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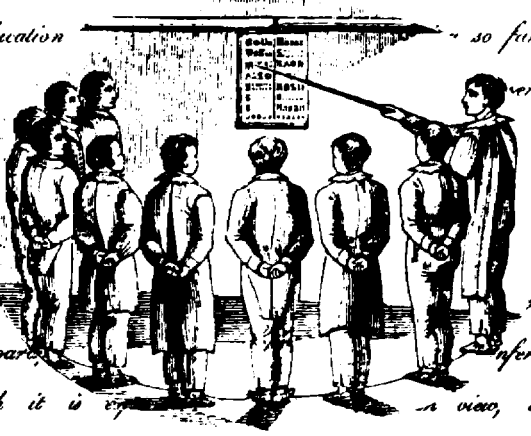
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Coláiste na hOllscoile Corcaigh

Irish Educational Documents

Volume I



His Majesty's Government having come to the determination of empowering the Lord Lieutenant to constitute a Board for the Superintendence of a System of National Education ~ so far sanctioned the arrangement, as ent Year, as an experiment of th directed by His Excellency to o our consent, to constitute you e it further in command to lig rament in constituting this Boar fer upon it, and the Objects which it is e a view, and carry into effect.

Edited by

Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milne

IRISH
EDUCATIONAL DOCUMENTS

Irish Educational Documents

Volume I

A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish education from the earliest times to 1922

EDITED BY ÁINE HYLAND AND KENNETH MILNE

C.I.C.E.

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ÁINE HYLAND and KENNETH MILNE
Editors.

Introduction

"Who invented this speech, and in what place was it invented and at what time was it invented?"

This question on the origin of language occurs at the beginning of *The Scholars' Primer,* an ancient grammar which endeavours to explain the ogham script and the development of the gaelic language. It expresses an elemental and universal desire to know the origin of language, the great conduit of heritage, tradition and education. For the Irish this question serves to anchor a concern for knowledge and education which has been a persistent part of our cultural tradition over millenia and countless generations. At times the concern for provision of formal education reached great heights, as, for instance, during the golden age era when Ireland was acclaimed as "the island of saints and scholars". At other times, during periods of harsh political and economic conditions, as, for instance, during the eighteenth century, the appetite for learning remained remarkably alive, even among people with few worldly possessions. This collection of educational documents, dating from our earliest written records up to the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, is both a reminder and a celebration of that tradition. We are, at once, both inheritors and shapers of that tradition which, in Edmund Burke's words involves "a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born".

The documents represented in this volume emerged from widely varying circumstances, ideologies, endeavours and experiences. This adds great variety to the collection but it also entails an effort of historical imagination from the reader to establish empathy with their context. The collection serves as an invitation for a dialogue with tradition. We need to let the documents address us, to take time to read into the documents, to reflect on what they are saying to us and ponder on the problems and policies with which many of them sought to deal.

Many of the documents are not readily available nor easily accessible to general readers. A main purpose of the volume is to facilitate the student and the interested reader to acquaint themselves directly with significant extracts from documents of key importance in the history of Irish education. Having been

introduced to the material it is hoped that some readers may wish to familiarise themselves further with the source materials and supplementary documents. The book also contains guidance on the sources for such further research.

I

The last twenty-five years have been a period of extraordinary change in Irish education. For instance, at primary level there was the closure of small schools, the introduction of a new curriculum and of management boards. The post-primary sector has benefited from new forms of schools - community and comprehensive - a massive expansion in pupil participation linked to the introduction of "free" education, changes in curricula and examinations and so on. At third level the universities have expanded enormously, the B.Ed. degree was introduced in the colleges of education; regional technical colleges and national institutes of higher education have been established. There have also been many changes and developments in areas such as special education and adult education. As part of the "schooled society" the vast majority of the population is affected today by the education system for long periods of their lives. Much important planning is under way to prepare the education system for the students emerging during the remaining part of the century and into the next century. Undoubtedly, in later times, this period will rank as one of the most eventful in the history of Irish education.

At such a time when so many of our inherited educational institutions are being changed and new ones being founded our consciousness is heightened as to the origin and evolution of many of our institutions. The questions arise as to how, why, when did they emerge? why did they adopt the character they did? to what extent did they change from their original conception? what forces and influences affected such changes? what were the missed opportunties? A generation which witnesses fundamental re-assessments of the purposes of educational institutions, which plans new institutional blueprints and takes new initiatives in educational policy has an interest in the aims, difficulties and achievements of similar developments in earlier times. The existential situation changes for different generations but the process of making decisions, winning agreement, surmounting difficulties, taking risks, some of which do not always succeed, is a continuing responsibility. Each generation inherits from the past, re-shapes and plans in the present with an eye to the future. Thus, it is not

surprising that there has been a renewal and revitalisation of interest in the history of Irish education in recent years. The interest is evident in the number of books which have been published since the late sixties dealing with aspects of this history. Since 1970 there have been almost 200 post-graduate research theses on the history of education, mainly in Ireland, completed in universities in Ireland. Many published articles have delved into issues and problems in this field. There has also been growing international interest in distinctive features of our educational past. The revival of interest coincides with a wider awareness of our cultural inheritance and a concern for the conservation of various aspects of it. Ireland has not a good record in the preservation of its documentary records. It has also been remiss in not facilitating access to public records by historians and the interested public. The National Archives Bill (1985) heralds a new era with regard to public records, including educational records.

The publication of a collection of educational documents such as this would appear to be very timely. The documents in the volume may help to bring home to students of education how much the present is part of an on-going tradition and process. It is part of a liberal education to understand the formative influences which have shaped our contemporary institutions. The documents can also introduce the reader to insights and ideas of earlier Irish educationalists and planners, about whom little has been published. A knowledge of our educational past can also give a valuable perspective to new ideas and theories. What is sometimes regarded as new and even radical, may have had an earlier existence, may have been discussed and, perhaps, implemented. There is often a cyclical pattern of educational ideas, albeit with circumstantial variations. That this is so is clearly evident from many of the documents in this collection. Thus, many lines of thought can be traced to their source and root influences, which widens the context of our understanding of them.

Historical inquiry will of its nature raise questions and many questions are prompted by the documents with regard to the success and failure of earlier initiatives for educational reform. They alert people to the complexities of educational change and cause reflection on strategies for the successful implementation of reform. In this way a perceptive grasp of the history of education can help both worthwhile conservation and needed innovation. Educational history is a significant part of the social and cultural history of a community and it offers a lens through which social and political policy can be viewed. How a society educates its

young generations can reveal a good deal about the values and attitudes of the society at different periods. Many of the extracts in this volume capture such attitudes. The immediacy of the original phraseology can be illuminating for the reader. The secondary account can rarely catch the flavour and nuance of the primary source documents. It is also the case that blinkers of the present tend to cut off our view and to blind us to the longer perspective of development over generations. A study of documents such as these can provide a liberating perspective on education in evolution. The pace of educational change may be slow and sluggish at times but it also comprises epochs of concentrated and comprehensive renewal. Advance, consolidation, encrustation, revitalisation are all patterns which the history of education reveals. Sometimes people become preservers of the present, fearful of letting go of established educational patterns in favour of changes which may appear risky and threatening. Educational systems by their nature tend to be conservative, but without change and renewal in line with new insights and changed social circumstances they are condemned to inertia and stultification. The selection of what is worthwhile in achieved educational experience and its grafting on to new knowledge and modes of organisation is a difficult but perennial task for educational systems. The history of education does not predict the future, but it helps us to face it and to plan intelligently for it. It has been said that in order either to attack or defend tradition intelligently, one first needs to understand it. These documents can help to do this and also inspire us to contribute at the level of our times and of our best wisdom towards the shaping of the future.

II

This is the first collection of extracts from educational documents relating to Ireland since the anthologies compiled by the Rev. Professor T. Corcoran, S.J., in 1916 and 1928. His first compilation, *State Policy in Irish Education,* concentrated on documents for the period 1536 to 1816 and they were related to a central theme, the use of education as an *instrumentum regni* from the period of the Tudor conquest. His second compilation which involved some overlapping of documents with the earlier book, was entitled *Education Systems in Ireland from the Close of the Middle Ages.* It, too, concentrated on the three hundred year period 1531 to 1831. These were valuable pioneering works. They were, however, limited to a specific period, omitting, in particular, the many

central developments following 1831. The thematic nature of the collections also encouraged a selectivity in the extracts which did not always do justice to the full context.

The present collection includes educational extracts from the earliest sources of Irish written experience up to 1922. A second volume is planned to incorporate material from 1922 to the present. Thus, it is hoped to fill a significant lacuna with regard to making extracts from Irish educational documents available to a wide public. It is devised as a presentation of documentary extracts rather than a documentary history. Accordingly, each extract is introduced by an explanatory note and set in its contextual framework. These notes are subsidiary to the texts, rather than the texts being edited to illustrate a commentary. Thus, editorial intrusion between the reader and the original text is purely as a facilitatory aid.

An anthology which aims to include material covering two millenia involves considerable problems of selection. Of necessity, extracts cannot be very long. Nevertheless, they have to attempt to be representative. A certain arbitrariness of selection exists in every anthology but the editors have endeavoured to achieve various balances. Because of the long-term impact of some documents of fundamental importance the extracts from them have to be reasonably complete. In other cases the point of view being put forward is significant in its representative capacity and needs scope to be meaningful. In all cases an effort has been made to present the essence or the most significant aspect of the documents in question. In no case has there been any suppression of a relevant aspect which would have a distorting effect on the extract chosen. The contributors have been at pains to ensure that extracts are truly representative of the ideas and developments they purport to reflect, so far as extracts can be a replacement for the full texts. The extracts are all in the English language; where necessary, translated versions of Irish or Latin originals are included.

The emphasis is on official documents of the public education system. While earlier material is more varied, most of the later extracts are taken from official published documents such as legislation, school programmes, official letters, reports and recommendations of commissions of inquiry. Accordingly, data from biographies, diaries, political speeches, minutes, newspapers, collections of letters, textbooks, fiction, philosophical writings are largely omitted. The section which most relies on some of this type of material is the first section. The editors were conscious of the enriching and illuminating aspects of such material but, in the

context of the type of work being planned in two volumes, it was considered that, when choices for inclusion had to be made, official documents should have priority.

The extracts focus mainly on what might be termed the mainstream tradition of formal education, at first, second and third level. Thus areas of significant interest had to be omitted from this venture, e.g. industrial and reformatory schools, special education, adult education. There may be an opportunity in a future publication to record important documentation on such areas of the public education system.

The documents are arranged in chronological sequence. From the early nineteenth century with the increased categorisation of the education system into national, secondary, technical and university the approach taken is to treat each of these thematically. Thus, relevant documentation on each such category is included under the appropriate heading in chronological sequence. In this way the pattern of development of each sector is seen to evolve consistent with the thinking about the problems of the individual sector. This helps to keep the lines of development clearly established. A disadvantage is that it may tend to mask the important connections which existed at certain times when similar attitudes and circumstances affected each sector more or less simultaneously.

III

Obviously the extracts contained in this volume can only reflect limited aspects of the material and spirit of the original documents but it is hoped that they will whet the appetite of the enquiring student for more comprehensive records of the issues, arguments, evidence and proposals in the original sources. In this sense, the extracts can be seen as opening a pathway through the vast amount of official documentation which exists on Irish education. With the extracts as his handbook or guide the reader is encouraged to explore the landscape further, to discover the hills and hollows, to probe the byways and side avenues. The reader can then encounter at first-hand the ideas, the problems, the political considerations and so on which loomed large in the shaping of Irish educational history. In this way too, the reader can make close acquaintance with the ideas of significant Irish thinkers on education whose work influenced various boards and commissions but whose individual contributions may be masked in the final published reports. The educational ideas and achievements of many such individuals are undeservedly little known or publicised among the modern public

with an interest in our educational tradition. The contributions of influential or pioneering thinkers such as Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Thomas Wyse, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Davis, Bishop Doyle, Robert Kane, Cardinal Cullen, Patrick Pearse, Horace Plunkett, to name some, influenced, shaped and inter-acted with the developments which are recorded in the extracts included in this volume. The reader, however, needs to go to the original sources to sense the quality and depth of their contributions as well as to catch the cut-and-thrust and the play of debate and argumentation which formed part of the work of various commissions of inquiry.

The student of educational history who depends on secondary material, misses the vivifying effect which encounter with original sources can provide. As is the case with the extracts, they allow the reader to draw fresh deductions from his own use of first-hand evidence. However, even a first-hand reading of the official documentation will not necessarily provide a full historical understanding. Such a study is a necessary but not sufficient prerequisite. The wider context of reports has to be borne in mind such as the political reasons for the establishment of commissions, the socio-economic context of the period, the representation on commissions with the personal and representative perspectives of individuals. One needs to be critically alert and cautious about accepting official reports at their face value. It is necessary to evaluate the findings of the official bodies in the light of the circumstances under which they were established, and with the commitments of their members in mind. It is also important to scrutinise the terms of reference given to official commissions. As a help to the student the terms of reference and the personnel of major commissions from which extracts are taken in this volume are included in an appendix.

When consulting the original documents it can be a useful strategy to evaluate the way in which official commissions responded to the original terms of reference. It can also be worthwhile to examine how the final report corresponded with the weight of the evidence submitted to the commission and to surmise about discrepancies which may exist. The study of published reports and associated documentation can also be deepened and made more comprehensive by reference to the minutes of the commission or body in question. These can often provide valuable clues as to why final reports took the form they did. Members of commissions frequently took opposed views of matters under investigation and the minutes can indicate how agreement or compromise was reached.

When this proved impossible members could resort to submitting minority reports or notes of reservation and the existence of such should be checked in the published documentation. Parliamentary debates arising from official reports as well as contemporary articles, pamphlets and newspaper comment also help the student to a fuller awareness of the issues involved and of how various agencies were affected by them. A careful use of relevant letters, diaries and autobiographical materials can elucidate the issues further. For a wider understanding of the contextual framework the student can benefit from reference to authoritative historical studies of the period and personalities in question. The satisfactory interpretation and evaluation of educational records require an alert critical attention. But the process also brings a sense of excitement and intellectual satisfaction in endeavouring to really "read" and get inside the documents being studied.

To facilitate further exploration and research into the history of Irish education Section VII contains a student guide to such research. This provides valuable guidance to the reference works and relevant bibliographies. It also provides information on the location of various types of source material.

A great mass of source material in the history of Irish education remains unpublished. Section VII introduces such records which are preserved in the state archives in Dublin and Belfast. This section contains informative accounts of the various records of the Commissioners of National Education, the Commissioners of Intermediate Education, census records, the records of various institutions and societies. It also includes guidance on educational material within the records of the Chief Secretary's Office and its constituent departments.

IV

It seems appropriate that one of the first extracts in the compilation is taken from *The Scholars' Primer* (I.2(c)) which endeavoured to trace the origin of the language of ancient Ireland and gives an explanation of the use of ogham. An excerpt from *Hisperica Famina* (I.2(d)) dating from the early christian era, takes us a stage further in the development of writing and refers to the students' wax writing tablets. Other extracts are illustrative of the patterns of education and upbringing in the systems of fosterage, monastic schools and the bardic schools which prevailed for many centuries in Ireland.

Many Irish missionaries, educated in the flourishing schools and

monasteries, carried their scholarship far afield and exercised significant influence on the Carolingian renaissance. The advice of one of the greatest of these missionaries, Columbanus, to a young disciple comes to us directly, across the centuries, in these pages (I.2(g)). The period experienced a great blending and fusion of the varying traditions of pagan classical, secular Irish and christian traditions.

Following the Norman conquest such fusing influences by which the settlers were being absorbed by the native Gaelic culture caused concern in official circles. The extract from the Statute of Kilkenny of 1367 (I.3(a)) is emphatic in its attempt to protect the settled community from this cultural absorption and to segregate it socially and culturally from the native Irish community.

The Tudor conquest coincided with the massive extension of European colonialism and the great division of christendom arising from the Reformation. With the native Irish and some of the "old" English siding with the Catholic church and England allying itself with the opposing movement the denominational issue was introduced into educational policy and, in many ways, it was to dominate educational debate for centuries. The Tudors and Stuarts harnessed educational policy to the general policy of conquest. Accordingly, the English government, from the period of Henry VIII, intervened actively in education (I.4). A series of legislative measures was enacted which endeavoured to promote education at first, second and third level. The new educational institutions were conceived as agencies for the spread and promotion of the English language and culture and of the established, or state, religion. A sequence of extracts from such legislation including the charter of Ireland's first university, catches the attitudes and aims of the governments of the day and sets forth the guidelines which it was intended the educational institutions should follow (I.4(d)).

By the end of the seventeenth century the conquest had been established militarily and politically but the educational and religious thrust of the policy had not been impressive. A policy of legislative repression was adopted and a series of laws, known collectively as the penal laws, was enacted. The penal laws limited the civil and religious freedoms of Catholics and Dissenters, who formed the majority of the population. Within the wide ambit of the penal legislation a series of educational acts was passed which endeavoured to prevent the provision of schools other than those of the established church. These laws also inhibited the activities of schoolmasters other than those of the established church and the laws tried to halt the tradition whereby students attended Catholic

colleges on the continent to receive higher levels of education and to be trained for the priesthood. The extracts illustrate these various features of the penal legislation. The efforts at repression were accompanied by a new schooling initiative of the eighteenth century aimed at "promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland". These were the charter schools and, while the original grand design, supported by royal and parliamentary backing, looked impressive this scheme of schools never achieved the expectations held for it, and indeed, the schools left an infamous mark on the educational folk memory. A documentary extract relating to the charter schools reflects the society's early aims and plans of 1733 (I.5(b)(i)). There is also an extract from the Commission of Inquiry of 1825 which found fundamental and irremediable faults in the charter school scheme. (I.5(b)(ii)).

A much more flourishing and influential form of schooling, which operated from the late seventeenth well into the nineteenth century, was the hedge schools. These were, for long, illegal and unofficial schools. They were, in a sense, folk schools, whereby learned members of local communities set up school, frequently in mud huts or outhouses. The documentary extracts relating to the hedge schools convey a little about the buildings, the bustling atmosphere within the schools and something of the varied standards attained (II.3).

Various religious societies took an increased interest in schooling in the late eighteenth century. Linked to educational concern was a missionary zeal. Sometimes this zeal welled over into outright proselytism which left a great legacy of suspicion and hostility between the denominations. The Kildare Place Society was a voluntary group which abjured proselytism as an aim. The Society attained remarkable pedagogic achievements, pioneering many elements which were to become features of a national education system (II.6). Indeed, it seemed for a while that it would form the nucleus of such a system. However, it failed to win the necessary support of the Catholics in the 1820s (II.7). The extracts chosen also reflect the educational endeavours of the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of Mercy, the Quakers and the Sunday School movement (II.4).

A series of official reports and proposals during these years urged the setting up of a directly government-sponsored body to plan and administer a state-supported general education system. The principle enunciated by the report of 1812 was to inform government policy – "the framing of a system, which, whilst it shall afford opportunities of education to every description of the lower classes

of the people, may at the same time, by keeping clear of all interference with the peculiar religious tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits as one undivided body, under one and the same system, and in the same establishments" (II.2). The government aimed to draw a distinction between secular and religious instruction whereby the young people of all denominations would be combined for the former while purely doctrinal instruction would be a responsibility for individual churches and be conducted at separate times for the children of the various denominations. This policy was to cause great tension between the government and the churches. The churches saw all education as interpenetrated with religious sentiments and considered the attempted demarcation between religious and secular learning as invalid. Allied to this was a distrust with regard to the increasing involvement by the state in the area of education, which religious bodies regarded as their special prerogative. These causes of tension underlay most of the great disputes on education throughout the nineteenth century and to the end of the period covered by this volume. Accordingly, the tensions arising from the conflicts of policy between the state and the churches need to be constantly borne in mind when appraising the documents. However, a side effect of many controversies on the question of denominational education was that it kept education very much to the forefront of public attention and debate.

The increased involvement by the state in educational matters in the nineteenth century gave rise to a vast increase in official documentation. The administrative device of the unpaid nominated board was employed for state-supported educational schemes. The personnel appointed to the boards were usually people of significant influence within various sectors of the community, which helped to foster public confidence. It was also considered that the board structure served to pool experience and expertise as well as to share responsibility in the administration of education. The boards had the right to criticise publicly not only aspects of the systems they administered but also government policy. The occasions when this occurred were usually related to dissatisfaction with funding from exchequer resources. Boards of commissioners were set up for national and intermediate education and the senates of the two universities founded by the state, Queen's University and the Royal University, were nominated by the crown. It was obligatory on these agencies to produce annual reports on the progress and problems encountered by the schemes under their care. The expanding bureaucracies were charged with compiling and

retaining a vast amount of statistical and miscellaneous data relating to the administration of the schemes. This also provided a useful basis for public accountability.

Many public commissions and committees were appointed periodically throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to investigate, advise and report on various aspects of Irish education. Some, such as the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland (IV.2), were select committees of the houses of parliament. Participation on such committees was limited to members of parliament and the term allotted for the enquiry was of limited duration. On other occasions, as in the case of the Royal Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction, 1898 (III.7), royal commissions were set up. These had greater status and the appointment of members was formally made by the crown, though in reality by the cabinet. Membership of such commissions included representatives from a variety of interests and experts not associated with parliament or the civil service. These commissions usually conducted rather exhaustive investigations, heard evidence from a wide range of involved agencies and made a range of recommendations for action; for instance, in the case of the Royal Commission of 1868-1870 (Powis), a total of 129 recommendations was listed. While enjoying greater status and resources for their investigations, in practical terms the Royal Commissions were not clearly demarcated from other commissions and committees of inquiry as regards their influence on governmental action. The Molony (IV.9) and Killanin (III.15) committees of 1918-19 held the status of vice-regal committees and their recommendations formed the basis of the Education Bill of 1919. The form taken by educational inquiries varied considerably. For instance, in 1898, the Intermediate Board was itself constituted as a commission of inquiry on the intermediate system which it itself administered. In the case of the Dale report, 1904 (III.10) and the Dale and Stephens report, 1905 (IV.6), one and two people respectively carried out the investigation and made the recommendations.

Whatever form the official inquiries took, they all had the effect of putting the spotlight on education as an issue of great public significance. At times, they served to legitimate new educational thinking and to keep Ireland in touch with international developments in education. They often provided a valuable forum for recording the views, criticisms and proposals of a wide range of people interested in education. Sometimes, they were used as a delaying tactic and governments were free not to act on the recommendations made. Nevertheless the reports of such commissions

and committees, combined with the evidence submitted to them and various cognate matters contained in the appendices provide a tremendous compendium of material of interest to the historian. The documentation is highly informative on many facets of Irish educational and social history during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many threads of continuity exist between the reports as they usually contain valuable historical appraisals of preceding developments. More than is generally acknowledged, Irish education is indebted to many of the individuals who gave their time and expertise on educational bodies and public commissions. It is important to bear in mind the human dimension within the work of corporate agencies, and many individuals were unselfish in their efforts to promote educational progress.

With the thematic arrangement of the material from the early nineteenth century into the categories of national, secondary, technical and university education it may be helpful in this linking commentary to draw attention to inter-active influences and to the contemporaneous effect of political and socio-economic developments on each sector of the education system. As might be expected, the inter-linkages are emphasised in the documents themselves with extracts from several reports being included in more than one category. Yet the categorisation of the education system was very real and, until 1924, the sectors were administered by different authorities, with limited co-operation.

Particular political and social circumstances led to education being an area of considerable public action during a number of decades through the nineteenth century, e.g. the 1830s, 1870s and 1890s. Following the granting of catholic emancipation in 1829, a range of social reforms was introduced in the 1830s and education was an area on which much public attention focused. Indeed, up to mid-century, Ireland led the way in many aspects of the state's involvement in education within the United Kingdom. The establishment of the national school system in 1831 was a key landmark in education policy in the nineteenth century and the system was a significant agency for political socialisation. Chief Secretary Lord Stanley's letter (III.1) was the foundation document of the new state-supported system. Stanley made it clear in his letter that the state's role was that of assisting local initiatives on the basis of local schools adhering to the rules and regulations of the newly-appointed Commissioners of National Education. However, the extent of local funding never matched the government's expectations and this was a matter of recurring concern throughout the lifetime of the Commissioners. This theme is picked up repeatedly

in the represented documents, e.g., Report of Powis Commission (1870), Dale Report (1904), Killanin Report (1919). The administration of national and secondary education became centralised in the boards of commissioners and later government efforts failed to change it to a co-ordinated central structure with a decentralised administrative tier at local level.

The greatest political problem of the National Board, however, was to win allegiance to its policy of mixed or inter-denominational schooling. All the churches had a strong preference for state-supported denominational schooling under the control of the individual churches. The extracts reflect early efforts to reach accommodation by "clarifying" the Stanley Letter (III.1). Despite this, the churches continued to press for denominational schooling and much of the public debate on the national school system focused on this issue. While the state continued to insist on the *de jure* mixed denominational status, in practice the system was increasingly denominational from mid-century. The Powis Commission of 1870 recognised this in several of its recommendations, and the churches came to accept the *de facto* position which had been moulded.

The adventurous attitude of the state in educational activity within Ireland is reflected in several initiatives of the period. The state, through the National Board, early on founded a central model school and an inter-denominational training college for men in 1838, and for women in 1842. The state also founded an agricultural training college in 1838 in Glasnevin where the trainee national teacher could obtain practical experience of improved methods of agriculture. This range of state initiatives was further expanded by the establishment of a nationwide scheme of district model schools and district agricultural schools from the late 1840s. The National Board's training colleges and district model schools were run on inter-denominational lines and were directly managed by the National Board itself. As such they drew the hostility of the Catholic Church authorities. From the early 1860s Catholics were forbidden to attend them. The Powis Commission found against the model and agricultural schools and supported the claim for denominational training colleges. When this latter was achieved in 1883 (III.6), it symbolised a significant defeat for the original national education policy. Agricultural model schools were closed down and, while the district model schools were allowed to continue in existence, their impressive building and accompanying facilities became grossly under-utilised. Thus, many facets of the original grand design of the National Board were significantly

altered and their promise not fully realised. Other plans of the Board in the 1830s such as the establishment of secondary schools and industrial schools did not materialise either. It is noteworthy that within these various state initiatives Ireland was viewed as an integral part of the United Kingdom and there was no official concern to preserve and develop the Irish language, history and other aspects of a specifically Irish cultural identity. This neglect, allied to various economic and social developments, led to a serious decline in the sense of Irish cultural separateness, despite efforts by the Young Ireland Movement, led by Thomas Davis, in the 1840s.

High hopes were entertained in the late 1830s and early 1840s of the potential of education for national development, Ireland having lagged behind in the industrial and agricultural revolutions. Much of the thinking on Irish education in the 1830s conceived it as an overall plan with a graded and inter-locking education system. Most notable in this regard was the Report of the Select Committee on Foundation Schools (1835-36), (IV.2 and VI.4). The report of this committee, chaired by Thomas Wyse, envisaged a scheme of nursery schools, improved national schools, a state-supported secondary school system on the mixed denominational principle, offering a comprehensive-type curriculum. The report also urged the establishment by the state of new third-level colleges, also on the mixed denominational principle. These would offer a wide curriculum including literary, scientific and applied studies. A range of adult education facilities and cultural institutions was proposed. The acceptance and implementation of the overall plan was not politically feasible but the idea of third-level provincial colleges provided the nucleus of Peel's Colleges (Ireland) Act of 1845 (VI.5). In the wake of the failure of O'Connell's repeal movement in 1843, Peel was in favour of some conciliatory measures. The Queen's Colleges, founded and funded by the state at Cork, Galway and Belfast, were to be conducted on the mixed denominational principle. The Colleges were opened in 1849 and the Queen's University, to which the Colleges were affiliated on a federal structure, received its charter in September 1850. The new institutions opened in the context of an Ireland suffering from the deep trauma and devastating effects of the Great Famine 1845-49.

The Queen's Colleges and Queen's University emerged within a wider debate on the concept, purpose and structure of university education in mid-nineteenth century. Debates centered on questions such as the relative roles of church and state in university education, liberal or utilitarian education, general or specialised education, arts or sciences, residential or non-residential, research

or teaching, professional teaching or tutorial, and the place of examinations in university education. The Queen's Colleges were founded by the state with a state-appointed professorate and university senate. They were non-residential and charged low fees to matriculated and non-matriculated students. As well as traditional elements of the curriculum, they offered modern languages, modern science, applied learning, courses in engineering and agriculture involving work experience. The colleges emphasised general rather than specialised study. Their post-graduate degrees were obtained through course-work and examinations. Many of these characteristics gave the Queen's Colleges and University a similarity to the new London University which had received its charter in 1836, as opposed to the Oxbridge and Trinity College traditions. Many of the characteristics are spelled out in the Colleges Act (VI.5) and the Memorandum on the Programme for the Colleges (VI.6). Contemporaries were well aware of the implications of the different approaches. It is noteworthy that university reform was one of the key questions of the day and that government commissions of inquiry were instituted for Oxford and Cambridge in 1850 and for Trinity College Dublin in 1851. The inquiry on Trinity College (VI.7) indicated that it was in a healthier state than its sister universities at Oxford and Cambridge. The expanded role being assumed by the state in education and the evidence in Europe of the increasing secularisation of society led the Catholic Church during the pontificate of Pope Pius IX to adopt a strong attitude of opposition to the extension of mixed education. This is reflected in the papal rescripts, opposing the Queen's Colleges (e.g. VI.7). However, it is most forthrightly expressed in the decrees of the Synod of Thurles (VI.8) which outrightly condemned the Queen's Colleges.

The Catholic Church established the Catholic University in opposition to the Queen's University. It opened formally in 1854 with the Rev. Dr. John Henry Newman as its rector. Newman entered the contemporary debate on the aims, content and purposes of university education. In the process he gave eloquent expression to a concept of liberal education within the university and opposed the utilitarian tradition which he associated with the Queen's Colleges and University. While debates were conducted about the appropriate form of university education for the majority of the population, neither of the new universities flourished. The Catholic University was seriously impeded by the lack of a charter and of public endowment. Newman, its celebrated rector, departed in 1858, his concept of the nature of university

studies not always shared by the Irish bishops. The Queen's Colleges encountered many problems (VI.7) such as denominational opposition, the lack of support from professional bodies, post-famine conditions and the absence of a system of feeder schools at secondary level, which had originally been sought by the Wyse Commission of 1838. Now twenty years later, in 1858, the Queen's Colleges' Commission (VI.10) expressed the hope that the proposals of the contemporary Kildare Commission on intermediate education, which were rather similar to those of the Wyse Commission, would be acted upon. However, this was not to be, the churches were now firmly opposed to any further extension of the mixed denominational policy beyond the primary level. They preferred to operate on a voluntary basis until such time as a formula could be found through which state aid might be made available for secondary schooling without infringing denominational interests. State action on secondary education was again postponed, for twenty years, until 1878.

One of the strong advocates of mixed education and applied learning was Sir Robert Kane. This distinguished scientist was appointed President of Queen's College, Cork, in 1845 and chaired the planning board for the new colleges. Shortly before the Colleges Act Kane had published his influential *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* in 1844 (V.6). His concern for the promotion of technical education led him to establish the Museum of Irish Industry in 1845, the same year as the Irish Colleges Act, as an exhibition, teaching and research resource. This institution later became the Royal College of Science in 1867, with Kane, again, as its principal. The Great Exhibition in London of 1851 caused concern that foreign industrial innovation might put British manufacturing pre-eminence at risk. This led to the re-organisation of science and art education in England under a new Science and Art Department at South Kensington. Ireland also experienced a development in schools of art and design (IV.7). If local initiative was forthcoming financial aid was available from the Science and Art Department in London through its recently introduced payment by results examinations. In the 1860s the claim was firmly put forward that Irish industrial development would benefit from a science and art department based in Dublin (V.11). The Fenian movement of the 1860s and its rebellion in 1867 had been a cause of government concern. The alleviation of Irish educational grievances, in the wake of the rebellion, was seen as an appropriate policy. In 1868, two royal commissions were set up, one for primary (Powis) and one for technical education. It seemed that

Ireland's case for its own department of science and art was about to be conceded but, to the frustration of Irish expectations, political manoeuvrings prevented the establishment of an Irish department. Notwithstanding this setback, 1868 marked the beginning of a campaign for the promotion of technical education which culminated in the passing of the 1899 Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act (V.15). Technical education was the last of the education sectors to receive state aid directly through an Irish-based agency. Technical education in Ireland continued to lag seriously behind that of England and many European countries.

