usual freedom to initiate policy and he took office specifically to work for certain reforms - the solution of the land question; the establishment of a Catholic university in Dublin and the co-ordination of the many boards which administered Irish affairs in the hope of increasing administrative efficiency while conciliating national opinion.[20]

Wyndham's letter to the Treasury, combined with the findings of the Treasury appointed Building Committee was to have a very damaging effect on the finances of Irish education. Whereas previously the National Board and Dublin Castle had worked together to persuade the Treasury to give adequate finance to Irish education, from now on the Treasury and Dublin Castle would combine to try and prevent what they regarded as undue exchequer funding of education. This would apply not only to extra money required for the financing of innovation, but also to money which previously would have been regarded as routine - money for capital expansion, for equipment etc. The Irish executive had decided to support the Treasury in its refusal to sanction grants for aspects of education which in England were paid for by the local committees. These included capital projects, provision of furniture and equipment, heating and cleaning, painting, maintaining and refurbishing of buildings. The government undoubtedly hoped that by starving Irish education of necessary central funds, it would put pressure on the various interest groups in education, churches, teachers, etc. to agree to local authority involvement and financing.

Starkie's actions in earlier years in antagonising many sectors of the Irish educational community had contributed to the Chief Secretary's decision to take this approach. Starkie afterwards said

> Instead of giving us the assistance which they had promised, they took advantage of our unpopularity so as to represent in the House of Commons that, since we were so inefficient, no more money could safely be voted to primary education .....[21]

Report of F.H. Dale

Before embarking on a major reform of the structure of Irish education, Wyndham felt that it would be desirable to have an independent assessment of the situation in Irish national schools. In his draft letter to the Treasury in December 1902, Wyndham had stated that

> it would be advantageous to have a report on the condition of Irish elementary schools as to teaching, discipline, management and relations with the national board, from an inspector of the English Board of Education who would be able to compare what he saw with the conditions with which he was familiar in England. [22]

This suggestion resulted in the appointment in March 1902 of F.H.Dale, a young English inspector, to carry out an inquiry into the Irish national school system.[23]

Wyndham's concern that the inquiry be carried out by an inspector familiar with the situation in England indicates that he hoped that the findings of the inquiry would support his plan to bring the structure of Irish education into line with England. His hopes in this regard were soon to be realised.

Dale came to Ireland in the beginning of April 1902 and during the ten weeks he spent in the country he visited 87 schools in different localities. His terms of reference required him to compare Irish and English primary schools in terms of "premises, equipment, staffing and instruction".[24]

As regards premises, Dale estimated that 472 schools in urban areas and 400 schools in rural areas urgently needed replacement. A further 100 urban schools and 500 rural schools needed improvement. Irish school buildings were inferior to English school buildings and this was due largely to a marked difference in the expenditure upon their erection. In Ireland, during the year ended March 1902, 18,593 school places had been provided at a total cost of £79,396 or about £4.5.6 per head. In England the average comparable cost of providing modern school buildings was more than twice this amount at approximately £10 per head.

Dale was particularly struck by the lack of cleanliness of so many of the schools. He found that "the floors were generally dirty and the walls and cupboards were often covered with dust". He referred to the filthy condition of the out-offices and stated that out of the hundreds of schools which he had inspected in various districts in England, he had never seen any in which the offices were kept "with such utter disregard of health and decency" as several cases which he saw during his short stay in Ireland.[25] He was very conscious of the difficulties involved under the management system in improving the situation. He felt that

> the absence of a Local Authority charged like the English Local Authorities with the duty of aiding the provision and maintenance of the school buildings in its area, has been largely responsible for grave defects in such buildings in Ireland which have been avoidable under the English system. [26]

Dale was aware that there would be problems involved in setting up Local Education authorities. He said

> I am aware that the question of the constitution of a Local Authority analogous to the School Board or Borough Council in England cannot be decided upon educational grounds alone; but it would be idle for me to disguise my conviction that until such a body is established in the large towns of Ireland, no satisfactory solution of the defects which I have described .... can be found. [27]

Dale's proposal was that education authorities should be set up in urban areas and that a different system could be evolved in rural areas. He favoured the evolution of "Associations of Managers" - groups of managers who would get together, pool their resources, and redistribute these resources in the area according to need. Such associations had existed in England to help voluntary schools before 1902.

Dale commented on the fact that books were not provided free of charge in Irish schools. In England, reading and exercise books, pens, slate sand ordinary requisite swere provided free of cost for pupils. He found that in Ireland the equipment was, as a rule, most meagre

"and barely attains the level reached by the poorest English voluntary schools".[28]

He found that teachers' salaries compared favourably with teachers' salaries in England but that the system of teacher payment in Ireland was cumbersome and complex and laid undue responsibility on the National Board.

> It imposes on the central authority a responsibility which in England the central authority has always avoided.

As regards the conditions under which schools operated Dale was extremely critical of "the multiplication of small schools"; the "deplorable lack of any local interest except among the clergy, in primary education in Ireland, when contrasted with England", and the irregularity in the attendance of children at school in Ireland.

Dale made a number of detailed recommendations which he felt might decrease the cost to the government of national education in Ireland. These recommendations related mainly to teacher appointments in smaller schools. He estimated that the result of such changes would result in savings as follows:[29]

TABLE 8.1

Table abridged from Appendix VII of the original version of the report submitted to the government by F.H. Dale, giving an estimate of the ultimate financial effect of certain of the proposals made in the report.

		£
A.	Discontinuance of unnecessary schools	4,000
B.	Amalgamation of unnecessary departments within schools	10,500
C.	Reduction of number of female monitors	1,800
D.	Abolition of pupil-teachers in Model Schools	5,000
E.	Substitution of Mistress or Master and Manual Instructress in small schools	21,912
F.	Substitution of untrained for trained assistants in schools with an average attendance of 60 to 70 pupils	5,208
		48,420

To make up for the reductions in teachers, Dale recommended the appointment of manual instructresses in all schools with an average attendance of between 40 and 70 pupils. The estimated cost of this change would be £44,985. The net financial results of Dale's recommendations would thus be a saving of £3,435.

The Dale report was presented to the government in December 1903 and a month later, Under-Secretary MacDonnell transmitted a copy to the Treasury. He also instructed that a copy be sent to the National Board.[30] Sir Frederick Cullinan, Chief Clerk in the Chief Secretary's Office, had been reluctant to do this as he felt that if copies were sent to the Board it would be difficult to keep it from further publicity and

> it might be well if government would consider the advisability of anticipating outside action by presenting the report to the meeting of Parliament.

The findings of the Dale report supported the views expressed both by Starkie and Wyndham in 1901 that the managerial system had failed to cope with the demands being made on the national school system by the Revised Programme. School buildings, furniture and equipment were inadequate for the needs of the Programme and Dale agreed with Wyndham that costs which in England were paid out of local rates should be met in Ireland from a local contribution. Dale found that the level of such facilities in Irish schools was significantly below the level of similar schools in England and he concluded that the solution lay in local rating. This had also been the conclusion of Starkie and Wyndham a year earlier. One could argue that a different solution would have been possible, i.e. that parliament could have voted an increased grant for Irish education. But this would be to ignore the essential element of uniformity which it was accepted should exist between similar departments of the civil service. It was highly unlikely that such an action would even be considered by the government, it was impossible that it would be approved by the Treasury.

The Development Grant

Wyndham had indicated in his letter of December 1902 that he

intended to use the equivalent grant for purposes other than education. In March 1903 he introduced the Ireland Development Grant Bill in parliament.[31] Under the provisions of this bill, the grant of £185,000 would be used for a variety of schemes which Wyndham regarded as desirable for Irish economic development. Land purchase was one of the main beneficiaries of the bill; other projects supported by the equivalent grant included dredging of harbours, building of piers and provision of railways. Starkie afterwards wrote bitterly:

> the Development Grant, which in England and Scotland had been earmarked for education, was devoted to land flotation, steam dredgers, light railways, piers, or Arklow harbour. [32]

The National Board objected strongly to what they felt was the "sequestration" of money which rightly belonged to Irish education. In April 1903 the Board made a formal application to the Irish government for additional financing for national education. The Board had no doubt that

> the entire sum proposed to be provided under the Irish Development Grant Bill would prove more than adequate for the immediate wants of the Commissioners for the development and improvement of the National system. [33]

They applied for aid for the following projects:

1. The provision of a new building and equipment for the Marlborough Street Training College. (Capital cost of £50,000 or an annual expenditure of £2,500.)
2. An increase in the number of assistant teachers. (Estimated annual cost of £24,000.)
3. The improvement of many of the school houses as regards (a) the structures themselves; (b)their equipment; (c) their sanitary condition; (d) their attractiveness to the pupils. It was estimated that the cost of providing washing facilities would be £10,000 per annum. The cost of cleaning out-offices and white-washing walls etc. would be £40,000 per annum; and the cost of

providing fires would be almost £24,00 per annum.

4. An improvement in the grants for equipment for the new subjects.
5. The provision of free books for pupils, "at least for pupils in schools situated in poor localities".
6. School prizes and scholarships "to stimulate the pupils to attention to their studies and to regularity of attendance".

Many of these proposals were aimed at alleviating the problems referred to by Dale in his report - problems relating to the heating and cleaning of schools, to the improvement of the out-offices and to the provision of free books and requisites for pupils. The fact that the application did not include a sum for national school buildings suggests that Starkie was still hoping at this stage that the suggestions of the Building Committee in relation to local rates for school building might be implemented.

But the Board's application for the development grant was not accepted by the Irish executive.[34] The Chief Secretary had decided to allocate most of the development grant to other projects and was not prepared to recommend the Board's application to the Treasury. The Treasury on the other hand regarded the equivalent grant as an education grant and was not prepared to allow any increase in the parliamentary vote to national education while the equivalent grant was available. Both the Chief Secretary and the Treasury hoped that sooner or later some aspects of the cost of national education could be put on the rates. The result was continual frustration for the Board in its requests for adequate financing. Starkie later described it as follows:

> We are sent from post to pillar. We are sent from the Treasury to the Development Grant; from the Development Grant to the rates; and from the rates back again to the Exchequer. Such is the disgraceful position in which Irish education is; and whatever good the passing of the Land Act will have done - I dare say its authors will be remembered as great benefactors of the small land-owners, but they will certainly go down in history, as far as national education is concerned, as the persons who have stopped its development for a generation. 35

Wyndham's public announcement of proposals for reform

Wyndham made no public reference during the debate on the Ireland Development Bill in 1903 to the need for the reform of Irish education. It was likely that he was awaiting the results of the Dale inquiry before introducing any such discussion. By spring 1904 when the allocation of the Development grant for 1904/5 was being discussed in parliament, the Dale report had been published. Its findings were used by Redmond to argue for the allocation of funds from the Development grant to primary education.[36] Some days later the estimates for national education were debated and Syndham used the occasion to announce his plans for educational reform.[37] He outlined three possible plans for dealing with Irish education. The first option would be

> to pour Irish money into the three separate and unco-ordinated receptacles afforded by the systems of primary, secondary and technical education.

He rejected this option as being financiall unfeasible.

The second possibility would be "a very ambitious and comprehensive attempt" at reform. This was probably a reference to a system based on the English system with a co-ordinated Department of Education and local authority involvement. This course he also rejected because he feared it would fail and that its failure would "delay the course of educational reform for years".

The third option was to begin the gradual introduction of co-ordination, local control and rate-aid at the level of secondary and technical education with the intention of extending such reforms to the primary system "at not a very late date". This was the option Wyndham proposed to adopt.[38] It was a gradual approach and Wyndham clearly felt that in this way he might overcome Church suspicions of reform.

But, like Starkie, Wyndham had underestimated the extent of Catholic opposition to any interference with the structure of Irish education. In June 1904 the Catholic herarchy issued a statement condemning Wyndham's proposal for "a Government Department, subject

to the British Parliament and directed by Government officials".[39] They resolved that

> any limitation or restriction of the control which is now exercised by managers over the schools of the national system would be so injurious to the religious interests of our people as to make it imperative on us to resist the introduction of such a measure, and, in case it were adopted to reconsider our whole position in relation to those schools.

The Hierarchy also expressed its opposition to Wyndham's action in diverting the equivalent grant away from education. They claimed that:

> The primary schools of Ireland, especially in the poorer districts, have the first claim on the Equivalent Grant, which by itself would be sufficient to remove practically all the material defects about which complaints are now being made ..... and amongst other things, would render unnecessary the objectionable suggestion of amalgamating boys' and girls' schools in districts where the necessity for such amalgamation does not exist. [40]

They criticised the "waste of £30,000 a year" on the model schools, supported the claims of the training colleges for further aid and of the teachers for higher salaries.

The Catholic hierarchy was supported in its condemnation of Syndham's proposals by the Irish Parliamentary Party. In April 1904, during the Parliamentary debate on the national education estimates, Redmond had stated that his party would be "unalterably opposed" to any move to set up a Department of Education. Such a move, he said, would simply be "the creation of a new Castle board".[41] In later months, Dillon also criticised the proposals, and recorded his objections to the Irish Government's "Deep Laid Plot to Revolutionise the Whole System of Education".[42] These attitudes were echoed by a number of local authorities. In October 1904 the hierarchy publicly expressed "its gratification at the intelligent and keen appreciation so many of (the local authorities) have manifested at the gravity of the issue".[43] It was clear that the concerted efforts of the Church

and of the Irish Party would be used against any government measure for educational reform.

The demands of the Catholic hierarchy and of the Irish Parliamentary Party that a portion at least of the equivalent grant be allocated to education were conceded by Wyndham. In 1904/5 a sum of £17,600 was allocated from the equivalent grant for educational purposes.[44] This represented less than 10% of the total development grant; the other 90% was spent on non-educational matters. In 1905/6 the amount was increased to £36,265 and the sum increased annually from then until 1907/8 when £60,604 was allocated to education.[45] The money from the development grant which was made available for Irish education was allocated to enable the Board to reduce the average attendance necessary for the appointment of a first assistant teacher to 50% Additional grants were also given to some training colleges to enable them to increase the number of students accepted for training. Grants were also given to provide improved residences for the students in the Marlborough Street Training College.[46]

Sir Antony MacDonnell's first scheme for educational reform

In August 1904 Under-Secretary MacDonnell expressed reservations about the government's diversion of the equivalent grant to purposes other than education. In an internal memorandum to Wyndham he wrote:

> The Development Grant is by origin an educational grant and if the prior lien on it, created by the Land Purchase Act of last year, is satisfied, education must be admitted to have the next permanent claim on its resources..[47]

MacDonnell referred to the very large amount of money that would be required to remedy defects in Irish education, particularly in relation to school building. He estimated that in order to bring national schools up to standard and to maintain them at that level, a sum of £100,000 per annum was required. He felt that it was unrealistic to expect the Treasury to finance Irish education to this extent. He was in favour of "asserting the principle" of local authority involvement in primary education by introducing legislation

which would allow for the setting up of local Education Authorities

> wherever opinion in any locality becomes ripe for the measure.

As regards the Treasury's attitude to education he realised that the best that could be hoped for would be a situation where State financing of Irish education would be on a par with England and Scotland. He stated:

> In the position we have come to, it would, I fear, be idle to argue with the Treasury that for many years to come, Ireland - a backward and impoverished country - should not be treated, as regards educational finance, on the same plane as England and Scotland, which are rich and educationally forward. The Treasury is antipathetic to Irish demands and while the present oppressive financial relations exist between the two countries there is no hope that argument or remonstrance from this side will avail. Tu pulsas ego vapulo tantum. Unless we can devise a scheme of financial relations under which Ireland, while always subject to Parliamentary control and to the Auditor-General's jurisdiction, would be enabled to develop and administer her own resources, we must make up our minds to some form of local rating if educational progress is to be effected.

In his memorandum, MacDonnell commented at some length on the report and recommendations of F.H.Dale. MacDonnell agreed with Dale

> that the establishment of Local Educational Authorities would be, in a great part of Ireland at all events,highly beneficial,

but he felt that in the "more backward" parts of the country, it would not be possible

> to find either the materials out of which efficient School Boards could be made or the public spirit by which they could be supported.

In any case, he pointed out that

> we have it on the authority of the Roman Catholic Bishops that they would meet with determined opposition a proposal to create School Boards which would have the effect of qualifying the exclusive control which the priests now exercise over National Schools.

The opposition of the Catholic hierarchy would be in MacDonnell's view "too formidable to challenge" and he regretted this. But he believed that something should be done to "assert the principle" of local involvement. MacDonnell felt that a system of local rating and of local education authorities should be permissive, not mandatory. This proposal had some similarities to the compromise that had been introduced under the 1875 Teachers Salaries Act, a compromise which as we have seen earlier, had not been a success.

MacDonnell's memorandum indicated that the Irish executive was fully aware that it would be unrealistic to expect the Treasury to treat Irish education more generously than England or Scotland. Not only did MacDonnell feel that "the Treasury is antipathetic to Irish demands", he also realised that financial relations generally between Ireland the Britain were "oppressive". In this climate there was little or no hope of additional financing for Irish education from the central exchequer. His proposal for an improvement of education in Ireland was based on a two-phase reform. In the first phase a voluntary system of local rating should be introduced. In the second phase he looked forward to a financially autonomous system of administration for Ireland.

MacDonnell's memorandum was written just before Lord Dunraven's Irish reform association of moderate landlords put forward a plan for the establishment of a financial council to control certain aspects of Irish administration. MacDonnell afterwards claimed that he had drawn up the "Dunraven scheme"[48] and the similarities between his views as expressed in the memorandum of August 1904 and the proposals of the "Dunraven scheme" would support this claim. In the event, Wyndham decided not to take MacDonnell's advice. He took no action to introduce a scheme of local rating, voluntary or otherwise, and he decided to support the request of the National Board for additional financing for national education from the central exchequer.

Treasury reaction to the National Board's estimates for 1905/6

At the end of 1904, when the National Board submitted its estimates for 1905/6, Wyndham supported the Board's application and referred it to the Treasury for approval. But the Treasury officials were unsympathetic to the request for an increase in the education vote.[49] In particular, they were not anxious to give money for services which in England were a charge upon local rates. The fact that the Irish government felt that there was no immediate prospect of introducing a local rate for national education did not change the Treasury's view. In a letter to Dublin Castle dated 14 March 1905, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Victor Cavendish, discussed at considerable length the proposals to increase expenditure on Irish education.

As regards building grants, he refused to increase the triennial grant of £140,000. This amount had been approved in 1901 and an annual building grant of £35,000 had been allocated in the years 1901 to 1903. The Board's request for the next three year period was for a grant of £250,000 and Wyndham had endorsed this application. But the Treasury was adamant in its refusal to sanction this increase and was critical of the Irish executive for its failure to arrive at a decision on the report of the Building committee of 1902. They expressed

> a disappointment that up to the present the Irish government have offered no assistance towards a settlement of the question (of building grants),

and stated that in the circumstances there appeared to be no alternative "but that My Lords should endeavour to deal with it themselves". This was the beginning of a further three year period of continuing frustration for the National Board in the matter of building grants.

The Board had also applied for grants estimated at £70,000 for "heating, lighting and sanitary arrangements". The Treasury rejected this proposal pointing out that these services in England were a charge on the local rates. The letter went on:

> His Excellency states that he has arrived at the counclusion that there is no immediate prospect of eliciting any material amount out of rates. Yet as pointed out in the Treasury letter of 27 January 1903 the proper remedy for the default of localities in respect of the upkeep of schools vested in trustees is to take steps by legislation to impose this charge upon rates; and My Lords cannot regard the fact that circumstances are unfavourable for making this change as a reason for accentuating further the existing inequality between Ireland and the rest of the U.K. in respect of the amount of the expenditure on national education defrayed out of votes of Parliament in comparison with that contributed from local sources.

A proposal that a sum of £3,000 be made available for 'advanced departments' of national schools was rejected on the basis that

> this is unquestionably a new service which ought if sanctioned to be paid for out of the Ireland Development Grant.

A request to increase the number of manual instructresses was discussed at considerable length, the Treasury finally conceding that some additional appointments could be made on condition that the cost would be charged against the development grant.

A proposal from the Board that principal teachers who became redundant as a result of the amalgamation of small schools should keep their principal's allowance was agreed by the Treasury. The Treasury was very critical of the large number of "superfluous schools" and expressed their concern of the

> gross extravagance and the great educational disadvantage resulting from the present subdivision.

They urged the Board to take steps to substitute mixed (i.e. co-educational) schools for separate schools for boys and girls and combined girls' and infants' schools.

There is no doubt that there were a very large number of small national schools in the country in the early years of the twentieth

century. Of a total of 8,445 schools, 5,696 or just over two-thirds of the schools were one-teacher schools. A further 1,811 or 21% were two-teacher schools and 480 or 6% were three-teacher schools. Less than 6% of all schools in the country had more than three teachers.[50] There were two major causes of this "multiplication of small schools" - firstly, the denominational problem which led to the building of schools of different denominations in any one area and secondly, the objections of the Catholic church to co-educational schools. The following table gives details of the number of schools in each size-category, showing separately numbers of single-sex schools and co-educational schools.

TABLE 8.2

Table showing the Number of Schools in Ireland, single-sex and co-educational, by size of school. [51]

No. of Registered Teachers	Average Attendance	Numbers of Schools			
		Boys only	Girls/ Infants	Mixed	Total
1	Less than 60	1,262	1,256	3,178	5,696
2	60 to 94	490	515	806	1,811
3	95 to 139	147	153	180	480
4 and over	140 and over	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	458

It can be seen that 45% of all one-teacher schools; 55% of two-teacher schools and over 60% of three-teacher schools were single-sex schools. In this context, the Treasury request to the Board to substitute mixed schools for separate schools could hardly be regarded as unreasonable.

Other proposals put forward by the National Board in their estimates for 1905/6 were also turned down by the Treasury. A request from the Board that grants be allowed for books and copybooks was flatly rejected. This proposal had been estimated to cost £50,000 for the first year and £40,000 per annum thereafter. But the Treasury pointed out that

> this expenditure in England falls upon local rates and the considerations set out above (re heating and cleaning etc.) apply with equal force to this proposal also.

The tone of this letter from the Treasury indicates that Treasury officials were frustrated by the failure of Wyndham to carry through the scheme for local rating which he had so enthusiastically espoused two years earlier. The political factors which led to Wyndham's failure to introduce reform were not the concern of the Treasury. Its concern was with economy and uniformity and in both these areas it had been th arted again. Around this period, Sir Henry Robinson, Vice-President of the Local Government wrote that

> The permanent officials of the Treasury have always hated the name of Ireland. They seem to have considered that the Irish Chief Secretaries went to too great lengths to propitiate the Irish members and did not hesitate to commit the Treasury in favour of unnecessary expenditure to make things easier for themselves in the House of Commons. It was because of this that the young watch puppies of the Treasury would start up like fretful porcupines when schemes from Irish Departments came before them. 52

The analysis in the earlier part of this chapter of the various proposals for education reform introduced during Wyndham's term as Chief Secretary support Robinson's statement. The reforms suggested by Starkie, Dale, Wyndham and MacDonnell had all included a proposal that rate aid be used to finance some aspects of Irish primary education. Such a proposal would have benefitted the national schools and would have been welcomed by the Treasury, since it might have helped to reduce the exchequer contribution to Irish education. In addition, it would have been a move towards a degree of uniformity between Ireland and Great Britain. The reaction of the Treasury following Wyndham's failure to introduce reform is a good example of "the fretful porcupine" approach referred to by Robinson. But while the Treasury reacted in this way and while the attitude of Church and nation militated against reform, the National Board complained of continued under-financing. The annual report of the Board for the year 1904/5 contained the following paragraph:

> What we have to consider are the requirements of education, prescending from the source from which these requirements may be met. It seems to us to be involved in the Legislative Union, and to be a necessary consequence of the identity of taxation in Great Britain and Ireland, that the Irish child should enjoy equal advantages, as far as education is concerned, with children in English and Scotch schools. Whether these advantages should be secured by grants from the rates or from the Exchequer is a secondary question with which, not we, but the government are concerned. It is our duty to lay before the government and the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury the immediate requirements of the system of national education, which requirements must be satisfied if the existing educational inequity between Ireland and Great Britain is, even in a small measure, to be redressed. [53]

This paragraph shows clearly the difference between the attitude of the National Board and of the Treasury on the question of the financing of Irish education. The National Board was adamant that the Irish child was entitled to the same educational advantages as the English child, regardless of where the money came from. The Treasury argued that Irish education was entitled to a comparable parliamentary grant per pupil as was available for English and Scottish education. The divergence between these two points of view can be appreciated when one realises that in 1902 in England, 50% of the current cost of Board schools was paid from local sources. In Ireland in the same year, only 5.5% of current costs of national education were met from local sources.[54] The average cost to the State of maintaining a pupil in a Board school in England was in the region of £1.10.0; the comparable average cost of maintaining a pupil in an Irish national school *was £2.8.5.[55]

Appointment of Walter Long as Chief Secretary

Wyndham retired as Chief Secretary in March 1905. He was disillusioned and disappointed at his failure to effect administrative reform in Ireland.[56] He was replaced as Chief Secretary by Walter H. Long. Long was not popular with the nationalists who saw him as "a machine, owned body and soul by a British party and

* Excluding schools paid on a capitation basis

and caring as much for the things of the mind as does the average member of the Royal Irish Constabulary".[57] The main reason for the nationalist antagonism to Long was because of his association with Treasury efforts to reduce the grant for the teaching of Irish in national schools. Shortly after Long's appointment the Treasury announced that after the school year ending in June 1906, funds for the teaching of extra subjects in national schools would be discontinued.[58] This directive was in keeping with the attitude reflected in the report of the Belmore Commission that the purpose of national schools was to give primary or preparatory-type education. If this view was accepted extra subjects such as French, Latin etc. should not be part of the curriculum of primary schools. Since the introduction of the Revised Programme in 1900, fees had been paid in respect of a limited number of extra subjects taught outside school hours. The Treasury ruling might not have raised much of an outcry had the extra subjects not included Irish. But since Irish was the main extra subject for which fees had been paid since 1900, the new Treasury directive was seen as an attach on the Irish language. In 1901 fees amounting to £955 were paid for Irish as an extra subject in 109 schools. By 1905, the number of schools had increased to 1,204 and fees amounting to £12,000 were paid.[59] By eliminating fees for extra subjects the Treasury would cut off £12,000 in grants for the teaching of Irish.[60] The Gaelic League immediately objected to the proposals of the Treasury but instead of criticising the Treasury, they launched an attack on the National Board. In August 1905 they passed a resolution that

> instead of the present National Education Board, a Board be established in the election of which the people of Ireland would have a voice.[61]

The editor of An Chlaidheamh Soluis on 9 September 1905 condemned the National Board "as a whole" but stated

> We do not call for the total abolition of the National Board, or for the erection of an Education Department under Dublin Castle, or under a Minister responsible to the British Parliament. We have long ago made clear what it is we do want. We want to see a drastic change in the mode of appointing Commissioners of National Education, and in the class of person appointed. We want to see duly-accredited

> representatives of the school managers, of the teachers, and of the people of Ireland on the Board. We want to see the deadheads and the bigots, the castle lawyers and the fox-hunting squires, fired out. We want educationists on the Board, and we want men on the Board. We want a body of Commissioners who will grapple boldly and masterfully with the immense problems of Irish primary education. [62]

It was ironic that the Gaelic League focused its attack on the National Board as the Board had written to the Irish government stressing the educational importance of instruction in Irish and "of teaching of English through the Irish idiom" in districts where Irish was the home language of the majority of the children. The Board also believed in the educational value of the study of the language in districts in which Irish was not the home language,

> in view of the strong sentiment in its favour and the interest taken by the teachers and pupils in the subject. [63]

But the representations made by the Board to the Irish executive and the Treasury were to no avail and the Treasury insisted on the withdrawal of fees for Irish as from 30 June 1906.[64] It was only as a result of considerable political pressure that the grants were later restored.[65] But in the meantime the National Board had gained another enemy, this time the Gaelic League, and the young nationalist elements of the population.

In view of the clear opposition of Church and nation to major administrative reform of Irish education on the lines introduced in England under the 1902 act, Chief Secretary Walter Long was not anxious to introduce legislation to reform Irish education. On the other hand, he was aware that there was growing antagonism to the National Board and he was also concerned about the lack of co-ordination between the different branches of education in Ireland. The Dale and Stephens report on Intermediate Education had been submitted to the government in February 1905 and this report had referred to the many problems arising out of the lack of co-ordination between the systems of primary and intermediate education. The report had stated that

> the primary cause of this want of co-ordination ..... is the non-existence in Ireland of any department with power to survey the two systems as a whole, [66]

and had added that co-ordination could only be effectively secured by means of legislation.

The Conference on Co-ordination

In November 1905, Long decided to set up a committee to look into the lack of co-ordination between the bodies involved in education.[67] Referring to the Dale and Stephen's report, he said:

> Legislation would be necessary to secure co-ordination of the character contemplated in the report of Messrs. Dale and Stephens, and without expressing an opinion on the desirability of such legislation, I cannot avoid the conclusion that much can be done in this direction by administrative action within the powers already possessed by the two Boards concerned, and that many educational advantages might be attained by the extended adaptation of existing machinery.

Clearly the, Long would prefer to adapt the existing systems than to attempt major administrative reforms which might have undesirable political repercussions. He referred to the existence of the Consultative Committee which had been established under the 23rd section of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act, 1899[68] and expressed the view that the work of this Committee might be more effective if it had a permanent staff to report to and advise it. There were varying opinions as to the efficiency of the Consultative Committee as it existed. Starkie regarded the meetings of the Committee as a waste of time as he felt that any recommendations made were almost invariably turned down by one of the interests involved.[69] He made the point that since the representatives of the DATI outnumbered those of the two Boards by three to two, the views of the members of the Department usually over-ruled the other members. But Chief Secretary Long felt that the Consultative Committee provided a basis for a certain amount of co-ordination. The conference which he proposed in November 1905 would be a conference somewhat on the lines of the Consultative Committee but with equal representation from the three bodies involved in administering education in Ireland. He felt

that such a conference

> is eminently desirable between representatives of the Boards of Intermediate and Primary Education, and Technical Instruction with a view to ascertaining to what extent and in what respects co-ordination is feasible, under existing powers, between the three systems. [70]

He invited the Intermediate Board, the National Board and the DATI to name representatives to act on this committee. The Intermediate Board replied to this invitation on 20 November 1905 stating that

> the Board welcomes the suggestion of a conference between members of the Boards of Intermediate and Primary Education and Technical Instruction and they have nominated Rt.Hon. Mr. Justice Madden and Rev. T.A. Finlay, S.J. to act as their representatives.
>
> The Board are gratified to learn that it is your conviction with which they are in plenary agreement, that a great deal can be done by means of existing machinery to secure a large measure of co-ordination between the various educational authorities in Ireland ... [71]

On 21 November the National Board nominated Rt.Rev.Dr. Archdall, Bishop of Killaloe, and Dr. Starkie to be its representatives on the Conference on Co-ordination, and a few days later (25 November) Sir Horace Plunkett nominated Mr. T.P.Gill, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction to represent the DATI.[72] In his letter of nomination, Plunkett defended the Consultative Committee and said that it

> has brought about far more co-ordination than Gerald Balfour could have expected of it in the time .....

He approved of the setting up of the Conference on Co-ordination but warned that the Consultative Committee should not be ignored stating that

> it is important to bear in mind what may be said if the existence of this statutory committee is ignored.
>
> Whether the committee has been successful or not, it is a body expressly created by statute to deal with educational co-ordination, and it will be necessary to take care that its function is not officially overlooked.

On 29 November 1905 Long wrote to Judge Madden asking him to convene the Conference. The Conference consisted of six members (two representatives of each educational body) and three of these men (Fr. Finlay, Starkie and Gill) were also members of the Consultative Committee. It was a conference composed of the vested interest groups in education at the time and it was unlikely that they would recommend any fundamental reforms in the system.

The report of the Conference was completed within a month and in January 1906 it was sent to Dublin Castle. The report was only seven pages long and it was basically a report praising the co-ordination which existed between the three departments.[73] It lauded the work of the Consultative Committee and stated that as a result of the work of this Committee

> the three chief departments controlling education in this country have been brought into close touch and co-operation with each other, and that a large measure of co-ordination in their work has already been secured.

The Conference summed up by listing the chief obstacles to co-ordination "in the grades of education below the university grade" as follows:-

1. The want of a permanent staff of Inspectors under the Intermediate Board.
2. The inadequacy of the provision for education of the upper primary grades.
3. The insufficient provision for the establishment of bursaries for clever children attending primary schools, to enable them to attend schools providing a higher grade of education.[74]

It was clear from the report of this Conference that neither the National Board, the Intermediate Board nor the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction wanted any change in the system of educational administration in Ireland. Their representatives at the Conference had made this clear. The suggestions made by them for co-ordination were insignificant and it could be argued that the Conference was simply used as a vehicle through which each of the existing bodies brought their main grievances to the attention of the Chief Secretary. The Intermediate Board wanted a permanent inspectorate - that was the first recommendation of the Conference. The National Board wanted Higher Grade Schools - that was the second recommendation. The third recommendation - that scholarships be provided for pupils from primary to second-level schools - was a scheme that had the support of all three bodies.

If Long had expected constructive suggestions for co-ordination in Irish education, he did not get them from the Conference. Perhaps it was just as well that Long was no longer Chief Secretary when the report was completed. There would have been little action possible on the basis of its recommendations.

The conciliatory approach of the Conservative Chief Secretaries to educational reconstruction in Ireland in the period 1902 to 1905 had ended in failure. No action had been taken and no change in the administrative system had occurred. But the overtures made by Wyndham and his successor Long, had established a number of important facts. The Catholic Church would oppose any move aimed at setting up a single Education Department and it would have the full support of the Irish Parliamentary Party in its opposition. The three bodies involved in educational administration were also opposed to such reform and would not support the Irish government in such a move. But the major pressure groups in Irish education were nevertheless dissatisfied with the National Board. This dissatisfaction had been expressed by the nationalists, by the teachers and by Catholic managers' representatives. The Treasury was also frustrated by the situation that existed in Ireland. On the one hand, the Irish executive seemed to accept the need for bringing Irish education into line with England, but on the other hand, they had failed to take any action to achieve this aim. Because of the failure of the government to introduce local rating

for primary education, the funds available for national schools continued to be inadequate. The average state grant per pupil in average attendance increased by less than 1% per annum in the years 1900 to 1905. The Treasury had not succeeded in cutting back state spending on education but they had succeeded in cutting back the annual rate of growth. The following table gives details of the total amount of the parliamentary grant (including school grant), the number of national schools and of pupils in attendance from 1900 to 1905.[75]

TABLE 8.3

Total Parliamentary Grant; No. of schools; Average Attendance: Average Attendance as a % of Average Enrolment; Average per capita grant and Wholesale Price Index, 1900-1905.

Year	No. of National Schools	No. of Pupils in Average Attendance	Av.Attend-ance as % of Av. Enrolment	Total Parliamen-tary Grant	Av.Grant per pupil in Atten-dance	Wholesale Price Index
1900	8,684	478,224	62.0	1,274,069	2.66	100.0
1901	8,692	482,031	63.9	1,287,771	2.67	96.7
1902	8,712	487,098	65.1	1,315,748	2.70	96.4
1903	8,720	482,489	65.0	1,358,501	2.82	96.9
1904	8,710	483,897	65.7	1,393,225	2.88	98.2
1905	8,659	500,489	67.4	1,409,687	2.82	97.6

It can been seen from these figures that to some extent the Treasury's frustration was justified. In spite of their continuing criticism of "the multiplication of small schools" the numbers of national schools had increased in the years 1900 t o1903. (After 1904 when the Dale report had been published, the numbers of schools began to decrease.) The average parliamentary grant per pupil in attendance had increased from £2.66 to £2.82 between 1900 and 1905. This represented an increase of 6% over the period. It was to be expected that the Treasury would continue to oppose an annual increase in the parliamentary grant to national education and that they would continue to put pressure on the government to reform the Irish system. The only solution to the impasse would appear to be radical action by a strong government. The defeat of the Conservative Party at the end of 1905 opened up this possibility but whether radical legislation

could be carried for Ireland was another matter. The next chapter will discuss the efforts of the Liberal government to introduce legislation which was aimed at solving the Irish education problem.

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CHAPTER IX

THE IRISH COUNCIL BILL AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1906 - 1912

In chapter VIII, the failure of the Conservative government to reform Irish administration was discussed. Despite the efforts of Under-Secretary MacDonnell to introduce reform, the system of administration in Ireland was the same in 1905 as it had been when MacDonnell had been appointed three years earlier. In this chapter it will be shown that the Liberal government was equally unsuccessful in its efforts to introduce reform, in spite of the fact that such reform was initially seen by many members of the Irish Party as part of an acceptable package on Home Rule. The obstacles which Wyndham had failed to negotiate in 1904 were the same obstacles which prevented Liberal Chief Secretary Birrell from introducing his reform measures in 1907. The antagonism to Birrell's Irish Council Bill was a reverberation of the controversy which surrounded Wyndham's attempted reform five years earlier. Despite its other successes in the area of social reforms, the Liberal government which came to power in 1906 failed, as the earlier Conservative government had done, to reform Irish education.

On 4th December 1905, A.J.Balfour tendered his resignation to the King. A General Election was held early in 1906 and this election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Liberal Party.[1] The Liberals gained an outright majority in parliament with 397 seats; the Unionists who had ruled for almost twenty years had only 157 seats; the Irish Party had 83 and the Labour Party had 50. Campbell-Bannermann, who had been Chief Secretary in Ireland in 1884 during Gladstone's Second Ministry was Prime Minister from early 1906 until his death in 1908, when he was succeeded by Asquith.[2] Before his election, Campbell-Bannermann had indicated that if elected, he would offer Ireland "an instalment of representative control" which might "lead up to Home Rule".[3] With the election of a strong Liberal government it was expected that some action would soon be taken to offer some element of Home Rule to Ireland.

The Catholic Hierarchy was anxious to put on record what they

expected from an Irish Parliament. As far as education was concerned, the Church's main priority would be a settlement of the University question; the hierarchy would also like to be reassured that an Irish parliament would not interfere with the existing structures of national and intermediate education. In a letter to Redmond in January 1906, the Episcopal Standing Committee of the Catholic Church asked Redmond and the Irish members

> to put it strongly to the new government that the Liberal principles enunciated at the election in regard to Ireland if not the general maxim of the government by consent of the governed, at least must imply, in the domain of education, such a system as will accord with the wishe sand convictions which the great bulk of the Irish people entertain in common with their bishops and clergy. [4]

They stated that they hoped

> that an Irish Parliament would provide a system of University Education suitable to the people, and that, quite independently of the direct merits, they would not be in a hurry to put into the management of education, in any grade, any element which those interested did not desire to introduce.

The bishops expressed their confidence in Redmond and the Irish Party

> to see that in any changes made in our educational systems, Irish ideas and Irish wishes, and not English fads, will be followed.

It was quite clear that the Irish bishops would expect to be consulted on the question of educational reform. It was also clear that the bishops would be suspicious of any reform which was based on the English system or on "English fads".

On 29th January 1906, Redmond sent a copy of the bishops' letter to the new Chief Secretary, James Bryce.[5] Bryce was an Irishman, born in Belfast in 1838, and was the son of a schoolmaster.[6] He had been interested in education from the time he was a young man;

he had been an assistant commissioner on the Taunton Commission on education in England in 1865/6 and chairman of the Bryce Commission on Secondary Education in England in 1895.[7] Bryce's appointment as Chief Secretary to Ireland was welcomed by Irish nationalists. Pearse described Bryce as "a gentleman and a scholar" and he expected that Bryce would reform the National Board "at the earliest opportunity".[8]

Within weeks of his appointment Bryce had been made aware of the wishes of the Church and of the nationalists on the question of educational reform. He was conscious of the delicacy of the situation and he realised that he would have to tread warily in this area. Under-Secretary MacDonnell, on the other hand, felt that the existence of a strong Liberal government cleared the way for the introduction of administrative reform - reform which he regarded as long overdue. In February 1906, MacDonnell submitted a scheme to Byrce under which an executive council would be set up "to co-ordinate and bring under a reasonable measure of popular control" certain Irish boards and departments, including the National Board. It would also "confer on the Irish government such control over Irish expenditure as will enforce efficiency and economy". A new Department of Education with a paid director would replace the National and Intermediate Boards.[9]

This proposal by MacDonnell contained many of the ideas which he had suggested to Wyndham eighteen months earlier. The idea that the Irish government should have greater control over Irish expenditure was not new; but the government in power was new and MacDonnell had great hopes that the proposals which had been rejected by Wyndham would be accepted by Bryce.

Shortly after MacDonnell had submitted his proposed reform scheme to Bryce, he "found time" to examine the report of the Conference on Co-ordination which had been "lying on his table" for some time, probably since the previous December.[10] MacDonnell's attitude to the report was dismissive. On 19th March, he sent the report to Bryce with the following curt note:

> Mr. Long, immediately before vacating office, appointed a committee to ascertain how far co-ordination could be achieved. The report of this committee has been lying on my table a little while, but I have now found time to examine it. (The signed report does not seem to have ever been received.) 11
>
> The report is, in short, an euloguum of the Consultative Committee ... This euloguum comes the more naturally from Judge Madden's committee seeing that three of the members are also the majority of the members of the Consultative Committee which is the object of their praise ....
>
> The solution of the education problem in Ireland is not advanced by the report. It is an attempt to divert attention from a serious issue and as such mischievous. For the rest, it is a report pour rire.

Some days later the report was returned to MacDonnell with a note saying: "The Chief Secretary concurs in your estimate of this report".

No further action was taken by the government on this report. It was not published and was never laid before parliament as a command paper. In June 1906 Walter Long, who had set up the Committee in November 1905 and who was now a member of the back bench asked Mr. Bryce

> whether he will lay upon the table of the House as a Command Paper a copy of the report drawn up by the Consultative Committee of Education consequent upon the communication that passed between the late Irish Government and the representatives of the Committee in November 1905. 12

Bryce refused to do so stating that the report

> deals with matters which are now under the consideration of the Irish government and I cannot, as at present advised, undertake to present it to Parliament.

Long brought up the matter again on 28th June and 4th July and Mr. Lonsdale (M.P. for mid-Armagh) and J. Dillon (M.P. for Mayo East) took up the cry for publication of the report. But Bryce consistently refused to publish the report.

In spite of MacDonnell's desire to introduce administrative reform, Bryce decided that the time was not yet ripe for action. In March 1906 during the debate on the estimates of the National Board in the House of Commons, he made it clear that he intended to postpone the question of reform.[13] He agreed that an Education Department might be a good idea but felt it would be unacceptable because of nationalist objections to another Castle board. Bryce's speech was welcomed by the Catholic Bishops who described it as an "important and sympathetic speech".[14]

Attitude of the Treasury to Irish education 1906 and 1907

The indecision of the government in relation to educational reform was not helpful to national education. The Treasury would not agree to any significant increase in the parliamentary grant to education as long as the government failed to reform the system.

In its annual report for 1905/6, the National Board was severely critical of the government and the Treasury because of their attitude to the funding of national education.[15] The problems in regard to the building grants were described at length. The parliamentary vote for school building had been considerably reduced after the period 1901-1904 when £35,000 per annum had been voted for this purpose. In 1904/5, the building grant fell to £12,500 and in 1905/6 it was only £20,000. In April 1906 the Treasury offered to make £44,000 per annum available for building grants. In making this proposal the Treasury had stipulated that they (the Treasury) would reserve the right to be involved in deciding what schools should be given a grant but the National Board was not prepared to concede on this issue. The National Board felt that

> while it is open to the Treasury to formulate for our consideration general regulations to be followed in the allocation of funds placed at our disposal for grants for school buildings, it is clearly outside their proper domain to claim to exercise any veto as to the cases that should or should not receive consideration. Our recognition of such claim would be inconsistent with the powers vested in us at the time we were constituted, whereby we were given absolute control over the funds which might be annually voted by Parliament for the purpose, among others, of granting aid for the erection of school-houses.[16]

The question at issue here was fundamentally the question of the multiplication of small schools in Ireland. The Treasury had been concerned for a number of years about this question and they no doubt felt that the only way in which they could prevent the proliferation of further small schools was to exercise a veto over every application for a capital grant. The Board was not prepared to concede this right to the Treasury but the provisions of the Stanley letter were hardly relevant to the situation in 1906. The right granted to the Board in 1831 of "absolute control" over their annual funds had effectively been nullified by the provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Act of 1866 and control over the general funds voted by parliament for national education had long since been exercised by the Treasury without any objections from the Board. It may have been reasonable for the Board to object to undue interference by the Treasury in individual cases; it was not reasonable to try and establish a right which they had conceded forty years earlier.

The Board also criticised the government and the Treasury for their refusal to allow grants for the provision and regular cleaning of out-offices, for white-washing of walls and cleaning of floors and windows, for the provision of suitable desks, maps and charts and for the supply of fuel in winter months for national schools. Other proposals which had been refused were referred to - the establishment of Higher grade schools; special salaries to the teachers of "large and important schools", and to teachers holding university degrees; provision of scholarships and school prizes and free books and requisites. The Board was critical both of the government and of the Treasury - the government because "notwithstanding our representations and warnings" it had 'sequestrated' the development grant for other purposes and the Treasury because of its refusal to increase the vote for national education. The Board emphasised the urgent need

> of providing a fund for educational services proportionate, at least, in amount to that which was voted by parliament for the relief of the education rates in Great Britain,

and trusted that the government would take steps to put right

> the injustice of meeting out unequal treatment to the Irish as compared with the British child in matters appertaining to education.

The reference by the National Board to the inequitable treatment of Irish education by the government was a questionable one. While it may have been true t lat in certain areas English education was more generously treated than Irish education, the evidence of this and later chapters will show that the average state grant per pupil in average attendance in primary schools was higher in Ireland than in England.

If the National Board had hoped that the attitude of the Treasury and the Irish government to the financing of Irish education would improve under a Liberal administration they were disappointed. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer, H.H. Asquith, had expressed his intention in April 1906 of returning to a "more thrifty and economical administration, the first and paramount duty of the government".[17] It was not, therefore, surprising to find that the Treasury was unsympathetic to requests from the National Board at the end of 1906 for additional funding for Irish education. The estimates for 1907/8 contained provision for a number of schemes which had been refused in the years 1902 to 1906. These included scholarships for national school pupils, the setting up of higher grade schools, and grants for heating and cleaning of national school buildings.[18]

One of the main increases in the estimates was an additional sum of £50,000 to increase teachers' salaries. The I.N.T.O. had been calling for a salary increase during the previous months and the Board had made provision for an increase in the estimates for 1907/8. The Irish executive had supported this increase and the approval of the Treasury was sought at the end of 1906. But in January 1907, the Treasury indicated that it would not approve the increases in the estimates.[19] The additional £50,000 to increase teachers' salaries was refused on the basis that

> if amalgamation of schools were carried out to the extent that it ought to be, the salaries of the teachers could be improved without any addition to the existing total charge.

The request for money for scholarships for national school pupils and for the setting up of higher grade schools was refused as the Treasury felt t lat the cost of these proposals should fall upon the

development grant. They also refused to approve any grant towards a free book scheme

> .... so long as the provision from the parliamentary vote forms so large a proportion of the total expenditure on public education in Ireland;

for the same reason a proposal for grants for

> the provision of out-offices, cleaning, whitewashing and provision of suitable desks, charts and fires in all national schools

was refused. The Treasury felt "bound to withhold sanction" from a large number of proposals and justified its refusal as follows:

> Their Lordships feel that so long as no serious effort is made to grapple with the two cardinal defects of the Irish elementary education system viz. the multiplication of small schools and the absence of any adequate local contribution towards the expenditure on education, additional expenditure on a large scale at the expense of votes of Parliament cannot be permitted.

This letter from the Treasury again raised the two major issues which they felt were "the cardinal defects" of the system - the large number of small schools and the lack of what the Treasury regarded as an adequate local contribution. As long as these two problems remained unsolved the Treasury would be reluctant to increase the grant to Irish national education.

Appointment of Birrell as Chief Secretary

During the first year of the Liberal administration the position of national education remained as unsatisfactory as it had been before 1906. Bryce had taken no decisive steps towards the reform of Irish education although some activity was taking place behind the scenes in regard to the Devolution scheme proposed by Under-Secretary MacDonnell.[20] In December 1906, Bryce was appointed Ambassador to the United States and he was replaced as Chief Secretary by Augustine Birrell. Birrell

had been President of the English Board of Education from January 1906 to January 1907 during which time efforts by the Liberal government to amend the 1902 act had been successfully opposed by the Catholic hierarchy in England. The Irish Parliamentary Party had supported the English hierarchy against the government during the campaign against the Bill and their action had indicated to the Irish hierarchy that they could rely on the Irish Party to support Church demands on education.

Birrell's appointment as Chief Secretary was generally welcomed in Ireland, especially by the teachers. Mr. Dillon told a group of teachers in Roscommon that he felt that Birrell would be specially sympathetic to education and that the position of teachers would benefit by his appointment.[21] In the winter of 1906/7 the I.N.T.O. had organised a campaign for increased financing of Irish education and shortly after Birrell's appointment as Chief Secretary he met a deputation from the I.N.T.O. in London. The members of the deputation were pleased by the reception afforded them by Birrell and returned to Dublin confident that Birrell would support their claim for a salary increase.[23]

Their hopes in this regard were strengthened when Birrell attended the annual congress of the I.N.T.O. in Dublin on 4th April and indicated that he was sympathetic to the claims of Irish education.[24] He alluded to the problems involved in getting money from the Treasury and asked

> By what means are we to obtain that further sum of public money for the purpose of supplementing the salaries of teachers and to create scholarships, prizes and bursaries so that the more quick-witted of the Irish children may reap the same advantage of secondary and higher education as would have fallen to their lot had they been born, not in Ireland but in England or Scotland.[25]

He stated that he wished it were possible to pool all the money to which Ireland was entitled and to distribute it according to the real needs of the country as a whole. Birrell's speech was enthusiastically received by the teachers who mistakenly read into it a promise to increase teachers' salaries. O'Connell in his history of the I.N.T.O.

refers to Birrell's "definite promise" to come to the teachers "with full hands".[26] Birrell made no such promise; his statement in this regard was a statement of hope, not a guarantee. What he said was:

> .... I hope, if I remain in office a sufficient length of time, and if things go on as I trust they will go, before long to come before you, not only with sympathetic words, but with full hands. [27]

During his speech to the I.N.T.O. Congress, Birrell made no secret of his dissatisfaction with the system of national education. He told the teachers that they were

> the victims of a bad system, a Board over whom you have naturally no control, whom you cannot reach and who do not appear to be tremendously desirous to ascertain your opinions. [28]

He rhetorically asked the teachers what he should do with the Board and replied "I cannot touch it, except by Act of Parliament". Birrell thus admitted that although he was responsible to parliament for national education he had little control over the Board which administered the system. When Birrell referred, in his speech to the teachers, to improvements which he hoped to bring about without too much delay, his reference was to a scheme of devolution which had been drawn up by Under-Secretary MacDonnell and which Birrell found "on his desk" when he took office.[29] MacDonnell had been working on these proposals during the previous year in consultation with Bryce, and when Birrell took office the scheme was almost ready for submission to the Cabinet. Bryce and MacDonnell had had discussions on the scheme with Redmond and Dillon in October 1906 and the Irish leaders were anxious that legislation on devolution be introduced without delay.[30] The Gaelic League had made its position on devolution clear in An Chlaidheamh Soluis on 24 November 1906.[31] Their demand was basically a demand for "Educational Home Rule". This would involve three things:

1. The freeing of Irish education from the illegal domination of the English Treasury and of all other bodies external to Ireland.

2. The erection of a Central Irish Education Authority, controlling Irish education in all its grades, and composed of men and women elected by and responsible to the people of Ireland.

3. The repayment to Ireland of the educational monies wrongfully withheld from her.

The Gaelic League wanted the proposed new Central Authority to have "undisputed control" of the expenditure on Irish education, "subject to no authority outside the four seas of Ireland". It should be entrusted with the superintendence of all levels of education, primary, secondary, higher and technical, and "the whole or a substantial majority" of the membership of the Board should be elected.[32]

Irish Council Bill 1907

MacDonnell's devolution scheme was discussed by a Cabinet Committee of the House of Commons on 22 February 1907 and again on 9 March.[33] Further meetings were held in March and April and by early May a draft bill had been drawn up and was ready to be presented to parliament. The Irish Council Bill provided for the establishment of a Council of 82 elected and 24 nominated members and the Under-Secretary would be an ex-officio member.[34] This Bill "for the better government of Ireland" proposed to amalgamate, for administrative purposes, eight of the 45 boards which then ruled the country and to put them under the control of the Council. The eight boards were the National Board, Intermediate Board, D.A.T.I., the Registrar-General, the Commissioners of Public Works, the Local Government Board, the Congested Districts Board and the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools. The new Council would administer an annual grant from the Exchequer in respect of the services covered by these Boards and it was anticipated that the grant in the first five years would amount to £4,164,000 per annum "plus certain other revenues". The new Council would not have any taxing powers. Under the bill, the Lord Lieutenant was directed to constitute an Education Department for Ireland to replace the National and Intermediate boards. This Department could include additional non-council people either men or women, who had "experience in education". The Bill was introduced in parliament on 7 May 1907 by Birrell. The leader of the Irish Party, John Redmond, would not commit his party to the Bill until "he could study the text of the measure ... and assess opinion of it in Ireland".[35] He proposed a full discussion at the party convention of 21 May. The Catholic hierarchy saw the Bill as the long-threatened Irish education reform bill and as such objected strongly to it. Archbishop Walsh commented on the bill as follows:

> I expected little and consequently am not disappointed as people generally seem to be.[36]

He then went on to refer to the National and Intermediate boards

> They are commonly spoken of as "Castle boards". Well, up to this time, there has been one safeguard; the Castle has no power of initiative. It might veto what either Board had done. It had no more authority than the tSar of Russia to order either Board to do anything. Let us hope that the power of the Castle in this respect is not going to be extended and that the new Council of Education may not be in a worse position than the old Boards. Mr. Birrell's speech is not reassuring.

Bishop Foley, who was a member of the National Board, condemned the Bill as being inadequate financially particularly in relation to capital for national school buildings. Bishop O'Dwyer was openly offensive and referred to the Bill as an attack by the Chief Secretary "upon the position of religion in our schools".[37] Cardinal Logue described the Bill as "ludicrously disappointing ... and in some of its provisions mischievous". He warned the Irish Party not to support the Bill and stated that

> Any politician who will try to secure the acceptance at the forthcoming Convention will incur grave suspicion of endeavouring to deceive his countrymen in the interests of the Ministry.[38]

The Munster Council of the Catholic Clerical Managers resolved

> That whilst we, as a body, abstain from pronouncing any opinion on the Irish Council Bill now before the country, we regard the portion of it referring to education as extremely unsatisfactory.[39]

The Irish Catholic, in its editorial of 18 May 1907, stated that

> the Bill is one which should be burned at every cross-roads in Ireland as a protest against the indignity it offers to the nation.[40]

The Freeman's Journal criticised the Bill consistently from its introduction in parliament on 7 May to its rejection by the convention on 21 May. The Irish Times felt that "the Unionists must resist the Bill". The I.N.T.O. stated that they were

> grievously disappointed that the Council Bill did not provide the additional funds that were absolutely necessary for the successful working of the primary education system. [41]

One of the few supporters of the Bill was P.H.Pearse who openly declared his support for the Bill on 18 May, stating

> we believe in our heart and soul that the passing of the Irish Council Bill, even in its present form, would be for the advantage of Ireland as a whole .... [42]

On 21 May the convention of the Irish Party met at the Mansion House in Dublin.[43] It was a very large meeting attended by 3,000 delegates. Redmond immediately proposed that the Bill be rejected and Redmond's proposal was unanimously passed by the convention. The Bill was dead, "dead as a dodo", declared the I.N.T.O., for "which we heartily exclaim Deo Gratias".[44] It had few mourners, among them being Pearse, MacDonnell and Birrell. Pearse wrote:

> We regret the decision, and we believe that the time will come when everyone who recorded his vote in favour of it will equally regret it. [45]

Birrell was inevitably upset by the rejection of the Bil. On 24 May he wrote to the Prime Minister offering his resignation from the office of Chief Secretary.[46] He attributed the failure of the Bill "mainly to two causes":

1. the opposition of the Bishops and priests to the Education Department, jealousy of the teachers etc. etc.

2. the disaffection of a number of the Irish M.Ps. who resent (and I think justly) having been kept in complete ignorance of the contents of the Bill by Redmond and Dillon.

He deeply regretted having gone along with MacDonnell in proposing the Bill:

> Our mistake was ever to have touched Devolution at all. Home Rule we could not give and we should have contented ourselves with Land Reforms and the University Question, and in both we should have taken altogether our own line and left Sir Antony in the lurch. [47]

From a financial point of view, the withdrawal of the Irish Council Bill was a setback to national education. The I.N.T.O. was incorrect in its allegation that the Bill would be accompanied by financial restrictions "calculated to render educational progress impossible".[48] An additional sum of £100,000 had been mentioned in connection with the Bill for the improvement of teachers' salaries.[49] And Dr. Foley had been less than honest when he stated that the financial provision for new school buildings was inadequate. The Bill provided a sum of £650,000 over and above the existing grants to the Board and £114,000 of this was earmarked for school buildings.[50] But the Bill was not passed and the financial situation of national education had not improved by 1907.

Increase in Teachers' Salaries (Birrell Grant) 1908

Following the defeat of the Irish Council Bill, a deputation from the I.N.T.O., accompanied by 50 Irish M.Ps. and led by Redmond, met Birrell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Asquith, in London on 22 July to press the government to introduce a supplementary estimate for national education.[51] Asquith refused to introduce a supplementary estimate but promised that the following year proposals would be laid before parliament "which would do something to remedy what we all admit is a real grievance."[52]

During the following months the I.N.T.O. asked the National Board to include in its estimates for 1908/9 an increase of £500,000 to improve teachers' salaries.[53] When one realises that the total parliamentary grant for national education at that point was £1,500,000, the increase asked for by the teachers was very large indeed. In November 1907 Birrell indicated that he proposed to initiate a major improvement in teachers' salaries and to increase the building grant

to £40,000 a year.[54] The estimates of the National Board were submitted to the government at the end of 1907 and these estimates included an additional sum of £133,000 for an increase in the salaries of all national teachers.[55] In its reply to these estimates the Treasury indicated that favourable consideration would be given to a proposal "for increasing the salaries of national teachers at a moderate cost", but they felt that the sum of £133,000 was too high a figure.[56] They pointed out that they had rejected a proposal a year earlier for an increase of £50,000. The sum for increased teachers' salaries mentioned in connection with the Irish Council Bill had been £100,000 and now the increase was estimated at £133,000. The Treasury felt that "they could not entertain" such a large increase and that in any case

> They would urge that the Commissioners of National Education should be pressed to take measures calculated to reduce expenditure in other directions, so as to make a substantial set-off to the proposed increase.

In particular the Treasury urged that further action be taken to reduce the number of small schools in the country. They pointed out that it was not possible to make "a proper comparison" between teachers' salaries in Ireland and those in England and Scotland, since the number of children taught by each teacher differed so widely in the three countries. They compared the figures as follows:

> The number of children in average attendance for each male principal teacher was 181.8 in England; 215 in Scotland and 53.4 in Ireland; while the average number of children in attendance per school was about 255 in England, 214 in Scotland and 56 in Ireland. The density of the population is no doubt much greater in England than in either of the other two countries; but in this respect Ireland differs but very little from Scotland. And as long as the duties and responsibilities of the Irish teachers, as measured by the number of children taught, fall so much below those of English and Scotch teachers, My Lords do not consider that the claim of the former to an increase of salary has been satisfactorily established.

The concept of using as a measure of productivity the number of

children taught by each teacher was very damaging to the Irish case, where the average size of school was so small and the average number of children taught by each teacher was considerably less than in England or Scotland. It was an argument that was at the same time unacceptable and unarguable, given the economic criteria of the Treasury.

The Treasury again refused to sanction grants towards heating, cleaning, whitewashing and the provision of free books, stating:

> These services have never been provided for out of public funds; and the expenditure on them forms part of the already disproportionately small contribution from local sources towards the cost of elementary education in Ireland. My Lords regret therefore that they would not feel justified in increasing the disproportion by transferring the charge (for fires etc.) in national schools to Votes of Parliament. Apart from this consideration, such a service is obviously one which can be most economically provided by the managers rather than by a central authority.

This letter from the Treasury does not suggest that the meeting in July 1907 between the I.N.T.O. and the 50 members of the Irish Party on the one hand and the Chief Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the other, was as successful as the teachers had been led to believe. Asquith had indicated to them at that meeting that measures would be taken to improve the financial situation of Irish education in 1908, yet the Treasury's refusal to sanction increases in the Board's estimates suggested that the government had no real commitment to any such improvement. The tone of the Treasury letter was the same as it had been in previous years. There were too many small schools; and this resulted in a very low pupil-teacher ratio in the majority of schools. The costs of heating, cleaning and maintaining schools were a charge on the local rates in England, therefore, they should be met out of the local contribution in Ireland. There was no indication in the letter from the Treasury that the government's failure to carry through educational reform as embodied in the Irish Council Bill some months earlier, had in any way affected Treasury attitudes.

The reaction of the I.N.T.O. some months later, when they found

that there was provision for only an additional £50,000 in the agreed estimates for salary increases for teachers, was one of outrage. Their anger was, as usual, directed against the National Board. They were extremely critical of the Board for its failure to ask for the increase of £500,000 which they had pressed for.[57] But given the tone of the reply from the Treasury, it would have been quite unrealistic for the Board to have asked for such a sizeable increase. As it was, the Treasury had refused an increase of £133,000 and offered only £50,000.

The lack of communication between the National Board and the teachers exacerbated the suspicion of the teachers against the Board. Had the Board been more open it could have ensured that the teachers knew that the fault in this situation lay with the Treasury and not with the Board. But instead of using the occasion to build up a relationship with the I.N.T.O., the Board by their failure to explain the situation, added further to their problems with the teachers.

At this point, the teachers built up considerable political pressure on the government and within a few months this pressure achieved results.[58] In June 1908 Birrell announced that he had succeeded in getting government and Treasury approval for an additional grant of £114,000 for teachers' salaries. But the Treasury made an effort to use this grant to force a reduction in the number of small schools. They initially proposed that the grant be given only to teachers in schools of 35 pupils or over. The teachers supported by the Irish M.Ps., objected strenuously to this and following a series of meetings with the Chief Secretary a revised scheme was drawn up under which all teachers received a share of the grant.[59] The grant was finally paid to all teachers on 23 October 1908. It became known as the Birrell grant and for a number of years it was paid to teachers as a separate supplement to their salary. This gave rise to the popular belief that Birrell was in some sense personally responsible for the grant and that it was paid to Irish education over and above the annual parliamentary grant. Birrell took full credit for getting the salary increase for the teachers, yet as the earlier correspondence of the National Board showed, the Board had made application for such an increase on at least two occasions before 1908.

As a result of the teacher salary increase in 1908, the parliamentary grant to Irish education increased by 9% between 1907/8 and 1908/9.[60] The ordinary grant for 1909/10 also showed a significant increase but in that year the amount paid to national education out of the development grant fell by over £50,000 as the following table shows:

TABLE 9.1

Grants paid to Irish national education from the central exchequer 1904/5 to 1915/16, showing separately the ordinary grant, the school grant and the grant from the development fund.[61]

Year	Average Attendance	Ordinary Grant	School Grant	Grant from Development Fund	Total	Grant per pupil in av.attend.
		£	£	£	£	
1906/7	493,558	1,138,223	237,000	45,914	1,421,137	£2.88
1907/8	485,979	1,147,860	242,000	60,604	1,450,964	£2.99
1908/9	494,662	1,291,818	235,000	57,319	1,584,137	£3.20
1909/10	501,107	1,366,421	237,000	4,182	1,608,103	£3.21

By increasing the ordinary grant to education in 1909/10, Birrell gave the impression that a further increase of 6% was being given to education in that year. In practice, however, since the amount paid to education from the Development Grant fell considerably, the average grant per pupil in average attendance remained effectively the same in 1908/9 and 1909/10.

MacDonnell's final effort to reform the structure of Irish education

During the early months of 1908, while teachers were impressing on the government the need for an increase in their salaries, Under-Secretary MacDonnell was formulating yet another scheme for educational reform.[62] Two factors may have indicated to him that the Irish executive held a degree of leverage over Irish education and that this leverage might be used to press for structural reform. The first of these was the pressure for an increase in the salaries of national teachers; the second was the pressure from the Intermediate Board for a permanent inspectorate. MacDonnell was aware that a scheme

as broadly based as the Irish Council Bill of a year earlier would have no hope of success but he felt that a scheme confined to educational reform might succeed. He was encouraged in this by the recent solution of the University question which had appeared insoluble for so long.[63] In a lengthy memorandum to Birrell in May 1908, MacDonnell set out his proposals for re-organising Irish education.[64] He felt that the time had come

> to deal with this question in a complete and decisive manner. I indulge in the hope that the Chief Secretary, who now sees his way to provide University education for the majority of the Irish people, will be able to complete the work of educational reform by dealing with the question of Primary and Secondary schools.

Optimistic as always, and stubborn in his determination to reform Irish education, Sir Antony went on to describe the defects in the system as he saw them and to put forward what he saw as suitable measures to remedy these defects:

> The more salient defects from an administrative point of view, in the system of Primary and Secondary education are first the absence of co-ordination between these two great branches of instruction; second the employment of examinations as the sole method of distributing funds to secondary schools; and third the divided control of technical instruction between secondary schools and the Department.
>
> The first point raises the question of two Boards. In my opinion, no true progresss can be made until both Primary and Secondary Education are brought under the control of a single Board in Ireland, and I would recommend that this should be the primary provision in any legislation that may be undertaken.

This proposal to create a single Board of Education was a much less radical proposal than MacDonnell's proposals of earlier years, all of which had involved the setting up of a Department of Education. It was perhaps unwise of MacDonnell to recommend such action so soon after the withdrawal of the Irish Council Bill which had been condemned by so many sections of the community. But MacDonnell no doubt

felt that a remodelled Board was not the same thing as an integrated department and he may have felt that this modification might be more acceptable. He went on to describe the constitution of his proposed remodelled Board:

> As to the constitution of the remodelled Board, I am of opinion that it should have, to some extent, a representative element. If the Board consisted of 12 members (and a larger board would be inefficient) one member might be selected by the National Teachers' Association and one by the Association of Secondary Schoolmasters; two might be selected by a College of County Councils or the General Assembly of County Councils; and the balance might be appointed by the Crown.

The proposal could in theory have been an acceptable one. Of the 12 members of the new Board, four would be nominated by teachers' organisations and by the County Councils and the other eight would be "appointed by the Crown". It is important to bear in mind that all members of both the National and the Intermediate Boards were "appointed by the Crown"; consequently MacDonnell's suggestion would have enabled the Irish executive to offer places on the new Board to members of the existing Intermediate and National Boards.

MacDonnell felt that responsibility for technical education should be removed from the DATI to the new Education Board. He said:

> As regards the transfer of technical education from the Department to the Education Board I myself have a strong opinion. The business is educational in the strictest sense of the term and should be brought within the ambit of the Board's functions. The Department of Agriculture has no efficient means of controlling or inspecting technical instruction, nor has it a (?) staff or agency suitable to the performance of the work.

The new Education Board proposed by MacDonnell would effectively administer the three main areas of education, national, intermediate and technical. It would bring about the co-ordination of the system sought for so long by the government and the Treasury. Its constitution might well have been acceptable to the vested interest groups in education as it would enable these interests to be represented on

the Board. But the proposal was not accepted by Birrell. He discussed it as curtly as MacDonnell had dismissed the report of the Conference on Co-ordination two years earlier. A note from Birrell's office to MacDonnell simply stated:

> The Chief Secretary does not think it possible during the present session to take up the reform of the Education system. [65]

With this curt dismissal, the question of reforming the structure of Irish education was postponed indefinitely. Birrell was not prepared to repeat the experience of 1907. The objections of the Catholic Church to any proposals to reform primary or intermediate education during the previous six years had been unmistakeably clear. Birrell would make no further attempts at reform.

Shortly afterwards, MacDonnell resigned as Under-Secretary.[66] He was disappointed that his efforts to bring about reform in Irish primary and secondary education had not been successful. He knew that there was now no hope that these reforms would be introduced. He had failed with a Conservative government and now Birrell had made it clear that the Liberal government would not attempt such reform again.

Birrell abandons efforts to reform Irish education

Towards the end of 1907, Birrell announced his intention of abandoning efforts to reform Irish education. With the abandonment of this policy he indicated that he would support efforts to improve national education. He conceded that he did not approve of the Irish national school system, in particular the managerial system, but at the same time he did not believe that financial pressures should be used to force Irish education to come into line with education in the rest of the United Kingdom. He described the Irish educational system as

> one of those ill-growths of English ideas planted without due consideration upon Irish soil, and left to grow, and what it is grown to you can see. A more ridiculous history I have never heard in all my life. [67]

He then went on to say that he would no longer postpone improvements

in school buildings and in teachers' salaries. He would prefer to see a system other than the managerial system in control of Irish schools but he did not believe the government should force change on a reluctant nation. He would like to believe that such a change would come about in due course "by the educated force of a free people".

Birrell's task of persuading the Treasury to react more sympathetically to the demands of the Irish national school system was not initially an easy one. The problems of getting Treasury approval for the estimates of 1908/9 and for the increases in teachers' salaries in 1908 have been described earlier. But the appointment of Lloyd-George assChancellor of the Exchequer in May 1908, in succession to Asquith who had become Prime Minister on the death of Campbell-Bannermann, made Birrell's task easier. Lloyd-George was a liberal Chancellor in every sense of the word. He stated "I am the only Chancellor who ever began by saying and meaning to spend money".[68] The great social reforms of the Liberal government in this period were largely attributable to Lloyd-George. In 1908 old age pensions on a non-contributory basis were introduced; a bill was passed for the Medical Inspection of Children in England and measures for unemployment and health insurance were introduced.[69]

We have seen earlier in this chapter that the improvement in teachers' salaries in Ireland co-incided with Lloyd-George's appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The amount of the state grant for national school buildings also improved significantly from an average of £20,000 per annum in 1906/7 and 1907/8 to £38,000 in 1908/9 and £65,000 in 1909/10.[70] It will be seen in later chapters that further improvements in state grants to both national and intermediate education occurred between 1910 and 1914.

An analysis of government expenditure on primary education during the first decade of the century indicates the extent to which government policy in relation to the reform of the structure of Irish education affected the financing of national education. The following table shows total expenditure by the state on primary education (including capital grants paid through the Board of Works Vote) and the average grant per pupil in average attendance.

TABLE 9.2

Expenditure from State Grants on Primary Education in Ireland. 1904 - 1909 [71]

Year	Vote for Primary Education	Ireland Development Fund	From Vote of Board of Works	Total	Rate per Pupil in Av.Attend.
	£	£	£	£	£
1900/1	1,287,943	-	49,486	1,337,429	2.16.7
1901/2	1,305,290	-	39,922	1,345,212	2.16.5
1902/3	1,333,277	-	44,223	1,377,500	2.17.2
1903/4	1,375,873	-	25,304	1,401,177	2.18.8
1904/5	1,389,611	16,779	31,114	1,437,504	3.0.0
1905/6	1,390,833	36,265	39,165	1,466,263	2.19.2
1906/7	1,381,829	45,914	24,430	1,452,173	2.19.5
1907/8	1,391,981	60,467	15,981	1,468,429	3.1.1
1908/9	1,529,525	57,014	37,885	1,624,424	3.6.4
1909/10	1,619,210	4,182	65,155	1,688,547	3.7.11

From this table it can be seen that during the period when efforts were being made to introduce structural reform in the educational system, there was little or no increase in the per capita government expenditure on national education. The average expenditure remained at around £2.17.0 in the early years of the decade when Wyndham was planning reform of the system. When these efforts were temporarily shelved the expenditure increased to £3.0.0 per pupil. This remained the average expenditure for over four years and it was only when Birrell finally announced that he was abandoning efforts to reform the system that an appreciable increase in the government grant was made available.

The increase from £2.16.7 per pupil in 1900/1 to £3.7.11 in 1909/10 represented an increase of 20% in the ten-year period. The Wholesale Price Index had increased from 100 in 1900 to 104.1 in 1909, an increase of 4%.[72] Seen in this context, State expenditure on Irish national education in the first decade of the century was not as unsatisfactory as many of the Treasury's critics would have one believe.[73] The sizeable annual increases which had taken place in the late decades of the nineteenth century had been halted but the annual

state expenditure continued to grow although at a slower pace than in earlier decades.

The pressure from the Treasury to reduce the large number of small schools in the country had also begun to show results. After the publication of the Dale Report, efforts were made by the National Board to have adjoining boys'and girls' schools amalgamated and to close down "unnecessary schools". As a result of these policies the number of schools began to fall and the average size of school to increase after 1903 as the following table shows.

TABLE 9.3

Number of National Schools; Number of Pupils in Average Attendance and Average Size of School, 1903 - 1910. 74

Year	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils in Av. Attendance	Average Size of School
1903	8,720	482,489	55.3
1904	8,710	483,897	55.6
1905	8,659	500,489	57.8
1906	8,602	493,558	57.4
1907	8,538	485,979	56.9
1908	8,468	494,662	58.4
1909	8,401	501,107	59.6
1910	8,337	495,962	59.5

These figures indicate that government and Treasury pressure could effectively be brought to bear on the National Board by using financial sanctions. The Irish executive did not have direct control over the National Board but it could use indirect sanctions to influence the educational situation. The events of 1907 and 1908 had shown that the Irish government in turn was responsive to pressure brought to bear by the two strong interest groups in Irish education, the teachers and the Catholic hierarchy. It had also emerged that both of these groups would be supported politically by the Irish Parliamentary Party. Church pressure in 1907 had brought about the rejection of the Irish Council Bill; teacher pressure in 1908 had led to an increase in teachers' salaries.

The picture which emerges from the analysis of the events of 1900 and 1910 is a picture of government restraint in the area of educational expenditure. It is clear that this restraint was related to the government's intention to introduce administrative reform in Ireland and that as long as the question of reform was unsolved the government was not anxious to finance significant expansion in the area of education. This pattern emerges in the study of national education expenditure during the period. It emerges ever more clearly in an examination of the intermediate system of education in the same period. The political and administrative background has been painted in this chapter. In the next chapter the development of intermediate education in the same decade will be traced and it will be seen that the same constraints which effected the development of national education also hindered a satisfactory development of intermediate education.

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CHAPTER X

THE INTERMEDIATE BOARD IN THE YEARS 1900 to 1909; APPOINTMENT OF PERMANENT INSPECTORS

The extent to which government efforts to reform the administration of Irish education effected the development of the national school system in the period 1902 to 1908 has been discussed in the previous chapter. In this chapter it will be shown that intermediate education also suffered during the period. In the case of the intermediate system the Irish executive was unwilling to sanction any expansion of the powers of the Board pending a resolution of the question of reform. This reluctance was manifest in the continued refusal of successive Chief Secretaries to sanction the appointment of a permanent inspectorate of intermediate schools. The Intermediate Board asserted that the recommendations made by the Palles Commission in 1900 could not be implemented unless a permanent inspectorate was appointed. The Irish executive on the other hand held that these changes could be brought into effect by appointing temporary inspectors. The difference between the Board and Dublin Castle on this issue was not resolved until 1908, when Chief Secretary Birrell finally realised that structural reform of the Irish education system was not politically feasible.

The correspondence between the Intermediate Board and the Irish executive in the period 1901 to 1908 will be analysed in some depth in this chapter. The insistence of the Board, particularly in the later years of the decade, that their income would more than cover the costs of employing permanent inspectors, was at variance with their public image as an inadequately funded department. The annual income of the Board began to fall after 1901 and the average grant paid to schools fell accordingly. In 1905 the Board changed its rules to enable it to reduce the amount of the school grant, yet in spite of this, the Board continued to assure the authorities in Dublin Castle that no additional funding would be required to pay for inspection. It is probable that the Board feared that an admission by them of their inability to pay for inspection from their existing funds would strengthen the hand of the Irish executive in its refusal to sanction a permanent inspectorate. But the Board's insistence that it had adequate funds to pay for inspectors gave the impression in Dublin Castle of a Board which was

more than adequately funded, an impression which was difficult to eradicate in later years.

Financial Position of Intermediate Education 1900 - 1910.

As this point it is desirable to establish the financial position of the Intermediate Board in 1900 and to trace the fortunes of the Board during the first decade of the century. We have seen in Chapter V that the Intermediate Board at the turn of the century was financed essentially from two sources - (a) the income from invested capital and (b) the residue of the Local Taxation Fund remaining after £78,000 had been allocated to the National Board. After 1900 the income from the Local Taxation Fund began to decline. In 1900 the amount for intermediate education from this source amounted to £71,400. By 1910, it had fallen to £17,000. As a result the total income of the Board during the decade fell systematically as the following table shows:[1]

TABLE 10.1

Total Income of the Intermediate Board and Number of Students presenting for Examination, 1900 to 1910.

Year	Income of Intermediate Board		No. of Students presenting for examination
	From Local Taxation Fund	Total	
	£	£	
1900	71,400	103,528	7,618
1901	64,731	96,968	8,117
1902	56,584	88,868	8,379
1903	59,431	91,836	7,909
1904	56,156	88,573	8,530
1905	50,385	83,030	9,677
1906	48,256	81,474	10,967
1907	49,917	78,141	11,821
1908	49,504	85,721	11,383
1909	46,567	82,792	11,332
1910	16,999	53,006	11,900

A prominent Irish educationalist, Fr. Andrew Murphy, remarked accurately in 1907 that the well-being of intermediate education in

Ireland depended on excessive drinking.[2]

During the years when the annual income from the Local Taxation Fund was particularly high, the Board did not spend all of its income, and unexpended sums were transferred to the Board's capital reserve fund. By 1903 the value of this fund was £108,128 and this yielded a further annual income for the Board. But as the income from the Local Taxation Fund continued to fall, the Board found it necessary to draw on its reserve fund and by 1910 the value of the fund had fallen to £54,040.[3]

In 1905 the Board realised that it would not be possible to pay to the schools the amount due to them under the Board's 1905 Rules and Aid Programme. On the basis of these rules, results fees would amount to over £72,000 and the Board could not afford to pay this amount and also meet the costs involved in administration and in exhibitions and prizes without delving into the Capital Reserve Fund. This the Board was not prepared to do, as it stated in the annual report for 1905:

> Payment on the scale of 1905, would, therefore, have involved a transfer from capital account and sale of £18,673 in stocks. As we consider it undesirable to trench on capital account, we decided to allocate a sum of £50,000 only to the School Grant. [4]

The examinations had already been corrected when the Board decided to take this action. In order to reduce the amount to be paid to schools under the school grant the Board simply adjusted the marks and percentages on the examination papers downwards in proportion to the amount of money available. They carried out this adjustment meticulously so that after the exercise was completed the amount due to schools was £49,992 instead of £72,000 under the original rules. The technique used was the same as had been used in the later 1880s when the Board had found that its income was inadequate to meet the demands of the system. From 1905 onwards, the adjustment technique was used regularly to keep the examination results in line with the funds available to the Board. As a result of this, the percentage success rate of pupils fell to below 50% on a number of occasions and it rarely rose above 60%.[5] In 1909 an article in the Irish Education Review showed the fall in the proportion of students who passed Junior and Middle Grades

as follows:-[6]

TABLE 10.2

Fall in the Percentage of Passes in Junior and Middle Grades, 1905, 1907, 1909.

Year	Junior Grade	Middle Grade
1905	68.8%	75.8%
1907	53.7%	59.7%
1909	53.0%	52.4%

The amount paid in Exhibitions and Prizes to students also fell during this period. The value of prizes fell from £12,660 in 1899 to £2,985 in 1909 as the following table shows:-[7]

TABLE 10.3

Value of Prizes awarded by the Intermediate Board, 1899 and 1909

Year	Senior £	Middle £	Junior £	Prep. £	Total Value £
1899	3,200	3,445	4,015	2,000	12,660
1909	740	1,080	1,165	None	2,985

The value of exhibitions fell from £20,406 in 1901 to about £7,000 in 1910.[8]

The change in the Board's rules in 1905 meant that the results fees paid to schools was reduced from that year onwards. In spite of this reduction, the Board made no effort to obtain increased funds from the Irish executive nor did it at any point inform the authorities in Dublin Castle that the funds at its disposal were inadequate. During this period the Board was involved in an ongoing controversy with the Irish executive on the question of appointing a permanent inspectorate. It had assured the executive in 1902 and 1903 that its funds were adequate to employ these inspectors. It is likely that the Board feared that an admission of inadequate funds would be used by Dublin Castle to justify its refusal to sanction the inspectorate and that consequently they were determined to give the impression that funds were not a problem. In the following sections it will be shown that the

decision not to appoint permanent inspectors in the years 1902 to 1908 was a political not a financial one.

Before leaving the question of finance, it should be mentioned that a further source of financing for intermediate education was made available in 1901. Under the terms of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act of 1899, grants for science and art in Ireland which had previously been administered from South Kensington were transferred to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. In 1901, the Intermediate Board agreed that the Board should adopt the programme in science and drawing prepared for secondary schools by the Department and that after 1901, grants for these subjects would be paid by the Department on the basis of inspection and "where necessary, examination".[9] The amounts available for intermediate education from the D.A.T.I. were quite significant. In 1901/2 grants from this source totalled £9,576; by 1910 a total of almost £30,000 was paid to intermediate schools for science and drawing.[10]

Overall, these grants were an important source of income for intermediate schools. In 1905/6 science and drawing grants amounted to £22,000 whereas results fees from the Intermediate Board totalled £54,000.[11] In 1909/10 the amount paid from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was over £27,000 or more than half the total results fees (£48,000) paid by the Board.[12] In the case of some schools their income from the Science and Drawing grants was greater than their income from the Intermediate Board in relation to all other subjects.

Intermediate Education Act, 1900

In August 1900, Chief Secretary Balfour introduced a new Intermediate Act in Parliament. This act contained measures to enable the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission.[13] Section I of the act provided that the funds available to the Board

> may be applied (with proper approval of the Lord Lieutenant) for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations contained in the

> General Summary of the Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant to report upon the system of intermediate education in Ireland, dated the eleventh day of August 1899.

As might have been anticipated, the act made no provision for additional funding for Intermediate education, since the Palles Commission had made no reference to any inadequacy in the funds available for Intermediate education. Clause 2 of the act gave the Board power to appoint inspectors, stating:

> The Board may, if they think fit, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant and with the approval of the Treasury as to number and remuneration, appoint persons to act as inspectors in addition to, or instead of, the Assistant Commissioners.

Clause 3 enabled the Board to grant superannuation allowances to officers of the Board:

> The Board may, if they think fit, out of the funds placed at their disposal, grant, with the approval of the Treasury, superannuation allowances to the Assistant Commissioners, inspectors, clerks, not exceeding in amount the allowance provided by the scale contained in the Superannuation Act 1859.

Clause 4 raised the number of Intermediate Commissioners from 7 to 12.

In January 1901 a subcommittee of the Board was established to draw up the rules and programme for 1902, with a view to implementing the recommendations of the Palles Commission. The sub-committee consisted of Professor Dill, Rev. T.A.Finlay, Professor Fitzgerald, Rev.Dr. Molloy, Rev.Dr. Mahaffy and Dr. Starkie.[14] In June 1901 the revised rules were approved by the Irish executive in Dublin Castle with effect from the school year 1901/2. Under the revised rules the system of payment by results based on individual subjects was modified. Students were required to choose a combination of subjects for the Board examinations and each combination was called a Course. There were two possible Courses in 1901/2 - a Grammar School Course and a Modern Course.[15] Payments would be calculated on the basis of success

in the overall examination in the Course chosen. The options were increased in 1903 when four Courses were offered - Classical, Modern, Mathematical and Scientific.[16] These options remained unchanged until 1908.

A further change in the rules was introduced in 1902 in order to reduce the pressure of competition on younger students. From that year on, "no honours, exhibitions or prizes" were offered in the preparatory grade.[17]

The main recommendation of the Palles Commission, i.e. the proposal that a scheme of capitation grants should replace individual results fees, could not be implemented by the Intermediate Board in the absence of an inspectorate. Accordingly in July 1901, the Board appointed six temporary inspectors and these men visited and examined schools during the school-year 1901-2. On 30th June 1902 the Board wrote:[18]

> The temporary inspectors have completed their reports .... they have submitted a general report and have prepared a memorandum of suggestions towards the drafting of such a permanent scheme as the Board contemplates.

The Board was satisfied that the experience of the temporary inspectors indicated the value of a system of inspection. In May 1902, the Lord Lieutenant sanctioned a new rule (Rule 56B).[19] Under this rule, payments to schools for the school year 1902/3 would be in the form of a capitation grant computed from the general results of all the pupils in a school who sat the Board's examination, rather than on the basis of the results of individual pupils. This grant was called the Normal School Grant. As a condition of the payment, the manager of the school had to agree to have the school inspected. A bonus of 10% or 20% of the "normal school grant" would be paid depending on whether the school was declared "satisfactory" or "highly satisfactory" by the inspector. At the end of the school year 1902/3, the school grant was distributed on the basis of the new rule, and all schools which had presented pupils for the Board's examination participated in the grant.

Application by Intermediate Board to Dublin Castle for approval to appoint permanent inspectors.

Problems arose the following year in relation to the continued distribution of the grant on this basis. The existence of an inspectorate was a necessary prerequisite to the implementation of the new rule. In June 1902, the Intermediate Board made formal application to the Irish executive for sanction to appoint a permanent inspectorate.[20] The application was considered in the first instance by Sir Frederick Cullinan, principal clerk in the Chief Secretary's office in Dublin Castle. He recommended to the Under-Secretary that the application be accepted. He saw no major problem in the proposal since the Intermediate Board was in a position to finance the cost out of its surplus income. In a note dated 3rd July 1902, Cullinan observed:[21]

> Intermediate Board expenditure is payable out of the endowment and Customs and Excise duties and in 1902 total income to the Board exceeded expenditure by £1,369.

It is important to note that this surplus occurred in a year in which the Intermediate Board had already paid the salaries of the temporary inspectors.

During the summer and early autumn of 1902, the question of the appointment of a permanent intermediate inspectorate was considered at a high level in Dublin Castle. Chief Secretary Wyndham was reluctant to proceed with the appointments and he sought the advice of a number of people on the issue. His own advisers in Dublin Castle recommended in favour of sanctioning the appointments as also did W.J.M. Starkie whose advice Wyndham sought on the matter. Starkie wrote to Wyndham's private secretary, Hanson, on 17th July 1902, reassuring him that the financial situation of the Intermediate Board was more than adequate to meet the costs of inspection. He wrote:[22]

> If there is any danger of exceeding our surplus it is open to us to reduce what we give to Exhibitions and grants to schools. There is not the slightest danger of our exceeding our total grant, which, as I said in my last letter, (in) really excessive.

But Wyndham did not want to sanction a permanent inspectorate. He had to justify his refusal and in October 1902, he came up with a formula which provided a credible justification for refusing. The Palles Commission had recommended that the school grant be computed on the basis of both examination and inspection. Wyndham decided to take the view that he would only sanction the appointment of permanent inspectors if the cost was offset by a reduction in the cost of examinations. Consequently, he drafted a letter to the Board in which he made his point of view clear on this matter. He wrote:

> The letter of 30 June does not propose any scheme for carrying out a reduction of examination to accompany the introduction of inspection. This point, apart from its educational importance, affects very seriously the financial aspect of the proposal .... the Irish government would not feel justified in recommending the present proposal to the Treasury unless it can be accompanied by a scheme for reducing the Board's expenditure for Examinations and other purposes by an equivalent to the additional expenditure involved.

From this point on it was clear that the refusal to sanction a permanent inspectorate emanated from Dublin Castle, not from the Treasury. At no stage in the correspondence did the Treasury enter into the decision, although it was widely believed at the time and was subsequently accepted by historians that it was the Treasury which prevented the appointment of permanent inspectors on the basis of financial considerations. A statement by P.H.Pearse in An Claidheamh Soluis of 20 April 1907 condemned the lack of inspectors in intermediate schools and stated:[24]

> It is significant that this system is forced on the Intermediate Board by - the British Treasury. The Treasury it was that, by stopping supplies, compelled the Board to dismiss its staff of temporary Inspectors a few years ago; the Treasury it is that, by refusing a grant for the purpose, prevents the Board from appointing a permanent staff, as it has repeatedly proposed to do. As surely as one of our Education Boards exhibits an all too rare gleam of intelligence, as surely as one of them proposes to do something useful and progressive – so surely does the British Treasury step in with its "I forbid". At every point and in every department of Irish administration that impassive and relentless tyranny bars the path to reform.

The following analysis will establish that the Treasury played no role in the controversy which effectively prevented the appointment of permanent inspectors during the period 1902 to 1908.

In November 1902 the Board reiterated its request for sanction to appoint permanent inspectors. They were not prepared to accept Wyndham's assertion that the Commission of 1900 had recommended "the substitution of a system based largely on inspection for one based entirely on examination".[25] They wrote to Dublin Castle arguing that the 1900 Act had authorised inspection as a supplement to and not as a substitute for examination. They claimed that the effect of the 1900 Bill was

> that instead of results fees being dependent as theretofore solely on the results of the Examination thenceforth the condition of the school as ascertained by inspection might be taken into account in connection with,but not independently of, these results.

On receipt of this letter, the Chief Secretary sought and obtained the advice of the Attorney-General, Lord Atkinson, on the interpretation of the 1900 Act. The advice given was as follows:-[26]

> The Rules framed by the Lord Lieutenant do not accompany this file. I have, however, frequently advised upon the Act of 1900 and the Rules. My recollection is that the substance of the advice was that while Examination was to be the basis of the system under the provisions of the Act of 1878, there was nothing to prevent funds being devoted to defray the costs of Inspection and nothing to prevent Inspection being taken into account in addition to Examination in the awarding of the sum payable to Managers; and I think that I gave as an example if two schools passed the same number of boys but one bore the test of Inspection better than the other, this might be taken into account in preferring the one to the other. It is obvious, therefore, that Inspection supplements Examination but does not dispense with it to any degree. The labours of the Inspectors are supplementary to those of the Examiners, and the employment of the former in no way dispenses with the employment of the latter.

One might comment on the casualness of an Attorney-General who felt competent to furnish professional advice to a Chief Secretary on

the basis of his "recollection" of the provisions of an Act of Parliament. However, notwithstanding this fact, the advice tendered coincided with the views of the Intermediate Board on the interpretation of the Act. Inspection was necessary and should supplement, not replace, examination. If the Chief Secretary had wanted to sanction the appointment of permanent inspectors, the way was not clear for him to do so. But Wyndham did not want to do this. On 4th December he sent a note to Dublin Castle instructing the Under-Secretary to inform the Intermediate Board that he was not in favour of proceeding with the matter at this point. He asked MacDonnell to inform the Board that he was not "at present" prepared to recommend to the Treasury the proposed scheme for appointing permanent inspectors and stated:[27]

> The Irish government is entirely in favour of a system founded mainly on inspection as distinguished from a system founded mainly on examination. If, however, the view of the law stated in your letter of 24th October is correct, and the statutes governing the constitution of your Board require the continuance of a system of examination as the principal factor in regulating the distribution of grants to schools, the question arises whether the resources available for education in Ireland are so great as to justify the simultaneous existence of these two methods of testing results in one department.
>
> The Lord Lieutenant therefore thinks it will be best for the matter to stand over till next year in order to admit of its fuller consideration in connection with other educational questions.

The "other educational questions" referred to by Wyndham have already been discussed in Chapter VIII. In his letter to the Treasury in December 1902, in which he indicated that it was his intention to reconsider the whole question of education in Ireland, Wyndham had expressed his concern at the lack of control by the Irish government over educational matters in Ireland.[28] He proposed to "consider the constitution" of both the National and the Intermediate Boards and to move towards a system of educational administration based on the co-ordinated system which had just been introduced in England. In view of this proposal, one can understand that Wyndham would not be anxious to complicate the situation of the Intermediate Board by expanding its powers.

At this point the Intermediate Board again wrote to Dublin Castle asking for sanction for temporary inspectors.[29] On New Year's Day 1903, Wyndham wrote a note to the Under-Secretary as follows:[30]

> If I am right in believing that the Intermediate Board enjoys means in excess of its needs and consequently that the re-appointment of temporary inspectors will bring no change in the Estimate, either now or in the future, I am disposed to hold that the Irish government need not refer to the Treasury.
>
> It is evident that the Treasury must consent and must have consented long ago if the Irish government had not demurred.

In January, the Intermediate Board was informed by Dublin Castle that temporary inspectors could again be appointed. This letter indicates beyond doubt that Pearse's statement of 20th April 1907 that "the Treasury compelled the Board to dismiss its staff of temporary inspectors" was unfounded. The Irish executive clearly gave its approval for the appointment of further temporary inspectors. But the delay of more than six months since the temporary inspectors had completed their previous assignment caused problems in re-appointment. On 13 February the Intermediate Board wrote to the Chief Secretary saying:[31]

> It has been found impossible to re-appoint more than three of these gentlemen. With a view to filling up one of the existing vacancies, they have selected Mr. C.H.Jefferson, M.A. (Oxon.) as a temporary Inspector ....

From January to June 1903 there were only four temporary inspectors working in intermediate schools. These four inspectors concluded their inspection in May 1903 and presented their report to the Board. But the 10% and 20% bonuses on inspection were not paid in 1903 as the Board was not satisfied that the inspectors had had sufficient time at their disposal to judge the relative efficiency of the schools. Consequently, in 1903 the provisions of the new rule (56 B) in relation to the payment of the Normal School Grant, were ignored and the Board reverted to the system which had been in operation up to 1902, i.e. payment of fees to schools calculated on the basis of the individual results of students at examinations.[32] The original payment by results

system which had been first implemented in 1879, became the norm again in 1903 and from that year until 1924, when payment by results was finally abolished in Intermediate schools, grants were paid to the schools on this basis. The term "school grant" continued to be used after 1903 although the basis of computing this grant was in effect the same system under which "results fees" had been computed before 1902.

At a meeting of the Intermediate Board in June 1903 a resolution was adopted to the effect that the Board desired to impress upon the Lord Lieutenant the great urgency of appointing permanent inspectors as a necessary part of the reforms aimed at by the Act of 1900; and further, that it was a matter of supreme importance that the appointment should be made with the least possible delay, with a view to the inspection being carried out in a thorough and comprehensive way, and with fairness to the schools. The Board also stated that they were of opinion that

> the system of inspection affords one of the most valuable agencies placed in their hands by parliament, for improving the education of the country. [33]

They pointed out that under the rules, a portion of the school grant should depend on the reports of the inspectors and it would not be possible to carry out the provision unless the appointment of inspectors be made at an early date. A copy of this resolution was sent to the Chief Secretary but no reply was received from him.

Advice from F.H. Dale on the appointment of Intermediate Inspectors

Meanwhile, early in 1903, at the invitation of Wyndham, F.H.Dale, an English inspector of schools, had come to Ireland to investigate the national school system.[34] He stayed in Ireland from April to June 1903 and presented his report on national schools to Wyndham in December 1903.[35] Wyndham was clearly impressed by Dale and shortly after his arrival in Ireland, he took him into his confidence on the problem of intermediate inspection and asked him for his views on the matter.[36] As an inspector himself, Dale was strongly in favour of inspection. But he was reluctant to commit himself as to whether the intermediate inspectors should be permanent or temporary stating:

> The particular point, however, which is raised especially in the present instance, viz. whether the inspectors should be temporary as hitherto, or permanent, is one on which, as I explained to Hanson and he agreed, I feel incompetent to advise definitely. It depends, I think, on whether good men can be secured for the salary of temporary posts in Ireland, and also on what salaries would be offered to them if they were made permenent.

He did, however, contribute some useful advice as to the type of work inspectors might be asked to undertake. He suggested that if they could also be used as examiners (to set and correct examination papers) this would reduce the Board's administrative costs relating to examinations and would make more funds available for inspection.

Some months later, Dale sent a further clarificatory letter to Wyndham.[37] This letter is revealing in that it indicates that the Chief Secretary was aware that the 1900 Act required an element of inspection and that ultimately inspectors would have to be appointed. Dale stated in his letter:

> You have been advised that the Act of Parliament practically requires an inspection of the schools as well as examination; and in view of both the necessity of carrying out the intention of Parliament and of the undoubted necessity for inspection on educational grounds, I cannot see, as I think I stated in my letter, how the appointment of some permanent inspectors can ultimately be avoided.

He then went on to give practical advice as to how Wyndham might approach the matter. He set out a number of questions which he suggested might be put to the Intermediate Board by the Chief Secretary prior to coming to any decision. He suggested that the questions be framed as follows:

> (a) whether it is proposed that the new inspectors like the inspectors of the Board of National Education, should as part of their ordinary duties, be employed not merely in the work of inspection but also in assisting in the preparation and revision of papers for the examinations at present held by the Intermediate Board.
>
> (b) If so, what time it is estimated that they can give to the work of examination as opposed to that of inspection and what annual saving will thereby be effected in the cost of examination.

(c) Whether the Board have any proposals to submit to the Irish government for diminishing the cost of examination as a set-off to the additional cost which they propose to incur in inspection. It may be pointed out that the expenses incurred in remuneration of examiners and superintendents of examinations amount to a sum exceeding £12,000 per annum or a cost of approximately £1.10.0 per candidate.

Dale concluded his letter by saying:

> These enquiries would give the Board something to think about and I do not see how the government is to settle anything until it has information of the kind sketched.

Wyndham accepted Dale's suggestions without question and on 20th November a letter based on Dale's recommendations was sent to the Intermediate Board.[38] The letter also conveyed government sanction for the continued employment in 1904 of six temporary inspectors.

The Board meeting of December considered the letter from Dublin Castle at length.[39] The financial questions raised in the letter seem to have given the mistaken impression that these questions were raised by the Treasury and consequently the Treasury has been blamed for the government's refusal to appoint a permanent inspector. T.J. McElligott in his book Secondary Education in Ireland 1870 - 1921 refers to "a letter from the Treasury, dated 11th December 1903" and says that the Treasury "asked what saving could be effected were permanent inspectors appointed".[40] But there is no evidence that the Treasury wrote any such letter. The letter referred to was clearly the government letter of 20th November - the letter which had effectively been dictated by Dale.

The Intermediate Board in its reply to Dublin Castle, refused to accept the sanction of the government to the further appointment of temporary inspectors "as the school year was so far advanced".[41] Moreover, the experience of the previous year had satisfied the Board that temporary inspectors would not have sufficient time at their disposal "to ascertain the comparative efficiency with sufficient accuracy to render it safe to act upon it as one of the factors for the money payment to the schools". The Board was adamant that perma-

nent inspectors should be appointed, and reiterated its conviction that the 1900 Act "upon its plain and undoubted construction" authorised the appointment of inspectors as a supplement to and not as a substitute for examination. As regards the financial saving in examinations which might result in appointing inspectors, the Board felt that when the system of inspection was "in thorough working order" it might be possible for the inspectors to carry out some of the work of the advisory examiners and thereby contribute to a saving of "say £400 to £500 per annum".

In this letter, the Board had made its position very clear to the Chief Secretary. There would be no more temporary inspectors and the Board would continue to press for the appointment of a permanent inspectorate as soon as possible. From the Board's point of view, the delay encountered during the previous two years in getting government sanction for temporary inspectors, had created great difficulties in recruiting satisfactory men. The uncertainty from year to year in regard to these appointments had caused severe problems and the Board was not prepared to operate under these conditions. In any event, they regarded the appointment of a permanent inspectorate as a sine qua non for the distribution of the 10% and 20% bonuses and they were not prepared to pay these bonuses until the government had sanctioned permanent inspection.

Wyndham was equally adamant that permanent inspectors would not be appointed and by now he had the support of Dale. On 6th February 1904 Dale wrote to Dublin Castle expressing his criticism of what he saw as the inflexible and entrenched attitude of the Intermediate Board. He said:

> The more I have considered the subject, the more difficult I find it to understand the present position of the Board of Intermediate Education, since, as you say, they now appear to reject the offer of the appointment of temporary inspectors and to regard the immediate creation of a permanent staff of these officers as a necessity.

Dale refused to accept the Board's argument that the appointment of a permanent as opposed to a temporary inspectorate was a statutory obligation under the Act of 1900. He maintained that the requirement

of that act "viz. that the schools shall be inspected", had been satisfied by the appointment of temporary inspectors. He refused to accept the Board's allegation that the Irish government had refused to establish a system of inspection stating:

> It has only refused to establish a system of inspection conducted by a staff of permanent civil servants, and it should, as far as I can judge, adhere to this refusal both on financial and educational grounds until the question of the parts which examination and inspection are respectively to play in the distribution of state-aid to the schools is settled.

Dale was critical of the Board's reply on the question of the financial saving which could be effected by the appointment of inspectors. He said:

> It appears from the Board's latest letter that there is no chance of any saving being effected, at all events for some time, which would be at all equal to the additional permanent charge upon its revenues imposed by the creation of the proposed inspectors.

Dale felt that the Board should be able to reduce its examination costs and questioned what he felt was the high rate of payment of examiners. He observed that

> The rates of payment for the Middle and Honours Grades of the Examinations (viz. 1/6d and 2/- respectively for every paper corrected) are higher than that commonly fixed by large Examining Bodies in England.

He was also critical of what he saw as the limited role of the proposed permanent inspectors and felt that they should have responsibility for examination as well as for inspection. He stated:

> It seems to me perfectly fair for the Irish Government to hold that the creation of a staff of permanent Civil Servants as Inspectors of the Intermediate Schools is not warranted until the Legislature has imposed on them duties of equal responsibility and magnitude to those fulfilled by the permanent inspectors in other branches of education.

He advised the government to hold firm against the Intermediate Board and to refuse to sanction permanent inspectors until the Board decided "how far the principle of inspection as a basis for awarding the school grants may be safely extended". He felt that the experience gained by the Board through the temporary inspectors should "in a few years" enable the Board to come to such a decision.

The point being made by Dale in relation to the desirability of the inspectors having responsibility for the examinations was a valid one. The National school inspectors had always been fully responsible for examinations in National schools during the period of payment by results. In England the inspectorate also had responsibility for examinations at a time when the only payment being made to elementary school teachers from central funds was on the basis of the results of these examinations. It would be an anomalous situation to have Intermediate inspectors appointed in Ireland with no responsibility for examinations. Their duties would include testing the efficiency of schools, yet their role as envisaged by the Intermediate Board would preclude them from having any involvement either in defining the curriculum, or setting or marking examination papers.

Under-Secretary MacDonnell accepted the arguments put forward by Dale and on 10th February 1904 MacDonnell wrote to the Intermediate Board again refusing to sanction permanent inspectors and using Dale's arguments against such appointment.[42] MacDonnell repeated that the government:

> would adhere to the position of refusing to establish a system of inspection conducted by a staff of permanent Civil Servants until the question of the parts which examination and inspection are relatively to play in the distribution of State aid in the schools has been settled.

At this point, it might be found useful to summarise the developments in Intermediate education in the years 1900 to 1904. The passing of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1900 had given to the Intermediate Board the powers necessary to implement the recommendations of the Palles Commission. The most significant of these recommendations, i.e. that payment to schools on the basis of the results of individual students be superseded by a system of a block capitation grant, called

the "Normal School Grant", would necessitate the appointment of an inspectorate. Temporary inspectors were appointed for the school years 1901/2 and at the end of this period the Board was satisfied that the new system was operable. But their requests to the Irish executive for approval to appoint a permanent inspectorate met with intransigent opposition.

The correspondence between Chief Secretary Wyndham and the Intermediate Board in the years 1902 to 1904 indicates the determination of the Irish government not to appoint a permanent inspectorate. This determination was not related to any financial considerations, although it was widely believed at the time that lack of finance was a major factor in the government's refusal to ratify the appointments. The refusal was related to government policy on the re-organisation of the structure of Irish education. The Chief Secretary had informed the Treasury in December 1902 of his intention to initiate structural reform. Such reform would considerably diminish, and possibly abolish, the powers of both the National and the Intermediate Boards. In a situation of impending reform, the government was not anxious to extend the powers of either of the Boards in any way. The appointment of permanent inspectors could well be construed as such an extension of the powers of the Intermediate Board. In the early months of the correspondence Wyndham was looking both for a justification of and support for his refusal to appoint these inspectors. Starkie, who had been Wyndham's ally in relation to a radical reform of the management structure of National schools,[43] did not support his attitude to the appointment of permanent inspectors. Wyndham's staff in Dublin Castle did not provide any justification for a refusal. The Attorney-General, far from supporting Wyndham, indicated that the 1900 Act required inspection. In 1903, Wyndham finally found someone who was prepared to support him. F.H. Dale, an inspector of schools in England, although initially reluctant to commit himself on the matter, eventually gave Wyndham both the support and the justification he needed. Dale's letters to Wyndham became the blueprint for the Irish executive's replies to the Intermediate Board. They contained questions of substance which if nothing else "would give the Board something to think about".[44] And in the meantime the government would have a breathing space in which to further their proposals for reform. In view of the support given by Dale to Wyndham from July 1903 to February 1904 it is not surprising that Wyndham decided to ask Dale to carry out an inquiry into the whole

question of Intermediate education in Ireland. No doubt he hoped that Dale would publicly endorse the view that a permanent inspectorate was unnecessary. He probably also hoped that Dale would suggest radical reform of the education system in Ireland and if this was his hope he was not disappointed.

Starkie certainly believed that this was Wyndham's purpose in setting up an inquiry into intermediate education. In later years he maintained

> Messrs. Dale and Stephens were sent for three weeks to Ireland, ostensibly to report on the organisation of secondary education, but really for the purpose of blocking our legal demand for inspectors, in the interest of some great scheme for the reformation of Irish education which was in the minds of the government of that day, but which was destined never to materialise. [45]

The Report of Messrs. F.H.Dale and T.A.Stephens on Intermediate Education in Ireland

During the autumn of 1903, Wyndham invited F.H.Dale to carry out an inquiry into the system of Intermediate education in Ireland. It would seem that initially Wyndham had expected Dale to carry out this inquiry alone, as he had done in the case of primary education. In November 1903, Dale indicated that he would not feel competent to carry out an investigation on intermediate education without some help.[46] He suggested that the inquiry should be conducted by two people

> one an Inspector from our South Kensington branch of Science and Technical schools, the other some one who knows something about literature and the Irish primary schools so as to be able to advise on the best methods of co-ordinating them with Higher Education, as well as to inspect the classics in Intermediate Schools.

He expressed his own willingness to act in the latter capacity.

During the early months of 1904, arrangements were finalised to carry out an inquiry on intermediate education, and in May 1904, F.H.Dale, accompanied by T.A.Stephens, came to Ireland

> to enquire into and report upon the system of Intermediate and Technical Education in Ireland .... with a view to ascertaining whether any organic or other changes in that system are desirable. [47]

The terms of reference of the inquiry were both specific and wide-ranging, and suggest that the Irish government was anxious to ensure that the findings would not be as cautious and limited as the findings of the Palles Commission had been four years earlier. The specific issues mentioned in the terms of reference were

1. The co-ordination of Intermediate Education with Primary, Technical and University Education.
2. Staffing, equipment, sanitary conditions etc. of schools receiving grants from the Intermediate Board.
3. (a) Allocation of the funds of the Intermediate Board
   (b) Possibility of allocating the School Grant in the form of grants to selected schools
   (c) To what extent, if any, inspection might take the place of the examinations conducted by the Intermediate Board.
4. Possibility of establishing a professional of Intermediate teachers analogous to that of Elementary Teachers:
   (a) Training of Intermediate Teachers
   (b) Salaries
   (c) Proper staffing of schools
   (d) Registration of schools.

If the Irish Executive had hoped for a condemnation of the system of Intermediate education, it was not to be disappointed. On the question of co-ordination the report found that

> There is a marked absence of any organised co-ordination of the Primary and Intermediate system of Education in so far as these systems are maintained by the State. [48]

This absence of co-ordination was referred to as "a grave evil" and the report was forthright in its diagnosis of the cause of this evil:

> The primary cause of this want of co-ordination is to be found in the absolute separation established by the Legislature under the Intermediate

> Education Act of 1878 between the work of the National and Intermediate Education Boards.[49]

As a result of this separation the report found that "the action of each Department has been necessarily conducted in ignorance of and without reference to that of the other".[50] They felt that Irish education suffered from the fact that there was no department in Ireland "with power to survey the two systems as a whole".[51] They recommended that the defects could only be remedied by the setting up of a central suthority

> with power to survey the whole field of Primary and Intermediate education and to apply the knowledge and funds at its disposal for the purpose of co-ordinating the two systems of education.

This recommendation was in keeping with the recommendation made by Dale some months earlier in his report on the primary school system. Dale and Stephens were aware that a central board or department could "only be effected by legislation" and

> that important political questions, into which it is not within our province to enter, are involved in any consideration of the constitution of such a Body.[52]

Nevertheless, they added:

> We feel bound to emphasise our conviction that some measure of this character is an essential preliminary step to any successful attempt to remedy the defects which we have pointed out and is pre-supposed in the recommendations which follow.

The setting up of a central suthority empowered to co-ordinate primary and secondary education was seen by Dale and Stephens as a necessary prerequisite to any reform of intermediate education. As the report was being written, the Catholic Church authorities were reacting strongly to tentative proposals made by Wyndham in Parliament for the reform of the educational structure.[53]

In April 1904, Wyndham had announced in Parliament that the government intended to introduce educational reform in Ireland. The

government's approach would be a gradual introduction of co-ordination, local control and rate-aid at the intermediate and technical level and an extension of such reforms to the primary system "at a not very late date".[54] But the Catholic Church authorities strongly opposed any such move. In June 1904 the Catholic hierarchy issued a statement from Maynooth in which they declared their full support for the system that existed and in particular for the Intermediate Board. They stated:

> On the Board, we have at any rate, an assurance for the independence of our schools and colleges and for fair play and equality for Catholics. We have no intention of exchanging these advantages for the control of a department. The personnel of such a body would be sure to be objectionable. Its Protestant members might be Protestants, but we fear its Catholic members would be chosen to represent Governmental rather than Catholic interests.[55]

The whole question of educational co-ordination and reform was thus being strongly opposed by the Catholic hierarchy during Dale and Stephen's visit to Ireland. Consequently they were under no illusion that the introduction of such reform would be easy. But they were insistent that some element of co-ordination was necessary.

In regard to staffing and equipping of intermediate schools, the report found a wide disparity between the condition of the larger schools (those with over 50 pupils on rolls) and the smaller schools.[56] In the former category there were approximately 65 boys' schools and 52 girls' schools and the report found that

> the premises and equipment of these schools are, on the whole, in a fair proportion of cases excellent.

In the case of the Christian Brothers' schools, of which there were approximately 50, the report was equally satisfied that they could be considered"satisfactory for their purpose". But the situation was less satisfactory in the 110 schools which had less than 50 pupils on rolls. The report found that

> at least 40% of these schools fall in point of premises and equipment far below the standard

> which the State can reasonably require as a condition precedent to the grant of public money.[57]

In the worst cases the report found extremely bad conditions.

> Small Intermediate schools, for example, were held in such places as a single room over a shop, or behind a chapel, in a dilapidated farm-house, in a low wooden shed attached to a dwelling house. The walls were dirty and bare except for one or two worn maps, and the desks were of the most antiquated kind. Ventilation, lighting and sanitation were very defective.[58]

The report referred to the haphazard distribution of Intermediate schools around the country. In some areas, particularly in the west and north-west there was a serious lack of educational provision. On the other hand, some urban areas were "burdened with an over-multiplication of small private schools".[59]

The question of the allocation of the funds at the disposal of the Intermediate Board was discussed by Dale and Stephens at some length. They were very critical of the fact that the total payment to schools was based on the examination results of individual pupils. They adverted to the "enormous increase" in results fees between 1879 and 1903,[60] and gave the following figures as evidence of this increase.

TABLE 10.4

Amount of Results Fees; No. of Students who passed and No. of Schools receiving fees, 1879; 1889; 1903.

Year	Amount of School Grant in Results Fees	No. of Students who passed	No. of Schools receiving Results Fees
1879	£7,778	2,332	239
1889	£10,124	5,306	271
1903	£57,319	4,910	294

They felt that the system of payment by results introduced under the 1878 Act may have been justified when the funds at the disposal of the Board were limited. But with the increased funds available to the

Board they could not condone such a system in 1904. They wrote

> We have no hesitation in stating that any such contribution by the State to a school on the examination successes of one student is altogether excessive. [61]

They criticised the high cost of administration and examination and recommended that the "disproportionate expenditure on the machinery of examination" be lessened and the amount of the school grant be increased. They did not feel that the total sum given to schools each year was excessive but they concluded that

> It is clear that on general grounds of financial policy serious objections may be urged against the present system ..... [62]

They also felt that there were "grave educational defects" inherent in the system of results fees[63] and pointed out that this system had completely failed to test, or to recognise, the work of a school as a whole.[64] They recommended that the 1878 and 1900 Acts be so amended

> as to remove the restriction which at present compels the Central Authority to award its grants largely on individual examination. [65]

But they did not support the proposal of the Intermediate Board to supplement the existing system by a system of inspection. Instead, they recommended a clearly defined system of payment of a block capitation grant to each recognised intermediate school, except those which were found by inspectors to be clearly inefficient. The inspectors would not have power to assess the grants for schools. The amount of the grant would be based, not on either the results of examinations or the reports of inspectors, but on the size of the school. If the inspectors' reports found gross inefficiency in a school, the Central Authority could reduce the grant until the school complied with the standards set down by the Authority.

There was a fundamental difference between the recommendation of the Dale and Stephens' report and that of the Palles Commission. The Palles Commission had accepted explicitly the necessity for

testing the efficiency of the schools and for administering State aid on the basis of efficiency. The Dale and Stephens' report, on the other hand, recognised an almost fundamental right of intermediate schools to State aid, this right to be forfeited only in case sof ascertainable inefficiency.

As regards inspection, the report stated that "the time appears ripe for introducing inspection on a permanent basis into the Irish Intermediate System",[66] but at the same time they warned that

> the adoption of a system of inspection even by permanent officers, while in other respects the existing system remained unchanged, would not, in our opinion, achieve the object which the Board have in view. [67]

The hopes entertained by the Intermediate Board that the Dale and Stephens' report would unreservedly recommend the introduction of a permanent inspectorate were dashed by the linking of the recommendation in favour of inspection to the recommendation in favour of fundamental reform of the system.

The report of Messrs. Dale and Stephens was presented to the government in February 1905. The report had shown up many faults in the system of Intermediate eduction in Ireland. It raised serious questions about the schools, the curriculum, the method of examination and above all the system of distributing the grants available to the Intermediate Board. It implicitly questioned the efficiency of the administrative system and it saw as the only solution to the problems of Intermediate education, a fundamental reform of the primary and secondary systems of education in Ireland.

But such reform was not a likely possibility in spring 1905. During the year 1904, it had been made clear to the Irish government that efforts to reform the structure of Irish education would be opposed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. It had also been made clear that the Church would have the full support of the Irish Parliamentary Party in this opposition. By the end of 1904, Wyndham had effectively conceded defeat on the issue of educational reform and the recommendations of the Dale and Stephens report were doomed to failure even before the report was presented to Parliament.

It seems quite clear that the Intermediate Board was aware that the recommendations of the Dale and Stephens report regarding inspection would not be implemented by the government in the absence of an overall scheme of reform of Irish education. In February 1905 Starkie proposed that the Board as a whole should resign unless the government empowered them to appoint a permanent inspectorate.[68] He felt that unless the government agreed to this, the Board should not

> consent any longer to be responsible for the administration of a system which, though in many respects admittedly faulty, they have hitherto been precluded by the Government from reforming.

Starkie was supported in this motion by Dr. Walsh who was unable to attend the meeting but who wrote to the secretary stating:

> I take this opportunity of saying that if I could be at the Board meeting, it would give me great pleasure to second Dr. Starkie's resolution of protest against the action of the Executive in frustrating the work of the Board. [69]

He went on to say that his main object in pressing for the setting up of the Palles Commission had been

> to obtain by means of it such an amendment of the law as would enable us to put an end to the wretched system set up by the Act of 1878.

He added that the report of the Commission

> though it fell far short of what I wished for, brought us to some extent, in the right direction. It recommended the introduction of a system of inspection as a factor in determining the amount of aid to be given to a school in recognition of the work done by it.

He was critical of the "Executive Authority in Dublin Castle" and concluded

> I for one, am not prepared to lose my time, working in the public service under such conditions; and if it be in accordance with the practice of the Board, I would wish to have this protest of mine entered in the Minutes ....

Starkie's motion and Walsh's statement were discussed at the Board meeting, but as the Board "was not unanimous with regard to resignation" Starkie withdrew his motion.

The minutes of the Intermediate Board gave no indication as to why the Commissioners were not unanimous in relation to the question of resignation. It is possible that Palles, who was chairman of the Board, was reluctant to have a confrontation with Dublin Castle at this point and that he was not anxious to have a public airing of the difference between the factions on the Board. There is no evidence as to how the Board was divided - whether the division was along denominational lines as it had been in 1899 or whether the divisions were on a different basis. It may be that Walsh's strategy of threatening resignation would have worked in 1905 had it been accepted. This was the strategy which was successfully adopted in 1908 and which finally resulted in the appointment of a permanent inspectorate after a delay of six years.

Attitude of Chief Secretary Long to the appointment of a permanent inspectorate

Shortly after the publication of the Dale and Stephens report, Wyndham resigned as Chief Secretary. The appointment of Walter H.Long to the post raised the hopes of the Board that the problem of intermediate inspection would soon be solved. The papers on the question show that Long was anxious to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. He wrote to the Board in November 1905 asking for their observations on

> how far the appointment of permanent Inspectors on staff of Intermediate Education would, in their opinion, provide a remedy for the failure pointed out by Messrs. Dale and Stephens.[70]

He expressed the view that the Board could "effect larger economies" in administration by reducing the rates of payment to the supervisors and examiners, and suggested that they ascertain the rates of payment made for similar examinations conducted in England.

The Board, in its reply to the government, expressed satisfaction at the positive tone of Long's letter.[71] They welcomed his proposals which they felt

> will lead to a removal of the serious deadlock which has long existed between the Board and the Government in respect of the appointment of an inspectorate, to the grave embarrassment of the Board, and to the detriment of Irish Intermediate Education.