The 1870s was a decade which witnessed a significant series of changes affecting several aspects of Irish education, many of the changes exhibiting similar characteristics. During the 1850s public competitive examinations had been introduced as the mechanism for recruitment to almost all branches of the imperial civil service and the armed services. The introduction of the meritocratic criterion was hailed by many contemporaries as a major advance in social reform. Coinciding with this was a movement toward administrative and financial reform. A climate of accountability and concern for productivity set in which sought curtailment of public service expenditure and the adoption of a value for money approach to areas such as education. The Newcastle Commission of 1861 favoured the introduction of a payment by results policy for expenditure on primary education in England and Wales. This was introduced in 1862. The Argyll Commission was set up for Scotland in 1864 and it was to recommend a similar policy.

It came as no surprise then that the Powis Commission in 1870 proposed an adapted payment by results policy for Irish national schools (III.3). This came into being in 1872 and exercised a profound influence on curriculum, teaching styles, inspectoral procedures and the remuneration of teachers until its abolition in 1899 (III.4). The public confidence in competitive examinations and the payment by results mechanism were also to provide key elements of the formula by which six years later the state agreed to give state aid to secondary schools, without interference with school management or administration. Through the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1878 a board of commissioners for secondary education was established to set up and administer a system of public examinations (IV.3). Payments from public funds were made to school managements according to the success of individual pupils at the written examinations, the most successful pupils also benefiting from scholarships and prizes. The vast majority of Irish secondary schools entered pupils for these examinations and they

exercised a very great influence on the character of secondary education, with a strong grammar school tradition in the studies pursued. The system introduced in 1878 continued with some minor modifications for almost fifty years until the mode of funding secondary education was radically altered, following political independence.

The unresolved university education issue also re-emerged in the 1870s. Gladstone attempted to reach a solution in 1873. He planned to widen the University of Dublin and form it into a great national university which would award its degrees to students from a range of third-level colleges, as well as Trinity College. It may be noted from the extract (VI.8) how Gladstone also entered the debate on what constituted university education, favouring an education in arts over scientific or professional studies. The failure of his university bill led to the fall of the Liberal Government. It was the Conservative Government under Disraeli which arrived at a solution of sorts in 1879, the year following the Intermediate Education Act. A new Royal University was established as a purely examining body whose awards could be given to all students successful in its examinations, whether they attended any or no college, and regardless of denomination or sex. The solution emphasised preparation for and success in the university examinations rather than the values of collegiate attendance and the values of an educative institutional environment which both the Queen's Colleges and the Catholic University had promoted. With the Royal University in operation, the government abolished its own creation of 1850, the Queen's University, in 1882. It may be noted that general social conditions were very poor in many regions of Ireland in the late 1870s, with recurring bad harvests and famines. Tenant farmer dissatisfaction and frustration led to the outbreak of the land war in 1879, under Davitt and Parnell.

The education of women benefited from the educational measures of these years in that the provisions of the Intermediate Education Act were extended to girls, following a late amendment to the original bill and under the Royal University Act of 1879 women could sit for the degrees of this university. Women, however, were still excluded from the degrees of the University of Dublin (VI.15) and were only allowed compete for them in 1903.

There was a further period of significant change which affected all aspects of the education system in the late 1890s. Parnell, who had led the Home Rule movement had died in 1891 and left his party divided. Educational initiatives of the late 1890s ought to be viewed as part of the policy of "killing Home Rule with kindness",

whereby it was hoped that alleviation of specific grievances would sap the momentum for full Home Rule. A major re-appraisal of the national school curriculum was undertaken by the Belmore Commission (1897-1898). Its report recommended a radical change in ideology, curricular content and teaching approaches and materials from the payment by results scheme (III.7). Many of its proposals were incorporated in the Revised Programme of 1900 (III.8) which introduced a child-centered programme, with a wide range of subjects taught through activity and discovery techniques and adapted to local environments and conditions. The Palles Commission (1898-99) also undertook a major appraisal of secondary education. Its report (IV.4) led to some modifications of the existing system, particularly curricular, but no fundamental changes resulted. The secondary schools retained their allegiance to the grammar school tradition. Following the Report of the Recess Committee in 1896 (V.14) a major effort to improve facilities for technical education in Ireland led to the passing of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act (V.15) and the setting up of the first Irish government department — the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction — in 1900. It is significant that the administration of technical education through co-operation between a central department and local education committees, financed from central and local funds, differed from the national and secondary systems. Various extracts (V.16-V.22) indicate how the new Department went to work in fostering technical education in the new century. Some of these changes coincided with developments which gave the primary and secondary schools a practical and applied emphasis. The university solution of 1879 did not prove satisfactory and from the late nineties a number of attempts were made to devise a suitable long-term arrangement for university education. Two important initiatives were the Robertson Commission of 1901-03 which examined the university problem, exclusive of Trinity College (V.17) and the Fry Commission (1906-07) which concentrated on the University of Dublin and Trinity College (V.18). Eventually a solution was found to this long-disputed issue through the Irish Universities Act of 1908 (VI.19), which has lasted up to the present. The outcome was that the University of Dublin and Trinity College were left undisturbed. Queen's College Belfast was raised to the status of an independent university, Queen's University Belfast. A third university, the National University of Ireland was established as a federal university with three constituent colleges at Dublin, Cork and Galway and with scope for colleges of "recognised" status to be affiliated to it.

During the twenty years from 1902 to 1922 there were three main emphases in the debates on Irish education policy. These related to administrative change, the position of teachers and pressure for curriculum change inspired by the cultural nationalist movement. In relation to the first of these, the government and a number of official enquiries sought to bring about administrative changes within the education system. The government considered that the boards for national and secondary education had outlived their usefulness and that there was now a need to co-ordinate primary, secondary and technical education under one central authority. The government was keen to establish administrative structures on the lines of those which had been introduced into England in 1902 involving more democratic control at local level. It was also planned that the involvement of local communities in educational responsibilities would yield significantly higher levels of local financial support for the funding of the education system. A successful precedent had been established with the local technical instruction committees. These policy issues are reflected in extracts such as Wyndham's proposals (III.9), the Dale Report of 1904 (III.10), the Irish Council Bill (Devolution) 1907 (III.16), the Killanin Committee of 1919 (III.14), the Dale and Stephens Report, 1905 (IV.6), the Molony Report 1919 (IV.9) and the Education (Ireland) Bill, 1919 (III.15). The Education Bill of 1919 could be said to encapsulate the many efforts at administrative change and it was the last attempt to legislate for education in a thirty-two county context. The Education Bill gave rise to bitter controversy, and it was defeated. The Catholic Church authorities were adamantly opposed to changing the administrative and control structures of Irish education on the eve of independence.

The concern of teachers, particularly secondary teachers, for more satisfactory pay and conditions was an issue which intermingled with the movements and reports urging administrative reform. These formed a feature of the Dale Report of 1904 and the Dale and Stephens Report of 1905. The Association of Secondary Teachers, Ireland (ASTI) was founded in 1909 and secured significant breakthroughs in the Intermediate Education Act of 1912. This led to the first Treasury grants for secondary teacher salaries in 1914 and the establishment of a Registration Council for secondary teachers in 1915, which became fully operative in 1918 (IV.8). The years of the First World War which involved rising prices and declining value of money placed great pressures on the poorly paid teachers. Their pay and conditions were central to the terms of reference of both the Molony and Killanin Commissions

of 1918-19. Both reports recommended significant improvements in teachers' pay and conditions (III.14 and IV.9). Because improvements were linked to the ill-fated Education Bill, salary increases for secondary teachers were impeded although the national teachers secured a worthwhile salary settlement in November 1920.

The third main educational concern of those years was the dissatisfaction of the cultural nationalist movement with the curricula of Irish schools which did not sufficiently promote the Irish language and Irish cultural traditions. Pearse's St. Enda's school was an attempt to demonstrate how contrasting policy could be applied. Organisations such as the Gaelic League campaigned strongly for the inclusion of Irish in all schools and considered that the neglect of the Irish language within the education system in the nineteenth century was a prime cause of its decline. The League won a signal victory with the issuing of the bilingual programme in 1904 (III.11). It secured government funding for summer colleges to help teachers to learn the Irish language. The League also campaigned successfully for the inclusion of Irish as a matriculation subject for the National University in 1913. The Gaelic League did much to promote the Irish language and culture in its own activities outside the schools and the cultural nationalist movement became closely intertwined with the movement for full political independence, which gathered significant momentum from 1913.

On the lead up to independence, the Gaelic League devised an education policy to have in readiness for implementation in a free Ireland (III.17). The success of cultural nationalists in fostering a climate of opinion strongly favourable to the revival of the Irish language through the schools was well demonstrated following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, when such a policy became the major educational aim of the new state. Following the partition settlement the emphasis of educational policy in Northern Ireland was on administrative and structural reform rather than on curricular change. It is intended that the contents of the second volume of *Irish Educational Documents* will incorporate extracts from the significant documents which have affected education in both parts of Ireland from 1922 to the present day.

I

The Early Period to the 18th Century

We begin with a small sample of very early material, by no means comprehensive in its content, but intended to illustrate the nature of early documentation. It contrasts vividly, both in kind and quantity, with what is available for later periods. Yet the material that we have chosen, slight though it may appear, is representative of a society that persisted on the island well into modern times, and that had a considerable influence on cultural development beyond our shores. We assume that it is generally acceptable to define the educational process as, in part, the transmission of ideas and skills. It is, therefore, something that ante-dates the evolution of writing as we know it, and it would be doing less than justice to the pre-Christian peoples of Ireland if we denied them a place, however inadequate, in this survey, difficult though it is to document their achievements.

I.1 Fosterage (1st-15th century).

The practice whereby families of social standing entrusted their children (boys and girls) to be brought up away from home was known as 'fosterage'. It was the custom of the Celtic peoples in Ireland as elsewhere. The foster-parents entered into a contract with the children's natural parents, and the *brehon law* was specific as to the terms of this contract. The payments to be made to foster-parents were laid down, as were the diet and dress to be provided. Likewise, the mode of training that the foster-children were to receive was stipulated.

I.1(a) Brehon law.

At the top of the social scale

> He (the son) is taught horsemanship, and brann-playing, and shooting, and chess playing and swimming. Sewing, and cutting out, and embroidering, are taught to their daughters.

Children of less prominent families were to be introduced to some practical pursuits:

The herding of lambs and calves and kids and young pigs, and kiln-drying, and combing, and wood-cutting, are to be taught to them (the boys); the use of the quern, and the kneading trough, and the use of the sieve to their daughters.

[*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, ed. O'Donovan and O'Curry, Vol. II, pp. 153-5. This part of the 6 volume *ALI* is the *Senchus Mór*, one of the most ancient sources of Ireland's laws to survive, regarded by the ancient Irish as the authentic brehon law.]

The laws recognised at least three stages of fosterage: 'first age' (children between a year and seven years old), 'middle age' (seven to twelve), and 'last age' (twelve to seventeen). Punishment was graded accordingly.

. . . how long is the power of castigation allowed over the sons who are being fostered? Three threatenings of the son for his crime, without putting them into execution, for his first crime. He is to be castigated in the first age, and he shall be without food, with castigation, in the second age; and restitution shall be made during the last age, from twelve years out.

[*ALI, ibid.*, p. 187.]

I.1(b) 18th century fosterage.

Fosterage continued in many parts of Ireland until Tudor times, and survived in places much later than that, particularly in Co. Kerry. Daniel O'Connell was put out to fosterage in the mid-eighteenth century. A less famous individual who had the same experience was Robert Day. Like O'Connell, he was to make the law his way of life. His biographer describes 'farming out' as a prevailing custom of the time, irrespective, it seems, of religious considerations.

In selecting a temporary home for little Robert, the house of a well-to-do farmer was chosen, and here from time to time the lad was visited by his parents. But his nights and days were spent among the peasant children, following their pursuits, their contests and their quarrels, though his placid and cheerful disposition probably saved him from any violent disputes. It was, no doubt, in his infancy that he engendered a love of the soil and familiarity with farming interests which clung to him through all his crowded years of work. The sowing and the reaping, the crops and the fertility of the land were meticulously noted in his many wanderings.

This custom of farming out the children of the landed gentry showed great wisdom, for never in later life could that first-hand experience be gained in a country where different communities

never crossed the rigid social barriers that kept them apart; an equal dignity was preserved in each class which made intimate communication unthinkable.

[Ella B. Day, *Mr. Justice Day of Kerry, 1745-1841,* Exeter, 1938, p. 33.]

I.2 The native Irish schools and the early Christian period.

To categorise fosterage as a form of education may be open to question, as also may be the inclusion of what are called the early 'native schools', whose written texts have come down to us most probably through the work of monastic schools. The brehon law has already been cited. This code of laws, held in oral tradition for centuries, required that its custodians be trained (perhaps 'apprenticed') and it was in a 'school' that the brehon, who was not so much a judge as legal advisor to a ruler (chief or king), learned his craft – a craft that was hereditary in his family. Similarly, the druids, bards or filí, who were the guardians of ancient traditions, as enshrined in literature, oral and written, learned their craft in a 'school'.

These learned classes seem to have existed from Celtic times immemorial, though our knowledge of them, for obvious reasons, dates from the early Christian centuries when writing as we know it made its appearance. For contemporary pre-Christian description of one of the ancient learned classes we can do no better than to draw upon Julius Caesar's account of the druids of Gaul – a picture that seems to be confirmed by early Irish tradition as preserved in the *Táin Bó Cuailgne.*

I.2(a) Caesar, The Gallic War.

The druids usually hold aloof from war, and do not pay war-taxes with the rest; they are excused from military service and exempt from all liabilities. Tempted by these great rewards, many young men assemble of their own motion to receive their training; many are sent by parents and relatives. Report says that in the schools of the druids they learn by heart a great number of verses, and therefore some persons remain twenty years under training. And they do not think it proper to commit these utterances to writing. . . . I believe that they have adopted the practice for two reasons – that they do not wish the rule to become common property, nor those who learn the rule to rely on writing and so neglect the cultivation of the memory.

The cardinal doctrine which they seek to teach is that souls do not die, but after death pass from one to another; and this belief, as the fear of death is thereby cast aside, they hold to be the greatest incentive to valour. Besides this, they have many discussions as touching the stars and their movement, the size of the universe and

of the earth, the order of nature, the strength and the powers of the immortal gods, and hand down their lore to the young men.

[Casesar, *The Gallic War,* VI, 14 (trans. H. J. Edwards), 1979.]

I.2(b) The Táin.

Cathbad the druid was staying with his son, Conchobor mac Nesa. He had one hundred studious men learning druid lore from him - this was always the number that Cathbad taught.

One day a pupil asked him what that day would be lucky for. Cathbad said if a warrior took up arms for the first time that day his name would endure in Ireland as a word signifying mighty acts, and stories about him would last forever.

Cuchulainn overheard this. He went to Conchobor and claimed his weapons.

[T. Kinsella (trans.), *The Táin,* Oxford, 1970, p. 84.]

I.2(c) The Scholars' Primer.

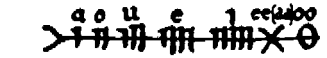
The transmission of ideas by the making of marks on surfaces is found in pre-history (quite apart from visual representation of shapes, such as we find in caves). The earliest systematic use in Ireland of 'written' symbols at a level above that of a picture is 'ogham', a kind of visual morse code, where sounds were represented by marks carved along the edges of a pillar. Generally, they are the equivalent of gravestone inscriptions, and the equivalent alphabet is the Latin one. Many examples survive.

One of the earliest 'text books' or treatises compiled for use in Ireland is 'The Scholars' Primer' (*Auraicept na n-Éces*). This is a grammar, a compilation book of several ancient authors, and it includes an introduction to ogham. Though very much the fruit of Latin learning and the work of monks, we place it at this point in our collection.

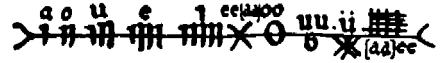
This is the beginning of the Primer according to Amairgen Whiteknee. Place of this book, Tochur Inbir Moir in the territory of Hy Enechglais Cualann: And its period the period of the sons of Milesius: the person of it Amairgen White-Knee, son of Milesius. The reason for making it that the sons of Milesius demanded it of him as is after us.

Who invented this speech, and in what place was it invented, and at what time was it invented? Not hard. Fenius Farsaidh invented it at the Tower of Nimrod at the end of ten years after the dispersion in every direction from the Tower, and it was every one speaking the same language that went there unto its territory and not

every one of the same stock, as e.g., Cai Cainbreathach, pupil of Fenius Farsaidh, one of the 72 scholars of the school. He was a Hebrew by origin and he was sent to Egypt. And there Fenius himself remained, at the Tower, and there he dwelt so that there the school asked of him to select for them a select language out of the many languages which they had brought with them from abroad so that that speech might not be in the possession of anyone else but of themselves alone, or of anyone who should learn it with them again. Then was selected their language out of the many languages, and it was attributed to one man of them so that it is his name which is upon this language. That man was Gaedel, son of Angen, so that Gaedil, Gaels, is derived from him, from Gaedel son of Angen son of Whiteknee son of Whitehand son of Greek Agnumon. Now Gaedel son of Aimergen is the same as Gaedel, son of Ether, to wit, his father bore two names, Aingen and Ether. It was there accordingly that this language was regulated. What was best accordingly of every language and what was widest and finest was selected for Gaelic; and for every sound for which no characters were found in all the other alphabets, characters were by them found for these in the Beithe Luis Nin of the Ogham. And there were seven that were most noble among these, from whom the seven principal vowels of the Ogham have been named, so for that reason they have been placed apart:



Others say that ten principal vowels stand in it and these are their names:

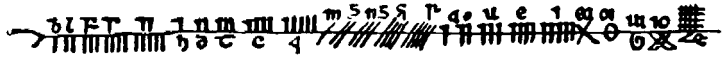


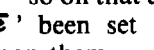
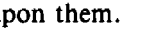
Therefore its vowels were placed apart and its consonants also apart, so that every one of them stands apart from the other. Semivowels do not exist, as they do not exist with the Greeks, but only the mutes. For every element, for which there was no name in the other languages, names were found in Gaelic, *ut est, grus,* curds; *cloch,* stone; and *linn,* pool.

What was best, widest, and finest of every language was put by them into Gaelic, to wit, what was easier and pleasanter to say, to wit, they thought having vowels and mutes in it easier and pleasanter than semi-vowels, mutes, and vowels as the Latinist has.

Now Fenius Farsaidh is the same man that discovered these four alphabets, to wit, the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin alphabets, and the Beithe Luis Nin of the Ogham, and it is for this reason the last, to wit, the Beithe is more exact because it was discovered last. There

were in the school twenty-five that were noblest among them, and these are their names, which are upon the Beithe Luis Nin both vowels and consonants:



And these are the three that increase those to the above seven, to wit,  so on that account their vowels and consonants have  ' been set apart, and these are their names which are thus upon them.

[George Calder (ed.), *Auraicept na n-Éces: the Scholars' Primer,* Edinburgh, 1917, pp. 79, 81 and 89. A more recent edition of the *Auraicept* is by Anders Ahlquist (published by the Finnish Society of Sciences and Letters, 1982) who says (p. 19): 'it must be one of the very first texts in the western grammatical tradition, that ever even tried to contrast a classical language with the vernacular of the writer'.]

I.2(d) Hisperica Famina.

As to the day to day life of the scholars, we have little to clarify the picture for us. A remarkable Latin manuscript, *Hisperica Famina,* one of the earliest Irish writings in Latin, tells *something* of the way of life and scholarly equipment of 'students' of the early schools, whether bardic or monastic. To quote from Fergal McGrath, S.J., *Education in ancient and medieval Ireland,* Dublin, 1979, p. 118, 'it gives confirmatory evidence of some features of the activities of the learned classes in early christian Ireland which are known to us from other sources, and at least part of it appears to have had a definite pedagogical purpose.'

On the Book Container

This white satchel gleams,
it has thick bristles that provide a rather small cover;
the aforesaid container is sewn in the shape of a square;
the upper rim surrounds a single opening,
which is closed by a tight covering with many-angled turning knobs,
then is bound by twelve cords,
and the curved load is born on the necks of the scholars.
I shall describe the excellent construction of this book satchel:
not long ago it protected the fattened flesh of a sheep;
a butcher flayed the hairy hide with a sharp knife;
it was stretched on the wall between thick stakes
and dried with fiery smoke.
A proud craftsman cut out the aforesaid container,
drew taut the skin covering with tight laces,
fashioned the four angles,
and finished the leather container with a choice strap.

I cannot explain with speech the rest of the objects,
lest I bring forth weariness in the camps of the learned.

About the Writing Tablet

This wooden tablet was made from choice pieces;
it contains rubbing wax from another region;
a wooden median joins the little divided columns,
on which lovely carving has played.
The other side has a somewhat larger area of wood;
it is fashioned with various painted designs
and has decorated borders.
This once grew among the leafy oaks of a green field;
the artisan cut off a growing branch with his iron axe,
hewed the square product out of the fibre of the wood,
carved a small border with his knife,
and finished the embellished tablet,
which is carried in the right hand of the scholars
and contains the mysteries of rhetoric in waxen spheres.

[Reprinted from *The Hisperica Famina: I. The A-Text*, ed. Michael W. Herren, Studies and Texts 31, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1974, pp. 105, 107, by permission of the publisher; © 1974 by Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.]

I.2(e) The Monastic Schools.

Simple though the monasteries of the native Irish tradition may have been in design, there was nothing simple about their form of organisation. In fact they were, both in terms of social and religious structure, considerably more complex than has generally been recognised, small towns in fact, and many questions about their mode of organisation and their place in society await definitive answers. But we *can* be certain that they were numerous, and that very many of them were important centres of education. The following two extracts describe the work of the monastic schools:

(i) Through the medium of education, the church provided opportunity unknown in pagan society. The learning which it gave was not the exclusive prerogative of those destined to take orders: it was also given to those sons of laymen who would inherit their share of the family lands and remain free clients of the church. In eighth-century Ireland the proportion of literate laymen must have been abnormally high when compared with the rest of northern Europe. It is no coincidence that the Irish church was extra-

ordinarily tolerant in her attitude to native secular learning, for the number of boys from the world being educated in the monastery, and of adults in the world who had received a clerical education, would tend to narrow the gap between the church and lay society. Each could sympathize with the other. The Irish church did not attempt to suppress pagan classical literature or Irish secular learning, and, though the theologians knew well enough that grammar and philosophy, literature and metrics would not suffice to get a man into heaven, everybody recognized that they brought him honour in both the church and the world.

Irishmen were not distinguished by any originality in the content of their Latin learning, but by their enthusiasm for it. Masters were determined that their pupils should understand a language with a strange syntax and word-order, not merely copy and learn by rote. They sometimes prepared their texts carefully for the classroom, glossing them with a system of marks connecting one word with another so that Irish students might learn more easily, annotating words and phrases with Irish equivalents or references. It was their eagerness to learn and to teach which fused their contribution with that of English men of learning, and led them to take so active a part in the Carolingian renaissance.

[Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in early Irish society,* London, 1966, pp. 154-5.]

(ii) The upper classes of society sent their children away to be fostered: it was probably the more desirable in a society where a man might have children by different women, and where a child's mother might not be the father's 'chief wife'. The secular law laid down what children were to be taught, and how much fosterage-fee was to be paid. Children fostered in a monastery formed part of the abbot's household and received an ecclesiastical education in the monastic school. Those we hear of often became clerics. Fosterage was one of the ways in which Irish monasticism maintained close links with secular society, for the relationship between foster-parent and child was usually one of affection. In the saints' Lives we see princes putting out their sons to be fostered in monasteries, and going to visit them to see that all was well, and we find phrases used such as 'he loved him greatly' to describe the abbot's attitude to his fosterling.

Formal education was provided by the monastic school. Boys were taught in a Latin, ecclesiastical tradition. They learned the Latin language, and study of the notes and marks in manuscripts shows how Irishmen tried to help themselves with the more difficult

aspects of the Latin texts they were using. Here we can get very close to the Irish student or master as he tries to guide himself through the various elements in a long Latin sentence, putting in Irish translations of Latin words. We have one seventh-century book of model verse-compositions, which gives incidental information about the monastic economy and there are treatises on Latin grammar as early as the seventh century. Serious study made some Irishmen fluent Latinists who enjoyed playing with words.

But the first textbook which all boys used was the Psalms. Irish clerics constantly recited the Psalter: they loved its poetry, and probably accepted its violence and vengeance as a norm. One of the earliest of all our Irish manuscripts (early seventh century) is a Latin Psalter ascribed to Columcille of Iona, called the *Cathach* or 'Battler' because it used to be carried into battle. It is now in the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin and its eleventh-century shrine is in the National Museum.

[Kathleen Hughes and Ann Hamlin, *The modern traveller to the Early Irish Church*, London, 1977, pp. 9-10.]

I.2(f) A seminary or school for poetry.

The educational milieu in which the learned and poetic classes of Celtic Ireland existed is thought by scholars to have lasted until the break up of the Gaelic world following the flight of the earls, and to have changed little in its essentials over a thousand years. So it is that we can follow the above quotation with an extract from a work written perhaps a thousand years on, describing at first or second hand aspects of 'a seminary or school for poetry'.

Concerning the poetical seminary, or School, . . . it was open only to such as were descended of poets, and reputed within their Tribes, and so was it with all the schools of that kind in the nation, being equal to the number of families that followed the said calling. But some more or less frequented for the difference of professors, convenience, with other reasons, and seldom any come but from remote parts, to be at a distance from relations and other acquaintance that might interrupt his study. The qualifications first required were reading well, writing the mother-tongue, and a strong memory. It was likewise necessary the place should be in the solitary recess of a garden, or within a sept or enclosure, far out of the reach of any noise, which an intercourse of people might otherwise occasion. The structure was a snug, low hut, and beds in it at convenient distances, each within a small apartment, without

much furniture of any kind, save only a table, some seats, and a convenience for clothes to hang upon. No windows to let in the day, or any light at all used but that of candles, and these brought in at a proper season only.

The students upon thorough examination being first divided into classes wherein a regard was had to every one's age, genius, and the schooling had before, if any at all; or otherwise. The professors (one or more as there was occasion) gave a subject suitable to the capacity of each class, determining the number of rhymes, and clearing what was to be chiefly observed therein as to syllables, quartans, concord, correspondence, termination, and union, each of which were restrained by peculiar rules. The said subject (either one or more as aforesaid) having been given overnight, they worked it apart each by himself upon his own bed the whole next day in the dark, till at a certain hour in the night, lights being brought in, they committed it to writing. Being afterwards dressed and come together into a large room where the masters waited, each scholar gave in his performance, which being corrected or approved of (according as it required) either the same or fresh subjects were given against the next day. This part being over, the students went to their meal which was then served up; and so, after some time spent in conversation, and other diversions, each retired to his rest to be ready for the business of the next morning.

Every Saturday, and on the eves of festival days, they broke up and dispersed themselves among the gentlemen and rich farmers of the country, by whom they were very well entertained and much made of, till they thought fit to take their leaves, in order to resume their study. Nor were the people satisfied with affording this hospitality alone: they sent in by turns every week from far and near, liquors, and all manner of provision towards the subsistence of the academy so that the chief poet was at little or no charges, but on the contrary got very well by it, besides the presents made him by the students, upon their first coming, which always was at Michaelmas, and from thence till the 25th. of March, during the cold season of the year only, did that close study last. At that time the scholars broke up and repaired each to his own country, with an attestation of his behaviour and capacity from the chief professor to those that had sent him.

The reason for so long a vacation was that being under the hard duties of the school the students could not bear the intense heat of the other six months. Nor did they feel much cold in the very rigour of winter, whether from the closeness of the place, there being but little or no passage for the cold air to enter; or so great an occupa-

tion of the brain and inward senses that the outward were stupefied or became blunt in their functions, is matter of reflection, the fact itself being very true. But certain it is that the imagination or more immediate working of the soul is stronger, and of greater force, than that which depends upon the ministry of the organs, as may be seen by lunatic, hair-brained people and madmen who though tenderly brought up, yet being in the transports of the said distempers undergo many extremes which otherwise they could never bear.

The reason of laying the study aforesaid in the dark was doubtless to avoid the distraction which light and the variety of objects represented thereby commonly occasions. This being prevented, the faculties of the soul occupied themselves solely upon the subject in hand, and the theme given; so that it was soon brought to some perfection, according to the notions or capacities of the students. Yet the course was long and tedious, as we find, and it was six or seven years before a mastery or the last degree was conferred, which you'll the less admire upon considering the great difficulty of the art, the many kinds of their poems, the exactness and nicety to be observed in each which was necessary to render their numbers soft and the harmony agreeable and pleasing to the ear.

[*Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy General of Ireland,* London, 1722. Introduction, clviii-clxii. Spelling and punctuation updated. See Fergal McGrath, S.J., *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland,* pp. 53-5, for the background.]

I.2(g) Irish scholars abroad.

'Island of saints' (*Insula sanctorum*), a title at which the modern inhabitants of Ireland tend to demur, was, we need to remember, not merely assumed by the Irish but bestowed by foreigners. Nor was the distinction undeserved from the sixth to the ninth centuries, when Colmcille founded the monastery at Iona whence Christianity was carried to Scotland and the Orkneys and Shetlands, and whence Aidan travelled to Lindisfarne, origin of much missionary work in northern England. Similarly, Gall, Columbanus and countless others journeyed from the monasteries of Ireland to a continent in process of recovery from the massive dislocation of social and religious life that accompanied the disintegration of the Roman Empire. At the court of Charlemagne, the Frankish creator of the Holy Roman Empire, and under his successors, the scholarship of men such as John Scotus (the Irishman) Eriugenus (born in Ireland), proficient both in Latin and Greek, contributed substantially to medieval study of theology and philosophy.

(i) It is also wonderful that this foreigner, who, coming from the ends of the earth, would have had little intercourse with other nations, and hence little opportunity of hearing any language but his own, could understand such matters and render them into another tongue.

[Fergal McGrath, S.J., *Education in ancient and medieval Ireland,* p. 80, quoting a comment on Eriugenus by the Vatican librarian of the time, given in George T. Stokes, 'The knowledge of Greek in Ireland between A.D. 500 and 900', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 3rd. ser. Vol. II (1891-3), p. 199.]

(ii) Columbanus, founder of several major monastic settlements on the continent of Europe, has left us a number of Latin compositions, of which the following is an example:

Letter to a young disciple c. 610 A.D.

Be helpful when you are at the bottom of the ladder and be the lowest when you are in authority. Be simple in faith but well trained in manners; demanding in your own affairs but unconcerned in those of others. Be guileless in friendship, astute in the face of deceit, tough in time of ease, tender in hard times. Keep your options open when there's no problem, but dig in when you must choose. Be pleasant when things are unpleasant, and sorrowful when they are pleasant. Disagree where necessary, but be in agreement about truth. Be serious in pleasures but kindly when things are bitter. Be strong in trials, weak in dissentions. Be slow to anger, quick to learn, also slow to speak, as St. James says, equally quick to listen. Be up and doing to make progress, slack to take revenge, careful in word, eager in work. Be friendly with men of honour, stiff with rascals, gentle to the weak, firm to the stubborn, steadfast to the proud, humble to the lowly. Be ever sober, ever chaste, ever modest. Be patient as far as compatible with zeal, never greedy, always generous, if not in money, then in spirit. Be timely in fasting, timely in the night-offices, discreet in duty, persistent in study, unshaken in turmoil, joyful in suffering, valiant in the cause of truth, cautious in time of strife. Be submissive to good, unbending to evil, gentle in generosity, untiring in love, just in all things. Be respectful to the worthy, merciful to the poor. Be mindful of favours, unmindful of wrongs. Be a lover of the ordinary man, and don't wish for riches, but cool down excitement and speak your mind. Obey your seniors, keep up with your juniors, equal your equals, emulate the perfect. Don't envy your betters, or grieve at those who surpass you, or censure those who fall behind, but agree

with those who urge you on. Though weary, don't give up. Weep and rejoice at the one time out of zeal and hope. Advance with determination, but always fear for the end.

[Tomás Ó Fiaich, *Columbanus in his own words*, Dublin, 1974, pp. 96-7.]

By the very early ninth century it was Ireland's turn to experience the disruption of society that had beset the neighbouring island and the continent as Rome's power waned. In common with much of north-western Europe, including Britain, the Irish became a prey to wave upon wave of Scandinavian invaders, and while they were eventually to settle and make Ireland part of an international trading empire based on thriving sea-ports, the early stages of the Viking encounters with Ireland were costly and painful from the Irish point of view. The monasteries, almost the only centres of population, and repositories of treasure, suffered great depredations – not, indeed, that the Irish warriors had always respected them! By degrees, however, a *modus vivendi* was achieved, reaching a period of comparative political and social stability under Brian Boru.

I.3 The medieval period.

Within two hundred years of Brian Boru's death (1014) another series of invasions was to take place, led by the powerful Anglo-Norman leaders Fitzstephen, Fitzgerald and de Clare (Strongbow). The Church – and therefore education – had already experienced some English and continental influence. The Cistercians and canons regular had founded houses in Ireland *before* the Norman invasions, and many of the earlier monastic settlements were either absorbed by them or became the cathedrals of the newly created diocesan organisations. The learning of the bardic schools, which had sometimes existed side by side with the ecclesiastical learning of the Irish monastic schools, from now on had a separate existence. The Church was to be brought very largely under English control in those parts of the island where the royal writ ran. Religious orders on the European model established abbeys and friaries in Ireland, many of which performed educational work for their own members and probably some laity besides.

While high office in the Irish church was (in theory) restricted by law to English clerics, the authorities of both church and state at different times throughout the middle ages voiced alarm at the manner in which Irish language and custom were assimilating the English conquerors. The most famous attempt to arrest this move was the *Statute of Kilkenny* (36 clauses) which was a summary of earlier laws seeking to arrest the decline of English influence. Like its predecessors, it failed. Indeed the 12th century revival of the Gaelic cultural tradition was surpassed by that in the 15th, the Anglo-Norman lords being active patrons every bit as much as those of Gaelic background.

I.3(a) The Statute of Kilkenny, 1367.

Whereas at the conquest of Ireland, and for a long time after, the English of the said land used the English language, mode of riding and apparel, and were governed and ruled, both they and their subjects called Betaghs, according to the English law, in which time God and holy Church, and their franchises according to their condition were maintained in subjection, but now many English of the said land, forsaking the English language, manners, mode of riding, laws and usages, live and govern themselves according to the manners, fashion, and language of the Irish enemies; and also have made divers marriages and alliances between themselves and the Irish enemies aforesaid; whereby the said land, and the liege people thereof, the English language, the allegiance due to our lord the king, and the English laws there, are put in subjection and decayed, and the Irish enemies exalted and raised up, contrary to reason . . .

. . . it is ordained and established, that no alliance by marriage, gossipred, fostering of children, concubinage or by amour, nor in any other manner, be henceforth made between the English and Irish of one part, or of the other part; and that no Englishman, nor other person, being at peace, do give or sell to any Irishman, in time of peace or war, horses or armour, nor any manner of victuals in time of war; and if any shall do to the contrary, and thereof be attainted, he shall have judgement of life and member, as a traitor to our lord the king.

Also, it is ordained and established, that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish; and that every Englishman use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel, according to his estate; and if any English, or Irish living amongst the English, use the Irish language amongst themselves, contrary to this ordinance, and therefore be attainted, his lands and tenements, if he have any, shall be seized into the hands of his immediate lord, until he shall come to one of the places of our lord the king, and find sufficient surety to adopt and use the English language, and then he shall have restitution of his said lands, by writ issued out of said places.

Also, it is ordained and established that no religious house which is situate amongst the English (be it exempt or not), shall henceforth receive any Irishman to their profession, but may receive Englishmen without taking into consideration whether they

be born in England or in Ireland.

Also, whereas the Irish agents who come amongst the English, spy out the secrets, plans, and policies of the English, whereby great evils have often resulted; it is agreed and forbidden, that any Irish agents, that is to say, pipers, story-tellers, babblers, rhymers, morers, . . . nor any other Irish agent shall come amongst the English, and that no English shall receive or make gift to such . . .

[*Tracts relating to Ireland printed for the Irish Archaeological Society,* Vol. II, Dublin, 1843. 'A statute of the fortieth year of Edward III, enacted in a Parliament held in Kilkenny, A.D. 1367. . . . With a translation and notes by James Hardiman, M.R.I.A.', pp. 3-7, 9-15, 49-51, 55-7.]

I.3(b) The religious houses.

References to places where education was provided occur with great frequency in medieval records, but documents that throw light on what went on in them are not easy to come by. Education was undoubtedly under Church auspices. The monasteries and convents (such as Grace Dieu, in north county Dublin) were a major factor. In the towns, the craft guilds, each with its patron saint, its chapel or chantry, and its one or more chaplains, frequently made provision for the education of members' children, and sometimes supported choir schools. The following extract concerns 'grammar school' education. In I.4(d) there is reference to an attempt to found a university in medieval Ireland.

To the lord privy seal (Thomas Cromwell) from the lord deputy (Gray) and Council of Ireland, 1539.

May it please your honourable lordship to be advertised, that by the report of Thomas Cusack and others repaired lately out of the realm of England into this land, it hath been openly bruited the King's Grace's pleasure to be that all the monasteries within this land should be suppressed, none to stand. Amongst which, for the common weal of this said land, if it might stand with the King's most gracious pleasure, by your good lordship's advertisement, in our opinions it were right expedient that six houses should stand and continue, changing their clothing and rule into such sort and order as the King's Grace should wish them: which are named Saint Mary Abbey, adjoining to Dublin, a house of white monks; Christ Church, a house of canons situated in the middle of the city of Dublin; the nunnery of Grace Dieu in the county of Dublin; Connell in the county of Kildare; Kenlys and Jerpoint in the county of Kilkenny . . . in them young men and children, both gentlemen's children and others, both of mankind and womenkind, be brought

up in virtue, learning, and in the English tongue and behaviour, to the great charges of the said houses; that is to say, the womenkind of the whole Englishry of this land, for the more part in the said nunnery, and the mankind in the other said houses.

[*State papers published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission* (1834),Vol. III, King Henry the eighth, pt. III (18), p. 130.]

I.4 Early modern Ireland.

THE TUDORS

It was Tudor policy that schools should be used to spread the influences of the Reformation in Ireland. For the first time, the government promoted education. It was envisaged that there should be parish schools, diocesan schools, and a University, all three categories being intended to make Ireland 'English' and 'Protestant'. The negative prohibitory approach of the Statutes of Kilkenny was superseded by a policy that was positive, if, in the main, equally ineffectual.

I.4(a) An Act for the English order, habit and language, 1537 (28 Henry VIII, c. 15).

And further be it enacted by authority aforesaid that every archbishop, bishop, suffragan and every other having authority and power to give order of priesthood, deacon and subdeacon, shall at such time as they or any of them do give to any person or persons, any of the said orders of priesthood, deacon or subdeacon, give unto every person taking any of the said orders of priesthood, deacon or subdeacon, a corporal oath that he or they so taking order as is aforesaid shall to the uttermost of his power, wit and cunning, endeavour himself to learn the English tongue and language, and use English order and fashions, if he may learn and attain the same by possibility, in such place and places where his cure or dwelling shall be. And further, shall endeavour himself to move indoctrinate and teach all other being under his order, rule and governance, to accomplish and perform the same, and that also every such archbishop, bishop, suffragan, archdeacon, commissary, and other having power and authority, to admit, install, collate, institute or induct any person or persons, to any dignity, benefice, office or promotion spiritual as is aforesaid, shall at the time of the admission, institution, installation, collation, and induction of such person and persons to any dignity, benefice, office, or promotion spiritual, give unto the said person and persons, so admitted, instituted, installed, collated, or inducted a

corporal oath, that he and they so being admitted, instituted, installed, collated, or inducted, shall to his wit and cunning endeavour himself to learn, instruct, and teach the English tongue to all and every being under his rule, cure, order, or governance. And in likewise shall bid the beades in the English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach, and also for his own part shall use and exercise the English order and habit, and also provoke as many as he may to the same, and also shall keep, or cause to be kept within the place, territory, or parish where he shall have pre-eminence, rule, benefice or promotion, a school for to learn English, if any children of his parish should come to him to learn the same, taking for the keeping of the same school such convenient stipend or salary as in the said land is customarily used to be taken.

[*The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland,* Dublin, 1786, Vol. 1, pp. 125-6.]

1.4(b) An act for the erection of Free Schools, 1570 (12 Elizabeth I).

Forasmuch as the greatest number of the people of this your Majesty's realm hath of long time lived in rude and barbarous states, not understanding that almighty God hath by his divine laws forbidden the manifold and heinous offences which they spare not daily and hourly to commit and perpetrate, nor that he hath by his holy Scriptures commanded a due and humble obedience from the people to their princes and rulers. Whose ignorance in these so high points touching their damnation proceedeth only of lack of good bringing up of the youth of this realm either in public or private schools, where through good discipline they might be taught to avoid these lothsome and horrible errors; it may therefore please your most excellent Majesty, that it be enacted, and be it enacted by your Highness with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that there shall be from henceforth a free school within every diocese of this realm of Ireland, and that the school-master shall be an Englishman, or of the English birth of this realm; and that the lord archbishop of Armagh, the lord archbishop of Dublin, the lord bishop of Meath, and the lord bishop of Kildare, and their several successors for ever, shall have the nomination, institution, and appointment of the school-masters within their several dioceses from time to time for ever. That is to say, each of them in his own diocese and that the lord deputy, or

other governor or governors of this realm for the time being shall have the nomination, institution and appointment of all and singular the school-masters in and for all and singular the other dioceses of this realm (the four dioceses beforenamed excepted) from time to time for ever. The schoolhouse for every diocese to be built and erected in the principal shire town of the dioceses, where schoolhouses be not already built, at the cost and charge of the whole diocese, without respect of freedoms, by the devise and oversight of the ordinaries of the diocese or of the vicars general (*sede vacante*) and the Sheriff of the shire. And that the lord deputy, or other governor or governors of this realm for the time being, with and by the advice of the council of the same, or more number of them, shall according to the quality and quantity of every diocese appoint to and for every schoolmaster such yearly pension, stipend, or salary, where none is already appointed, as he with and by their advise shall think convenient; whereof the ordinaries of every diocese shall bear yearly for ever the third part; and the parsons, vicars prebendaries and other ecclesiastical persons of the same diocese shall pay yearly for ever the other two parts by an equal contribution to be made by the said ordinaries.

[*The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland,* Dublin, 1786, Vol. I, pp. 361-2.]

I.4(c) Peter White's School.

In contrast with the failure of the Crown to establish parish and diocesan schools we have evidence to show that the Roman Catholic population continued to benefit from schools run by its own teachers.

A description of the grammar school in Kilkenny founded by Peter (Pierce) Butler, earl of Ormond and Ossory, taken from Holinshed's *Irish Chronicle,* 1577.

Out of which school have sprouted such proper imps through the painful diligence and the laboursome industry of a famous lettered man, M. Peter White (sometime fellow of Oriel College in Oxford, and schoolmaster in Kilkenny) as generally the whole weal public of Ireland, and especially the southern parts of that island are greatly thereby furthered. This gentleman's method in training up youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholar's vein. If he found him free, he would bridle him like a wise Isocrates for his book; if he perceived him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he understood that he were the worse for beating, he would win him with rewards; finally, by interlacing

study with recreation, sorrow with mirth, pain with pleasure, sourness with sweetness, roughness with mildness, he had so good success in schooling his pupils, as in good sooth I may boldly bide by it, that in the realm of Ireland was no grammar school so good, in England, I am well assured, none better . . . and certainly, I acknowledge myself so much bound and beholding to him and his, as for his sake I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walls of that famous school.

[*Holinshed's Irish Chronicle* (ed. Liam Miller and Eileen Power), Oxford and Dublin, 1979, pp. 59-60.]

I.4(d) University of Dublin.

Before turning to the one successful aspect of Tudor educational policy – Elizabeth's foundation of the University of Dublin – mention must be made of an earlier attempt to found a university in Ireland.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw many universities founded in Europe, including, in these islands, Oxford and Cambridge. Not unexpectedly, there was a demand for such an institution in Ireland, particularly among the more influential classes in the Pale. A papal bull was the usual instrument whereby universities came into being, and in 1322 the Archbishop of Dublin, John de Lech, sought a bull from Pope Clement V. The Pope acceded to the request, and, after some years' delay, the next archbishop, Alexander de Bicknor, drew up a constitution for the university. The dean of St. Patrick's was appointed chancellor, and the university was situated in the cathedral precincts. It never flourished. Some teaching took place and there were a few graduates, but by the end of the fourteenth century it had, to all intents and purposes, gone out of existence.

By the time of the next request from Dublin for a university the Reformation had taken place, and it was to the Crown, not the Pope, that petitions were made. Elizabeth granted a charter, and set out in a letter her hopes for the new foundation.

. . . we perceive that the mayor and the citizens of Dublin are very well disposed to grant the site of the Abbey of All Hallows belonging to the said city to the yearly value of twenty pounds to serve for a college for learning, whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there, whereof many have usually heretofore used to travel into France, Italy and Spain to get learning in such foreign universities, whereby they have been infected with popery and other ill qualities, and so became evil subjects. And that also we perceive the said mayor and citizens and divers others there are well inclined to give some maintenance of livelihood in perpetuity for the maintenance of readers

and scholars in the said college, as is used in our universities here in England. . . .

For which causes we require you to give knowledge to the said mayor and citizens that we do very graciously accept of these their offers . . . and are well pleased to grant unto them our royal assent for the erecting such a college and to licence them and any other our good subjects there to endow the said college with competent revenues and therefore we do by these our letters warrant and authorise you our deputy and our chancellor of that our realm in our name to erect and make a foundation and corporation of a college for learning in the said place aforementioned. Taking order that the said college may be erected and established in such manner and with such good orders and statutes as some other of our colleges here in England in our universities are, whereof we will that you our chancellor and you the bishop of Meath have regard according to the experience you have of the good order of the college where you have been brought up, or of any other which by long experience are found to be well established.

[Bodleian Library, Smith MSS, Vol. 20. The copyist (in 1711) incorrectly transcribed the date of the Queen's letter as December 29, 1592, instead of 1591. However, the list of contents preceding the several manuscripts in Vol. 20 describes this document as 'Queen Elizabeth's letters in behalf of the College of Dublin, dated 29 Dec. A.D. 1591'.]

THE STUARTS

James I intended that in each of the counties confiscated under the Plantation of Ulster there should be a school. Despite the king's interest in the matter, it took years for the six Royal Schools in Ulster to come into being, in the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Cavan and Armagh. Charles I provided land for a further two schools, in royal lands in Leinster at Carysfort (Arklow) and Banagher. The schools made a very limited contribution indeed to the royal objective, 'the education of youths in learning and religion', despite the strong control that crown and Established Church had over the appointment of masters. This may partly be explained by the fact that contrary to the intentions of their royal sponsors, the schools were seldom 'free'. But however they may have fallen short of the objectives of their founders in the 17th and 18th centuries, they were the foundations on which the Royal Schools of the present century have built, in Ireland both north and south.

I.4(e) The Royal Schools.

(i) *The King to Sir Arthur Chichester* (30 January, 1614) (lord deputy of Ireland).

His Majesty has already assigned certain proportions of the escheated lands in the several counties for the endowment of free schools and the maintenance of schoolmasters. For the more effectual accomplishment of this object, he has considered of some fit means for estating and improving the said lands, and with this view had made choice of the archbishops and bishops of the several dioceses in which the lands are situated. Directs therefore that a grant be made to the several bishops now existing and their successors for ever of so much of the lands so allotted as may be situated in their respective dioceses, enabling them with the advice of their several deans and chapters, to set and let the lands to fit persons, with this condition that they make no estate of more than 21 years, or at a less rent than £12 at least per quarter (viz. four towns or balliboes per quarter); also empowering them to choose proper persons to be presented to His Majesty's deputy, or other chief governor to be by him appointed, to exercise for the term of his life or during good behaviour the office of schoolmaster and with such further beneficial clauses as are usual and as may seem calculated to conduce with His Majesty's gracious design for the maintenance of these free schools and schoolmasters.

And as His Majesty learns that there are not as yet any further school-houses erected, he directs that they be authorised to apply the rents and profits to the building of such houses, and when they shall be built, and not before, that the funds shall be employed for the maintenance of the schoolmasters as aforesaid.

[*Calendar of state papers, Ireland, 1611-1614,* pp. 467-8.]

(ii) *James the 1st, his orders and directions concerning the state of the Church of Ireland, and the possessions thereof, free schools, and other endowments and lands given to charitable uses, for and concerning other things tending to the advancement of a true Religion, and maintaining of the clergy in the said realm, 1623.*

. . . whereas by our direction and appointment there are divers free schools erected and to be erected in the escheated counties of Ulster and in the plantations of Longford, Leitrim and Wexford, and of King's County, and the same by us endowed with good proportion of lands: now for the placing and appointing of good and sufficient schoolmasters for the said schools our purpose will and pleasure is that when any schools shall be void of a schoolmaster within the diocese of Armagh that then the Lord Primate shall make choice of a sufficient scholar and present to the Lord Deputy. And the said Lord Deputy shall grant him our letters patent for

enjoying the said school during his good behaviour. Also we further require that if any schools within the plantations of Ulster, Longford, and Leitrim or any new plantation shall be void that the election of the next ensuing schoolmaster shall be as ensues (viz.) That the bishop of the diocese where the school lieth and standeth shall nominate and present two sufficient scholars and the provost and fellows of the College in Dublin shall nominate and present other two sufficient scholars of the College of Dublin unto the Lord Deputy who is to make choice and elect one out of the four to be schoolmaster in the vacant place and the Lord Deputy to grant him letters patent for enjoying the place during his good behaviour. Likewise every schoolmaster upon his acception and taking of any spiritual living or promotion shall be discharged of the place and the school to stand void *ipso facto* until another be elected.

[*Marsh's Library* MS. 3.1.3., pp. 37-81.]

I.4(f) The King's Hospital.

The seventeenth century saw two other Protestant educational endeavours that have, in one form or another, survived to the present day. Erasmus Smith, a Cromwellian soldier who benefited greatly from the plantation, endowed several schools 'to propagate the Protestant faith according to the Scriptures avoiding all superstition'. Again, by Charter of Charles II an existing charitable school in Dublin became 'The Hospital and Free School of King Charles the Second', known today as 'The King's Hospital'.

Charles the Second, by the grace of God, of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland.* King, Defender of the Faith, etc. TO ALL to whom these presents shall come Greeting. WHEREAS the mayor, sheriffs, commons and citizens of our city of Dublin, in our kingdom of Ireland, have humbly petitioned us, thereby setting forth, that several of our subjects in that our city and kingdom, being charitably affected towards such as through age, sickness, or other accidents, are reduced to poverty, or disabled to gain their living by their own labour; and piously considering also the great benefit of the good education and instruction of youth; have proposed the erection, building and establishing of an hospital and free school, within the Liberties of our city of Dublin, and have shewed great willingness to contribute to so good a work, which they hope to accomplish, in case they may, by our royal authority, be enabled and capacitated to purchase lands, tenements and hereditaments for the erecting and maintaining of such an hospital and free

school, and to make good, wholesome and necessary laws for the rule and government thereof. Know ye therefore, that we of our princely disposition, for the furtherance and accomplishment of so good and charitable a work, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent of our right trusty and well beloved counsellor, John, Lord Berkeley, our Lieutenant General and General Governor of our said realm of Ireland, and according to the tenour and effect of our letters, bearing date of our court at Whitehall, the four and twentieth day of October, in the three and twentieth year of our reign, and now enrolled in the rolls of our High Court of Chancery in our said realm of Ireland, have given, granted, released and confirmed, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, do give, grant, release and confirm unto the said mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of our city of Dublin, and their successors for ever, all that piece or parcel of ground on Oxmantown Green, near our said city of Dublin, on which the intended Hospital and Free School is already begun to be built. . . . And further of our more abundant grace, certain knowledge, meer motion, and princely disposition, for the furtherance and accomplishment of so good and charitable a work, by and with the advice and consent aforesaid, and in pursuance of our said letters, we have also given and granted, and by these presents for us our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said mayor, sheriffs, commons and citizens of our said city of Dublin, and their successors for ever, that the said Hospital and Free School shall be named, Incorporated, and called THE HOSPITAL AND FREE SCHOOL OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND, Dublin, and by that name shall be and is hereby erected, founded, established, and confirmed, and to have maintenance and continuance for ever. . . .

[Extract from the charter of the King's Hospital, Lesley Whiteside, *A History of the King's Hospital,* Dublin, 1975, pp. 198-205.]

THE PENAL PERIOD

Roman Catholic children who received any elementary education for the most part attended schools run by catholic teachers, and these existed (even though proscribed) in considerable numbers throughout the country. But for learning at a more advanced level under the auspices of their own church, Roman Catholic families had to go abroad. This movement had been taking place at least since the Reformation, the Irish students travelling to existing continental colleges. By the seventeenth century, and in particular following the penal laws of William and Anne at the end of that century and the beginning of the next, the number of Irish students leaving

the country to seek higher (and especially theological) education had grown to such an extent that they had their own foundations in Spain, France, the Low Countries, Italy and elsewhere. The Catholic Relief Acts of 1782 and 1793 removed the penal laws relating to education. But by this time the Irish colleges on the Continent had achieved a considerable amount. To quote T. W. Moody (*A new history of Ireland,* III, xlv.) 'Irish catholic scholars thus educated earned distinction in the European world of letters of the seventeenth century exceeding that of any Irish protestant scholar except James Ussher.'

I.4(g) An act for the uniformity of public prayers and administration of sacraments (17 and 18 Charles II c.6 (1665)).

V. . . . and every schoolmaster keeping any public or private school, and every person instructing or teching any youth in any house or private family as a tutor or schoolmaster, who upon the feast of St. John Baptist, which shall be in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred sixty and seven, or at any time hereafter, shall . . . subscribe the declaration or acknowledgement following:

> I A.B. do declare that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those commissioned by him; and that I will conform to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland as it is now by law established. . . .

VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that every schoolmaster or other person instructing or teaching youth in the private house or family as a tutor or schoolmaster be required to take the oath of allegiance or supremacy. . . .

[*The statutes at large passed in the parliaments held in Ireland,* Dublin, 1786, III, p. 139.]

I.4(h) An act to restrain foreign education (7 Will. c. 4 (1695)).

Whereas many of the subjects of this kingdom have accustomed themselves to send their children, and other persons under their care, into France, Spain, and other foreign parts, not under his Majesty's obedience, to be educated, instructed and brought up; by means and occasion whereof, the said children and other persons have in process of time engaged themselves in foreign interests, and been prevailed upon to forget the natural duty and allegiance due from them to the Kings and Queens of this realm, and the affection

which they owe to the established religion and laws of this their native country, and returning so civilly disposed into this kingdom, have been, in all times past, the movers and promoters of many dangerous seditions, and aftertimes of open rebellion: for remedy whereof, be it therefore enacted and declared by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same. That in case any of his Majesty's subjects of this realm of Ireland, at any time after the end of this session of Parliament shall pass, or go, or shall convey or send, or cause to be conveyed or sent, any child, or other person, into any parts beyond the seas, out of his Majesty's obedience, to the intent and purpose to enter into or be resident, or trained up in any priory, abbey, nunnery, popish university, college or school, or house of jesuits or priests; or in case any of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom shall, after the time aforesaid, pass or go, or be conveyed, or sent out of this kingdom, into any parts beyond the seas, out of the King's obedience, to the intent and purpose to be resident, or trained up in any private popish family, and shall be in such parts beyond the seas by any jesuit, seminary priest, friar, monk, or other popish person, instructed, persuaded, or strengthened in the popish religion, in any sort to profess the same, or shall convey or send, or cause to be conveyed or sent, by the hand or means of any person whatsoever, any sum or sums of money, or other thing, for or towards the maintenance or support of any child or other person already gone or sent, or that shall hereafter go or be sent, and be trained and instructed as aforesaid, or under the name or colour of any charity, benevolence, or alms towards the relief of any priory, abbey, nunnery, college, school, or any religious house whatsoever: every person so going, sending, conveying or causing to be sent, as well any such child or other person, as any sum or sums of money, or other thing, and every person passing or being sent beyond the seas, contrary to the intent and meaning of this act, and being thereof lawfully convicted in manner and form hereafter mentioned, . . . such person and persons so going and sending wilfully, from and after such going or sending, shall be for ever disabled, from and after such finding, to sue, bring, or prosecute any action, bill, plaint, or information in course of law, or to prosecute any suit in any court of equity, or to be guardian, or executor, or administrator, to any person, or capable of any legacy, or deed of gift, or to bear any office within the realm, and shall lose and forfeit all his, her, and their goods and chattels, which he, she, or they hath, or any person or persons

have, or hath in trust for him, her, and them, and shall forfeit all his, her, and their lands, tenements and hereditaments, rents, annuities, offices, and estate of free-hold, and all trusts, powers, and interests therein, for and during his, her, and their natural life and lives.

And whereas it is found by experience that tolerating and conniving at papists keeping schools or instructing youth in literature is one great reason of many of the natives of this kingdom continuing ignorant of the principles of true religion, and strangers to the scriptures, and of their neglecting to conform themselves to the laws and statutes of this realm, and of their not using the English habit or language, to the great prejudice of the public weal thereof: be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid that no person whatsoever of the papist religion shall publicly teach school, or instruct youth in learning, or in private houses teach or instruct youth in learning within this realm from henceforth, except only the children or others under the guardianship of the master or mistress of such private house or family, upon pain of twenty pounds and also being committed to prison . . . for the space of three months for every such offence.

[*Ibid.*, III, p. 254.]

I.4(i) An act to prevent the further growth of popery (2 Anne c.6 (1703)).

. . . and if any person or persons being a papist, or professing the popish religion shall from and after the said twenty fourth day of March send, or cause, or willingly suffer to be sent or conveyed, any child under the age of one and twenty years, except sailors, ship-boys, or the apprentice or factor of some merchant in trade or merchandise, into France or any other parts beyond the seas, out of her majesty's dominions, without the special licence of her majesty, her heirs or successors, or of her or their chief governor or governors of this kingdom, and four or more of her or their privy council of this realm . . . he, she and they so sending or conveying or causing to be sent or conveyed away any such child, shall incur the pains, penalties and forfeitures mentioned in an act made in the seventh year of his late majesty King William, entitled *An act to restrain foreign education.*

[*Ibid.* IV, p. 12.]

I.4(j) An act for explaining and emending an act entitled An act to prevent the further growth of popery (8 Anne c.3 (1709)).

This act, reciting that 7 Will. III c.4 had proved 'ineffectual', to the extent that protestant schoolmasters were conniving with Roman Catholics, declared that

whatsoever person of the popish religion shall publicly teach school, or shall instruct youth in learning in any private house within this realm, or shall be entertained to instruct youth in learning as usher, under-master, or assistant by any protestant schoolmaster, he shall be esteemed and taken to be a popish regular clergyman, and to be prosecuted as such, and incur such pains, penalties, and forfeitures as any popish regular convict is liable unto the laws and statutes of this realm. . . .

[*Ibid.*, IV, p. 190.]

I.4(k) The continental colleges.

(i) *An informer's report to Mr. Secretary Cecil, Elizabeth's Minister* (9 December 1600).

I discern great mischief likely to happen to the English pale of Ireland, by reason of the Irish house at Douai, of which Christopher Cusack, a priest and stipendiary to the King of Spain, is chief. There are in that house 60 young gentlemen, eldest sons of the principal gentlemen of the Pale, as the eldest sons of Sir Christopher Plunkett, of Sir Patrick Barnewall, of Robert Barnewall of Dunbroe, . . . (etc.) and many more, besides many merchants' sons of Dublin and Drogheda.

Douai has ever been an enemy town, and held for the Spaniard; they that are brought up there must have Spanish hearts, for they shall hear Her Majesty continually ill spoken of, and the worth of the Spaniards applauded. The rebel rout in Ireland whom they call the Catholic army, and Tyrone, by name, is daily prayed for there; they all speak Irish, and it is to be feared that those young gentlemen, the offspring of the colonies of the English conquest, may become in language and disposition fermented with the ancient hatred of Irish to English, which is so great as I know no disputing among brutes greater.

[*Calendar of state papers, Domestic, 1598-1601*, p. 496.]

(ii) *The Irish College at Santiago.*

In fulfilment of your order, commanding me to send you an account of the manner of life of the students, I have to say that, glory be to God, they are getting on well, and making good progress in their studies, and also in virtue, which is seen from the fact that persons of great parts have left, and others are still in this house, and though many disorders usually occur in universities, our Lord was pleased to guard ours from all infection of vice. They live with such singular purity and honour, that for the seven years they are here their good name and fame have never been tarnished. They keep themselves very healthy by their temperance and moderation, and besides, the place suits them exactly, so that not one has died in the years I have mentioned.

They have not, and never had any constitutions beyond the private regulations we adopt for living regularly and virtuously, such as to recite twice a day rosaries, litanies, psalms, and other prayers for his Catholic Majesty, for the kingdom, for the propagation of the Faith, and for all their benefactors; to go to confession and communion every fifteen days; to live in peace, concord, and amity; to go out together in a body to class, and return in the same way, besides other regulations to the number of fifteen, which, for the sake of brevity, I omit. They do not take an oath to become priests, nor does his Majesty oblige them to do so, for as they are the children of people of noble birth given as hostages of the loyalty their fathers have sworn to his Majesty, he made no farther deposition with regard to them than that they should be trained in virtue and letters without further restriction; and, besides, their parents and friends, in recompense of whose services and losses his Majesty maintains this house, would not be pleased they should be compelled to do anything to which they did not feel inclined; and they say that if it is necessary to have priests in Ireland, so also is it to have gentlemen educated in a Catholic way, to receive and protect them, for if there were none such the priests could not hold their ground. They also say that professional men are wanting, particularly canonists, to judge ecclesiastical cases; that there is indeed a very great want of these, as there are none but such as study in these foreign kingdoms, for the king of England does not tolerate any schools but such as are taught by heretical masters.

But though the students of this house are under no obligation to become priests, they do so of their own spontaneous will. . . . The rest are artists, philosophers, and canonists, some with degrees, and others about taking them. . . .

This is the true state of our affairs, from which you may gather four things: 1st, That this seminary admits the sons of lords and gentlemen who employed their services and property in defence of the Faith and on behalf of his Majesty; 2nd, The notable improvement made by those who entered children of eight, ten, and twelve years; 3rd, That they voluntarily, and without any co-action, become priests and religious; and 4th, That his Majesty honours and employs in his service those who have been educated in this house.

['Irish ecclesiastical colleges since the Reformation'. Copy of the report sent to Don Diego Brochero by Eugene Carty, on the students of Santiago, in 1612. *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* X (1873), p. 297.]

I.5 The Eighteenth Century.

I.5(a) The Charity Schools.

The early eighteenth century saw the extension to Ireland of the 'charity schools', which for many years had been a feature of Anglican provision for the education of the poor in England. Especially in towns, Church of Ireland parishes promoted such schools, particularly in Dublin and Cork. Their curriculum was elementary, with a high catechetical content, and some of them owed their origin to the zeal of highly-motivated individuals who promoted the charity school concept on a national basis.

Form of Subscription:

We whose names are under-written do hereby agree to pay yearly, at two equal payments (during pleasure) the several and respective sums of money over against our names respectively subscribed, for setting up a charity school in the parish of town of Co. of for teaching poor boys to read, write, and cast accounts, and instructing them in the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion as professed and taught in the Church of England.

[Edward Nicholson, *A method of charity-schools, recommended, for giving both a religious education and a way of livelihood to the poor children in Ireland,* Dublin, 1712, p. 43.]

I.5(b) The Charter Schools.

The schools of the 'Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland' (commonly called charter schools) were founded in the early decades of the eighteenth century by Primate Boulter and other

influential members of the protestant ascendancy with considerable royal and parliamentary backing. They were intended to convert the Irish poor, not only to the tenets of the Established Church of Ireland, but also to ways of industry, whether in farming, manufacture (especially the linen trade) or domestic service.