But the Board would not agree to the Chief Secretary's request that efforts should be made to reduce the cost of administration. In this regard they stated:

> As regards the alleged excessive expenditure on the administration of the system of Intermediate education to which you refer in your letter, the Board are not prepared to deny that the outlay upon the examination of the candidates is large; but, on the other hand, they are unable to see how this expenditure can be curtailed, inasmuch as they are compelled by Act of Parliament, to assign the major part of the school grant upon the results of a general examination.

They conceded that some economies would be possible if the inspectors could also be used as advisory examiners but they felt that these economies would be "inconsiderable". They felt that the rates of payment of the superintendents and examiners could not be reduced further. They stated that the remuneration of the examiners had been cut in 1901 and they were convinced that any further reduction could only mean a reduced standard of efficiency. As regards the allegation that such work was paid at a lower rate elsewhere, the Board stated that they were satisfied that the opposite was in fact the case and that the Irish rates "compared unfavourably with those adopted by other educational authorities in Great Britain and Ireland". The Board then drew out its trump card stating that they would be able to pay the salaries and expenses of inspection "without encroaching upon the income of the Board". They stated that

> Measures have recently been taken whereby a sum of £5,000 p.a. shall be reserved to cover the expenditure entailed by the appointment of Inspectors.

This reassurance from the Board to the Chief Secretary is particularly surprising in view of the fact that only a short time previously the examination results had had to be adjusted to take account of the reduced income of the Board. The Board may have felt that such a

commitment regarding their ability to cover the costs of inspection was essential if their request for a permanent inspectorate was to be granted by the Chief Secretary, but it was nevertheless surprising in view of the specific problems which had to be faced by the Board in relation to the reduction of the results fees such a short time before.

In the autumn of 1905, Long made arrangements for the setting up of a conference between the National and the Intermediate Boards and the D.A.T.I. to ascertain to what extent co-ordination between the different levels of education would be feasible.[72] In accepting the role of convenor of the conference Judge Madden informed the Chief Secretary that "the most urgent matter is the establishment of the system of inspection promised".[73] The Intermediate Board welcomed the setting up of the conference and thanked the Chief Secretary for "the satisfactory character of the proposals" which he had made,

> proposals which, in their opinion, will lead to a removal of the serious deadlock which has long existed between the Board and the Government in respect of the appointment of an inspectorate, to the grave embarrassment of the Board, and to the detriment of Irish Intermediate Education.[74]

But Long's proposals did not lead to an early settlement of the dispute regarding inspection. Before the conference had reported and before any steps had been taken to end the dispute about the appointment of inspectors, the Conservative Party had been defeated and the Liberals were in power. Bryce's appointment as Chief Secretary meant a return to the deadlock of earlier years. With the Liberals at the helm, Sir Anthony MacDonnell, Under-Secretary, grasped the opportunity to re-introduce his scheme for complete reform of Irish administration and it was not until the Irish Council Bill was finally withdrawn in summer 1907 that the government was prepared to reconsider the question ofaa permanent inspectorate for intermediate schools.[75]

When the Intermediate Board realised that the question of a permanent inspectorate had again been shelved, they resorted to the only solution open to them - to pressure on the Chief Secretary by the Irish members of parliament in Westminster. It is clear that the Intermediate Board not only knew that this pressure was being exerted,

but that they tacitly supported the action of the M.Ps. in the matter. On 11th April 1906, the Chairman of the Board, Lord Palles, wrote to the Secretary of the Board as follows:-

> As I anticipate that questions may for some time be frequent in Parliament, it would be well that you obtained definite instructions from the next meeting of the Board as to the mode in which you should deal with them 76

On the motion of Dr. Molloy, the Board then agreed

> that parliamentary questions of routine may be answered by the Assistant Commissioners. Questions involving special difficulty to be referred to the Chairman, or in his absence, to the Vice-Chairman, who may answer the questions himself or at his discretion, reserve them for the consideration of the Board.

The Irish members had already begun to put pressure on the Chief Secretary on the matter of inspection. On 15th March 1906, Mr. Boland, M.P., asked the Chief Secretary

> if his attention has been called to the dead-lock between the Intermediate Commissioners in Ireland and the Treasury as to the appointment of inspectors in secondary schools in Ireland; and as this dead-lock is injurious to education, whether he will use his influence with the Treasury to allow the views and judgement of the Intermediate Commissioners, who are all Irishmen, to prevail over those of the Treasury officials in the purely Irish question. 77

Bryce's secretary, A.P. Magill, left no doubt as to Bryce's attitude to the matter. In a note to J.B. Dougherty, Assistant Under-Secretary, he stated:

> It has been decided that a permanent inspectorate should not be established until the parts which inspection and examination should respectively play in the distribution of State aid to the schools have been determined.

On the 29th March, Boland followed up his first question with a further and more detailed one, asking inter alia who had made the decision that a permanent inspectorate should not be established. Byrce's reply was

unequivocal:

> The decision referred to in the first part of the question was the act of the Irish Government .... It must be remembered that what the Irish Government in the time of my predecessors did, was to refuse their approval to the appointment of permanent as distinct from temporary inspectors, and the Government still considers it undesirable to create fresh vested interests in a Department which may be the subject of some change. [78]

Here than, was the real reason for the refusal of the government to approve a permanent inspectorate. Permanent inspectors would be "fresh vested interests" and the government did not want to appoint any such new interests while the question of reform was pending.

In December 1906, Chief Secretary Byrce was transferred to the embassy in Washington and he was replaced in Ireland by Augustine Birrell.[79] Shortly after his appointment, Birrell was approached by the Intermediate Board on the subject of inspection. At a special board meeting on 24th January, it was decided that

> A memorandum be drawn up giving a historical account of the Board's action and their negotiation with the Irish Government in the matter of inspection; and that this memorandum be forwarded to the Chief Secretary together with a statement that a deputation of the Commissioners would be pleased to wait upon the Chief Secretary should he so desire. [80]

This memorandum was drawn up and sent to Dublin Castle but no action was taken by the government on the matter.

On 6th April 1907, the sixth meeting of the Consultative Committee took place and at this meeting a resolution was passed

> that the Consultative Committee feel themselves at a disadvantage in dealing with questions relating to Intermediate schools because they have not at their disposal that detailed knowledge which in the case of schools under the other departments, is furnished through their systems of inspection; and the Committee accordingly desire to call the attention of the Intermediate Board to the desirability of making further efforts to give effect to the statutory powers conferred upon them in this connection. [81]

This resolution was forwarded to the Intermediate Board who noted it at their meeting of 30th May.

Meanwhile, the Gaelic League had entered into the controversy regarding lack of inspection. At an address given in connection with the Dublin Feis, Pearse "delivered a powerful indictment" of the education system and his severest criticism was directed against the intermediate system of examination "by pen and ink".[82] In his editorial in An Chlaidheamh Soluis on 20th April, he attacked the Treasury for its attitude to Irish education and stated that it was the Treasury which had prevented the Board from appointing a staff of inspectors. Archbishop Walsh, who was no great lover of the Treasury as his criticism of the Treasury in 1900 had shown, was concerned to keep the record straight and on 23rd April he wrote to An Chlaidheamh Soluis pointing out that it was not the Treasury who was preventing the appointments and that "it is not a question of funds at all".[83]

This prompted Mr. Gwynn, M.P., to ask the Chief Secretary in Parliament

> on what grounds the system of inspection of modern language teaching by oral examination has been discontinued in Irish intermediate schools; whether his attention has been called to a letter from Archbishop Walsh, who is a member of the Board of Intermediate Education, declaring that the responsibility for stopping the system rests neither with the Board nor with the Treasury but with some controlling authorities at Dublin Castle; and if so, will he indicate the authorities referred to.[84]

At this point Birrell was about to introduce the Irish Council Bill in parliament. Therefore, he was not prepared to enter into substantive debate on the matter of intermediate inspection.

The fate of the Irish Council Bill has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis.[85] Its defeat was a blow to Birrell and to his Under-Secretary, MacDonnell, but it heralded an end to the controversy over the appointment of permanent inspectors. In January 1908, Birrell asked the Intermediate Board to comment on a letter which he had received from the Leinster branch of the Association of Intermediate and University Teachers in which they expressed concern about the possible injurious effects that inspection might

have on the interests of teachers.[86] This letter was discussed at the meeting of the Intermediate Board on 9th April 1908 and resulted in the unanimous passing of the following resolution:

> That, in the opinion of the Board, the time has arrived when it is necessary for them to consider whether it is possible for them, in the interests of true education, to continue the administration of the funds entrusted to them for the promotion of Intermediate education in Ireland in the absence of a system of inspection, the establishment of which was provided for by the Legislature in the Amendment Act of 1900. [87]

This resolution was received in the Chief Secretary's office on 10th April 1908 and was acted on without delay. Assistant Under-Secretary, Sir J.B. Dougherty, was initially unsympathetic. His memorandum of 19th April reads:

> This rather minatory (?) resolution is included, I suppose, to compel Government to take a course which it has on more than one occasion under various administrations, declined to follow. If Inspectors are so indispensable the Board should reappoint temporary Inspectors. The objection to the creation of .... (writing illegible) in existing circumstances remains as strong as ever. [88]

But Birrell was not unsympathetic to the resolution of the Intermediate Board. He indicated to Dougherty that he would be prepared to sanction a permanent inspectorate on certain conditions. Some months earlier, in November 1907, he had announced his abandonment of reform measures for Irish education and he had begun to take steps to improve the financial situation of national education.[89] His response to the resolution of the Intermediate Board suggested that he was also ready to expand the powers of that Board. But he was not prepared at this point to concede to the Board's demands that a system of inspection be introduced in addition to examination. Like Wyndham, five years earlier, Birrell felt that inspection should supersede examination and that grants should be awarded on the basis of inspection instead of examination. He offered to introduce legislation in Parliament if necessary to achieve this situation.[90]

Predictably, the Board was not prepared to accept this proposal. (5) They were, however, prepared to make certain compromises. At the Board meeting on 30th April 1908, it was proposed by Chairman Palles that

> the general pass examination should be abolished; but that the examination for exhibitions, prizes and honours should be retained, and that the distribution of the school grant should depend partly on the result of that examination and partly on the results of inspection. 91

This motion was carried with only one dissenting voice - that of Dr. Todd Martin. The proposal now accepted by the Board was directly contradictory to the recommendation of the Palles Commission nine years earlier. Then, it had been suggested that only the pass examination be retained and that the competitive element be discontinued in the Board examinations. Now the Board's proposal was to abolish the pass examination and to retain only the examination for exhibitions, prizes and honours.

On 9th May 1908, the Board's proposal was transmitted to the Chief Secretary.[92] Since the Commissioners wished to retain some element of examination in addition to inspection, they maintained that no change in legislation was necessary. They pointed out to Birrell that under the existing rules

> the Board are directed to distribute <u>part</u> of their funds on the results of such inspection; legislation, therefore, is not necessary for the purpose of establishing inspection; and, consequently, the only effect of the legislation indicated by your letter, would be to make <u>all</u> their funds distributable on results of inspection, by the substitution of it for the general examination.

The letter went on to describe "the number of evils incident to the present system of public examination of pupils without inspection of schools", evils which the Board felt were widespread, demoralising and opposed to the interests of true education. Even if the government and the Board agreed that the examination should be abolished completely, the Board felt that it would not be possible to pass an act providing for such a change:

> The abolition of the general examination is a remedy requiring an Act of the Legislature, which the Board believe cannot now, under existing conditions, be obtained. While the difficulty as to legislation renders unattainable what is regarded as the best remedy, the partial, but substantial course, of making part of the school grant dependent on the results of inspection is still unapplied.

The Board went on to say that if inspection proved effective, the part of the school grant depending on inspection could be increased. The letter discussed the financial implications of inspection. It was estimated that inspection would cost approximately £5,000. Under the re-investing of the Board's original endowment which had taken place in 1907, the annual income of the Board had been increased by £3,398.17.6d. This money would be set aside for the purposes of inspection. In addition, it was anticipated that a further sum of almost £3,000 would become available as a result of the introduction of a new rule which would prevent any pupil from taking a subject in an examination which he had previously passed. The total monies available from these two sources would be more than sufficient to cover the costs of inspection.

The Board had hoped that the new rule forbidding pupils to present themselves for the same examination a second time would come into effect immediately. Their original proposal to Birrell had included a provision that would give retrospective power to the Board in respect of the examinations for 1908. But there were widespread protests from the schools involved and the Board yielded for the 1908 examinations.[93] The new rule came into effect from 1909 onwards and the numbers in respect of which results fees were paid fell by 6% as a result. The saving in results fees effected by the new rule was in the region of £2,500.

When the Board's letter of 9th May was received in Dublin Castle, Under-Secretary MacDonnell used the opportunity to re-open the question of educational reform. Details of MacDonnell's general proposals are discussed at length in Chapter IX. In this chapter, it is sufficient to refer to those aspects of the proposals which relate to Intermediate education. MacDonnell pointed out that he was not in favour of payment by results in intermediate schools and admitted that he supported the request from the Intermediate Board for the appointment of an inspec-

torate. He reminded Birrell that under the provisions of the Irish Council Bill

> ... the Boards would have disappeared and a Department of Education would have been established and inspection would necessarily have found its place in the scheme. [94]

But MacDonnell's concept of an inspectorate was significantly different to the proposal put forward by the Intermediate Board. MacDonnell favoured not only a single Board of Education which would be responsible for primary, intermediate and technical education; he also favoured an integrated inspectorate responsible for both primary and secondary schools. In this regard, he wrote:

> The inspection should not proceed on a water-tight compartment plan. The inspection of primary schools should not be on one establishment and the inspection of secondary schools on another. The Inspectors should be inter-changeable both being capable of being employed to inspect both branches of education and it is only in this way that a thorough co-ordination and dove-tailing of one branch into another can be satisfactorily secured.

MacDonnell also made a novel proposal on the question of examination. He felt that there should be no more pass examinations in the sense in which they had previously existed but that a new system should be introduced under which there would be three public examinations:

(1) Exhibitions for pupils in primary schools passing into the Intermediate system

(2) Exhibitions for pupils in intermediate schools

(3) Exhibitions for pupils passing from the Intermediate system to the University.

This proposal would have had the effect of co-ordinating the different levels of education in Ireland. MacDonnell maintained that if such a system were introduced

> There would thus be created a system of exhibitions or scholarships which would enable the cleverest pupils from the primary schools to find their way into the secondary system and through it into the collegiate system. This is the general outline. The way of working it would be to group primary schools by district and to admit to the examination only such pupils as the Inspectors and Teachers of the school consider suitable. The same plan would be adopted in regard to the examination for secondary schools.

MacDonnell's proposals were interesting and original and might have gone a long way towards solving one of the major defects in the Irish educational system, i.e. the lack of co-ordination between the different levels of education. But any moves towards implementing these proposals would have involved a re-opening of the whole question of educational reform and Birrell was not prepared to take this action.

Having dismissed MacDonnell's proposals, Birrell wrote to Palles, Chairman of the Intermediate Board, indicating that he was anxious that "the Irish Government should not unnecessarily prevent the appointment of Inspectors under the Act of 1900 ...."[95] He then went on to say that he entirely agreed with the proposal made in the Intermediate Board's letter of 9th May 1908:

> I am quite of opinion that Examinations for honours, prizes and exhibitions should be retained under suitable conditions, and I am also of opinion that it is eminently desirable to substitute in the future inspection for the general pass examination.

He briefly referred to the role of the Treasury in the matter

> The Treasury, as far as I know, has never been approached upon the subject of the appointment of inspectors, but I do not think it is likely - though one never knows - that they will raise any objection to your scheme, which does not involve any fresh grant from the Treasury.

On 24th July, a letter was sent to the Treasury by Sir Frederick Cullinan, formally asking for permission for the permanent inspectors to be appointed. On 19th September, the formal approval came from the Treasury:

> My Lords are now pleased to approve of the immediate appointment of six Inspectors on the terms, as regards tenure of office and duties, proposed in the Board's letter of 30 June 1902 ... As regards salaries, My Lords are of opinion that, having regard to the salaries of the Inspectors under the National Board, a scale of £350 - £20 - £700 per annum should be sufficient. They would, however, be willing, if the Board desires it, that one of the six Inspectors should hold the post of Chief Inspector with a scale of £750 - £25 - £800 per annum. [96]

During the winter of 1908/9, negotiations took place between the Board, Dublin Castle and the Treasury on the question of the salary scales of the inspectors and in November the Treasury agreed that six inspectors should be appointed, two at an initial salary of £700, rising to £800 p.a; two at £500 and two at £350, rising to £700.[97] There was some controversy over the fact that the Board proposed to appoint six men to the posts. A number of women's groups, including the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association; the Commitee of the Central Association of Irish Schoolmistresses and the Irish Association of Women Graduates, sent resolutions to Birrell objecting to the exclusion of women from these posts.[98] Although Birrell agreed that the posts should be open to women, he maintained that he could not enforce his views on the Board. In a reply to a parliamentary question from Mr. Hazelton of Galway North, Birrell replied:

> Everybody knows that this is a controversial subject although I take the view that women should, as far as possible, be appointed to inspect girls' schools. Still, I cannot enforce my views on the Board.

And although Birrell subsequently wrote to the Intermediate Board on the matter, the Board did not agree to appoint women inspectors.[99]

The appointment of the first six inspectors was sealed by the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury in March 1909.[100] The six inspectors were R.C.B. Kerin; C.E. Wright; E.Ensor: J.J. O'Neill; Thomas Rea and J.E. Maguire. These men were all Irishmen and had previous experience of Intermediate education as either examiners or advisory examiners. The temporary inspectors of 1902 and 1903 had not been Irish - all six of them had been described by the Board as having their residence in either England or Scotland. The permanent inspectors appointed in

1909 were effectively put in charge of subject areas for the Board examinations, thus achieving the situation recommended by F.H. Dale in 1904, i.e. that the inspectors would be given responsibility for examination as well as inspection.[101]

Summary

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the annual income of the Intermediate Board fell systematically. As a result, the amount available for payment as results fees to schools fell by almost 50% although the number of students presenting for examination increased by about the same proportion in the period. The Board solved the problem of reduced funds in 1905 by adjusting the percentage of passes in each grade to take account of the reduced amount of money available for fees. The value of prizes, exhibitions and honours also fell significantly and from 1906 onwards a number of prominent educationalists in the country, notably Fr. Andrew Murphy, editor of The Irish Educational Review, criticised the decrease in the grants to intermediate schools and expressed the dissatisfaction of the school authorities with the fall in their grants.

In spite of the fall in the Board's income, and of growing public concern about the inadequacy of the grants available for intermediate education, there is no evidence that the Intermediate Board at any point in this decade represented to the government that its funds were inadequate. On the contrary, the detailed correspondence available in the State Paper Office (which appears to be the complete correspondence between the Intermediate Board and the Irish executive for the period in question) indicates that the Intermediate Board continued to assure the government that its funds were adequate to meet the costs of inspection. The financial accounts of the Board in the years 1901/2 and 1902/3 when temporary inspectors were employed, showed that even after the costs of inspection were met by the Board, its accounts showed a sizeable surplus. Although the income of the Board began to fall by mid-decade the existence of a large Capital Reserve Fund gave to the Board a degree of independence in relation to expenditure that it could not otherwise have enjoyed. Later in the decade the Board indicated that the improvement in the Board's income as a result of the re-investment of its original endowment of £1m. would be used for

the purpose. Moreover, changes were made in the Board's rules to reduce the amount paid in results fees and the savings from these changes were allocated towards inspection costs.

The important factor in all this correspondence is the systematic reassurance given by the Board to the Irish Government that its fund were adequate. Perhaps the Board felt that any indication of shortage of funds would be exploited by a government reluctant to sanction a permanent inspectorate. It is also possible that the Board feared that any indication of difficulty in its operations might be used by the government as a justification for radical reform of the system. In this regard, it is not irrelevant that many members of the Intermediate Board represented interests which were opposed to educational reform. Although there is no indication from Board minutes as to what attitudes were held by Board members on the question of reform as mooted first by Wyndham and afterwards by Birrell, it is unlikely that the Board would have been enthusiastic about its own abolition. Consequently, it is likely that the Board would like to portray an image of confidence and assurance as to its own financial viability.

The fact that the Intermediate Board was not dependent on Parliament for funds gave it a degree of autonomy and independence far in excess of any other educational department in the United Kingdom. The power of the Treasury in relation to Intermediate Education in the decade 1900 to 1910 was limited. The letter books of the Treasury would suggest that the only Treasury interventions in the area of Intermediate education in this period related to a request for an increase in Examiners' fees around 1900 and to approval for the salaries and conditions of service of inspectors in 1908. These interventions were of a rather technical nature and the discussion was not substantial.

It seems likely that the Board was anxious to retain a low Parliamentary profile in the years during which educational reform for Ireland was an issue. In the short term this approach was a sensible strategy. But in the long term the cost to Irish education was high. The main victims were the schools and it was unlikely that school managers and teachers would remain silent in subsequent years.

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CHAPTER XI

DIFFICULT YEARS FOR THE NATIONAL BOARD

In Chapter IX, the difficulties encountered by the National Board in its efforts to secure increased state financing for national education in Ireland have been analysed and discussed. It has been seen that the government refused to increase state aid to national education in an effort to put pressure on vested interest groups to agree to educational reform. The Board's failure to secure increased state funding combined with criticism by Starkie of local management for failing to provide adequate local funds resulted in dissatisfaction and unrest among teachers and management. The government and the Treasury in turn took advantage of the Board's unpopularity to justify their refusal to increase state funding. This vicious circle of cause and effect was referred to by Starkie as follows in 1911:

> During the lean years from 1900 until the debate on the Estimates in 1911, excluding the brief respite we enjoyed during Mr. Long's regime, we were attempting to make bricks without straw, while we were discredited for their own ends in Parliament by those who were responsible for our shortcomings, and who ought to have defended us if we were not so brilliantly successful, as we might have been, in our arduous undertakings. [1]

The public image of the Board was to suffer even further during the second decade of the century. A number of factors contributed to this situation - some of them were outside the control of the Board; other problems might have been avoided by a greater degree of flexibility and diplomacy by members of the Board and particularly by Resident Commissioner Starkie. In the following pages it will be shown how the unpopularity of the Board in the second decade of the century continued to militate against an improvement in state financing of national education.

Government of Ireland Act, 1912

The position of the Government in relation to granting Home Rule to Ireland was effected by the results of the General Election of 1910. The Liberal Party was returned to power but it no longer held an overall majority in Parliament. The Liberals had 272 seats, Unionists - 271, Labour - 42, Redmondites - 72, O'Brienites - 8, other Nationalists - 2.[2] Since Irish nationalists held the balance of power, the Government was under considerable pressure to introduce measures for Home Rule which would be acceptable to Irish nationalists.

During 1911 and the early months of 1912, the terms of proposed legislation for Home Rule were negotiated between the government and the Irish M.Ps. In April 1912, an acceptable formula was agreed and the Government of Ireland Bill (otherwise known as the Third Home Rule Bill) was introduced in the House of Commons. The Bill was passed by Commons but as had happened with previous Home Rule measures, it was vetoed by the Lords. But the newly passed Parliament Act of 1911 ensured that the Government of Ireland Bill would automatically become law after two years on the Statute Books. Therefore, it was expected that the new Home Rule Bill would become law in 1914.

Under the terms of the 1912 Bill, the administrative structure of education would not be changed. The National and Intermediate Boards would still administer the funds for national and intermediate education but an Irish parliament would be interposed between the existing system and the British parliament.[3] The financial sections of the Bill laid down that the Irish exchequer would receive each year from Westminster, a certain "transferred sum", and that in the case of existing services the amount of this sum would be based on the parliamentary grant to that service in the year in which the bill became law.

There was opposition from those involved in Irish national education to the proposal which would freeze the government contribution. Dr. O'Dwyer, Catholic bishop of Limerick, felt that

> it would be a great misfortunate if the present wretched condition of our schools should be stereotyped under a new form of government. If we are to set up house for ourselves, it is not

> unreasonable for the teachers and others who are interested in education to claim that we should be provided with sufficient means to keep the house properly. I am quite confident that the Irish Parliamentary representatives will see to it that in the financial settlement between the two countries, Irish education is not left in a half-starved condition. [4]

The Catholic Church authorities were also concerned that a clause in the bill (Clause 3) which was designed to prevent religious discrimination, might be interpreted as preventing denominational education. Cardinal Logue was particularly concerned that this clause might undermine the denominational character of intermediate schools and training colleges which was recognised under existing legislation and practices.[5] He sought the advice of Senior Counsel, James Murnaghan, on this point and the correspondence between Logue and Murnaghan indicated that Logue hoped that Home Rule legislation might make it possible to move towards a greater degree of denominationalism in education at all levels. Following detailed consultation with Murnaghan, Logue wrote to Redmond suggesting changes in the wording of the Bill which would copperfasten the position of the Catholic Church, particularly in the area of education. In the event, Logue's intervention in the matter came too late to enable Redmond to incorporate the suggested changes. By the time Logue's representations reached Redmond, the Bill had been debated in Committee and Redmond feared that any efforts to introduce amendments might be "fatal" to the passage of the bill.[6] The attitude of the Irish M.Ps. was that the provisions of the Home Rule Bill as proposed be accepted and that questions of detailed administrative reform should not be raised until the new Home Rule Parliament was created. Dillon felt that one of the first tasks awaiting a Home Rule parliament would be "the recasting of the Irish education system".[7]

The National Board was also concerned about the financial provisions of the Home Rule Bill. In June 1912 the Board passed a resolution condemning

> the deplorable consequences which would ensue from stereotyping the grants for Primary education at their present figure

and they asked the Chief Secretary to reconsider the matter with a view to improving the financial provisions for national education.[8] The Commissioners believed

> that without a sound well-endowed system of Primary education no substantial progress can be attained in any direction by the people of Ireland.[9]

Financial Position of National Education, 1912

At this point, it might be useful to look briefly at the position of the National Board in 1912 in relation to the financing of national education and to identify the areas where the National Board felt that additional state funds should be channelled. We have seen that Chief Secretary Birrell had indicated in 1907 that he proposed to reverse the earlier practices of the Irish executive which had used financial stringency as a weapon in the conflict relating to educational reform.[10] The improvement in teacher salaries in 1908 and in building grants in 1909 has been adverted to in Chapter IX. Other improvements in State funding for national education also occurred during the early years of Birrell's term of office. State grants were conceded for medical and dental treatment of pupils in national schools and for the heating and cleaning of school buildings.

Medical and Dental Treatment Grants

As part of the social reform schemes in England the Treasury had sanctioned a grant in 1911 for medical and dental treatment for school children in England and Wales.[11] This grant was administered by the Local Authorities who also contributed towards the scheme. Following representations from the National Board in 1912, the Treasury agreed to a grant for similar purposes being included in the Irish education estimates and a sum of £7,500 was set aside for the purpose.[12] The Treasury insisted that the grant would be paid only on condition that an equivalent contribution would be made from local sources. In August 1912 the Board wrote to the Treasury asking for permission to spend the £7,500 on suitable schemes for dental treatment "without insisting on the condition of equivalent local aid". They pointed out

that

> local municipal bodies in Ireland appear to possess no rating powers that would enable them to contribute for the purpose,

and as this was the case the Board felt that the amount of voluntary local contribution "would be inconsiderable".[13] But the Treasury would not concede to this request and the only grants paid for medical and dental treatment in subsequent years were in areas where half the cost was paid from local sources.

Heating and Cleaning Costs

From 1902 onwards, the National Board had called on the government to introduce heating and cleaning grants for national school premises.[14] These grants were refused by the Irish executive and by the Treasury on the grounds that costs of this nature were a charge on the Local Authority in England and that the State would not be prepared to allocate funds for such expenses in Ireland. Following Birrell's abandonment of the cheese-paring approach of earlier administrations, he decided to support the National Board's request for State funds for heating and cleaning. In 1909/10, the Treasury indicated that they would be prepared to give "favourable consideration" to requests for such aid and they finally agreed in 1911/12 to allocate a sum of £21,000 for this purpose.[15] The annual allocation from State funds for heating and cleaning was less than £20,000 p.a. (or around £3 per school) during the remainder of the decade as the following table shows.[16]

TABLE 11.1

Payments made by the National Board towards the cost of heating and cleaning of national schools 1913 - 1918.

Year ended	Net payments by Commissioners
31.3.1913	£19,239.9.7
31.3.1914	£17,426.18.5
31.3.1915	£17,897.17.11
31.3.1916	£18,586.3.5
31.3.1917	£18,849.13.6
31.3.1918	£18,909.9.10

Further increases in Teachers' Salaries and Pensions

In 1911 further increases of over £50,000 were approved by the Treasury towards improving teachers' salaries and pensions[17] and these increases came into effect in the year 1913/13. The grant in aid of teachers' pensions (which was administered from Dublin Castle) had stood at £18,000 per annum from 1890 to 1911. In 1912/13 the grant was increased to £43,000[18] and the following year it was increased to £56,546.[19]

Despite the concessions from the Treasury in relation to these additional grants, the average State grant per pupil attending national schools remained relatively unchanged during the years from 1910 to 1914 as the following table shows.[20]

TABLE 11.2

Total Parliamentary Grant for National Education; Number of Pupils in average attendance; Average Grant per pupil, 1910 - 1914.

Year	Ordinary Grant £	School Grant £	Grant from Development Fund £	Total Parl. Grants £	No. of Pupils in Av. Attend. £	Av.Parl. Grant per pupil £
1910/11	1,396,401	242,500	4,304	1,643,205	495,962	3.31
1911/12	1,398,324	240,000	4,375	1,642,699	512,862	3.20
1912/13	1,456,554	245,000	4,462	1,706,016	499,038	3.42
1913/14	1,451,896	242,500	947	1,695,343	502,522	3.37

Although a number of significant improvements in the financing of Irish education had been made after Birrell's appointment in 1908, the situation was far from satisfactory in 1912. In a speech given in Belfast in July 1911, Starkie pointed out that while many improvements had been made in Irish national education in the previous decade many areas were still unprovided for. He instanced the lack of scholarships and prizes; the non-existence of higher-grade schools; the lack of grants for school gardens; the fact that pensions were not available for teachers who had to retire before the age that would qualify them for pension and the fact that increased salaries had not been approved for principals of "large and important schools". He also referred to the

still large number of buildings which required replacement or improvement. He had no doubt but that the financing of national education was still inadequate and that the blame for this lay with the government and the Treasury. He concluded

> During the last decade,in the face of the most persistent opposition and misrepresentations, which are generally ill-informed, and often malicious, the Board has carried through a revolution such as no other European country has effected in so short a time .... Discouraged by the Executive, hampered in every step by the Treasury, it has never taken its hand from the plough. [21]

Controversy between the National Board and Dublin Castle in relation to the Annual Report for 1911/12

The resolution which was pased by the National Board in July 1912 objecting to the financial provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill led to a further deterioration in the relationship between the Board and the Irish executive. The Chief Secretary refused to take any action on the Board's resolution. The Board reacted by deciding to send a deputation to Prime Minister Asquith to put before him the views of the Commissioners on the provisions of the Bill.[22] But Asquith refused to meet a deputation and stated that

> though he fully realises the importance of the subject ... (he) regrets that he cannot accede to the requests to receive a deputation in London. [23]

The Commissioners were frustrated because of their apparent helplessness to proceed further with the matter along official channels. The National Board's representative in Parliament and in the Cabinet was the Chief Secretary but the Chief Secretary was representing conflicting interests in this case and was not prepared to support or even to put forward the views of the Board. The Prime Minister had also refused to meet with Board representatives, consequently the Commissioners decided to use the only means available to them to give public expression to their views, i.e. their annual report. In the draft report for 1911/12, the Board published an outline of the correspondence with the government and expressed its "dissatisfaction in relation to

funding and the proposals of the Government of Ireland Bill".[24] The correspondence indicated the Board's dissatisfaction with the inadequacy of State funding of national education. The Board deplored the shortage of funds for building and improving schools; it condemned the Treasury's conditions for the payment of medical and dental grants; it regretted that the government had not yet approved a scholarship scheme to enable pupils to move from national to intermediate schools; neither had it approved a scheme of higher grade school. Also unsanctioned was a proposal to increase the salaries of principal teachers. The Board was concerned that since the Government of Ireland Bill would freeze the State contribution to national education at its present level there would subsequently be no prospect of improving the funds at the disposal of the Board, and consequently of introducing necessary improvements.

In autumn 1912, the draft report was submitted in the routine way to Dublin Castle for approval. The Chief Secretary objected to the approach taken by the Board and maintained that the Board's criticisms of the government

> were quite out of place in a report which properly should be only a review of the state of primary education. [25]

He wrote to the Commissioners asking them to omit from the report the paragraphs setting forth their views on the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill. But the Board refused to delete these comments from the report. They would not accept the Chief Secretary's opinion that "references to H.M.Government and to the Treasury are out of place" in the annual report. The Board considered that they were entitled to use the annual report

> to place before the country their views on educational reform and even to indicate the causes whereby a great part of their policy has been persistently frustrated. [26]

The Board was very concerned about the situation that would arise under the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill. Unless the finances of education were "thoroughly revised" before the act was

passed, the provisions of the act "will effectively arrest the progress of education in Ireland". The Board contended that it had an obligation to "apprise the country of this fact".

They argued that they could not be prevented from publishing whatever they wished in the annual report since, as a Board, they were not subject to the control of the Chief Secretary. In this regard they stated that

> Under the Stanley letter and the subsequent Charters, the Commissioners of National Education are not an ordinary Department of the Public Service represented by a Minister in Parliament, but an independent body invested with absolute control over the funds which may be annually voted by Parliament. Their rules, except in respect of a few fundamental principles, do not require the sanction of the government and successive Chief Secretaries have stated in Parliament that they are not responsible for the Board and cannot control its decisions. The Commissioners cannot therefore regard themselves in their relations with the Executive as bound by the rules that govern other departments of the Public Service, represented by Parliamentary chiefs who are members of the Ministry and can be called to account in their places in Parliament. The Commissioners have no such Ministerial representative responsible for their acts and entrusted with their defence. [27]

This letter raised yet again the fundamental question about the relationship between the National Board and the Irish executive, a relationship which had remained undefined despite efforts by successive governments to clarify the situation. The Board made it clear that they regarded the Stanley letter as the document which defined the formal role of the Board vis-a-vis the Irish executive. Yet it was obvious that many of the provisions of the Stanley letter were outmoded and irrelevant in the context of administrative practices of the twentieth century. Specifically, the section which gave the Board "absolute control over the funds at its disposal" had long since been effectively negatived by legislation which had established Treasury control over all funds voted by Parliament. Nevertheless, the Board insisted on reiterating its autonomy in this area. The Board's statement was to some extent a logical retort to a Chief Secretary who had,

on a number of occasions, disassociated himself from the actions of the National Board and had admitted that he had no control over it. If Birrell had publicly disavowed responsibility for the Board's actions, then the Board's insistence that it had a right to publish the annual report without government approval could scarcely be denied.

The Chief Secretary did not in fact make any effort to reply to the points made by the National Board, despite the Board's threat that if the Irish executive did not reply before the end of August, they would issue a statement to the press giving the views of the Board on the matter.[28] Consequently on 27th August the Board issued a press release.[29] In this statement the Board argued that the proposed Government of Ireland Bill would have serious consequences for Irish education. They feared that

> ... the maintenance in its present position not to speak of the development of national education will be gravely imperilled unless some satisfactory amendment be made in the financial proposals of the Bill ....

They stated that although in earlier years the Board had been dissatisfied with the lack of funds for educational reforms, they had never had any difficulty in obtaining funds to meet the cost of "legitimate changes already sanctioned under the rules". But under the financial arrangements of the Government of Ireland bill a fixed amount would be paid over to the new Irish Consolidated Fund - the amount to be determined "by its cost in the year in which the Bill passes". The Board estimated that at least a further £1.3m. per annum was required if Irish national education was to be adequately financed. The statement concluded that the commissioners believed that

> it is their bounden duty, as guardians and trustees of elementary education in this country, to lay their reasoned views on the subject before the public.

The publication of this statement did not elicit any reaction from the Chief Secretary and a month later the Board reiterated its intention to publish the annual report as it stood without deleting the reference objected to by the government.[30] It was agreed that a letter

be sent to Dublin Castle stating that

> as an independent body, (the commissioners) feel constrained to lay before the public in a permenent form in this published record (i.e. the annual report) of their educational policy, their views on a subject of such vital importance as the provision for national education in the Government of Ireland Bill.

The Chief Secretary's reply to this was to express regret that the Board had decided

> to retain the references to the action of the Treasury and of the Irish government, which in his view are quite uncalled for

but he reluctantly accepted the right of the Board to publish these references.[31] The comments on the Government of Ireland Bill were another matter. The government would not allow these comments to be published and the report was returned to the Board with the request that they reconsider their decision and delete the offending section before resubmitting the report to Dublin Castle.

At its meeting in October 1912, the Board decided not to delete its criticism of the government from the annual report and the Chief Secretary again refused to present the report to parliament.[32] Finally in July 1913 Starkie proposed to the Board that, in view of the fact that the statement referring to the financial provision of Irish national education had already been made public through the newspapers, it could be omitted from the report.[33] The Board accepted this proposal, the o-fending passage was removed and the Chief Secretary agreed to the publication of the report. The report,in its published version, criticised the government and the Treasury for failing to provide higher grade schools and increased salaries for principal teachers of "large and important" schools; it also regretted that approval had not been given for a new scheme which would simplify the promotion of assistant teachers and which would allow for the payment of monthly instead of quarterly salaries to teachers; the Board also criticised the failure to provide a new residence for the female students of Marlborough Street Training College.[34]

The Board modified its criticism of the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill and the relevant paragraph was presented as follows:

> We had intended in this report to bring prominently under Your Excellency's notice the provision that we consider must be made in the near future for a large increase of expenditure in connection with national education in Ireland. As we were convinced that in view of the Government of Ireland Bill the matter was of pressing urgency, we felt that, in justice to ourselves and the educational interests which we are appointed to conserve, it was essential to make public, through the medium of the press, our views on the subject; and this we did in a memorandum published in the London Times and other newspapers on 28 August 1912. In the circumstances, and as we are sure that Your Excellency has already seen the memorandum in question, we make no further allusion to the subject in this report. [35]

The outcome of the controversy over the publication of the annual report could be construed as a victory for the Irish executive. It may not have been in a position to "control" the actions of the Board, as Birrell had earlier admitted, but it had been established that its powers of veto were effective. The so-called autonomy of the Board was to some extent undermined by the outcome of the correspondence and the Board had learned that the Irish executive would not be blackmailed by threats of media exposure to conceding to the demands of the Board. The Board's action damaged still further its relationship with Dublin Castle and did not appear to win any support from the general public. On the contrary, the Board's criticism of the government and the Treasury for the inadequate funding of Irish education led to counter-attacks in which the Board was accused of poor administration because of the large amount of money surrendered to the exchequer at the end of each financial year.[36] In December 1912 the Board prepared a reply to these attacks explaining the financial procedures involved in the administration of the vote and justifying the fact that a certain amount of the vote was surrendered every year. In its statement the Board explained that the total government grants for the preceding eight years had been £12,066,893. Of this amount the aggregate surplus surrendered had been only £86,351 or less than 1% of the grants. The

Board argued that this was a very good record for any department in view of the difficulty involved in making a precise estimate so far in advance of the cost which would be incurred:

> It will readily be admitted that it must be quite impossible in November 1912 to say exactly what will be the expenditure within the year which shall end on 31 March 1914. But how near should it be possible to come to the exact amount? In the Commissioners' Estimates these annual totals have been approached to within about one per cent on the average - and that one per cent on the side of safety. That this is as much a measure of success as can be expected will likewise be allowed, especially when it is remembered that there are contingencies which no one can foresee which may arise within a future of sixteen months, and which affect expenditure.

They pointed out that the National Board had no control over the unexpended balances, since this money was never actually in the possession of the Board.

> It is either in the Exchequer unissued, and it remains there, or else it is with the Paymaster and is recovered by the Exchequer from that Department by abatement from subsequent issues on account of National Education. Thus it is that the commissioners have no control over the disposal of these balances.

In spite of the controversy over the publication of the report for 1911/12, the Board's report for 1912/13 again criticised the government and the Treasury for their failure to give adequate financial support to Irish education.[37] The Board reminded the Irish government that many requests had been submitted in previous years

> for power to make grants in aid of various proposals for the amelioration of Irish elementary education.

These proposals had again been put forward in 1912/13 but with no more favourable result than in earlier years. The Board expressed particular disappointment that their scheme for higher grade schools and for continuation education had been rejected. They compared the situation in

Ireland to the position in Scotland and in England. In Scotland one in six or seven children attended a "real course of higher instruction" whereas in Ireland the proportion could be as low as one in thirty. In England the government had put forward a Bill to provide intermediate education for all, stating

> The principle of our legislation will be the obligatory provision of intermediate education for all who desire it, in order to bring it within the reach of all classes ..

Yet in Ireland the government and the Treasury had refused to sanction the Board's proposal for higher grade schools, a proposal which had been first submitted ten years earlier. The report concluded:

> it is surprising to find all proposals to improve the provision of higher instruction for national school children in Ireland laid aside and ignored. In this country the "broken arches" are to remain in ruins: sic visum superis.

The report of the Dill Committee 1913

The contents of the annual reports of 1911/12, and 1912/13 are indicative of the tension that had built up between the National Board and the Irish executive by this time. From the very start of his term of office as Chief Secretary, Birrell had made no secret of his lack of confidence in the Board. He had encouraged the teachers to be suspicious of the Board and consequently relations between the teachers and the Board had reached a very low ebb by the end of 1912. Starkie's refusal to meet the I.N.T.O. or to discuss any problems with them in the years 1900 to 1912 had exacerbated the situation. A continuing problem from 1900 onwards had been a deterioration in the relationship between the teachers and the inspectors and this problem had reached alarming proportions by 1912.[38] The changes introduced in 1900 had given the inspectors effective control over the increments and promotion of teachers. For promotion to each grade a teacher had to obtain good reports from the inspector for three consecutive years. If there was any break in the continuity of the good reports of a teacher, he lost credit for these good reports and had to start all over again. Consequently, a teacher who obtained a good report in two successive

years and an unsatisfactory report in the third year got no benefit from the two good reports. The problem came to a head around 1910 and was highlighted in two areas, in Belfast and Tipperary.

In 1909, a Senior Inspector, Mr. Welply, was transferred from the Kerry circuit to Clonmel to succeed Mr. Brown, a lenient inspector whose marks were generally high. Mr. Welply had very high standards and had become accustomed to a high level of teaching proficiency in Kerry. He reduced the marks of a large qumber of teachers in the Clonmel circuit. In one district the marks were reduced in 78% of the schools. The teachers of the area sent a memorial to the Board objecting to the lowering of their marks, but the Board refused to take any action on their complaint.[39]

The President of the I.N.T.O. in 1911 was Mr. Edmund Mansfield, a teacher from the Clonmel area. In his presidential address to Congress in April 1911 he openly criticised the new inspector, Mr. Welply, referring to him as

> A certain gentleman whose work is all of the destructive kind, whose advent to any district means the worry of the teachers and the ruin of education.[40]

In 1912, at a meeting in Clonmel, Mansfield again publicly attacked Welply and called for his transfer to another circuit. He also criticised a speech Starkie had made in Cork in which Starkie had objected to the financial provisions for education in the proposed Government of Ireland Bill. Mansfield and other members of the I.N.T.O. were strong supporters of Home Rule and they were angry that the National Board had expressed its open opposition to the financial provisions of the Bill. The attitude of the Irish nationalists to Irish education under the Bill was simple. Dillon stated that one of the first tasks waiting a Home Rule parliament would be "the recasting of the Irish education system".[41] In other words, their strategy in relation to education was to wait until the Home Rule parliament was established and then to reconsider the whole system. They did not want to endanger the passage of the Bill by entering into detailed discussions on its educational provisions at this stage. One can see then that the conflict between the teachers and the Board in 1912 was

not alone about educational matters; it also touched on basic political considerations.

On the instructions of the National Board, Mansfield was dismissed from his post as principal of Cullen National School on 15th October 1912.* Shortly afterwards, the I.N.T.O. decided that they would have no further communication with the Board until Mansfield was reinstated. At the annual Congress of the I.N.T.O. in 1913 it was stated that:

> The Teachers' Organisation has cut all communication with (the National Education Office) till Mr. Mansfield is reinstated. A crisis has arisen in the relations of the Board with the teachers which render it impossible for them ever to work together again in harmony and confidence. 42

To underline the extent of their support for Mansfield, the I.N.T.O. nominated him as general secretary of the organisation.

Immediately after the 1913 Congress, a major political campaign was mounted by the I.N.T.O. against the National Board. A deputation of teachers went to London to put their case before Birrell and they demanded a public inquiry into the whole question of national education.[43] On 11th November, Birrell acceded to the demands of the teachers and on 21st January 1913 he a-pointed a Vice-Regal Committee of Inquiry under the chairmanship of Sir Samuel Dill. The other members of the committee were the Bishop of Ross, Dr. Kelly; Sir Hiram Shaw Wilkinson; John Coffey; Heneage Harrison; Jeremiah Henly; Walter McMurrough Kavanagh and Thomas Kettle. The terms of reference of the inquiry were as follows:

> to inquire and report whether the rules, regulations and practice of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland with regard to the inspection of schools and to the awarding of increments and promotion to teachers, and the methods adopted by the Inspectors in carrying out their inspection are conducive to sound education, to efficiency on the part of the teachers, and to fairness and uniformity in their treatment, and whether any, and if so what changes are desirable in the system of inspection; and also to report upon the relations of the Commissioners and their Inspectors to the teachers; and upon the rules and regulations of the Commissioners

* Edmund Mansfield was awarded the Carlisle and Blake premium as the "most deserving principal teacher" in his circuit in 1922.

> with regard to the conduct of the teachers and especially as to whether such rules and regulations unduly restrict the liberty of the teachers in any respect, and whether in any cases some notice of the intention to make new rules should be published, and whether due facilities for appeal and means of access to the Board are allowed to the teachers. [44]

The terms of reference in themselves implied a lack of confidence by the Irish executive in the National Board. Questions such as "whether the rules unduly restrict the liberty of the teachers in any respect" and "whether notice of intention to make new rules should be published" were almost rhetoric questions. The whole tone of the terms of reference indicated a certain disparagement of the Board.

But even more serious was the composition of the Vice-Regal Committee. For the first time since the foundation of the National Board in 1831, a Vice-Regal Committee to inquire into primary education had been set up without any representation from the Board itself. The Board was concerned at the action of the Chief Secretary and on 1st January 1913 they wrote to Birrell expressing their concern, referring in particular to the fact that any information which the Board had about the proposed inquiry had been gleaned either from newspaper reports or from answers to parliamentary questions in the House of Commons. They also complained that the Chief Secretary had not consulted with them when he was drawing up the terms of reference of the Committee in spite of the fact that he had promised to do so.[45]

The Board objected in particular to the inclusion among the membership of the committee of Jeremiah Henly, a member of the staff of the Church of Ireland Training College, Kildare Place. According to the Board, Henly had identified himself with "a section of teachers" who in the early years of the Revised Programme had shown "determined opposition" to it. They alleged that Henly had been the author of a series of letters signed "Beta" in which the Commissioners and the Revised Programme had been criticized "in most unfavourable terms" in one of the teachers' journals, and they believed that Henly was unfavourably disposed both to the Commissioners and to the Revised Programme. Consequently, they felt that his inclusion on the committee

> would, in the eyes of the public, seriously impair the Commission as an important tribunal if he were a member of it. [46]

But in spite of the representations of the Board to Birrell, Henly was confirmed by the Lord Lieutenant as a member of the committee.

The committee met on over seventy occasions in the year 1913. They examined a total of 65 witnesses, including members of the staff of the national education office, inspectors, members of the National Board, including the Resident Commissioner, a number of teachers and Mr. R.H. Dale, who was now Chief Inspector of elementary schools in England.[47] Starkie submitted a long memorandum of evidence to the committee, which he insisted should be treated as confidential and should not be published as part of the findings of the committee.[48] He also refused to allow his staff to submit certain documents which he alleged were confidential documents, to the committee.[49] In general, Starkie does not appear to have been particularly helpful to the committee; his hostility to the teachers was evident in his submission and he made no secret of his contempt for the authorities in Dublin Castle whose behaviour in relation to national education during the years 1900 to 1913 he described as "criminal".[50] He alleged that the heads of government treated the National Board with "deliberate disrespect"; that they had publicly discredited it; and that they sapped the discipline of its servants. He stated that

> parliament has been told, times without end, that the Chief Secretary is not responsible for the National Board, and on one occasion, that it was not for him to defend or interpret, or even to understand, the conclusions arrived at by the National Board and he declined to pass blame or censure for decisions which he was unable to follow.[51]

There is evidence that Starkie's health suffered as a result of his reaction to the setting up of the Dill Committee. He went through a period of depression,[52] and was absent from Board meetings in January and February when he was "indisposed".[53] In June 1913 he gave evidence to the committee and found this a very "painful" experience - so much so that the Board wrote a letter of complaint to Sir Samuel Dill on the matter.[54] The letter stated that

> the Board having been informed by the Resident Commissioner of the painful circumstances attending his examination on Friday last, desire to be informed what action the committee proposes to take in relation to the matter.

Dill's reply was simple; "the committee have no observations to make", and the matter was not followed up by the Board.[55]

The inspectors also objected to the way in which the inquiry was conducted. Their spokesman was A.N.Bonaparte-Wyse, who was promoted by the Board to the position of Senior Inspector in January 1914,[56] and who afterwards became secretary to the National Board. Bonaparte-Wyse wrote to Sir Samuel Dill on 30th June 1913 objecting to the fact that allegations were being made at the meetings of the committee about individual inspectors in their absence and that these inspectors were being denied the basic right of defending themselves.[57] The National Board supported the inspectors' objection.

In March 1913 a reply was received from Sir Samuel Dill stating that

> the Committee has decided that should any allegation be made by any witness before them against any person, a copy of the evidence will be forwarded to the person against whom such allegation is made, and an opportunity will be afforded the latter to give evidence in reply, and this course will be followed in the case of any charge made against any Inspector. [58]

But the Board later alleged that the Committee reneged on this promise.[59]

The report of the committee effectively vindicated the teachers in their criticism of the Board's procedures and of its inspection system. The committee made a total of 19 recommendations, among which were the following:

1. That the present system of grading and promoting teachers be modified, so as to provide for more rapid promotion of able and promising teachers.

2. That the present system of assigning Merit Marks to schools and teachers be abolished.

3. That increments within the grade be automatic in the absence of an adverse report.

4. That increments shall be annual. [60]

The report also recommended changes in the system of inspection, stating that the power of district inspectors should be reduced and that in the event of an accusation of

> grave misconduct or inefficiency and neglect of duty, which may involve dismissal or other serious penalty, an investigation should be ordered by the Board to be held by the Chief Inspectors and that legal assistance may be allowed to such teacher.

The committee was conscious that this would add to the workload of the Chief Inspectors and consequently they "strongly approved" of the proposal of the Board that at least four Divisional Inspectors be employed to assist the Chief Inspectors.[61] (This proposal had been refused by the Treasury the previous year.)

As regards the actions of the Board itself, the committee recommended that managers, teachers and "others interested", should be given an opportunity by the Board to comment on any new regulation before the introduction of such a regulation.

The committee also implied that Mr. Mansfield's dismissal was unfair and they suggested that he should be reinstated.[62]

The report was published in January 1914. Its findings were welcomed by the I.N.T.O. who reported at the 1914 Congress

> Teachers everywhere have accepted the report as a fair and reasonable verdict, and while expressing their disappointment that it is not wider and more emphatic, they have adopted it and asked for its immediate enforcement. [63]

The National Board, on the other hand, was critical of the report, and on 18th February 1914 they published a statement accusing the committee

of "injustice and partiality". They criticised "its notions of justice"; its "abuse of its powers"; its "unwarrantable proceedings" and its "violation of the most elementary and fundamental principles of justice".[64]

Refusal of Irish Executive to publish the Annual Report of the National Board for 1913-14

This criticism was also voiced in the draft annual report for 1913/14 which was considered by the Board at its meeting of 1st September 1914.[65] The record of this meeting reads that

> The Commissioners consider, paragraph by paragraph, each section of the introductory statement and make certain amendments.

Starkie clearly wanted to place on record the fact that the whole Board agreed with the wording of the report before it was presented to the Chief Secretary.

The report was very critical of the government for its action in relation to the setting up of the Dill Committee.[66] They regretted

> that before consenting to the institution of an enquiry of this character Your Excellency did not find it expedient to consult us regarding the statements made to the Irish Government by the aggrieved parties ....

The Board felt that the complaints of the teachers should have been heard by a committee

> composed of impartial men with expert knowledge of the national system of education and with competent judicial or administrative experience.

Instead of that a Vice-Regal committee with no representation from the Board was set up and this committee did not even allow those employees of the Board who stood accused, to defend themselves. According to the Board's statement

> Accusations of a most dishonourable character against certain of our officials were received by the Committee - sometimes on secondhand authority - but no opportunity was afforded to a single one of the official impugned of attending before the Committee and making his reply to the charges ... Not only did the Committee disregard the assurance thus conveyed to us but they did not assent to be allowed to appear before them to answer these charges.

The Board concluded in this statement that

> the members of the Board were not much impressed by the value of the recommendations formulated by the committee.

The annual report was submitted to the Irish executive in September 1914, and the Under-Secretary wrote to the Board indicating that

> the observations of the Board in regard to the constitution and procedure of the committee .... are of a character altogether unusual in an official report and expressing a hope that the commissioners may be able to reconsider the paragraphs of the report. [67]

But the commissioners were not prepared to reconsider this report. Their reply was unequivocal. They pointed out that

> it was not open to them without incurring the risk of appearing disrespectful to His Excellency, (sic) to pass over in silence the actions and findings of the Committee. [68]

They adverted to the anomalous position of the Board in relation to Parliament and stated that as a Board

> they are unrepresented by a Minister in Parliament, they have no available medium for recording their views other than the annual report addressed to His Excellency (and through His Excellency to Parliament and the country) and they consider that they are entitled and indeed bound, not to neglect this sole opportunity thus afforded of setting forth their opinions fully and candidly on all questions of importance affecting their system of education. [69]

They maintained that they had expressed themselves "with studied moderation" and they asserted that they had refrained from pointing out

> that in the selection of the members of the committee no attention was paid to the well founded objections put forward by them to the Chief Secretary with respect to two persons whose subsequent conduct in the course of the inquiry was marked by extreme partiality and animus against the Board's officials.

They argued that their comments

> on the lack of judicial and administrative experience on the part of the members of the Committee are fully borne out by a perusal of the minutes of evidence, where almost on every page statements which would be quite inadmissable in any Court of Law were accpeted as evidence.

As regards the Under-Secretary's comment that the Board's observations were "unusual" the commissioners caustically remarked that "the circumstances are also most unusual". They concluded that

> while the commissioners regret that any passages in their Report should have been found open to objection they must repeat that they have expressed themselves with great moderation in matters where language of a stronger character would, in their opinion, have been fully warranted ...

They were quite adamant that they could not "withdraw or modify any of the passages in question".

Faced with such intransigence, the Chief Secretary responded by refusing to present the report to Parliament or to sanction its publication. The report was never published and the Board's annual report for the following year opened with the statement:

> In submitting this Report, we have to point out that its preparation has been delayed owing to the fact that our last report, that

> for the year 1913/14, which was duly submitted to the Irish government on 28.9.1914 for presentation to Parliament has so far been withheld from publication ..... [70]

The correspondence between the National Board and the Irish executive both before and after the setting up of the Vice-Regal Committee of 1913 indicates that relationships between these two bodies had reached an unprecedented low level. The Irish government by its action in refusing to take cognisance of the objections of the Board both to the terms of reference and the composition of the Dill Committee,had effectively dismissed the National Board as a body without significance. The findings of the Dill Committee were also a blow to the Board; its impartiality in relation to teachers had been questioned and its effectiveness as an administrative body had been undermined. The action of the Chief Secretary in his insistence in refusing to publish the annual report of the Board established the fact that he could at least exercise a veto over certain actions of the Board. The formal relationship between the Board and the government was not any more clearly defined by the committee or by the controversy surrounding it, but the outcome of the situation made it clear that the status of the Board in 1914 was considerably lower than it had been at the turn of the century. Moreover, Birrell had shown that he would not tolerate an undue level of what he regarded as insubordination from the Board.

It would appear from an analysis of the evidence to the Dill Committee that Starkie regarded the setting up and the findings of the Dill Committee as a personal vendetta aginst himself by both the teachers and the Chief Secretary. Starkie had disliked Birrell from the start, because he felt that Birrell had espoused the cause of the teachers against the Board. His dislike of Birrell intensified as a result of the exclusion of Board members from the Dill Committee. Starkie had some cause to dislike Birrell, as Birrell took full credit for any advantages secured for national education, whereas he allowed the failures of the system to be attributed to the National Board. Birrell had no great love for Starkie whom he was alleged to have described as a bull.[71] In 1915 Birrell proposed to appoint the Provost of Trinity College, Mahaffy, to the Board of National Education- largely becuase he thought that Starkie and Mahaffy were not good friends. He

wrote to Under-Secretary Nathan -

> He and Starkie hate one another - which is a good argument for putting him on the Board, if he will go. 72 *

In January 1915, the Daily Express reported that Birrell was about to retire and go to the House of Lords. Birrell replied that he would go if

> Starkie and the other Commissioners of Education had their way in a matter in which he was in conflict with them. 73

This reference was probably to the conflict over the publication of the report, but Birrell stated that "he would not be beaten". In fact, Birrell was not beaten and the Board had to accept defeat when their report was not published.

Efforts by the National Board to secure additional funds, 1912 and 1913

The Board persisted in seeking additional funding from the government during this period, despite the deterioration in its relationship with the Irish executive. At the end of 1912, the annual estimates were submitted as usual to Dublin Castle with requests "for certain new forms of expenditure requiring the special sanction of the Treasury".[74] Most of these additional items were rejected by the Treasury and the only increases allowed were in the salary of some members of the clerical staff and in the subsistence allowance of inspectors.[75] The Board protested

> against the action of the Treasury in declining to sanction the vast majority of the Commissioners' proposals

and wrote to Dublin Castle asking that special attention be directed to the necessity for

* (It is not quite clear why Birrell felt that Mahaffy and Starkie hated each other. Starkie's daughter, Enid, in her autobiography referred to the friendship between Mahaffy and Starkie. Perhaps this friendship no longer existed by 1915.)

1. the appointment of four new divisional inspectors
2. the establishment of higher grade schools and advanced departments of national schools, and
3. the payment of the travelling expenses etc. of teachers attending courses in Irish.

No satisfaction was gained from this protest and the Board had to wait until the end of 1913 before they could again present their proposals for the improvement of national education.

In November 1913, the following proposals were submitted with the estimates for 1914/15:[76]

1. an annual bonus for principals of large schools
2. the establishment of Higher Grade national schools and higher grade departments of ordinary national schools
3. an increase in the salary of Junior Assistant Mistresses (from £24 p.a. to £40 p.a.)
4. the completion of the residential building for women students in Marlborough Street (a sum of £50,000 had been paid out of the Development Grant between 1904 and 1910 for this work.)
5. a grant towards teachers' lodging and expenses at Irish courses
6. provision for two additional assistance chief inspectors
7. improvement in salaries and allowances of junion inspectors
8. an increase in the dental treatment grant in order that the entire cost be met from State sources
9. provision for additional grants for training colleges for rural science and horticulture
10. additional funds for the teaching of Irish, or for schools which did not want to teach Irish, for Latin, French or German
11. an increase in the salary of Mr. Ingold, the assistant organiser of elementary science.