The system was comprised of a network of residential schools across Ireland, with nurseries to feed the schools, and a study of their inception and *modus operandi* throws appreciable light on religious, social and economic aspects of the 18th and early 19th centuries. It also reveals the sustained but ineffectual efforts made by the Incorporated Society to prevent or eliminate the manifold abuses to which their schools were a prey, and which were eventually made public by private and official investigations.

(i) *An abstract from the proceedings of the Incorporated Society.*

THE INTRODUCTION

The Incorporated Society in Dublin, for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, having made some progress in the trust reposed in them, by his Majesty's Royal Charter, have judged it convenient to lay before their worthy benefactors, and all other well-disposed persons, the particular ends they have in view; and, also, the several steps they have taken for obtaining the same.

The particular ends they have in view, are the following:

First, To promote the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, by rescuing the children of the poor natives from that ignorance, superstition and idolatry, to which they were devoted from their infancy; and to train them up in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which alone are able to make them wise to salvation; and in the pure Protestant faith, and worship.

We have found, by long experience, that the prejudices of those who have been bred up to maturity in the popish religion, are rarely to be removed by the clearest and strongest reasonings; and as all methods of compulsion, in matters of faith, are contrary to the genius of the Christian religion, and the principles of the Established Church, as well as to reason and common sense; the only way that remains, is to begin with the rising generation, by training up the children of the papists in the purity of the Christian faith and morals, before the corruptions of popery have taken root in their hearts.

Secondly, The Society propose to strengthen His Majesty's government, and the protestant interest of Ireland, by increasing the number of protestants in the only Christian and reasonable

way: And they are sorry to observe the particular necessity of this, at the present juncture, when the protestants of this kingdom are deluded to transport themselves to the American plantations; by which means, His Majesty is daily losing some of his faithful subjects, and the kingdom exhausted of the most useful hands in trade: This is a public loss, which the Society can see no other way of repairing, than by providing fresh recruits of protestants out of their schools.

Thirdly, They propose to cure, by degrees, that habit of idleness, which is too prevalent among the poor of this kingdom; on account of which, they are too often betrayed into thieving, and many other enormous vices; or, at the best, turn vagabonds and beggars, and become a nuisance, and burden, to their country: The Society hope to remedy this, by inuring the children early, in their working-schools, to those labours that may promote the public good; especially, that may improve agriculture and the linen manufacture. And, as some donations of land have been already made, the Society propose to turn every school so endowed into a little farm, to be cultivated variously, according to the nature of the soil, by the labour of the children, under proper directors; by which means, it is not doubted, but they will (in some measure) raise their own subsistence, and clothing, out of their own farm; and will, moreover, acquire some previous knowledge, and hability, for their future occupations: For such schools will thus become factories, as well as farms, where the fabric of linen cloth is to be carried on, from the seed to the loom.

In pursuance of this scheme, the Society hope to introduce and spread, gradually, through the kingdom, the English spirit of improvement; together with a habit of neatness, and cleanliness, among the lower sort of people.

Lastly, The Society are sure of obtaining one good end, though all others should fail, and this is, dispensing properly their own and other people's charity, in feeding, clothing and comforting many poor distressed children, orphans and foundlings, exposed to want and misery, and in qualifying them for getting their bread in an honest way during their lives.

These are some of the great ends the Society have in view: And though in a work of this nature, the good effects cannot become evident, till the children have received their education, and are put into the world, yet they are persuaded, that when their worthy benefactors shall read in the sequel of this abstract the hopeful and promising beginnings that have been made in so short a space of time, they will not be weary in well-doing, but will with patience

and perseverance expect to see the fruits of their charity: for the Society consider themselves at present as only sowing the seed, which (by God's blessing) shall in due time yield a plentiful harvest; and if they are enabled to extend their schools, they do not doubt of shewing in few years a new race of people disposed to support the protestant interest and government, and qualified to improve the lands and manufacturies of this kingdom.

[*An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society . . . from the opening of His Majesty's Royal Charter on the 6th Day of February, 1733, to the 25th Day of March 1737,* London, 1737, reprinted from the Dublin edition, pp. 4-5.]

(ii) *The 1825 Commissioners on the Charter Schools.*

The fate of the charter schools was sealed by the horrendous conditions that were disclosed by the 1825 commissioners who conducted visits to many of the Society's schools and concluded that the Society was not achieving, and never had achieved, its objectives, despite vast support from public funds.

But however great and numerous the instances of mismanagement and abuse which prevail in these establishments, it appears to us, that the main objection arises from the mistaken principles on which they are founded. A system of education which separates children from their kindred, and which turns them out into life when just arrived at maturity, without friends or relations, and without that practical experience which children under ordinary circumstances insensibly acquire, by witnessing the realities of life around them, does not appear to us likely to obtain the benefits expected from these establishments.

We are convinced that if a thousand children educated in charter schools were to be compared with an equal number who had remained in the apparently wretched cabins inhabited by their parents, but who had attended orderly and well regulated day schools, it would be found, not only that the latter had passed their years of instruction far more happily to themselves, but that when arrived at the age of manhood, they would upon a general average be in every respect more valuable and better instructed members of society; they would have improved in knowledge under circumstances which would have strengthened and confirmed their connection with all those to whom they must naturally look for protection and assistance and would enter upon life with their affections awakened, their principles confirmed and their character

raised by the reliance they would have acquired of controlling and conducting themselves.

It is very different in the instance of a boy let loose from a charter school, who has lived in a state of existence entirely artificial. All his wants having been supplied by the care of others, he has become peevish, fretful, and impatient if not supplied according to rule. His mind is impressed by a feeling of sullenness resulting from a system of severity and terror. His expectations have been unduly raised as to his own future prospects, though the habits of indolence and apathy which have appeared to us peculiarly to characterise these children, render them altogether unsuited to the active, patient, persevering exertions which are necessary to their success in life.

[*First report of the commissioners of Irish education enquiry*, pp. 29-30. H.C. 1825 (400) xii.]

I.5(c) The Orde Plan.

Thomas Orde was chief secretary from 1784-7. He is, perhaps, best remembered for his interest in the Irish economy and for his proposals for improving its condition. He ought also to be remembered for his contribution to later eighteenth century official thinking on Ireland's educational needs. It is only fair to mention that Orde drew heavily on ideas that had previously been put forward by John Hely-Hutchinson, provost of Trinity and an ambitious member of the Irish house of commons.

What follows is an extract from a 'plan for an improved system of education in Ireland' put forward by Orde in the Irish house of commons in 1787.

Nothing can be more fruitless or preposterous than the arrangements at present subsisting in several of the principal features of the scheme of education. For as in many instances alluded to, the master has too large a provision, in others he has too little. Both the extremes are almost equally pernicious to the only object of their appointment, which should be no other than the diffusion of knowledge, and the promotion of civilization by the instruction of scholars. One master cannot afford even the attempt to open his school. Another can too well afford to shut the doors of it. The public is more interested in the reformation of this than of almost any object of importance to the community. The interference of government therefore is necessary, with the combined aid of the legislature. You must have power to enlarge, and you must have power to take away. The real education of your

children is the grand principle upon which your deliberations are to proceed; let therefore the reward of the teacher be liberal, but let it be derived in a great degree from the certainty of his own exertions. Emulation should be the general spirit of incitement, both among the instructors and the scholars. Some object of attainment should be contrived to provoke their mutual efforts. A future reward and honourable retreat should be the meed of those who have conscientiously laboured in the performance of a most severe and trying occupation; and encouragement should be held out to the younger candidates, who are to begin their career in the service of their country.

I am now, Sir, with permission of the committee, to proceed to a more minute explanation of the several divisions of the general plan, which I mean to submit to your consideration. But before I enter into this detail, I would say a very few words in excuse of the long introduction with which I have troubled you. I venture to persuade myself, that you will not have thought it irrelevant to the purposes of my plan to bring before your view the situation of the people, and to make the honourable attempt of moving the pride and interest, as well as the feelings of the country, to their relief and improvement; to manifest the general dearth and want of proper instruction, and to point out the fatal consequences of them, not only to the individuals, but to the mass of the nation, and to the state itself; and above all to exhibit, in proofs of reason and illustration, the superior advantages which would be likely to result from a general reformation, and the establishment of a general system: I shall seek to compensate your kind indulgence and attention, by as much brevity in what remains for me to say, as may be consistent with a due perspicuity.

I have already opened to you so much of my ideas respecting a general system, as to suggest the expediency of its being adapted to all the different ranks and gradations of the people in the community. These I would divide into four parts, as far as relates to scholastic education. The two first of them should embrace the people in the lowest degree, and in the degree next above it; both of which I should thereby hope to lead forward to the chance of an advanced gradation.

The third should take in the middling ranks of the community, and afford the means, at an easy expense, of a liberal classic education to persons designed for various species of learned professions, and to the gentry of the neighbourhood, who would not choose or could not afford to send their children to schools of a more distant situation and higher expense.

The fourth is to supply the richest resource of the most polished erudition to the youth of high rank and noblest ambition, whose object and fair pretensions it may be to attempt the first lines of professional distinction, and the highest offices and employments of the state.

I mean to say something in a fifth part, of the further step towards perfection, by the removal of scholars to the university, and their instruction there.

In a sixth, I would suggest the means by which these beneficial openings for general knowledge and erudition may be preserved pure and incorrupt; and the great principle of sound and uniform discipline, and the general incentive to emulation, by securing still the preference and distinction of merit, both in respect to honour and interest, may be maintained with unabating vigour.

The seventh and last will regard only the future steps which should be taken to lead to your ultimate sanction, and the means of information on which you may be enabled to fix it.

The first object, then, which presents itself to notice, in surveying the different divisions of this system, is the scheme by which the lowest and most numerous order of the community have within their reach such moderate advantages of instruction and precept as may make them at once more happy and more useful members of the society. This object has in some degree already heretofore engaged the attention of the legislature by an act, which is still in force and observance, although the provisions of it do not go to form a sufficient establishment in these days; nor is the nature of the obligation under it such as in itself to secure the gratuitous communication of instruction to the poor, which I would wish to recommend in the strongest manner. If we look back for a moment to the history of the times, in which the act alluded to (28 Henry VIII. c.15) was made, and consider the real motives of it, we shall find that there was something of policy as well as of charity in the institution of parish-schools under that reign; a policy, however, of most excellent tendency, and worthy of being perpetuated. The more general knowledge and use of the English language were certainly then, if not the sole, at least the principal objects of parliamentary concern, in directing the introduction of these schools; and it is to be further observed, that although the minister of the parish was obliged to teach such children as presented themselves, or to substitute a proper instructor, allowance was given to take a certain small stipend from the scholars for their tuition.

[*Mr. Orde's plan of an improved system of education in Ireland; submitted to the*

house of commons, April 12, 1787; with the debate which arose thereon. Reported by John Gifford, Esq., Dublin, 1787. From a copy in the National Library of Ireland, MS. 15, 888, pp. 24-5, 28-31.]

I.5(d) Report of the commissioners of Irish education enquiry, 1791.

Orde left office before any of his proposals bore fruit. But he had sown a considerable number of seeds, among them the idea that educational planning needed to be firmly based on reliable data. In the year following Orde's resignation, his successor as chief secretary, Alleyne FitzHerbert, set up the first of the many government commissions that have investigated our educational affairs from that day to this, and whose reports fill so many pages of this book. It is not, therefore, without interest to cite a few paragraphs from the report of the 1788 Commissioners, who pioneered the trail.

Recapitulation of the Advantages of the Proposed plan of Education

We beg leave shortly to recapitulate the several advantages which will be derived to this kingdom from the plan of education which we now humbly lay before your Excellency.

In the parish schools, in which there is at present no provision for the education of the children of the poor, 25,250 poor children will be instructed gratuitously in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the principles of religion; upwards of 700 new parish schools will be established, and between 800 and 900 schoolhouses provided for the residence of the masters, and the instruction of the scholars, the remaining number of the schools having already houses provided for those purposes. The parish schools at present existing will be rendered more efficient and useful, and the education in the 1,100 parish schools will receive great encouragement by the drafting of such of the scholars as are most meritorious to other schools for the purpose of perfecting their education; and the regulations proposed as to those schools will tend to promote the laudable institution of Sunday schools.

The charter schools will, we flatter ourselves, receive great improvements, if the alterations which we have taken the liberty to recommend shall be adopted. The institution itself, and its greatly increased funds, render that establishment an object of the greatest national importance.

The diocesan schools will be rendered much more useful by the establishment of an additional master. Eight will be added to the number of those schools, and the rest rendered more efficient and useful; 440 boys will receive a classical education, and be instructed

in the mathematics; and provision is also proposed to be made for the education in like manner, and also for the clothing and maintaining 396 poor scholars, to be elected and sent thither from the parish and other schools.

The seven Royal schools will be all rendered efficient; one of them only, namely, Armagh, can be called so at present. By the proposed plan, 140 gratuitous scholars will be instructed in those schools, and the redundancy of the revenues, which has proved highly pernicious to those establishments, will, by its useful application, be the means of their reformation, and will promote the ends of education by being properly applied to a great institution, the want of which has been long complained of in this country, and has been the cause of educating out of it many of the children of the principal nobility and gentry, and of drawing large sums of money annually out of this kingdom. We mean –

A Collegiate School, or school connected with the University, upon the plan of the great collegiate schools which, by long experience, have been found so highly useful in England. We have provided, in this part of the plan, for the maintenance of thirty-two King's scholars in the school, and for forty-two students in the University.

The other new institution proposed, called the Professional Academy, will train up useful members for the army, navy, and commerce; will be a great national institution; and will at the same time be a useful model for private seminaries of a similar nature, which will probably be established by private undertaking in several of the principal towns of this kingdom.

[Printed in *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into the endowments, funds and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland*, p. 341. H.C. 1857-8 (2336-111) xxii. Part III.]

I.5(e) Catholic Relief Act, 1782.

By the late decades of the century legislation to remove the restrictions affecting the education of Catholics was being passed by the Irish parliament. The Catholic Relief Act of 1782 was of particular importance, though the removal of the prohibition on endowments and of the requirement to obtain a licence from the Church of Ireland bishop had to wait for a further eleven years.

An act to allow persons professing the popish religion to teach school in this kingdom, and for regulating the education of papists, and also to repeal parts of certain laws relative to the guardianship of their children (21 and 22 Geo. III c. 62 (1782)).

Whereas several of the laws made in this kingdom, relative to the education of papists, or persons professing the popish religion, are considered as too severe, and have not answered the desired effect: be it enacted by the King's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that so much of an act passed in the seventh year of King William the third, entitled *An act to restrain foreign education,* and also so much of an act passed in the eighth year of Queen Anne, entitled, *An act for explaining and amending an act* entitled *An act to prevent the further growth of popery,* as subjects persons of the popish religion, who shall publicly teach school, or who shall instruct youth in learning in any private popish house within this realm, to the like pains, penalties, and forfeitures as any popish regular convict, shall be, and the same is and are hereby repealed.

. . . nothing herein contained shall be construed to allow the erection or endowment of any popish university or college or endowed school in this realm, or to authorise any papist, or person professing the popish religion to teach or keep school, who shall not have first obtained the licence of the ordinary of the diocese for that purpose, which licence the ordinary is hereby empowered to grant and recall from time to time as he shall think proper. . . .

II

Voluntary Effort and Official Inquiry 1791-1831

The last years of the 18th century and the opening decades of the 19th century saw a wide range of educational activity in Ireland.

The hedge school was a common feature of the Irish landscape and its work was supplemented by the efforts of religious orders and voluntary educational societies. A wide range of officially sponsored bodies existed, but their effectiveness was severely criticized in a number of official inquiries. From these investigations emerged the principles which were to form the basis of the National School System in 1831.

II.1 Richard Lovell Edgeworth's Education Bill of 1799.

By the last decade of the 18th century it was clear that legislative attempts to provide education for the poor had largely failed. The schemes of Orde and of the 1791 Commission had come to nought, and it fell to Richard Lovell Edgeworth, the noted Irish inventor, improving landlord and member of parliament, to keep the education question alive. The publication of his *Practical Education* in 1798 and the earlier appearance of his daughter Maria's *Parents' Assistant* (1796) brought education to the attention of the public.

In February 1799 Edgeworth was largely responsible for the appointment of a parliamentary committee of inquiry on education. It reported, under his chairmanship, inside a month, and recommended a scheme to establish a school for the lower classes in each parish. A bill to effect these proposals was given its first reading on 28 March 1799, but it never proceeded to a second reading, perhaps because of the politics of the forthcoming Union or because of the government's reluctance to support the scheme's liberal principles. (See Edward F. Burton, 'Richard Lovell Edgeworth's education bill of 1799' in *The Irish Journal of Education,* 1979, viii, pp. 24-33). Nevertheless Edgeworth's work was important for the subsequent development of official educational policies. He served as a member of the Board of Education which examined Irish education between 1806 and 1812 and helped therefore to ensure a continuity of development in pre- and post-Union official thinking in education.

A Bill for the improvement of the education of the lower orders of people in this kingdom

Whereas, the state of the education of the lower orders of the people in this kingdom is materially defective and requires the interposition of parliament Be it enacted

That one or more schools with a house for the residence of the master, or mistress thereof may be erected, in manner hereafter mentioned, in every parish or union of parishes in this kingdom for the education of children in such parish or union in reading, writing, arithmetic, mensuration, and such other things as may be suited to their several destinations, and capacities; and for the instruction of the said children in husbandry, gardening, planting; in plain-work, knitting, weaving of lace, and other useful occupations, according to their different sexes, and ages. [*In another hand*] And be it further Enacted that in case the Board of First Fruits shall be enabled by Parliament they shall apply in such manner as they shall think proper such sum or sums of money as shall appear to them necessary in -

[*cancelled section*]

And in order to create a fund for building such school houses be it enacted that on every licence, which shall be granted throughout [the] Kingdom for the sale of spirituous liquor there shall be paid, over and above the sum required by law, a further sum of ten shillings to the collector of the revenue of the district, & the receipt therefore certified on the back or at the foot of the certificate before any licence shall be issued, every which sum of ten shillings shall be paid over by the Commissioner [?] Receiver General of his Majesty's revenue, to the Board of First Fruits, to be by them applied in such manner as they shall think proper

[*end of cancelled section*]

in building school houses, including accomodation [*sic*] for the master or mistress, for the purposes of this act, not exceeding £100 for any one school house as aforesaid -

Provided always - that no such school house shall be erected in any place by the said Board of First Fruits except where a grant shall have been made of one acre of ground at the least, in perpetuity, to the said Board of First Fruits, for the site, and accomodation [*sic*] of such school - Every which grant of one acre of ground to be void unless a schoolhouse shall be built thereon within two years after the making of said grant - And provided that in case such school house shall remain unoccupied as a school house for five or more scholars for the space of five years that then,

and thereafter the said land, and the buildings thereon shall revert to the [use] of the possessor of said lands, or to his or their legal representative forever, upon repayment to the Board of First Fruits of one half of the original cost of said buildings - Be it further enacted - That where a school for the education of Protestants [or of Catholics - cancelled] only, or of Protestant, and Catholic children conjointly, be erected, the master or mistress of said school shall be appointed annually by the protestant clergyman of said parish or union of parishes under a certificate of good character, and capacity, from two Justices of the Peace of the county where the said parish or union of parishes is situate, & of five freeholders of said County -

And in case - the said school shall be intended for the education of Catholic children only, then the master or mistress of said school shall be appointed annually at Easter by the Catholic clergyman of said parish or union of parishes, under the certificate for good behaviour, and capacity of two magistrates & of five freeholders of said County -

And for the encouragement and support of the masters, or mistresses of said schools; that a salary not exceeding seven pounds per annum at the least, shall be paid by the said Board of First Fruits to the master of each of said schools, or to the mistress thereof if a mistress only shall be appointed thereto -

And the further sum of five pounds for every twenty children who shall appear by the oath of the said master or mistress to have attended such school in the preceding year for three hours at the least, in each day during 150 days at the least within such year, to be assessed on the said parish or union at any Vestry, and to be levied in the same manner as other parish Cesses, by the church-wardens of said parish or union -

And be it further enacted - that for the space of five years no books shall be used in said schools, but such as shall have been previously approved of by persons appointed for that purpose by the Lord Lieutenant for the time being -

provided always - that no master or mistress of any catholic school shall be required to use any book in his or her school which shall be disapproved of by the majority of the catholic clergy of the county where he or she resides -

[*The above paragraph has a thick line drawn through it. It is impossible to say whether this indicates a cancellation or whether the line was made by accident. Certainly in other cancelled passages in this draft bill there is no doubt of the authors' intentions. Every line is scored through, sometimes quite heavily.*

Also, in these cases, the cancelled passage is followed by a substitute which has not happened in this instance.]

[*In another hand – heavily altered*]

And be it enacted that all tenants for life with rem^{d} to the first & other sons in tail shall & are hereby empowered to make fee farm Grants or leases in perpetuity to the Board of First Fruits of any quantity of Ground not exceeding one acre at a peppercorn rent for the purposes aforesaid – which fee farm Grant & Lease or leases the Board of First Fruits shall & are hereby empowered to take for building & erecting the school house or houses[.]

[The draft bill was discovered amongst Edgeworth's family papers and was published as part of the article in *The Irish Journal of Education* cited above. It is reproduced here by kind permission of the editors of *The Irish Journal of Education*.]

II.2 Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1812.

In 1806 a statutory commission of inquiry on Irish education was created and like the earlier 1791 commission it undertook a review of all aspects of the Irish educational system. Its findings, published in fourteen reports between 1806 and 1812, are a valuable source of detailed information on the network of schools and institutions then in existence. The last of these reports (fourteenth) was very influential on subsequent official educational policy. It recommended that a central board of commissioners be appointed to administer government grants for education to create new schools, to control all textbooks to be used, and to establish training institutions for teachers. More important still, the report stressed that any effective and acceptable system of education in Ireland would have to be based on the principle of united secular and separate religious instruction.

. . . We have applied our efforts to the framing of a system, which, whilst it shall afford the opportunities of education to every description of the lower classes of the people, may at the same time, by keeping clear of all interference with the particular religious tenets of any, induce the whole to receive its benefits as one undivided body, under one and the same system, and in the same establishments.

That the present establishments for the instruction of the lower orders, though extremely numerous, are inadequate as a system of genèral education, we were fully convinced in the course of our inquiries into their extent and condition: and their insufficiency, we have reason to believe, is very imperfectly supplied by the unendowed schools, though their number appears, by the returns made

to government in the year 1808, to bear as great a proportion everywhere to the population, as in most other parts of the United Kingdom; so that if they were duly attended to, and under the care of masters properly qualified, the lower orders of this country would have less reason, perhaps, to complain of their education being neglected, than those of England, or even of Scotland itself; at the same time we are encouraged by this circumstance to hope, that if a scheme for such improvement were judiciously planned, and carefully executed, it would meet with very general success, from the favourable disposition, and strong desire for instruction prevailing universally among those to whom the means of obtaining a more complete and effectual course of it would thus, we may presume, be not more frankly offered, than cordially accepted.

That such will be its acceptance we shall indulge the more confident expectation, if all interference with the particular religious tenets of those who are to receive that instruction shall in the first instance be unequivocally disclaimed, and effectually guarded against. We conceive this to be of essential importance in any new establishments for the education of the lower classes in Ireland, and we venture to express our unanimous opinion, that no such plan, however wisely and unexceptionably contrived in other respects, can be carried into effectual execution in this country, unless it be explicitly avowed, and clearly understood, as its leading principle, that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians: How a strict forebearance from any such attempt may be rendered consistent with a considerable degree of religious instruction in general, we trust may appear in the sequel of this report, to the proper subject of which we shall proceed to solicit your Grace's attention, after a short recapitulation of the subjects and substance of the reports which we have already presented, and a review of what may be considered as the present state and extent of the several provisions for the education of the lower classes, as deduced from those reports, and from the returns of the un-endowed schools already alluded to; observing, however, that to these must be added a considerable number of Roman Catholic seminaries in various parts of Ireland, particularly in great towns, supported principally, we believe, by bequests, private contributions, and subscriptions, but of which we have not any accurate returns.

. . . . . .

That instruction, except in a very few instances, extends no farther than reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic; and the prices paid are on an average ten shillings per annum for reading, seventeen shillings and four pence, where writing, and one pound six shillings where arithmetic is added: but even this limited instruction the masters are in general very ill-qualified to give, have been themselves taught in schools of a similar description, and consequently deficient in information, unacquainted with regular plans of education, and unaccustomed to that discipline, from the steady and temperate enforcement of which some of the best advantages of education are derived.

The poverty of the lower classes of the people, which limits the recompense of the masters to the low rates above mentioned, and thus holds out no temptation to a better class to undertake the office of instructors, produces effects if possible still worse, by incapacitating them from purchasing such books as are fit for children to read: whence it frequently happens that instead of being improved by religious and moral instruction, their minds are corrupted by books calculated to incite to lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition, or to lead to dissension or disloyalty.

From the facts here stated, we conceive it clearly to appear, that the lower class of the people in Ireland are extremely anxious to obtain instruction for their children, even at an expense, which though small, very many of them can ill afford; and there is a circumstance to which we beg leave to call your Grace's attention, that puts this desire in a yet stronger point of view – we mean the existence of evening schools, established (and in one parish there are eleven of them) for the instruction of those children whose service during the day their parents could not afford to lose.

Were it therefore even admitted that the benefits of education are not to the lower classes of the people as great as we conceive them to be, yet the necessity of assisting in obtaining it for them in this country would not be diminished, but increased; for such education as has been objected to under the idea of its leading to evil rather than to good, they are actually obtaining for themselves; and though we conceive it practicable to correct it, to check its progress appears impossible – it may be improved, but it cannot be impeded.

• • • • • •

For the purpose of ascertaining more exactly the number of those supplementary schools – for selecting proper situations for erecting

and establishing them where wanted – for prescribing the mode of education to be pursued – and for the general superintendence of them, we are of opinion, that a board of commissioners, . . . should be appointed, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, empowering them to receive and dispose of Parliamentary grants for building and endowing schools – to purchase or accept conveyances for the sites of such schools – to decide, in the last resort, on the appointment, conduct, and dismissal of masters – to prescribe the course and mode of education – to provide for the expense of furnishing books – and to have a general control over the whole of the proposed establishments for the instruction of the lower classes.

The first object which we would recommend to the attention of this Board would be, as we have already mentioned, to ascertain from the information which they will collect, as well as from the examination of that already in our possession, in what situations it may be proper to proceed to the establishment of supplementary schools. It may at this early period be premature to attempt to form any estimate of the expense of founding and endowing such schools, as the number that may be required can be but vaguely conjectured; we may however be allowed, from a view of the scale upon which the Governors of Erasmus Smith's Schools are now proceeding in the foundation of similar establishments, and which seems to have been adopted on sufficient consideration, to estimate that each school would be a charge on the Government of about five hundred pounds for building, exclusive of the purchase of sites, and an annual salary of £30 for the master of each.

Some time, perhaps, must elapse before the Commissioners can have procured the necessary information, to prepare them for entering on the part of their duty we have been last describing. But that interval may be most usefully employed in forwarding a measure of the highest importance to the success of any plan of national instruction, we mean, that of preparing a sufficient number of teachers, competently qualified to convey that instruction.

. . . . . .

In their choice of situation for the supplementary schools, the Commissioners should be directed not solely by the apparent necessity for them, from the want of proper, or of any schools, but partly by the facilities afforded for a proper establishment for the master, and partly by the prospect of their succeeding to such a

degree as to hold out example and encouragement for their farther progress and success.

We are willing to hope that in schools thus advantageously situated, the general adoption of, and a steady adherence to, a course of education manifestly superior in its mode and objects of instruction, and uniting a careful attention to moral and religious principles, with an evident purpose of respecting the peculiar tenets of different sects of christians, would excite at first in their immediate neighbourhood, and by degrees in every part of Ireland, a strong prepossession in favour of such establishments, and effectually obviate any prejudices that might have been entertained against them.

During the period in which the Commissioners may be employed in the preparatory inquiries already alluded to, their attention may also be directed to the selection of proper books for the use of all the schools under their management; it being our opinion that nothing should be taught in any of them without the express approbation of the Commissioners, nor any book introduced which has not been sanctioned by them; and from the execution of this part of the plan we anticipate advantages of the utmost importance to the whole country, inasmuch as we cannot doubt that the books thus prepared will, by degrees, be universally adopted in every school, whether public or private: and while education is thus facilitated by an uniform system of instruction, the evils arising from the want of proper books adapted to the inferior schools will be removed, and the children no longer exposed to the corruption of morals and perversion of principles too often arising from the books actually in use.

In such selection of books for the new schools, we doubt not but it will be found practicable to introduce not only a number of books, in which moral principles will be inculcated in such a manner as is likely to make deep and lasting impressions on the youthful mind, but also ample extracts from the sacred scriptures themselves, an early acquaintance with which we deem of the utmost importance, and indeed indispensable in forming the mind to just notions of duty and sound principles of conduct.

[*Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland, pursuant to Act 43, Geo.3, c.122. Fourteenth, View of the Chief Foundations with some general remarks,* 1812-13 (21) v. The fourteen reports (pursuant to Act 43, Geo.3, c.122 as above numerated), from 1809-1812/13 reprinted in a series with an Index; 1813-14 (47) v.]

II.3 The hedge schools.

During the first three decades of the 19th century most Irish children received their education outside the official system, despite the government's ever-increasing support for various educational bodies and societies.

A widespread and unofficial educational system had come into being in response to the penal laws of the 18th century, and its schools, popularly termed hedge schools (or payschools), continued to receive support from the catholic and dissenting populations following the catholic relief acts. Contrary to popular belief they were not universally held in hedgerows, more often than not they assembled in the simple residence of the master, or, if he were an itinerant, of a family.

II.3(a) Carleton's description of a hedge school.

This extract is from *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,* a series of short stories by William Carleton (b. 1794), who had attended hedge schools and was himself a hedgeschool master.

. . . Having posted this document upon the chapel-door, and in all the public places and cross roads of the parish, Mat considered himself as having done his duty. He now began to teach, and his school continued to increase to his heart's content, every day bringing him fresh scholars. In this manner he flourished till the beginning of winter, when those boys who, by the poverty of their parents, had been compelled to go to service to the neighbouring farmers, flocked to him in numbers, quite voracious for knowledge. An addition was consequently built to the school-house, which was considerably too small; so that, as Christmas approached, it would be difficult to find a more numerous or merry establishment under the roof of a hedge school. But it is time to give an account of its interior.

The reader will then be pleased to picture to himself such a house as I have already described – in a line with the hedge; the eave of the back roof within a foot of the ground behind it; a large hole exactly in the middle of the *riggin,* as a chimney; immediately under which is an excavation in the floor, burned away by a large fire of turf, loosely heaped together. This is surrounded by a circle of urchins, sitting on the bare earth, stones, and hassocks, and exhibiting a series of speckled shins, all radiating towards the fire, like sausages on a *Poloni* dish. There they are – wedged as close as they can sit; one with half a thigh off his breeches – another with half an arm off his tattered coat – a third without breeches at all,

wearing, as a substitute, a piece of his mother's old petticoat, pinned about his loins - a fourth, no coat - a fifth, with a cap on him, because he has got a scald, from having sat under the juice of fresh hung bacon - a sixth with a black eye - a seventh two rags about his heels to keep his kibes clean - an eighth crying to get home, because he had got a headache, though it may be as well to hint, that there is a drag-hunt to start from beside his father's in the course of the day. In this ring, with his legs stretched in a most lordly manner, sits, upon a deal chair, Mat himself, with his hat on, basking in the enjoyment of unlimited authority. His dress consists of a black coat, considerably in want of repair, transferred to his shoulders through the means of a clothes-broker in the county-town; a white cravat, round a large stuffing, having that part which comes in contact with the chin somewhat streaked with brown - a black waistcoat, with one or two 'tooth-an'-egg' metal buttons sewed on where the original had fallen off - black corduroy inexpressibles, twice dyed, and sheep's-gray stockings. In his hand is a large, broad ruler, the emblem of his power, the woeful instrument of executive justice, and the signal of terror to all within his jurisdiction. In a corner below is a pile of turf, where on entering, every boy throws his two sods, with a *hitch* from under his left arm. He then comes up to the master, catches his forelock with finger and thumb, and bobs down his head, by way of making him a bow, and goes to his seat. Along the walls on the ground is a series of round stones, some of them capped with a straw collar or hassock, on which the boys sit; others have bosses, and many of them hobs - a light but compact kind of boggy substance found on the mountains. On these several of them sit; the greater number of them, however, have no seats whatsoever, but squat themselves down, without compunction, on the hard floor. Hung about, on wooden pegs driven into the walls, are the shapeless yellow *caubeens* of such as can boast the luxury of a hat, or caps made of goat or hare skin, the latter having the ears of the animal rising ludicrously over the temples, or cocked out at the sides, and the scut either before or behind, according to the taste or the humour of the wearer. The floor, which is only swept every Saturday, is strewed over with tops of quills, pens, pieces of broken slate, and tattered leaves of 'Reading made Easy', or fragments of old copies. In one corner is a knot engaged at 'Fox and Geese', or the 'Walls of Troy' on their slates; in another, a pair of them are 'fighting bottles', which consists in striking the bottoms together, and he whose bottle breaks first, of course, loses. Behind the master is a third set, playing 'heads and points' - a game of pins. Some are more industriously

employed in writing their copies, which they perform seated on the ground, with their paper on a copy-board – a piece of planed deal, the size of the copy, an appendage now nearly exploded – their cheek-bones laid within half an inch of the left side of the copy, and the eye set to guide the motion of the hand across, and to regulate straightness of the lines and the forms of the letters. Others, again, of the more grown boys, are working their sums with becoming industry. In a dark corner are a pair of urchins thumping each other, their eyes steadily fixed on the master, lest he might happen to glance in that direction. Near the master himself are the larger boys, from twenty-two to fifteen – shaggy-headed slips, with loose-breasted shirts lying open about their bare chests; ragged colts, with white, dry, bristling beards upon them, that never knew a razor; strong stockings on their legs; heavy brogues, with broad, nail-paved soles; and breeches open at the knees. Nor is the establishment without a competent number of females. These were, for the most part, the daughters of wealthy farmers, who considered it necessary to their respectability, that they should not be altogether illiterate; such a circumstance being a considerable drawback, in the opinion of an admirer, from the character of a young woman for whom he was about to propose – a drawback, too, which was always weighty in proportion to her wealth or respectability.