The only proposal which the Treasury approved of was the proposal to increase Mr. Ingold's salary.[77] Their Lordships regretted

> to be unable to concur in the proposal to institute grants to training colleges for instruction in horticulture.[78]

They refused to agree to increase the grant for medical and dental treatment on the grounds that the total grant for the previous year had not been used. They ignored the Board's plea that the reason for this was the requirement that 50% of the cost of any such scheme had to be met from local sources. They agreed to pay a sum of £570 towards the expenses of teachers attending classes in cookery and laundry work but refused to pay anything towards the expenses of teachers attending Irish classes. They were "unable to assent to the remaining proposals".

The Treasury was particularly unsympathetic to the request for additional money for the teaching of Irish. During the year 1913 the Board had drawn up a new scheme for teaching Irish in national schools. Under this scheme Irish would be taught as an ordinary subject during the school day for pupils whose parents had no objection to this.[79] The Board proposed that the existing grants for Irish be redistributed under the new scheme and the proposal would require an additional grant of £10,000 in the first year and £30,000 per annum eventually. In March 1914 the Treasury rejected this proposal stating that

> Their Lordships do not feel able to assent to this proposal. The present system of grants (which they only sanctioned with great reluctance) appears to Them, in view of the many other educational purposes for which grants are required, to recognise adequately the claims of this branch of instruction.[80]

The Under-Secretary accepted the rejection and informed the National Board accordingly. Given the finality of the Treasury refusal, the Board had no option but to accept the refusal and on 16th March 1914 the Board ordered

> that the honorary secretary of the National Conference on the teaching of Irish be informed of the decision of the Treasury.[81]

The persistent rejection by the Treasury of the Board's requests for additional money to improve national education was interpreted by Starkie as follows:-

> The rule of the Treasury in dealing with us is invariably that of the White Queen in "Alice through the Looking-Glass", "jam to-morrow and jam yesterday - but never jam to-day". They always profess extreme anxiety to improve the conditions of Irish education, provided that no addition to the Grant is caused thereby. Otherwise, the reform must await the imposition of a rate. [82]

Starkie's interpretation was largely accurate. The heart of the problem lay with the continued discrepancy between the cost to the Exchequer of education in England and in Ireland. The total cost per pupil in average attendance in English elementary schools in 1913/14 was £4.16.6: 46% of this, i.e. £2.4.4, was paid by the Exchequer; the rest was met by the Local Authority from money collected through the rates.[83] In Ireland where less than 8% of the cost of education was met from local funds, the average cost to the Exchequer for every pupil in average attendance was £3.12.1.[84] * This meant that the Treasury was contributing over 60% more for every pupil in Irish schools than for a pupil in an English school. In this context, it is hardly surprising that the Treasury was reluctant to increase the grant for national education in Ireland.

Effect of the First World War on Irish Education

Following the publication of the report of the Dill Committee, the National Board made a further attempt to obtain an increase in the government grant for Irish education. In June 1914 the Board accepted in principle the recommendations of the Committee in relation to the improvement of the status and salaries of assistant teachers. It was estimated that the implementation of these recommendations would cost £35,000 in the first year and that "the ultimate annual increase would be about £118,200".[85] The Board wrote to Dublin Castle requesting additional funds to enable them to implement these recommendations but the Under-Secretary refused to approach the Treasury with this request

> until His Excellency has been furnished with the observations of the Commissioners on the recommendations of the Committee as a whole. [86]

* This figure includes all government expenditure on national education, including capital expenditure voted through the Board of Works vote.

A further letter from Dublin Castle in September repeated this refusal and intimated

> that however desirable may be the proposals of the Commissioners they cannot usefully or indeed possibly be laid before the Treasury at the present time. [87]

The Board reacted to this refusal by ordering that a copy of the Under-Secretary's letter be sent to the press

> with an intimation that it has been received in reply to the commissioners' representations regarding the recommendations of the Committee. [88]

Any further efforts which might have been made to put pressure on the government and the Treasury to increase the vote for national education were forestalled by the outbreak of war in August 1914. In November 1914 the National Board agreed that as a result of a Treasury circular requesting that all public expenditure be curtailed because of the war situation, no new items of expenditure should be submitted in connection with the estimates for 1915/16.[89] Capital expenditure was also effected by the Treasury circular. In July 1914 the Treasury had agreed to santion

> a further increase of the total authorised grant expenditure for the erection and improvement of national schools up to a new limit of £475,000. [90]

This would have helped considerably to improve the overall situation regarding national school buildings in the country. But in January 1915, the Treasury worte to Dublin Castle pointing out that

> it was imperative to restrict during the continuance of the war all expenditure which is not of a clearly urgent character. [91]

They reminded the government that this restriction had involved the suspension of many projects "to which H.M. Government attached the greatest importance" and that they no longer felt justified in "making an exception in favour of the Irish national schools". Consequently, they proposed to discontinue building grants to all schools except

those which had already been sanctioned and those "which otherwise would have to be closed".

This Treasury decision meant that the building grants which had totalled over £300,000 for the previous five-year period and which were just beginning to catch up with the back-log of the many sub-standard buildings in the country would come to a halt. Building grants were not restored to their pre-war level during the remainder of the life of the National Board. The following table shows the amount paid from the vote of the Office of Public Works for national school buildings during the ten-year period 1908/9 to 1917/18:[92]

TABLE 11.3

Return showing expenditure from public funds on (a) building and structural improvement of schools and provision of desks and furniture and (b) repair of schools for the 10 years ended 31st March 1918.

Year ended	(a)	(b)
	£ s d	£ s d
31.3.09	26,829. 8. 1	4,730.13. 7
31.3.10	54,303. 1.10	4,335.17. 0
31.3.11	67,971. 2.11	4,203.14.10
31.3.12	37,583. 5. 0	3.753.18. 3
31.3.13	36,268. 6. 7	4,556.10.11
31.3.14	51,156.11. 9	5,090. 6. 3
31.3.15	58,830.11. 6	4,774. 5. 1
31.3.16	45,895.12. 1	3,964. 4. 9
31.3.17	9,199.19. 7	2,815. 9. 8
31.3.18	7,170. 3. 4	3,805.14. 0

The total amount of parliamentary grants available for current expenditure also suffered as a result of the outbreak of the war. The average value of the grant per pupil in average attendance increased from £3.37 in the pre-war years to £4.38 in 1918/18. This represented an increase of 30% in the vote in current terms. But the period in question was one of unprecedented inflation. The Wholesale Price Index soared from 116.5 to 243.0 in the same period - an increase of 109%. The following table gives details of the situation.[93]

TABLE 11.4

Total Parliamentary Vote for National Education, No. of Pupils in Av. Attendance and Av. Grant per pupil, 1913/14 - 1918/18.

Year	Total Parliamentary Vote to Nat. Educ.	No. of Pupils in Av. Att.	Av. Grant per pupil	Wholesale Price Index
	£		£	
1913/14	1,695,343	502,522	3.37	116.5
1914/15	1,712,939	508,424	3.37	117.2
1915/16	1,749,167	499,983	3.50	143.9
1916/17	19,32,698	494,318	3.91	186.5
1917/18	2,141,860	488,785	4.38	243.9

We have seen that problems between the National Board and the Irish executive in the years 1912 to 1914 effected the financial situation of national education during this period and that the outbreak of the war in 1914 further exacerbated the situation. Another factor which may have effected the position was the impending Government of Ireland Bill which was postponed at the outbreak of the war. As a result this Bill was on the statute books from 1912 to 1916. As this Bill would freeze the government vote for education, neither the government nor the Treasury was likely to encourage any significant increase in public expenditure on education even if the war had not intervened.

Attitude of Civil Servants in Dublin Castle

Apart from these considerations, civil servants in Dublin Castle during the second decade of the twentieth century were unsympathetic to schemes which would incur additional expenditure on areas of social improvement in Ireland.[94] The principal clerk, Sir Frederick Cullinan, who had dealt with Irish education for two decades, retired in 1911 and was replaced by J.J. Taylor. Taylor was principal clerk in charge of finance from 1912 to 1919, when he became Assistant Under-Secretary.[95] He was a committee Unionist and a Protestant. He was described by G.C. Duggan, who worked under him in Dublin Castle, as a "loathsome character, bigoted and anti-Irish" and he was alleged to be

> hand in glove with the die-hard representatives of the Treasury in Ireland, Maurice Headlam, the Treasury Remembrancer.[96]

These two men examined in detail any proposals from Irish departments for increased government funding and

> as both were cheese-parers and both were opposed to the policy of killing Home Rule by financial bribes, there was little that got rhgouth the net. [97]

Maurice Headlam had become Treasury Remembrancer in 1912 when L.J. Hewby retired.[98] Headlam had been on the staff of the Treasury in London and had been passed over for promotion in the office there in 1912.[99] As a result he decided to accept the post of Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland where "at least he could fish".[100]

At a higher level, Sir Antony MacDonnell had been replaced in 1909 as Under-Secretary by Dir J.B. Dougherty who had been Assistant Under-Secretary in the Castle since 1895. Before that he had been a Presbyterian minister and Professor of Logic at Magee College.[101] He is described by Leon O Broin as a "safe, sensible, level-headed man ... a confirmed Liberal and Home Ruler". He made no major changes in procedure following his appointment and seems to have been content to support Birrell's proposals. Dougherty was replaced in October 1914 by Sir Matthew Nathan who had been Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue. Nathan was in his early fifties, a Jew and a Liberal who had the reputation of being a very hard worker.[102] There was some unease in education circles at the appointment of Nathan, and Archbishop Walsh wrote that the appointment might be evidence of an intention on the part of the government "to diddle us on finance".[103]

There is no evidence that the education vote suffered following Nathan's appointment although the rate of inflation following the outbreak of the war created great problems for all the spending departments including the National Board, as we have seen earlier.

Royal Commission on the Civil Service, 1914

Before drawing this chapter to a conclusion, a brief reference must be made to the report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service which was published in 1914.[104] The chairman of the Commission was "Antony Patrick, Baron MacDonnell", who had been Under-Secretary in

Dublin Castle from 1902 to 1909.

The report was critical of the system of administering education in Ireland. It found that there were too many departments and boards responsible for different areas of education and that there was little co-ordination between them. It stated:

> Functions similar to those which in London are carried on in the single Department of Education in Whitehall, are in Dublin divided between the Board of National Education, the Board of Intermediate Education, the Board of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the Board of Charitable Donations and Bequests, the Educational Endowments Commission and (with regard to the provision of school bursaries) by the Local Government Board, all being separate bodies separately housed. [105]

Many of the departments overlapped in their operations and the Commission felt that "a different distribution of business might produce greater efficiency and some economy". The control of the Lord Lieutenant over those departments and boards, including the National Board, of which he was theoretical head, was "very limited".[106]

The Commission seemed to indicate that a radical restructuring of Irish administration would be desirable but it refrained from entering into a detailed discussion of how such reform might be implemented. Clearly, the fact that Home Rule was impending prevented further involvement by the members of the Commission into an area which MacDonnell had so often found to be politically sensitive.

As regards the office of national education the commission pointed out that among its staff there was no administrative class as such. The staff of the office consisted of an indoor administrative and clerical staff - the administrative staff consisting of two secretaries and other senior staff members who had been promoted from a clerical staff based on the Second Division. There were no first class clerks recruited as such from among university graduates. Commenting on this, Starkie said in his evidence to the Commission

> I would like, I must say, some first class clerks on the staff. The second division clerks are very hardworking men, and I have

> no complaint to make of them ... But I do feel - and I have heard many other heads of department in Ireland say the same - that there is a lack of men who are able to write satisfactory letters on important subjects. One does miss that class of man.[107]

The Royal Commission agreed with Starkie and added that

> the want of officers recruited by the Class I Examination is the great defect of office organisation in Ireland as in Scotland; just as, in both countries, the great defect in staffing the higher administrative posts is the use of patronage.[108]

They recommended that this defect be corrected and that the office of national education recruit administrative officers directly from university. This recommendation was not acted upon and in 1922 the free state government inherited an office of national education which did not recruit any members of its indoor staff from the ranks of university graduates, a situation which has not since changed.

The Commission found that there were six senior staff clerks earning from £400 to £500 p.a.; and six junior staff clerks earning from £300 to £500 p.a. All these men had been recruited from the second division. In addition to these staff clerks, a further 45 second division clerks were employed. The total clerical staff of the office was about 130 - more than 50% greater than the number employed in 1900.[109]

The overall conclusion of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service about the administration of national education was that as an office of the civil service, the national education office was administratively efficient. But it strongly condemned the lack of co-ordination between the different bodies administering education in Ireland and it felt that the proliferation of boards and departments involved in the administration of Irish education was wasteful and inefficient.

Resignation of Birrell as Chief Secretary

Birrell resigned as Chief Secretary on 3rd May 1916.[110] His relationship with those involved in national education during his nine years in Ireland had been a chequered one. He had initially been hailed by the teachers as the saviour of Irish education. His efforts to introduce the Irish Council Bill reduced his popularity during the early months of 1907 but he was a shrewd politician and when he realised the extent of the objections to his proposals for reform, he abandoned them totally and with them the policy of starving Irish education of funds. He obtained additional Exchequer funding for teachers' salaries for capital expenditure and for some current costs of national education (i.e. heating and cleaning) between 1908 and 1911 as a result of which the per capita expenditure by the government on national education increased from £2.19.5 in 1906/7 to £3.9.8 in 1910/11.[111] *

His relationship with the National Board had been strained from the start. He disassociated himself from the actions of the Commissioners and was openly critical of them on a number of occasions. During the later years of his term of office he was in open conflict with the Board on the question of its right to publish its objection to the terms of the Government of Ireland Bill and to the composition and procedure of the Vice-Regal Committee of inquiry into Primary Education in 1913. The controversy over both of these issues again underlined the anomalous constitutional position of the National Board vis-a-vis the Irish executive. The Chief Secretary was responsible to Parliament for national education yet he could and did refuse to represent the views of the Board in relation to the Government of Ireland Bill. The Board's only recourse was to publish their views, yet even in this regard the Chief Secretary was in a position to veto the publication. The tension between the Board and the Chief Secretary damaged the public image of the National Board in Ireland. When Birrell resigned in 1916 the public image of the Board was at a very low ebb. It had been condemned by the Dill Committee; the Chief Secretary had publicly expressed his lack of confidence in it and the Royal Commission on the Civil Service had categorised it as an administrative entity which was obsolete and duplicative.

* This figure represents government expenditure from all votes relating to national education (including Board of Works Vote) and is quoted in Table 40 of the A.R. for 1913/14.

It is interesting to speculate on what might have happened to Irish education had the First World War not intervened. A new Home Rule government might have been in power, and the democratic process might have resulted in a government with a nationalist majority. Would the new government have bowed to pressure from the Catholic hierarchy to "copperfasten" the position of the Church in education and to recognise the de facto denominationalism of national education? Or would the views of Labour leader James Connolly have coloured the thinking of the new government and resulted in a democratisation of the system? Connolly had written in 1914 of the need to reform the educational system as follows:-

> The problem presented by the schools is a problem which can only be settled in one way - viz. by the extension to those institutions of the democratic principle, and all that that implies. We have had, ever since the establishment of the National Schools an attempt to perform by a mixture of bureaucracy and clericalism, what can only be accomplished by a full and complete application of democratic trust in the people .... The democracy of Ireland, among the first steps necessary to the regeneration of Ireland, must address itselt to the extension of its ownership and administration to the schools or Erin. 112

Or perhaps Pearse's plan for Irish education might have become a reality. He had written in 1912:

> When an Irish Government is constituted, there will be an Irish Minister of Education responsible to the Irish Parliament; under him Irish education will be drawn into a homogeneous whole - an organic unity will replace a composite freak in which the various members are not only not directed by a single intelligence but are often mutually antagonistic, and sometimes engaged in open warfare with one another, like the preposterous donkey in the pantomime whose head is in perpetual strife with his heels because they belong to different individuals. 113

In the event, Home Rule was postponed, the educational system remained unchanged and Irish national education in 1917 was administered as it had been three-quarters of a century earlier, by a Board nominated by the Irish executive.

Before discussion the final attempt of the British administration to reform the structure of education in Ireland in 1919, the development of the intermediate system of education in the period 1900 to 1917 will be analysed.

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CHAPTER XII

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION - FUNDS FROM THE CENTRAL EXCHEQUER, 1910-1917

In earlier chapters, the development of intermediate education after the setting up of the Intermediate Board in 1878 was traced. It was seen that from 1890 to 1906 the Board's income was more than adequate to meet its needs and that during the period the value of the capital reserve fund increased. The amount available for intermediate education from the Local Taxation Fund had reached over £70,000 per annum at the turn of the century and this brought the annual income of the Board to over £100,000. After 1900, the income from the Local Taxation Account began to fall and from 1900 to 1909 the figure decreased annually with a consequent annual reducation in the total income of the Board. In 1900 the total income of the Board was £103,528; by 1910 it had fallen to £53,000.

Although the total income of the Board fell by 50% in the decade, the number of students presenting for examination increased by the same proportion. The implications of this were disturbing. An increase in the number of pupils meant an increase in administrative costs and this reduced even further the amount of money available for distribution to schools. In 1901, 19% of the Board's income was spent on administration; by 1910 this proportion had increased to 42%. Conversely, the average school grant paid per pupil presenting for examination fell from £7 in 1901 to less than £4 in 1910.[1] During the decade the Board had found it necessary to withdraw money from its capital reserve fund to meet its ongoing expenses and the value of this fund had fallen from £104,171 in 1900 to £54,040 in 1910.[2]

Pressure from Heads of Intermediate Schools for increase in State aid to Intermediate Education

With the announcement at the end of 1908 that a permanent inspectorate was about to be appointed, heads of intermediate schools throughout the country were concerned that an even larger proportion of the Board's funds would now be spent on administration with a consequent further reduction in the school grant. They were also concerned at

the fall in the Board's income as a result of the decrease in revenues from taxation. In December 1908, Brother J.J. Crehan, secretary to the Education Committee of the Institute of Christian Brothers, wrote to the Intermediate Board expressing concern about the "steady and serious diminution of the funds available for distribution by the Board".[3] He pointed out that:

> The average capitation paid on the pupils on the rolls of Irish Intermediate Schools is only £3.15.6d, while in England, Secondary Schools receive a grant of £5 a head for all pupils between the ages of 12 and 18, to which is added a grant from the Local Authority of £2.10.0d or more.

In February 1909, the first of a series of conferences was held between the Joint Consultative Committee of the Headmasters' Association and members of the Intermediate Board to discuss the question of inspection.[4] At this meeting, Fr. A. Murphy, representing the Catholic Headmasters' Association, expressed concern that the amount of the school grant would be reduced as a result of the introduction of inspection. He suggested that the Intermediate Board should ask the government for more money for intermediate education. Surprisingly, Starkie, who was chairman of the meeting and who was shortly to become chairman of the Intermediate Board, was reluctant to make this request to the government. He said

> Every Board in Ireland is asking for more money, there is not the slightest difficulty in asking for it; but this year there is no reasonable prospect of obtaining fresh grants from the government ... there is no use in the Intermediate Board asking for money - we have not got enough support.[5]

The Board did not at that point approach the government for more money, but the heads of schools began to build up pressure for additional financing. In an article in The Catholic Bulletin entitled "The Financial Treatment of Irish Secondary Education" Rev. Paul Cullen, C.M., stated that the Irish system of secondary education was the only one in the United Kingdom "that was not financed by the Treasury for administration, inspection and examination purposes".[6] Later that year, a statement issued on behalf of the joint committee

representing heads of secondary schools in Ireland asked for grants from the exchequer for Irish intermediate education, to cover "the whole cost of administration, inspection and examination".[7] They also asked for an extra grant of £74,000 to be given to Irish intermediate education - this amount being the proportional equivalent of the grant of £657,000 to England and Wales. The Catholic hierarchy echoed this request at its meeting of 21st June 1910 when they passed a resolution stating that

> While the State provides all parts of the U.K. with grants for secondary education out of the Local Taxation Account, further large grants in aid of secondary education are made by the Treasury through the Annual Estimates to England, Scotland and Wales without any equivalent being given to Ireland.[8]

In the House of Commons, John Dillon raised the issue and spoke of the amount of money spent on education in England, where

> in addition to its share of the whisky money, there is a grant on the Estimates of £650,000 a year, a vote which is rapidly increasing. As against this vote, we in Ireland, get not a farthing.[9]

Chief Secretary Birrell was quite sympathetic to the Irish case and stated that

> Ireland ... has one of the strongest cases that it is possible for anyone to make because it simply has not anything - nothing at all,[10]

but he pointed out that the Intermediate Commissioners had made no representations to Parliament that their funds were inadequate and that until such representation was made, the government could not act.[11]

The failure of the Intermediate Board to ask for additional funding has been discussed in Chapter X. During the years 1900 to 1910, the income of the Board had been falling, but the Board had assured the Chief Secretary that they would be in a position to pay for the costs of inspection out of their income. By early 1910, even when it was clear that the Board's income would be considerably reduced as a result

of the fall in the Local Taxation Account, the Board had not yet approached the government for extra funding. Starkie's experience as Resident Commissioner of National Education had taught him that a Board could not hope for increased government aid unless it asked for it, yet there is no evidence that he encouraged the Intermediate Board to approach the government for additional money. Perhaps he was afraid that a request for extra funding for intermediate education might result in a decrease in the parliamentary grant for national education, and that he was not prepared to take this chance. Or perhaps he felt that the Board would not agree on how any additional money should be distributed.

During the series of conferences held between heads of schools and the Intermediate Board between 1909 and 1912, the question of financing was discussed very ably by school management. The reports of these meetings show that the representatives of the heads of schools and in particular, Rev. Andrew Murphy, formerly Headmaster of St. Munchens' College in Limerick and secretary of the Catholic Headmasters' Assocation, had given a great deal of thought to the financing of intermediate education.[12] The representatives of the Intermediate Board were not as impressive. They appeared to be hidebound by the system which they administered and showed little ability to think beyond the limits imposed by this system. Both Judge Craig and Dr. Mahaffy tended to be defensive when the question of additional financing was raised. When Miss Mulvany, principal of Alexandra College, repeated the Chief Secretary's statement that the Intermediate Commissioners had made no representation to Parliament that their funds were inadequate, Judge Craig replied:

> That was not a very honest answer and I will give you the reasons why. We have been constantly representing for a series of years, until we all got sick, sore and sorry, that we wanted a system of inspection introduced; and the constant answer was that we had no money to do it. [13]

Even Dr. Starkie, who was normally more open that the other Commissioners, expressed criticism of Birrell. He said:

> We had taken action indirectly ... Mr. Birrell's answer was not so candid as one would expect from a Cabinet Minister. [14]

However, some time later, Judge Craig admitted that the Intermediate Board had not looked for more money, and said:

> I think the reason the Board did not ask was because in informal conversations and so forth, it was conveyed to certain members of the Board that there was no use in their doing so.[15]

Following the meeting with the heads of schools in February 1909 Starkie indicated that the Intermediate Board would seek additional financing:

> ... there is no disinclination ... to apply for an extra grant; there is no doubt about that, since the grant is decreasing at present and we are all alive to the fact that education is suffering .....[16]

In spite of this statement, no action was taken by the Board to seek additional financing, and a year later, in May 1910, a further lengthy meeting took place between the Joint Committee of heads of schools and the Intermediate Board on the question of finance.[17] In a discussion some time earlier in the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, speaking about English education, had adverted to the

> inconvenience of having the Education Fund depending on a fluctuating revenue, such as the Local Taxation money....

and said that he was prepared to remedy it, as far as England was concerned.[18] In reply to a question from Mr. Boland, M.P., he indicated that he would also look into the matter in the case of Ireland. Under subsequent questioning, he stated that he was contemplating giving to Ireland an equivalent to any new grant given to education in England and Scotland.

The heads of schools were particularly anxious that this opportunity should not be lost to intermediate education, and they felt

> the present was a very favourable opportunity for making an appeal for additional funds for Intermediate education in Ireland. [19]

The case for additional funding was presented by Fr. Murphy who had come to the meeting thoroughly briefed on the funding of secondary education in England, Scotland and Ireland. He pointed out that the local taxation money (paid under the Goschen ratio of 80:11:9) was paid in relief of local taxation in England and Scotland and that in addition to this money, England received annually from the Exchequer a direct grant of £776,740 for secondary education. He argued that the local taxation money in Ireland should be seen as a local contribution and that Ireland was entitled to a pro rata direct Exchequer grant of £70,000 for secondary education in addition to the endowment and the local taxation money. Fr. Murphy had analysed the English education estimates and explained very clearly how he arrived at this figure. He pointed out that in addition to the Exchequer grant for secondary education in England, the costs of administration, examination and inspection were paid for out of a separate Vote for the Board of Education. He argued that Ireland was entitled not only to the whisky money and the income from the Board's investments, but also to a direct grant of £70,000 from the Exchequer plus all administrative, inspection and examination costs. He estimated that such costs could come to £27,000 and pointed out that there was no automatic limit to such costs in England and Scotland. The cross-examination of Fr. Murphy by members of the Board show that Fr. Murphy's knowledge of the funding of the British system was greater than that of any member of the Board. At the beginning of the meeting, Dr. Starkie was somewhat patronising. He stated

> .... in England, they put under the head of secondary education a lot of things we have under the National Board in Ireland.

Fr. Murphy was ready for this and replied, "Yes, and in Scotland, they do the same". When it was pointed out to him that the estimates for England and Scotland did not provide sufficient detail to enable an adequate comparison to be made, he replied:

> In the figures given in the estimates, there is no way of determining how much of the money would be paid for the instruction of pupil teachers; but fortunately, on 1st March this year, Mr. O'Donnell asked a question on this subject in the House of Commons, and the result was that Mr. Runcinan had the money divided up for last year ....

X Runciman

He went on to elaborate and compare figures for the different countries, and before the end of the meeting, Starkie had effectively acknowledged that Fr. Murphy was the expert on government financing of secondary education. Questions from Starkie included:

> Do they get administration money as well?
>
> Is that a proportional grant?
>
> Do Catholic schools in England get grants and submit to inspection?
>
> Do you know whether the schools under control of the local authorities get the same grant per head as other schools?

In most cases, Fr. Murphy was able to give detailed figures to support his reply and showed himself to be more knowledgeable than his interlocutors. He stressed that since he had given the Board plenty of arguments "to support our claim to the £70,000", the Board should make a claim for this amount. He added:

> Our purpose in coming here was not to waste time in talking about the matter: we do not wish to dictate to the Board, and to say this is what we want the Board to do. We came here to say what we think; and when the Board have considered the matter, we want their advice, if they agreed with us, as to the best line of attack, so that we might take a uniform course in the event of the Board agreeing to make a representation to the Government. We urge that a grant of £70,000 should be made to Ireland on the basis of the Treasury grant to England, and also that the cost of administration, inspection and examination should be paid independently out of the estimates. If the Board are prepared to make that proposal to the Government, we will do our level best both with the leaders and with the rank and file in Ireland to back up their claim.

Before closing the meeting, Starkie pointed out to all present that

the proposal put forward by Fr. Murphy introduced a "new principle".

> It means that the Intermediate money is to be put to the Estimates; but there is a certain advantage in not being on the Estimates; once it goes on the Estimates, it is debatable to the same extent as any other item, but we are not afraid of that.

Fr. Murphy agreed that he was aware of the implications of being on the estimates, but stated:

> We know the way the Estimates are rushed through Parliament, and that the Irish Party could not discuss more than one subject in one year.

The meeting ended with what appeared to be the agreement of the Board to make the necessary application to the government. Judge Craig summed up by saying:

> The labouring oar will be with you: and if anything is done, it will be done by the action of the Irish members; but I am sorry to say the action of this Board counts for nothing. I think the request is a reasonable one, and it is part of tactics that you should be in a position to say we are not asking through our members, a sum that has not been asked for by the Board itself; you should be able to point to the request of this Board, and therefore, you want us to start the ball rolling.[20]

The Intermediate Board at its meeting of 6th December 1910 agreed to take action to "start the ball rolling".[21] The chairman, Justice Palles, submitted to the meeting a statement which he proposed should be sent to the government drawing attention to the financial position of the Board and to the effects of "the serious diminution of its income for the present year". The statement pointed out that the Board's income from the Customs and Excise fund had fallen from £71,400 in 1900 to £16,999 in 1910 and that if the rate of decrease continued, it would mean "total extinction" of the fund by 1911. Payments for school grants and bonuses had been maintained at £53,000 per annum in recent years, but because of the drop in the Customs and Excise fund, there would only be £18,200 available in 1910. The Board intended to make up this deficit in 1910 from "a reserve fund which had been accumulated out of surplus income in former years", but they expressed dis-

appointment that an equivalent had not been provided "by the Legislature" from some other source to make up for the revenue they had lost as a result of the fall in the Customs and Excise grant. They also stated that they felt it was undesirable that the reserve fund "should be resorted to except to a limited extent for the purpose of equalising a fluctuating revenue", and they warned the government that they would not resort to such a measure again. The Board was especially concerned that the income from Customs and Excise had fallen at the same time as "additional responsibilities (had been) imposed on the Board by the Legislature" - the "additional responsibilities" being the cost of inspection. The Board warned that unless additional funds were provided for intermediate education

> it will not be possible for the Board to give effect to the provisions of the Irish Univeristy Act of 1908 by which they are empowered to grant exhibitions to students entering the Universities.

The Board's intervention had an immediate effect. During the early months of 1911, the Chief Secretary agreed to "fix" the local taxation grant at the 1909 figure of £46,567 - and this sum was paid out of the Local Taxation fund for intermediate education in the years 1910 to 1922.[22] It must be borne in mind that English education also benefitted from the Local Taxation Fund. When the value of the fund fell in 1910, the government was subjected to considerable pressure by those involved in English education to take steps to protect education grants from the fluctuations inherent in the Local Taxation Fund. The revenue to English education from the fund was fixed during the financial year 1910/11 and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had indicated that he would take similar steps to protect Irish intermediate education.[23] No doubt, the pressure brought by the Intermeidate Board was a factor in the government's decision but it is unlikely that this pressure alone would have achieved the desired result had English education not also been involved. In its annual report for 1911, the Board stated:

> While there is an advantage in being able to calculate on a fixed yearly income from this source, it is to be regretted that the amount should be calculated from the produce of 1909, the smallest of the past decade.[24]

Proposed Scholarship Scheme

In England, a scholarship scheme to enable pupils from Public Elementary Schools to benefit from secondary education had existed since 1902. In 1906, a return published by the Board of Education had shown that 23,000 secondary school pupils were in receipt of either full or partial scholarships. In 1907, supplementary regulations for secondary schools were issued by the Board of Education and these regulations required that 25% of all places in fee-paying secondary schools recognised by the Board should be available free to pupils from Public Elementary Schools who applied "subject to the applicants passing an entrance test of "obtainment and proficiency". This led to a sizeable increase in the number of scholarships available and by 1913, scholarships had increased to 60,000.[25]

During the budget debate in the House of Commons on the estimates for English education, Chief Secretary Birrell indicated that the government was prepared to set apart money for Irish intermediate education to be expended on a scholarship scheme to enable brighter boys to move from primary to secondary and from secondary to university. Birrell said

> The Chancellor of the Exchequer is quite willing this year to set apart a sum of money for Intermediate Education, to be dealt with as the Board of Intermediate Education and as those interested and connection with secondary schools in Ireland, determine. The Headmasters' Association, in association with the Chief Secretary, whoever he may chance to be, set (sic) apart a sum of money which I hope may be the means of settling a scheme for scholarships at the University, at the secondary school, enabling boys to proceed from the primary schools to the secondary schools, so that they may compete for scholarships at the University; and also if the sum advanced is more than necessary for that purpose, it may be used to raise the status of secondary schools, which can only be done, in my opinion, by raising the present status of the teachers in these schools. [26]

In the order of priority set out by the Chief Secretary, scholarships would come first and the question of improved teacher status would arise only if there was surplus money available. The Chief Secretary added:

> I hope that may be the beginning of a period which, when it has had full time for fruition, will create for the first time in Ireland an adequate system of secondary education, because, of course, it must always be borne in mind that in England no school gets a penny unless it has satisfied the requirements of a somewhat rigorous inspection. You must really be able to satisfy people who are experts in these matters that it is really a seat of learning and not a mere cram shop.

Birrell's reference to inspection and examination at this point should be seen in the context of a Committee which had just reported in England on the question of examinations in secondary schools. The report of this committee under the chairmanship of A.H. Dyke Acland had supported the concept of state examination but had warned that the dangers of undue pressure of examinations "are considerable in their possible effect both on pupil and on teacher". The committee had recommended that examinations conducted by external examining bodies "should be brought into intimate connection with inspection".[27]

Shortly after Birrell's speech in the House of Commons, a letter was sent to the Intermediate Board from Dublin Castle, drawing their attention to the Chief Secretary's speech and informing them that the Chief Secretary "has been in correspondence with the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury", and that he had been informed that the Treasury

> will be prepared to give careful consideration to any proposals which he might make on the subject (of scholarships).[28]

The Intermediate Board was asked to submit a scholarship scheme and an estimate of the cost of such a scheme to the government. On 20th September 1911, the Intermediate Board held a joint conference with the National Board on the matter; on 27th September, members of the Intermediate Board met separately with representatives both of the Christian Brothers and of the Association of Secondary Teachers and on 25th October they met with representatives of the heads of schools. At the earlier meetings, there was an open-ended discussion about the extent of the scheme, but at the October meeting, Starkie pointed out

that it was expected that the sum available for scholarships would be £10,000 per annum.[29] He stated:

> As most of you will have noticed, from a speech of Mr.Dillon, the sum available for the purpose of founding scholarships would seem to be £10,000 per year. We have received no official notification of that ... Mr. Dillon states the amount available is £10,000 a year and so it would be desirable to work on that basis ...

The repots of the four conferences regarding the details of the proposed scholarship scheme show that the matter was discussed at considerable length and the views of the different bodies relating to conditions of eligibility, number and amount and duration of scholarships, age of applicants were recorded. Dr. Starkie seemed initially somewhat peeved that the administration of the scheme was to be a matter for the Intermediate and not the National Board. He also expressed reservations about the fact that

> it appears from Mr. Birrell's speech that these scholarships are intended to conduct boys from the primary schools through the intermediate schools to the universities.

He felt that technical institutes or colleges of science should be included in the scheme. He alluded to the fact that

> it would appear to those who have seen various resolutions in the papers that this proposal of Mr. Birrell's really is to take the place of an amendment of the Univeristy Act.

In expressing concern about the proposal to confine the scholarship scheme to pupils interested only in academic areas, Starkie was echoing reservations made two years earlier by the Gaelic League in relation to the scope of the scholarships from primary to secondary school. Pearse had stated in April 1909 that "at least half of our county scholarships should be set aside for young farmers and that a number of them should also be earmarked for future teachers of primary schools".[30] The general council of Irish County Councils also favoured a broader scholarship scheme.[31] They were opposed to a scheme whereby young children "of tender years" would be given scholarships which

would not only enable them to benefit from secondary education but would also guarantee them entry to university.

Following the discussions with the different groups, the Intermediate Board agreed that the scheme should not be limited to university entrance, and wrote to the government suggesting that a more extensive scheme be approved. In the Board's annual report of 1911, they described the outcome as follows:

> .... the Board understood that it was the desire of the Chief Secretary that the scheme should be designed solely for the purpose of completing the University scheme, and that it be drawn up accordingly. The Board did not approve of this limitation and suggested the extension of the scheme so as to provide increased facilities for agriculture and technical training and to allow the poor man's son to take advantage of these facilities either in advanced primary or at trade, preparatory, technical or agricultural schools. The Treasury refused to give sanction to such a scheme and nothing further was heard of the matter. [32]

The scholarship scheme was shelved and the government began to consider the possibility of using the additional money, which had been promised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to improve the salaries of intermediate school teachers.

Teachers' Salaries Grant

The salaries of intermediate school teachers had been found by Dale and Stephens in 1905 to be very unsatisfactory. In the year 1903, the average salary paid to assistant masters was £82.6.7 and that paid to assistant mistresses was £48.2.7.[33] The average salary of a trained national school teacher with three years' service during the same period was £63.4.9 for men and £50.13.3 for women.[34] Dale and Stephens had found that "no Irish graduate, save in exceptional cases, will enter the teaching profession if any other career presents itself to him".[35] They had also stated that

> not only (is there) no profession of Intermediate teachers in Ireland, but the conditions necessary for the establishment of such a profession, do not exist. [36]

They had contrasted the situation of the intermediate teachers with the national teachers and found that in the case of intermediate teachers

(1) There was no standard of qualifications

(2) There was no satisfactory provision for training and very few Irish intermediate teachers were registered (i.e. on the English register)

(3) If a teacher were trained and registered, he would not secure any special recognition

(4) Such statistics as were available with regard to salary disclosed a "lamentable standard of remuneration". [37]

In 1909, the Association of Secondary Teachers (Ireland) had been set up and they immediately set out to improve the status and salary of intermediate school teachers.[38] In June 1910, the Catholic hierarchy passed a resolution calling for additional funds

> to enable the Board of Intermediate Education to meet, inter alia, the reasonable demands of lay teachers in the secondary schools of Ireland.

The (Protestant) Schoolmasters' Association felt that

> the possible cost of (a) providing for an increase in Teachers' salaries and (b) providing a Pension Fund should be inquired into before embarking upon the question of scholarships. [39]

The Catholic headmasters were ambivalent on the matter. They were opposed to any efforts being made by the Intermediate Board to find out what salaries were being paid to assistant teachers in their schools. In December 1909, Fr. Murphy, speaking on behalf of the Catholic Headmasters' Association, told the Intermediate Board that

> When we come to the question of salaries paid to teachers, it appears to be going very far to ask what are the arrangements which the Bishop, in pursuance of his own functions, in a diocesan ecclesiastical institution, has made as to salary and living accommodation for the priests he puts into seminaries, it seems to me to be going exceedingly far. 40

Starkie was anxious that this information be available to the Board as he felt that it would strengthen the Board's case for additional financing. He explained this to the headmasters.

> Suppose we were going to represent to the government the need of a larger endowment for secondary education, the most essential information would be that touching the payment to the teachers. What means would there be of extracting more money from the government except by representing that the salaries paid to the teachers were insufficient. 41

Judge Craig tried to reassure the Catholic headmasters that this information was being sought, not as a means of criticising the Catholic schools for paying inadequate salaries to their lay teachers, but to enable the Board to introduce measures to improve these salaries. He said:

> I am satisfied that there is not a member of the Board who does not wish to see the Intermediate Schools prosper, and the Intermediate masters and assistant-masters in a better position 42

The agreed statement issued at the end of the meeting made it clear that the Catholic and Protestant heads of schools differed on the question of whether information on teachers' salaries and qualifications should be given to the Intermediate Board. The statement read:

> The demand for the qualifications and salaries of the assistant teachers introduces for the first time in the history of Intermediate Education in Ireland a religious difference between Catholics and Protestants. With regard to these two points the interests of the two sections are separate and distinct.

The Catholic headmasters regarded the request of the Intermediate Board for this information as an invasion of the autonomy of their schools.

They felt it was

> an undue encroachment on the authority of the Bishop of a diocese for any public body to interfere with whatever arrangements he may make with the priests assigned by him to his Seminary,

and they threatened that

> any attempt at State control in this direction would compel the Bishop to withdraw from the Intermediate system.

Their main concern seemed to be that if they conceded on this matter they might gradually lose their standing as autonomous institutions. While this might not create a major problem under the Intermediate Board, the Catholic headmasters foresaw a situation where the control of Irish education could shortly be taken from the Boards. They stated:

> The democratic tendencies of the times must be considered. By any such surrender of liberty as is involved in the present requirements of the Board, Catholic schools cannot but weaken their position if they are compelled to defend themselves against the encroachments of a popular elective body that may possibly succeed the Board.[43]

The refusal of the Catholic headmasters to give information on the salaries of their staff and in general to co-operate on the question of teachers' salaries resulted in a delay of over three years in getting additional government financing for intermediate education.

In 1910 and 1911, the issue of teachers' salaries was temporarily shelved while the question of scholarships was discussed. But by the end of 1911, it was clear that settlement would not be reached on the scholarship question and teachers' salaries became a matter of priority. On 19th January 1912 members of the Intermediate Board met representatives of the assistant teachers to discuss the question of registration of teachers, the setting up of a pension scheme, the matter of security of tenure and the question of salaries.[44] The assistant teachers presented a well-documented case to the Board which set out the proposals under each of these headings. They proposed that a register of qualified secondary teachers be set up and that the teachers on this

register should receive a minimum salary of £100 per annum from the school and an annual increment of £10 from the Board "if their work is considered satisfactory by recognised Inspectors" till their salary reached a maximum of £300.

Starkie, who by now was Chairman of the Board, made it clear that the Board was not in a position "at present" to pay increments of salaries.[45] Its funds were inadequate and its powers were limited by Act of Parliament. He pointed out that if extra funds were given by the government "any conditions which the government pleased might be attached to these extra funds". He also pointed out that

> Any additional money for the Intermediate Board must be placed on the estimates. If the Government give us £80,000, it would be on the estimates, possibly in Mr. Lloyd-George's Finance Bill .... Considering the possibilities of the situation, it is very unlikely you will get £100,000 this year. I was talking to a representative of the Treasury only yesterday, and he said that the Treasury had not heard anything about it. He said Mr. Lloyd-George was away, and so far as he was aware, had heard nothing about it either. It seems to me extremely unlikely you will get any sum like £100,000 this year.

The question of whether the government would again propose a grant for scholarships was raised by one of the teachers. He feared that priority would be given to the matter of scholarships and that teachers' salaries would take second place. Dr. Starkie replied:

> ... I don't know whether there will be any money in the estimates at all; I don't know whether the scholarships are going to be conceded, or whether you are going to get an equivalent grant or not. I think that, assuming that everything goes right, there is still the question of whether £10,000 a year (the figure which has been stated in the newspapers) will be put in the Finance Bill as belonging to this Board, or whether it will be put down in the estimates of the National Board. With regard to this other money – the equivalent grant – I suppose it will be put down in the Finance Bill.

The equivalent grant referred to was a sum equivalent to the English £650,000 which had been mentioned by Birrell in parliament in 1911. On

the basis of the Goschen ratio, Ireland would be entitled to an equivalent grant for intermediate education of over £73,000. But, as Starkie pointed out, neither the government nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promised any such grant to Irish Intermediate education.

The report of this and subsequent conferences, indicated that there was very little communication between the Intermediate Board and the Irish executive in Dublin Castle. Starkie was openly critical of the government and he stated that educational planning was being carried out "in a patchwork way". He stated:

> Everything in this country is treated in a patchwork way. Nothing is given without political pressure. Pressure is applied here, there and everywhere, according to the wishes of stray politicians. The real requirements of education are mostly ignored. [46]

During the subsequent conference with the heads of schools, Dr. Starkie again reminded those present that there was still a great deal of uncertainty about any extra money. He said:

> The only thing I can tell you is that the Treasury representative in Ireland told me the Treasury knew nothing about this grant. [47]

Fr. Pembroke asserted, "They will never go back on the promise for 1912", whereupon Dr. Starkie replied, "You can never gauge the capacity of a Minister for going back upon his statements". Starkie advised the assistant teachers and the heads of schools that their best hope of getting additional money for intermediate education was to get together and to agree a basis on which additional money should be distributed and then to present the scheme to the Chief Secretary. He told both groups that Mr. Birrell was anxious to meet them as soon as possible. One of the headmasters urged that as the next financial year started on 1st April, they should come to a settlement before then:

> If we don't get it settled in March, we shall get nothing. We should strain every nerve to get that money. They have solemnly promised it.

Dr. Starkie replied, "I was told the Treasury knew nothing about it". Fr. Pembroke, "Mr. Lloyd-George promised it". Dr. Starkie, "He is away golfing in the South of France at present. It would take years to get an answer from him."

Starkie's advice to the headmasters and teachers was sound – it was essential that there should be unity between employer and employee in relation to the distribution of any additional grant.

Starkie's suspicion of the government at this point should be seen in the context of the attitude of the National Board to the Irish executive in 1912. This was the period during which the National Board was in correspondence with the Chief Secretary and the Prime Minister regarding the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill.[48] In August 1912, the National Board had issued a statement to the newspapers condemning the provisions of the Bill and Starkie had also criticised the government's attitude to the financing of national education in a speech which he made in Cork the same month.

But there appears to have been no justification for Starkie's lack of confidence in the government on the question of intermediate education. On 31st July 1912, Birrell made a statement in the House of Commons indicating that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had agreed that a sum of £40,000 would be made available towards the payment of salaries to teachers in intermediate schools.[49] The Chief Secretary stated that

> Of course there are conditions which I should certainly insist upon and which must be taken as part and parcel of the scheme.

He outlined the conditions as follows:

> Each boys' school is to have not less than one registered lay assistant teacher at a minimum salary of £120 per year for each 40 pupils on the roll and each girls' school is to have not less than one lay assistant teacher at a minimum salary of £80 per year for the same number of pupils on the roll.

Lay assistants should also be entitled to six months' notice or six

months' salary in the case of dismissal. The third point to which Birrell "attacked great importance" was the setting up of a register of teachers. He felt that "that is the only way in which you will raise the profession up and give it any degree of status". Birrell emphasised that the new grant would be used only to pay salaries to lay (not religious) teachers. He stated:

> .... I am considering raising the status of the lay teacher. The status of the clergyman – the status of the man in religious orders – does not need to be raised. He has his status by virtue of the dedicating of his life to religious purposes.

This proposal, in retrospect, was a discriminatory one and would be more damaging to Catholic schools, where a large proportion of the staff were religious, than to Protestant schools. Over 85% of the women employed in Catholic schools were nuns and assuming that all the "clerical men" employed were Catholics, over 55% of the males in Catholic schools were clergymen.[50] In effect the, the new grant, if distributed as planned, would benefit almost 100% of the teachers in Protestant schools, while it would benefit only 30% of the teachers in Catholic schools.

Catholic Hierarchy's attitude to provisions of Government of Ireland Act in relation to Intermediate Schools

At this point, it is of relevance to advert to the concern expressed by Cardinal Logue regarding the effect on Intermediate Education of the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act (1912). Logue's approach to Senior Counsel, James Murnaghan, on the implications of the Bill for denominational education has been mentioned in Chapter XI. Logue was particularly anxious to ensure that no section of the Bill would diminish the control of the Church over Irish education.[51] The denominational character of both Intermediate schools and Training Colleges had effectively been conceded by the government in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the Catholic Church was determined to ensure that any legislation passed by the government would consolidate rather than undermine the role of the church in these areas. Among the questions posed by Logue to Murnaghan were questions which sought reassurance on these issues; e.g.

> Did the clause (Clause 3 of the Bill) impose any fresh restrictions on intermediate schools? Would they be "less denominational then before? Would the status of secondary schools be affected "in the direction of secularisation"?

Murnaghan's reply to Logue was reassuring on all of these points. He was of the opinion that rather than diminish the power of the Catholic authorities in education, the clause in question would strengthen their position in certain respects. He specifically mentioned that the proposal which had recently been made by Birrell to allocate a grant of £40,000 for salaries for lay teachers in intermediate schools could not be enacted under the Government of Ireland Bill as it would discriminate against members of religious orders who were teaching in intermediate schools.

This advice may well explain why the Catholic headmasters were prepared to forfeit the additional money for intermediate education, as they did, by engaging in a prolonged correspondence with Birrell in 1913 and 1914 on the conditions under which the grant would be paid. It may be that the Catholic hierarchy felt that by delaying the payment of the Teachers' Salaries Grant until after the Government of Ireland Act would become law, as was expected, in 1914, they would ensure that members of religious orders would also benefit from the additional money. In the next section the proposals put forward by Birrell in relation to the Grant and the controversy surrounding them will be analysed.

Controversy over payment of Teachers' Salaries Grant, 1913-1914

In September, a draft scheme for the distribution of the new grant of £40,000 was published in the newspapers.[52] This scheme set out the conditions under which the grant would be distributed. As there was not yet a register of teachers, the question of making payment of the grant directly to teachers did not arise and it was made clear that the money would be paid to schools which complied with the conditions "in proportion to the amount received by the said schools under the Intermediate Education Acts in the preceding year". In other words, the grant would be paid in the same proportion as the school grant (i.e. the results fees) to schools which complied with

the conditions. These conditions were basically the same as those announced by the Chief Secretary in parliament in July – each boys' school should have not less than one registered lay assistant teacher for each 40 pupils on the rolls, and each lay teacher should be paid a minimum salary of £120. Each girls' school should have a similar proportion of lay assistant teachers at a minimum salary of £80.

There was immediate opposition to this proposal from the Catholic Headmasters' Association and the committee representing convent schools and on 12th September, they issued a joint statement to the press objecting strongly to any rule which would require schools to employ a prescribed number of lay teachers.[53] Fr. Murphy, in his capacity as editor of the Irish Educational Review, was opposed to any attempt by the government to decide what proportion of lay teachers should be employed in a school owned by religious, and he claimed that any such attempt

> involves the claim to seize the schools built and maintained by the Bishops and Religious Orders for the Catholic people of Ireland, and turn them into Government schools. We are unable to see that such a claim differs from the claim of the governments of France and Portugal to the right of forcible confiscation.[54]

In December 1912, Fr. Murphy, accompanied by Fr. Nolan, provincial of the Jesuits in Ireland, Fr. Brennan, headmaster of Blackrock College, and John Redmond, M.P., had a meeting with Birrell in the House of Commons and informed him of their objections to the proposed scheme.[55] They were not prepared to accept the government's stipulation that each school which would benefit from the new grant should employ any given number of lay assistant teachers. They were prepared to concede to a requirement that each school should have a minimum number of registered teachers and that lay teachers should be paid a specified minimum salary but not that every school should be required to employ a required number of lay teachers. Birrell, on the other hand, pointed out that the grant was intended to improve the status of lay teachers. He wrote

> ... this grant was provisionally promised, not generally for the benefit of secondary education, and in order to reduce any supposed disproportion between Irish and Scottish grants for that purpose,

> but to raise the status of lay secondary teachers in Ireland; and unless I am in a position to satisfy the Treasury that the scheme for the distribution of the grant secures that purpose, I shall not obtain it at all. [56]

The controversy on the question of the grant, continued between Fr. Murphy, acting for the Catholic headmasters, and Birrell, from December 1912 to June 1913 without reaching any solution. The Catholic headmasters maintained that

> to demand a certain number of lay teachers in each school in proportion to the number of pupils, as a condition of an important grant, is to upset the necessary freedom of the schools. [57]

Birrell, on the other hand, was adamant that his only chance of getting the grant was to set conditions which would "raise the status and improve the position of lay teachers in Irish secondary schools". In this regard he stated:

> From the very first I have made it as plain as language could that I obtained the conditional promise of this grant from the Treasury solely for the purpose of raising the status and improving the condition of lay secondary teachers in Ireland. I had no other basis of negotiations with you than this; and although, of course, I knew very well that you did not approve of the conditions and thought that all teachers, cleric and lay, ought to share in the bounty, I thought that you had accepted the situation, and that our subsequent negotiations were to proceed on the footing that the benefits of the grant were to be confined to lay teachers. [58]

As the correspondence developed, it became clear that the Catholic headmasters were not prepared to make any concessions to Birrell on the conditions of the grant.

During 1913 Murphy wrote an article in the Irish Educational Review in which he alleged that the proposed scheme was "secularist". He claimed that under Birrell's proposal "outsiders, merely because they are lay people" would have the right "to thrust themselves into the schools" and would require "the dismissal of religious teachers to make room for them".[59] By April 1913 the negotiations had become

deadlocked. Birrell was adamant that

> the object of the proposed grant is to raise the salaries and position of secondary teachers and not to increase the endowments of the schools

and he held that the grant "must be necessarily inapplicable to clerical teachers". Canon Murphy was equally adamant that the Catholic headmasters could not accept a scheme which would require them to employ a minimum number of lay teachers in their schools. He blamed the Treasury for imposing unacceptable conditions on the allocation of the grant, and stated:

> The Treasury in aiming at a very desirable improvement in the position of lay secondary teachers, for the first time in the history of intermediate education in Ireland, attached to a grant conditions involving a principle which in the case of Catholic schools is irreconcilable with their fundamental liberty in the selection of the best teacher for each vacancy as it arises. [60]

Murphy was not accurate in blaming the Treasury for imposing this condition. It was Birrell and his parliamentary colleagues who had originally attached the condition of employing a minimum number of lay teachers to the allocation of the grant. The Treasury had not yet been approached about the details of the grant and were not in fact involved in the matter until Birrell finally capitulated to the demands of the headmasters in summer 1914.

As a result of the failure to reach agreement on the conditions of the grant, no additional money was made available for intermediate education for the financial years 1912/13 or 1913/14. The additional sum of £40,000 promised by the government in 1912 could not be distributed until an acceptable scheme was agreed. The total income of the Board in 1912 and 1913 was £84,998 and £84,121 respectively and the grant to schools in the years 1910 to 1913 had not increased significantly as the following figures show:[61]

TABLE 12.1

Amount paid as School Grant and in Exhibitions, Prizes to Intermediate School Pupils, 1910 to 1913

Year	School Grant	Exhibitions and Prizes
	£	£
1910	47,927	6,937
1911	48,024	6,726
1912	51,757	6,770
1913	52,113	6,414

Proposals to Modify the System of Payment by Results

In its annual report for 1912, the Board had openly condemned the system of payment by results in intermediate schools and suggested a radical reform of the system, based on the recommendations of Dale and Stephens seven years earlier. They recommended that

> The school grant should be a capitation grant, paid to schools which satisfy the required conditions, on all pupils between the ages of 12 and 19 years, who have been in regular attendance during the year. 62

They then suggested the conditions under which this grant should be paid:

(1) The schools should be certified as efficient by the Inspectors of the Board

(2) A "reasonable proportion" of the pupils should pass the certificate examinations

(3) The teachers should possess qualifications "to be approved by the Board".

The proposal differentiated between the amount of the grant paid to pupils under 16 years of age and those aged between 16 and 19. Moreover it suggested that a bonus grant might be paid to schools of more than average efficiency

> shown either by a high proportion of passes in the certificate examinations or by a high proportion of successes in the honours examinations.

Steps taken by Birrell some months later indicated that the government agreed with the Board on the desirability of abolishing payment by results. In January 1913 Birrell introduced a Bill which would enable the Board to abolish the pass examination altogether and to distribute its grants on the basis partly of inspection and partly of honours examinations. Under the provisions of the Bill

> The Board need no longer hold examinations other than examinations of students competing for exhibitions and prizes.

The Board would also have power to provide for the payment to managers of fees dependent

> (a) on the results of inspection of schools; or
>
> (b) partly on the results of such inspection and partly on the results of honour examinations.[63]

Had this Bill been carried, the era of payment by results as it had existed up to then could well have been at an end. But according to the annual report of the Board "this Bill provoked opposition",[64] and it was withdrawn and replaced by another Bill which was passed in August 1913. The new Act empowered the Board to pay fees to managers of schools on the results of inspection of pupils aged between 12 and 14. Under the terms of this Act, the preparatory grade examination was abolished and the school grant for younger pupils was computed on the basis of inspection instead of examination. The amount of the grant distributed under this act could not exceed 1/6th of the total amount available in any year for the payment of fees. During the school year 1913/14, the Board paid £8,012 to school managers on the results of inspection according to the terms of the Act.[66] Also as a result of the Act, permission was given to increase the number of inspectors from 6 to 8.[67]

But this Act did nothing to improve the income of the Board which in 1913 was 30% less in current prices than its income ten

years earlier. In the annual report for 1913, the Board "called attention to the diminution of income in late years". It stated

> The Board are strongly of opinion that more money is urgently needed. The money allotted at present is totally inadequate to relieve the schools from the financial difficulties under which many of them are struggling. [68]

The Board also drew attention to the large increase in the number of students entering for examinations. In 1900 the number had been 8,287 - in 1912 it was 13,858. The statement continued:

> Thus while the number of pupils in the schools with whom the Board are concerned has increased by more than 50%, and notwithstanding the fact that the expense of an inspection system has been added to the responsibilities of the Board, the income with which to meet these increasing claims has suffered a very serious diminution. [69]

Correspondence between Chief Secretary and Treasury re Teachers' Salaries Grant

In summer 1914, a compromise was finally reached on the teachers' salaries grant of £40,000 which seemed to satisfy both the Chief Secretary and the headmasters. In August, an Act was passed "to amend the Law relating to Intermediate Education and for other purposes connected therewith".[70] The Act, passed on 10th August 1914, dealt with two matters:

1. It empowered the Lord Lieutenant to constitute a Registration Council to frame, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, regulations for a register of the intermediate school teachers in Ireland.

2. It provided that

> there shall be paid to the Board in each year out of moneys provided by Parliament, a sum not exceeding £40,000 and an amount equivalent to the sum so paid (in the Act referred to as the Teachers' Salaries Grant) shall be applied by the Board in manner provided by rules made by the Lord Lieutenant under the Act and approved by the Treasury.

In outlining the scheme to the House of Commons on the second reading of the Bill in August 1914, Birrell said:

> Under the provisions of the Bill £40,000 a year is to be set aside as the Teachers' Salaries Grant. It is to go to teachers and to no one but teachers. We propose to provide that money and that it should go to the lay teachers who are there in the schools in the proportion of one in 40 pupils. The money does not get direct to the teacher but it goes to the school and only if in a particular school there is a lay teachers for every 40 pupils on the roll. [71]

As presented in this way, the provisions of the Bill did not appear to be in any way different to the scheme which had been rejected so strongly by the Catholic headmasters in 1912.

The act was passed in August and in September, the sum of £40,000 was lodged to the credit of the Intermediate Board. Under the terms of the act, the rules for the distribution of the grant had to be drawn by the Lord Lieutenant and "approved by the Treasury".[72] This was the first time in the history of Intermediate education that rules for distributing funds were made in the Chief Secretary's office and not by the Intermediate Board. Since his appointment as Chief Secretary in 1907, Birrell had openly declared his lack of confidence in both the National and the Intermediate Boards.[73] By requiring that the rules for the distribution of the teachers' salaries grant be drawn up in his own office, Birrell was taking steps to reduce the power of the Intermediate Board in this new area.

By the end of November, a set of rules for the distribution of the teachers salaries' grant had been drawn up in DublinCastle. In spite of Birrell's assurances to parliament in August of that year, the rules did not require that in any school benefitting from the grant there would be "a lay teacher for every 40 pupils on rolls". Instead, the scheme proposed that the schools participating in the grant be divided into two groups, (1) those under Roman Catholic management, and (2) those not under Roman Catholic management.[74] Each group of schools had to satisfy the conditions of the scheme, i.e. that the total schools in the group should employ lay teachers in the proportion of one to forty pupils. This proposal satisfied the stipulation

of the Catholic headmasters' association that no individual school would be required to employ any given number of lay teachers.

The scheme proposed that the additional grant be distributed to the eligible schools in the same proportion as the school grant was being distributed. Not only did the new grant do nothing to discourage the system of "payment by results" - it used the examination results of the pupils as a yardstick for distributing the additional grant.