[William Carleton, *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,* London, 1843, pp. 293-302.]

II.3(b) An Ulster hedge school.

Rev. Dr. Henry Cooke (b.1788), the outspoken leader of Ulster Presbyterianism in the first half of the nineteenth century, was first educated in a payschool near his home, not far from Maghera, Co. Londonderry.

Mrs. Cooke's means of instructing her son were not, unfortunately, commensurate with her wishes. To send him from home was beyond her power; and at the close of last century the educational resources of a remote country district in Ireland were very limited. Henry, however, had the best elementary training available. The first school he attended was at Ballymacilcurr, a mile from his father's house. It was a fair sample of the infant schools of the country and the period. The house was a thatched cabin. The seats were black oak sticks from the neighbouring bog. A fire of peat blazed or rather smoked in the middle of the floor, and a hole in the roof overhead served for a chimney. The teacher was a Mr.

Joseph Pollock, or Poak, as he was familiarly called – a tall lanky Scotchman – distinguished by an enormous nose, a tow wig, a long coat of rusty black, leather tights, grey stockings, brogues and a formidable hazel rod. On ocasions of state, such as the hearing of one of the advanced scholars or a judicial investigation of some mad prank, the Master was accustomed to raise the hazel rod to his shoulder and with a grand air place astride his nose a huge pair of black horn spectacles. Thus equipped he felt himself a king, and the urchins trembled at his rod.

But notwithstanding his uncouth exterior Poak was an excellent teacher, as teachers were in those days. He was a Presbyterian of the straitest sect, and religious training was, in his honest mind, an essential part of a boy's education. On Saturdays he taught the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments to the whole school. Psalms were prescribed for Sunday tasks and had to be repeated on Monday morning. Catechisms were enforced without exception and without distinction. The Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Divines, the Church Catechism and the Christian Doctrine of the Roman Catholics were taught to the members of the respective sects. No child was suffered to escape. The hazel rod left an unpleasant memorial of every forgotten answer.

[From J. L. Porter, *The life and times of Henry Cooke, D.D., LL.D., President of Assembly's College, Belfast*, London, 1871, pp. 3-4.]

II.3(c) 'Poor scholars'.

Some of the hedge schools offered a wide range of subjects and achieved high standards. Robert Bell, writing of the Irish peasantry in 1804, was scathingly critical of the low standards prevalent in schools and of the ignorance of many hedge schoolmasters. Yet he also tells us of the wide curricula and classical traditions which existed in the system.

. . . (The Reader) will hardly believe that the sons of some of the most indigent and obscure peasants in Ireland were able to study and become acquainted with the best Greek and Roman authors; that they had taste to discriminate the beauties contained in them; and frequently conversed with each other in the Latin language; which (by the bye) they spoke much more correctly than English. It was no uncommon thing to see poor lads who had left their homes without shoes or stockings, or perhaps the smallest sum of money in their pockets, wandering through the country in search of scholastic instruction, and living on the bounty of those whom they had applied to for relief, which was hardly ever refused

them. In this latter circumstance they were distinguished from all other mendicants, as well as in the compassionate attention they experienced from most people. - They called themselves *poor scholars*: and that name was always a sufficient passport for a temporary lodging and entertainment in the house of any peasant, whose hospitable spirit the cold hand of want had not extinguished. They were hardly ever refused admittance into any school; where they were instructed gratuitously; and of which the master took care they should not be reproached for their poverty. In return for this kindness, after they had made some progress, they assisted in teaching the younger boys. The part of Ireland to which poor scholars chiefly resorted was Munster; because in that province the classical scholars were always the best and the most numerous. The ultimate object which they had in view was that of being admitted into the Romish Priesthood.

[From Robert Bell, *Description of the condition and manners as well as the moral and political character, education, etc. of the peasantry of Ireland, such as they were between the years 1780 and 1790 when Ireland was supposed to have arrived at its highest degree of prosperity and happiness,* London, 1804, pp. 41-2.]

II.4 Religious foundations.

Many religious orders, some Irish and others from abroad, have provided schools at primary and post-primary levels in Ireland, and continue to provide it. If our pages were allocated to the founders of schools in proportion to the scale on which they contributed to Irish education, the orders could claim vastly more space than they receive.

II.4(a) The Irish Christian Brothers.

The Irish Christian Brothers and the Irish Sisters of Mercy have, in particular, worked where need was greatest and resources slightest. Edmund Rice, founder of the Christian Brothers, set out in a letter of 1810 to the archbishop of Cashel the 'regulations' governing the schools under his charge.

1. Our schools open at nine o'clock in the morning, at which time the business of the masters, who attend punctually, commences.
2. The boys whom we instruct are thus classified: (a) those who are sufficiently advanced to read tolerably well, and others who are learning arithmetic, grammar, etc., occupy the upper room; (b) the lower room is for such as are taught reading, spelling, and writing on slates.
3. The boys in the upper room are arranged, as far as possible,

according to their degrees of improvement at double desks, with twelve in each desk. Over each desk a superintendent is appointed, who keeps an account of those committed to his care, and sees that they attend to their duties. The desks are divided into different groups or sections, each of which is under the care of a master.

4. In the morning the superintendents or monitors of each section, having prepared the copy books of the boys under their care, bring them to their respective masters to have copy lines written in and pens prepared for writing. While the boys are waiting for their copy books they are engaged in preparing their lessons for the day. The writing commences at the same time as closely as possible, so that the masters may visit their respective desks, observe defects, and give particular directions relative to writing properly according to approved methods.

5. After the copies are written reading lessons commence, the boys of each desk coming up according to their turn. The books made use of are 'Gahan's History of the Old and New Testament'. Comments are made, and familiar moral instructions given by the masters to the classes in the course of the lesson. While one class reads and receives instruction, the other class works at arithmetic or some other subject.

6. At an appointed time the monitors examine the boys in the desks for which they are responsible in catechism, spellings, and other lessons, and report to the masters on the result.

7. At the half-hour before twelve o'clock the bell is rung for general moral instruction. At this time one of the masters whose turn it is, having all the boys assembled, explains the catechism, or gives instructions suited to the capacity of the children from 'Gobinet's Christian Instruction', or other books that are deemed suitable.

8. When the clock strikes twelve the Angelus and Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity, are recited with a few other devotional prayers. The boys are then dismissed, and the school closes until one o'clock.

9. At one o'clock the school re-opens, and the exercises for the afternoon until three o'clock, are similar to those of the morning, as closely as time will permit.

10. At three the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, the Salve Regina, and a few other prayers are said. The boys are then dismissed, and the school closes for the day.

11. When out of school the boys are not allowed to play or keep company with other boys who do not belong to the school.

12. The children in the lower room are arranged according to

their degree of improvement, as in the upper room. The boys write on slates in the desks. The desks are single, and seven sit at each desk. Monitors are appointed over each group, as in the upper room. Such assistants are, in fact, found so necessary that they are made use of down even to the lowest classes.

13. The masters commence the business of the morning by writing headlines for their classes. The headline for the boys of each desk is the same, the boys who are nearly equal in improvement and ability being kept together. The boys of each class write the copies set for them four or five times, and always when finished request the masters to inspect them.

14. The masters give instructions in spelling, reading, and writing, so that the boys get two lessons at least daily. They are examined by the master, or monitor if he is competent, in catechism, spellings, etc., which they have had time to prepare.

15. Familiar moral instructions, suited to the capacity of the children, are given by the masters occasionally at the time of reading, but there is no general religious instruction, as in the upper room. The time appointed for that purpose is employed in teaching prayers and catechism to the most backward. At twelve o'clock prayers are said, as in the upper room, and the children dismissed. The afternoon is occupied in a similar way.

16. The slates used are ruled on one side with a sharply-pointed piece of iron, so that the ruling is permanent. The other side is unruled, and is used for arithmetic.

17. General examinations of the copies, sums, etc., are made twice a week in the upper room, and awards given according to merit. More general examinations are held three times a year, and such as are found most deserving receive gifts proportional to their progress.

18. In the reading lesson each boy reads about a page and a half, whilst the others of his desk stand with their books open, listen attentively, and correct him when necessary.

19. Unless for some very serious fault, which rarely occurs, corporal punishment is not allowed.

20. One boy has charge of the school library, and distributes the books to the monitors every Friday, having first made a careful entry of the books intended for his section. This is done easily and expeditiously, as the books are numbered and classified. The monitors are responsible for the books they receive, and on the following Friday morning they return them to the librarian. The monitors distribute them to the boys, giving the most deserving the first choice. Each monitor keeps a record of the books he gives out,

and as these rules are observed strictly, we rarely lose a book.

21. We also supply boys who are bound as apprentices in the city with pious books. These boys are expected to go to the Sacraments once a month. Some are allowed by their confessors to go more frequently.

22. The confessions of all the children are heard four times a year, on July 15th, October 15th, April 15th and January 15th. Should anything intervene to prevent their being heard on any of these days, they are heard the following day, or on some day appointed.

23. The boys read the library books for their parents at night and on Sundays and holidays, and instruct them otherwise, when they can do it with prudence. From this, through God's mercy and goodness, we find much good to result.

24. We have a clock in each class-room, and every time it strikes a moment's silence is observed all over the room; then each boy makes the Sign of the Cross, says the Hail Mary, and makes a pious short aspiration which lasts about a minute. All then bless themselves again and resume work.

[Reproduced in *Edmund Rice and the Christian Brothers,* by a Christian Brother (William Mark McCarthy), Dublin, 1927, pp. 131-133. Original in archives of the archdiocese of Cashel and Emly.]

II.4(b) The Irish Sisters of Mercy.

Catherine McAuley, founder of the Sisters of Mercy, wrote to Cardinal Cappellari, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in 1830, some years after her work had begun at the House of Mercy in Baggot Street, Dublin, seeking church recognition for her and her associates as a new religious congregation.

Sister McAuley of Dublin, most humble suppliant of your Most Reverend Eminence, represents most respectfully that in the year 1828 she with the previous approbation of the Most Reverend Dr. Murray, Archbishop, and under his protection, founded at her own expense a pious house after the manner of a convent in which she and others associated with her pursuing the same end, occupy themselves in the following charitable works, viz.:

1. They employ themselves in striving as much as they possibly can to give a christian and truly Roman Catholic education to poor wretched girls who could not otherwise procure or obtain it.

2. They bring together and lodge poor servant-girls who owing to the prejudice of heretical employers or other misfortunes find

themselves deprived of employment, as well as others who, though they have some trade or profession, are unfortunately not able to find work and therefore stand in need of food and help.

3. They visit the hospitals and there serve and assist the sick, performing for them the most necessary and useful services: all of which works of charity they exercise in the true spirit of religion and obedience.

But, for all that, they do not feel happy and content, seeing that they have not got one thing most necessary, namely the approbation and beneplacitum of the Holy Apostolic See, in consequence of which many devout persons who would be inclined to embrace an institute so laudable do not join it, and some who have already joined it live constantly in the greatest perturbation and doubt.

In this state of affairs your suppliant, in the name also of her associates, has recourse to the well-known piety and zeal of your Most Reverend Eminence, humbly praying you to deign to obtain from the Holiness of Our Lord, Pius VIII, now happily reigning, such faculties and graces as your exceptional ability and signal prudence will deem most opportune and beneficial for the establishment, confirmation and further encouragement of this devout community, and thus to animate them to follow up and accomplish this undertaking of theirs, which has been so well begun and tends wholly to the greater glory of God and the good of the neighbour. And they will not fail to join in praying the Most High to grant Your Eminence still longer years, greater success and further promotion.

[Roland Burke Savage, S.J., M.A., *Catherine McAuley: the first Sister of Mercy*, Dublin, 1949, pp. 412-3 (from an original in Archbishop's House, Dublin).]

II.4(c) The Religious Society of Friends.

Quakers sought to express their ideals and preserve their identity by founding several schools. Though distinctive in some ways, it is clear from the following extract that however the schools of the established Church of Ireland, of the religious orders, and of the Society of Friends may have differed in idiom, there was a similarity in their concept of the religious role of the school.

SCHOOL MASTER AND MISTRESS

1. The schools to open, in the summer season at seven, and in the winter at half past seven o'clock, or as soon after as may be, and continue until the bell rings for breakfast. At the opening of

the schools in the morning, the teachers shall cause a portion of the Scriptures to be read therein: after breakfast the schools are to open at half past nine, from half past eleven till twelve is allowed for the children to get nunchion, and to close at half past one o'clock; after dinner to open at half past three and to close at five o'clock in winter, and at six o'clock, in summer.

2. The master and mistress are to take care, that the children come into their respective schools when the bell rings, in a quiet, becoming manner, that they be clean and neat in their apparel, their hands and faces clean, and their hair combed, and that they take their seats at the time appointed.

3. The children are to be instructed in the principles of truth, as professed by Friends. The boys are to be taught spelling, reading, grammar, geography, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, and if required mathematics.

4. The girls are to be taught spelling, reading, grammar, geography, writing, and arithmetic; also sewing, marking, and knitting, and to make and mend their own apparel, and the house linen; also to make shirts for the boys.

5. The master and mistress are to endeavour to find out, if any thing has been particularly neglected, in the education of those children who are under their care, that the course of instruction may be suited accordingly.

6. They or their assistants, are to have the care of the children out of school.

7. If after advice and admonition have been imparted, and the due exercise of patience, correction should ever appear necessary, it is desired, when it shall be administered, that it be with coolness and moderation, in a way suitable to the nature of the fault, and in the presence of the superintendent or mistress of the family. If any instance of improper conduct should occur, whereby it might be necessary to remove the transgressor, the superintendent, with the approbation of the friends of Mountmellick appointed for him to consult with, may have such child removed, and he is to inform the Committee thereof, at its next meeting.

8. The master and mistress are advised particularly to endeavour, through divine assistance, early to impress upon the minds of the children, the necessity of a strict adherence to truth, an abhorrence of falsehood, and the remembrance of their Creator, in the days of their youth, that having the fear of the Lord before their eyes, which would preserve under the various temptations, to which they are incident, and lead to the enjoyment of real happiness; having a conscience void of offence, towards God, and towards men.

RULES AND ADVICES TO BE STRICTLY OBSERVED BY THE CHILDREN AT THE SCHOOL

1. That they rise at half-past six in the morning in summer, and seven in winter, and dress themselves quietly and orderly, endeavouring to begin the day in the fear of the Lord, which is a fountain of life, preserving from the snares of death.

2. That they wash their faces and hands, and at the ringing of the bell collect themselves in order, and come decently into school, and take their seats in a becoming manner, without noise or hurry.

3. That they refrain from talking and whispering in school, and that when repeating their lessons to the master or mistress, they speak audibly and distinctly.

4. That they shall not be absent from school, nor go out of bounds without leave.

5. That when the bell rings for breakfast, dinner, or supper, they assemble in silence, and in due order, having their faces and hands clean, and their hair combed, and so proceed quietly into the dining room.

6. That they observe a solemn silence before and after meals, under a grateful sense of the bounty they daily receive from the Father of Mercies; that they eat their food decently, be careful not to waste any of it; and refrain from conversation.

7. That they never tell a lie, use the sacred name irreverently, or mock the aged or deformed; that whenever they are spoken to, they give attention, and with their faces turned towards those that speak to them, make the necessary reply, in a modest and audible manner; but always careful to speak consistent with their knowledge, and to express themselves in as few, and as comprehensive words as they are able.

8. That they avoid all rudeness to one another, and that they behave with mildness and kindness to each other: they are enjoined when at play to observe moderation and decency; that they do not run in the house, but walk uprightly, and when shutting the doors, to do so quietly: that they avoid on all occasions doing mischief to any person or animal; to their apartments, or the furniture, or to any article they have to do with.

9. That they neither buy, sell, give nor exchange without leave; and that they strictly avoid gaming of all kinds.

10. That they observe a sober and becoming behaviour when going to, coming from, and whilst in religious meetings; that they sit still therein, labouring after composure of mind; and guard against the wanderings of their thoughts, or a drowsy disposition:

and secretly desire a preparation of heart to worship aright.

11. That they conduct themselves respectfully to all, more especially to those who have the care of them, cherishing an affection and esteem for them, always ready to do any service required of them, without reluctance or gloom. That they be kind and affectionate to their school-fellows, and if they imagine they have received any injury, by no means to resent it, but be willing to forgive and forget, and that in all cases they observe the command of Christ 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.'

12. That whenever they have committed a fault, either through inadvertence or otherwise, they stand open to the discovery of it, candidly acknowledge it, showing a disposition to give all the satisfaction in their power, by which they will ensure forgiveness; and by their future improvement, the friendship of their caretakers and best companions.

13. That they constantly use the plain language correctly, and encourage each other therein, and in simplicity of heart, behaviour, and appearance; in a consistency of conduct with their profession; and that they carefully attend to that principle of grace, in the secret of their own minds, which reproves for every bad thought, word, or action.

14. That in the evening they assemble, and take their seats in the dining room, and after attending to such parts of the Holy Scriptures, or other religious books, as may be read to them they retire to their bed-chambers; quietly undress themselves, and lay aside their clothes in an orderly manner, go to, and remain in their own beds, and avoid all idle discourse. They are tenderly advised to close, as well as to begin the day, with remembering their gracious Creator, whose mercies are over all his world.

And finally, that they prefer divine favour and acceptance, which are manifest by the secret evidence of peace, to all human approbation; and ever bear in remembrance that if they walk so circumspectly as to obtain this, they must feel their daily dependence upon the fountain of all good, for wisdom and strength, and that for every additional mercy and favour, they ought to become more and more humble, in consideration of their own unworthiness, and that nothing that is truly good is at their command.

[*Rules for the government of Leinster provisional school,* Dublin, 1816, pp. 15-18.]

II.5 Sunday Schools.

The disruption of traditional social patterns following the industrial

revolution and the evangelical revival of the late 18th century prompted many in Britain to use mass education as a method of social control and moral improvement. The Sunday School was the *modus operandi* of this movement, and by 1786 it spread to Ireland. In 1809 the Hibernian Sunday Society (later renamed the Sunday School Society for Ireland) was founded to support the increasing number of schools and by 1824 over 1600 schools were in connection with it.

HINTS FOR CONDUCTING SUNDAY SCHOOLS

. . . if it be asked *what are the effects to* be expected from these Schools, and from this system altogether? it may be answered, that from such a system, *made general,* the benefits to be expected both here and hereafter to individuals, as well as to society at large, are in every point of view incalculable. But without indulging in speculations, many of which cannot, perhaps, be duly appreciated on this side of eternity, past and present experience may be consulted. The practical benefits which *have resulted* are such as it might appear exaggeration to describe. In places where the system has been properly supported and persevered in, persons of every rank and class in society have borne testimony, in the course of their correspondence with this Society, to the truth of this assertion, and on this ground the claim of Sunday Schools to public encouragement may safely rest.

The Sabbath no longer wasted, or profaned, as the day for idle sports, and petty depredations, but becomingly appropriated to its intended object, the acquisition of religious knowledge, and the enjoyment of devotional feeling; children trained up in principles of Christianity; parents awakened or reclaimed, by the lessons and example of their offspring; the general habits, sentiments, and manners, of the poor improved, refined, and civilized; industry excited; economy, cleanliness, and domestic comforts of every kind, promoted; the labours of parochial and other ministers facilitated and lightened, and their flocks prepared to receive with benefit their exhortations; laws respected and obeyed; a people taught the only sure foundation of all duty, the only steadfast principle on which the authority of the magistrate, and the rights, the lives, and properties of individuals, can with any security depend; these are amongst the obvious consequences of an *universal establishment* of Sunday Schools. Nor is this all: even teachers themselves, many moral and benevolent persons who have undertaken this office, have first learned to feel the genuine influence of religious truth, while thus labouring to impress upon the minds of their pupils the Scriptures which contain it. A bond of mutual

affection too, has thus been formed; and an influence which may last through life, acquired over the minds of the children, by persons both *disposed* to exert it with advantage, and also, more or less *committed* and *engaged* to do so, in justice to their own past labours, and in consistency with the maxims which they have taught. A general spirit of improvement has also been excited among all ranks. The rich have been brought acquainted with the wants, and actual circumstances, of their poorer neighbours, and induced to establish various other institutions for their relief.

Nor is this last to be reckoned among the least of the advantages resulting from the Sunday School system – this friendly approach of all orders towards each other; not levelling the distinction of ranks, but uniting and promoting the interests of all; removing the prejudices of the one; encouraging the efforts, softening the asperities, and engaging the affections of the other. When the Nobility and Gentry of this country, each in their own neighbourhood, and particular sphere, shall feel it at once a duty and a pleasure to instruct and civilize the people, who, in the various relations of tenants, and dependants, are placed under their immediate charge, then the effects which we have described and greater effects than we have even ventured to suppose, may not be far distant.

Again, if it be asked what benefit can children possibly derive from a few short hours attendance at School, and *that*, upon but one day in the week? Here facts and experience furnish an answer. *Mere Sunday scholars are often found to make a more rapid progress than Daily scholars.* This circumstance, can in part be accounted for, by the following considerations. The Teachers of Sunday Schools act in general gratuitously; impelled by conscientious principle and sense of duty, they labour with superior and unwearied zeal, to impress upon their scholars that knowledge, and those truths, whose importance they themselves so strongly feel; while the children, on their part, press forward with something of correspondent ardour, engaged and encouraged by the friendly earnestness which these evince, and aware of their kind disinterested motives – circumstances, which children know well how to appreciate, even where they are unacquainted, as at first, with the importance of the object.

[From *Hints for conducting Sunday schools; useful also for day schools and families. Compiled by the committee of the Sunday School Society for Ireland*, 3rd ed., London, 1822, pp. 4-7.]

II.6 The Kildare Place Society.

One of the earliest of Irish Sunday Schools was opened at School Street, in St. Catherine's parish in Dublin in 1786, and by 1808 an associated weekly school was established. The schools had successfully united children of all denominations. Its supporters, mainly Protestant and Quaker businessmen, were anxious to extend an educational provision to the poor of Ireland. In Britain the social and religious movements which had stimulated the growth of Sunday Schools encouraged many private educational provisions, the two most notable societies involved being the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (usually termed the 'National Society') and the Royal Lancastrian Institution for the Education of the Poor of Every Religious Persuasion founded by Joseph Lancaster and later renamed the British and Foreign School Society.

Encouraged by these developments a group of Dublin businessmen, bankers, and lawyers, including many supporters of the Sunday School project met in December 1811 to form a voluntary society to found schools. Building on the School Street experience the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland had as a basic regulation that the education in the schools it supported would be acceptable to all denominations. This principle had been an important recommendation of the fourteenth Report of the Board of Education and so the Society's application for government grants in 1814 was officially encouraged and quickly accepted, enabling the Society to support schools, train teachers, publish textbooks, organise an efficient inspectorate, and to lay down the basic features of a national educational scheme.

Statement: The Committee of this Society, anxious to make known its principles and objects, and to facilitate the intercourse between it and the Schools in correspondence with the Society, publishes the following Statement, divided into paragraphs for the facility of reference, and containing information and suggestions which may prove useful to all Schools for the Education of the Poor.

1. This Society is a voluntary Association of persons of various religious communions, formed for the purpose of diffusing the blessing of *well-ordered* Education amongst the labouring classes of this country.

2. The leading principle on which it is pledged to act, is to afford the same facilities for Education to every denomnination of christians, without interfering with the peculiar religious opinions of any.

3. With this view the Society is anxious to promote the establish-

ment, and assist in the support of Schools, in which the appointment of Governors and Teachers, and the admission of Scholars, shall be uninfluenced by religious distinctions, and in which the Scriptures without note or comment, shall be read by *all* the Scholars who have attained a suitable proficiency in reading, excluding catechisms and books of religious controversy.

4. Such is the description of Schools which the Society conceives best adapted to *the wants and circumstances of this country*: it is hoped, that in such Seminaries the labouring classes may obtain suitable instruction, without any attempt being made to disturb their religious opinions; and that the children of the poor, being thus associated together without distinction, may thereby learn to regard each other without prejudice, and to indulge a charitable feeling for their neighbours, of whatever religious persuasion they may be.

5. But although an anxious consideration of the circumstances of this country, has convinced the Members of the Institution, that *particular* religious instruction ought not to be introduced into the Schools, during school-hours; yet the Society is fully sensible of the value of such instruction, as forming an indispensable branch of Education; and the mode of instruction recommended by the Society, gives a facility to the parents and pastors of the children, to impart to them such religious instruction as they may think fit, out of school-hours.

6. In other respects the Society does not assume any control over the internal regulations of the Schools which it assists; but it *recommends* that such a system of instruction shall be adopted, as shall enable the Peasant and Artizan to obtain information *suited to their stations in life,* without encroaching materially on their time or their means - that the morals of Pupils and Instructors shall be carefully attended to, and principles of truth and honesty inculcated - that the children shall be accustomed to habits of decency and cleanliness; and that they shall be taught to fix their attention exclusively on whatever business they may be engaged in, and inured to that kind of regular discipline and good order, which is of such essential value to those who must earn their bread by their industry.

7. The Society has established a Model School in Dublin, on an extensive scale, which is intended to exemplify the system of Education recommended by the Society, and also to serve as a seminary for training Schoolmasters.

8. This seminary is open from 15th Oct., in each year to the 1st May in the following year, for the admission of all persons properly

recommended, and desirous of learning the improved method of teaching, without any charge being made for tuition; and also without any condition being imposed as to the regulations of the Schools in which they may afterwards be engaged.

9. The time required to communicate sufficient information in this way, to a man who has been previously qualified to teach in the ordinary manner, is from four to six weeks; and where Masters are to be educated for Schools established on the principles recommended by the Society, and their conduct while attending the Model School shall be deserving of encouragement, the Society will allow a sum of money for the expenses of such persons, whilst travelling to and from Dublin; and during the period of their tuition will maintain them in the Society's House, Kildare-place.

10. As the most perfect system of instruction must be of comparatively little value, where the Master is incompetent, the Society anxiously recommends all persons desirous of having School-masters of their own nomination, trained in the Seminary, to be exceedingly careful in the selection of the individuals for that purpose. Their age should not be less than eighteen, nor more than thirty years: they ought to have a competent knowledge of the rudiments of spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic; in temper they should be patient; in disposition mild, but firm; of diligent habits; of unblemished moral character; and fully convinced of the importance of inculcating on the young mind, a love of decency and cleanliness, of industry, honesty and truth.

11. No person can be admitted into the Model School, and *maintained at the expense of the Society,* who is over thirty-five years of age, and until he shall have been examined by the Superintendent; and if, on such examination, he shall be found deficient in the above qualifications, the Society will not make any grant for his travelling expenses or maintenance. It is therefore *particularly requested,* that no person shall be sent to the Seminary, to be trained as a Master, without being provided with the means of defraying his expenses, in case he should not be qualified for admission, nor is he to leave home until written for.

12. The Society does not at present afford pecuniary aid towards the *building* of School-houses, nor does it assist *very largely* in the support of Schools; but where buildings are erected, and Schools conducted on the principles recommended by the Society, it *contributes to the expense of finishing and fitting up such School-houses, and furnishing them with the necessary apparatus of Desks, Forms, etc., etc., etc. Books of instruction and amusement, Paper, Slates, and Pencils, are also granted to such* Schools on fit occasions.

13. All these articles may be procured at the Depository of the Institution, at *low prices,* for the use of *any School for the instruction of the Poor.*

14. Persons to whom pecuniary grants for Schools are made, are requested to take notice, that the amount of such grants cannot be paid, until a *particular* account of the *actual expenditure* of the amount granted, authenticated by the signatures of two respectable persons residing in the neighbourhood of such Schools, shall have been forwarded to the Committee; and it is necessary that the residences of the individuals signing the certificate should be affixed to the document.

15. With respect to the Books distributed by the Society, it has carefully selected such only as are calculated to convey general instruction and amusement, without imparting or interfering with any *peculiar* religious opinion.

16. When a grant of Books is made to a School, it is not intended that they should be given to the children; – but, that they should become the foundation of a juvenile Library attached to the School, and be lent to the most deserving pupils. A cheap mode of rewarding the meritorious is thus provided, and moral and instructive works, are more likely to be thus read, when lent, than if they were actually the property of those who borrowed them.

17. As the Society cannot, in any instance, do more than *contribute* to the expense of Schools, it is strongly recommended that *local Associations* should be formed for the support of Schools in the neighbourhood of the members of such Associations, and also for the purpose of occasionally inspecting the progress of the scholars and the *conduct of the Masters*: without such superintendence, it is greatly to be feared, there will be many deviations from the system which ought to be strictly adhered to in those Schools.

18. It is also recommended that in all cases the children should be required to pay a *small* sum weekly. By such means, the funds of the School will be augmented; the poor will set a higher value on the instruction imparted to them, than they probably would, if they were entirely indebted to the bounty of others for their education; and a habit of looking to their own exertions for their support, will be cherished in their minds, which will prove of essential value to them throughout life.

19. Printed Queries, to be answered by persons applying for aid for Schools, may be procured at the Society's Depository, Kildare-place; and it required that such Queries shall be answered *on each successive application,* before any grant can be made for School or School-master.

20. It is required that all Books and School-requisites purchased

from the Society, shall be paid for before they are sent from the Depository.

21. Books and other articles granted by, or purchased from the Society, may be left at the Depository until sent for; or they shall be delivered at any place appointed *within* the limits of the City of Dublin.

22. When money is remitted, the Bank notes are cut, and one set of halves kept, until the receipt of the corresponding halves is acknowledged.

23. If a necessity should occur for changing the name of any School assisted by this Society, such a change should be communicated to the Society.

24. It is earnestly requested that when any School assisted by this Society has been discontinued, the Secretary be immediately apprized of the circumstance; and that the cause of its discontinuance be stated, together with the means which may be taken to revive it.

25. It is requested that the Managers of Schools assisted by this Society, shall keep accurate registries of the admission, progress, and attendance of the Pupils, together with Account Books, containing the particulars of the receipts and expenditure of such Schools.

26. It is also requested that Books shall be kept in the School-room of such schools, in which Visitors may enter such remarks as to them shall seem fit.

27. The Managers of Schools assisted by this Society, are requested to communicate any information which may be deemed important to such Schools, or the general objects of the Society; and for this purpose, to keep up a constant and intimate correspondence with the Society, and be particular in answering the Queries, and, on every application, to give a full account of the School, mentioning any circumstance of importance which shall have occurred subsequent to the preceding applications.

28. All letters, Memorials, etc. which are *solely* on the business of this Society, should be directed (*only within Ireland*) in order that they may come free of postage.

Joseph Devonsher Jackson, Esq.,
Secretary to the Education Society,
Kildare Place.

And transmitted *unsealed,* under cover, directed

Edward S. Lees, Esq., Dublin.

Education Society, Kildare Place.

[From *Eighth report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland,* Dublin, 1820. *Appendix No. VI,* pp. 60-64.]

II.7 Growing opposition to government policy.

In its early years the Kildare Place Society came close to forming the basis of a generally acceptable system of national education, numbering Catholics and Protestants among its supporters. Within ten years of its foundation, however, the Society encountered denominational problems. Although Roman Catholics were on the Committee of the Society they were always a tiny minority. Allegations were made that the Society's rule regarding the reading of scriptures without note or comment was flouted and that proselytising had occurred in some of the Society's schools. Furthermore, from 1820, the Society granted aid to schools in connection with other educational societies many of which had avowedly proselytising aims. Roman Catholics also argued that the reading of scriptures by Catholic children was only acceptable when accompanied by adequate explanation and doctrinal teaching. Members such as Daniel O'Connell and Lord Cloncurry sought to have the relevant rules changed but failed, and from 1820 onwards the Kildare Place Society encountered rising opposition to its activities from the Roman Catholic Church.

II.7(a) Speech of Daniel O'Connell to the A.G.M. of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, 24 February, 1820.

The following is an edited account of O'Connell's speech:

My Lord Duke, I rise to call the attention of your Lordship and of this Meeting to a subject, which I cannot but consider of great importance to the interests of this Society. I had the honour of making a proposal on the same subject, to the last general meeting, and on that occasion it struck my humble mind, that the arguments and principles which I submitted - with little of talent, it is true, but with much of sincerity - could not be resisted, and must completely succeed. I was surprised therefore, I confess, to find with what active zeal I was opposed by the gentlemen on the opposite side. I give them full credit for the sincerity of their zeal, yet still I think it mistaken, and the object of my proposal most desirable - because my only object is a strict adherence to the avowed principles of this society, as I find them in your reports, nay, in your very charter, and still more in the hope which you have so long held out to the poor of Ireland. That hope, I must say, you have miserably disappointed.

The principle itself is one, which I think every one who loves this unfortunate country should hail with joy: 'The leading *principle* by which the Society shall be guided, is to afford the same facilities for education, to all classes of professing Christians, without any attempt to interfere with the peculiar religious opinions of any.'

This is a noble principle for Ireland! a blessed principle! which every honest man should rejoice to see avowed by every member of the community - and acted upon. But it will be melancholy indeed, if this first avowal of your principles should be found to have been blasted and evaded by any inconsistency in your practice.

I am very sure that it must have been the intention of the gentlemen who framed these laws, to carry this principle into effect. I cannot suspect, and will not accuse them of duplicity so base and plain and manifest, as to avow this principle, and then deliberately supersede it, and disappoint the hope that it held out. I am therefore willing to admit, that the practice has been the result of a mere mistake. If, therefore, I am able to make out a case, and shew that such mistake does exist, the gentlemen who opposed me last year, will, I am sure, be the first to come forward, and carry their own principle into effect.

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Allow me now to revert to the question, whether making it a preliminary to give the Bible without note or comment, does not affect the principle? I say it does: - as long as you insist on its being a school-book, you do not afford equal facilities to Catholics.

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I applied also to the most Reverend Dr. Troy, and in consequence a meeting was held of the principal parish priests in Dublin, in order that I might have an authentic document to read to this meeting, to express their sentiments; and they have resolved that "The Scriptures, with or without note or comment, are not fit to be used as a school-book." . . . this document has been sent to me for the very purpose of being read to this meeting. The meeting was held, and this resolution framed, for this very purpose.

. . . This document says, "either with or without comments it is not to be a school-book;" your resolution says, it shall; put these together, and see how you can say "equal facilities". On the one hand, the determination of the prelates, that it shall not be a school-book - on the other, yours, that you will not give assistance unless it is; yet you still say, that you cannot see any thing in this document to require at least the decency of a committee, the decorum of an investigation. As the only thing that is objected to, is the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, I will tell you the course you ought to pursue as honest men: - You ought to come forward to new model your resolution, and also to give aid to such as refuse

to use the Scriptures without note or comment. I well know that I shall hear to-day, as I did last year, something like prose run mad, something like half sermons about the value and the origin of this book, the Bible.

If I have trod on the tail of the serpent of bigotry, let it hiss. Oh it was a good hiss! a noble hiss! an excellent hiss! and I thank you for the hiss. Those who hissed may suppose they are acting for the service of God, but they serve God by a falsehood. But there is more honesty in the hiss, than in those gentlemen who assert one thing, and then say and do another. I have stated to you my own opinion, and shall re-state it, notwithstanding the peril of the hiss. The Bible never can be received without note or comment by the Catholic persuasion. Gentlemen hissers, we believe that the entire word of God has not been preserved in writing: we believe that a portion has been preserved in the church which preserved that writing: and this being our tenet, you cannot expect to have the Catholic clergy submit, when their attention is roused, to have the Bible used without note or comment, because they must have *tradition,* which we also call the word of God. Every Catholic is bound in life and in death to assert this - you assert the opposite in your resolution.

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The spirit of proselytism is abroad; most respectable persons have formed Bible Societies: and they have a right, if they think them right. I think any man who opposed them in doing so, would do wrong; but I want this Society not to be a Bible Society. Now the result of this proselytism has been reaction - The Catholics are friends to education: there is one Catholic school in Cork, containing 700 children, under the management of Friars. Again, there is an association for the mere purpose of education: tradesmen put money into a common fund, and making a vow of devotion to education and celibacy, spend the rest of their lives in one house, educating children. If we thus go on with attempts at proselytism and reaction at both sides, we shall lose that feeling which alone can raise Ireland from the state of an insulted and degraded province; there will be then no emancipation for our country. Bigotry acting and re-acting will go on, until the war of words shall end in a war of blood, and blood be again spilled in Ireland in the name of the God of charity.

[From *Report of the proceedings at a meeting of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland held in the Model School of the Society in Kildare Place, on the 24th February 1820,* Dublin, 1820, pp. 5-11.]

II.7(b) Pastoral address of the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops, 1826.

In 1826 the Roman Catholic hierarchy issued a pastoral address outlining their demands in the field of education.

1ST RESOLUTION

Having considered attentively a plan of national education which has been submitted to us – resolved, that the admission of Protestants and Roman Catholics into the same schools, for the purpose of literary instruction, may, under existing circumstances, be allowed, provided sufficient care be taken to protect the religion of the Roman Catholic children, and to furnish them with adequate means of religious instruction.

2ND RESOLUTION

That in order to secure sufficient protection to the religion of Roman Catholic children under such a system of education, we deem it necessary that the master of each school, in which the majority of the pupils profess the Roman Catholic faith, be a Roman Catholic: and that in schools in which the Roman Catholic children form only a minority, a permanent Roman Catholic assistant be employed: and that such master and assistant be appointed upon the recommendation, or with the express approval, of the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese in which they are to be employed: and further, that they or either of them, be removed upon the representation of such Bishop. The same rule to be observed for the appointment or dismissal of mistresses and assistants in female schools.

3RD RESOLUTION

That we consider it improper, that masters and mistresses intended for the religious instruction of Roman Catholic youth, should be trained or educated by or under the control of persons professing a different faith; and that we conceive it most desirable, that a male and female model school shall be established in each province in Ireland, to be supported at the public expense, for the purpose of qualifying such masters and mistresses for the important duties which they shall be appointed to discharge.

4TH RESOLUTION

That in conformity with the principle of protecting the religion

of Roman Catholic children, the books intended for their particular instruction in religion, shall be selected or approved by the Roman Catholic Prelates: and that no book or tract for common instruction in literature, shall be introduced into any school in which Roman Catholic children are educated, which book or tract may be objected to on religious grounds by the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese in which school is established.

5TH RESOLUTION

That a transfer of the property in several schools which now exist, or may hereafter exist in Ireland, may be utterly impracticable from the nature of the tenure by which they are, or shall hereafter be held; and from the number of persons having a legal interest in them, as well as from a variety of other causes; and that, in our opinion, any regulation which should require such transfer to be made, as a necessary condition for receiving parliamentary support, would operate to the exclusion of many useful schools from all participation in the public bounty.

6TH RESOLUTION

That, appointed as we have been by divine providence to watch over and preserve the deposit of Catholic Faith in Ireland; and responsible as we are to God for the souls of our flocks, we will, in our respective dioceses withhold our concurrence and support from any system of education which will not fully accord with the principles expressed in the foregoing resolutions.

7TH RESOLUTION

Having taken into consideration the project of a provision to be made by law for the support of the Prelates and Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland - resolved, that no such legal provision for our support, and that of our clergy, will be acceded to by us, until the Catholics of Ireland shall have been emancipated. And that at no period can we accept any such legal provision, unless our acceptance of it be found by us consistent with the independence of our Church and the integrity of its discipline, as well as with the cordial union and affectionate attachment which has hitherto subsisted between the Catholic Clergy and that faithful people, from whose generous contributions we and our predecessors have, for centuries, derived our support.

[From *Pastoral address of the R.C. archbishops and bishops, to the clergy and laity of their communion throughout Ireland,* Dublin, 1826, pp. 7-10.]

II.8 The Irish Education Inquiry, 1825.

Roman Catholic pressure resulted in the setting up of a commission of inquiry to examine all educational provision in Ireland. The first of the commissioners' nine reports examined the work of the various educational societies and was critical of them including the Kildare Place Society. It recommended the establishment of a government board to administer official grants for education. The second contained the results of an educational survey conducted by the commissioners and is an invaluable source of information on education, both official and voluntary in early 19th century Ireland.

We propose that public Schools of general Instruction shall be established, one at least in each benefice, in which literary instruction shall be communicated to children of all religious persuasions; that two teachers, to be appointed by the general superintending authority (the establishment of which we shall subsequently recommend) shall be employed in each school, where the extent of attendance shall be sufficient to justify the expense; that they shall each of them be laymen, and that one of them shall be a Roman Catholic, where any considerable number of Roman Catholics are in attendance on the school; and that a Presbyterian teacher shall be provided in those schools where the number of children belonging to that communion shall render such appointment necessary or expedient; that on two days in the week the school shall break up at an early hour, and the remainder of the day be devoted to the separate religious instruction of the Protestants, the clergyman of the Established Church attending for the purposes at once of superintendence and assistance, and the Presbyterian minister likewise, if he shall so think fit, for the children of his communion. That on two other days of the week the school rooms of General Instruction shall in like manner be set apart for the Roman Catholic children, on which occasions, under the care of a Roman Catholic lay teacher, approved of as mentioned in the Minute which we have given, they shall read the Epistles and Gospels of the Week, as therein mentioned, and receive such other religious Instruction as their pastors (who may attend if they think fit) shall direct. It may be right to notice, that in the Roman Catholic Church there are Epistles and Gospels appointed, not for Sundays only, but for almost every day in the year, and they comprize altogether a large portion of the Old and New Testament.

If the attendance on a school should be so limited as to render both a master and usher unnecessary, the master might be permitted to take charge of the school of General Instruction, and be

also the religious teacher to the children of the same persuasion as himself. In such a case, however, a person of a different religion, duly qualified and properly remunerated, might attend at those periods in the week when the school is set apart for the religious instruction of children of a different persuasion from the master, and perform, under proper superintendence, the duty of religious teacher to those of his own communion; and it might be possible for the individual appointed to this duty to take charge of the religious instruction in more schools than one in a parish or district. We suggest this arrangement, however, as one which is possible rather than desirable; and express our opinion, that the establishment of parochial schools, sufficiently large to occupy a master and usher, is much the most eligible course.

We think it further necessary, that means should be provided for supplying Testaments, according to the authorized version, for the Protestant children. With respect to the Roman Catholic children, an edition of the New Testament for their use has been submitted to us by the Roman Catholic prelates. The text of this edition is the Douay version; almost all the notes, however, originally annexed to that version, have been omitted. We find, in fact, that there are only sixty-three notes altogether to the four Gospels; and these, with the exception of an inconsiderable number, have no peculiar reference to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, as distinguished from those of the Protestant churches; and such as have this peculiar reference, are expressed in a manner which ought not, we think, to be offensive to any description of persons. The summaries prefixed to the different chapters are in like manner, as it appears to us, unobjectionable. To this edition is also annexed a Table of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the Year, specifying the portions of the Scriptures appointed to be read for those purposes by the Roman Catholic Church.

Deeply impressed with the importance and necessity of introducing the Scriptures into all institutions for the education of the people, as fundamental part of the instruction, we recommend that copies of this edition of the Testament, omitting the Address thereto prefixed, but retaining the Notes, should be furnished for the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children, in every school established upon the system proposed. It will be for the Roman Catholic clergy to supply such other books for the purpose of religious instruction as they may desire. We would suggest, however, that many forms of Catechisms are now in use amongst the Roman Catholics in the different districts of Ireland, and that it would be expedient that some one or two should be selected or

compiled for general use.

It will be necessary also to provide a volume compiled from the four Gospels, in the manner adverted to in our conference with the Roman Catholic archbishops. Such a book, together with the Book of Proverbs, and the work containing the history of the creation, the deluge, and other important events, extracted from the Pentateuch, may be profitably used in the schools during the period of united and general instruction. We by no means intend such works as substitutes for the Holy Scriptures, although we propose that the reading of the Scriptures themselves should be reserved for the time of separate religious instruction.

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For the foundation and management of such schools of general instruction, as we recommend, we think that a distinct Board should be appointed by Government, of persons responsible for the execution of the duty committed to their charge, and who should be invested with sufficient authority to control the application and expenditure of the public money appropriated to the purposes of general education. The Board should, we think, appoint inspectors, who should be enabled to examine upon oath. The schoolmasters, also, we think, should be sworn to conform to the rules laid down by the Board for their guidance. It will be necessary for this Board to have the entire control of all money to be applied to the maintenance of the schools under their care, from whatever sources it may be derived – to have a legal right to the school house, either by a permanent grant in the case of a parochial school, or by possession being transferred to them for a period not less than a year, in the case of a school belonging to a private patron receiving aid from the Board. They should have the sole power also of appointing and dismissing all masters and assistants, and of admitting or rejecting all books or papers which may be read in their schools.

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We cannot entertain the plan of destroying any existing class of schools which are useful to a considerable extent, though not so much so as, we hope, they may be rendered. We are, however, of opinion, that if after the lapse of a certain time the schools of general instruction which we recommend should be found to answer their purpose, any schools continuing to belong to other Societies, and refusing to transfer themselves to the management of

the new Board, should gradually cease to receive any public aid.

In seeking for the means of establishing in Ireland an adequate number of such schools as we have described, it is hardly necessary to state that a most zealous wish to promote education exists on the part of a great number of private individuals, who are ready to sacrifice to this object a portion both of their time and property.

In addition, therefore, to the parochial schools of general instruction which we have proposed, we have no doubt that individuals will continue to contribute their assistance, by founding schools under their own immediate care. A part, therefore, of the necessary means for the establishment and maintenance of such schools may be confidently expected from private contributions, and such schools, we propose, should be liberally assisted by the new Board, upon condition of submitting themselves to its jurisdiction. As to the funds for the maintenance of the new parochial schools, we recommend that they shall be derived partly from the State, partly from parochial assessments, and partly from payment by the pupils. Looking to the results of our own personal examination into schools of all descriptions, and to the practical effects of the system so long and so beneficially in operation in Scotland, we are satisfied that the schools should be founded on the principle of Pay Schools and that the payment should go to the master and the usher. At what sum the rate of payment should be fixed must depend upon local circumstances. By appointing, in certain situations, a higher rate of contribution, a most eligible class of schools may readily be provided with instruction suitable to a better description of persons. Although in all cases payment by each scholar should be the rule, we recommend that there should be lodged in certain individuals a power of dispensing with the payment, and of admitting, as an exception, certain free scholars. Payment, however, should be the rule, and gratuitous instruction the exception.

By the gradual reduction of the Charter Schools, and by the transfer of a part of those which are now maintained by the Association and the Kildare Place Society, a large amount of the public funds at present granted for education will become available for the new schools of public and general instruction. The plan which we have recommended cannot be put into full operation without the aid of powers which can only be obtained from Parliament. We think it, however, desirable to attempt, with as little delay as possible, to establish schools upon the system we have recommended, and we think the grant to the Lord Lieutenant for the general purpose of aiding schools should at once be made

applicable to this object. We have already shewn, that according to the present management of that fund, it may be so applied as to assist schools of any description whatever. We recommend that the Commissioners should be enabled, out of the grant made in this session, to fulfil such engagements only as they have actually entered into, and that the remainder of the fund, with such addition as may be thought sufficient, should be applied under such directions as any new Authority to be erected for the purpose may think fit, to the establishment of schools of the description which we have proposed.

[From *First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry*, 1825 (400) xii.]

III

National Education, 1831-1922

III.1 The setting up of the system of national education, 1831.

III.1(a) The Stanley letter.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, there was growing pressure on the government from the Roman Catholic Church to establish an equitable system of distribution of parliamentary grants and to withdraw support from proselytising agencies. A number of government commissions had also supported such a move. In 1812 the commissioners of the board of education had recommended that a board be set up 'to superintend a system of education from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism'. The commissioners of Irish education inquiry who reported in 1827, recommended that the government discontinue the practice of channelling state aid to education through voluntary agencies and that a government board be established to superintend a national and state-aided system of education. A parliamentary committee made similar recommendations in 1828.

In October 1831, the government acted on the recommendations of these bodies and decided 'to constitute a board for the superintendence of a system of national education in Ireland'. The board would be composed 'of men of high personal character, including individuals of exalted station in the Church'. One of the main objects of the board would be 'to unite in one system children of different creeds'. The chief secretary of Ireland, E. G. Stanley, wrote to the Duke of Leinster informing him of the intentions of the government on the matter and inviting him to become president of the new board. The letter, which subsequently became known as the Stanley letter, set out the conditions under which government aid would be given to the new board and outlined the basis on which the board would support schools. The following is the text of the Stanley letter as published in the report of the 1837 select committee on Irish national education:

Copy of a Letter from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, to His Grace the Duke of Leinster, on the Formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland.

Irish Office, London, October, 1831.

My Lord – His Majesty's Government having come to the deter-

mination of empowering the Lord Lieutenant to constitute a Board for the Superintendence of a System of National Education in Ireland, and Parliament having so far sanctioned the arrangement as to appropriate a sum of money in the present year as an experiment of the probable success of the proposed system, I am directed by His Excellency to acquaint your Grace that it is his intention, with your consent, to constitute you the President of the new Board: And I have it further in command, to lay before your Grace the motives of the Government in constituting the Board, the powers which it is intended to confer upon it, and the objects which it is expected that it will bear in view, and carry into effect.

The Commissioners, in 1812, recommended the appointment of a Board of this description to superintend a system of education, from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism, and which, admitting children of all religious persuasions, should not interfere with the peculiar tenets of any. The Government of the day imagined that they had found a superintending body, acting upon a system such as was recommended, and intrusted the distribution of the National grants to the care of the Kildare-street Society. His Majesty's present Government are of opinion that no private society deriving a part, however small, of their annual income from private sources, and only made the channel of the munificence of the Legislature, without being subject to any direct responsibility, could adequately and satisfactorily accomplish the end proposed; and while they do full justice to the liberal views with which that society was originally instituted, they cannot but be sensible that one of its leading principles was calculated to defeat its avowed objects, as experience has subsequently proved that it has. The determination to enforce, in all their schools, the reading of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, was undoubtedly taken with the purest motives; with the wish at once to connect religious with moral and literary education, and, at the same time, not to run the risk of wounding the peculiar feelings of any sect by catechetical instruction, or comments which might tend to subjects of polemical controversy. But it seems to have been overlooked that the principles of the Roman Catholic Church (to which, in any system intended for general diffusion throughout Ireland, the bulk of the pupils must necessarily belong) were totally at variance with this principle; and that the indiscriminate reading of the Holy Scriptures without note or comment, by children, must be peculiarly obnoxious to a Church which denies, even to adults, the right of unaided private interpretation of the sacred volume with respect to articles of religious belief.

Shortly after its institution, although the society prospered and extended its operations under the fostering care of the Legislature, this vital defect began to be noticed, and the Roman Catholic Clergy began to exert themselves with energy and success against a system to which they were on principle opposed, and which they feared might lead in its results to proselytism, even although no such object were contemplated by its promoters. When this opposition arose, founded on such grounds, it soon became manifest that the system could not become one of National Education.

The Commissioners of Education, in 1824-5, sensible of the defects of the system, and of the ground, as well as the strength of the objection taken, recommended the appointment of two teachers in every school, one Protestant and the other Roman Catholic, to superintend separately the religious education of the children; and they hoped to have been able to agree upon a selection from the Scriptures, which might have been generally acquiesced in by both persuasions. But it was soon found that these schemes were impracticable; and, in 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons, to which were referred the various Reports of the Commissioners of Education, recommended a system to be adopted which should afford, if possible, a combined literary and a separate religious education, and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which prevail in Ireland, as to render it, in truth, a system of National Education for the poorer classes of the community.

For the success of the undertaking much must depend upon the character of the individuals who compose the Board; and upon the security thereby afforded to the country, that while the interests of religion are not overlooked, the most scrupulous care should be taken not to interfere with the peculiar tenets of any description of Christian pupils.

To attain the first object, it appears essential that the Board should be composed of men of high personal character, including individuals of exalted station in the Church; to attain the latter, that it should consist of persons professing different religious opinions.

It is the intention of the Government that the Board should exercise a complete control over the various schools which may be erected under its auspices, or which, having been already established, may hereafter place themselves under its management, and submit to its regulations. Subject to these, applications for aid will be admissible from Christians of all denominations; but as one of the main objects must be to unite in one system children of dif-

ferent creeds, and as much must depend upon the co-operation of the resident clergy, the Board will probably look with peculiar favour upon applications proceeding either from –

1st. The Protestant and Roman Catholic clergy of the parish; or
2nd. One of the clergymen, and a certain number of parishioners professing the opposite creed; or
3rd. Parishioners of both denominations.

Where the application proceeds exclusively from Protestants, or exclusively from Roman Catholics, it will be proper for the Board to make inquiry as to the circumstances which lead to the absence of any names of the persuasion which does not appear.

The Board will note all applications for aid, whether granted or refused, with the grounds of the decision, and annually submit to Parliament a Report of their proceedings.

They 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.

They will refuse all applications in which the following objects are not locally provided for:

1st. A fund sufficient for the annual repairs of the school-house and furniture.
2nd. A permanent salary for the master, not less than pounds.
3rd. A sum sufficient to purchase books and school requisites at half-price.
4th. Where aid is sought from the Commissioners for building a school-house, it is required that at least one-third of the estimated expense be subscribed, a site for building, to be approved of by the Commissioners, be granted for the purpose, and that the school-house, when finished, be vested in trustees, to be also approved of by them.

They will require that the schools be kept open for a certain number of hours, on four or five days of the week, at the discretion of the commissioners, for moral and literary education only; and that the remaining one or two days in the week be set apart for giving, separately, such religious education to the children as may be approved of by the clergy of their respective persuasions.

They will also permit and encourage the clergy to give religious instruction to the children of their respective persuasions, either before or after the ordinary school hours, on the other days of the week.

They will exercise the most entire control over all books to be used in the schools, whether in the combined moral and literary, or separate religious instruction; none to be employed in the first, except under the sanction of the Board, nor in the latter, but with

the approbation of those members of the Board who are of the same religious persuasion with those for whose use they are intended. Although it is not designed to exclude from the list of books for the combined instruction, such portions of Sacred History or of religious or moral teaching as may be approved of by the Board, it is to be understood that this is by no means intended to convey a perfect and sufficient religious education, or to supersede the necessity of separate religious instruction on the day set apart for that purpose.

They will require that a register shall be kept in the schools, in which shall be entered the attendance or non-attendance of each child on Divine Worship on Sundays.

They will, at various times, either by themselves or by their Inspectors, visit and examine into the state of each school, and report their observations to the Board.

They will allow to the individuals or bodies applying for aid, the appointment of their own teacher, subject to the following restrictions and regulations:

1st. He (or she) shall be liable to be fined, suspended, or removed altogether, by the authority of the Commissioners, who shall, however, record their reasons.

2nd. He shall have received previous instruction in a model school in Dublin, to be sanctioned by the Board.

N.B. – It is not intended that this regulation should apply to prevent the admission of masters or mistresses of schools already established, who may be approved of by the Commissioners.

3rd. He shall have received testimonials of good conduct, and of general fitness for the situation, from the Board.

The Board will be intrusted with the absolute control over the funds which may be annually voted by Parliament, which they shall apply to the following purposes:

1st. Granting aid for the erection of schools, subject to the conditions hereinbefore specified.

2nd. Paying Inspectors for visiting and reporting upon schools.

3rd. Gratuities to teachers of schools conducted under the rules laid down, not exceeding pounds each.

4th. Establishing and maintaining a model school in Dublin, and training teachers for country schools.

5th. Editing and printing such books of moral and literary education as may be approved of for the use of the schools, and supplying them and school necessaries, at not lower than half-price.

6th. Defraying all necessary contingent expenses of the Board.

I have thus stated the objects which His Majesty's Government have in view, and the principal regulations by which they think those objects may be most effectually promoted: and I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to express His Excellency's earnest wish that the one and the other may be found such as to procure for the Board the sanction of your Grace's name, and the benefit of your Grace's attendance.

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 of the Legislature. Parliament has already placed at his Excellency's disposal a sum which may be available even in the course of the present year; and as soon as the Board can be formed, it will be highly desirable that no time should be lost, with a view to the estimates of the ensuing year, in enabling such schools, already established, as are willing to subscribe to the conditions imposed, to put in their claims for protection and assistance; and in receiving applications from parties desirous to avail themselves of the munificence of the Legislature in founding new schools under your regulations.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) *E. G. Stanley.*

[*Letter from the secretary for Ireland to His Grace the Duke of Leinster on the formation of a Board of Education.* 1837 (485) ix 585.]

III.1(b) Explanatory letter, addressed by Lord Stanley to a deputation from the Synod of Ulster.

The Presbyterian church in Ireland, through the Synod of Ulster, was the first of the main churches to oppose the system of national education. It objected to the mixed (religious) nature of the board; to the power of the board over textbooks and teachers; to the separation of religious and literary instruction; to the removal of the Bible as the central focus of education and to the right of clergymen of different denominations to attend at schools and to give separate religious instruction. A deputation from the synod met with Lord Stanley and put forward a number of proposals for the modification of the system. In reply to this deputation Lord Stanley produced an explanatory paper which elaborated on aspects of the original letter and which also clarified some misunderstandings which he felt existed in relation to the system. The following is the text of the explanatory letter:

His Majesty's Government fully recognizes the right of all who

choose it to read the Sacred Scriptures; but the exercise of this right in the case of infants must be subject to the control of their parents and natural guardians; and, in point of time, in the National, as in all other schools, it must be limited by the appropriation of certain hours to certain other branches of study. The proposition that any child at any hour, and in the midst of any other allotted employment, should be permitted to read the Bible, is a proposal so perfectly novel and unheard of, and so totally impossible, as it appears to me, to be reduced into practice, that I should not have noticed it, but that such appears to be the express sense of the words of the proposition No. 2, and seemed to be sanctioned by some, at least, of the deputation from the Synod. The National schools are not so much the schools of the Government as of local Patrons and Managers, who submit voluntarily to certain regulations in order to entitle them to receive aid from the Government. They are therefore at liberty to lay down their intended course of study; they are free to appoint certain hours during which certain studies are to be carried on, in some of which Roman Catholics and Protestants may, in others of which they cannot object to join. There appears to have been a considerable ambiguity in the use of the expression 'school-hours', which has given rise probably to some misconceptions. The phrase might (and perhaps in strictness ought to) apply to all hours in which instruction is given to the children. In this sense, the portion of time set aside for religious instruction may be called school-hours. These hours are (as I have already observed, and as may be seen by the printed regulations) not exempted from the control of the Commissioners; and the Scriptures, as well as the authorized catechisms, &c., of any Church, are expressly permitted to be used at these times. But the expression 'ordinary school-hours' has been generally employed to denote those portions of time which are devoted to the combined instruction of children of various persuasions, and at which all the children belonging to the school are expected and required to attend. Those hours, be they more, or be they fewer, will be allotted to other studies, and in them, of course, neither the Bible nor any other book could be employed to which the parents or guardians of any of the children could object on the grounds of religious scruples. To introduce the reading or hearing of any such book during the ordinary school-hours, viz. - those during which all the children of all denominations are expected to attend, would be a palpable violation of religious liberty of conscience. But there is not (nor ever was) any objection to the reading of the Scriptures, or the giving of any other religious instruction on days and hours

to be specified by the local Patrons to those children whose parents chose that they should attend. Those days and hours, however, must be specified, in order to remove from the mind of the Roman Catholic parent the possibility of a suspicion that his children may be influenced to join in studies of which he does not approve. Nor is there any objection to the application of the term 'school hours' to these portions of time, provided they are distinguished from the hours of universal and necessary attendance.

[*Explanatory letter addressed by Lord Stanley to a deputation from the Synod of Ulster. Appendix to the 8th Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland,* 1841.]

III.1(c) A document, explanatory of the Stanley letter, issued by the commissioners of national education.

The commissioners of national education also felt it necessary to clarify the basis under which they operated. They produced a document in which they set out their mode of procedure and they submitted this document to the government for approval. Having received 'the approbation and sanction of His Majesty's Government', they published the explanatory document in their annual report. This document serves as a further clarification of the Stanley letter.

As some parts of the plan of education committed to the Commissioners, to be by them carried into effect, have, as it appears, been misunderstood, the Commissioners beg to submit to Government the sense in which they have understood, and acted upon, the instructions given in the letter of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that the Government may confirm them in their mode of procedure where they are right, and correct them where they are wrong.

I. In giving a control to individual members of the Board, over books to be used in the particular religious instruction of different denominations of pupils, the Board do not understand that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government either to claim for themselves, or to vest in the Commissioners, any control over the use of the Sacred Scriptures, or over the standards of the Established Churches of Ireland, or of Scotland, or of the Roman Catholic Church, but only over books composed by private authors; and that the control over these is required merely for the purpose of checking the introduction of books of injurious tendency.

II. The Board do not understand that it is imperative upon them to edit all books used in the schools receiving grants from them; but that they are at liberty to sanction such books as may previously be used in schools, in behalf of which applications are made; or

such as may be preferred by the local patrons and conductors of schools, provided that they find nothing objectionable in them. Under this view of the duty assigned to them, they require a list of books used in the schools which they are requested to aid, and have already frequently sanctioned the school-books issued by the Kildare-place Society, and also, after certain alterations, the school-books issued by the Catholic Book Society. The Board wish to remark, that they have never conceived it would be expedient to render the use of any particular book or books imperative.

III. The Board understand that the control over teachers of schools is vested primarily in their local patrons and conductors; and that the power required by the Government to be conceded to the Board, of fining and dismissing teachers, is to be exercised only in case of such local patrons and conductors, after receiving grants, seeking to protect teachers in violating the rules of the Board; or retaining teachers found on trial to be incompetent.

IV. The Board understand that they are to require permanent submission to its regulations, only in those cases in which grants have been made towards the erection of school-houses, to be vested in trustees, according to the directions of Government; and that in schools receiving occasional or annual grants, such as salaries for the teachers, &c., they are to require submission to their regulations only during the period for which grants are made.

V. By encouraging the pastors of different denominations to give religious instruction to the children of their respective flocks, out of school-hours, the Board understand, merely affording to such pastors facility of access to the pupils at the time specified, and not employing or remunerating them. And they understand that the parents and guardians of the children are to determine to what denomination they respectively belong - the Board taking no cognizance of the matter.

VI. The Board understand that the times for religious instruction are to be determined by the local patrons and conductors of schools; the power vested in the Board on that subject being merely to see that, at least, one week-day in the week is set apart for that purpose; they also understand that the religious instruction given may, or may not, be in the school-room; the choice of the place being left to the pastors of the children, but that liberty is to be secured to them to assemble the children of their respective flocks in the school-room if they see fit.