Birrell had yet to obtain Treasury approval for his scheme. On 20th November, he submitted his draft scheme to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and on 1st December it was sent to the Treasury for sanction.[75]

The Treasury immediately objected to the scheme.[76] They observed that under the proposed rules the Intermediate Board would distribute the new grant amongst the managers of intermediate schools "rateably in proportion to the results fees paid to them respectively without any further conditions". If distributed in this manner they stated that the grant "would amount to nothing more than" an increase of up to £40,000 a year in the school grant at present payable and would not necessarily in any way promote the "employment upon reasonable terms of an adequate number of duly qualified lay teachers which is accurately stated in Rule 3 to be its object". They stated that the scheme was not satisfactory and that it was "clearly inconsistent with the intention of the scheme" which had been presented in parliament by the Chief Secretary.

They reminded Birrell that he had assured the Treasury before the 1914 Act was passed that "it was intended that the grant should be administered in accordance with the original scheme" and they quoted Birrell's speech in the House of Commons in which he had stated that the money would go only to schools "where there is a lay teacher for every 40 pupils on the roll". They were adamant that the Rules

> should formulate the condition ... which must be fulfilled by each school which desires to qualify for the new grant. These conditions should provide for

(a) the employment at that school of a proper proportion of qualified lay teachers, and

(b) the payment of these teachers of a reasonable salary.

They also stated that as the estimate was voted by parliament as a grant towards the salaries of teachers

> the Rule must provide accordingly for proper security to be obtained from managers that the grant has been applied to this object. In addition a maximum should be paid for the grant to any schools and this maximum should in their Lordships' opinion be a definite proportion, say one half of the actual cost of the salaries paid to the qualified lay teachers employed in the school.

The Treasury repeated its refusal to sanction the rules. They suggested that the Intermediate Board should be involved in drafting a set of revised rules:

> My Lords would be glad if His Excellency would reconsider the draft rules on these lines and in their opinion the details might with advantage be arranged in consultation with the Board of Intermediate Education with whom will rest the future administration of the Vote.

They pointed out that the revised rules should be submitted quickly to enable the rules to be approved before the end of the financial year:

> ... as the current year's estimate was not voted as a grant-in-aid, unless the revised rules can be approved by Their Lordships and receive Parliamentary sanction in time to allow the payment of grant where the conditions are satisfied before 31 March next, the whole of the Vote will be liable to be surrendered to the Exchequer.

In its letter, the Treasury pointed out that the proposed rules did not define the term "lay teacher" and observed that the term "requires to be defined". But in spite of this advice, Birrell took no action to define the term in the bill. It was afterwards believed that this lack of definition was an oversight on the government's part but the Treasury letter of 21st December makes it clear that this was not so. Birrell obviously wanted to retain for himself the power to

decide who could be classified as a lay teacher, and during the years 1915 to 1922 many members of religious orders teaching in schools under Catholic management were described as "lay teachers".[77] This led to conflict between the A.S.T.I. and the Catholic managers and at one stage the A.S.T.I. sought legal advice on the interpretation of the term "lay teacher". They were advised that

> the Association has no legal redress for the failure of the Catholic group to obey the Rules, and the only course open is for the Lord Lieutenant to use his power to alter the Rules.[78]

But the Chief Secretary did not want to change the rules. Their ambiguity gave him a degree of flexibility in handling the Catholic teachers - a flexibility he would require to retain the goodwill of the powerful Catholic headmasters' Association.

The Treasury letter of 21st December clearly indicated that the Chief Secretary had been less than honest in his dealings with the Treasury and with parliament. He had obtained a commitment from the Chancellor that a grant of £40,000 would be made available for teachers' salaries. He had then presented to parliament a Bill which had stated that the money would be used "to improve the status of lay teachers" but the Bill did not include the detailed rules under which the money would be distributed - it merely stated that the rules would be drawn up by the Lord Lieutenant with the approval of the Treasury. The bill had been passed and the money was therefore committed to Irish intermediate education but Birrell knew that the rules would have to be acceptable to the headmasters. They also had to be acceptable to the Treasury Lords who were adamant that the rules had to be consistent with the purpose for which parliament had voted the money.

Despite the evidence to the contrary, Birrell maintained that the rules were consistent with the outline scheme which he had presented to parliament. In a reply of 4th January 1915 to the Treasury, the Under-Secretary claimed that the Chief Secretary's speech to Commons had been misquoted and he refused to redraft the Rules for the distribution of the grant.[79]

In its reply of 18th January, the Treasury was unrepentant. They

pointed out that the grant was originally promised "solely for the purpose of raising the status and improving the condition of the lay secondary teachers". They stated that the quotation given in their earlier letter "which His Excellency sees fit to question is in accord with the daily report of Hansard". They reiterated their earlier statements that the grant should benefit only lay teachers and added

> ... My Lords can see no groun on which educational institutions which either do not employ lay teachers at all or do not employ them on satisfactory conditions can claim any right to participate in this grant.

They refused to "concede to His Excellency's request that they should accept the Rules" and again asked that the Rules be re-drafted.

The Chief Secretary replied immediately to this letter and came up with a clever proposal to end the deadlock.[80] He asked that the rules be regarded as tentative and pointed out that there was

> an absence of complete and trustworthy information as to the actual numbers, salaries and terms of employment of lay teachers in secondary schools.

It had not been possible to procure such information before, but when the information was procured "by the Intermediate Education Board under the powers conferred on them for the first time by these rules" the Chief Secretary would be ready to consider any revision of the rules which "in the light of that information may commend itself to their Lordships".

This proposal was accepted by the Treasury who stated in their reply of 27th January 1915

> My Lords have no desire to prevent the due payment of the grant so long as it is applied for the purpose for which it was voted by Parliament. On the understanding that His Excellency is satisfied that this object will be attained so far as at present practicable under his proposals, my Lords are prepared to approve the Rules.[81]

The Treasury approval referred only to the Rules for 1914/15 and they

pointed out that

> no payment should be made on account for 1915/16 until they have had an opportunity of considering the report to be made by the Board of Intermediate Education under Rule (5).

They specified that the report from the Board should show

> in respect of each school sharing in the grant the number of pupils, the number of duly qualified lay teachers, the amount of the salaries paid to these teachers and the amount of the grant received by the school.

The teachers' salaries grant of £40,000 was accounted for separately from 1914 to 1922. A separate report on this grant was prepared by the Intermediate Board every year and was presented to parliament as a command paper.

In spite of the Treasury requirement that these rules would be operative only for 1914/15, the rules remained substantively unchanged until 1922. The Treasury did indeed make efforts to have the rules made more specific during these years. In 1917 when an additional grant became available the Treasury stated

> .. they trust that in consideration of this additional grant, steps will be taken to put the distribution of the Teachers' Salaries Grant on a more satisfactory basis. [82]

Again in November 1918, they insisted that some amendments be made in the rules, but although accepting the small changes made, the Treasury could not regard the revised rules "as entirely fulfilling the purpose for which the Teachers' Salaries Grant was intended".[83] In January 1921, the Treasury again tried to have the rules amended but they were "reluctantly compelled to admit that the present time was not the most propitious for the revision of the Rules of 1915..."[84] They agreed that distribution of the fund "next Spring" should be allowed to proceed under the existing rules, but they warned that

> They would feel bound to press for a revision of the Rules in the event of the matter not passing under the control of the new Irish Government at an early date.

The rules under which the teachers' salaries grant were paid were simply an extension of the system of payment by results. The grant was paid to schools which were already in receipt of a school grant (i.e. results fees plus the inspection grant which had superseded the fees for preparatory grade) in the proportion in which these grants were paid. In a year in which the school grant was £43,000 and the inspection grant was £8,000, the teachers' salaries grant of £40,000 was allocated so that about £34,000 was distributed upon the results of examinations and remaining £6,000 on a capitation basis.[85] The title "Teachers' Salaries Grant" was really a misnomer as the grant was paid directly to the manager and not to the teachers.

The correspondence between the Chief Secretary and the Treasury on the Teachers' Salaries Grant shows that the power of the Treasury in relation to a grant which had already been sanctioned by parliament was relatively limited. Birrell's approach to the question of additional grants indicates that he was well aware of this. He had secured parliamentary approval for the national teachers' salaries grant in 1914 before he approached the Treasury with details of these grants. Although in the latter case his detailed scheme was substantively different to the scheme for which he had got parliamentary approval, he finally succeeded in getting Treasury sanction for the scheme.

Birrell had been subject to conflicting pressures in relation to this grant - pressures from lay teachers, Catholic headmasters and the Treasury. But he handled these conflicting pressures with tact and diplomacy. Instead of clashing directly with the interested parties, Birrell found verbal compromises to overcome their objections and finally he succeeded in putting into operation a scheme that was reasonably acceptable to all parties without appearing to concede absolutely to any one party. In effect, the new scheme was a concession to the Catholic headmasters who had insisted that the government could not require them to employ any stated number of lay teachers. On the other hand, it required that duly qualified lay teachers employed in the schools in receipt of the grant, had to be paid a minimum salary

of £140 (boys' schools) and £90 (girls' schools). The outcome of this controversy showed that the Treasury did indeed have a master. Seven years earlier, Pearse had asked:

> Has the Treasury no master? Does the British Constitution recognise within the state a power which is supreme alike over the Ministry, Parliament and people of Great Britain and Ireland? [86]

Pearse believed that Birrell could solve some of the problems of Irish education "by a whisper in the ear of the Treasury" and he believed that the Lords of the Treasury were "men open to be convinced by the sweet persuasiveness and, as we are still willing to believe, honesty and earnestness of purpose of the Chief Secretary of Ireland".[87]

This correspondence showed that Pearse had over-estimated both the humanity of the Lords of the Treasury and the honesty of Birrell. But he had under-estimated the political acumen of Birrell whose astuteness in dealing with the Treasury had ensured that the grant of £40,000 could be distributed to Irish intermediate schools. The grant brought a considerable improvement in the number of "duly qualified" lay teachers employed in intermediate schools, particularly those under Catholic management. The following table shows the number of qualified and unqualified teachers in the years 1915 to 1918.[88]

TABLE 14.2

No. of Qualified and Unqualified Lay Teachers in Intermediate Schools 1915 to 1918.

Year	Number of duly qualified lay teachers in schools			Number of lay teachers not duly qualified in schools		
	Under R.C. Management	Not under R.C. Management	Total	Under R.C. Management	Not under R.C.Management	Total
1915	46	237	283	414	416	830
1916	125	273	398	329	415	744
1917	164	295	459	288	420	708
1918	264	370	634	238	401	639

Contrary to popular opinion, school managers were not required to distribute the teachers' salaries grant among lay teachers - they were

free to spend the grant as they wished. In 1915, it was estimated that £23,000 of the teachers' salaries grant would go to the superiors of religious schools.[89] When the report on the grant for 1915 was published, it was found that the group of schools under Catholic management had not satisfied the conditions of the grant, yet the grant was paid to these schools and no changes were made in the rules for subsequent years. In 1918, it was shown that the schools under Catholic management had in the years 1915 to 1918 employed 50% less than the proper quota of lay teachers required under the conditions of the 1914 Act, yet these schools were given their full share of the grant.[90] Birrell was obviously not prepared to confront the Catholic managers again and the Catholic schools continued to receive the grant despite their non-compliance with the necessary conditions. Many schools which did not employ any lay teachers at all shared in the grant.[91] The government obviously decided to adopt the attitude that the problem of inadequate salaries for lay teachers was solved once a rule had been framed to overcome it. This approach was criticised by a member of the National Board, Major Dease, when he wrote in 1917 as follows:[92]

> When regulations are drafted and printed by a body of officials, the work of these gentlemen is in their own eyes complete; the possibility of their rules being disobeyed or inappropriate or impracticable does not enter into their reckoning, and nothing short of serious trouble will open official eyes to the fact that anything is wrong. Discontent, incongruity and incompetence may suffer officially unnoticed for years because the machine is far too large and unwiedly to risk upsetting for anything but a grave defect, yet the pretence that such things do not exist will not remove them - least of all in Ireland.

Summary

During the years 1910 to 1917 there was little growth in the intermediate school system. The number of students who presented for examination stabilised at about 12,000 and the annual income available to the Board was about £85,000, excluding the teachers' salaries grant. There had been little change in the system of distributing the grant; examination results were still the main criterion for allocating funds to schools, apart from capitation grants based on inspection for pupils

in preparatory grades. Despite the growing condemnation of payment by results, no action had been taken by 1917 to abolish this system In its annual report for 1916, the Intermediate Board called for a complete reconstruction of the system of intermediate education in Ireland.[93] It criticised payment by results which was still "the sole criterion of educational efficiency" in Irish secondary schools and which"attempts to force all schools into the same mould by making all submit to the same regulations and bringing them into undue competition with one another", proposed that instead of paying the school grant on the basis of examination results, it should be paid as a capitation grant, to schools which would satisfy certain conditions. It recommended the abolition of the grade examinations and their replacement by two new examinations, an Intermediate and a Leaving Certificate.

The major development which had occurred in relation to the funds of the Board, was the fact that with the annual vote for the teachers' salaries grant, a proportion of the Board's income would come from the Central Exchequer for the first time. This was a departure which evoked mixed reactions from those involved in education. Some members of the Board, particularly Starkie and others who also served on the National Board, were ambivolent about this move. They argued that there were disadvantages involved in being dependent on parliament for even part of one's income. The headmasters on the other hand, initially felt that any source of additional funding should be welcomed, since the income of the schools had falled so much in the previous decade.

When the reality of parliamentary constraints were made public, the Catholic headmasters took a rather different approach. They would not accept dictation from anybody as to the conditions under which grants should be paid. In particular, they resisted the proposal that the new grant should be distributed to lay teachers only and that members of religious orders should be excluded from these payments. The debate on this issue took place between the Catholic headmasters and the Chief Secretary himself for a period of almost two years. The absence of involvement by the Intermediate Board in the discussion indicates the extent to which Birrell regarded their role as peripheral to the real issues of education. The headmasters' views on the dis-

tribution of the grant were intransigent; they were prepared to allow £40,000 to remain unexpended for two years rather than submit to what they regarded as unacceptable conditions. Their eventual acceptance of Birrell's scheme may have come with the realisation that the Home Rule Bill would not become law in 1914 and that therefore an ultimate solution to the problems of intermediate education on their terms was not as imminent as had earlier been thought. But the scheme agreed by Birrell on the allocation of the teachers' salaries grant was a capitulation to the headmasters and was in effect a betrayal by Birrell of the assurances which he had given to parliament two years earlier. The new grant was paid to schools, not to teachers; it could be distributed by headmasters to either lay or clerical teachers and the condition that it would be paid only to schools where a minimum number of lay teachers were employed at an acceptable salary was widely ignored. In its annual report for 1920/21, the Intermediate Board admitted the extent to which the rule in question was being deliberately misinterpreted when they wrote:

> In the Roman Catholic schools, the number of duly qualified lay teachers who fulfil the conditions laid down is 299. In addition to these there are 202 nuns and 36 members of brotherhoods who claim to be lay teachers and who are registered and fulfil the condition. A decision as to whether these are, or are not, lay teachers under the rules rests with your Excellency. [94]

In many ways, Birrell and subsequent Chief Secretaries acted unwisely in allowing the grant to be paid when they knew the conditions imposed by parliament would not be met. The Treasury, whose duty it was to ensure that the wishes of parliament in relation to public expenditure were met, was understandably concerned about the situation and on a number of occasions asked that the rules be changed to reflect the reality of the situation. The Controller and Auditor General also put pressure on the Intermediate Board to rectify the situation,[95] but despite the pressure of both the Treasury and the Auditor General, the situation remained unchanged until after partition.

The developments in relation to the grant underlined the determination of the Catholic authorities to retain a private denominational system of intermediate education in Ireland. Any efforts

by the government to dictate to the schools on conditions of employment would be resisted if these conditions were seen to interfere with the autonomy of the individual schools. The schools were prepared to pay a price for their freedom. In 1913 and 1914 the price was £80,000 and it may have been considerably more. We have seen that in 1911, the Catholic headmasters mentioned figures in the region of £100,000 per annum which would be due to Irish intermediate education if claims of equivalence with Great Britain were conceded. It is significant that these same headmasters no longer argued the case for this level of equivalence when it became clear that parliament would insist on certain conditions for parliamentary grants. It is reasonable to speculate that Ireland would have obtained a grant at least equivalent to English grants for intermediate education had a united case for such a grant been made by all involved in Irish education. The evidence in relation to national education indicates that the Treasury would not have objected to allocating an amount per capita to Irish intermediate schools equivalent to the state grant for English pupils. But the determination of the Catholic authorities to accept money only on their own conditions militated against a united application for additional state aid.

Irish intermediate education suffered because of lack of funds. The number of students catered for by schools aided by the Board remained very low; the physical condition of many of the schools was inadequate; and above all, the terms of employment, status and salaries of the majority of lay teachers was unacceptable.

With the passing of the Teachers' Salaries Act of 1914, intermediate education was in receipt of a parliamentary grant. Its expenditure was open to Treasury scrutiny and there would be no turning back. In a small way, Irish intermediate education was coming more closely into line with English education and this would re-awaken Treasury demands for uniformity between the systems. This time, these demands would be supported by the teachers of Ireland, both national and intermediate, who realised that the solution to their salary problems lay in a reformed structure of Irish education.

CHAPTER XII - REFERENCES

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32. Report of the I.E.B., 1911 (C.6317), ix.

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35. Ibid., par. 141.

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44. Report of conference at 11 a.m. on 19 December 1912, p.12.

45. Ibid., p.13.

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65. Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, 3 & 4 George V, V.29.

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70. Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914.

71. Public Records Office, London. Treasury letter book, T.14. 99, letter dated 21 December 1914.

72. Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914.

73. For examples, see Birrell's speech to the I.N.T.O. Congress in 1907 and his reply to parliamentary questions regarding intermediate inspection in 1909.

74. Molony Report, par. 68.

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76. Ibid.

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78. Security of Tenure 1909 - 1934, publichsed by the A.S.T.I., Dec.1934.

79. Quoted in T. 14. 99, letter of 27 January 1915.

80. Letter from Chief Secretary dated 20 January 1915, quoted in Treasury letter of 27 January 1915.

81. T. 14. 99, letter of 27 January 1915.

82. T. 14.103, letter of 29 November 1917.

83. T. 14.105, letter of 25 November 1918.

84. T. 14.109, letter of January 1921.

85. Molony report, p.11.

86. An Chlaidheamh Soluis, 23 March 1907.

87. Ibid.

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90. Report on Teachers' Salaries Grant, 1918.

91. Molony Report, par. 44.

92. Major Gerald Dease, A Plea for Educational Reform (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1917/18) pp.33-34.

93. Report of I.E.B., 1916.

94. Report of the Intermediate Education Board ... on the application of the Teachers' Salaries Grant for the year ended 31 March 1920. P.P. 1920 (Cmd. 996) xv, 781.

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CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR; FINAL EFFORTS BY THE GOVERNMENT TO INTRODUCE EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN IRELAND; 1917 - 1920

In earlier chapters the introduction of social reform measures in England during the first two decades of the twentieth century has been discussed. The move towards collectivism in England meant that the state was becoming more involved in the lives of the population. Indicative of such state intervention were the Old Age Pensions Act of 1908 and the National Health Insurance Act of 1911. In the world of education, the passing of the Education (Provisions of Meals) Act of 1906 and of the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907 under which medical and dental inspection of schoolchildren was introduced, reflected the growing involvement of the state in areas which in earlier decades would have been regarded as the prerogative of parental and voluntary interests. In 1913, a Mental Deficiency Act recognised the duty of the state to provide for the needs of the mentally handicapped.[1]

Although many measures for social reform had been introduced in the early years of the Liberal administration, the lower socio-economic groups were impatient at what they saw as the slow rate of progress towards reform. Major strikes such as the dock and railway strikes of 1911, the miners' and Port of London strikes in 1912 and the Dublin strike of 1913 reflected this dissatisfaction. To meet the demands for schools with a vocational bias which would enable boys and girls to enter industry and commerce at about the age of 16, "central" schools were introduced in England in 1911. From 1913 on, schools such as junior technical schools, technical high schools and trade schools were also set up in England.[2] But despite requests from the Board of National Education in Ireland, no such developments occurred in this country.

During the period, demands for greater equality of opportunity in education were met in England by the establishment of county secondary grammar schools by county councils.[3] In Chapter XII, it was seen that after 1907, up to 25% of the places in such schools were

allocated free of charge, to children from public elementary schools who obtained scholarships to attend these schools. In spite of efforts by the government to introduce a similar scholarship scheme in Ireland, no action had been taken on this matter by the end of the war.

Although moves had been made in England to increase facilities for elementary and post-elementary education, in 1914 more than 300,000 children in England and Wales were employed in factories, mines, agriculture and street trading.[4] There was increasing pressure on the government to raise the compulsory school-leaving age and to abolish the concept of "half-timers" in education. (This was a category of children aged from 11 or 12 upwards who were exempted from full-time education to undertake employment, on condition that they attended classes for at least 150 hours per year.) In 1911 a Bill had been introduced in parliament by Walter Runciman which would enable the provision of day continuation education but this Bill was withdrawn without discussion because of lack of time. In July 1913 the President of the Board of Education, J.A. Pease, indicated that the government would introduce educational reform measures in autumn of 1914.[5] But England declared war on Germany on 4th August 1914 and all moves towards educational reform were shelved.

The war brought about profound social change in Britain. The status of women was raised as they were seen to make a significant contribution towards the war effort. The important contribution of skilled and semi-skilled workers was also recognised. Many of these workers experienced an unprecedented level of prosperity and with this came increased demands for more educational opportunity for their children. Another result of the war was a growing acceptance by the population as a whole of firmer direction and leadership from the state. The growing movement before the war towards state collectivism had been accentuated by the need during the war for tight control by the government over supply and distribution of food, materials, manpower etc.[6]

By 1916, the government recognised the need for action to "reconstruct" the country as a result of the damage caused by the war. The concept of reconstruction was interpreted widely. It included

the physical recontruction of roads, services, housing etc; the recontruction of the lives of those bereaved or injured during the early years of the war; the reconstruction of the civil service and of the education system. As regards the latter, many groups and lobbies published their proposals for educational reform. Among these were the Education Reform Council, the Workers' Educational Association and the National Union of Teachers. At government level, a Reconstruction Committee (later to become the Ministry of Reconstruction) was set up in March 1916 and a sub-committee of this body was asked to review the development of education.[7] In April 1916 a Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in Relation to Employment after the War was set up under the chairmanship of J.Herbert Lewis. The report was critical of the high number of young people who were employed in "blind-alley occupations", where they were

> not engaged to learn a trade with a view to practising it as adults, but are merely employed for their immediate commercial utility upon simple operations. The only reason for their employment is the fact that, as instruments of production, they are cheaper than adults. [8]

The committee felt that the remedy to the problem would have to be a "pretty thorough-going one":

> nothing less than a complete change of temper and outlook on the part of the people of this country as to what they mean, through the forces of industry and society, to make of their boys and girls.

It was felt that the concept of young people as primarily wage-earners would have to be replaced by a concept of young people as being "primarily the workman and the citizen in training", and that it should be established that

> the educational purpose is to be the dominating one, without as well as within the school doors, during those formative years between 12 and 18. [9]

The main proposals of the committee were that the existing system of compulsory full-time attendance at elementary schools should be strengthened and that there should be a compulsory system of attendance

at continuation classes for adolescents.

The report of the committee was both a reflection of public opinion on the growing importance of education and a force in the development and dissemination of this attitude. Brian Simon in his book "Education and the Labour Movement" comments on this as follows:

> There was certainly a growing determination that after the war, things would be different- social ills and injustices abolished, and a brave new world emerge from the years of frustration, horror and mass slaughter. [10]

The appointment of H.A.L. Fisher as President of the Board of Education in England in December 1916 indicated the government's determination to take steps to reform education in that country. Fisher was not a politician; he was a historian and an educationalist who was invited by Lloyd-George to take charge of education with a view to reconstruction. He was assured both by Lloyd-George and Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that there would be enough money for educational reform.[11] In August 1917, Fisher introduced an Education Bill in parliament. When introducing the Bill, Fisher explained the background to the measure as follows:

> It is prompted by deficiencies which have been revealed by the war; it is framed to repair the intellectual wastage which has been caused by the war; and should it pass into law before peace is struck it will put a prompt end to an evil which has grown to alarming proportions during the past three years - I allude to the industrial pressure upon the child life of this country ; and it will greatly facilitate the solution of many problems of juvenile employment, which will certainly be affected by the transition of the country from a basis of war to a basis of peace. [12]

The Bill was very much an "enabling" Bill which the government did not envisage would be implemented fully for many years. Among other measures, it sought to remove the concept of "part-timers" in schools and it enabled a great increase in educational provision at all levels. It extended the power of the local authorities in the area of education and it provided that not less than 50% of the cost of education would

be met from government funds. (Under previous legislation, the government contribution could not be more than 50% of the cost of education.)

In practice, many of the measures outlined in the Bill were never implemented. But the attitudes and discussions prompted by the Bill had wide-ranging effects in educational circles, not only in Britain, but in Ireland as well.

The questioning of the relevance of education generally in the life of a country's youth led to a questioning of the relevance of specific systems of education. In Ireland, among those who criticised the educational system were Sir Samuel Dill, a member of the Intermediate Board and Chairman of the Committee of Inquiry into Primary Education in 1913, and Major Gerald Dease, a member of the Board of National Education. In a pamplet written in 1917, Dill questioned the rigidity of the programmes in Intermediate schools and was critical of the emphasis laid on examinations in the system. He felt that the courses and programmes should be "recast" to take account of

> the immense variety in the environment and in the capacity of pupils and teachers. [13]

Major Dease was critical of the whole system of education in Ireland. He felt that the Boards which were ostensibly in control of the Irish system were in reality being dictated to by the Treasury. He stated

> Treasury minutes lay down, with calmest impertinence, their views as to what should or should not be done with education by so-called independent boards in Ireland, which are there responsible for it; financial starvation is chronic, public opinion is hostile, and in the face of all this, nothing but consummate ability and good-will could have kept the machine working as it has hitherto done. [14]

Dease's criticism of the system of administering Irish education by Boards was echoed by John Dillon who during a parliamentary debate, referred to the Irish education Boards as "irresponsible". He maintained that, although they were represented in the House of Commons by the Chief Secretary, they were not responsible to anybody. He complained:

> I have raised this question over and over again and the answer of the Chief Secretary has been 'I cannot control the Board. I am the mouthpiece of the Board in this House, still I am not responsible'. The only way the Irish office can control the Board of Education is by dismissing them all – a very Draconian method and one which no Chief Secretary has yet seen fit to adopt. [15]

The growing discontent with the system of education in Ireland was also voiced by national and intermediate teachers. They were particularly dissatisfied with their salary levels, which had failed to keep in line with the very serious inflation which had occurred during the war years. The Wholesale Price Index had rocketed from 117.3 in 1914 to 268.1 in 1918 with the result that every £100 earned by the teachers before the war was worth only £55 in 1916 and less than £40 in 1918.[16]

The Duke Grant

With the passing of the Fisher Act, an additional sum of almost £5 million was made available by the government for education in Britain, and it was widely expected that an equivalent grant would be made available for Irish education. On the basis of the Goschen ratio, the amount available for Ireland should be in the region of £384,000.[17] In England some of the additional money provided as a result of the Fisher Act was used to improve teachers' salaries. The Burnham scale was introduced at this time and this scale rationalised and improved the salaries of both elementary and secondary teachers.[18]

In Ireland, the national teachers had been pressing for an increase in their salaries from 1914, when the report of the Dill Committee had been published. Following representations to the government, they were awarded a temporary war bonus in July 1916 but they were anxious to have their claim for a permanent increase settled.

In April 1917 the National Board was invited by the government "to submit proposals for the improvement of our system", and in May 1917, a two-day conference was held in the office of the National Board at which a comprehensive new scheme for the payment and promotion of teachers was formulated.[19] The conference was attended by the Resident

Commissioner, the secretaries, the accountant, the chief inspectors, and the private secretary to the Resident Commissioner.[20] The proposals drawn up by the committee were wide-ranging and were submitted to the Board as necessary "for the improvement of primary education". Under the proposed scheme teachers' salaries would be considerably increased; the promotion prospects of teachers would be improved by the removal of the fixed numbers of posts in the higher grades; allowances for principal teachers of large schools would be increased; as also would the grants to capitation schools, The salaries of junior assistant mistresses would be improved and gratuities on marriage and retirement were also recommended. It was proposed that teacher pension premiums would in future be paid entirely by the state and that there would be no deductions from teachers' salaries for this purpose. Other recommendations unrelated to teachers' salaries and conditions were as follows:

1. Training Colleges: Grants should be increased by ten per cent.
2. Day Continuation Schools should be established "for the instruction of young persons between 14 and 18 years of age after they have ceased to attend the ordinary national schools.
3. Evening Schools: Increased grants should be provided.
4. Higher Grade Departments: A further application should be made for the establishment of Higher Grade Departments in national schools - this proposal had been first mooted around 1902.
5. Woodwork: Grants should be renewed for this subject.
6. School Gardening: The grant scheme should be extended to cover instruction given by teachers of both sexes to both boys and girls. (This scheme had previously been paid only to male teachers in respect of instruction to boys.)
7. Model School Teachers: Apart from salary increases on the same basis as for teachers in ordinary national schools, the scheme proposed that female principals of model schools should receive the same rent allowance as their male counterparts.
8. Medical and Dental Examination: It was urged that the whole of the cost of a scheme for the medical and dental examination and treatment of pupils of national schools be met from the Parliamentary Vote and that responsibility for carrying out the scheme should be

entrusted to the Local Government Board.

9. Inspection Staff:
   (a) The salary scale of Chief Inspectors should be improved.
   (b) Four additional Divisional Inspectors should be appointed.
   (c) Improved salaries and subsistence allowances should be granted to junior inspectors.

10. Salaries of higher officials of the Education Office should be improved.

The scheme was approved by the Board and was submitted to Dublin Castle on 15th June 1917.[21] The ultimate estimated cost of the scheme would be more than £1 million per annum over and above the existing parliamentary grant to national education. In its annual report for 1916/17, the National Board justified the high cost of the scheme by arguing:

> that the amount of money to be voted for Irish education should not be determined by a calculation of an equivalent for a sum to be spent in England but should be limited only by what might be necessary to secure for Irish children advantages not less than those provided by the state for English pupils. [22]

The scheme submitted to Dublin Castle indicated that any proposals "for the improvement of the system" drawn up by the Board would be strictly within the framework of the existing system. The invitation issued by the Irish government had been unspecific yet the proposals from the Board assumed an unchanged structure and made no proposals for any significant reform. In the context of the fact that the equivalent grant due to Ireland as a result of the Fisher Act would amount to a maximum of £384,000 and this amount would have to cover all levels of education, it was unrealistic of the Board to submit a scheme which would cost over £1 million.

Following consideration of the proposals, Chief Secretary Duke who had succeeded Birrell in autumn 1916, decided to support the salary increases to teachers as far as possible. He also agreed to increase the grant to capitation schools and to training colleges. He rejected a number of the other proposals, including the establishment of day continuation schools. It is likely that the National Board

had included this proposal in their scheme in view of the recommendations of the recently published report of the Committee on Juvenile Education in England regarding continuation education for young persons aged 14-18. But their hopes that the Irish government would be sympathetic to such a proposal were unfounded. The Irish executive also refused to support the application "towards establishing Higher Grade Departments in national schools" and the application for grants "towards the cost of instruction of national school pupils in woodwork". A request for an additional increase for Model School teachers was also rejected; as was the request the "the whole of the cost of a scheme for the medical and dental examination and treatment of pupils of national schools" be provided in the parliamentary vote.

Having decided what proposals he was prepared to support, the Chief Secretary then proceeded to submit a supplementary estimate for national education to parliament.[23] The procedure he followed was the same as that followed by Birrell in relation to the Intermediate Teachers' Salaries Grant in 1913/14. He sought the approval in principle of Parliament to a supplementary grant for a scheme which he outlined; he then sought Treasury approval for the details of the scheme and having obtained this approval he laid the detailed scheme before the House. In this way, he ensured that the Treasury could not veto the general proposal. The cost of the scheme submitted by Duke came to £381,000 - almost the total amount due to Ireland from the equivalent grant. Despite the significant increase in national teachers' salaries, proposed in the supplementary estimate submitted by Duke to parliament in July 1917, the I.N.T.O. immediately objected to the proposals, stating that they regarded the amount being made available as inadequate. They asked that they be given an opportunity to discuss the proposed distribution of the grant before details were finalised but the government refused this request. During the following months the I.N.T.O. held a special congress and a number of meetings to decide on what action they should take in relation to the proposed scheme.[24] Strike action was discussed as a possible course of action if the final proposals of the government were not acceptable.

Meanwhile the revised scheme had been submitted to the Treasury by the government and on 29th November 1917 the Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, T.M. Heath, wrote to the Under-Secretary in

Dublin Castle setting out his views on the scheme.[25] He said that

> had these proposals been submitted (to the Treasury) at an earlier date they would have suggested that the opportunity afforded by the present large increase in the provision for elementary education in Ireland should have been taken to secure a radical revision after adequate inquiry of the present admittedly defective system and that pending the result of such an enquiry the immediate needs of the teachers should have been relieved by the distribution of the new grant temporarily in the form of an additional War bonus ....

However as the Chief Secretary had already outlined the proposed scheme in parliament in July, the Treasury had little option but to agree "to the general outline of the scheme" subject to certain conditions.

1. They approved the revised scales of pay, the introduction of annual increments for teachers (instead of triennial) and the proposals in relation to the promotion of teachers. But because it was not possible to ascertain the effect that such changes would have on the average teachers' salary and therefore the ultimate effect on the Pension Fund, the Treasury insisted that the new increases be regarded "as temporary additions to salary and excluded from the calculation of average salary for the purpose both of premium and pension".

2. In relation to junior assistant mistresses, the Treasury stated that

> the (new) rates of pay will compare very favourably with those paid to uncertificated teachers, especially in rural districts in England and they consider that a higher test of qualifications should be imposed for any new appointment.

The Treasury was reluctant to sanction a scheme whereby junior assistant mistresses would be eligible for pension. It was pointed out that

> no similar provision is made in Great Britain for the payment of such gratuities to uncertificated teachers either under the Elementary Schoolteachers Superannuation Act 1898/1912 or under the scheme governing the superannuation of Scottish teachers.

and the Irish government was asked to reconsider the question. The Treasury also agreed to an increase in the grant to training colleges and to an extension of the scheme for grants for school gardens. Some increases in the salaries of inspectors and organizers were also approved but the proposal to increase the minimum point of the junior inspectors' scale were rejected because

> the Chief Secretary had given this figure in his speech in the House of Commons and it corresponds with the minimum of the scale of similar classes in Great Britain.

The Treasury's letter made it clear that it was only with great reluctance that they approved a scheme which would further support what they regarded as "the present admittedly defective system". They felt that a "radical revision" was necessary and that a special inquiry should be set up with a view to undertaking such a revision. But the Treasury did not have power to prevent the implementation of the Chief Secretary's proposals since these had already been approved by parliament in July 1917. The Treasury's role was limited to discussing certain details of the proposals which had not been part of the parliamentary discussion in July. On the question of salaries, one notes the efforts made by the Treasury to keep Irish salaries in line with those of their English counterparts. Starting salaries of junior inspectors in Ireland should not be greater than in England; uncertificated teachers (i.e. junior assistant mistresses) should not enjoy conditions in Ireland which were better than those enjoyed in England by similar teachers.

In December 1917, the final scheme was presented by Duke to parliament.[26] The immediate cost of the scheme was estimated at over £300,000 and its ultimate cost could reach over £450,000. The scheme was approved by parliament and the Chief Secretary hoped to implement it without delay.

But the I.N.T.O. was not satisfied with the proposals relating to teachers' salaries. They had asked the Chief Secretary to meet with them to discuss these proposals before they were finalised but the Chief Secretary had refused this request. In the early months of 1918, teacher agitation was growing and the I.N.T.O. threatened to refuse to

accept the increases.[27] At this point the National Board issued a statement disassociating itself from the Chief Secretary's scheme.[28] The statement disclosed that the previous June they had submitted a series of recommendations covering what they believed to be the needs of primary education and that these proposals amounted to £790,000. They expressed disappointment that the sum voted by the government was less than half that amount. In the annual report for 1916/17 the Board again expressed its disappointment with the scheme.[29] They criticised the government's action in proceeding with the revised scheme and wrote:

> Although beyond doubt the new scheme of salaries will materially increase the incomes of the majority of the teachers, we are convinced that any sum which falls short of the amount necessary to finance the scheme submitted by us, will fail to secure the end we proposed in formulating that scheme, viz. to make adequate provision for the educational needs of the pupils in the schools under the system for the administration of which we are responsible.

The implication of this statement was that the National Board had recommended salary increases considerably greater than those sanctioned by the Chief Secretary. In fact the Board's salary proposals were almost identical to those approved by the government - the aspects of the Board's scheme which had been rejected related to other educational projects - day continuation schools, higher grade departments etc. In disassociating itself from the government scheme, the National Board may have hoped to curry favour with the teachers and to reverse the situation that had existed since the early years of the century, when the teachers had allied with the authorities in Dublin Castle against the Board. But this did not happen.

During the early months of 1918, the I.N.T.O. persisted in its refusal to accept the government offer of December 1917 (afterwards known as the Duke grant).[30] In January the teachers threatened strike action in support of their claim and only agreed to postpone such action when the government announced its intention to set up a committee to inquire into the whole system of the salaries of Irish teachers. The teachers regarded the setting up of this committee (under the chairmanship of Lord Killanin) as a victory for them[31] - they were not aware that the Treasury had recommended the setting up of such a committee in its letter to Dublin Castle on 29th November 1917.[32] In March 1918

the teachers agreed to accept any additional payments that might be made to them "as an instalment of the money due them in right and justice".[33] But this money was to be seen merely as an interim payment pending the findings of the proposed committee. The new increases came into effect on 1st April 1918.[34]

The Killanin Report, 1918/19

On 12th August 1918 the government set up a Vice-Regal Committee with the following terms of reference:

> To inquire and report as to possible improvements in the position, conditions of service, promotion and remuneration of the teachers in Irish National schools, and in the distribution of grants from public funds for Primary Education in Ireland with a view to recommending suitable scales of salaries and pensions for different classes of teachers, having regard to the character and length of training necessary, the special qualifications obtained, the nature of the duties which have to be performed, and other relevant considerations. [35]

The chairman of this committee was Lord Killanin, a member of the National Board. The other members of the committee were the Catholic Bishop of Raphoe, Dr. O'Donnell; the Church of Ireland Bishop of Tuam, Dr. Plunkett; Dean Macken, Conor Kennedy and Rev. W.J. Strahan, representing national school managers; Dr. Goligher of Trinity College; Mr. Martin, a Belfast businessman; Maurice Headlam, Treasury Remembrancer; and A.N. Bonaparte-Wyse, Secretary to the National Board; the seven remaining members were teachers ; Judge, Nunan, Ramsay, Miss Doyle, Joyce, O'Neill and Hazlett. Resident Commissioner Starkie was not nominated as a member of the Killanin Committee.

The appointment of Treasury Remembrancer, Maurice Headlam, was authorised by the Treasury in London but in the letter of authorisation it was pointed out to Headlam that

> having regard to the constitution and terms of reference of the committee on elementary school teachers, Their Lordships have made it clear to the Irish Government that they cannot be regarded as in any way committed to any financial proposals which may be formulated by this committee. [36]

The Treasury was already disassociating itself from any proposals for reform which might cost the government additional money and Headlam was being warned to tread warily in this area.

The Killanin report strongly recommended "a substantial increase" in the exchequer grant for education. The report stated unequivocably that

> the provision of instruction for the children of a country is a national trust and obligation. The State, representing the community as a whole, should provide at least for the elementary education of all its future citizens, should see that it is suitable and efficient and should insist on its universal applicability. 37

This paragraph encapsulated the change in thinking that had occurred in relation to education since the outbreak of the war. It echoed the findings of the Departmental Committee on Juvenile Education in England and it was a radical departure from the 19th century view which regarded the government's role in educational provision as supplemental to local initiative.

The report was critical of the way in which Irish national education had been funded since the turn of the century. It found that "with regard to the provision of funds for Irish Primary Education" the system had "suffered grievously". Grants from public funds had been made "in a spasmodic and happazard manner".[38] It was critical of the way in which the Revised system had been introduced in 1900 without adequate financing and felt that "subsequent financial treatment by the Government shows little improvement". It criticised the diversion of the 1902 equivalent grant of £185,000 to "extraneous objects". The amounts of grants had been settled by the government "regardless of the representations" of the National Board and

> efforts to improve the position of teachers and to carry out much-needed educational reforms were hampered by the denial of the necessary financial support.

The committee felt that such treatment of Irish education was not only "injurious and unfair" but that it was part of

> a deliberate policy of the Government that Ireland was to get no further financial aid except on the 'equivalent grant' theory.[39]

But although the committee felt that the provision of elementary education was the duty of the state, it also recommended that a local rate be contributed towards the expense of primary education and that school committees be set up by county councils and county boroughs. The power of such committees should be limited to

1. The enforcement of school attendance enactments throughout Ireland, and
2. The maintenance, repairs, heating, cleaning and equipment of national schools "unless adequate provision has been otherwise made".

It should also be optional for local committees to contribute towards medical and dental treatment of pupils and "to secure the provision of meals in necessitous cases". They should be empowered to provide school books and requisites in necessitous cases, and to provide sites for horticultural purposes and for teachers' residences. But the committee was adamant that the financial responsibility for teachers' salaries and "towards the original capital expenditure on the erection of schoolhouses" should continue to be borne by the exchequer. The report stated:

> We believe that it would be a retrograde step if the service of National Education were to be localised in its status and remuneration and we observe also that the tendency elsewhere is towards developing its national character and putting its cost increasingly on the Exchequer...[40]

As regards teachers' salaries, the committee urged improved incremental salary scales for teachers as well as a scheme of extra allowances for qualifications and responsibility.

The Treasury Remembrancer Headlam, recorded his disagreement with the financial recommendations in a minority report.[41] He produced figures to show that the exchequer grant for Irish primary education, taking all grants into account (teachers' pensions, war bonuses, capital grants etc.) was higher than the grant in England and Scotland. He showed that the respective grants per pupil in average attendance

for 1917/18 and 1918/19 were as follows:

TABLE 13.1

Average parliamentary grant per pupil in average attendance in primary schools in England and Wales; Scotland and Ireland; 1917/18 and 1918/19.

	1917/18	1918/19
England and Wales	£3. 3.10	£3. 4. 4
Scotland	£3.15.1½	£3.15. 4¾
Ireland	£4.18. 3	£5. 4.11

He also showed that the total parliamentary grants to primary education were greater than if the vote was calculated on the basis of 9/10ths of the parliamentary vote for English education. He submitted figures showing the situation as it was and as it would be if the vote to Irish education were calculated on the basis of the Goschen ratio and concluded that Ireland was receiving more than 30% of her due share of exchequer money for national education. To support this claim he quoted the following figures:

TABLE 13.2

Parliamentary Grants to Primary Education in England and Wales and Ireland 1917/18 and 1918/19; Amount due to Ireland if Goschen Ratio were applied to Total Grant.

Year	Total Parliamentary Grant to Primary Education in England and Wales	Total Parliamentary Grant to Primary Ed. in Ireland	Amount due to Ireland if Goschen Ratio (9/80th were applied
1917/18	£19,158,418	£2,699,684	£2,155,322
1918/19	£19,350,810	£2,865,282	£2,176,966

Under Headlam's reckoning, Ireland has received excess grants of 25% in 1917/18 and 32% in 1918/19 from parliamentary sources.

But the rest of the committee was strongly opposed to the notion that the financing of Irish education should depend on the situation in England. They stated:

> ... we think it wrong that the amounts of the grants for a great service in one country should be decided by the needs of the corresponding service in another country. If English Primary Education happens to require financial aid from the Treasury, Irish Primary Education is to get some, and in proportion thereto. If England happens not to require any, then, of course, neither does Ireland. A starving man is to be fed only if some one else in hungry. We do not forego Ireland's claim, when exceptional grants are made in other parts of the Kingdom, to a corresponding grant to Ireland for some useful purpose, but it seems to us extraordinary that Irish Primary Education should be financed on lines that have little relation to the needs of the case ...[42]

The recommendations of the Killanin committee reflected the interests of the bodies represented on the committee. The teachers wanted an increase in salary and conditions, the National Board wanted a vindication of its actions of the previous 18 years, everybody wanted additional financing. The general consensus was that most of the additional money should come from the central exchequer, with some financial input from local rates. But the power structure of National Education should not be changed - the managerial system should not be interfered with and the role of the local authorities should be limited to the provision of funds.

The committee issued its report in March 1919 and shortly afterwards an I.N.T.O. deputation met the National Board and urged that the recommendations of the Killanin report be implemented as soon as possible.[43] On 5th April 1919 the new Chief Secretary, MacPherson, stated that he proposed to ask a departmental committee of experts to consider both reports and to see what proposals could be formulated and embodied in a bill. On 8th April 1919 the National Board passed a resolution supporting the recommendations of the Committee and asking the government to take steps immediately to implement these recommendations.[44]

National Teachers' Salaries 1918-19

Meanwhile, the I.N.T.O. had continued to persevere in presenting its case for a salary increase to the Board and the government. In autumn 1918, shortly after the Killanin committee had been set up, the

Board had proposed that national teachers be paid a war bonus on full Civil Service scale from 1st July 1918. But this proposal was flatly rejected by the Treasury in October 1918, who stated that

> Having regard to the great improvement in teachers' salaries which resulted from the revision of last year, My Lords regret that They would not feel justified in agreeing to the grant of the full Civil Service bonus on the lines proposed.

They suggested instead that the matter "should be referred to Arbitration".[45]

The Arbitration Board heard the teachers' claim on 22nd October and on 26th October they recommended that an additional bonus be paid to all teachers.[46] From then until the summer of 1920, the teachers were given an additional bonus each time the civil servants were awarded an increase. These bonuses were granted because of the unprecedented increase in the cost of living during these years. The Wholesale Price Index had increased by 100 points between 1918 and 1920 and reached 368.8 (1900 = 100) in 1920.[47]

Further proposals from the National Board, December 1918

In December 1918, the National Board submitted to the government its estimates for 1919/20. In addition to seeking increases in teachers' salaries, the Board proposed a number of additional grants - for higher grade departments of national schools, for day continuation schools, for school-books and stationery, for elementary evening schools, school gardens, and for additional grants for heating and cleaning of national schools. These proposals were transmitted by the government to the Treasury without "detailed recommendations" and the Treasury refused to sanction any of the proposed additional schemes.[48] As regards higher grade schools, the Treasury Lords were not prepared to sanction this proposal

> which would be tantamount to the creation of a State system of secondary education in Ireland under the control of the Commissioners of National Education, unco-ordinated with the existing organisations, which are assisted in part by the Intermediate Education Board.

Neither were they prepared to agree to a proposal to set up day continuation schools, stating that

> they are not satisfied that a sufficient case has been made out for the expenditure of public money on this scheme.

They refused to sanction a grant towards providing school text books and stationery for the use of national school pupils on the basis that they felt that "this is a service of which the cost should fall on local funds". They regretted

> that the efforts made by school managers and teachers to induce the parents or guardians of the children to subscribe voluntarily the funds required should have met with insufficient success in certain districts but They are not prepared to make good the deficiency from public funds.

They also refused the Board's proposals to give grants for the teaching of woodwork in national schools; for elementary evening schools, for school gardens and for additional money for heating and cleaning national schools.

It was clear from the Treasury's refusals that unless the structure of education in Ireland were radically reformed to bring it into line with education in the rest of the United Kingdom there would be no support from the central exchequer for schemes which in England were a charge on local funds.

In its annual report for 1918/19, the National Board expressed its regret that

> at a time when far-reaching reforms and developments have been secured in the educational systems of Great Britain, there is little progress to chronicle in the conditions in Ireland. The very inadequate increases in teachers' salaries, secured by what is known as the "Duke grant" in 1917, have since then been supplemented by the award of War bonuses on a continually increasing scale, but no effective steps have yet been taken to set up permanent scales of salary .....

The Board then went on to state that other proposed improvements in the system had been postponed pending the passing of legislation to reform the system:

> The introduction of a comprehensive parliamentary measure dealing with education in Ireland has necessarily postponed the consideration of many urgent reforms in our system which we have in recent years brought under the notice of the Government and we would earnestly hope that, whatever settlement of educational legislation be arrived at, the carrying into effect of these improvements in our system will not be further delayed. [50]

Before discussing the legislation which the government proposed to introduce to reform the educational system, the developments in intermediate education in the years 1917 and 1918 will be examined.

Intermediate Teachers' Salaries 1917-1918

In the earlier part of this chapter, reference was made to the growing criticism of the system of Intermediate education in Ireland in the second decade of the century. The Intermediate Board itself had been severely critical of the limitations of the system in its annual report for 1916.[51] Sir Samual Dill had published a pamphlet criticising intermediate education.[52] In an article written in 1912, P.H. Pearse had referred to "The Murder Machine" of Irish intermediate schools and condemned the rigidity and lack of freedom imposed by the system.[53] In May 1917, the Schoolmasters' Association sent a Memorial to the Chief Secretary condemning the existing system of education in Ireland and calling for the appointment of a Minister of Irish Education who would be responsible for three separate departments of primary, secondary and technical education. Under the proposal of the Schoolmasters' Association, the National and Intermediate Boards would be abolished and a paid official would take over their duties.

Pressure had also increased from the Intermediate teachers for an improvement in their conditions and remuneration. Although the Teachers' Salaries Act of 1914 had attempted to ensure that

intermediate teachers were in receipt of a minimum salary, the provisions of the act were not enforced.[55]

The equivalent grant due to Ireland as a result of the Fisher Act in England was seen as an opportunity to improve Irish intermediate education. In an earlier section of this chapter, the proposals of the National Board for the allocation of this grant have been discussed. The National Board had submitted its proposals to the government in July 1917. Some months later, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction submitted its proposals and in November 1917, the Intermediate Board presented proposals to the government for the expenditure "of the Irish Equivalent Grant for Intermediate Education".[56] The scheme submitted by the Intermediate Board was estimated to cost £50,000. Under this scheme, the money would be paid as a capitation grant to managers of schools "in respect of all pupils between the ages of 12 and 19 who shall have made 100 attendances between those ages during the educational year". The conditions proposed that

(1) The Board should satisfy themselves that the buildings and equipment of the school, and the teaching given therein, including the terms of the employment of the teaching staff were satisfactory;

(2) At least one recognised teacher on the staff should be in receipt of a salary of at least £20 per annum more than the minimum salary "for each complete 40 pupils upon whom the capitation grant is payable and for each 20 or more such pupils in excess of a multiple of 40".

But the Board reserved the right to pay the grant

> in the case of schools with less than 40 pupils in localities where, in the opinion of the Board, a really useful purpose is served by such schools

provided that

> the Board shall be satisfied on presentation of the accounts of the school that a satisfactory proportion of the income of the school is paid to those actually engaged in the teaching of the pupils.[57]

It was also proposed that some of the additional money should be used "to give assistance to establish or support schools in localities where there was evident need for such assistance".[58] The money would be made available in the form of loans for the building of schools.

This proposal from the Intermediate Board was an effort to de-emphasise the concept of payment by results. Under earlier measures some payments in respect of younger pupils were being made on a capitation basis. The new proposal would extend payment on a capitation basis to all pupils in Intermediate schools. But it would only refer to the additional grant of £50,000, not to the basic income of the Board.

The Board's proposal was accepted by the Irish executive and was transmitted to the Treasury for approval. The earlier proposals from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction had also been submitted to the Treasury, proposals which would have involved "an initial expenditure of about £50,000 per annum and an ultimate expenditure of £106,00 per annum". The lack of co-ordination between these two bodies meant that the Treasury found itself with two conflicting sets of proposals for the same equivalent grant. This conflict underlined the problems arising from the unco-ordinated system of education in Ireland. In England the existence of a unified Board of Education ensured that such conflict would not occur.

The Treasury decided to reject the proposals of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and to accept the Intermediate Board scheme. In doing this they advised the Lord Lieutenant

> to satisfy himself that no part of the grant could more advantageously be allocated to the D.A.T.A.[59]

They also asked for an assurance that no additional funds would be asked for on behalf of the D.A.T.I. If such an assurance could not be given, then grants to the Intermediate Board would have to be limited

> to such an amount as with any sum which it may be found necessary to allocate to the D.A.T.I. will make up the Equivalent Grant.

If the Irish government was satisfied that no further money would be sought from the D.A.T.I., then the additional £50,000 could be allocated to the Intermediate Board. But the Treasury urged that "in consideration of this additional grant", steps (should be) taken to put the distribution of the Teachers' Salaries grant on a more satisfactory basis.[60] As regards the proposal that loans be given for the provision of schools, the Treasury suggested that

> it would be advisable in order to give the Board expert advice on technical matters that the architectural plans prepared on behalf of applicants should be submitted to the Commissioners of Public Works for a report as to whether the buildings will be structurally satisfactory and sufficiently permanent in character and economical in design, and that the progress of the work should be inspected by the Commissioners' staff and instalments of any loan only paid on receipt of reports from them.

As the Board had made no provision for any administrative expenses in connection with the grant, the Treasury assumed that the Board was prepared to meet such charges "out of its general funds".

On 4th March 1918, the government introduced in parliament a proposal to grant £50,000 for the purposes of intermediate education in Ireland. The scheme proposed was the scheme which had been drafted by the Intermediate Board and approved by the Treasury some months earlier. But the assistant teachers were not happy with the conditions of the scheme.[61] They felt that the grant would do nothing to improve the conditions of the lay assistant teachers since it would be paid to the managers of schools in the form of a capitation grant.

There is no doubt that the 1918 grant was a further concession to the demands of the Catholic managers. The conditions did not require that the grant be used for teachers' salaries; like the 1914 grant it required only that a certain proportion of teachers be employed – but the 1918 rules did not specify that the teachers should be lay teachers;

it specified only that they should be paid a certain minimum salary.

There is evidence that the teachers attempted to lobby support against the proposal before it was presented to parliament. On 2nd March 1918, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools wrote to the President of the Board of Education, H.A.L. Fisher, setting out the position of Intermediate teachers in Ireland.[62] It was pointed out to Fisher that

1. Out of 350 intermediate schools in Ireland, only 12 were paid salaires of £200 or more.
2. Less than 40 lay assistants (out of a total of 1142) received £200.
3. 35% of all assistant teachers received less than £100 p.a., in spite of the fact that the conditions of the Teachers' Salarires Grant of 1914 set down a minimum salary of £140 for men and £90 for women.
5. Apart from the 12 schools where satisfactory salaries were paid, only 100 teachers in the remaining 338 schools received more than the minimum salary laid down in 1914.

The Incorporated Association called on Fisher to support the request of the Treasury for the setting up of a Committee to enquire "into their position in the education machinery of the country".

Molony Report on Intermediate Education

In August 1918, the government set up a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Chief Justice Molony

> to enquire and report as to any improvements which may appear desirable to be made in the conditions of service and in the methods of remuneration of teachers in Intermediate Schools in Ireland, and in the distribution of the grants made from public funds for Intermediate Education, and as to the best means in the public interest of effecting such improvements.[63]

Among the members of the committee were W.J.M. Starkie, chairman of the Intermediate Board, and Resident Commissioner of National Education, and Maurice Headlam, Treasury Remembrancer. Also represented were

Principal Teachers, Assistant teachers, managers of intermediate schools and universities.

The committee strongly opposed the system of payment by results which was still the basis of public funding for intermediate education and which they stated "is now almost universally condemned by educational experts".[64] They felt that "the abolition of the present system of payment by results is an essential preliminary to reform" and recommended that all the existing funds for intermediate education be amalgamted and be paid to schools in the form of a capitation grant.[65]

They found that the salaries of lay teachers in intermediate schools were grossly inadequate and were in need of urgent improvement.[66] They held that the position of intermediate teachers compared unfavourably with that of national teachers.

> The latter were trained at the expense of the State; they were paid salaries according to an established and graded scale; they had fair prospects of promotion, reasonable security of tenure, and a pension at the end of their service. The intermediate teacher, on the other hand, although in many cases possessing the highest academic attainments and doing work of the utmost importance for the general welfare of the nation, worked under most unsatisfactory conditions. [67]

The causes of the unsatisfactory situation of the intermediate teachers were linked to the fact that very many of the schools in which they taught were in "an impoverished state". Few had any endowments. Their sources of income were mainly

(1) Students' fees
(2) Grants from the Intermediate Board
(3) Grants from the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

As regards the amount of state aid available for intermediate education, the committee noted that the total income of the Board from all sources was about £174,700.[68] Of this amount, £30,898 was from interest on securities; £46,567 was in lieu of local taxation money;

£3,725 from interest from the Board's now somewhat depleted "reserve fund"; a further £3,525 was available from examination fees and other sources; £40,000 from the teachers' salaries grant, and £50,000 from the "equivalent grant" of 1918. The committee commented on the fact that although the Intermeidate Board had the duty of promoting intermediate secular education in Ireland, their powers were very much restricted. They noted that of the £166,000 distributed annually to intermediate schools, £90,000 was distributed under rules made by the Lord Lieutenant, £51,000 under rules made by the Intermediate Board and about £25,000 was distributed by the D.A.T.I. under their own rules.[69]

The committee felt that Intermediate education had been inequitably treated by the government in comparison with intermediate education in Ireland. They pointed out that the sum spent in Ireland "from voted moneys" (including grants paid to secondary schools by the D.A.T.I.) was roughly £134,000 "or 7.3d per head of the population" whereas in England and Wales the amount voted was £1,660,000 or 11d per head.[70] They argued that on the basis of an equivalence of 80:9 (the Goschen ratio) Irish intermediate education should receive from voted moneys about £190,000 per annum. They also felt that the grant "should be elastic and capable of expansion" and that the cost of administration should, as in England, be borne by the Treasury.

The changing attitudes to universal education were reflected in the Molony Report as they had been in the Killanin Report. The Molony committee stated that

> The importance of education is now universally recognised, and no country, if it wishes to maintain an influential place in the community of nations, can afford to neglect the means of giving its children the opportunity of acquiring a liberal education. Intermediate education should be within the reach of all classes. [71]

The proposal that intermediate education "should be within the reach of all classes" was a novel one and was indicative of the influence of the recently passed Fisher Act in England. A further reflection of the English influence was the proposal that a national rate should be levied for intermediate education. In this regard, it was stated

> A flat rate should be levied over the whole country and paid to the account of the Central Authority, who should spend it impartially for the benefit of education throughout Ireland. [72]

It was pointed out that in England and Wales and in Scotland a large amount was made available from Rates and Local Taxation

> with the result that the schools in these countries are in a much more favourable position than the schools in Ireland, and secondary education is open to large classes of people to whom it is denied in this country.

The committee estimated that a penny rate would produce £65,000 in Ireland and that the needs of Irish intermediate education would be met from a national rate which would provide £200,000 per annum. But they did not recommend that the imposition of a local rate should pressure local control. They felt that

X presume

> both from the point of view of efficiency, and from the standpoint of breadth and soundness of educational ideas, central control in a small country like Ireland is much to be preferred.

The committee was very critical of the lack of co-ordination between the different levels of education, and they recommended that

> the various branches of education in Ireland - primary, intermediate and technical - should be co-ordinated and that a system of educational administration, similar to that in operation in England, should be introduced in this country. [73]

It was felt that

> until there is a single central authority responsible for education (primary, secondary and technical) sufficient co-ordination is in practice impossible.

It was pointed out that

> In England the President of the Board of Education is responsible to Parliament for the entire of such education in that country. He is assisted by a permanent secretary, who has under him a principal assistant secretary in respect of each Branch. If a similar system were introduced into this country it would promote educational efficiency and progress. [74]

The Molony report was completed early in 1919 and was submitted to the Lord Lieutenant on 4th March 1919. The report was signed by 14 of the 18 members but six of them also wrote minority reports. Maurice Headlam, the Treasury Remembrancer, in his minority report, commented on the criticism that state aid to intermediate education was not equivalent to state aid in England.[75] He wrote:

> I should like to place it on record that on the equivalent grant basis, the funds voted by Parliament to Irish Education, as a whole exceed the recognised proportion of 9 to 80; for though the amount earmarked for Intermediate Education is less than that proportion, yet that voted (at the present time) for Primary Education exceeds it. There is, therefore, nothing more "due" from the United Kingdom taxpayer, but the deficit on the amount allocated to Secondary Education should, in the first place, be made up by re-allocation of the moneys voted for Education generally.

The findings of the Molony report bore certain similarities to the Killanin report. Both felt that teachers' salaries were inadequate and should be improved: both recommended an increase in government funding and both felt that consideration should be given to the question of imposing a local rate for education. Neither of the commitees recommended a change in the control of individual schools. But the two committees held diametrically opposite views on the question of the relationship between the grant to Irish education and the grant to education in Great Britain. The Killanin report adamantly opposed the notion of equivalence and maintained that the parliamentary grant to Irish elementary education should be based on Irish needs. The Molony report on the other hand recommended that state funds to Irish intermediate education should be equivalent to state aid for secondary education in England. In this regard both committees were reflecting the interests of their own sector. The existing grants to Irish

national education were greater than their English equivalent, whereas state aid to Irish intermediate education was less than that granted to English intermediate education. It would be difficult for the Treasury to be impressed by arguments that were so clearly a reflection of the vested interests of the two sectors; it would be even more difficult to draw up a scheme which would satisfy two opposing demands.

But this was the task faced by the Irish government when the two reports were presented in spring 1919. A further pressure for change had also been brought to bear on the Irish executive. A group of Northern Protestants was arguing that educational provision in Belfast was inadequate and that the time had come for the government to remedy the situation.

Impetus for change from Belfast

Shortly after the armistice, leading Belfast Protestants had begun to agitate for a reform of Irish education.[76] There had been a shortage of primary school accommodation in Belfast for a number of years and this shortage had become more acute during the war. As has been pointed out in earlier chapters, the Irish National Board had no power to initiate the provision of educational establishments in areas where provision was inadequate, since the national education system was essentially an aided system, set up to support local initiative. This system worked satisfactorily in religiously homogeneous areas but it was less satisfactory in areas where the population was religiously mixed. In many of the expanding industrial areas of Belfast the majority of the population belonged to different Protestant denominations, and none of these denominations had taken the initiative, in providing accommodation for elementary education. This led to the shortage of accommodation referred to earlier and resulted in pressure from leading Protestants for a change in the system. They wanted the government to introduce legislation which would enable the local authority to provide elementary school accommodation. In 1913, representatives of the three main Protestant denominations, - Dr. D'Arcy (Church of Ireland Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore), Rev. Dr. Montgomery (Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church), and Rev. G.R. Widgewood (Vice-President of the Methodist Conference) - had approached Belfast

Corporation with a request that the Corporation take steps to provide adequate elementary school accommodation in the city,[77] but no action had been taken on this request.

Allied to this, concern was also expressed by the authorities of intermediate and technical schools in the area, about the indirect effects on their schools of the recent Fisher Act passed in England. Under this act, financial provision to second-level education had undergone considerable improvement and the salaries of teachers in second-level schools in England and Scotland had been significantly increased. The Belfast authorities feared that the better conditions available for teachers in England and Scotland would result in an exodus of teachers from Belfast to schools in England and Scotland.[78]

On 12th December 1918 the Library and Technical Instruction Committee of the Corporation of Belfast sent a memorandum to Carson in which they expressed their concern about the indirect effects on education in Belfast "of the English and Scotch Education Act passed last year".[79] On 1st February 1919, Carson wrote to Fisher, Minister for Education in Whitehall, asking his advice on what action should be taken to solve the problem in Belfast. He himself felt that the remedy would be to bring the system of education in Belfast into line with the system in the rest of the United Kingdom. He stated:

> The first (remedy) seems to be that for the city, as well as for the rest of Ireland, steps should be taken at the earliest possible moment to secure for Ireland education conditions which shall be not less favourable than those given to England and Scotland. [80]

Fisher's reply to Carson was both supportive and sympathetic. He agreed that

> unless some steps are taken and taken soon to improve the Educational System of Ireland, the Irish children will be left in a position of great educational inferiority to the children of England, Scotland and Wales. [81]

Fisher believed that "the first step on the road to progress" would be

that the local authorities in Ireland should "rate themselves for educational purposes". Secondly, he felt that Irish education should be more effectively represented in parliament. He referred to the fact that no Minister for Education existed for Ireland and that as a result

> the sums available for Irish Education are to a large extent, determined by the amount which an English Minister of Education persuades parliament to grant him (for English needs).

He was aware that there would be problems with the Churches in bringing about reform in Irish education and he adverted to

> the dominating position of differing and antagonistic religious denominations, which must I fear for the present be accepted as an inherent feature in the Irish educational landscape.

But in spite of these problems, Fisher would not accept that " a scheme for local rating is beyond the pale of statemanship". He concluded his letter by encouraging Carson to put pressure on the government to reform the system of education in Belfast and stated:

> Belfast would certainly be doing a great service to Ireland if it will lead the way on this, the most certain path to progress.

Following Fisher's letter of encouragement, Carson set to work straight away on drawing up a scheme of reform of the education system in Belfast. On 10th February he informed Fisher that "The Belfast Corporation and Chamber of Commerce are working hard to try and frame a scheme to set an example". He recognised that "the religious element is a difficulty" but he expressed his willingness to make any arrangements "with those who differ from us" in order to develop a scheme "which would really put education on its legs in Ireland".[82]

Predictably, the Catholic Church authorities opposed any measure designed to involve local authorities in elementary or secondary education. In his Lenten pastoral in March 1919, Cardinal Logue expressed "grave anxiety" about the moves towards local authority involvement in education in Belfast. He warned Catholics that

> A movement which has long been hatching to secularise our schools has recently come to light,

and he exhorted them not to support any such measure.[83]

When the President of the Chamber of Commerce, H.M. Pollock, contacted Chief Secretary MacPherson in April about the proposals, MacPherson made it clear that he would not support such a measure. He indicated that he was sympathetic to the provisions of the Bill but he explained that he could not give government support to a local measure

> in view of the fact that they had in contemplation a comprehensive measure for all Ireland on similar lines to ours. [84]

He did not however, discourage the Belfast group from proceeding with their Bill. Pollock wrote to Fisher on 7th May to inform him that the Bill would be introduced in the House of Commons on 9th May. He told him that

> the only opposition comes from the Catholic hierarchy here, who insist on keeping control entirely in their own hands, and will resist the constitution of any local authority and the imposition of a rate. [85]

The Education (Belfast) Bill was introduced in Parliament on 9th May by Sanuel McGuffin, Unionist Member for Woodvale. Its main provisions were the creation of a General Education Committee of elected Councillors to administer a system of education. This Committee would have authority to levy a rate and would have power to take over existing schools by arrangement and contribute to the cost of others outside its control.[86] The bill was vehemently opposed by the few remaining members of the Nationalist Party in parliament and Joseph Devlin, M.P. for West Belfast pledged that he would fight the bill "Clause by Clause,line by line, word by word and letter by letter". He strongly opposed the clause which would give Belfast Corporation power to administer education stating:

> In many respects they are a very efficient public body, but I would as soon trust a number of lambs before a jury of butchers as trust Catholic interests before the interests of Belfast Corporation. [87]

The debate on the Bill became a sectarian battle of words between the Nationalist and Unionist M.Ps. The Nationalists made it clear that the Catholic people would not give up clerical control of the schools nor would they surrender control to a local authority like Belfast which discriminated against Catholics in employment and public life. The debate came to an abrupt end when the Attorney-General for Ireland announced the the Chief Secretary had already appointed a committee "to frame a great educational measure" applicable to the whole of Ireland.

The MacPherson Education Bill

The committee referred to was under the chairmanship of Bonaparte-Wyse, secretary to the National Board. The other members of the committee were W.F. Butler, Assistant Commissioner of the Intermediate Board, G. Fletcher, Administrative Head of the Technical Branch of the D.A.T.I., G.W. Alexander, assistant secretary of the Scottish Education Office, and P.A. Bennett, late Chief Inspector of the English Board of Education.[88]

The committee spent almost six months drawing up the Education Bill and it was finally introduced in parliament in November 1919.[89] Under the provisions of the bill, a new Department would be set up to administer all levels of education in Ireland and the powers and duties of the National and Intermediate Boards, the Technical Instruction Branch of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and the Teachers' Pensions Office in Dublin Castle would be transferred to the new Department. The Department would be under the control of the Chief Secretary, the President of the Board of Technical Instruction and a third person to be appointed by the government.

The bill provided for the setting up of Local Education Committees in each county and county borough. These committees could contribute one-third of the cost of building and improving schools; they

could also assume responsibility for a contribution towards maintaining, repairing, heating, cleaning, furnishing and equipping schools. They were also empowered to provide school requisites, scholarships and training for afflicted children.[90]

Under the financial provisions of the bill a special Irish education fund would be set up. It would consist of

(a) the capital and income of all the funds and endowments relating to national teachers' pensions, intermediate and technical education.

(b) a parliamentary grant based on the 1914 grant for Public Education (Ireland) and Science and Art (Ireland) and linked to the increase over and above the 1914 figure, given to education in England and Wales. The relationship between the figures for Ireland and England would be based on the Goschen ratio.

(c) a sum equivalent to the general departmental administration expenses of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland.

Thus, the consolidated fund which would be available for Irish education would include not only a parliamentary grant equivalent to the grant for English education but also the existing endowments of the Intermediate and Technical Boards, i.e. the original capital assets of the boards together with other accrued assets from reserve funds built up in earlier years. The bill also provided for a "secondary education rate" which would be raised "over each county and county borough".[92] The rate would be one penny in the pound in the first three financial years after the commencement of the Act and in subsequent years, would be determined "by the Department after consultation with the Board of Education" and would be a sum "not exceeding three pence in the pound". Under the provisions of the bill, payment by results in intermediate schools would be abolished and instead

> the secondary education endowment and the proceeds of the secondary education rate shall be applied in or towards the payment of capitation grants to managers of secondary schools and grants for the augmentation of salaries of teachers in secondary schools or for other purposes of secondary education.[93]

The annual income of the fund would be administered by the new Department and the Treasury's control over educational expenditure in Ireland would be considerably curtailed by the provisions of the bill. In his history of the I.N.T.O., O'Connell states that

> the amount due to the Fund, calculated on the Goschen ratio, would be voted each year by Parliament and, once voted, the British Treasury would have no control over it. The method of its expenditure and allocation would rest entirely with the Irish department and money expended in one year could be carried over to the next and used in such manner as determined by the department. 94

It is not entirely accurate to state,as O'Connell did, that the Treasury would have no control over the education vote. Paragraph 25 (4) provided that the fund would be applied "in accordance with minutes made by the Department after consultation with the Treasury". This implied that while the Treasury would no longer have a veto over educational expenditure, it would have to be consulted in relation to methods of distributing the grant. The Treasury also had to approve the manner in which

> any balance standing to the credit of the capital or income account of the fund may be invested or reinvested.

Thus, any unexpended balances remaining at the end of any one year would not have to be returned to the exchequer but could be retained by the new Department and invested for the purposes of Irish education subject to the approval of the Treasury. The new grant would be in the nature of a grant-in-aid rather than a grant. A further clause in the bill required the new Department to obey Treasury directions in relation to the preparation of accounts for submission to the Comptroller and Auditor-General.[95]

The teachers welcomed the financial provisions of the bill and indicated that they would be an improvement over the existing situation of financing Irish primary education. O'Connell maintained that the improvement would be in the region of £350,000 in 1919

> and was possible of expansion - unlike the existing practice of fixed doles at the pleasure of the Treasury.

The Secretary of the National Board, Bonaparte-Wyse expected that the total increase to Irish education as a result of the provisions of the bill would be in the region of £1 million.[96]

The main area of education to benefit under the bill would be intermediate education, which was underfinanced in relation to English secondary education at this time. However, primary education would also gain in certain respects - capital grants would be restored to their 1914 level plus a percentage that would allow for inflation. The costs of heating, cleaning and maintenance of national schools could now be claimed from the local rates and items such as books, requisites, medical and dental services could also be paid fro by rates.

Nobody objected to the fact that the financing of Irish education under the proposed bill would be inextricably linked to the financing of English education, although the idea of equivalence had been strongly condemned by the Killanin committee. Under the proposal of equivalence, the only increases to be given in the education fund for Ireland would be increases equivalent to increases in English education - there would be no increases given in response to purely Irish needs. The fact that the bill would result in a short-term increase in the grant from the exchequer to Irish education was sufficient to allay fears that Irish education might suffer in the long term from the financial provisions of the bill.

Opposition to the MacPherson Bill

The Catholic hierarchy was opposed to the bill and launched a campaign against it. The standing committee of the bishops of Ireland issued a statement in which they condemned "in the strongest manner" the provisions of the bill and described the proposed new Department as

> a British department (set up) at the instigation of an intolerant minority in one angle of the country who demand that others should be taxed with them to do what they, like their poorer neighbours, should long ago have done voluntarily for themselves.[97]

The Catholic stance was reflected in the nationalist newspapers. The Freeman's Journal described the bill as "an impudent proposal from more than one point of view", and alleged that "there was nothing educational about it except its name". Its aim was simply "to destroy such fragments of educational self-government as Ireland possessed".[98] The Irish Independent objected to the bill and in particular to the proposed Department which it said "is universally condemned as reactionary and undemocratic".

The Protestant churches were generally more favourable to the Bill. It was supported by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, by the Church of Ireland House of Bishops, by the Schoolmasters' Association, the Association of Irish Schoolmistresses, as well as by the Provost of Trinity College and the heads of many Protestant schools.[99]

A surprising objector to the Bill was the National Executive of the Trade Union Council who condemned the Bill on the grouns that it was neither an Irish scheme nor a democratic system:

> We strongly protest aginst the administrative scheme of the new Education Bill as being reactionary and bureaucratic, making a mockery of the Irish people and their demand for a genuinely National and democratic education system ..... We call upon all friends of education and democratic control to oppose the Bill. [100]

The proposals of the bill were hotly debated in the newspapers in early December 1919. The bill was due for its second reading in the House of Commons on 15th December. At this point the Irish Parliamentary Party had only six seats in parliament. Following the general election in December 1918, the Sinn Fein party had won seventy-three seats and in keeping with their policy of abstention from Westminster, they had established a separate and independent Irish Dail in Dublin.[101] Therefore, the Education Bill could well have been carried in Westminster as there were not enough Irish M.Ps. to vote against it. The Irish members who were there decided to take action to ensure that the bill would not receive its second reading. By extending the debate on the previous item - a debate on the Royal Air Force - they ensured that

there would be no time to introduce a second reading of the Education Bill, and they effectively prevented it from being passed before the Christmas recess.[102]

During the spring of 1920, the debate continued in the newspapers and from the pulpits of Ireland. The Catholic Clerical Managers declared that

> the only satisfactory system of education for Catholics is that wherein Catholic schildren are taught in Catholic schools, by Catholic teachers, under Catholic control. [103]

The Catholic bishops issued a further statement condemning the measure and stating that it would "deprive the bishop and clergy of such control of the schools as is necessary for that religious training of the young which Leo XIII decided to be a chief part in the cure of souls".[104]

A slightly amended bill was introduced in parliament on 24th February 1920. The suspicions of the Catholic Church authorities were not allayed by this bill and they continued to orchestrate objections to the measure. During the months that followed it became increasingly clear that the government was unlikely to proceed with the bill. Chief Secretary MacPherson resigned in early April and he was replaced by Sir Hamar Greenwood.[105] The bill was gradually forgotten and it never obtained a second reading.

The failure of the government to introduce legislation to reform the Irish system of education had both short-term and long-term effects. In the short-term the financial provisions for both national and intermediate education remained inadequate. Teachers' salaries in particular suffered. The government and the Treasury had refused to take action to improve the salaries of teachers until the structure of the system had been reformed. Almost two years had elapsed since the Killanin and Molony committees had been set up and no progress had been made in relation to teachers' salareis before summer 1920.

In the long-term the implications of the government's failure to reform Irish education would be far-reaching. The rift between the

Protestants of Belfast and the Dublin government widened. The Northern Protestants had been assured by the Irish executive in May 1918 that legislation would shortly be introduced which would solve their educational problems. Two years later these problems were no closer to being resolved. Sir Edward Carson used the government's failure to give a second reading to the bill as a justification of his extreme action of earlier years. He said

> It is one more unanswerable argument in support of the extreme courses which I have taken in the past to prevent the placing of Ulster under an Irish parliament. Such a parliament would be dominated by the influences which have killed the Education Bill. 106

From the Treasury's point of view, the exercise had been a failure. Despite the recommendations of the Killanin and Molony committees, there was no change in the financing pattern of Irish education. No steps had been taken either to levy a local rate for national or intermediate education or to improve the local contribution. Irish education was still as unco-ordinated as ever - demands for ever-increasing government grants would continue to emanate from the unrelated Boards and the power of the Irish executive to control these Boards was as undefined as it had ever been.

The Better Government of Ireland Act was introduced in parliament in December 1920 and it was clear from the proposals of this bill that self-government would shortly be granted to both Northern and Southern Ireland.[107] The debacle of the Education Bill ensured that it would be a long time before a Dublin government would attempt to interfere with the structure of Irish education. The experiences of 1902/4; 1907 and 1919 had shown clearly that any efforts to reform Irish education would be vigorously opposed by the Catholic Church and any government which wanted to obtain or retain the support of the Catholic Church would be well-advised to steer clear of measures designed to restructure education.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE FINAL YEARS OF THE NATIONAL BOARD, 1920 - 1922

The efforts of the government in 1919 and 1920 to introduce legislation which would reform the system of education in Ireland have been discussed in the previous chapter. These efforts were strongly resisted by the Catholic hierarchy and the nationalist M.Ps. and by summer 1920 the Education Bill had not yet received its second reading. During the preceding two years the I.N.T.O. had made strong representations to the government about the inadequacy of the salaries of national teachers but the government had indicated that a permanent settlement of the teachers' salaries claim would be dependent on the introduction of legislation to reform the educational system.

In this chapter it will be seen that despite the failure of the government to legislate for educational reform, the issue of the national teachers' salary claim was satisfactorily resolved in autumn 1920. The increase granted to national teachers was one of the most significant in the history of the I.N.T.O. and meant that in many cases Irish teachers were better paid than their counterparts in the rest of the United Kingdom. The increase was conceded at a period when the Cost of Living index was at its peak. Prices fell by almost 50% in the following year and continued to fall in subsequent years, but although the agreement on national teachers' salaries had included provision for further increases if inflation continued, there was no provision for decreases in the event of deflation. Consequently, the body of national teachers inherited by the Free State in 1922 was very generously paid in the context of the cost of living of that time. As a result of the increase in teachers' salaries, the total parliamentary grant to Irish national education increased significantly during the last years of the National Board.

The period 1919 to 1922 was also an era of considerable reconstruction and development in the civil service as a whole. In the following pages, the effect of this reconstruction on the Office of National Education in Dublin will be analysed and discussed. It will be seen that the internal administrative structure of the National Board as inherited by the new state in 1922 had undergone significant change

in the previous two years and that the procedures and structures established in those years were modern and up-to-date. This process was inextricably linked to the transfer of services and the re-allocation of staff necessitated by the partition of the country in 1921-22, and this allocation was carried out smoothly and efficiently and was in stark contrast to the political upheaval which accompanied partition.

National Teachers' Salaries

During the years 1918 to 1920, the cost of living had increased significantly. In the three-year period the Index had spiralled by 100 points, from 268 in 1918 to 368 in 1920.[1] The national teachers were awarded four temporary war bonuses during 1918 and 1919 in an effort to keep pace with the increase in the cost of living and by March 1920, these war bonuses added £75 to their salary.[2] But the I.N.T.O. was anxious to place these increases on a permanent footing and on a number of occasions during the period they submitted claims for a permanent increase in salary scales. On each occasion the Treasury refused to consider their claim, arguing that a new scale would not be considered until the Education Bill was passed. In March 1920 the National Board and the Treasury agreed that if the Bill were not passed before June 1st, they would begin to process the I.N.T.O. claim for a permanent increase in teachers' salaries.[3]

Meanwhile, the secretary to the National Board, A.N. Bonaparte-Wyse, had expressed concern about the inadequacy of the salaries of national teachers. In April 1920, Wyse wrote to Sir Homar-Greenwood, who had replaced MacPherson as Chief Secretary, urging that steps be taken to increase these salaries.[4] Wyse would like to see the Education Bill given a second reading and he urged the Chief Secretary to take action to ensure that this would be done. He feared that the Bill was being secretly opposed by the Treasury because of the fact that it would require a significant increase in government spending on Irish education. He was concerned that the Lords of the Treasury were

> now anxious to escape paying the full amount and losing interest in the Bill if not secretly opposing it [5]

and he believed that a revised structure and scale of finance for Irish education was vitally necessary. In May 1920, Wyse stated that he regarded the inadequacy of teachers' salaries as one of the most serious defects of the system. He listed the main defects as follows:

1. Inadequate teachers' salaries
2. Insufficient qualified teachers
3. Unsatisfactory level of school work
4. Low standard of school buildings and inadequate school accommodation, particularly in Belfast
5. Lack of local interest in education and inadequate provision of local aid for the upkeep and maintenance of schools
6. A low level of school attendance and an early school-leaving age
7. An inadequate pension scheme for teachers.

[6]

He felt that the proposed new legislation would help to remedy most of these defects and he urged the government to proceed with the introduction of the necessary legislation. But by early June the Bill had not yet been tabled for a second reading and negotiations began between the I.N.T.O., the National Board and the Treasury on the salaries issue.

Teachers' Salaries in England

At this point it is worth noting that in August 1919 the Permanent Secretary to the Education Board in England, H.A.L. Fisher, had set up a Standing Joint Committee consisting of twenty representatives each of the National Union of Teachers and the local education authorities under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham "to secure the orderly and progressive solution of the salary problem in public elementary schools by agreement on a national basis and its correlation with a solution of the salary problem in secondary schools".[7] By November 1919, this Burnham Committee had produced a unanimous Report on Standard Scales of Salaries for Teachers in Public Elementary Schools, and had presented the report to parliament. The recommendations of the committee were accepted by the government and by mid 1920 the new Burnham salary scales were implemented

in English elementary schools. The new scales laid down a minimum annual salary of £160 rising by annual increments of £10 to £300 for certificated assistant masters and £150 - £10 - £240 for certificated assistant mistresses. The pay of headmasters, which was mainly dependent on the average attendance of pupils in their schools ranged from £330 (Grade I) to £450 (Grade V); headmistresses' salaries ranged from £264 (Grade I) to £360 (Grade V).[8] The Burnham salary scale in England was seen by the I.N.T.O. as an indication of the level of salaries which should be obtained by Irish teachers.

Settlement of Irish National Teachers' Salary Claim

During the spring of 1920, the I.N.T.O. had renewed their demand for a permanent settlement of the national teachers' salary claim. In March the government had indicated that if the Education Bill was not passed by summer, consideration would be given to the teachers' demand. When the situation regarding the bill was still unclear in June, the government agreed that the I.N.T.O. claim should be heard by the Arbitration Board.[9] During the months that followed, prolonged negotiations took place between the unions representing national teachers, the Arbitration Board, the Treasury and the National Board. In June the Treasury attempted to postpone a permanent settlement by offering a further War Bonus but this was rejected by the teachers.[10] It would appear that even as late as September some members of the official side still had hopes of avoiding a permanent settlement and a note on a Treasury file on 14th September read as follows:

> While the Education Bill is not absolutely dead, there is small hope of its passing while the Irish question remains in its present unsettled state. Accordingly our only hope of preventing an award of permanent salaries is by being able to show that we are giving adequate war bonus. [11]

But this possibility does not appear to have been seriously considered and a month later the question of a permanent settlement was close to solution. By early November the Treasury had indicated its willingness to "go as far" as agreeing salaries of £170 to £340 for men and £155 to £275 for women but the National Board was holding out for a marginally higher scale.[12] The scale offered by the Treasury was higher than the Burnham scale in operation for English and Scottish teachers. Some weeks

later (on 29th November) a compromise was finally reached and the scales agreed were £175 to £340 for men and £160 to £272 for women. The new salaries were retrospective to 1st April 1920 and the increases were to be paid in three instalments in April 1920, 1921 and 1922 respectively.[13]

The settlement of the national teachers' salary claim was seen as a great victory for the I.N.T.O. The final agreement was reached, in spite of serious differences between the different teacher unions, just ten days before the government declared a freeze on wages and salaries throughout the public service - a freeze that remained in operation for a considerable number of years.[14] The annual report of the National Board for 1919/1920, hailed the increase as follows in its opening paragraph:

> The year that has just elapsed will be memorable in the history of Irish primary education for the satisfactory settlement of the teachers' salaries question .... Pre-war salaries of the national teachers were unduly low and such as to discourage the best class of candidates from entering the profession .....[15]

A booklet published by the I.N.T.O. in 1920 giving details of the increases included the following statement:

> For the first time since 1831, when State payment to Irish teachers was first introduced, can it be stated with any degree of truth that the salary of an Irish primary teacher is fair, just and commensurate with the important work which he is called on to perform.[16]

The total parliamentary grant to national education increased significantly as a result of the increase in teachers' salaries. The average state grant per pupil more than doubled between 1917/18 and 1920/21,[17] although the increase in the Wholesale Price Index for the same period was only slightly more than 50%.[18] The following table gives details of the comparative situation.

TABLE 14.1

Total Parliamentary Grant to National Education, No. of Pupils and Average Grant per Pupil, 1917/18 to 1920/21. 19

Year	Total Parliamentary Grant	No. of Pupils in Av. Atten.	Av. Grant per Pupil	Wholesale Price Index
				(1900 = 100)
1917/18	£2,141,860	488,785	£4.38	243.1
1918/19	£2,142,511	488,031	£4.39	268.1
1919/20	£3,111,878	487,866	£6.38	296.5
1920/21	£4,382,994	481,854	£9.10	368.8

In England the parliamentary grant for elementary education had also increased as a result of the introduction of the Burnhan scale of salaries. In 1920/1 the bill for teachers' salaries was more than two and a half times the pre-war figure.[20] The average cost per pupil in attendance in English elementary schools in that year was £11.9.0, of which the central exchequer paid 55% or £6.6.0.[21] The comparable amount paid by the state for pupils in Irish national schools was £9.2.0[22] - over 40% more than the figure paid per pupil in England.

The National Union of Teachers in England claimed that the salary increase awarded to Irish national teachers in November 1920 was excessive. In December 1920 Sir James Yoxall of the N.U.T. expressed concern to H.A.L. Fisher, President of the English Board of Education, at the size of the increase and claimed that it would put most Irish teachers on Scale IV of the Burnham scale and that the agreement would mean that Irish teachers would have better prospects than English teachers.[23] This claim was to a large extent related to the fact that in Ireland, a higher proportion of teachers were principal teachers because of the large number of small schools in the country.

Following the settlement of the teachers' salary claim in November 1920, the pressure on the government for additional funding for national education was removed. It was clear that responsibility for Irish education would shortly be transferred to the new administrations which were about to be set up and the Irish executive was not anxious to

introduce any changes pending the transfer of services. In February 1921 the Chief Secretary stated that

> under the Government of Ireland Act 1920, questions of secondary and other education in Ireland pass under the jurisdiction of the Irish Parliament, to which the final solution of these questions must now be left.[24]

It is significant that the national teachers' salary claim was conceded at the end of 1920, when the cost of living index had reached its peak. The following year the index fell dramatically and while provision had been made in the salary settlements of both the English and the Irish teachers for adjustments in salary to keep in line with inflation, no provision had been made for a deflationery situation.[25] Between 1920 and 1922 the cost of living fell by almost 50%,[26] but no decrease occurred in teachers' salaries. This dichotomy between the level of national teachers' salaries and the cost of living index created a problem for the Free State government when it assumed power in 1922.

Final Confrontation between the National Board and the Irish Executive on the question of "Fundamental Rules".

In earlier chapters, the ambiguity in the relationship between the National Board and the Irish executive was discussed at some length. It was seen that despite efforts by the government to establish its authority over the actions of the Board, the relationship between the Board and Dublin Castle remained unclear throughout the life of the Board. In 1854 the Board had conceded the right of the executive to insist that no fundamental rule could be changed without the permission of the Lord Lieutenant. But no agreed definition of the phrase "fundamental rule" had been reached and a difference in interpreting the concept resulted in a further and final confrontation between the Board and the Irish executive in 1920 and 1921.

The confrontation arose over the question of whether a national teacher could be a member of a county or district council.[27] Prior to 1954, the Board's rules had prohibited the attendance of teachers "at meetings held for political purposes, or their taking part in elections for Members of Parliament, except by voting". Some minor amendments were

made in this rule in 1854 and in 1902 a further rule was added which read as follows:

> Urban Councillors, Rural Councillors, Poor Law Guardians, members of School Attendance Committees etc. are not eligible for the position of National Teacher. [28]

In 1911/12 the rule was amended to allow national teachers to be appointed as "additional councillors" on a local authority to fill a casual vacancy.[29] In June 1920, the rule was effectively withdrawn and was redrafted to read as follows:

> Whilst teachers are permitted to be members of county or district councils, or other statutory local bodies, it is to be understood that they shall not absent themselves from their schools during school hours or interrupt their school duties for the purpose of attending meetings or transacting other business arising out of their membership of such bodies.[30]

The National Board did not submit this change to the Irish executive for approval and the executive objected to the Board's action, arguing that government approval should have been obtained for the proposed change. The Board countered that the rule in question was not a fundamental rule and that consequently they were not required to submit it to Dublin Castle. The Irish executive replied that it was a fundamental rule, thereby indicating that the definition of "fundamental rule" which had been put forward by the National Board in 1864 had not been accepted in Dublin Castle. In an effort to solve the impasse, the Board decided to obtain legal advice on the matter and wrote to the Board's solicitor, J. Maxwell, instructing him to seek counsel's advice. But before the question was resolved, the Irish Free State had been set up and the National Board was dissolved.

The correspondence in 1920 and 1921 over the question of changing the Board's rules to allow teachers to become members of local authorities indicated that no change or clarification in the relationship between the National Board and Dublin Castle had occurred in the period between 1864 and 1921. The position of the Board vis-a-vis the Irish executive was as it had been half-a-century earlier. The helplessness of a Chief Secretary in the face of a united Board had been adverted to by Birrell in 1907 and

the situation had not changed by 1921. The energies of successive governments after 1900 had been directed towards radical reform of the structure of Irish education; no efforts had been made to formalise or clarify the relationship between the National Board and the Irish executive.

"Reconstruction" of the Civil Service

Reference was made in Chpater XIII to the movement for reconstruction and reform which arose out of the destruction and disability caused by the First World War. The zeal for reconstruction was evident in many sectors of British life and we have seen how these developments affected attitudes towards education and led indirectly to the passing of the Fisher Act in England in 1918. This Act, by providing for an increase in public expenditure on education in England, resulted in making an equivalent grant available for Irish education. The availability of the increase in the Irish grant led the Treasury to call for an extensive enquiry into Irish education and the Vice Regal Inquiries into Primary and Intermediate Education resulted in turn in the introduction of legislation designed to reform the system of Irish education. The failure of the government to proceed with the 1919 Bill has been discussed earlier and it was noted that the controversy surrounding the Bill attracted considerable publicity and newspaper coverage at the time.

Parallel with the abortive effort to reform the system of education in Ireland, steps were being taken to reconstruct educational administration at a different level, i.e. within the departments which administered education. These attempts at reconstruction were carried out without publicity and their results were considerably more successful than the efforts to reform and co-ordinate the educational system as a whole.

The year 1919 heralded the beginning of major administrative change in all departments of the British (including Irish) civil service. Four committees had sat in the years 1918 and 1919 to enquire into various aspects of Civil Service administration in the U.K. The first of these was the Haldane Committee which produced a report on "The Machinery of Government" in January 1919.[31] This committee was regarded as a major landmark in British administrative history.[32] It was set up to look into

the "reconstruction" of the Civil Service as there was growing concern with what was seen as "wasteful over-lapping" among the old departments of the Civil Service and new departments which had been set up to deal with the war situation. The Haldane Committee laid down guidelines on which the modern Civil Service is based. It recommended a rationally integrated departmental system of government with a Department of Finance as its co-ordinator. But it felt that control by such a department would have to be exercised "in a sympathetic spirit and with an adequate knowledge of the circumstances and difficulties of the other departments".[33] It also stated that

> it would be desirable to dissipate the tradition that all Departments have a natural disposition to extravagence and that the Treasury is irreconcilably opposed to all increases of expenditure.

The Haldane Committee recommended that the work of each department of the civil service be clearly defined and felt that this definition should take into account the particular service which the department "rendered to the community as a whole".[34] The report continued:

> Thus a Ministry of Education would be concerned predominantly with the provision of education wherever and by whomsoever needed. Such a Ministry would have to deal with persons in so far only as they were to be educated, and not with particular classes of persons defined on other principles. [35]

It urged that in all departments better provision should be made "for enquiry, research and reflection before policy is defined and put into operation".

In the context of the recommendations of the Haldane Committee, the administration of Irish education clearly required significant reorganisation. The autonomy of the individual administrative systems was contrary to the ideals expressed in the Haldane report and none of the systems contained provision for "enquiry, research or reflection". The setting up of the vice-regal committees on primary and intermediate education in 1918 under the chairmanship of Killanin and Molony

respectively was a first step towards a rationalisation of educational administration in Ireland but efforts to implement the recommendations of these committees had failed by early 1920.

Shortly after the Haldane Committee reported, a Departmental Committee on the Organization and Staffing of Government offices published its findings.[36] This committee was under the chairmanship of Sir John Bradbury, Joint Permanent Secretary to the Treasury and it had been set up because many of the new departments which had been created during the war years had operated in a relatively autonomous situation and had sidestepped Treasury control. The consequences were over-staffing, the overlapping of functions and wide disparities in remuneration in different departments of the public service. The Bradbury report recommended that full Treasury control should be restored over all departments and that there should be a greater degree of integration between government departments. In the context of these recommendations, it was not surprising that the government was anxious to introduce legislation which would co-ordinate and integrate the work of the three main departments dealing with education in Ireland.

The third committee which was set up was under the chairmanship of J.H. Whitley, the deputy speaker of the House of Commons.[37] This committee was set up to investigate the post-war relations between "Capital and Labour". The Whitley report recognised that the status of the worker in industry had changed and that the worker should be seen as a partner. The committee recommended that a "National Council" should be set up in every industry representing equally both employers and employed, for the amicable settlement of questions effecting industry - wages, conditions, hours etc. This scheme was accepted by the government as its policy for ensuring industrial peace and was recommended to employers and employed throughout the country. Initially the government refused to extend the principle to the civil service itself but under considerable pressure from the civil service associations the government capitulated and extended the scheme, first to the "industrial establishments of the Crown" and finally to the clerical and administrative staffs.[38] Because of differences between the staff sides and the government side as to the details of implementing the scheme a joint committee was set up to solve the differences.[39] This committee (the fourth committee) was the Ramsay-Bunning committee and on 28th May 1919, it issued its first report. It

recommended that a National Council of 54 members (half official representatives and half official representatives) would be set up to deal with questions common to the civil service as a whole and that a Departmental Council would be set up for each department for dealing with purely departmental questions. These councils would have wide-ranging powers:

> The decisions of the Council shall be arrived at by agreement between the two sides, shall be signed by the Chairman and Vice-chairman, shall be reported to the Cabinet and thereupon shall become operative.

The recommendations of the first Ramsay-Bunning report were adopted by the government and the staff associations and the National Council came into existence in July 1919.

In the first year of its existence the National Council issued two major reports - one on the Cost of Living and the other on re-organisation within the Civil Service. This latter report was called the Reconstruction report and was variously referred to as the Ramsay or the Whitley report. The report agreed that the work of the civil service fell within two main categories (1) work of a simple mechanical kind consisting of the application of well-defined regulations, decisions and practice to particular cases, and (2) work concerned with the formation of policy, with the revision of existing practice or current regulations and decisions and into the organisation and direction of the business of government. As a result of the recommendations of the committee, the old hierarchy of grades - First Division, Second Division, Assistant Clerks, boy clerks, etc. - was superseded by the career grades which are familiar in the Civil Service of today - administrative, executive and clerical grades.[40] In addition, uniform scales of pay were introduced throughout the civil service and Whitley Councils were set up in the different departments of the civil service. The Whitley councils set up in the Irish departments were closely involved in the discussions which took place in 1920 and 1921 in relation to the allocation of staff between the northern and southern departments and the involvement of the councils helped to smooth the administrative transition resulting from partition.

Government of Ireland Act, December 1920

The basis on which the partition of Ireland was to be effected was laid down in the Government of Ireland Act which was passed in December 1920. This Act provided for Home Rule legislatures in Dublin and Belfast and the setting up of a Council of Ireland.[41] The partition of the country was not intended to be permanent; the Council of Ireland was set up

> with a view to the eventual establishment of a parliament for the whole of Ireland and to bringing about harmonious action between the parliaments and governments of Southern Ireland and Northern Ireland ... and to providing for the administration of services which the two parliaments mutually agree would be administered uniformly throughout the whole of Ireland. [42]

As the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act were not accepted in the south, the Act was not in practice implemented in the twenty-six counties. From summer 1920 to summer 1921 the War of Independence was fought against British forces and it was not until July 1921, when a truce was signed, that negotiations on an acceptable form of goverment took place between the Provisional Government and Prime Minister Lloyd-George. These negotiations finally resulted in the signing of the Anglo-Irish treaty in December 1921 and the Provisional Government under the leadership of Michael Collins, took over responsibility for the twenty-six counties from the British administration in Dublin Castle on 14th January 1922.[43]

The provisions of the Government of Ireland Act were accepted in Northern Ireland. Elections were held in May 1921 and of the fifty-two members returned for the Six Counties, forty were Unionists, six were Nationalists and six were Republicans. The Northern Ireland parliament was officially opened on 22nd June 1921 under the leadership of James Craig, but the Republican and Nationalist members obstained from parliament.[44]

Re-organisation in Dublin Castle, 1920

Before discussing the details of the re-organisation of the National

Education Office and the allocation of staff to the new Dublin and Belfast offices of education, it is necessary to refer to a significant reform of the administration in Dublin Castle which occurred in 1920. Following the publication of the Ramsay-Bunning report, Sir Warren Fisher was appointed Permanent Secretary to the Treasury in October 1919. Fisher was a young, energetic Permanent Secretary who was anxious to change the image of the Treasury and of the civil service, of which he was also head. The appointment of Fisher led immediately to a re-organisation of the administration in Dublin Castle - a re-organisation which had been called for by the Lord Lieutenant, Lord French, in 1918.[46] In 1920, Sir Warren Fisher came to Ireland accompanied by two senior civil servants from the Treasury, A.W. Cope and B.G. Harwood. They were not impressed by what they found in Dublin Castle and wrote:

> The Castle administration does not administer. On the mechanical side it can never have been any good and is now quite obsolete; in the infinitely more important sphere (a) of informing and advising the Irish government in relation to policy and (b) of practical capacity in the application of policy it simply has no existence. [47]

They recommended the immediate removal of a number of the senior officials in Dublin Castle. The first to go were the Assistant Under-Secretary, Sir John Taylor and the principal clerk, W.J.P. Connolly. Taylor had replaced Sir Frederick Cullinan as principal clerk in 1912 and until his promotion to assistant under-secretary in 1919 he had dealt with financial matters in Dublin Castle. He had been replaced by Connolly who then dealt with all areas, including education. In 1912 there had been three principal clerks in the Chief Secretary's office but in 1920 two of these posts were vacant and W.P.J. Connolly was the only principal clerk.[48] With the removal of Taylor and Connolly, all top level administrators in Dublin Castle except Under-Secretary McMahon, were gone. Also removed was the Treasury Remembrancer, Maurice Headlam, who was alleged to have worked closely with Taylor to curtail all expenditure in Ireland which did not deal with keeping law and order.[49] The three men who were removed were seen not only to be inefficient but also "bigoted and anti-Irish". They were replaced by a team of a dozen English officials, some of them "the most dynamic in the British Civil Service". Among them were A.W. Cope who replaced Taylor as under-secretary and A.P. Waterfield

who became the head of the new Treasury (Ireland) office. This was a new Treasury division which superseded the Treasury Remembrancer's office and took over not only the work of the Treasury Remembrancer but also most of the routine administrative work relating to estimates etc. which had previously been carried out in London. Sir John Anderson was appointed co-Under-Secretary because of his links with the Catholic hierarchy;[50] Anderson was also appointed Secretary to the office of Treasury (Ireland) and in a Treasury circular of 25th May 1920 it was stated that Anderson had been assigned

> in his personal capacity functions in relation to expenditure in Ireland analagous in all respects to those exercised in London by the Secretary to the Treasury. [51]

By mid-1920 no further letters were sent from the Treasury office in London to individual government departments in Ireland - all communications from Irish departments on matters of finance were dealt with by the new office of the Treasury (Ireland) in Dublin Castle without reference to Treasury headquarters in London. Although Anderson was secretary to the new Treasury division, he spent much of his time in London discussing security and related issues; he delegated the more routine administrative matters, including those related to re-organisation and transfer, to A.P.Waterfield.[52]

Effect of the Government of Ireland Act on the administration of National Education

Waterfield made it clear that one of his main priorities would be the reconstruction of the Irish civil service and the smooth transfer of services to the new governments. He was particularly anxious that this reconstruction would be completed in all departments before "the appointed day" for transfer of services.[53] In order to alleviate the problems arising out of transfer of services, two committees were set up, the Joint Exchequer Board, to settle questions of finance arising out of partition; and the Civil Service Committee (or Alliance) to decide on the allocation of civil servants between north and south and to compensate those affected by the allocations.

Initially, it was hoped that the process of partition and transfer would begin in January 1921. On 20th January a letter was sent to all departments, including the Office of National Education, by Sir John

Anderson stating:

> It is proposed to bring the Act into operation at any early date and to effect the transfer of the various services successively at dates to be arranged with the new Governments, the constitution of which will follow immediately upon the election of the new Parliaments. Up to the date of transfer, which is to be fixed by Order in Council, the administration of each service will continue as at present, but in view of the impending transfer it is essential that steps should be taken at once to prepare for the winding-up of the business of existing Departments in relation to Irish Services, and for the necessary adjustment of each of these services, to the new conditions in order that it may be transferred to the new Governments in full working order and without breach of continuity. 54

The letter asked the National Board to do three things:

(1) to study and annotate all acts and statutes having a bearing on their services and to suggest any changes that might have to be made either by legislation or by order of council.

(2) to separate accounts and records of departments into services to be transferred to Southern and Northern Ireland respectively.

(3) to separate provisional lists of civil service officers available for transfer to either Irish government.

On receipt of the Chief Secretary's circular, the National Board immediately made arrangements to carry out

> the adjustments required to effect the administrative changes in the National Education Services necessitated by the passing into law of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920. 55

On the 4th February 1921 the Board wrote to their solicitor, J.M. Maxwell, asking him "to furnish detailed observations as to the necessary adaptation of existing statutes etc". The letter continued:

> Seeing that the Board administers Primary Education in Ireland under powers derived from Royal Charter and its authority has not been conferred or regulated by Act of Parliament, and further that the Board's relations to the Executive Government do not correspond with those of any other public Department in Ireland, the Commissioners desire to have the opinion of Senior Counsel as to how their position has been affected by the recent Act.

A list of the statutes etc. governing national education in Ireland was given as follows:

1. Letter of October 1831 from Mr. E.G. Stanley; Chief Secretary for Ireland, to His Grace the Duke of Leinster on the formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland.
2. Charter of 1845.
3. Supplemental Charter of 1861.
4. National School Teachers' Residences (Ireland) Act, 1875.
5. National School Teachers' (Ireland) Act, 1875.
6. National School Teachers' (Ireland) Act, 1879, and rules thereunder.
7. Leases for Schools (Ireland) Act, 1881.
8. Loans for Schools and Training College (Ireland) Act, 1884.
9. National School Teachers' Amendment (Ireland) Act, 1884.
10. Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890 (Section 3).
11. Irish Education Act, 1892.)
) and Rules thereunder
12. Irish Education Act, 1893.)

Mention was also made of the following Acts which indirectly affected National Education.

The Public Health Acts
The Factory and Workshop Acts
The National Health Insurance Acts
The Purchase of Land Act, 1891
The Public Works Loan Act, 1917
The Local Government (Ireland) Act, 1898
Education (Provision of Meals) (Ireland) Acts, 1914-1917

Public Health (Medical Treatment of Children) (Ireland) Act,1919
The Children Act, 1908.

On 19th February 1921, Mr. Maxwell, Solicitor, replied to the Board's letter and stated that he had interviews with Mr. Herbert Wilson, K.C. about the matters raised and he (Wilson) took the following view, which is quoted in full as it provides a comprehensive legal opinion on the constitution of the National Board.[56]

> I am of opinion that the position of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland has not been affected by the Government of Ireland Act 1920. It does not appear to me that the Board administers Primary Education in Ireland under powers derived from Royal Charter.
>
> The Charter of 1845 incorporated the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and enabled them to acquire and hold land and to receive money and chattels and thereout to erect, maintain and support schools in Ireland. The Charter of 1861 gives no additional powers.
>
> Public money (which last year amounts to about £3,000,000) seems to be entrusted to them for the purpose of administering the same in connection with primary education, and any powers which the Commissioners exercise must be conferred on them by Statute.
>
> I am of opinion that the Department administered by the Commissioners is an "Irish Service" within the meaning of Sec.8 (8) of the Government of Ireland Act, and is subject to the provisions of that section. Whatever new departments may be created for administering Primary education by either of the new Parliaments for Southern or Northern Ireland, the Commissioners will still continue as a body corporate, and may be entrusted by either parliament with such powers of administration as shall be granted by Statute.

A copy of this opinion was sent to the Under-Secretary in Dublin Castle on 18th May 1921. During the ensuing months there was further correspondence about the property and trusts owned or administered by the National Board and the details of the allocation of assets between north and south were discussed at some length. As regards property which was vested in the Commissioners, Senior Counsel advised that property should be allocated according to the county in which it was situated. The property vested in the Commissioners was listed as follows:-

Tyrone House (held for ever under Conveyance dated 5.11.1839)

28 Marlborough Street (lease for 800 years from 30.7.1847)

29 Marlborough Street (lease dated 19.12.1839 for lives renewable)

Training College and Central Model School Buildings, Marlborough Street, Dublin

Marlborough Hall, held in fee simple and

Marlborough House, Glasnevin, 500 years from 1837

Talbot House, Dublin 800 years from 25.3.1846

29 Model Schools in various counties

720 National Schoolhouses vested in the Commissioners

46 National school teachers' residences vested in the Commissioners.

Four private contribution funds, amounting to a total value of £11,054.2.1d, were administered by the Commissioners. The only one which applied to the state as a whole was the Carlisle and Blake Fund which was worth £3,000. It was suggested that a suitable basis of apportionment would be the relative numbers of national schools eligible to participate in the scheme, which were situation in the respective areas of north and south. If this basis was adopted 27% of the fund would be applicable to Northern Ireland.

These opinions were submitted to Anderson in Dublin Castle for discussion by the Joint Exchequer Board in September 1921 and in the meantime the other matters relating to the "reconstruction" and allocation between north and south of the staff of the office were being considered in detail.

The Departmental Whitley Council of the Office of National Education

The setting up of a Whitley Council composed of representative of the National Board (as employer) and of staff members appears to have been of considerable assistance in the smooth and apparently non-contentious transfer of staff to the new administrations.

The Whitley Council of the Office of National Education was set up in October 1919.[57] On 20th October 1919, a joint meeting was convened by Resident Commissioner, Starkie, of official representatives and representatives of staff associations which had members employed in the Office of National Education. A constitution for the departmental

council was drafted and it was agreed that the membership of the council would consist of 17 members

> of whom 7 shall be appointed by the Head of the Department (official side) and 10 by the associations or groups of associations having members employed in the Department (the staff side).[58]

Under the constitution of the new council, the Chairman at every meeting should be a member of the official side and the vice-chairman should be a member of the staff side. The general objects of the council were

> to secure the greatest measure of co-operation between the Administration, in its capacity as employer, and the general body of the staff in matters affecting the Department with a view to increased efficiency in the Department, combinued with the well-being of those employed; to provide machinery for dealing with grievances and generally to bring together the experience and different points of view respecting conditions of service within the department.[59]

The Chairman was free to invite other representatives to a meeting of the Council if he saw fit - either additional representatives from the staff side or "a representative appointed by the Treasury". The members of the official side were Starkie; Bonaparte-Wyse and Dilworth, Secretaries to the Board; D. Frizzell, Accountant; J. McNeill, Chief Inspector; W.J. Purcell, Senior Examiner. At the first meeting of the council eight representatives of the staff side were present. The chairman of the Council until his death in 1920 was Starkie and the vice-chairman was George Murray. Following the death of Starkie in summer 1920, Dilworth became chairman of the Council.[60]

Between October 1919 and February 1922, eleven meetings of this council were held. A wide range of topics was discussed, ranging from the need to appoint additional messengers to a total re-organisation of both the indoor and the outdoor staff. Working conditions were also discussed including the question of providing improved lavatory and cloakroom accommodation. One of the major items discussed during 1921 was the re-organisation of the office and the question of the selection of officers for transfer to northern Ireland under the Government of

Ireland Act.

Criteria for transfer of Civil Servants to Northern Ireland

On 31st May 1921 a sub-committee of the Irish Civil Service Alliance reported on the subject of the general principles which should govern the selection of officers for transfer to the Northern Government under the Government of Ireland Act.[61] The Alliance recommended

(1) that outdoor officers already permanently stationed in Northern Ireland should become officers of that area subject to individual voluntary transfer in the event of Northern officers wishing to come south and a sufficient number of southern officers wishing to go north

(2) that a central pool of surplus volunteers for Northern Ireland should be formed to embrace all departments; volunteers from services in Great Britain should also be included in this pool

(3) subject to the necessity for a staff with adequate training etc, officers compulsorily selected for transfer to Northern Ireland should be chosen in the following order:

Single men without dependents
Single men with dependents
Married men without children
Married men with children

The sub-committee recognised that

> as the question of religion will be a determining factor in the minds of many volunteers for Northern Ireland, this consideration should not be lost sight of in the selection for compulsory transfer of officers who have not volunteered.

It was also felt that it would be essential that in each department, slection of officers for transfer should be made by a joint committee of the departmental Whitley Council.

On 22nd April 1921, the departmental Whitley Council of the National Education Office agreed that a sub-committee be set up to arrange for the allocation of staff between north and south.[62] Three months later the Commissioners at their Board meeting, approved the general principles to be followed by this sub-committee and ratified its constitution and membership.[63] The chairman of the six-man committee was to have been Mr. Dilworth but as he was unable to attend the meetings Bonaparte-Wyse acted as chairman of all meetings. The Government was anxious that arrangements both for re-organisation and allocation should be completed as soon as possible and was putting pressure on all departments to finalise their schemes. By early July 1921, Waterfield had secured the agreement of most of the Heads of Departments on their schemes of re-organisation - all except the D.A.T.A. and the National Education Office. About these two Waterfield wrote:

> As regards individual schemes, we are still a long way from agreement with theofficial sides of the D.A.T.I. and the National Education office. In expect the latter will come into line in due course, but I fear that negotiations with the former will inevitably break down as the Department have a wholly imaginary idea of the value of their people's services.[64]

A few days later Waterfield proposed to issue a special circular to all Irish departments pointing out that in the case of departments which failed to reach agreement on a re-organisation scheme before the appointed day, the Treasury would give no undertaking that any of their staff would be regraded or put on the new salary scales.[65] He pointed out that every Irish department was being penalised by those departments who were not moving on re-organisation. He referred to "the recalcitrant departments like the D.A.T.I. and Board of Education or Land Commission which will have large numbers of redundant executives as soon as their schemes are finally settled".

On 21st July, Waterfield attended a meeting of the Whitley Council of the National Education Office at which he discussed and clarified a number of points relating to the proposed re-organisation. At the end of the meeting a vote of thanks was passed

> to the Treasury representative for thelucidity with which he explained the various points of difficulty and for the patient and considerate manner with which he listened to the arguments of the staff representatives .... [66]

By September the regrading of staff and the re-organisation of the office had been agreed on the basis of the Ramsay-Bunning classifications and two months later a proposed allocation of staff between the Dublin and Belfast offices was drawn up. The actual permanent staff of the office was less than that proposed but in practice a large number of temporary staff had been employed in the office over a period of years and efforts to appoint such staff on a permanent basis had been rejected by the Treasury. Under the new scheme a number of temporary staff, particularly at clerical level, would be made permanent. The Waterfield scheme remained the basis for computing the number of staff for many years after 1922 and was accepted by the newly set up Department of Finance for deciding on the number of staff necessary in the new Department of Education.[67]

Waterfield Scheme of Re-organisation of the Office of National Education

Under the proposed re-organisation there would be six sections in the office:[68]

1. The Inspection Department which would deal with all matters relating to general administration of national schools. The Board was anxious to retain a fairly high proportion of their higher level staff in this section. Officers dealing with managers of schools had to deal tactfully with managers "many of whom are singularly difficile". It was sometimes difficult to

> induce them to carry out their obligations in matters of the upkeep and equipment of school-houses, and bearing in mind that managerial services are entirely voluntary, it is not within the competence of the Commissioners to enforce compliance by peremptory methods ...

The only alternative then was

> skilful appeal and persuasion ... (and here) the initiative, resource, judgment and educational attainments of the officer of the administrative branch, are brought into play. [69]

II. Teachers' Salaries Department. This section would be responsible for computing and paying the salaries of all teachers in national schools. Under the regulations finalised in 1920 in connection with the new salary scales, salaries were payable to teachers

> at more than 130 different annual rates varying with sex, length of service, efficiency of service, average attendance of pupils etc.

III. Inspection Department 2. This section would deal with all matters relating to training colleges, model schools, statistics and intelligence and the preparation of annual reports,as well as examinations related to primary education.

IV. Correspondence (and Registry) Branch. This section would be supervised by a newly appointed Establishment Officer who would have a salary of £500 to £600 per annum. Following the publication of the Ramsay report, Establishment Officers had been set up in all the major departments, "responsible, with the Treasury, for the supervision and organisation of personnel".[39]

V. The School Buildings Branch would deal with all aspects relating to the building and improvement of school buildings, other than the aspects dealt with by the Board of Works. Before 1919, the Buildings Branch had been part of the Correspondence Branch. It would now be an independent unit.

VI. The Accounts Department would deal with financial matters and would be controlled by a Deputy Accountant .

The total number of staff agreed under the Waterfield scheme was 191, excluding the two secretaries and the accountant. The scheme made provision for the regrading of the existing staff under the new grades agreed for the civil service as a whole. The new scheme allowed for 3 examiners and 4 superintendents; 8 higher executive officers; 99 clerical officers and 19 writing assistants.

The salary scales of all the grades from messenger up to Higher Executive Officer were now common to the Civil Service as a whole and as agreement with the staff side had been reached about re-organisation

and regrading only two further areas required clarification. The first of these was the question of salaries of the senior officials and the second was the re-organisation and salary structure of the inspectorate.

The salary scale of the senior officers had been a problem for a number of years.[70] On Starkie's appointment as Resident Commissioner in 1899 his salary had been fixed at £1,500 per annum and it remained at this level until his death in 1920. During the later years of his life he suffered severe personal financial embarrassment[71] and in 1918 a request from the Government to the Treasury in London for "a temporary increase in the remuneration of the Resident Commissioner" was refused.[72] In April 1919, Starkie noted in his diary that he had an overdraft of £1,200. Some months later he wrote

> I am thinking of sending the family to Cologne, where like is cheap, and teaching good; but that would be hard on me. Still I am afraid it must be done, as it is quite impossible to get a suitable house. [73]

When on considers that the £ of 1900 was worth less than 30p in 1919, it is difficult to understand how the Treasury could justify its refusal to grant an increase in the Resident Commissioner's salary.

Death of Starkie

W.J.M. Starkie died in July 1920. He had suffered from diabetis and his health had been deteriorating for some months.[74] But despite this, he continued working until the end and attended meetings of both the National and Intermediate Boards until shortly before his death.[75] His death was regretted by his colleagues on both Boards and tribute was passed to his great contribution to Irish education. The Intermediate Board stated that

> His consummate scholarship and high ideals of education, combined with immense energy, keenness of insight and perfect sincerity of character, gave him a commanding power as the administrator of a great system of Education. As Chairman of this Board for some years, Dr. Starkie won the respect and attachment of all its members by his skilful and rapid management of the business, his geniality, his candour and his honesty of purpose. The

> death of Dr. Starkie deprives this Board and the cause of Education in general of the devoted services of a man for whom it will be difficult indeed to find a worthy successor. 76

The Departmental Whitley Council of the National Board also paid tribute to Starkie. At their meeting of 29th October 1920 a vote of sympathy was passed. Both junior and senior members of staff regretted Starkie's death:

> The Staff side found in him a kind and considerate man in whose judgement they had every confidence. Mr. Dilworth, on behalf of the Official side, testified to the high esteem in which the late Dr. Starkie was held. The loss of a man of such outstanding ability cannot but be keenly felt by all. 77

During the years from 1899 to 1920, Starkie had undoubtedly made a great contribution to Irish education at all levels. His commitment to educational advancement was considerable and many of the improvements in education in the period were directly attributable to him. It was unfortunate that he failed to win the confidence of the National teachers and that he was so unpopular with the nationalist elements in the country. He was blamed for the alleged failure of the Board to obtain adequate funding for national education from the Treasury, although as we have seen, the average per capita grant from the government increased more than threefold during his term as Resident Commissioner. In April 1919, the Freeman's Journal accused him of having been

> a broker for the Treasury; his whole administration has been directed to save money for the Treasury. Had he got a commission on the savings he could not have done the work better. 78

Yet the evidence of the correspondence between the National Board, Dublin Castle and the Treasury indicates that there was no basis for such an accusation. Year after year, at the behest of Starkie, applications were made for increased funding for national education. The person least responsible for any shortcomings in government grants was Starkie.

After Starkie's death in summer 1920, the post of Resident Commissioner of National Education was left unfilled. A.N. Bonaparte-Wyse,

secretary to the Board, emerged as the dominant personality on the permanent staff and he, together with the other secretary Dilworth, ensured the smooth running of the National Education Office until February 1922 when the Provisional Government disbanded the National Board.