VII. The Board understand that they are not, in ordinary cases, to exercise control over the use of the school-rooms on Sundays, that control being left to the local conductors of the school; but

that if any use be made of them, tending to contention and well-founded complaints between adverse parties, it is competent for the Board to interfere for the purpose of remedying the evil.

The Board beg leave to add that they do not regard these observations as altering or modifying, in any degree, the original instructions communicated to them in the Chief Secretary's letter of October, 1831; they offer them as containing views which they have always entertained of their instructions, and upon which they uniformly acted since the commencement of their labours.

[*A document explanatory of the Stanley letter, issued by the commissioners of national education. Appendix to the 8th Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland,* 1841.]

III.1(d) Copy of a circular letter addressed by Bishop J. Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin (J.K.L.) to his clergy upon the first announcement of the national system of education.

In the early years of the board, the Roman Catholic hierarchy with some exceptions, tolerated the national school system. Dr. Murray, archbishop of Dublin, accepted the invitation of the government to be a member of the board. Other members of the hierarchy, notably Bishop Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, encouraged their clergy to apply to the board for aid for their schools. The following letter was sent by Bishop Doyle to the priests of his diocese in December 1831 and in it he clarified some aspects of the system. He admitted that the terms of the Stanley letter 'are not perhaps the very best that could be devised but they are well suited to the especial circumstances of this distracted country'. He encouraged his clergy to apply 'without unnecessary delay' for aid for their schools.

Carlow, December 26, 1831.

Rev. Dear Sir – You have been made acquainted, through advertisements in the public newspapers, with an outline of the plan or terms on which the funds placed by Parliament at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, to promote the education of the children of the Irish people, will be dispensed.

These terms had been long sought for, by repeated applications to Government and by petitions to Parliament, and have at length, with much difficulty, been obtained. They are not perhaps the very best which could be devised, but they are well suited to the especial circumstances of this distracted country. They provide for the religious instruction of children by their respective pastors, or persons appointed for that purpose by them, as often as those pastors can deem it necessary. This instruction shall be given on

one or two days in the week, and may be given, as I hope it will, every day.

The school-house, to be built at the public expense, is to be secured to the public. This is all the Commissioners require, and this is just, nay, it is necessary, in order to guard against individual rapacity.

The Commissioners claim to have control over the books to be used in schools. This appears an assumption from which evil, as well as good, might follow. It is good, that useless or immoral books be utterly, and by authority, excluded. This precaution is idle in our regard, but it may not be so elsewhere, and 'Law', says the Apostle, 'is placed, not for the just man, but for the unjust'. It gives no trouble to the man who acts properly; it gives pain and brings punishment only to him who omits or transgresses his duty.

This assumption would produce evil, if the Commissioners sought to corrupt the education of the Irish people. We defy them to do so, even if they were so minded; but they are not. Their purpose is upright; their views are to promote education, religious as well as literary, and to preserve full and entire freedom of conscience. Should bad men succeed to the present Commissioners, and attempt to corrupt the education of youth, we are not dumb dogs who know not how to bark; we can guard our flocks, and do so easily by the simple process of excluding the Commissioners and their books and agents from our schools. We might, by doing so, forfeit the aid which they would, if the supposition were realized, be entitled to withhold, but in withholding it, they would be answerable to Parliament, to which we also would have access.

The lesson on Christian charity which the Commissioners wish to have inculcated is one dear to our hearts; I hope they will have it printed as a heading to all their spelling and reading lessons, and placed as a frontispiece to all their books.

The rule which requires that all teachers henceforth to be employed be provided from some Model School, with a certificate of their competency, will aid us in a work of great difficulty, to wit, that of suppressing hedge-schools, and placing youth under the direction of competent teachers, and of those only.

The power claimed by the Commissioners to fine, suspend, or remove teachers, is somewhat exorbitant, but the exercise of it might, in certain cases, where religious differences or religious parties arose, be salutary. If this power were exercised to the detriment of any well-conducted school, which is scarcely possible, we have the same remedy against its exercise that we could resort to in the case of the introduction of improper books; this claim, therefore,

is not one to which we are called upon to object.

During the many years in which education has been in this country a source of religious dissension, our school-houses have been built, and generally attached to our places of worship, whilst the school-houses built by Parliamentary aid have been raised in detached places.

Some years past it would have been easy to combine education, and have only one school-house in place of two; not so at present; and time only can effect that union which has hitherto been prevented at great sacrifice and at great expense. I notice this; that you may be enabled, in your application or reply to the Commissioners, to point out the true and very sufficient reason why in these dioceses, so well supplied with school-houses, few requisitions for aid to assist schools can as yet be made in that joint manner, by Catholic and Protestant clergymen, which the Commissioners so justly recommend.

Having premised this much, I now beg you will, without unnecessary delay, apply to the Commissioners before mentioned, for aid, whether to build, or to furnish, or to support, as the case may warrant, each of your parochial schools.

The form in which the application (always to be couched in the most respectful language) should be made, is a matter of indifference; as I suppose, should it be thought worthy of attention, a paper in the form of queries, containing the terms on which aid can be given, will be transmitted to you by the Secretary of the Commissioners, and on your reply to such paper will depend the decision on your claims.

You may take the following as a skeleton draft of the memorial to be prepared on behalf of any school:—

To the Right Honorable and Honorable the Commissioners of Education, &c., &c.

The Memorial of the undersigned Clergymen (or P. Priest, as the case may be), and other Inhabitants of the Parish of _____ or Town of _____,

Respectfully showeth,

That memorialists have built (or intend to build) a school-house, in which (express the average number) children are (or will be) educated. That the funds at the disposal of the memorialists are insufficient for the building the same (or fitting up and finishing same with requisites, and maintaining a competent teacher therein). Memorialists, therefore, willing to conform to the published rules of the Commissioners, humbly hope for such aid as Commissioners in their wisdom may think proper to grant.

And Memorialists will ever pray.

Wishing you the choicest graces of this auspicious time, when God appeared on earth to establish peace and good-will, I remain, Rev. dear Sir, your faithful humble servant in Christ,

(Signed) ✠ *J. Doyle.*

[*Appendix to the Sixth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland,* 1839.]

III.2 The commissioners of national education – the early years, 1831-1850.

III.2(a) Regulations and directions to be attended to in making application to the commissioners of national education for aid towards the building of schoolhouses or for the support of schools, 1836.

By the early months of 1832, the commissioners of national education had begun to accept applications for aid from schools around the country. A standard application form was drawn up and applicants for aid, either for a new school or for an existing one, were required to complete this form. Regulations and directions were also prepared and these set down the conditions under which the commissioners were prepared to give aid to schools. The following is the full text of the regulations as first published in the board's annual report in 1835:

1. ON BUILDING SCHOOL-HOUSES

1.—When aid is sought from the Commissioners for building a school-house, the site of the intended building is to be described, the tenure by which it is held stated, and a plan of the house, with estimates by one or more respectable tradesmen, furnished. One-third at least of the expense must be locally contributed.

2.—The school-house, when finished, is to be vested in trustees, to be chosen by the applicants themselves, and their names reported to the Commissioners for their approbation. These trustees to hold the school-house for the purpose of national education, according to the regulations set forth in this paper.

3.—No alteration is to be made in the trusteeship without the concurrence of the Commissioners. If any of the trustees die, or resign, new trustees shall be elected to supply their place, subject to the approval of the Board.

4.—Although the Commissioners do not absolutely refuse aid in all cases towards the erection of school-houses on ground connected with a place of worship, yet they much prefer their being erected on ground which is not so connected, where it can be obtained: they therefore expect that before church, chapel, or

meeting-house ground be adopted as the site of a school-house, inquiry be made whether another convenient site may be obtained, and the result of the inquiry stated to them.

5.—The Board do not contribute to the ornamenting of school-houses, but merely to the accommodation of the children in plain substantial buildings. If buildings of a more ornamented and expensive kind be preferred, the whole of the extra expenses must be provided by the applicants.

6.—The Board do not contribute towards the erecting of apartments for the teachers.

II. ON ASSISTANCE GIVEN TOWARDS CONDUCTING SCHOOLS

It is required that a portion of the different expenses requisite for conducting schools, such as providing school furniture, repairing the school-houses, and paying teachers' salaries, be locally raised. The Board will determine, in every case, the proportion to be contributed from the public funds towards these and similar expenses, according to the circumstances of each. All schools connected with the Board have permission to purchase the books issued by the Board, and other school requisites, such as paper, slates, quills, &c., at half cost price.

III. ON THE REGULATION OF THE SCHOOLS AS TO TUITION, ATTENDANCE, ETC.

1.—The ordinary school business, during which all the children, of whatever denomination they be, are required to attend, and which is expected to embrace a competent number of hours in each day, is to consist exclusively of instruction in those branches which belong to a literary and moral education. Such extracts from Scripture as are prepared under the sanction of the Board, may be used, and are earnestly recommended by the Board to be used, during those hours allotted to this ordinary school business.

2.—One day at least in each week (independently of Sunday) is to be set apart for the religious instruction of the children, on which day such pastors or other persons as are approved of by the parents or guardians of the children, shall have access to them for that purpose, whether those pastors have signed the original application or not.

3.—The managers of schools are also expected, should the parents of any of the children desire it, to afford convenient opportunity and facility for the same purpose either before or after the ordinary school business (as the managers may determine), on other days of the week.

4.—Any arrangement of this description that may be made, is to be publicly notified in the schools, in order that those children, and those only, may be present at the religious instruction, whose parents and guardians approve of their being so.

5.—The reading of the Scriptures, either in the Authorized or Douay version, is regarded as a religious exercise, and, as such, is to be confined to those times which are set apart for religious instruction. The same regulation is also to be observed respecting prayer.

6.—A register is to be kept in each school, recording the daily attendance of the scholars, and the average attendance in each week and each quarter, according to a form to be furnished by the Board.

IV. ON THE BOOKS TO BE USED IN THE SCHOOLS

1.—The titles of all books which the conductors of schools intend to use in the ordinary school business, are to be reported to the Board, and no other books to be used than those which have been reported and sanctioned by the Board.

2.—No books are to be understood as prohibited by the Board, except such as appear to them to contain matter objectionable in itself, or objectionable as peculiarly belonging to some peculiar religious denomination. But the price of those books only shall be reduced which are issued from the Depository of the Board.

3.—The Board will furnish gratuitously to each school, a first stock of school-books, which are to be kept as a school stock, and used, when required, in teaching the pupils, but which are on no account to be taken out of the school-room. The Inspectors will require to see these books at every inspection. Children whose parents wish them to bring their books home with them will be supplied at the reduced price at which they are furnished by the Board. All supplies of books additional to those furnished by the Board, are to be purchased from the Depository at half cost price.

4.—If any other books than the Holy Scriptures, or the standard books of any Church to which any of the children belong, are to be employed in communicating religious instruction, the pastor, or other religious teacher, who proposes to employ such book, is expected to communicate his intention to any individual member of the Board, and consult with him respecting its suitableness.

V. ON THE CHOICE, ETC., OF TEACHERS

1.—Local Patrons, and Committees of schools, are expected to

select suitable teachers, and to superintend them; but the Commissioners will require to be satisfied of the fitness of the teachers, both in regard to moral character and to literary qualification, by testimonials, and also, if they see fit, by training in a model school and examination.

2.—Should the Commissioners judge any teacher employed in a school, receiving occasional aid from them, not to possess suitable qualifications for his office, or to be otherwise objectionable, they will feel themselves at liberty to withhold the portion of the salary contributed by them until a fit person shall be appointed. If such a teacher be found employed in a school-house erected partly by the public funds intrusted to them, and vested in trustees, as above directed, they will require that the teacher be dismissed, and another provided.

3.—Salaries granted by the Board are granted to the teachers individually; and, therefore, if any teacher be dismissed, or die, or any new teacher be introduced into the school, it is expected that such changes be communicated immediately to the Board, and their sanction obtained for the new teachers.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

1.—It is the earnest wish of His Majesty's Government, and of the Commissioners, that the clergy and laity of the different religious denominations in the country co-operate with one another in conducting the schools connected with the Board. Nevertheless, the Government and the Commissioners, choose rather to leave this expression of their desire to the good feeling of applicants themselves, than to make it the subject of any express stipulation; persuaded that, when practicable, this recommendation will be attended to.

2.—It is expected that when any school is received by the Board in connexion with it, the inscription, "*National School*" shall be put up conspicuously on the school-house; and that, in building school-houses, partly by funds intrusted to the Commissioners, a stone shall be built into the wall having that inscription cut in it.

3.—The Commissioners understand they are not, in ordinary cases, to exercise control over school-houses on Sundays, or beyond the hours of instruction on other days; that control being left to the local conductors of the school. But they expect that no use shall be made of the school-rooms tending to contention, *such as the holding of political meetings in them*; and that they shall not be converted into places of public worship. Such use made of a

school-house, built by aid from the Commissioners, will be held to be a violation of the principles of the National Education system; such a use made of a school-house received, after its establishment, into connexion with the Board, they will regard as a sufficient reason for withholding further aid, and dissolving the connexion.

4.—The Commissioners will require that the principles of the following lesson be strictly inculcated in all schools admitted into connexion with them, and that a printed copy of the lesson itself, to be furnished by them, shall be hung up in each school.

> Christians should endeavour, as the Apostle Paul commands them, to 'live peaceably with all men' (Rom. ch. xii. v. 18), even with those of a different religious persuasion.
>
> Our Saviour, Christ, commanded his disciples to 'love one another'; he taught them to love even their enemies, to bless those that curse them, and to pray for those that persecute them. He himself prayed for his murderers.
>
> Many men hold erroneous doctrines; but we ought not to hate or persecute them. We ought to seek for the truth, and to hold fast what we are convinced is the truth; but not to treat harshly those who are in error. Jesus Christ did not intend his religion to be forced on men by violent means. He would not allow his disciples to fight for him.
>
> If any persons treat us unkindly, we must not do the same to them; for Christ and his Apostles have taught us not to return evil for evil. If we would obey Christ, we must do to others, not as they do to us, but as we should wish them to do to us.
>
> Quarrelling with our neighbours, and abusing them, is not the way to convince them that we are in the right, and they in the wrong. It is more likely to convince them that we have not a Christian spirit.
>
> We ought to show ourselves followers of Christ, 'who, when he was reviled, reviled not again' (1 Pet. ch. ii. v. 23), by behaving gently and kindly to every one.

5.—It is expected that clergymen of all denominations, even although they may not have signed the application to the Board, shall have free admission to the school; not to take part in the ordinary business, or to interrupt it, but, as visitors, to observe how the school is conducted.

By desire of the Commissioners,
Thomas F. Kelly, Secretary.

[*Regulations and directions to be attended to in making application to the commissioners of national education for aid towards the building of schoolhouses or for the support of schools. Appendix B to the Second Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland,* 1835.]

III.2(b) Instructions to inspectors.

Under the terms of the Stanley letter, the commissioners of national education were empowered to appoint inspectors who would 'visit and

examine into the state of each school, and report their observations to the board'. The following instructions to inspectors were issued shortly after the first inspectors were appointed. The objects of the government in aiding a system of national education were stated in this document to be as follows:

First, to promote the general intelligence and good conduct of the poorer classes of this country.

Second, to allay animosities, and to cultivate good feelings between the parties that may have been at variance.

Third, to introduce as much of religious instruction as can be done without exciting jealousy and contention, and hostile feeling, either towards government and towards one another.

The following is the full text of the instructions to inspectors:

I.—GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION TO BE ATTENDED TO BY THE INSPECTORS

1. The Commissioners do not take the control or regulation of any school, except their own model school, directly into their own hands, but leave all schools aided by them under the authority of the local conductors. The inspectors will therefore not give direct orders as on the part of the Board, respecting any necessary regulations, but point out such regulations to the conductors of the school, that they may give the requisite orders.

2. In all schools receiving the ordinary rate of salary aided by the Commissioners, a certain number of days, at least four in each week, and certain hours, at least four in each day, are understood to be set apart for moral and literary education, during which children of all denominations are to be educated together. During these hours no book inculcating or countenancing peculiar views of religion is to be used. As the Holy Scripture is itself unhappily a subject of controversy in this country, both in regard to the books which constitute Scripture and to the translation of it; and as the introduction of the Bible into schools for common education has created much contention and dispute, and prevented a very large proportion of the poorer classes of Ireland from sending their children to schools receiving Government aid, it is not to be introduced during the hours set apart for common education; but every facility is to be given for the reading and explaining of the Scriptures, either before or after these hours, or for any other mode of communicating religious instruction by such pastors or other persons as are approved by the parents or guardians of the

children. One week-day, at least, is to be set apart for religious instruction under the same restriction, namely, that it be given by instructors approved of by the parents or guardians of the pupils.

All books used in the schools during the hours of general instruction are to receive the sanction of the Board. Those which the Board have already sanctioned are the school-books of the Kildare-place Society, and the late corrected editions of the school-books of the Catholic Book Society.

The General Lesson is to be hung up conspicuously in the school-rooms.

The inscription, 'National School', is to be put up conspicuously on the outside of the school-house.

Should the Inspector find in any school a departure from any of these regulations, he is to represent the matter to the conductors of the school, and if it be not rectified, he is to report immediately to the Commissioners.

3. The objects which Government have in view are: First, to promote the general intelligence and good conduct of the poorer classes of this country. Second, to allay animosities, and to cultivate good feeling between the parties that may have been at variance. Third, to introduce as much of religious instruction as can be done without jealousy and contention, and hostile feeling, either towards Government or towards one another.

4. The Commissioners are anxious to stand on the most friendly and affectionate terms with the patrons, conductors, and teachers of all schools aided by them; they therefore wish the Inspectors to be at all times as conciliating as may be consistent with their duty.

A list of the schools to be inspected shall be given to each Inspector, and which he shall visit in such order as may seem most convenient.

He is not to give previous notice to the conductors of any schools of the time of his visit, but rather endeavour to arrive with each when he is not expected.

In cases in which grants have been made towards building or repairing school-houses, of which he will be informed, he will examine whether the grant has been properly applied; whether the building or repairs have been executed according to the plan, or are in progress towards being executed. He will make such inquiry respecting the applicants for such grants as the Board may see it necessary to direct.

On entering the school, and introducing himself to the master, he will immediately examine whether the fundamental regulations of the Board are complied with, and point out privately to the teacher whatever may be deficient.

He will then observe the mode of teaching adopted by the teacher, and suggest to him such improvements as may occur to him. In all his intercourse with the teachers, he will treat them with the most perfect kindness and respect, apprizing them privately of what he may see defective, and noting it to be reported to the Board, but by no means addressing them authoritatively, or animadverting upon their conduct in the hearing of their scholars.

He will take with him a copy of the General Lesson, and, in the event of its not having been previously put up, leave it with the teacher, to have it put up immediately. He will also take a copy of the sheet containing the Ten Commandments, and leave it with the teacher, that it may be put up, provided the conductors of the school approve of it, but not otherwise.

It is advisable that the Inspectors should have communication with the conductors or patrons of all schools visited by them, for the purpose of obtaining information and suggesting improvements.

He will ascertain the advancement of education among the children, noting the proportion of children who can read fluently; what progress they have made in writing and arithmetic; whether any be taught geography, grammar, book-keeping, and mensuration; whether girls be taught sewing or knitting.

He will inquire whether the Scripture Extracts and Sacred Poetry be read by the children, and recommend the use of these books on the part of the Board; but not peremptorily insist upon it. He will observe whether there be anything in the aspect and regulations of the school that tend to confine it to one particular denomination of children, that he may report to the Board accordingly.

He will not omit visiting any school on his list in consequence of hearing reports that it has been closed, or withdrawn from its connexion with the Board, but will go to the place and make inquiry into the circumstance, that he may report them accurately to the Board.

He will use the most effective means that may occur to him for ascertaining the number of children really in attendance at the school, examining the roll and the register of daily attendance, and making such inquiries as may put him in possession of exact knowledge on the subject.

He will observe the general appearance of the children in the school, whether cleanliness seems to be required and order observed, particularly in regard to the two great rules of order – 'A place for every thing, and every thing in its place;' 'A time for every thing, and every thing in its time'; also the ordinary passing of the

children from one exercise to another, as well as their orderly entering and leaving school.

II.—MISCELLANEOUS

Each inspector will make inquiry respecting the state of education in every neighbourhood that he visits – such as the number and nature of schools in the neighbourhood – the disposition of the people to receive education – the prevailing defects in the education at present within their reach.

Each Inspector will make himself master of the system of education promoted by the Board in its fundamental principles; so that, without appearing on behalf of the Board in public, he may, as he has opportunity, in private explain it, and the reason for its rules.

The Inspectors will carefully avoid permitting themselves to be drawn into political or theological discussions.

During every journey, the Inspectors will inform the Secretary, from time to time, of their progress, that they may be addressed at every post-town through which they may pass. They will be careful to call at the post-office of every post-town in their route, for letters.

At the close of each tour of inspection, each Inspector will address a letter to the Secretary, giving a general report on the state of education in the districts which he has visited; noticing the general state of the National Schools, whether the number of schools and scholars be increasing or decreasing, and the cause of either; the general aspect of the schools, and character of schoolmasters, suggesting whatever improvements may occur to him.

When Inspectors are in Dublin, they will be expected to attend the model school, or any other school that may be pointed out to them, for the purpose of making themselves acquainted with the system of teaching pursued by the head master; and also of aiding and introducing improvements into schools in the metropolis, as the Commissioners are anxious that all schools in Dublin and its immediate vicinity may be such as will fit them for becoming model schools for the rest of the kingdom. They are directed to pay particular attention to the instructions and suggestions of the head master.

When the Inspectors are in Dublin, they will leave their addresses at the Education Office; they are also expected, unless other duties prevent them, to call at the office every day.

[*Appendix E to the Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland,* 1836.]

III.2(c) Twelve practical rules for the teachers of national schools.

Probably the most succinct official summary of the attitude of the board to national school teachers in the early years of the system is contained in a short document entitled *Twelve practical rules for the teachers of national schools.* These rules required a high moral code of conduct from teachers and they emphasised the importance of the example given by teachers to their pupils both inside and outside school. Among the rules set out here was one forbidding teachers to attend political meetings of every kind - a rule which remained in the *Rules for national schools* until the beginning of the twentieth century. The following is the full text of the twelve practical rules:

TWELVE PRACTICAL RULES FOR THE TEACHERS OF NATIONAL SCHOOLS

1. The Teachers of National Schools are required - To keep at least one copy of the *General Lesson* suspended conspicuously in the School-room, and to inculcate the principles contained in it on the minds of their Pupils.

2. To exclude from the School, except at the hours set apart for Religious Instruction, all Catechisms and Books inculcating peculiar religious opinions.

3. To avoid fairs, markets, and meetings - but, above all, *political* meetings of every kind; to abstain from controversy; and to do nothing either in or out of School which might have a tendency to confine it to any one denomination of Children.

4. To keep the Register, Report Book, and Class Lists accurately and neatly, and according to the precise form prescribed by the Board.

5. To classify the Children according to the National School Books; to study those Books themselves; and to teach according to the improved method, as pointed out in their several prefaces.

6. To observe themselves, and to impress upon the minds of their Pupils, the great rule of regularity and order - *a time and a place for every thing, and every thing in its proper time and place.*

7. To promote, both by precept and example, *cleanliness, neatness* and *decency.* To effect this the Teachers should set an example of cleanliness and neatness in their own persons, and in the state and general appearance of their Schools. They should also satisfy themselves, by personal inspection every morning, that the Children have had their hands and faces washed, their hair combed, and clothes cleaned, and, when necessary, mended. The

School apartments, too, should be swept and dusted every *evening*; and white-washed at least once a year.

8. To pay the strictest attention to the morals and general conduct of their Pupils, and to omit no opportunity of inculcating the principles of *truth* and *honesty*: the duties of respect to superiors, and obedience to all persons placed in authority over them.

9. To evince a regard for the improvement and general welfare of their Pupils, to treat them with kindness, combined with firmness, and to aim at governing them by their affections and reason, rather than by harshness and severity.

10. To cultivate kindly and affectionate feelings among their Pupils; to discountenance quarrelling, cruelty to animals, and every approach to vice.

11. To record in the School Report Book the amount of all grants made by the Board, and the purposes for which they were made.

12. To take strict care of the *Free Stock* of Books granted by the Board; and to endeavour to keep the School constantly supplied with National School Books and Requisites, for sale to the Children, at the reduced price charged by the Commissioners.

Maurice Cross,
James Kelly, } Secretaries

[*Appendix XVII to the Thirteenth Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland,* 1846.]

III.3 The Powis Commission, 1870.

The system of national education grew rapidly in the period 1831 to 1860. In 1833, there were 789 schools in connection with the national board with 107,000 pupils on rolls. By 1860, this had increased to 5,600 schools with over 800,000 pupils. The annual parliamentary grant had increased from £25,000 in 1833 to almost £294,000 in 1860. In the 1850's, the government had become increasingly concerned about the need for economy and efficiency in the public service generally. In the area of education, government commissions had been set up in England and Scotland in 1858 and 1864 to inquire into the funding of elementary education, and these commissions - the Newcastle commission in England and the Argyll commission for Scottish education - had reported by the mid-1860's. One of the most significant outcomes of these commissions was the introduction of a system of payment by results in elementary schools in England and Scotland. The Treasury was anxious that a similar review be undertaken of the Irish educational system, and at home other groups, notably the Roman Catholic Church, were also pressing for a full inquiry into the

system, albeit for different reasons.

In January 1868, a commission was set up under the chairmanship of Lord Powis to carry out an inquiry into the system of primary education in Ireland. This commission sat for two years and produced its final report in May 1870. The many volumes produced by the commission provided a detailed insight into education in Ireland at the time and gave an account of the development of the system of national education from 1831 to 1870. The commission was critical of elementary education in Ireland. It produced figures which showed that only a minority of teachers had received any formal training. It found that the physical condition of many of the school buildings was unsatisfactory.

Its recommendations were many and varied. It proposed the introduction of a system of payment by results in addition to a basic salary. As regards funding generally, it recommended that the local contribution should amount to at least one-third of the state grant.

The report of the Powis commission was an important landmark in the history of national education. One of the immediate outcomes of the report was the introduction of a system of payment by results in Irish national schools in 1872. Many other developments which occurred in the system in subsequent years originated in the recommendations of the commission.

Conclusions and recommendations contained in the general report

There were a total of 129 recommendations in the report of the Powis commission. The first two related to *the proficiency of children in primary schools* and were as follows:

1. That the progress of the children in the National Schools of Ireland is very much less than it ought to be. That in Church Education schools, non-National Convent schools, and Christian Brothers' schools, the result is not very different.

2. 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.

Recommendations 4 to 7 stressed the importance of the role of *management:*

4. That it is the duty of Managers to meet the Government subsidy with *some* local aid, and to keep proper accounts of school income and expenditure.

5. That the duty of repairing schools, and of supplying necessary apparatus, should be placed upon the Managers, and not upon the Teacher.

6. That for every Principal Teacher a residence, or its equivalent, should be provided and maintained at the cost of the locality.

7. That local management is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the school.

In relation to *school-buildings and sites,* the commission saw a possibility for local authority involvement. They suggested that there might be a role for the local authority in the area of compulsory purchase of sites for schools and in the provision of new school buildings in certain cases:

10. That there should be a power in the local authority, if necessary, of acquiring land for sites by compulsory purchase. Such sites should revert to the vendors if they cease to be used for purposes of National Education.

12. That no school which is the private property of the Teacher should be repaired at the public expense, nor should any such school in future be recognised.

13. That in such places schools should be erected by the local authority, and the cost charged upon the poor-rate, or on a rate specially made for the purpose of education.

The Powis commission also referred to the question of legislation relating to school attendance and school fees:

15. That it would be inexpedient to pass any law compelling attendance at school in rural districts.

16. That in towns it is desirable that provision be made for the education at the expense of the parents, if possible, or if not, at the expense of the community, of all children who are of school age and are not actually at work.

21. That all children should either pay themselves or be paid for out of a public rate.

The question of *local contribution for the maintenance of schools* also raised the question of a possible local authority involvement:

22. That the grant made by the Commissioners of National Education should bear a fixed proportion to the amount locally contributed, and that the Commissioners should maintain this rule in all places except those where they should be satisfied that, after all due local exertion has been made, its application would close a necessary school.

23. That in default of voluntary local payments or school-fees,

the requisite local contribution should be raised by rate.

25. That where 'local aid' falls below one-third of the amount of the Board's grant the Board's payments should be proportionately diminished, unless after report of Head and District Inspectors the Board judge an exception necessary.

27. That the local rate should not exceed 3d. in the pound.

28. That the amount raised by rate and local subscriptions, together with school-fees, should reach one-fourth of the total cost of the school.

29. That every school aided by the State should be managed by a Committee regularly appointed, and that every school fund should have a Treasurer, who we think should, as a general rule, be a layman.

The question of the conditions under which the *Government contribution* should be paid was considered at some length and the recommendations in this regard made it clear that the commission supported many of the principles which had been set out in the Stanley letter in 1831. They also clarified what was meant by payment by results in an Irish context:

32. That all schools open for instruction of the poor, under proper management, may receive aid from the National Board on condition:

(*a*) Of having suitable premises.
(*b*) Of having suitable furniture, teaching materials, books, &c.
(*c*) Of having efficient Teachers of good character.
(*d*) Of being such as all children can frequent without interference with their religious belief.
(*e*) Of having the prescribed number of children.
(*f*) Of local aid being given.

33. That to obtain aid from the National Board the children must be examined by the Inspector in subjects of secular instruction; and it must be ascertained that the children presented are really those who have been taught in the School: hence—

I. All children shall be presented to the Inspector for examination in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; and, on his Report, the National Board will pay to the School a fixed sum per head for every pass in each of these subjects, in respect of each child who has made the fixed number of attendances in the year preceding the Inspector's visit.

II. Any child who has passed in two of these subjects may be presented for Examination in extra subjects approved by

the Board (as Grammar, Geography, Agriculture), and earn a payment for each pass.

34. That it is necessary that the progress of the children from year to year be considered; and that no aid be given unless this progress is secured: hence—

The examination should be according to the grade or standard in which the child is presented, but no child should be presented in the same class twice. The grade or standard of proficiency should be that of a higher grade or standard.

35. That it is desirable that the State should cease to pay for the instruction of children over a certain age: hence—

i. No scholar above twelve years of age should be able to earn by examination any payment for the School unless in IVth or Vth Book grade or standard.

ii. In Schools where there is an Infant Department, under an efficient Teacher, children may earn a fixed sum for average attendance; provided the Inspector be satisfied with the General Management and Instruction of the School.

iii. Such children must not be under four or six years of age.

The issue of *school books* had been a contentious one in the previous decades, and the Powis commission recommended a reduction in the power of the national board in relation to this matter:

37. That in all Schools the use of any suitable School Books should be allowed without any privilege or preference for the Books of the Commissioners of National Education.

38. That the examination of Schools and School Teachers should be so conducted as to leave free the use of any suitable Books to Managers or Teachers.

39. That the National Board, and its Officers, should refrain from preparing or publishing any School Books in future.

One of the major questions discussed by the commission was the question of *religious teaching*. The rules of the national board were based on the principles of the Stanley letter which required that national schools offer 'combined secular and separate religious instruction'. No concessions to denominational practices were permitted during the hours of secular instruction. In theory, national schools were religiously mixed, but in practice, by 1868, the vast majority of them were catering for either roman catholic or protestant children. The Powis commission recommended that the rules of the national board recognise this reality and that they be amended to take account of the situation in such schools. The following recommendations outline the views of the commission in this regard:

42. That in places where there is only one school, religious instruction shall be confined to fixed hours.

(*a*) No child registered as a Protestant shall be present when religious instruction is given by a Roman Catholic.
No child registered as a Roman Catholic shall be present when religious instruction is given by a person who is not a Roman Catholic.

(*b*) No child shall be allowed to join in, or to be present at, any religious observances to which the child's parents or guardians may object.

(*c*) The school-books shall be such as have been allowed by the Commissioners of National Education for use in a mixed school.

(*d*) No religious emblems should be exhibited during school hours.

44. That when there have been in operation in any School District, or within any City or Town, for three years, two or more schools, of which one is under Protestant, and one under Roman Catholic management, having an average attendance of not less than twenty-five children, the National Board may, upon application from the Patron or Manager, adopt any such school, and award aid without requiring any regulation as to religion other than the following:—

I. Such schools, recognised as separate schools for a particular religious denomination, shall be subject to the prohibitions *a* and *b* of 42.