Request for Salary Increases for Senior Staff

In September 1921 following Treasury approval of the re-organisation scheme in the Office of National Education, a letter was sent by the Chairman of the National Board to Waterfield seeking increases in the salaries of the secretaries and the accountant.[79] In this letter it was pointed out that not only were the salaries of the senior staff of the National Education Office lower than that of their counterparts in other similar departments, but the number of such staff employed in other offices was much greater than the number employed in the Education Office. The Treasury argued that as the National Board had a large number of unpaid senior officers this could offset the smaller number of paid officials. But the Board was not prepared to accept this argument:

> It surely cannot be seriously contended that the existence of a body of unpaid Commissioners in this department can be taken as a set-off to the presence of paid Commissioners in some of the other principal Dublin offices. So far from relieving the Resident Commissioner, Secretaries and Accountant of any duties, the existence of the Board considerably adds to them. [80]

The letter pointed out that the situation compared unfavourably with other Irish boards all of which administered a lesser vote than the National Board. They compared the situation as follows:-

TABLE 14.2

No. of Senior Staff employed in the Office of National Education and other offices of the Civil Service in Ireland.

Board	No. of paid Senior posts (over £700)	Max.Cost	Amount of Vote administered
Local Government	6	£6,900	£2,262,334
Land Commission	5	£6,300	£1,256,090
D.A.T.A.	10	£10,100	832,373
Board of Works	5	£6,750	817,233
National Education	4	£4,350*	£4,738,239

* including Resident Commissioner

The Board was particularly concerned that senior staff on the Technical Instruction side on the D.A.T.I. were paid at a higher rate than the National Board staff. The Secretary there was paid £1,800; 2 Assistant Secretaries were paid £1,00 - £1,200 and a Chief Clerk was paid £800 - £1,000. The letter asked:

> In the event of partition and the probable amalgamation of technical and primary education in one department is it not evident that the holders of the higher posts here will be seriously prejudiced when brought into the same organisation with the better paid officials of the technical instruction office? And if so, is not such treatment most unfair to us? 81

The Treasury did not agree to increase the salaries of the Secretaries and the Accountant before the appointed day. This could well explain why both Bonaparte-Wyse and Frizzell (the Accountant) decided to transfer to Belfast after partition. Wyse's salary as Secretary was less than the salary of the assistant secretaries of the D.A.T.A. and he would have been in an invidious position in relation to his seniority in an amalgamted department.

Re-organisation of the Inspectorate

The re-organisation of the outdoor staff was finalised by November 1921. At the Whitley departmental council meeting of 3rd November 1921 the matter was discussed in some detail. At this meeting the inspectors were represented by W.H. Welply - Association of Divisional and Senior Inspectors; D.T. McEnery - Association of District Inspectors, and J.L. O'Sullivan - Junior and Women Inspectors' Assiciation. The meeting agreed that the inspectorate should be re-organised as follows:-

TABLE 14.3

Organisation of Inspectorate in 1921 and as proposed under the Waterfield scheme

Situation in 1921	Proposed Re-organisation
£750-£800: 2 Chief Inspectors	£900-£950: 2 Chief Inspectors
£700-£750: 3 Divisional Inspec.	£800-£850: 3 Divisional Inspec.
£350-£700: 19 Senior Inspec.	£600-£800: 19 Circuit Inspec.
£250-£500: 9 District Inspec.	£300-£600: 52 District Insp.
£200-£400: 42 Junior Inspec.	
£200-£400: 4 Women Inspec.	
TOTAL 79	76

Details regarding the re-organisation of the staff or organisers, sub-organisers and assistant organisers of special subjects, were also agreed.

Allocation of Staff between Northern and Southern Governments

By the end of November 1921, agreement had been reached about the numbers and different grades of the total staff - both indoor and outdoor - of the Office of National Education. Agreement had also been reached as to the numbers of staff in each grade who should be allocated to Belfast and Dublin. As regards the office staff it was agreed that the allocation should be made as closely as possible in the ratio 30: 70. Details by grade were as follows:

TABLE 14.4

Allocation of Office Staff between Belfast and Dublin

No. of staff authorised under the Waterfield Scheme	Actual Staff	Allocated to	
		Belfast	Dublin
3 Examiners	3	1	2
4 Superintendents	4	Nil	4
8 Higher Executive Officers	8	4	4
7 Higher Clerical Officers) 36 Executive Officers)	49	11	38
99 Clerical Officers	40	10	30
19 Writing Assistants	Nil	Nil	Nil
2 Superintending Typists	2	1	1
10 Typists	10	2	8
3 Messengers	3	1	2

On 9th November 1921 an Order in Council was passed fixing "the appointed day" for transferring the services of the different departments.[82] Different days were fixed for different departments and 1st February 1922 was fixed as the day on which the transfer of education, science and art and technical instruction should take place.

In december 1921 a circular was sent by the Civil Service Committee to all Civil Servants serving in Ireland.[83] Each Civil Servant was asked to answer three questions:-

(1) Do you wish to transfer to the Government of Northern Ireland?

(2) If you do not wish actually to volunteer for such transfer, would you be willing to serve under the Northern Government, if you are either invited to transfer or are allocated for transfer to Northern Ireland by the Civil Service Committee?

(3) Do you definitely wish not to serve under the Northern Government, i.e. are you determined not to transfer to Northern Ireland in any case unless compelled to do so?

Following the completion of these questionnaires a list of officers who might be transferred to Northern Ireland was drawn up by every department. From the Office of National Education, the Whitley Council submitted a list of thirty members of staff (from messengers to examiners) for transfer to Northern Ireland. All but eight of those on the list had volunteered for service in the north. In recommending the transfer of these officers to Belfast the Committee wrote as follows:

> The Committee is sensible of the hardship inflicted on members of the Typing Staff by their transfer to Northern Ireland against their wishes and desires to emphasise its opinion that if at all possible these ladies, all of whom prefer to serve under the Government of Southern Ireland, should be allocated accordingly.

An analysis of the list of civil servants who eventually transferred to Belfast shows that the only person transferred from the National Education Office who had not indicated a wish to go was a typist, Miss Trafford Cunningham. All other members of the indoor staff who transferred, had indicated willingness to go to Belfast.

As regards the outdoor staff, a re-organisation of the inspectorate had been agreed at the meeting of November 1921. Under the new scheme there would be a total of 19 circuits, 14 in the south and 5 in the north. Two of the circuits in the northern area would consist of 3 sections each and three of the circuits of two sections each. Therefore, the staff required for the north would be 5 Senior Inspectors and 12 District or Junior Inspectors with one woman inspector. In its submission of November 1921, the Whitley Council included a list of inspectors who were recommended for service in Northern Ireland. The list included one divisional inspector and 5 senior inspectors. Only one of the senior inspectors was a Roman Catholic, three belonged to the Church of Ireland and one was a Presbyterian. Of the twelve inspectors on the list, three were Catholics, three belonged to the Church of Ireland, five were Presbyterians and one was a Methodist. All but one of these men were already stationed in Northern Ireland.

By the end of 1921 arrangements for the re-organisation of the staff of the Office of National Education and for the allocation of staff between Dublin and Belfast had been effectively completed. Waterfield was relieved that agreement had been reached on the reconstruction of the office and was anxious to implement the new structure and regrading as soon as possible. In early December, just before the Treaty was signed, he wrote:

> If the Agreement is ratified by the Dail as we hope and believe it will, the Irish Government anticipate that the Irish Free State leaders will insist on setting up the Provisional Government which has been promised them at the earliest possible moment. It is probable that the new Ministers will enter into de facto control of their several departments at once and even if the Treasury and the old Head of the Departments desire to proceed with re-organization, it will obviously be very difficult to take any action if the new Minister objects as in the interests of the Irish Free State taxpayer he may quite possibly do. 84

Waterfield's prognostications proved accurate and it was fortunate that the re-organisation of the National Education Office had been implemented just before the Provisional Government took office. On 16th January 1922 on taking over the administration in Dublin Castle the new

government issued a public proclamation directing that

> all public servants and functionaries hitherto acting under the authority of the British Government shall continue to carry out the functions unless and until otherwise ordered by us ..... [85]

The proclamation prohibited

> the appointing or the altering of the status, rights, perquisites or stipend or the transfer, dismissal of any officer, servant, employee or functionary of the state without the specific authority in that behalf of this provisional government.

Northern Ireland Ministry of Education

Following the transfer of power to the new governments in Dublin and Belfast, the administration of education was allocated between the Ministry of Education in Belfast and the National Education Office in Dublin. The Northern Ireland Ministry had been created by an Order in Council on 7th June 1921 and a Minister, Lord Londonderry, and a Permanent Secretary (L. McQuibban) had been appointed.[86] The new ministry was anxious to take control of all forms of public education in the north but it had to await the formal allocation of power between north and south before taking administrative control. As we have seen earlier the allocation of staff, other than the secretaries and accountant, had been agreed by the end of 1921 and those who had volunteered for Northern Ireland transferred shortly after 1st February 1922. At senior level, both Bonaparte-Wyse, Secretary to the Board, and Frizzell, the Accountant, transferred to Belfast. Bonaparte-Wyse had been appointed by the Northern Ireland Minister for Education, Lord Londonderry, as a member of the Committee which was set up in September 1921 to inquire into educational services in Northern Ireland - the Lynn Committee.[87] Bonaparte-Wyse was released on loan by the National Board to participate in this committee and he was the only Catholic on the committee. The first intimation that he proposed to accept a permanent post in the Northern Ireland Ministry seems to have been a report in the Irish Independent in 25th January 1922 that it had been reported "on good authority" that Bonaparte-Wyse had been offered and had accepted "the position of Commissioner of Education in Northern Ireland".[88] By the

end of February Waterfield wrote that most of those who wished to work in Northern Ireland were already there "by hook or by crook", having managed to fill positions there "on loan as a result of quiet arrangements with northern ministries".[89]

Summary and Conclusion

Although the government had failed to introduce legislation to reform the Irish educational system in 1919/20, we have seen that during the last years of the National Board many developments had occurred within the National Education Office. At the financial level the increase in teachers' salaries granted in November 1920 led to a significant increase in government spending on national education.

At an administrative level, the years 1920 and 1921 had been years of considerable activity. The office was totally re-organised, staff was regraded and this development had occurred within a framework of staff participation in decision-making. There is no doubt that the creation of the departmental Whitley Council in the Office of National Education was particularly beneficial during the period of allocation of work and staff between the northern and southern administrations. The involvement of staff in all decisions relating to their redeployment resulted in a smooth and uncontroversial transfer of administrative responsibility between the Dublin and Belfast governments.

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CHAPTER XV

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION AND THE INTERMEDIATE BOARD, 1920 - 1922

In the last chapter the developments in national education during the final years of the National Board were traced and discussed. It was seen that despite the reluctance of the government to increase the education vote unless legislation was introduced to reform the system, the parliamentary grant for national education increased significantly in 1920/21 and 1921/22. The national teachers were the main beneficiaries of the increased grant and the settlement of their salary claim in November 1920 was a very satisfactory outcome for the I.N.T.O. The grievances of intermediate teachers were not,however, resolved and by early 1920 their situation had become very serious. In this chapter the developments in the financing of intermediate education in the years 1920 to 1922 will be analysed. The position of intermediate education in the light of the Government of Ireland Act and of the subsequent transfer of power to the Northern and Southern administrations will be examined. The situation of the staff of the Office of Intermediate Education in the reconstruction of the civil service and in the allocation of power between north and south will also be discussed. It will be seen that the anamalous position of the Intermediate Board in relation to the civil service as a whole created problems which were not parallelled in other branches of educational administration in Ireland. However, these problems were ultimately resolved and the administration of intermediate education was satisfactorily transferred to the new governments in Belfast and Dublin in February 1922.

Salaries of Intermediate Teachers

By early 1920, the position of teachers in Irish intermediate schools had become critical. Unlike national teachers and civil servants, intermediate teachers had not been paid a temporary war bonus during the war years and their income was seriously undermined by inflation which reached its peak in 1920.[1] In March of that year the A.S.T.I. demanded an immediate increase of 140% on pre-war salaries, which averaged £180 and £140 for "non-Catholic" men and women teachers respectively; and £139 and £97 for Catholic men and women teachers.[2]

The demands of the A.S.T.I. were not conceded by the school authorities and a series of strikes followed. In May a conference was held between representatives of the Catholic Headmasters' Association and the A.S.T.I. and the following settlement was reached: a bonus of £75 would be paid on the basic salaries of £160 and £110 to full-time non-resident men and women teachers and a bonus of £40 would be paid on the basic salaries of £130 and £90 to full-time resident men and women teachers.[3] It will be recalled that by March 1920, the total value of war bonuses paid to national teachers amounted to £75.

While the settlement between the A.S.T.I. and the Catholic Headmasters' Association ended the strike of lay teachers it did little to bring a permanent solution to the problems of intermediate education. In its annual report for 1919 written in June 1920, the Intermediate Board referred to the "extremely critical" position of intermediate education and stated that it "threatens a very serious breakdown throughout the country if ameliorative steps are not immediate taken".[4] They stated that matters had been getting steadily worse in the schools during the previous few years and added that "a complete collapse seems to be not far distant". They mentioned that some teachers had already taken strike action and gave details of the extremely low level of teachers' salaries. Out of a total of 1,349 lay teachers, only 100 had a salary of more than £200 per annum and 30% of them had salaries of less than £100 per annum. The Board pointed out that the purchasing value of £200 was equivalent to that of £80 before the war - consequently it could be seen that the plight of most of the secondary teachers was critical.

The position of intermediate teachers was effected by the fact that in spite of severe inflation, the amount available to the Intermediate Board for distribution to schools had actually fallen during the previous three years. In 1917/18 a sum of £141,038 had been distributed to schools; this had fallen to £135,144 in 1918/19 and to £130,458 in 1919/20. The Board stated that

> This diminution is entirely due to the fact that our income is a fixed one and that we have to defray out of this fixed income the whole of the administrative expenses and also to provide for certain loans under the rules.[5]

As has been pointed out in earlier chapters, the Intermediate Board always

regarded administrative costs as a first priority in the allocation of its income. During the post-war years of rapid inflation, administrative costs, particularly salaries of permanent staff, examiners and supervisors increased significantly. As the Board's income remained static, the consequence was inevitable - a reduction in the amount available for distribution to schools. The Board deplored "the vicious effects of this system of inalestic funds" on the intermediate education system and called for a grant-in-aid to cover all administrative costs. They pointed out that

> In England and in other Educational Departments in Ireland, the administrative expenses are not defrayed out of the same fund as that provided for grants to schools; and so the unavoidable increase in the expense of administration resulting from war conditions has not involved a decrease in the amounts available for grants. The position therefore of the Irish Secondary Schools is unique. As their financial embarrassments increase, the aid which they receive decreases, while they see the grants paid to schools in England and Scotland largely increased.

The Board called on the government to honour the promise made in parliament in March 1918 "by the then Solicitor-General for Ireland that equivalent grants would be made for Irish Secondary Education" and stated:

> ... we are at a loss to understand why Irish Secondary Education should not be dealt with as liberally as English or Scottish.

They claimed that on the basis of equivalence, the following amounts of money were due to Irish intermediate education:

1918-19	-	£20,000
1919-20	-	£44,000
1920-21	-	£76,000

In all then, the Intermediate Board should receive "an addition of about £140,000, thus making the total vote for the present year amount to £230,000 instead of £90,000 and this quite apart from the question of the grant-in-aid already referred to".

It is of interest to note from the figures quoted by the Intermediate

Board in its report that despite the additional £50,000 made available to the Intermediate Board by the Duke grant of March 1918, the amount distributed to intermediate schools had actually decreased during the period in question. This indicates the extent to which administrative costs had increased; the additional grant of £50,000 was to a large extent offset by the increase in administrative costs and much of it was therefore not available for distribution to schools. In this context, it was not surprising that considerable pressure was brought to bear on the Intermediate Board and on the government by those involved in intermediate education to improve the situation.

We have seen in the previous chapter that following the appointment of Sir Hamar Greenwood as Chief Secretary in April 1920 the I.N.T.O. renewed its efforts to resolve the issue of national teachers' salaries.[6] During the same period those involved in intermediate education also pressed vigorously for an improvement in the salaries of intermediate teachers. In May 1920 a memorandum was sent from the Schoolmasters' Association to the Intermediate Board calling attention to "the urgent need of steps being taken without delay to meet the acute crisis which has arisen in Irish Intermediate Schools". Memorials were also received from the A.S.T.I., the Presbyterian Church in Ireland and the Christian Brothers' Schools.[7] Following consideration of these memorials, the Intermediate Board resolved

> That in view of the pressing crisis in Irish secondary education arising from the inability of the schools to provide for teachers a salary even approaching the necessary minimums and the consequent danger of a general failure in the supply of secondary teachers in Ireland, the Board urge insistently upon the Government the pressing necessity of an immediate additional grant to enable the schools to augment the salaries of assistant teachers. Further, the Board hold that it is just, as well as pressingly necessary, that the sums announced in Parliament to be available for Irish education as the equivalent of the additional grants voted for education in Great Britain during the past two years and the current year, should forthwith be applied to Irish educational purposes without prejudice to future legislation.[8]

A copy of this resolution was sent to Dublin Castle at about the same time as the annual report for 1919 was submitted for approval. The

result of the pressure brought to bear by the interest groups involved in intermediate eudcation and by the Intermediate Board was that the government sanctioned a further grant of £50,000, called the Interim Grant, in August 1920.[9] This grant brought the total annual income of the Board to over £220,000 - the Interim Grant of £50,000; the Duke Grant of £50,000; the Teachers' Salaries Grant of £40,000; the income in lieu of the Local Taxation Grant (about £45,000) and the income from the original capital endowment and other accumulated funds of the Board (about £35,000).[10]

Controversy over the publication of the Annual Report of the Intermediate Board for 1919

The annual report of the Intermediate Board for 1919 was submitted to Dublin Castle in July 1920, but it was not published until October 1920. By the time it was published the Interim Grant of £50,000 had been sanctioned and the financial position of intermediate education had been somewhat ameliorated. But due to the complexity of the relationship between the Intermediate Board and the Irish Executive, the Board held that it was not free to amend the contents of its annual report after it had been submitted to the Lord Lieutenant. Therefore the report as published in October 1920 contained criticisms of the government for the inadequate funding of intermediate education which had been written before the sanctioning of the Interim Grant. In a letter from the Irish Office in London to the Editor of the Journal of Education, a member of the Chief Secretary's staff, Cyril Street, condemned the Intermediate Board for issuing the report "without correction, when measures to remedy the principal evil to which it had drawn attention, viz. the under-payment and consequent shortage of Secondary Teachers, had already been taken".[11] The letter then went on to state that the government was still hopeful that the Education Bill could be passed and that as a result the financial problems of Irish intermediate education would be solved.

> The Education (Ireland) Bill, which has now been before Parliament for several months and has been delayed in its passage because of the pressure upon the time of Parliament and also by the failure of the different denominational bodies in Ireland to come to an agreement as to its acceptance or amendment, represents a genuine desire on the part of the Government to place the whole educational system on a permanent satisfactory basis, and in particular

> to secure that Ireland shall in future receive her full equivalent of the grants made for educational purposes in England and Wales from money provided by Parliament.

Subsequent inquiries by the Intermediate Board established the fact that Street's criticism of the Board had been written with the full approval of Chief Secretary Greenwood.[12] It was surprising to find that even at this late stage (October 1920), the Irish Office was still publicly maintaining that the Education Bill might still be passed despite the failure of the government to secure a second reading for the amended bill which had been on the statute books since February 1920. We have seen in the previous chapter that in September 1920, Treasury officials had admitted that there was little hope that the Education Bill could be passed "while the Irish question remains in its present unsettled state". It is likely that the Irish Office was fully aware that the bill was virtually dead, yet it appears that they were unwilling to admit this publicly. Their unwillingness to accept this may have been a ploy to prevent the Intermediate Board from pressing forward the claim of the teachers for a salary increase. The national teachers' claim was on the point of being settled and the Chief Secretary may have been reluctant to get involved in the question of the salaries of lay teachers in Irish intermediate schools - a question which had caused Chief Secretary Birrell so many problems. On the other hand, the reluctance to get involved in a second salary claim may simply have been a reflection of Greenwood's personality. The staff in his office regarded him as a man of mental inflexibility, a man "of one idea at a time".[13]

Whatever Greenwood's reasons for publicly disassociating himself from the remarks of the Intermediate Board in October 1920, the timing of the confrontation was disastrous from the teachers' point of view. Delay in solving the problem at this stage was critical and the delay in fact meant that when the government announced its freeze on public salaries at the end of November 1920, no progress had been made on the question of intermediate teachers' salaries.

The "Geddes axe" of November 1920 combined with the passing of the Government of Ireland Act the following month meant that there was now very little hope of solving the problem of intermediate education. The Intermediate Board appears to have been aware of the implications of both

of these events and on the 4th December they suggested that a conference of those involved in intermediate education be convened.[14] This conference was held on 5th January 1921, and was attended by representatives of the A.S.T.I., the Union of Assistant Masters, the Schoolmasters' Association, the Christian Brothers' Education Committee, the Catholic Headmasters' Association and the Ulster Headmasters' Association.[15] At this conference it was agreed that the Chief Secretary be asked to meet a deputation of those involved and that the government be asked to increase the grant to intermediate schools to enable the following salary scales to be paid to teachers:

	Minimum	Annual Increase	Maximum
Assistant Masters	£240	£15	£500
Assistant Mistresses	£225	£15	£400

It was also suggested that Head Teachers should receive an extra payment of £100 per annum. The salary scales as agreed at the meeting were based on the Burnham salary scales recently agreed in England. It was estimated that the total cost of the proposals presented to Greenwood was in the region of £350,000.[16]

At its Board meeting the following week the Intermediate Board supported the claim of the intermediate school authorities and the following motion was passed:[17]

> That in view of the present crisis in Irish secondary education arising from the inability of the schools to provide for teachers a salary even approaching the necessary minimum, and the consequent danger of a general failure in the supply of secondary teachers in Ireland, the Board urge insistently upon the Government the pressing necessity of an immediate additional grant to enable the schools to augment the salaries of the teachers.

But Greenwood again refused to concede to the demands of the Board. As far as he was concerned, the passing of the Government ofIreland Act meant that no further measures could be taken by the British Government to improve the position of intermediate education in Ireland. In a letter to Sir Samuel Dill, chairman of the Intermediate Board, in

February 1921, Greenwood admitted that the position of secondary teachers in Ireland was "an extremely difficult one" but added:

> The Government must leave the final solution of this problem to the new Irish Parliaments, now that the Home Rule Act has been passed into law. In the coming financial year it is proposed as a temporary arrangement .... to make provision for grants on the same scale as those voted for 1920-21, including the special grant of £50,000 then voted for the first time. 18

During the same month, Greenwood refused to meet a deputation from the representatives of teachers' associations and heads of schools who had attended the conference of 5th January. Those involved were deeply concerned at Greenwood's refusal to meet them and pointed out that his decision would "cause consternation among those concerned with Irish Intermediate Education".[19] They warned the Chief Secretary that

> There is a crisis in Intermediate Education, and it is a crisis directly brought about by the action of the Government itself .... The Government cannot evade responsibility for the discontent of Irish Intermediate Teachers and for the consequent injury to Irish education.

Involvement of H.A.L. Fisher, Secretary to the Board of Education (England) in the issue of Irish Intermediate Teachers

The inadequate salaries of intermediate teachers in Ireland contrasted sharply with the improved position of secondary teachers in England resulting from the introduction of the Burnham salary scales in autumn 1920. Many Irish teachers, particularly those in the non-Catholic schools, resigned their posts and accepted better-paid positions in England and Scotland. As a result the headmaster of Larne Grammer School complained that he was left

> with the flatsam and jetsam of the profession, men who under ordinary circumstances would never get employment in any profession. 20

The headmaster of the High School in Dublin wrote:

> Irish schools have closed and are closing. Teachers have gone and are going and if nothing is done next summer there will be a great collapse. [21]

As the teachers and school authorities had failed to gain the support of the Chief Secretary for an increase in the government grant to intermediate education, efforts were made to enlist the support of members of Parliament and to have the question raised at government level. Canvassing on this basis was carried out by Unionist and Protestant teachers and headmasters, mainly from Belfast and the northern counties. Among those approached were Sir Robert Blair, Education Officer of the London County Council and R.J. Lynn, M.P. [22] J. Thompson, headmaster of High School wrote to Blair stating that

> The Treasury has issued orders against any further expenditure of money but if Mr. Fisher and the Irish Government pressed our case, the Treasury might give way. [23]

There seems to have been a general consensus among Protestant interests that H.A.L. Fisher, Secretary to the Board of Education, would be in a position to intervene successfully on their behalf. The headmaster of Larne Grammar School wrote directly to Fisher appealing for help in the matter, and Blair also wrote to him on behalf of J. Thompson. Fisher was of course a good friend of Prime Minister, Lloyd-George, and it was widely known that Lloyd-George thought highly of Fisher, whom he had personally invited to become President of the Board of Education in December 1916 on the basis that

> a stage had been reached in the country's history when more educational reform would be accepted from an educationalist than from a politician. [24]

Fisher seems to have been anxious to give whatever support he could to the Irish intermediate school authorities. In a letter to Chief Secretary Greenwood on 23rd February 1921 he wrote:

> Are you proposing to make any suggestions to the Treasury? The problem is to tide over the interval which must elapse before the Irish parliaments are in a position to make effective provision from the resources put at their disposal under the Government of Ireland Act. [25]

Greenwood's reply two days later suggested that he had little sympathy with the plight of Irish intermediate education. He wrote to Fisher as follows:

> I must confess I do not think that there is any substance in their complaint. As you know, it was intended to deal with their case in the Irish Education Bill last year, but for reasons over which we have no control, it was not found possible to pass that Bill into law. Now however, that the Home Rule Bill has been placed on the Statute Book, it would not, I think, be right, even if it were at all practicable, to do so, for us to attempt to deal with this question, which will shortly be transferred to the Governments of Northern and Southern Ireland. [26]

He reminded Fisher that the government had given an additional Interim Grant of £50,000 to the Intermediate Board in the current financial year and that it was proposed to repeat this grant the following year. In view of this, Greenwood did not accept

> that the Irish Secondary Teachers can justly complain at the treatment which they have received at the hands of the Government.

The following month, Fisher again wrote to Greenwood and expressed the view that "the Irish Secondary Teachers have a strong claim for an additional grant of £96,000". He felt that some additional financial assistance should be given by the government "to tide them over until such time as the Parliaments get into their stride". He stressed to Greenwood the importance of taking some action to improve the position of intermediate schools in Ireland and stated:

> I feel it would be a great disaster if the Intermediate Schools of Ireland were depleted of their teachers just at the moment when the great experiment of Parliamentary Government is to be launched. [27]

Greenwood's reply to Fisher showed that he was determined not to concede to the demands of the intermediate school authorities. He reminded Fisher that the Government had been prepared "to make large concessions in order to improve secondary education in Ireland" and that these "concessions" had been embodied in the Education Bill.[28] He

re-iterated that

> The fact that the measure was not passed into law is in no way due to the fault of the Government

and again stated that he would not grant any further increase to intermediate education. He argued that

> it would be interfering with the future Governments of Northern and Southern Ireland if we were now to grant further increased financial assistance to Irish secondary teachers.

In any event, he reminded Fisher that

> it is not possible to exercise any firm control under the present system over the expenditure of the grants made to Secondary Education in Ireland. This would make it very difficult I think to increase their grants. I am sure that the Treasury fully share this view.

Greenwood's determination not to increase the funds for intermediate education was also expressed very clearly in a reply which he sent to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, Mr. Glenn, in April 1921.[29] In this letter he again referred to the failure of the Education (Ireland) Bill and repeated that the failure of the bill was not the fault of the government. He stated:

> The introduction in Parliament of the Education Bill of 1919 was evidence of the recognition by the Government of the necessity for improving educational administration in Ireland. Through no fault of the Government that measure unfortunately did not pass into law and Irish education in consequence has been unable to claim as of right the full financial concessions contemplated by the Bill.

He maintained that the government had not committed itself to providing increased funds for Irish education on an equivalent basis with Great Britain

> except on the distinct condition that reforms in Irish educational administration such as were provided for by the Bill were secured.

He then referred to the Government of Ireland Act and stated that

> it is out of the question at present to expect further assistance for Intermediate Education from the Exchequer, beyond the continuance for which I am glad to have been able to secure provision of the special Interim Grant of £50,000 first sanctioned last summer .... Beyond this, in a period of falling prices and grave industrial depression, it is not possible to go.

He was of the opinion that it was no longer a matter for the British Government to involve itself in a "permanent settlement for the future" of the question of intermediate education since

> the coming into operation of the Government of Ireland Act removes this question from the purview of Ministers of the U.K. Government. Responsibility for Intermediate Education is transferred to the Governments of Southern and Northern Ireland and the necessary funds must be provided by these Governments.

He felt that

> it would be manifestly improper on the eve of transfer for the U.K. Government to enter into commitments regarding Intermediate Education which would entail liabilities not for that Government but for the future Governments of Southern and Northern Ireland.

By summer 1921, when the annual report of the Intermediate Board for 1920 was submitted to Dublin Castle, there had been no improvement in the financing of Irish intermediate education. The Board's report reflected the despondency and disappointment felt by its members at the failure to secure adequate funding from the government.

> Looking back over the period of 42 years which have elapsed since we, as a Corporate body, were established by Parliament, and remembering the innumerable difficulties which have had to be faced and overcome before the various educational interests in this country came to recognise and accept our

> scheme as an absolutely impartial effort to promote the true interests of secondary education; remembering also the scanty funds with which our admittedly successful efforts were achieved, it is difficult for us at this juncture - when the whole edifice of secondary education in Ireland is toppling to destruction - to refer to these matters in language of moderation and restraint. Of one thing, however, we feel quite certain, and that is that if something is not done immediately to place Irish Secondary education in the position of financial equality with that of Great Britain, it is impossible to see how the complete disruption of the system can be avoided. [30]

The unsatisfactory situation of intermediate school teachers was regarded by the Departmental Committee on the Educational Services in Northern Ireland which was set up by the Northern Ministry of Education in September 1921, as one of the most serious defects of the educational system inherited by the northern government in 1922. In this report it was stated:

> The position as regards the teachers (in secondary schools) is wholly unsatisfactory. Efforts have been made by the teachers themselves and by the Intermediate Board to secure some improvement of their position, and appeal after appeal has been made to the Government, but, while totally inadequate doles, in the form of an Interim Grant, have been made, the position has never up to the present been seriously dealt with .... The average salary paid to teachers in secondary schools is much lower than that now paid to teachers in primary schools, and is also very much lower than the average salary paid to secondary school teachers in England.
>
> The average salary of full-time teachers in secondary schools in Northern Ireland is approximately £240 per annum, including the share of the Interim Grant, while the corresponding average in England will next year be £400 per annum. As long as this serious difference continues to exist, a healthy and progressive educational system cannot be expected, and, though recognising fully the need for economy, we have felt it imperative to make recommendations as regards secondary education, which will involve a considerable increase in the amounts at present contributed by the State. [31]

In the last financial year in which the Intermediate Board administered funds in an individual country, the total amount distributed by the Board was £233,430.[32] The cost of administration, examination and

inspection came to £44,350, leaving £189,080 for distribution to schools and pupils in the form of various grants, exhibitions and prizes. In that year, the Board decided to sell some of its capital assets to ease the financial problems of the schools. In its annual report for 1920/21, this action was explained as follows:-

> When we came to allocate the available funds amongst the three grants paid to schools in December last, we found ourselves faced with a deficit, as compared with 1919, of over £5,000, while at the same time we were fully cognisant of the desperate financial plight of the great majority of the secondary schools. We felt that, under the circumstances, it would have been disastrous to reduce the annual grants by this amount, and were therefore reluctantly compelled to encroach upon our permanent financial resources, and to make good the deficit by transfers from Capital funds. 33

In the same year, the total number of students on rolls in intermediate schools was in the region of 27,000. Consequently the average amount paid by the Intermediate Board per pupil on rolls was £7. In England in the same year the cost per pupil in grant-aided secondary schools was £16.16.2.[34] This cost was borne by both the central exchequer and the local authorities and although a clear allocation is not available it is likely that the State contribution was between £7 and £8 per pupil. A direct comparison between Ireland and England would therefore suggest that Irish intermediate education was not being unduly harshly treated by the government. On the other hand, a comparison between average per capita costs in 1921 and 1901, when the average grant per pupil presenting for examination was £7 and the estimated grant per pupil on rolls was probably about £5, indicates the extent to which the value of the State's financial contribution to Irish intermediate education had fallen by 1921 when the cost of living had increased by almost 300%. It is also worth noting that in 1921 when the average government grant per pupil on rolls in Irish intermediate schools was £7, the average grant per pupil in attendance in national schools was more than £9. Seen in this context, the dissatisfaction of those involved in intermediate education can more easily be understood.

The failure of the Board to achieve adequate funding for intermediate education during the period was attributable to a number of factors, many of which were beyond the control of the Board. We have

seen that in the earlier years of the century, the Board was determined to appoint a permanent inspectorate, and was therefore reluctant to ask the government to increase the grant to intermediate education lest such a request might be construed by the government as an indication of the Board's inability to pay the salaries of permanent inspectors. The Teachers' Salaries Grant of 1914 resulted in a long drawn out controversy between the Catholic Headmasters' Association and the government as to the method of distributing the grant - a controversy which was effectively won by the Catholic Headmasters. It is clear from the letters of Chief Secretary Greenwood in 1921 that one of the main reasons for the Government's reluctance to increase the grant to intermediate education was the inability of the Board and of the Irish government to control the allocation of any increased funds. In this respect there was significant difference between national and intermediate education. Although the average per capita parliamentary grant for Irish primary education was almost 40% greater than in England, it was distributed strictly in accordance with rules laid down by the National Board. In the case of intermediate education, where the per capita grant was approximately the same as in England, the rules relating to the Teachers' Salaries Grant were not being implemented, despite the efforts of the Treasury and of the Auditor General to require that this be done. The grants to Irish intermediate education were effectively paid in the form of a capitation grant to schools; the government had failed to ensure that any proportion of the grant would be paid as teachers' salaries.

The correspondence between the intermediate school authorities and members of the government in 1921 suggests that the Treasury was being blamed for the failure to increase the government grant for intermediate education. This accusation was without foundation. Greenwood's letters make it quite clear that as Chief Secretary he was not prepared to approach the government with a request for additional grants for intermediate education and that the Treasury was in no way to blame for the failure in this regard.

The decision not to increase the grant for intermediate education was directly attributable to Chief Secretary Greenwood. It could not even be attributed to the British government because the correspondence between Greenwood and Fisher indicates that Fisher believed the government would give sympathetic consideration to an Irish request for extra money

for intermediate education. But Greenwood was not prepared to recommend this course to the government. To some extent, Greenwood's refusal to give a further increase to Irish intermediate education was his way of expressing his frustration and annoyance with the Catholic authorities for orchestrating objections to the Education Bill. He was determined that the Church would not have the best of both worlds. They could retain their autonomy in relation to teacher appointments and remuneration but they need not expect the government to pay the cost. The ultimate victims were the lay teachers in both Catholic and Protestant schools. The issue of intermediate teachers' salaries was not solved before partition and would be a matter of priority for the new governments of both northern and southern Ireland.

The Government of Ireland Act, 1920

After the passing of the Government of Ireland Act in December 1920, the Intermediate Board was asked by the Chief Secretary's Office to suggest an apportionment of duties and finances between the northern and southern government.[35] The Intermediate Board, unlike the National Board, appears to have been reluctant to accept the notion of partition and at a meeting in July 1921 a motion was unanimously passed

> That the Board's action (in agreeing to the loan of an assistant commissioner to the Northern Ireland Ministry of Education) must not be taken as an approval of the division of the educational machinery of the country; its hope, on the contrary, is that in education there will be no such division.[36]

However, the Board eventually co-operated in the required apportionment of work, of officers and of capital assets and liabilities. In April 1921 the Board informed Dublin Castle that

1. Under the Government of Ireland Act, an Order of Transfer dividing or abolishing the Board could be made without further legislation.
2. The Capital Sum of £1 million no longer belonged to the Irish Church Temporalities Fund and that the capital should be divided between the governments of southern and northern Ireland in proportion to the amounts of grants paid out of the statutory funds to schools in the two areas over a period of three years. That the capital should include the value of the Board's premises at 1 Hume Street and

also the value of the furniture and other contents of the Board's premises.

3. That the Registration Council, as then constituted, should remain for the whole of Ireland. [37]

Some months later, the Board was in a position to give further details of its "Property and Liabilities".[38] Apart from the two annual parliamentary votes of £50,000 per annum agreed in 1918 and 1920 respectively, the statutory funds of the Board were as follows:-

I Property

(a) The capital sum of £1,123,595.10.1, which produced an annual income of £30,898.

(b) The annual sum of £46,566.15.5, provided by the Revenue Act of 1911.

(c) The capital sum of £72,000 (representing savings from (a) and (b), which produced an annual income of £3,600.

(d) The annual sum of £40,000, provided under the Intermediate Act of 1914.

II Premises

(a) 1 Hume Street held for ever at a perpetual annual fee farm rent of £64.12.4. Purchased for £3,000 in 1880; further sums amounting to £3,531.15.11 expended between 1881 and 1919.

(b) Premises at 46 Stephen's Green, acquired in 1907 on a lease for 36 years at an annual rent of £110.

(c) Office furniture.

III Trust Funds held by the Board

(a) The Burke Memorial Fund (£1,232.13.5 in Stock)

(b) The Charleville Endowment Fund (£1,316.5.4 in Stock)

(c) The Earl of Cork's Scholarship (£1,059.15.4 in War Loan)

IV Funds Administered by the Board for the Registration Council

(a) The Capital Sum of £1,750 producing an annual income of £87.10.0

(b) Capital Sum of £500 producing £25 per annum.

It was eventually agreed that approximately 22% of the capital funds (including those administered by the Board for the Registration Council) should be transferred to the Government of Northern Ireland but that the premises at Hume Street and Stephen's Green should continue to belong to the Intermediate Board in Dublin.[39]

Re-organisation of Staff

The re-organisation of the staff of the Intermediate Education Office was more complicated than that of the Office of National Education. The problem basically arose from the ambigious position of the staff in relation to the civil service as a whole. In an earlier chapter, it was shown that the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Civil Service in 1914 had found that the staff employed by the Intermediate Board "were not civil servants at all", despite the fact that in certain respects the Treasury required them to obey general civil service regulations. The ambiguity of their position caused problems for Waterfield in his attempts to reconstruct the Irish civil service "before the appointed day". The staff of the Intermediate Board, unlike the staff of other offices of the civil service, had not been recruited through the Civil Service Commission. The procedure adopted by the Intermediate Board had been to appoint temporary clerks and to fill permanent positions from the ranks of these temporary clerks. In spite of the ambiguity Waterfield decided that the staff of the Intermediate Board should be re-organised on the same basis as the rest of the Irish civil service but he took the point of view that re-organisation would apply only to permanent staff, not to temporary staff.[40]

Departmental Whitley Council

By August 1920, a departmental Whitley Council had been set up in the office of Intermediate Education. In a report submitted by them to the Board, this council accepted the recommendations of the Civil Service National Whitley Council Re-organisation Committee. They stated that

> Two distinct objects have to be aimed at as regards this office - one, to provide a scheme for the future working of the office; two, to fit in the existing staff to the re-orgnaised scheme. [41]

They gave details of the existing staff of the office as follows:

2 Assistant Commissioners

17 Permanent Clerks (including the Chief Clerk, the Accountant, 2 Staff Clerks and 3 Minor Staff Clerks)

12 Temporary Clerks

7 Women Typists

It was pointed out that

> The permanent clerks are appointed by the Board from the ranks of the Temporary Clerks. These latter are appointed by the Assistant Commissioners and can be dismissed by them. The Permanent Clerks are dismissable by the Board with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant. Their posts are pensionable. The Board is the employer and the salaries are almost entirely paid out of moneys not provided by Parliament.

The departmental Council proposed that the office be re-organised into six principal subdivisions:

I Accounts

II Correspondence

III Examinations and Statistics (a)

IV Examinations and Statistics (b)

V Inspection

VI Parliamentary Grants

In January 1921, the Board was informed that the re-organisation should proceed on the assumption that the staff should be regarded as belonging to "the Clerical Class".[42] The Ramsay-Bunning report had decided that there would be three classes of civil servants - Administrative, Executive and Clerical; but the Treasury had ruled that apart from the Assistant Commissioners, who could be regarded as administrative staff, the rest of the staff of the Intermediate Office should be classed "Clerical". The Board objected to this decision and appealed to Waterfield to reconsider the matter. In a reply to the Board on 24th February, Waterfield rejected this appeal and pointed out that he regarded the grading of the staff as proposed as being more than generous. He felt that their work was mostly at Writing Assistant level and stated:

> The intention of the Junior Clerical grade is that there shall be a constant movement of staff from one branch to another which shall obviate the risk of keeping a man so long on inferior and quasi-routine work that he grows stale and loses his capacity to expand. In your office, however, there is no possibility of such movement, because except for two or at most three posts upstairs, the whole of the clerical work is of this lower stamp. We know of no public department in which this peculiar characteristic exists in so marked a degree; and we feel bound to state that, in our opinion, it differentiates your Office fundamentally from those in the rest of the Civil Service. [43]

Given such a substantiated rejection, the Board had no option but to accept Waterfield's grading and following further negotiation, it was eventually agreed that the staff of the "reconstructed" office should be as follows:

> 2 Assistant Commissioners
>
> 1 Chief Clerk at a salary of £500-£600
>
> 1 Accountant at a salary of £300-£400
>
> 2 Staff Clerks at salaries of £300-£400
>
> 1 Staff Clerk at a salary of £285-£380
>
> (The salaries of the accountant and chief clerks would be personal to the present incumbents and these posts would ultimately revert to the scale of £285-£380)
>
> 24 Permanent Clerks at salaries of £57-£237.10.0
>
> 7 Women Typists at payment of 20/- to 34/- a week [44]

It is worth adverting to the level of salary agreed in the case of the staff clerks - a minimum of £285 rising to a maximum of £380. These men were recruited at a junior clerical level, and were not even of the executive officer 1 class. Yet their minimum salaries were greater than the average salary of lay men teachers in Catholic secondary schools, all of whom were university graduates. This indicates the extent to which the grievances of intermediate teachers were well-founded.

In August 1921, the Departmental Whitley Council and the Treasury agreed to the re-organisation of the office of Intermediate Education on the lines negotiated between the Board and Waterfield and the scheme was submitted to the Chief Secretary's Office for formal approval.[45] In early September Waterfield confirmed that "the scheme is ready to be

released subject only to certain formalities" and while commending the Intermediate Board on their efficiency in bringing the scheme to a satisfactory conclusion, he asked them not to implement the new arrangements until all other Irish departments were ready to re-organise.

> So far, no schemes in other Departments have been formally released, and as a matter of tact and to avoid what might seem an invidious preference, I would ask your Commissioners to wait until others are ready before you actually put yours into force. But I anticipate that the others will be let go in a few weeks. [46]

The scheme of re-organisation was finally "released" in mid-November and before the end of 1921, it had been implemented in the office of Intermediate Education.[47]

Salaries of Senior Staff

As in the case of senior staff employed by the National Board, the Assistant Commissioners of the Intermeidate Board felt that they should be granted a salary increase. In January 1921 they wrote to the Board asking for permission to apply for an increase of £200 per annum in their salaries and stated

> The present salary of the Assistant Commissioners is £1,000 paid out of the Board's own funds. This is the same amount that was paid in the early days of the system. [48]

They pointed out that in the Board of Education in England, there were at least seven Principal Assistant Secretaries, each of whom is in receipt of a salary of £1,200 a year. They expressed the point of view that

> The question is one which not only affects us personally, but it is on importance in connection with the status of the office as a government department. We suggest that the Board should approve of our approaching the Treasury on this matter at the time when the general re-organisation of the clerical posts in the office is being considered.

The Intermediate Board supported the claim of the Assistant Commissioners

and it was submitted to the Treasury in early 1921. But Waterfield was not prepared to concede this claim and like the senior staff of the Office of National Education, the Assistant Commissioners of Intermediate Education failed to achieve a salary increase before partition.

Allocation of Staff

Following the setting up of the Northern Ireland Ministry of Education in summer 1921, the newly-appointed Permanent Secretary, L.McQuibban wrote to the Assistant Commissioners of Intermediate Education on 23rd August, asking for a provisional list of the staff who were willing to transfer to Belfast.[49] The initial reaction of the Board to this request was not particularly helpful. It was decided to write to McQuibban asking for "further information as to the posts available" and stating"that the Commissioners find it difficult to give a proper answer without this knowledge". At the same meeting it was suggested that "about 2/9ths would be the proper quota for transfer to the Northern Government". It will be noted that the proportion of 2/9ths was the proportion of the Board's funds which had been allocted to schools in the six county area in the previous three years. This proportion was somewhat less than the proportion of the staff of the National Education Office which the National Board had agreed should transfer to Belfast.

In November 1921 a tentative allocation of staff to the northern government was agreed as follows:[50]

TABLE 15.1

Allocation of Staff of the Office of Intermediate Education to the Dublin and Belfast governments

Existing Staff	To Dublin Government	To Belfast Government
8 Inspectors	6	2
1 Chief Clerk) 1 Accountant) 2 Staff Clerks)	3	1
3 Minor Staff Clerks	2	1
10 Permanent Clerks	8	2
11 Unestablished Clerks	9	2

As regards the seven women typists, it was considered that they were "in a somewhat different position from men clerks" and that therefore "their wishes should receive special and sympathetic attention in making transfers".

The criteria used throughout the Civil Service in the allocation of staff to the northern government have been described in the previous chapter. The circular which was prepared by the Civil Service Alliance was distributed among the staff of the Office of Intermediate Education in December 1921 and on the basis of the replies to this circular the following list of officers who were willing to transfer to Belfast was submitted to the Intermediate Board in January 1922.[51]

W.A. Houston (born 18.1.71), Assistant Commissioner
W.H. Dunlop (born 14.7.67), Chief Clerk
R.J. Younge (born 14.5.74), Clerk
D.K. Dunlop (born 13.1.97), Clerk
J.P. Savage (born 3.10.99), Clerk
T. Rea (born 4.11.77), Inspector
W. Miller (born 12.3.83), Inspector

This list effectively satisfied the allocation which had been agreed two months earlier and meant that no members of staff were transferred to Belfast against their wishes.

In submitting the list of staff to Waterfield, the Intermediate Board reserved the right to require the appointment of additional staff in the Dublin office to replace those transferred to Belfast. The Board agreed

> that it is impossible to accept the view that the authorised establishment of this Department is to be automatically reduced by the number of posts in the provisional allocation.[52]

During January 1921, arrangements were made to make the necessary transfers of papers and staff to Belfast and to effect the transition to administration under the Provisional government in Dublin. Relations between the Intermediate Board and the Provisional Government appear to have been cordial from the start. Mr. F. O Loinsigh, Aireacht an Oideachas was present at a Board meeting on 26th January 1922 and he was asked

> to take all possible steps to have the transfers of those of the office staff who have opted for service in Northern Ireland carried out in proper legal form as soon as possible. 53

On 23rd March a letter was received from the Provisional Government authorising all transfers to Belfast and stating that

> it should now be assumed that officers serving in Northern Ireland, have been, or will be, transferred to the Northern Government and payment of the salaries of such officers .... should cease to be made from Dublin as from 1 April 1922. 54

It might be mentioned here that Assistant Commissioner W.A. Houston had in practice transferred to Belfast shortly after the setting up of the Ministry of Education there in summer 1921. On 13th July a letter had been received by the Intermediate Board from John Anderson of the Chief Secretary's Office stating that

> an application had been received from the Government of Northern Ireland requesting that the services of either W.A. Houston or W.H. Dunlop may be placed at the disposal of the new Ministry on loan during the period of transition prior to the transfer of executive powers to the new government. 55

The Board agreed to release Houston and it would appear that he moved to Belfast shortly afterwards. In August permission had also been granted to Houston to accept an invitation from the Ministry for Education for Northern Ireland to become a member of the Departmental Committee on the Educational Services in Northern Ireland.[56] Houston and Bonaparte-Wyse from the National Board were both members of this committee and in this context it was not perhaps surprising to find that they subsequently decided to accept permanent appointments in the Northern Ireland Ministry. They may well have felt that they would like to continue to have a say in the system which they had helped to shape.

Summary and Conclusions

The re-organisation of the Office of the Intermediate Board was a particularly good example of the outcome of positive involvement by the staff of the Treasury (Ireland) division of the Chief Secretary's Office.

The early correspondence between Waterfield and the Assistant Commissioners reflected the initial resentment of the Intermediate Board at being required to conform to the changes taking place in the civil service in 1920 and 1921. The Board objected to the fact that earlier decisions by the Treasury (in the period 1912 to 1919) had precluded its staff from benefitting from some of the advantages of the civil service yet they were required to come into line with a scheme which they felt would be to their disadvantage. Waterfield's letters showed him to be a man of tact and patience; he was efficient and hard-working and was prepared to clarify and discuss even the smallest detail of proposals submitted to him. The amount of correspondence which passed between the Intermediate Board and Waterfield was considerable and much of it related to the question of recognition of twelve temporary clerks employed in the Office of the Board.[57] The fate and fortunes of these individuals was discussed in great detail in the early months of 1921 and Waterfield showed himself to be sympathetic and concerned about each individual. Eventually seven of these temporary clerks were given permanent status. When the Assistant Commissioners complained in July 1921 that their scheme had not yet been formally approved by the Treasury, Waterfield's reply was patient:

> I, of course, regret that it has not been possible to give you a definite and clear cut scheme at an earlier date. But I do not think that you have fully appreciated the difficulty of doing so from our point of view. The task of re-organising the whole Civil Service simultaneously inevitably gives rise to a constant succession of new problems which cannot always be foreseen and which have to be considered and dealt with as they arise. It follows necessarily therefore that all decisions on this subject must be regarded as more or less tentative and liable to reconsideration as our schemes develop and the nature of the problems to be solved becomes clearer. In this respect we are treating you no worse than other Departments. [58]

In this thesis, the problems of re-organising two departments and of arranging of the transfer of their services to the governments of northern and southern Ireland have been adverted to. When one bears in mind that Waterfield faced similar problems in every department of the Irish civil service, the enormity of the task undertaken and successfully concluded by him, can be understood. In his history of Secondary Education in Ireland, T.J. McElligott stated that

> Any study of the development of local government on education immediately reveals a continuity barely touched by the coming of the new State. In consequence, independence for Ireland did not precipitate the problems that have beset many of the more recently independent states of Africa and Asis. 59

McElligott attributes the success of the transfer of administration to the "educational inheritance" of so many of the civil servants. There is no doubt that much of the success of the smooth transfer of the civil service can also be attributed to Waterfield and his staff in Dublin Castle. By their persistence and determination, complied with their skill and patience, they ensured that the civil service which was inherited by the Provisional Government in 1922 was efficiently run, well-organised and economically administered.

Coupled

CHAPTER XV - REFERENCES

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3. Ibid.
4. Report of I.E.B. for 1919.
5. Ibid.
6. See Chapter XIV.
7. Minutes of the I.E.B., 26 May 1920.
8. Ibid.
9. Report of I.E.B. for 1920.
10. Ibid.
11. Quoted in Minutes of I.E.B., 20 October 1920.
12. Minutes of I.E.B., 10 February 1921.
13. G.C. Duggan ('Periscope'), "The Last Days of Dublin Castle", Blackwood's Magazine, mcclxxxii, (1922), p.146.
14. Minutes of I.E.B., 4 December 1920.
15. T.J. McElligott, op.cit., p.141.
16. Ibid.
17. Minutes of I.E.B., 13 January 1921.
18. Letter quoted in Minutes of I.E.B., 10 February 1921.
19. Letter dated 7 February 1921 on Ed. 24/1347, P.R.O. London
20. Letter dated 14 February 1921, MacQuillan to H.A.L. Fisher on Ed. 24/1347.
21. Letter from Thompson to Sir Robert Blair on Ed. 24/1347.
22. See correspondence on Ed. 24/1347.
23. Letter from Thompson to Sir Robert Blair on Ed. 24/1347.
24. Quoted in L. Andrews, The Education Act, 1918, p.17.
25. Letter from Fisher to Greenwood, 23 February 1921, on Ed. 24/1347.
26. Letter from Greenwood to Fisher, 25 February 1921, on Ed. 24/1347.
27. Letter from Fisher to Greenwood, 15 March 1921, on Ed. 24/1347.

28. Letter from Greenwood to Fisher, 20 March 1921, on Ed. 24/1347.

29. Letter from Greenwood to Glenn, 25 April 1921, quoted in Minutes of I.E.B., 25 April 1921.

30. Report of I.E.B. for 1920.

31. Lynn Committee, pars. 263-265.

32. Report of I.E.B., for 1920/21.

33. Ibid.

34. First Interim Report of the Geddes Committee, quoted in Q. van der Eyken, op.cit., p.281.

35. Letter from Anderson to I.E.B., 14 March 1921, quoted in Minutes of I.E.B., 6 April 1921.

36. Minutes of I.E.B., 28 July 1921.

37. Ibid., 6 April 1921.

38. Ibid., 8 September 1921.

39. Ibid., 20 October 1921.

40. Ibid., 19 August 1920.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid., 13 January 1921.

43. Ibid., 22 March 1921.

44. Letter from Waterfield to I.E.B., 20 June 1921, quoted in Minutes of I.E.B., 28 July 1921.

45. Minutes of I.E.B., 8 September 1921.

46. Letter from Waterfield to I.E.B., 5 September 1921, quoted in Minutes of I.E.B., 8 September 1921.

47. Minutes of I.E.B., 15 December 1921.

48. Ibid., 13 January 1921.

49. Letter from McQuibban to I.E.B., 23 August 1921, quoted in Minutes of I.E.B., 8 September 1921.

50. Minutes of I.E.B., 3 November 1921.

51. Ibid., 19 January 1922.

52. Ibid., 15 December 1921.

53. Ibid., 26 January 1922.

54. Ibid., 23 March 1922.

55. Ibid., 28 July 1921.

56. Ibid., 8 September 1921.

57. See Minutes of I.E.B. during 1921.

58. Letter from Waterfield to I.E.B., 1 July 1921. on Minutes of I.E.B., 8 September 1921.

59. T.J. McElligott, op.cit., p.144.

APPENDIX A - REFERENCES AND SOURCES

Cols. (a), (d) and (e) for the years 1850 to 1920 are taken from the Annual Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1850 to 1920/21.

Cols. (a), (c), (d) and (e) for the year 1921 are taken from Statistics relating to National Education for the year 1921-22; (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1924).

Cols. (c), (c), (d) and (e) for the years 1922 and 1923 relate to Saorstat Eireann only and are taken from Statistics relating to National Education in Saorstat for the year 1922-3 and Report and Statistics relating to National Education in Saorstat for the year 1923/24 (Dublin, Stationery Office, n.d.)

Cols. (a), (c), (d) and (e) for the years 1924 to 1930 relate to Saorstat Eireann only and are taken from Investment in Education: Annexes and Appendices, Table 3, p.633.

Cols. (b) and (f) are derived by dividing col. (c) by (a) and col. (e) by (c).

Col. (g) for the years 1872 to 1920 (incl.) is taken from the Wholesale Price Index given in B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, op.cit., p.476.

Col. (g) for the years 1922 to 1930 is from the Consumer Price Index (1914 = 100) supplied by the Central Statistics Office, Dublin.

Col. (h) is derived by dividing col. (f) by col. (g) for the years 1872 to 1920. For the years 1922 to 1930 the Consumer Price Index is recalculated on the basis of the 1914 Wholesale Price Index to ensure the continuity of the figures.

Note 1. Figures for 1921 are not reliable; in some cases they include the 32 counties, and in other cases only the 26 counties are included.

Note 2. The parliamentary grant after 1922 includes the Teachers Pensions Grant. Figures before 1921 exclude this grant.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"Next to our pillar boxes, probably the most distinctive monument recalling English rule in Ireland is the system of education".[1] This statement made by McElligott more than twenty-five years ago, is equally true today. It should not, however, be interpreted as indicating that the Irish education system was moulded into its unique shape by the British government or that the educational systems of Ireland and England developed along similar lines. As has been shown in this thesis, the educational system inherited by the independent governments of Northern and Southern Ireland in February 1922 had been shaped and influenced during the previous century by many factors. Coolahan summarises these influences as follows:

> .... factors in modern Irish history such as the colonial past, the religious affiliations of the population, the cultural traditions of the people, the economic structure and the goals set for education have all shaped the unusual, interesting and complex structure of the present-day Irish education system. Ireland's educational tradition is deeply rooted in its past. [2]

The administrative and financial development of national and intermediate education from 1850 to 1922 has been traced in earlier chapters. The extent of a complex inter-relationship between the different interest groups in Irish education has been shown and in many instances it emerged that a specific outcome could not be simply attributed to the action of any one group or department. This was true of both national and intermediate education and a brief summary of developments in each sector will indicate how the system evolved during the period under consideration.

National Education

The system of national education as envisaged by Chief Secretary Stanley in 1831 never became a reality. By the middle of the nineteenth century the ideals of the Stanley letter were no longer being pursued and over 95% of the national schools in the country were under single denominational management. The aided nature of national

education in Ireland before 1870 was not unlike the system in operation in England where the Committee of the Privy Council on Education administered grants to schools under the management of denominational societies and groups. But the 1870 Education Act in England brought about a major change in the state's approach to elementary education there. The system which had been an aided denominational one, became a provided non-denominational one. The 1870 Act marked the parting of the ways between the Irish and English educational systems.

Before 1870, church interests in Ireland had exerted considerable pressure on the government to recognise the denominational reality of Irish national schools and the Powis Commission had articulated this demand. But after 1870, the pressure from Catholic interests for a recasting of the system of national education in Ireland faded, probably because it was realised that any change might result in the alignment of the Irish and English systems, a development that the Irish Catholic hierarchy would find unpalatable. In the early years of the 1870s, Prime Minister Gladstone had plans to reform the administrative structure of Irish education but the expectations of his political supporters and of the vested interest groups in Irish education were irreconcilable. Gladstone found it impossible to formulate a policy which would be acceptable to both sides and in 1872 he decided not to proceed with measures to reform the structure of national education.

One of the problems which resulted from the government's failure to introduce reform measures for Irish education was the growing divergence between the theory of the national school system as enshrined in the Stanley letter and the reality of the system as it existed. A representative board structure which had been created in 1831 to superintend the system as envisaged by Lord Stanley became increasingly irrelevant as the ideals of that system were abandoned. In years when new administrative structures were created to meet the changing needs and expectations of an increasingly democratic society, the National Board with its lack of parliamentary accountability retained control of national education to the growing frustration of the elected representatives of the people.

The expectations of successive governments after 1870 that the Irish education system would be reformed meant that no action was taken to remove the contradiction between the theory and the reality of the national school system. As a result, the system inherited by the new governments in February 1922 still had as its stated objective

> to afford combined literary and moral, and separate Religious Instruction to Children of all persuasions, as far as possible, in the same school.

The new Dublin government in 1922 made no effort to change the interfere with the theoretical objectives of the national school system and as late as 1946 the Rules and Regulations for National Schools claimed that

> The system of National Education affords combined secular and separate religious instruction to children of all religions, and no attempt is made to interfere with the religious tenets of any pupils. 3

An overview of the Catholic Church's policy on primary education in the years immediately before and after independence, indicates why the Irish government made no change in the system. In 1919 the Catholic hierarchy indicated made it clear that it was satisfied with the Irish educational system and pointed out that the system

> has been worked .... and moulded in the course of 80 years by constant effort into some semblance of the national requirement in primary education. 4

Two years later the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association made it clear that it would resist any interference with the structure of education in Ireland. In October 1921, the Association issued the following statement:

> We feel confident that an Irish Government established by the people for the people, while safeguarding the material interests of the New State, will always recognise and respect the principles which must regulate and govern Catholic education. And, in view of pending changes in Irish education, we wish to assert

> the great fundamental principle that the only satisfactory system of education for Catholics is one wherein Catholic children are taught in Catholic schools by Catholic teachers under Catholic control. [5]

In May 1922 Fr. Finlay, S.J., repeated these sentiments when he warned that the State had no right to attempt to create a monopoly in education. He believed that such a monopoly would ultimately lead to the enslavement of the people, and he felt that it would be lamentable if the Irish people were to find that in the field of education after all their sacrifices, they had only exchanged one tyranny for another.[6]

These warnings were heeded by the leaders of the new state. In October 1922, Minister for Education, Eoin MacNeill indicated his government's reluctance to interfere with the aided nature of the primary and secondary systems of education:

> Let it be understood .... that provision of education by public authority and control of education by public authority are not the same thing .... a sound public policy will seek to foster autonomy in every branch and grade of education. [7]

A month later he reiterated his objection to state control of education:

> Too much State, a hypertrophy of the State, is the disease of the modern political world. A grandiose Statism was the cause of the Great War and all the little wards that have followed it, including two in Ireland .... A wise people will recognise it for a fundamental principle of politics that the functions of the State should be rigidly and vigilantly confined to doing those things only which cannot be done better or as well by the people themselves. [8]

It was clear that MacNeill and his government believed that education was being satisfactorily run "by the people themselves" and that the state should not interfere with the system. Six years later, his successor John Marcus O'Sullivan wrote

> A system has grown up here .... that in some respects at least did satisfy some of our deepest and most lasting aspirations. It may not be as logically rounded off as some of the systems we find in other portions of Europe, but it was possibly none the less healthy on that account. I am not complaining that we have not control of the monopoly of education .. .. quote the contrary. Personally, I strongly believe that if anything of the kind were possible it would be wrong that we should aim at it. Our system here is a mixture of co-operation, of voluntary effort and of state support ..... [9]

The government of the newly formed Free State took no action to change the structure of national education. Dr. Coolahan stated

> In the Irish Free State, the de facto denominational status of the school system was recognised and no efforts were made to interfere with it. Successive ministers for education adopted the view that the state had a subsidiary role, aiding agencies such as the churches in the provision of educational facilities. [10]

The view of the limited role of the state in the area of educational provision remained government policy in Ireland throughout the decades that followed. The Constitution of 1938 formally recognised the role of the state as subsidiary "to private and corporate initiative".[11] In the 1950s, Minister for Education, General Mulcahy, had no hesitation in recognising the supremacy of the country's spiritual leaders in educational matters. He stated:

> The State approach to education in the Irish Republic is one which unreservedly accepts the supernatural conception of man's nature and destiny. It accepts that the proper subject of education is man whole and entire, soul united to body in unity of nature, with all his faculties natural and supernatural, such as right reason and revelation show him to be. It accepts that the foundation and crown of youth's entire training is religion. It is its desire that its teachers, syllabuses and text books in every branch be informed by the spirit underlying this concept of education, and it is determined to see that such facilities as ecclesiastical authorities consider proper shall be provided in the school for the carrying on of the work of religious education. [12]

It was not until 1954 that the question of explicit recognition of the denominational character of national schools was again raised. The report of the Council of Education on the function of the primary school, under the chairmanship of Very Rev. Martin Brenan, pointed out that

> In actual fact today, the overwhelming majority of the National Schools are denominational in the sense that the trustees, managers, teachers and pupils of each school are of the same religious persuasion; less than 3% of the total are 'mixed' schools i.e. attended by children of different religious affiliations.... 13

The Council drew attention to the dichotomy between the stated objective of the national school system, as enshrined in the rules and official deeds of the Department of Education and the reality of the existing system and pointed out that the objective of the system was

> at variance with the principles of all religious denominations and with the realities in the primary schools and consequently that it needs restatement. 14

It recommended that the stated objective

> .... be amended in accordance with Article 44.2.4. of the Constitution and that the fullness of denominational education may be legally sanctioned in those schools which are attended exclusively by children of the same religious faith. 15

As a result of this recommendation the Rules for National Schools were revised to give "explicit recognition to the denominational character of (national) schools"[16] and the official lease or deed of trust of national schools was amended. In earlier versions of the lease the objective of the national school system as defined in the Stanley letter was quoted and the trustees of all vested schools were required to subscribe to this objective. Leases drawn up after the mid-1950s required the trustees to undertake that

> every school to be kept on the Premises shall be subject to the Rules and Regulations of the Minister .... which Rules are published from

> time to time ... and to such further and other Rules and Regulations by the Minister as may from time to time be framed by him. [17]

From the above extract from the official lease of national schools it can be seen that the autonomous position of the Commissioners of National Education in relation to parliament was to a large extent inherited by the Minister for Education of the new state. It has been shown throughout this thesis that the independence of the commissioners had led to many problems in the years after 1850 and that on a number of occasions the question of introducing legislation to regularise this situation had been under consideration. But no action was taken after 1922 to make national education the subject of legislation and as a result the Minister for Education is not required to obtain the consent of the Dail to changes in the Rules and Regulations for National Schools. As recently as April 1982, the President of the I.N.T.O. called for a change in this situation and asked that a bill be introduced in the Dail to curb the autonomy of the Minister for Education in relation to changes in the rules for national schools.[18]

It has been argued in the earlier chapters of this thesis that the title "National School" was a misleading one since the Commissioners of National Education had no power to provide schools in the absence of voluntary initiative and therefore were not in a position to provide education on a national basis. The misleading nature of the title "National Schools" was also adverted to in 1954 by the Council of Education when it stated:

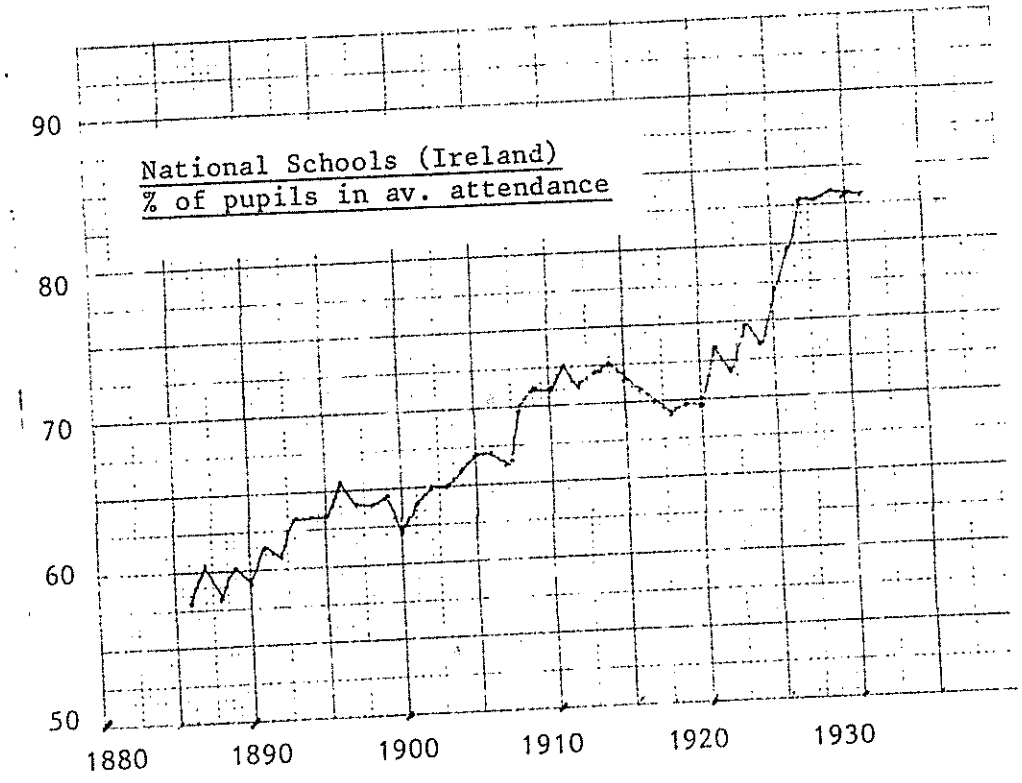
> The system of National Education introduced in 1831 was not intended to found State schools but to assist the building and maintenance of schools established on behalf of each parish. Our primary schools are therefore non-State schools, despite earlier efforts to interfere with their ownership and control .... We are of the opinion that the term "National School" has contributed to this ignorance of the public, and we consider that the designation "Primary School" in its stead, would help to show that our schools .... are not State schools. [19]

In pointing out the discrepancies between the objectives of the early national school system and the system as it had developed by 1922, it has not been the intention of the thesis to condemn the

national school system as it evolved. There is no doubt that with the growth of the system, the rate of literacy of the Irish pop- *ulation improved.*[20] *In addition,* the number of children in average attendance in national schools doubled from a quarter of a million in 1850 to a half a million in the early years of the nineteenth century.[21] The number of schools also virtually doubled during the same period from 4,500 to 8,700.[22] But these figures mask the many problems which accompanied such growth. Among the problems were an abnormally low rate of average attendance in schools in Ireland as compared with England and Scotland and an average school-size which was almost half that of other countries of the United Kingdom. The following graph shows average attendance as a proportion of average enrolment in Irish national schools in the years 1886 to 1930:

DIAGRAM 1

Average attendance in Irish National Schools as a proportion of average enrolment, 1886 to 1930.



Figures before 1886 are not available in comparable form but published statistics would indicate that around 1850 the rate of average attendance may well have been as low as 30% - 35%.[23] In 1886 the rate was 58% and by 1891 it had risen to 61%. The introduction of limited school attendance requirements in 1892 helped to improve the

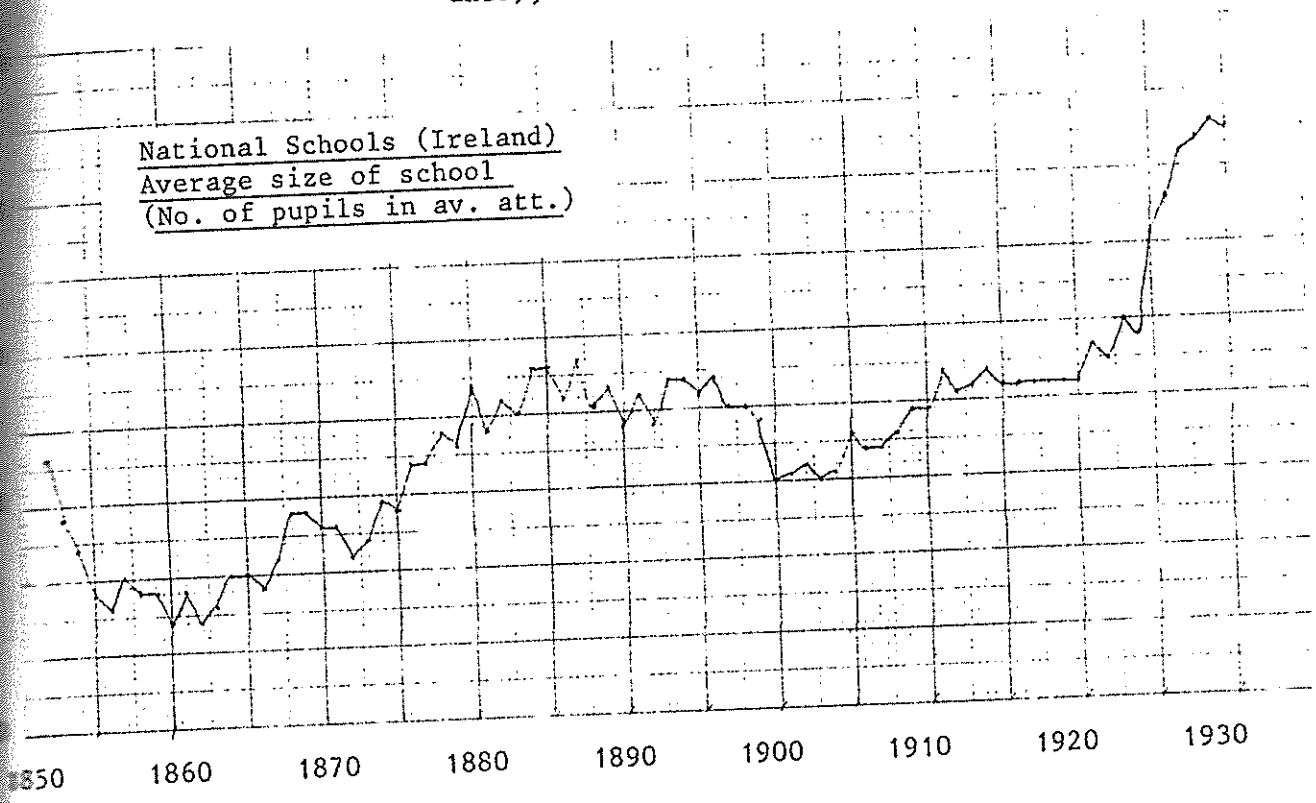
situation somewhat and by 1899 the rate had increased to 65%. In earlier chapters, it has been shown that the low rate of average attendance in Irish schools was a matter of concern to the Treasury and that around the turn of the century Treasury officials exerted pressure on the National Board to bring about an improvement in these figures. The above graph shows that this pressure resulted in improvements in attendance in the period up to the First World War and that in 1914 the rate reached its peak of 72.6%. The outbreak of war and subsequent civil unrest seems to have affected the situation and the rate levelled off at around 69% during the period 1916 - 1921. It was not until after independence that attendance rates rose above 70% again and following the introduction of the School Attendance Act in 1926 the rate increased dramatically to over 80%.[24]

The average size of Irish national schools in the early 1850s was around 50 pupils. This was to some extent a reflection of the low average attendance of pupils but it also reflected a phenomenon that was unique to Ireland - the proliferation of schools catering for boys and girls of different religious denominations. As the rate of average attendance increased, so also did the number of schools recognised by the National Board, with the result that there was little change in the average size of school in the period from 1850 to 1900. The small size of Irish national schools was regarded by the Treasury as one of the main causes of the uneconomic nature of the system and the continued failure of the National Board to take action to halt the growth in the number of schools was a source of contention between the Treasury and the National Board after 1900. The Treasury's interference in this area has been criticised as undue Treasury involvement in an area of educational policy. But the official statistics in the last decade of the nineteenth century, showed that the numbers in attendance in national schools began to fall for the first time in the history of national education but that the number of recognised schools continued to grow. Had this trend continued, the average size of school would have decreased significantly to a size that would be difficult to justify even in a period of economic buoyancy. The fact that this development occurred at the same time as the British economy was experiencing severe financial cutbacks because of the Boer War made it inevitable that the Treasury would intervene in the matter. The Treasury's intervention did not result in an immediate improvement in

the situation, but it halted the gradual decline in the average size of school which had been a feature of the system during the 1890s. The following diagram shows the position from 1852 to 1930:

DIAGRAM 2

Average size of Irish national schools (pupils in average attendance), 1852 to 1930



Financing of National Education

The extent to which factors such as average size of school and average attendance were interlinked with economic considerations has been adverted to in the previous section. The question of the financing of Irish education has been central to this thesis and it has been shown that many factors contributed to the government's attitude on the financing of Irish education during the period in question. One might summarise these factors under three broad headings:

1. Educational policy considerations.
2. General policy considerations. This heading covers a wide variety of factors - administrative, financial and economic - and also takes into account developments in Treasury control and procedures.

3. Exogenous factors, i.e. factors over which the government had no control but to which it was obliged to respond. This category would include factors such as the outbreak of war etc.

These factors were closely interwoven and at certain periods in the thesis, all three came into play at the one time. For obvious reasons, the question of educational policy tended to be emphasised as this aspect was given greatest prominence in internal correspondence and documentation. But this is not to say that other policy considerations were not equally important. Administrative, financial and economic policy were also taken into account and discussed where relevant as also were factors such as civil unrest and war when it was clear that such issues affected the educational situation.

One of the more significant themes developed in the thesis was the question of the growing involvement of the Treasury in Irish national education in the period after 1850. The role of the Treasury in relation to the National Board was seen from two different angles. On the one hand, the Treasury emerged as a body charged with the control of public funds; on the other hand, its role as the head and co-ordinator of the civil service had an important effect on educational development in Ireland.

As a controller of public expenditure, the power of the Treasury in the first half of the nineteenth century was limited.[25] Consequently, prior to 1850, the National Board together with many other administrative bodies exercised almost complete control over the funds at its disposal. Efforts by the Treasury to interfere with the Board's powers in the area of expenditure were rejected by the Lord Lieutenant in 1836 and 1838 and the Board maintained effective control over the allocation of the vote until mid-century.[26]

Gladstone's appointment as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1852 marked a turning point in the history of the Treasury. His policy of utilitarian reform emphasised rationalization, centralisation and economy. Legislation passed during Gladstone's Ministry resulted in establishing and consolidating Treasury control over government expenditure. This growth in Treasury control led to a significant increase in its power over institutions involved in government expenditure, and

these institutions included the Board of National Education in Ireland. Chubb points out that during the period 1860 to 1888

> Treasury sanction was needed for any deviation from the estimates, to start new works and services not covered by the Approporiation Act, to write off losses, to waive claims and to include unusual charges. Treasury rules also covered, to an ever-increasing degree, establishment and the wide range of questions connected therewith. [27]

The development of Treasury power led to an increase in the volume of correspondence between the Treasury and other government departments and resulted in many contentious situations in which the Treasury was seen as a negative body intent on preventing development and improvement. The Treasury contributed to this image with the result that its role in relation to other departments has been described as one of "adjudication not inspiration; parsimony not efficiency; conservation not growth".[28] During this period, the Treasury's initial reaction to requests for increased funding was invariably negative and as the education offices in both England and Ireland were constantly requesting increases they often found themselves in direct confrontation with the Treasury. Writing about such increases, Roseveare stated:

> Although the Treasury was reluctantly conditioned to the fact that certain areas of government expenditure such as education would continue to grow there was little reason why the Treasury should have meekly accepted the axiom that departmental establishments were destined to expand at a steady, predictable rate of growth. [29]

But the Treasury's regular clashes with the spending departments had little effect in slowing down the long-term growth of public expenditure on Irish education. The question of Irish education was an important political one throughout the years in question and it has been shown that during the years of Liberal rule under Gladstone, state aid to Irish national education increased significantly.

Following the defeat of Gladstone and the coming into power of a Conservative government, two factors helped the further development

of Irish education. The Gladstonian era of economy and thrift was followed by an "age of spending"[30] and Irish national education was among the government services which benefitted from increased state support. Moreover, the Conservative government's policy of "killing Home Rule with kindness" resulted in a government attitude of generosity to Irish departments, particularly in the last decade of the century.[31]

But the situation became less stable around the turn of the century. By the early years of the twentieth century primary, secondary and technical education in England were controlled by a central authority, the Board of Education. The cost of education in that country was shared between the central exchequer and local education committees who levied a local rate for education. In Ireland, on the other hand, responsibility for education devolved upon a number of departments and boards and no money was available for national or intermediate education from local rates. Lack of co-ordination between the departments responsible for the different branches of education in Ireland proved continually frustrating for the Treasury and the correspondence between the Treasury and the Irish government during this period bears witness to this frustration. A number of efforts by the government to rationalise the Irish system after 1900 failed, largely because the vested interest groups who were satisfied with the system which had evolved, opposed government attempts to change it. But although the government failed to introduce reform in the period 1900 to 1922, efforts to reduce government expenditure on national education were more successful than they had been in the nineteenth century. The government made it clear that its ultimate aim was to bring the system of education in Ireland into line with that of Great Britain and that it was prepared if necessary to use financial pressure to achieve this objective. The fluctuation in the government grant to national education in the years in question reflected government policy in this regard.

As controller of public expenditure and co-ordinator of civil service departments, the Treasury increasingly attempted to bring the experiences of one civil service department to bear on other related departments. In this context it was inevitable that developments in English and Scottish education would be brought to the attention of

the Irish Education Boards. When changes in the educational systems of England and Scotland resulted in savings in public expenditure the Treasury did not see its role as merely drawing attention to such change. It used whatever pressures and financial sanctions possible to effect similar changes in the Irish education system. Consequently, the periods around 1870, 1902 and 1918 when Education Acts were passed which transformed the educational system in England without causing undue demands on the central exchequer, were periods of particular pressure on Irish education.

Three significant findings emerge from an analysis of public expenditure on Irish national education in the period 1850 to 1922.

1. In terms of constant prices, the parliamentary grant per pupil in average attendance in national schools increased annually from 1850 to 1908, with the exception of a period around 1900 when the British economy was seriously affected by the Boer War. The factors which led to the growth and fall of the value of the parliamentary grant will be briefly summarised below.

2. The parliamentary grant per pupil in average attendance in elementary education was considerably greater in Ireland than in England throughout the period 1870 to 1922.

3. The proportion of educational costs met from government as opposed to local sources was considerably greater in Ireland than in England during the same period.

1. Parliamentary grant per pupil

In the first decade of the period under consideration, the parliamentary grant for Irish national schools doubled from about 10/- to £1 for each pupil in average attendance.[32] Following the introduction of payment by results in England the average cost per pupil in elementary education there fell and efforts were made by the Treasury to introduce similar economies in Irish education. As a result of Treasury pressure the annual growth in the parliamentary grant to Irish education was halted during the 1860s. The introduction of payment by results in Ireland in 1872 led to a significant increase in the remuneration of teachers. This increase was largely met from

government funds and led to an overall increase of over 30% in the value of the parliamentary grant to Irish education. With the appointment of George Goschen as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1888 and the abolition of national school fees shortly afterwards, the parliamentary grant again increased significantly and grew from about £1.70 to almost £2.50 in the decade 1888 to 1898. In constant prices the increase in the ten-year period was in the region of 60%.

The figures are particularly interesting in view of the generally held belief that the Treasury's attitude to the spending departments was repressive during the 1880s and 1890s.[33] While the Treasury would undoubtedly have liked to reduce public spending on education, the expenditure figures show that they did not achieve their objective as far as Irish national education was concerned. During the decade 1897 to 1907, the rate of growth in the annual grant to national education was effectively halted. In constant prices the increase in the average grant per pupil during the ten-year period was less than 4%, a far cry from the 60% of the previous decade. After 1907, the value of the parliamentary grant to Irish education began to fall. Increased grants introduced by Liberal Chief Secretary Augustine Birrell failed to keep pace with the rate of inflation which started to rise in 1907 and which reached an unprecedented level during the First World War. By 1917, the value of the parliamentary grant to national education had fallen to its pre-1888 level. Increases in teachers' salaries in the post-war period reversed the trend of the War years and in 1920 the value in constant prices of the parliamentary grant was close to its 1900 value. The following graph shows the average parliamentary grant per pupil in average attendance in national schools in both constant and current prices in the period 1852 to 1932.[34]

increased the cost of national education and by the early 1880s the average parliamentary grant for Irish education was over £1.50, compared to only 92d for English education. Efforts by the Treasury to reduce the annual growth of the parliamentary grant to Irish education in the 1880s and 1890s failed and although this growth was effectively halted in the first decade of the twentieth century, the disparity between the parliamentary grant to English and Irish education remained. In 1913 government expenditure per pupil in Irish national schools was £3.60; in England the comparable figure was £2.20. Five years later the Treasury Remembrancer in Ireland, Maurice Headlam, submitted figures to the Vice-Regal Committee of Inquiry into Primary Education which showed that the average government grant per pupil in attendance in Irish national schools was £5.25, compared to a figure of £3.20 in England.[39] The disparity between government expenditure on Irish and English elementary education remained constant during the period 1870 to 1920, with the Irish National Board receiving 65% more from the government for every pupil in attendance in national schools than the English Board of Education received for pupils in elementary schools under the aegis.

In this context it is difficult to understand the repeated allegations of government injustice to children in Irish schools. Such allegations were made by Starkie and by P.H. Pearse on a number of occasions in the period 1900 to 1920 and they do not appear to have been effectively refuted by either the Irish executive or the Treasury. There is no doubt that the nationalist climate during this period encouraged criticism of government policies and that very often little effort was made to establish the accuracy of such criticisms. The more surprising aspect of this particular comparison was the failure of the government to make political capital of its more favourable treatment of Irish education. This reality was not brought to light until 1919 and then only in an appendix to the Killanin Report where, predictably, it got little or no publicity.

3. The "local contribution" to primary education in Ireland and England

During most of the nineteenth century, public opinion in the United Kingdom was antipathetic to the notion of state interference in the provision of social services.[41] It was believed that the role of the state should be limited to aiding local initiative and that the

major part of the cost of such services should be provided from local sources. Against this backdrop it is surprising that such a large proportion of the cost of education in Ireland in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was provided by the state.

The Stanley Letter of 1831 had clearly stated that the allocation of public money towards national education in Ireland would be conditional on the availability of adequate local funds, and suggested one-third as the minimum contribution to be provided from local sources.[42] The Powis Commission of 1868 supported this notion and recommended that the total local contribution provided (by rates, local subscription and school-fees) should account for at least one-fourth of the cost of maintaining a national school.[43]

In England the Newcastle Commission of 1861 had recommended that a much higher proportion of the cost of elementary education should be met from local sources there and had suggested that the cost should be shared equally between the state (from taxes), the locality (from rates) and the parents (from subscriptions and fees).[44] The Education Act of 1870 established the right of local school boards in that country to levy a rate for education and this provision led to a widening of the gap between the proportion of costs paid from local sources in England and Ireland. Efforts by the government to impose a similar rating system on Ireland were unsuccessful and by 1888 only 16% of the current cost of Irish education was met from local sources compared to 58% in England.[45] In other words, the proportion of the cost met by the government for Irish education, 84%, was twice the proportion paid for English elementary education, 42%.

Following the abolition of school fees in elementary schools in Ireland and England in the early 1890s, additional finances were made available from the central exchequer to lessen the burden of local taxation. This provision inevitably increased the proportion of educational costs met from government funds but it did nothing to reduce the disparity between the proportion of the costs met from local sources in Ireland and in England. By 1913, 92% of national school costs in Ireland were paid from central funds; in England the comparable proportion was 46%, or half the Irish figure.[46]

Despite the many accusations made against the government alleging

parsimony in the financing of Irish national education in the early years of the century, the fact remains that the local contribution towards education in Ireland had fallen by half in the period 1888 to 1913, from 16% to 8%, whereas in England where the rate was considerably higher, it had only fallen by 12% - from 58% to 46%.

The low level of local contribution remained a feature of educational funding in the period after partition. Coolahan describes the Irish educational system today as

> ... predominantly a state-aided one, with the state providing the vast proportion of finance for capital and current expenditure although most of the institutions are not publicly owned or controlled.[47]

The report of the Council of Education in 1954 adverted to the continuing problem of inadequate local contribution, and suggested that the difficulty of obtaining adequate funds locally was linked to the public belief that national schools because of their title were state schools. They stated

> It is to be feared that (the) local and parochial ownership of the schools is not sufficiently known and appreciated by the public at large. If it were adequately understood managers should find less difficulty in procuring (the) local aid .....[48]

The Council did not quantify the level of local aid contributed on a national level but the report on Investment in Education showed that in 1960/61, current state expenditure on national education amounted to over £11,000,000. The amount contributed from local sources was just over £500,000, or 4.4% of total current expenditure.[49] Ten years later, Dale Tussing's analysis of Irish Educational Expenditure produced similar results. He found that depending on the size and category of schools investigated, the level of local contribution towards current costs varied from 3% to 6%.[50] The picture which emerges from the various studies undertaken in recent decades, suggests that there has been little change in the proportion of costs met by the state since independence in 1922; as in the decades before 1922, state funds in the subsequent fifty years have accounted for about 95% of current costs of national education.

Secondary Education

The system of intermediate education which evolved in Ireland in the eighteenth century and was supported by the state after 1878 differed significantly from the national school system. The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 established a board of commissioners with responsibility for allocating funds to Irish intermediate schools. A capital sum of one million pounds was provided from the Church Disestablishment Fund for intermediate education in Ireland and the interest from this sum, about £32,000 per annum, was available for distribution to schools on the basis of the results of their pupils in written examinations set and corrected under the auspices of the Intermediate Board. In 1890 a further annual grant was made available for intermediate education from the Local Taxation (Whisky) money and by 1900 almost £70,000 per annum was paid from this fund to the Intermediate Board. In the early twentieth century the amount available for intermediate education from the Taxation Fund began to fall and in 1910 the government agreed to fix the annual grant from this source at £46,000.

Since the assets of the Board were fixed, the financial situation of intermediate education deteriorated as inflation grew. The problem was further exacerbated by the fact that all administrative and examination costs were a first charge on the Board's income with the result that these costs accounted for a growing proportion of the Board's expenditure as the century progressed. A decision by the government in 1912 to allocate a further annual grant of £40,000 to intermediate education was not implemented until 1914 because the heads of Catholic schools were anxious to ensure that the conditions applying to the new grant would not in any way undermine their authority and control over the schools. The government effectively conceded to the wishes of the Catholic headmasters on the issue, and the Teacher Salaries Grant of 1914 was paid in the form of a capitation grant to schools based on the proportion of results fees earned by their pupils. Further government grants of £50,000 per annum from 1918 and an additional £50,000 from 1920 were also allocated on this basis.

The failure of the government to reach agreement with the intermediate school authorities on the question of salaries and employment conditions of lay teachers meant that although additional financing

was made available for intermediate education during the decade 1912 to 1922 there was no systematic provision for such increases. Moreover, the system of payment by results which had been condemned from all quarters from 1900 onwards remained the basis on which all additional grants were distributed. As a result, the intermediate school system inherited by the new state in 1922 consisted of "schools struggling on in an unreformed state and suffering from gross inadequacy of funds".[51]

Following partition in 1922, the Intermediate Board retained responsibility for intermediate education until June 1923. In that month, the Board was dissolved and was replaced by two Intermediate Education Commissioners, Seosamh O Neill and Proinnsias O Dubhthaigh. A year later, the Department of Education was established with responsibility for all areas of education. Under the new Department, the level of financing of secondary education improved significantly and the method of distributing grants was altered.[52] The Intermediate Education (Amendment) Act of 1924 repealed the Clauses in the earlier Intermediate Education Acts under which grants had been paid on the basis of examination results. After 1924 money for intermediate education was paid (a) as a capitation grant in respect of pupils following an approved course in the school and making a certain number of attendance, and (b) to provide increments of salary to recognised teachers in schools fulfilling certain conditions. As a condition for recognition, schools were to employ a certain number of recognised teachers with a contract of employment and a certain minimum salary to be paid by the school. No moves were made by the government to interfere with the control or administration of the system of secondary education. As in the case of national schools, the secondary schools inherited by the new state were virtually all under denominational management. Adverting to this in 1960, the Council of Education wrote:

> (Our secondary schools) are all strongly religious in character, religious motives having led to their foundation and religious bodies being, in the main, their trustees, patrons and managers. The dominant purpose of their existence is the inculcation of religious ideals and values. ... (the schools) are to a great extent free of State control; each has its own independence and strongly marked individuality.[54]

The lack of planning which led to the proliferation of small

national schools throughout Ireland also characterised the development of the secondary school sector. In the latter case the result was an excess of schools in some areas and a shortage in others, leading to a wide disparity in participation in second level education. The report on Investment in Education in 1965 stated that

> .... the cause of much of the disparity lies in the procedure by which secondary schools came into being. (Until 1963) the State has never accepted responsibility for providing secondary education and it has not taken any initiative towards the establishment of secondary schools apart from aiding them when they are established. This has, therefore, depended on private enterprise, religious or lay, and local ecclesiastical encouragement, the absence of either of which would effectively preclude the founding of a school in an area. [55]

Lack of Co-ordination

Despite certain similarities in the problems affecting both national and intermediate education, the development of each level proceeded along separate and independent lines in the years before independence. The lack of co-ordination between the different branches of education was one of the main problems in the system as perceived by Bonaparte-Wyse, secretary to the National Board in 1920.[56] This problem affected both the situation of the individual pupil and the more wide-ranging situation of general educational administration. It affected the pupil both from the point of view of curricula which were not co-ordinated and from the lack of opportunity to proceed systematically from national to intermediate education. As early as 1904, measures had been taken in England to provide scholarships to enable the more able pupils in public elementary schools to attend secondary schools. An effort to set up a similar scheme in Ireland around 1910 failed and it was not until the mid-1920s that a limited scholarship scheme was introduced in this country. Referring to this situation, Coolahan writes:

> The idea of a meritocracy ladder whereby bright working-class pupils could be supported by scholarships, which became current in England at the turn of the century, did not get wide support in Ireland before or after independence.[57]

At the administrative level, the problems arising from the lack

of co-ordination became particularly acute after 1899 when responsibility for technical instruction was formally vested in the newly established Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction thereby creating a third major administrative body for education. The diversification of educational administration in Ireland contrasted starkly with the situation in England where in 1899 legislation was passed to establish a single Board of Education with responsibility for all areas of education. Successive governments after 1900 deplored the lack of co-ordination between the National and Intermediate Boards and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and during the period 1902 to 1922 many efforts were made to solve the problem. The failure of attempted reform measures meant that the problem of lack of co-ordination in educational administration was one which faced the new government when it assumed responsibility for education in February 1922. Some months earlier the provisional Dail had taken action to investigate the problem by setting up a committee on co-ordination. But from an early stage this committee avoided the more controversial aspects of the issue. In October 1921, newspaper reports stated that

> The work of the co-ordination committee now sitting under the aegis of the Education Ministry of Dail Eireann is, it is understood, concerned solely with the co-ordination of the programmes of instruction. The committee is in no way concerned with the general organisation or administration of the systems ..... [58]

Some months later, the same newspaper reported that

> Co-ordination might be written down as one of the greatest needs of Irish education. For years, enlightened educationalists in this country have been clamouring for a linking up of all the systems under the control of a central authority but under the old regime one had to do a lot of clamouring, especially so in the domain of education, before anything tangible was achieved and so far as co-ordination is concerned, next to nothing has been achieved .... That the systems will be co-ordinated under a central authority in the future in Ireland, there is little doubt, for co-ordination makes for unification of system, economy and efficiency ..... [59]

The first Minister for Education of the Free State indicated that he would not be slow to introduce co-ordination

> MacNeill's watchword in Dail discussions of education was not 'reform' but 'co-ordination', implying an automatic preservation with only slight modifications of the status quo. [60]

But in spite of MacNeill's apparent commitment to co-ordination, it was not until 1924, when the Ministers and Secretaries Act was passed, that the three branches of education, national, intermediate and technical, were co-ordinated under a single Minister and departmental secretary.

Great care was taken by the new government to avoid the related question of local authority involvement, an issue which had effectively prevented earlier attempts to achieve co-ordination. In its annual report for 1924/25, the Department of Education tried to justify its avoidance of the issue of co-ordination on the basis of local control when it stated:

> .... even if such co-ordination were desirable it would, in view of the variety of interests involved, have presented the greatest difficulties.[61]

The question of achieving co-ordination under local control had been a controversial one since 1902 when local education authorities had been set up in England under the Education Act of that year. Although this Act protected the rights of denominational schools and provided them with a level of financing in excess of that available before 1902, Catholic church authorities in Ireland were not anxious to see a similar system introduced in this country. They were particularly suspicious of allegations of lack of local involvement in Irish education, construing such criticism as a prelude to local authority involvement. The vehement reaction of Catholic managers to Starkie's statement in September 1902 in which he regretted the absence of "the local co-operation of educated and independent laymen" in Irish education, was a reflection of this suspicion.[62] Starkie's criticism was echoed two years later by F.H. Dale when he stated that "except among the clergy, little or no local interest is manifest in the primary schools of Ireland".[63] The failure of both Conservative and Liberal governments to introduce reform in this area has been documented in this thesis. It is clear that the defeat of educational reform measures in 1904, 1907 and 1919 was largely due to the

determination of Catholic church authorities to prevent any infringement of their authority in the area of educational control.

Since 1922 the question of local authority involvement in Irish primary and secondary education has occasionally been raised[64] but the opposition of the church authorities to such a move has on each occasion been made clear. The absence of local authority involvement in education in this country is referred to by Barrington as follows:

> One striking feature of the Irish geographical system of government is the absence from it of responsibility for education, except for the very limited part played by vocational education committees. It is normal in other countries for first and second level education to be the concern of geographical government - in our terms, at the country and regional levels. Suggestions to remedy this lack have been made, but without success.[65]

The recent discussion on private versus public ownership and control of education which is taking place in the United States underlines yet again the potential explosiveness of the whole situation of interference with the private domain in the area of education.[66] As far as Ireland is concerned it appears increasingly unlikely that the question of local authority involvement in primary and secondary education will be raised in the immediate future. Comparative figures provided in Dale Tussing's study showed that the hidden subsidy provided by voluntary agencies involved in running such schools is considerable.[67] Since any moves to involve local authorities in the running of these schools would add further costs to the central exchequer in Ireland,* it seems very unlikely that this issue will be raised during the present climate of economic recession.

The offices of the National and Intermediate Board as offices of the Civil Service

Before drawing this thesis to a close, brief reference must be made to the analysis of developments in the offices of the National and Intermediate Boards in the context of developments in the civil service as a whole. As far as the Intermediate Board was concerned, the

* Since the mid-1970s, rates on private houses have been removed and local authorities are compensated from central funds for the loss of these rates.

development of its bureaucratic procedures and appointments took place quite independently of the civil service. The permanent officials of the Intermediate Board were not regarded as civil servants at all and it was not until 1920 that they were in any way effected by changes in the civil service.

The National Education Office was a different matter. Its development was closely interwoven with the general growth and bureaucratisation of the civil service and its history serves as a good example of how an Irish department came into line with civil service departments in the rest of the United Kingdom.

As an office of the civil service, the National Education Office in Dublin proved to be efficient and well-organised from the earliest days. It conformed to the requirements of the Treasury Lords in their capacity as heads of the civil service. An investigation of the Dublin office carried out by Viscount Monck in conjunction with the Northcote-Trevelyan commission in the early years of the 1850s, found that the organisation of the office was satisfactory and that its procedures were systematic.[68] In the early 1870s a further committee (the Gladstone Committee) operating in parallel with the Playfair Committee in England was also satisfied with the operations of the Dublin Office and had few suggestions to make regarding desirable changes.[69] These reports (in 1855 and 1873) were in contrast to reports on the Education Office in London which was found to be much less satisfactorily organised than the Dublin Office. Changes introduced in the Education Code and in the method of distributing grants to English elementary schools in the 1860s and 1880s were brought about as much by the necessity for administrative reform as by educational considerations.

The introduction of payment by results in 1872 and the efforts by the government to introduce an element of local rating for Irish education in 1875 added to the administrative complexity of the Irish system. The provisions of the Act of 1875 were cumbersome and the cost of collecting and distributing the monies provided through voluntary rating was uneconomic. The numbers of staff employed in the National Education Office increased significantly in the period 1872 to 1882 and as a result the cost of administering the national education vote in Ireland in 1883 was three times greater than the equivalent cost in the Education Office in London. Following the abolition of payment by

results in 1900, administrative costs fell again and although the vote for national education continued to increase in subsequent years the total amount spent on administration fell. While in the early years of national education administrative costs had accounted for about 5% of the Board's expenditure, by 1920 this proportion had fallen to less than 3%.

The administrative procedures and office organisation established under the National Board remained remarkably unchanged in the fifty years following independence. The main problem adverted to by Resident Commissioner Starkie in his evidence to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service in 1914 was the absence of graduate recruitment to the Office of National Education. This situation still exists today in the Department of Education. Another feature inherited from the days of the National Board is the relative lack of influence of the inspectorate in the area of educational policy. This problem dates from 1900 when Starkie removed the Chiefs of Inspection from what had been an advisory and senior administrative role to a subordinate and implementary role.

The analysis in Chapters XIV and XV of the reconstruction of the Offices of National and Intermediate Education underlines the extent to which this re-organisation was based on up-dated and modern concepts in the area of bureaucratic and administrative procedure. Seen in this context, it was not surprising that in the years following independence little change occurred in the organisation of the Department of Education in Dublin. Up to fifty years after the transfer of services, procedures and even official forms used in the Department remained identical to those used in the days of the National Board. In 1935 a Commission of Inquiry into the Irish Civil Service reported that

> The passing of the State services into the control of a native Government, however revolutionary it may have been as a step in the political development of the nation, entailed, broadly speaking, no immediate disturbance of any fundamental kind in the daily work of the average Civil Servant. Under changed masters, the same main tasks of administration continued to be performed by the same staffs on the same general lines of organisation and procedures. 70

In the introduction of this thesis, it was stated that an effort

would be made to gain an insight into the personalities and personal philosophies of key personnel involved in areas of educational decision-making. This aspect of the research was not quite as fruitful as had been hoped. The realisation that educational events could not be attributed directly to any one body or agency reduced the significance of the individual input. Nevertheless, there were a small number of significant men whose contribution to Irish education cannot be ignored. The work of Resident Commissioners Keenan and Starkie has been analysed elsewhere and some reference, although inadequate, has been made to them in these chapters. The contributions of others such as Archbishop Walsh, and Fr. Murphy have also been mentioned. The important influence of more junior officials could not be identified although there is no doubt that the contribution of each member of staff of the Offices of the Intermediate and National Board helped to produce the total picture which has emerged in this thesis. A final quotation from the report of an interdepartmental committee in 1919 summarises the importance of the personal unput into the official image of the civil service and should perhaps become the motto of all civil servants:

> ..... forms are lifeless things without the spirit that animates them, and no rules or regulations have any value apart from the broad and sympathetic treatment with which they should be handled and interpreted. Administration is at least as much a matter of heart as of brain. [71]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS - REFERENCES

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APPENDIX A

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)

YEAR	(a) NO. OF SCHOOLS	(b) AV. SIZE OF SCHOOL (PUPILS IN AV.ATTEND.)	(c) NO. OF PUPILS IN AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	(d) AV. ATTEND. AS % OF AV. ENROLMENT	(e) TOTAL PARL. GRANT	(f) AV.PARL. GRANT PER PUPIL IN CURRENT PRICES	(g) WHOLESALE PRICE INDEX	(h) AV.PARL.GRANT PER PUPIL IN CONSTANT PRICES (1900=100)
1850	4,547	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	125,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
51	4,704	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	134,500	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
52	4,875	58.0	282,575	n.a.	164,577	0.58	n.a.	n.a.
53	5,023	54.0	271,364	n.a.	182,073	0.67	n.a.	n.a.
54	5,178	51.6	267,099	n.a.	193,040	0.72	n.a.	n.a.
55	5,124	49.3	252,488	n.a.	215,200	0.85	n.a.	n.a.
56	5,245	48.4	254,011	n.a.	227,641	0.90	n.a.	n.a.
57	5,337	50.3	268,397	n.a.	223,530	0.83	n.a.	n.a.
58	5,408	49.2	266,091	n.a.	249,443	0.94	n.a.	n.a.
59	5,496	49.0	269,203	n.a.	272,489	1.01	n.a.	n.a.
60	5,632	46.7	262,823	n.a.	294,040	1.12	n.a.	n.a.
61	5,830	48.8	284,726	n.a.	311,216	1.09	n.a.	n.a.
62	6,010	47.4	284,912	n.a.	317,635	1.11	n.a.	n.a.
63	6,163	48.2	296,986	n.a.	332,642	1.12	n.a.	n.a.
64	6,263	50.3	315,108	n.a.	339,944	1.08	n.a.	n.a.
65	6,372	50.4	321,209	n.a.	345,036	1.07	n.a.	n.a.
66	6,453	49.0	316,225	n.a.	357,836	1.13	n.a.	n.a.
67	6,349	50.7	321,683	n.a.	357,836	1.11	n.a.	n.a.
68	6,586	53.9	354,853	n.a.	(?)301,700	0.85 (?)	n.a.	n.a.
69	6,707	53.5	358,560	n.a.	380,000	1.06	n.a.	n.a.
70	6,806	52.8	359,199	n.a.	394,209	1.10	n.a.	n.a.
71	6,914	52.6	363,850	n.a.	408,389	1.12	135.6	.83
72	7,050	50.5	355,821	n.a.	516,081	1.45	145.2	1.00
73	7,160	52.1	373,371	n.a.	542,222	1.45	151.9	.95
74	7,257	54.5	395,390	n.a.	565,646	1.43	146.9	.97
75	7,267	53.7	389,961	n.a.	639,368	1.64	140.4	1.17
76	7,334	56.8	416,586	n.a.	645,949	1.55	137.1	1.13
77	7,370	56.7	418,063	n.a.	645,236	1.54	140.4	1.10
78	7,433	58.8	437,252	n.a.	659,837	1.51	131.1	1.15
79	7,522	57.8	435,054	n.a.	681,829	1.57	125.0	1.26
80	7,590	61.7	468,557	n.a.	722,366	1.54	129.0	1.19
81	7,648	59.3	453,567	n.a.	729,868	1.61	126.6	1.27
82	7,705	60.9	469,192	n.a.	730,461	1.56	127.7	1.22
83	7,752	60.3	467,704	n.a.	726,339	1.55	125.9	1.23
84	7,832	62.9	492,928	n.a.	756,027	1.53	114.1	1.34
85	7,934	63.3	502,454	n.a.	814,003	1.62	107.0	1.51
86	8,024	61.1	490,484	57.8	851,973	1.74	101.0	1.72
87	8,112	63.5	515,388	60.4	874,051	1.70	98.8	1.72
88	8,196	60.2	493,883	58.3	898,525	1.82	101.8	1.78
89	8,251	61.6	507,865	60.5	917,847	1.81	103.4	1.75
90	8,298	58.9	489,144	59.0	996,344	2.04	103.3	1.97
91	8,346	60.7	506,336	61.4	945,223	1.87	106.9	1.75
92	8,403	58.9	495,254	60.7	1,095,482	2.21	101.1	2.19
93	8,459	62.3	527,060	63.3	1,147,969	2.18	99.4	2.19
94	8,505	61.8	525,547	63.1	1,177,792	2.24	93.5	2.40
95	8,557	60.7	519,515	62.9	1,216,088	2.34	90.7	2.56
96	8,606	62.2	534,957	65.6	1,264,187	2.36	88.2	2.68
97	8,631	60.4	521.141	63.9	1,276,560	2.45	90.1	2.72
98	8,651	60.0	518,799	64.2	1,286,734	2.48	93.2	2.66
99	8,670	59.3	513,852	64.5	1,281,117	2.49	92.2	2.70
1900	8,684	55.1	478,224	62.0	1,274,069	2.66	100.0	2.66
01	8,692	55.5	482,031	63.9	1,287,771	2.67	96.7	2.76
02	8,712	55.9	487,098	65.1	1.315,748	2.70	96.4	2.80
03	8,720	55.3	482,489	65.0	1,358,501	2.82	96.9	2.91
04	8,710	55.6	483,897	65.7	1,393,225	2.88	98.2	2.93
05	8,659	57.8	500,489	67.4	1,409,687	2.82	97.6	2.89
06	8,602	57.4	493,558	66.8	1,421,137	2.88	100.8	2.86
07	8,538	56.9	485,979	66.3	1,450,964	2.99	106.0	2.82
08	8,468	58.4	494,662	69.8	1,584,137	3.20	103.0	3.11
09	8,401	59.6	501,107	71.1	1,608,103	3.21	104.1	3.08
10	8,337	59.5	495,962	70.8	1,643,205	3.31	108.8	3.04
11	8,289	61.9	512,862	72.5	1,642,699	3.20	109.4	2.93
12	8,255	60.5	499,038	71.3	1,706,016	3.42	114.9	2.98
13	8,229	61.1	502,522	72.2	1,695,343	3.37	116.5	2.89
14	8,207	62.0	508,424	72.6	1,712,939	3.37	117.2	2.88
15	8,163	61.2	499,983	71.5	1,749,167	3.50	143.9	2.43
16	8,118	60.9	494,318	70.7	1,932,698	3.91	186.5	2.10
17	8,060	60.6	488,785	69.9	2,141,860	4.38	243.0	1.80
18	8,002	61.0	488,031	68.9	2,142,511	4.39	268.1	1.64
19	7,947	61.4	487,866	69.7	3,111,878	6.38	296.5	2.15
20	7,898	61.0	481,854	69.6	4,382,994	9.10	368.8	2.47
21	5,746	63.5	364,863	73.3	3,675,373	12.81	n.a.	n.a.
22	5,696	62.5	356,115	71.8	3,898,575	10.95	* 188.33	4.96
23	5,684	65.0	369,401	74.3	3,909,558	10.58	* 184.25	4.90
24	5,636	64.3	362,588	73.5	3,600,514	9.93	* 185.50	4.57
25	5,648	70.7	399,281	77.0	n.a.	n.a.	* 189.75	n.a.
26	5,641	73.2	413,159	79.7	3,549,864	8.59	* 184.75	3.97
27	5,555	76.3	423,974	82.7	3,594,021	8.48	* 174.75	4.14
28	5,447	77.1	419,780	82.6	3,631,581	8.65	* 174.00	4.24
29	5,401	77.9	420,941	83.4	3,610,737	8.58	* 175.75	4.17
30	5,378	77.5	416,723	82.9	3,633,885	8.72	170.75	4.36

APPENDIX A - REFERENCES AND SOURCES

Cols. (a), (d) and (e) for the years 1850 to 1920 are taken from the Annual Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1850 to 1920/21.

Cols. (a), (c), (d) and (e) for the year 1921 are taken from Statistics relating to National Education for the year 1921-22; (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1924).

Cols. (c), (c), (d) and (e) for the years 1922 and 1923 relate to Saorstat Eireann only and are taken from Statistics relating to National Education in Saorstat for the year 1922-3 and Report and Statistics relating to National Education in Saorstat for the year 1923/24 (Dublin, Stationery Office, n.d.)

Cols. (a), (c), (d) and (e) for the years 1924 to 1930 relate to Saorstat Eireann only and are taken from Investment in Education: Annexes and Appendices, Table 3, p.633.

Cols. (b) and (f) are derived by dividing col. (c) by (a) and col. (e) by (c).

Col. (g) for the years 1872 to 1920 (incl.) is taken from the Wholesale Price Index given in B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, op.cit., p.476.

Col. (g) for the years 1922 to 1930 is from the Consumer Price Index (1914 = 100) supplied by the Central Statistics Office, Dublin.

Col. (h) is derived by dividing col. (f) by col. (g) for the years 1872 to 1920. For the years 1922 to 1930 the Consumer Price Index is recalculated on the basis of the 1914 Wholesale Price Index to ensure the continuity of the figures.

Note 1. Figures for 1921 are not reliable; in some cases they include the 32 counties, and in other cases only the 26 counties are included.

Note 2. The parliamentary grant after 1922 includes the Teachers Pensions Grant. Figures before 1921 exclude this grant.

APPENDIX B

Prime Ministers and First Lords of the Treasury

1852	Earl of Derby	
1852	Earl of Aberdeen	
1855	Viscount Palmerston	
1858	Earl of Derby	
1859	Viscount Palmerston	
1865	Earl Russell	
1866	Earl of Derby	
1868	B. Disraeli	
1868	W.E. Gladstone	
1874	B. Disraeli	
1880	W.E. Gladstone	
1885	Marquess of Salisbury	(1)
1886	W.E. Gladstone	
1886	Marquess of Salisbury	(2)
1892	W.E. Gladstone	
1894	Earl of Rosebery	
1895	Marquess of Salisbury	(3)
1902	A.J. Balfour	
1905	Sir H. Campbell-Bannermann	
1908	H.H. Asquith	
1916	D. Lloyd George	
1922	A. Bonar Law	

(1) First Lord of the Treasury, Earl of Iddesleigh

(2) The Marquess of Salisbury was Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury from 1886 to 1887. From 1887 to 1891 the post of First Lord was held by W.H. Smith and from 1891 to 1892 by A.J. Balfour.

(3) A.J. Balfour was First Lord of the Treasury from 1895 to 1902.

Chancellors of the Exchequer

1852	B. Disraeli
1852	W.E. Gladstone
1855	Sir G.C. Lewis
1858	B. Disraeli
1859	W.E. Gladstone
1866	B. Disraeli
1868	G.W. Hunt
1868	R. Lowe
1873	W.E. Gladstone
1874	Sir S. Northcote
1880	W.E. Gladstone
1882	H.C.E. Childers
1885	Sir M.E. Hicks-Beach
1886	Sir W. Harcourt
1886	Lord Randolph Churchill
1887	G.J. Goschen
1892	Sir W. Harcourt

1895	Sir M.E. Hicks-Beach
1902	C.T. Ritchie
1903	Austen Chamberlain
1905	H.H. Asquith
1908	D. Lloyd George
1915	R. McKenna
1916	A. Bonar Law
1919	Austen Chamberlain
1921	Sir R.S. Horne
1922	Stanley Baldwin

Vice-Presidents of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education

1857	W. Cowper
1858	C.B. Adderley
1859	R. Lowe
1864	H.A. Bruce
1866	T.L. Corry
1867	Lord Montague
1868	W.E. Forster
1874	Viscount Sandon
1878	Lord G. Hamilton
1880	A.J. Mundella
1885	E. Stanhope
1885	Sir H. Holland
1886	Sir Lyon Playfair
1886	Sir H. Holland
1887	Sir W. Hart Dyke
1892	A.H.D. Acland
1895	J.E. Gorst

Permanent Secretaries to the Committee of the Privy Council on Education

1850	R.R.W. Lingen
1870	F.R. Sandford
1884	Patrick Cumin
1890	G.W. Kekewich

Lord Lieutenants of Ireland

1852	Earl of Eglinton
1853	Earl of St. Germans
1855	Earl of Carlisle
1858	Earl of Eglinton
1859	Earl of Carlisle
1864	Lord Wodehouse
1868	Earl Spencer
1874	Duke of Abercorn
1876	Duke of Marlborough
1880	Earl Cowper
1882	Earl Spencer
1885	Earl of Carnarvan
1886	Earl of Aberdeen

1886	Marquis of Londonderry
1889	Earl of Zetland
1892	Baron Houghton
1895	Earl Cadogan
1902	Earl Dudley
1905	Earl of Aberdeen
1915	Baron Wimborne
1918	Viscount French
1921	Viscount FitzAlan

Chief Secretaries in Ireland

1852	R.S. Bourke (Lord Naas)
1853	Sir John Young
1855	E. Horsman
1857	H.A. Herbert
1858	Lord Naas
1859	Viscount Cardwell
1861	Sir R. Peel
1866	C.S.P. Fortescue
1871	S.C. Cavendish
1874	Sir M.E. Hicks-Beach
1878	J. Lowther
1880	W.E. Forster
1882	Lord F.C. Cavendish
1882	G.O. Trevelyan
1884	H. Campbell-Bannermann
1885	Sir W. Hart-Dyke
1886	W.H. Smith
1886	Viscount Morley
1886	Sir M.E. Hicks-Beach
1887	A.J. Balfour
1891	W.L. Jackson
1892	John Morley
1895	G.W. Balfour
1900	G. Wyndham
1905	W.H. Long
1905	J. Bryce
1907	A. Birrell
1916	H.E. Duke
1918	E. Shortt
1919	J.I. Macpherson
1920	Sir H. Greenwood

Resident Commissioners of National Education

1833	James Carlile
1839	Alexander Macdonnel
1871	P. Keenan
1892	C.T. Redington
1899	W.J.M. Starkie

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Arrangement

I MANUSCRIPT AND UNPUBLISHED SOURCE MATERIALS

II UNPUBLISHED THESES

III BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS:

- (a) Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland
- (b) Reports of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland
- (c) Government Acts and Bills
- (d) Other Reports and Documents

IV BOOKS AND ARTICLES RELATING TO THE SUBJECT AND PERIOD:

- (a) Irish education
- (b) Education in Great Britain
- (c) Irish history
- (d) General, social and economic, political and constitutional histories and biographies.
- (e) Administration, the civil service, the Treasury etc.

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T 14	44	1873/74
T 14	78	Feb. 1899 – Jan. 1900. Vol. 18
T 14	79	Jan. 1900 – Nov. 1900. Vol. 19
T 14	80	Nov. 1900 – Nov. 1901. Vol. 20
T 14	81	Nov. 1901 – Oct. 1902. Vol. 21
T 14	82	Oct. 1902 – Aug. 1903. Vol. 22
T 14	83	Sept. 1903 – July 1904. Vol. 23
T 14	84	Aug. 1904 – May 1905. Vol. 24
T 14	85	June 1905 – March 1906. Vol. 25
T 14	86	April 1906 – Dec. 1906. Vol. 26
T 14	87	Dec. 1906 – July 1907. Vol. 27
T 14	88	Aug. 1907 – March 1908. Vol. 28
T 14	89	April 1908 – Dec. 1908. Vol. 29
T 14	90	Jan. 1909 – Aug. 1909. Vol. 30
T 14	91	Sept. 1909 – April 1910. Vol. 31
T 14	92	May 1910 – Dec. 1910. Vol. 32
T 14	93	Jan. 1911 – Aug. 1911. Vol. 33
T 14	94	Sept. 1911 – April 1912. Vol. 34
T 14	95	May 1912 – Dec. 1912. Vol. 35
T 14	96	Jan. 1913 – July 1913. Vol. 36
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T 14	99	July 1914 – Feb. 1915. Vol. 39
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T 14	102	Sept. 1916 – May 1917. Vol. 42
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T 14	104	Jan. 1918 – July 1918. Vol. 44
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T 14	107	July 1919 – Jan. 1920. Vol. 47
T 14	108	Jan. 1920 – May 1920.* Vol. 48
T 14	109	May 1920 – March 1921* Vol. 49
T 14	110	April 1921 – Aug. 1922* Vol. 50
T 14	111	Aug. 1922 – May 1923* Vol. 51
T 14	112	May 1923 – Nov. 1924 Vol. 52

(For these periods reference should also be made to the Treasury (Ireland) class T. 158).

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T 162/95/E 11302	Re-organisation in Ireland; miscellaneous.
T 162/108/E 13539	Re-organisation of Anglo-Irish departments prior to the transfer of services.
Cols. 37.42	Remarks on the reports received from the Royal Commission who were appointed to inquire into the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland. Marked "Confidential" and signed by E.W.Hamitton 30.9.1896.

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ditto	No. 4	17.5.15	- 28.12.22

Order Book No. 10. (This book contains copies of Board Orders and related circulars.)	5.11.15	- 3.7.36
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Letter Book (letters to managers)	9.2.22	- 15.4.22
ditto No. 1178	26.6.22	- Nov. 1922
ditto No. D.91	27.11.22	- Nov. 1923
ditto No. T.16	10.2.10	- 16.3.10
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D.100.ditto No. 22	12.10.21	- 13.7.22
D.97. ditto No. 23	17.7.22	- 14.12.22
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ditto No. 3	1.1.06	- 1.3.07
ditto No. 4	4.3.07	- 24.2.08
ditto No. 5	26.2.08	- 30.1.09
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ditto No. 7	7.12.09	- 21.12.10
ditto No. 8	21.12.10	- 6.12.11
ditto No. 9	9.12.11	- 4.9.12
ditto No. 10	19.9.12	- 16.6.13
ditto No. 12	11.3.14	- 31.12.14
ditto No. 13	1.1.15	- 23.9.15
ditto No. 16	29.3.17	- 27.11.17
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