II. The recognition shall be terminable upon a twelve months' notice.

47. That in all cases (under 42) the minority being free to retire, and the teachers being bound to put them out when religious instruction is given to the majority, the managers shall be bound to provide proper shelter for the children who are of a different religious denomination from the teacher.

The Powis commission believed that *the salaries of teachers in national schools* were insufficient 'to secure the best candidates and to retain the best teachers in the profession, and that it should be raised'. They recommended the adoption of the following scale of class salaries (in addition to the proposed new results fees):

53. That the following scale of class salaries should be adopted:—

	Males	*Females*
	£	£
I.	38	30
II.	30	24
III.	24	20

They also felt that it was desirable that there should be *a residence in connection with each school* for the principal teacher. This residence should be rent free but should be maintained by the teacher.

Another area investigated by the commission was the question of *a contract of employment for teachers.* In this regard, the commission agreed that the power of appointing and dismissing teachers should be in the hands of the local managers but they recommended as follows in relation to forms of agreement:

65. That in all cases where a classified Teacher is employed the Manager should be required, as a condition of State aid to the school, to enter into an agreement with the Teacher (in a form to be provided by the Board), specifying his duties and emoluments, and containing a proviso that the engagement is terminable on three months' notice given either by Teacher or Manager.

The controversy in relation to *Convent and Monastic schools* was investigated in some depth. The commission believed that the rules of the board which had prevented the recognition of monastery schools should be repealed. The commission also believed that there should be no distinction made between convent schools and 'ordinary' schools:

73. That the rule of the Board forbidding aid to monks' schools should be repealed.

74. That all Teachers, religious as well as lay, should give proof of their competence to teach before they are entitled to class salary.

75. That the Teachers in Convent schools should be examined and classed like other teachers.

76. That if the Christian Brothers are examined and classed they should be admitted to the full benefits of the National system.

77. That the correspondent or manager of a convent or monastic school should be a person who is not one of the community; and in the case of a convent school, that there should be a male correspondent or manager.

The Powis commission recommended that the provincial *model schools* should be gradually discontinued. The model schools had been condemned

by the Roman Catholic hierarchy since around 1850 and had effectively been boycotted by Roman Catholics. A number of the larger schools run by religious orders had been acting as *training institutions* for Roman Catholic students but such training was not recognised by the national board. The Powis commission recommended that these institutions be granted formal recognition.

88. That the present Central Establishment should be maintained, the course of training being made for twelve instead of six months, and a fixed payment from private sources being required for each scholar.

89. That the scholars should be lodged in separate boarding-houses, or with persons approved by the Board, and be under the care of pastors of their own religion.

99. That the aid of the Board should be given to training schools, under the management of committees, voluntary societies, or religious bodies, on certain conditions. For instance:—

(*a*) They should be in suitable premises, suitably furnished.
(*b*) Under the management of a committee of clergymen and laymen.
(*c*) The subsidy should be regulated by the results of the training as tested by the examination.
(*d*) The Government grant should not exceed three times the amount contributed by the patrons or managers.
(*e*) The National Board should not contribute towards the erection or building of such schools unless the site be vested in the Board.

100. That it is desirable that all teachers should have a preparatory training.

The commission unequivocally condemned any suggestion that the national schools be extended to provide a form of *intermediate education*. However, they saw no difficulty in national teachers providing tuition in extra subjects:

121. That the masters of Primary Schools may be freely allowed to teach as extra branches out of school hours any subjects in which they may have qualified themselves. The use of the school-room and school apparatus for such instruction must be subject to agreement between the Managers and the Teacher. The lessons must be regarded as private tuition to be paid for by the parents or friends of the pupils who receive them.

[*Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the nature and extent of the instruction afforded by the several institutions in Ireland for the purpose of elementary or primary education; also into the practical working of the system of national education in Ireland, etc.* 1870 (C.6) xxviii 1.]

III.4 The results programme, 1872-1900.

III.4(a) Programme of instruction and examination of pupils.

The Powis commission of 1870 recommended that a system of payment by results be introduced in Irish national schools. This recommendation was accepted by the government and in 1872 a new programme (the results programme) came into effect in schools throughout the country. The programme was rigid and inflexible; it laid down precise requirements for each subject at each level from infants to sixth class. The obligatory subjects were reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic for all classes (i.e. grades); grammar and geography from third class upwards; needlework for girls from first class and agriculture for boys from fourth class. A large number of extra subjects could also be offered provided that the obligatory subjects were satisfactorily taught. Every pupil would be examined annually by means of an oral examination carried out by the inspector and results fees would be paid to the schools on the basis of the results of the pupils at these examinations.

The system of payment by results fostered a narrow approach to the curriculum, both in terms of content and methodology. It encouraged rote-learning and made no allowance for differences between pupils or between schools. On the other hand, it laid down minimum standards for each grade and a pupil had to attain this standard before moving on to the next grade. During the period 1872 to 1900, when the results programme was abolished, the level of literacy in Ireland rose from 67% to 86%; the proportion of pupils in higher classes (class 3 or above) grew from 23% to 48% and the average attendance of pupils at national schools increased from 37% to 65%.

The following is the text of the results programme for third class pupils:

THIRD CLASS

1. *Reading* – (*a*) To read with ease, correctness, and intelligence, the lessons of the Third Book, or of any similar Reading Book approved by the Commissioners, and used in the class; and to answer simple questions on the words and phrases of the lesson read. (*b*) To repeat correctly about 120 lines of the poetry contained in the Reading Book used in the class.

2. *Spelling* – To write from dictation, on slate or paper, an easy sentence from the Reading Book used in the class.

3. *Writing* – To exhibit in copy-books, as a rule, at least one hundred pages in round hand or elementary small hand, written on one hundred different days since the preceding annual inspection – each page to be signed and dated by the pupil; and to write, with careful imitation of the head-line, in presence of the Inspector, any one of those copies selected by him.

4. *Arithmetic* – (*a*) To read and set down any number up to, and

including, six places of figures. (*b*) To know the Multiplication and Pence Tables. (*c*) To work on slate or paper sums in all the Simple Rules, and also sums in Addition of Money not exceeding five addends.

5. *Grammar* - To be well acquainted with the definitions of the Parts of Speech, and to distinguish the Parts of Speech in an ordinary sentence.

6. *Geography* - To know the outlines and leading features of the Map of the World.

[*Rules and Regulations for National Schools under the Commissioners of National Education*, 1898.]

III.4(b) Table of results fees paid per pupil for each subject at each level.

Following the introduction of payment by results in Ireland, national school teachers were paid results fees plus a salary which depended on the level of classification of the teacher. By the end of the century, a teacher's annual salary could vary from less than £30 (for a female assistant teacher) to over £70 (for a male first-class teacher), and results fees were calculated on the basis of the results of the pupils in the different subjects. The following table gives the scale of results fees for passes in 'ordinary and optional branches' in classes from infants to sixth class:

Subjects	Ordinary and Optional Branches - Fees for Passes							
	Infants' Class	First Class	Second Class	Third Class	Fourth Class	Fifth Class, First Stage	Fifth Class, Second Stage	Sixth Class, 1st and 2nd Examinations
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*
Infants' course	3 0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Reading	—	2 0	2 0	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6
Spelling	—	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0	1 0
Writing	—	1 0	1 0	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6	2 0
Arithmetic	—	1 0	2 0	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	3 0
Grammar	—	—	—	1 0	1 6	1 6	1 6	1 6
Geography	—	—	—	1 0	1 0	1 6	1 6	1 6
Book-keeping (optional for Boys and Girls)	—	—	—	—	—	2 6	2 6	3 0
Needlework (for Girls)	—	—	0 6	1 0	2 0	2 6	2 6	3 0
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	4 0	5 0	5 0	5 0
Vocal Music (optional for Boys and Girls)	—	—	1 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6	3 0

[*Ibid.*]

III.4(c) Instructions to inspectors in reference to the results programme and examinations.

Under the results programme, the role of the inspector was strictly that of an examiner. The national board issued specific instructions to inspectors regarding the conduct of the annual examinations, and these instructions included details of what constituted a pass at each level in each subject. The following extract from the instructions to inspectors includes the general instructions and the instructions relating to the Third Class programme:

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

(*a*) The examination of a School has for its object not only to test the actual knowledge of the pupils, but also to secure for them suitable and sufficient instruction.

(*b*) The Inspector should keep the requirements of the programme carefully in view, and scrupulously avoid transgressing its legitimate scope and limits.

(*c*) It is of the utmost importance to ascertain whether a good foundation has been laid by the Teacher, and whether the leading points of each subject have been well impressed on the pupils' minds.

(*d*) In the examination of the pupils each question should, as far as possible, bear some obvious relation to the previous one, so that the memory of the child may be aided by the ordinary association of ideas, and by a simple process of reasoning.

(*e*) The Inspector's manner should be such as to impart confidence to timid children; whatever knowledge a child is possessed of should be kindly and patiently elicited.

(*f*) The Inspector in the discharge of his important duties is expected to maintain a calm and judicial demeanour; to avoid any display of irritation or harshness; and to treat the Teachers with that courtesy to which they are entitled. He should also refrain from any adverse comments upon the condition of the School, or the character of the answering, before the pupils.

(*g*) It is the duty of an Inspector, as far as practicable, to make such arrangements as will enable him to attend on the day of a Results examination at an early hour. If he should be unable to attend till a comparatively late hour, he ought to notify the fact, if possible, beforehand, so that the Teacher and the pupils may not suffer from suspense and uncertainty.

(*h*) It is not desirable that a Results examination should be prolonged till a late hour, particularly in the winter months, or that the

infants should be detained after the usual hour for closing School. When the examination of a School extends over several hours, as is not uncommonly the case, the Inspector should see that each class is allowed a short interval of freedom from work. It may be possible to permit all or nearly all the pupils to resort to the playground for ten minutes or a quarter of an hour; and much insight into the order and discipline of the School may be acquired by carefully watching the classes as they break up, and again as they re-assemble. For this, as well as for other reasons, it is desirable that the inspection of each School should, as far as possible, be kept distinct and separate, even where the attendance is small; and as a general rule the examination of one School should be completed before another is begun.

(*i*) In furnishing his report on any School the Inspector, when calling attention to defects in the proficiency of the class, should indicate where the responsibility for the particular defect complained of chiefly rests.

(*j*) The Inspector should not fail to report his judgment of the moral tone of the School and the observance of discipline, cleanliness, and order: he should also bring under notice the defects, if any, in the condition of the School-house or premises.

THE SUBJOINED INSTRUCTIONS HAVE REFERENCE MAINLY TO THE ORDINARY AND MORE IMPORTANT SUBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL COURSE

1. A Pass in any subject is to be awarded for proficiency in the principal head of that subject. The Inspector is, however, required to examine on the other heads carefully, and to call particular attention in his Report to any case of marked neglect.

2. The pass mark "1" is to be given only where the proficiency of the pupil has been fully satisfactory; answering of a fair or passable character is to be indicated by the pass mark "2".

Taking 100 as the maximum, the value of the answering of a pupil at the Results Examination to entitle him to a satisfactory pass should be at least 60 per cent, and to entitle him to a mere pass it should be at least 40 per cent.

The examination in Explanation should in every instance be conducted with the books open, but written notes are not allowed to be made on the pages of the books.

* * * * * *

THIRD CLASS

13. *Reading* – Distinct articulation and proper grouping of words should be regarded as essential in this class, and no pass should be awarded where those conditions are not fulfilled. The pupil will be expected to answer simple questions on the words and phrases of the lesson read.

14. *Spelling* – The passage should be read distinctly, and then dictated, a few words at a time. One word misspelled for every ten words dictated will involve failure. The omission of one word liable to be misspelled, or of two easy words, will count as a mistake.

15. *Writing* – There should be a distinct advance in proficiency over that required in previous class. Guiding lines may still be used.

16. *Arithmetic* – Pupils should not be examined on paper unless with the Teacher's consent. Care should be taken to prevent copying by duly varying the questions given out. Five sums should be given. The correct solution of any two, including Long or Short Division, will merit a 'No. 2' pass; for a 'No. 1' pass, a sum in Compound Addition must also be correctly worked by the pupil. As regards sums in Multiplication and Division, the number of places in the multiplicand or in the dividend may be limited to five, and in the multiplier or in the divisor to two.

17. *Grammar* – Easy sentences should be chosen in which pupils should distinguish readily and intelligently the article, noun, adjective, personal pronoun, and verb.

18. *Geography* – The pupils of this class should distinguish land from water on the map, and be able to name and show the cardinal points both as regards the schoolroom and the map. They should also know the names and relative positions of continents and oceans, the largest countries, the great seas, the great mountain ranges, the largest islands, and the more important groups of islands. Pupils are to be examined before an ordinary Map of the World, but the test need not be confined to pointing.

19. *Needlework* – Pupils may be examined by either of the following tests:

First test – To do about one inch of top-sewing, and one inch of running; to knit one round.

Second test – To do about one inch of top-sewing, and one inch of hemming; to knit one round.

About 20 minutes to be allowed for each test.

[*Ibid.*]

III.5 Legislation relating to national education, 1875-1892.

The Newcastle Commission in England and the Argyll Commission in Scotland had both recommended that the state play a more direct role in the provision of elementary education. Acting on the recommendations of these commissions, the government introduced legislation in England and Scotland in the early 1870's which resulted in the setting up of local school boards. The Powis commission in Ireland had not recommended such a development. On the contrary, it favoured a more explicit recognition of the denominational character of Irish national schools, a recommendation which the government found difficult to implement. The Church Disestablishment Act of 1869 had put an end to state support of the Church of Ireland; the government did not wish to introduce legislation which would have the effect of supporting any other denomination or denominations. During 1870 and 1871, the Roman Catholic hierarchy repeatedly called on the government to introduce legislation to implement the section of the Powis commission's report relating to the recognition of denominational schools. The Church of Ireland, on the other hand, upheld the national school system as then constituted and opposed the Catholic bishops whose demands for a denominational system they described as 'ultimately subversive of civil and religious liberty'. The Roman Catholic stance was also condemned by non-conformists who argued that the government should be consistent in its approach to education in the United Kingdom as a whole.

By 1872, it was clear that Prime Minister Gladstone favoured consistency in legislating for education throughout the United Kingdom. In a letter to Bishop Cullen in February 1872, Gladstone indicated that he hoped to introduce legislation soon to deal with Irish education. He indicated that as soon as the Scottish 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'. However, this proposal was strongly opposed by the Roman Catholic bishops and by 1873, Gladstone had 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 Roman Catholic hierarchy. The failure of the government to introduce legislation had financial implications for Irish national education. The Acts of 1870 and 1872 had made provision for significant increases in local aid to English and Scottish education through local rates; no such provision had been made for Ireland.

III.5(a) National school teachers (Ireland) act, 1875.

The introduction of payment by results in Ireland added over £100,000 per annum 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.

In 1875 the national school teachers (Ireland) act was passed setting out the measures by which the government proposed to improve the local contribution. An extra grant of £120,000 per annum would continue to be paid by the government towards results fees, but the payment of part of this grant would be conditional on matching local funds being made available from local rates. Under the terms of the act, the poor law unions throughout the country were empowered to levy a rate for national education if they chose to do so. (The poor law unions were locally elected bodies which were later superseded by county and borough councils under the 1898 local government act.) The local government board was to act as the intermediary between the guardians of the poor law unions and the national board in relation to the collection of rates for national education.

The terms of the act were permissive, not compulsory. Each poor law union had the option of becoming contributory or not. But teachers in non-contributory areas suffered. If a poor law union decided not to contribute, the teachers in that area would be paid only a third of the fees earned by the pupils' examination results. The act was administratively cumbersome and in practice was never a success. More than half of the poor law unions opted to remain non-contributory. The teachers objected strongly to the terms of the act and as a result of pressure from the Irish National Teachers' Association (which had been founded in 1868), the government amended the act in 1876 and again in 1880. The act did little to improve the local contribution towards national education in the period 1875 to 1892. The local taxation (customs and excise) act of 1890 and the Irish education act, 1892, included clauses which improved the parliamentary grant for Irish education and which effectively repealed the 1875 act.

The following clauses from the 1875 act outline the complex nature of the act and the extent to which its success depended on the co-operation of the poor law unions, the local government board and the national board:

WHEREAS it is expedient to enable boards of guardians throughout Ireland to contribute towards increasing the remuneration of the teachers of national schools in their respective unions out of the rates for the relief of the destitute poor:

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

1. This Act may be cited for all purposes as 'The National School Teachers (Ireland) Act, 1875'.

. . . . . .

3. The Commissioners of Education shall each year, together

with their estimate for the next financial year, transmit to the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury a statement showing the scale upon which the amount required for the payment of results fees has been calculated; and the scale upon which such estimate as approved by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury has been calculated shall remain in force to the end of such financial year, without any alteration tending to increase the total amount estimated for results fees in such financial year.

4. The Local Government Board shall, on or before the first day of September in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy five transmit to the guardians of each union in Ireland a notice requiring them within forty days after the receipt thereof to inform the Local Government Board whether, for the purpose of increasing the remuneration of the teachers of national schools within such union, they are willing to become a contributory union within the meaning of the Act; and the Local Government Board shall, on or before the first day of January in the year one thousand eight hundred and seventy six, and in every subsequent year, transmit a notice to the like effect to the guardians of every union which shall not at such time be a contributory union.

5. The guardians for any union duly assembled after fourteen days notice has been given in the manner required by the regulations of the Local Government Board may, by the votes of a majority of their number, resolve that such union shall in each financial year contribute out of the rates for the relief of the destitute poor a sum equal to one third of the full amount which shall upon the passing of such resolution become payable in such year by way of results fees in respect of pupils attending the national schools in such union, and such union shall thereupon become liable to the payment of such contribution out of such rates as aforesaid and be a contributory union.

6. When such resolution had been passed by the guardians of any union a copy of the same signed by the chairman of such guardians and the clerk of such union shall be sent to the Commissioners of Education and to the Local Government Board, and shall, for the purposes of this Act, be conclusive evidence that such resolution was in every respect duly passed; and every such resolution shall continue in force, and the union to which the same relates shall continue to be a contributory union until the expiration of one year after the first day of April next after the passing of such resolution and thereafter until such resolution shall be rescinded: Provided always, that any such resolution may be rescinded by the vote of a majority of the guardians duly assembled after one month's

notice, and if so rescinded notice thereof shall be sent by the clerk of the union to the Commissioners of Education and to the Local Government Board, and from and after the first day of April next after such rescinding the union to which such resolution related shall cease to be a contributory union, but may again become a contributory union in manner by this Act provided.

[*Bill to provide for additional payments to teachers in national schools in Ireland* 1875 (223) iv 407.]

III.5(b) Irish education act, 1892.

Compulsory education was introduced in England in 1880. In 1883 it was unanimously resolved in the House of Commons

'that it is expedient to introduce into Ireland the principles of compulsory education with such modifications as the social and religious conditions require'.

It was not until 1892 that an act was passed which introduced a limited school attendance requirement in Ireland. Under the terms of the Irish education act of 1892, parents in 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. Rural areas were excluded from the requirements of the act and even those areas covered were not obliged to operate its provisions. The act also provided for free primary education in Ireland. School fees were abolished in national schools in which the average fee per pupil had been six shillings or less per annum and an additional parliamentary grant, to be known as the school grant, was provided in lieu of school fees.

The following extracts from the Irish education act, 1892, indicate its limited scope:

COMPULSORY EDUCATION

1.(1) In every place to which this section applies, the parent of every child not less than six nor more than fourteen years of age shall cause the child to attend school during such number of days in the year and for such time on each day of attendance as are prescribed in the first schedule to this act, unless there is a reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

(2) Provided that a child over eleven years of age shall not be required to attend school if the child has received such certificate of his proficiency in reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic, as is prescribed in the second schedule to this act.

(3) any of the following reasons shall be a reasonable excuse for non-attendance of a child; namely,

(a) that there is not within two miles, measured according to the nearest road, from the residence of the child any national school or other efficient school at which the child can attend, and to which the parent of the child does not object, on religious grounds, to send the child;

(b) That the child has been prevented from attending school by sickness, domestic necessity, or by reason of being engaged in necessary operations of husbandry and the ingathering of crops, or giving assistance in the fisheries, or other work requiring to be done at a particular time or season, or other unavoidable or reasonable cause;

(c) That the child, being under seven years of age, lives at too great a distance from any national school or other efficient school which he can attend, even though that distance is less than two miles;

(d) That the child is receiving suitable elementary education in some other manner.

2.(1) A person shall not, except as in this Act mentioned, take into his employment in any place to which this section applies, any child, except for the setting or planting potatoes, haymaking, or harvesting—

(i) who is under the age of eleven years; or

(ii) who, being of the age of eleven years or upwards, and less than fourteen years of age, has not obtained such certificate of his proficiency in reading, writing, and elementary arithmetic, as is prescribed in the Second Schedule to this Act, unless the child is employed and is attending school in accordance with the Factory and Workshop Acts, 1878 to 1891, but no employer shall compel a child to attend a school to which its parent objects on religious grounds.

(2) If any person acts in contravention of this section, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding forty shillings.

3.(1) In every place to which this section applies there shall be a school attendance committee consisting of six, eight, or ten persons, as the local authority of the place may determine, one-half of whom shall be appointed by the local authority and the remainder by the Commissioners, and not less than one-half of whom shall, where such persons are available, be managers or patrons of schools in the place, and the local authority shall make regulations subject to the approval of the Commissioners as to the time and mode of appointment of the Committee and the conduct of their proceedings. The term for which the members of the committee shall hold office and the quorum of the committee shall be

as prescribed in the Third Schedule to this Act.

(2) Subject to the approval of the Commissioners after a public inquiry if they shall think fit, the local authority of any place may for the purpose of this Act divide the place into districts, and in such case a school attendance committee shall be appointed for each district in manner hereinbefore provided.

(3) The school attendance committee may appoint and remove officers and prescribe their duties, and, with the approval of the local authority, fix their remuneration.

(4) In the event of the local authority, after warning and reasonable notice, failing to exercise any power, or perform any duty conferred or imposed on them by the preceding part of this section, the same may be exercised or performed by the Commissioners.

(5) The expenses of a school attendance committee, and the salaries and expenses of their officers, shall be defrayed by the local authority out of the local rate, but any revenue from penalties under this Act in the place or district shall be applied in relief of the local rate.

[*Bill to improve national education in Ireland* 1892 (420), iv 645.]

III.6 Government decision to give state aid to denominational training colleges, 1883.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the issue of teacher training was a controversial one. The Powis Commission pointed out in 1870 that only one-third of the national teachers in the country had received formal training and it was also critical of the quality and duration of the courses provided. The commission recommended that students attending the state training college in Marlborough St. be allowed to live in boarding houses under denominational supervision and it also recommended that state aid be given to denominational training colleges under certain conditions. These recommendations were not implemented by the government during the 1870's and the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin supported the establishment of two colleges for Roman Catholic student teachers - St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, for males and a college in Baggot St. for females - in 1875 and 1877 respectively. Eventually, after considerable pressure from Church of Ireland and Roman Catholic sources, the government agreed in 1883 to give state support to denominational training colleges. The colleges were taken into connection with the national board in 1884.

The following is an extract from a letter from Chief Secretary, G. O. Trevelyan, to the commissioners of national education, informing them of

the government's decision to give state aid to the denominational training colleges:

The Chief Secretary for Ireland to the Secretaries to the Commissioners of National Education.

Dublin Castle, 6 March 1883.

Gentlemen,

I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to state, for the information of the Commissioners of National Education, that Her Majesty's Government have given their best consideration to the subjects referred to in Mr. Sheridan's letter of the 13th of January, and to the accompanying documents.

In that letter the Commissioners submitted to His Excellency a proposal emanating from the Committee of the General Synod of the Irish Protestant Church, to take advantage of a resolution passed by the Board of National Education in 1874, to the effect that the system in force in the Marlborough-street Training School might advantageously be modified by permitting the students to reside, at the public expense, in approved boarding-houses, under the superintendence, if so desired, of clergymen of the same religious denomination with the resident pupils.

The Commissioners, at the same time, invited the attention of His Excellency to their letter of the 10th of December 1874, addressed to Sir Michael E. Hicks Beach, containing, *inter alia,* besides the resolution above referred to, the resolution of much greater magnitude, which provided for making grants to non-vested training colleges throughout the country.

And finally, the Commissioners informed His Excellency that they had as yet received no reply to their letter of December 1874 containing these important proposals.

His Excellency directs me at the outset to express his regret that a settlement of the proposals of the Commissioners, affecting as they do, in the highest sense, the educational interests of the people of Ireland, has been so long deferred.

His Excellency, in taking up the consideration of the proposals of the Commissioners, desires me, in the first instance, to advert to the proposal contained in their letter of December 1874 to Sir Michael Hicks Beach for the establishment of non-vested training colleges.

His Excellency understands the designation non-vested to signify a College which, like the English and Scotch Colleges, may be assisted only by grants-in aid, and which is under local or private management as contra-distinguished from the Marlborough-street

College, which belongs to State, and is exclusively a State-supported institution.

His Excellency is aware that the question of the inadequacy of the means of training teachers on principles acceptable to the people of Ireland is a subject which has at different times deeply engaged the attention of former Governments, of the Commissioners of National Education, and of the Royal Commission of 1870. Lord Carlingford (then Mr. Fortescue), in his letter of 19th June 1876 to the Commissioners, drew attention to it, and suggested important measures to remedy the evils which even then were militating against the advancement of good education in the country. Lord Powis's Commission in 1870 made strong representations upon the subject, and Sir Michael Hicks Beach, in November 1874, when adverting to the subject, said 'that it would be a source of deep gratification if, with the valuable assistance of the Commissioners of National Education, some practicable and reasonable scheme could be devised to remedy a state of things which is such a serious obstacle to maintaining at the highest standard the education of the Irish People.'

When Mr. Fortescue proposed his reforms there were 4,369 untrained teachers in the country. When Sir Michael Hicks Beach drew attention to the subject the number of the untrained teachers had risen to 6,284, and His Excellency, with unqualified regret, observes that, according to the last published account of the Commissioners, the number has now increased to 7,067, or 66 per cent. upon all the certified teachers receiving grants from the Commissioners.

His Excellency, whilst deeply concerned that such a vast proportion of the teachers are untrained, cannot fail to be struck with the fact shown in the statistics of the same report, that the great preponderance of the untrained, owing doubtless to the objections of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland to the present system of training, is to be found in the ranks of the Roman Catholic teachers.

Of the 7,907 Roman Catholic teachers only 2,142, or about 27 per cent., are trained, whilst of the 2,714 Protestant teachers, 1,412, or 52 per cent., are trained.

The Government have had also under consideration the Public Education Estimates of 1882-83 for Great Britain and Ireland, in which it appears that the provisions for the support of Training Colleges, are, in—

(*a*) England and Wales	110,500*l.*	to support	42	colleges with	3,150	students
(*b*) Scotland	27,000*l.*	ditto	7	ditto	851	ditto
(*c*) Ireland	7,755*l.*	ditto	1	ditto	220	ditto

His Excellency cordially recognises the efforts which the Commissioners have made to improve the standard of instruction in the National Schools. But with 66 per cent. of the teachers untrained at any training college these efforts must have been infinitely less fruitful than they would have been if every school, or nearly every school, had been in charge of a master or mistress skilled in the art of teaching.

In His Excellency's view the importance of instruction in this art cannot be over-rated. It is not sufficient that teachers should possess certain scholastic attainments. They should be trained in the best methods of imparting instruction and of school organisation, so that on the one hand there may be no waste of teaching power, and on the other the children may be most readily and effectively taught the rudiments of an elementary course of instruction. This can only be accomplished by a careful system of training, and His Excellency therefore entirely approves of the proposal to extend the opportunities of training in normal colleges to young persons about to become teachers. With this view the Government are now prepared to encourage and facilitate the establishment of training colleges under local management in Ireland by authorising the Commissioners to make grants towards their maintenance; and as the English scheme of training colleges is the outcome of a vast official experience, the Government are of opinion that it might with advantage be adopted, pure and simple, by the Commissioners of National Education.

As the expenditure upon the support of the proposed training colleges may in the course of some years become a charge of great magnitude, the heads of Her Majesty's Government have impressed upon His Excellency the importance of insisting upon a strong and effective administration of the inspection and control of these institutions.

His Excellency, therefore, desires to be favoured, as soon as may be convenient to the Commissioners, if they approve of the adoption of the English scheme, with a statement of the bye-laws which they propose for the carrying on of these colleges.

As regards the scheme for modifying the constitution of the Marlborough-street Training Establishment, in which the Committee of the Irish Church Synod is interested, His Excellency desires to know, in view of the concessions of the Government for the establishment of a great system of training colleges on the basis of the English system, whether the proposal to allow the Irish Church students of the Marlborough-street Training College to reside in a private boarding-house, is, in the opinion of the Commissioners,

under all the circumstances, one which it is necessary to proceed with. To His Excellency it would appear that as the object of the minor proposal was to secure a denominational domestic life for the students, it would merge naturally into the more comprehensive scheme to which the Government now gives its sanction. But on this proposal His Excellency is prepared to be guided by the opinion of the Commissioners, and if they continue to desire to carry it out he is prepared to give his sanction to it, on the understanding, as His Excellency apprehends the proposal, that the grant to defray the cost of boarding the students in the private boarding-houses shall not exceed that which the Commissioners actually incur for their support in their own establishments, and will thus lead to no disturbance of the estimate for the support of the Marlborough-street Training College in the coming financial year.

As the Estimates for the financial year 1883-4 are now closed by the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, the Government must rely for the inauguration of the proposed training colleges upon the probability of a margin in the Irish Educational Vote, otherwise a Supplementary Estimate at the usual period must be submitted.

His Excellency, in conclusion, desires me to express the opinion of the Government, that the question of providing adequate means for the training of teachers must no longer be considered as one of speculation or expediency, but as one of absolute urgency. The country suffers by every year's delay; and it can scarcely be expected that Parliament will continue without hesitation to vote about three quarters of a million annually towards the support of a system of education, two-thirds of whose teachers have not been professionally instructed in training colleges, to fit them for a proper discharge of their duties.

I am, &c.
(signed) *G. O. Trevelyan.*

[*Correspondence between the Irish government and the commissioners of national education on the subject of training schools in Ireland.* 1883 (144) liii 471.]

III.7 The Belmore Commission, 1898.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, attitudes to education were changing both in Ireland and abroad. The traditional emphasis on book-learning in elementary schools was coming under increasing criticism. The 'practical educationists' felt that manual and practical subjects should find a place in the primary school programme. The 'child-centred educationists' felt that the curriculum should take more cognisance of the nature of childhood and that the interests and needs of the child should be of central

importance in the development of programmes of elementary education.

The movement in favour of the introduction of manual instruction in elementary schools had achieved some success in England and Scotland before the end of the nineteenth century. During the 1890's, the system of payment by results was abolished in elementary schools in those countries and the curriculum of the schools had been broadened to include manual and practical subjects. In Ireland, a commission was set up by the lord lieutenant in 1897 'to determine how far and in what form, manual and practical instruction should be included' in the Irish national system. This commission was under the chairmanship of the Earl of Belmore and is commonly referred to as the Belmore commission.

The commission presented its final report to the lord lieutenant in June 1898. It recommended that the primary school programme should include practical subjects such as educational handwork, drawing, elementary science as well as singing and drill. As regards payment by results, the commission was 'strongly of opinion' that the system of results fees should not be applied to practical subjects. The recommendations of the Belmore commission formed the basis of the Revised Programme of Primary Instruction which was introduced in 1900 and had a far-reaching effect on primary education in Ireland in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

In its general conclusions, the Belmore commission summarised its reasons for recommending that the primary school programme should be expanded. It referred in particular to the desirability of introducing practical subjects and outlined the basis on which these recommendations were made.

I. KINDERGARTEN—We are of opinion that the general principles and methods of the system known by the name of Kindergarten, which have been already introduced into some of the schools under the National Education Board, should be extended as far as possible to all schools attended by infant children.

II. EDUCATIONAL HANDWORK—We think that Kindergarten methods and principles should be continued in classes I, II, and III of ordinary schools, in the form of Paper-folding, Cardboard work, Wire-work, Brick-laying, Clay-modelling, and such like exercises. These exercises we include under the general term of *Hand and Eye Training,* and we look upon them as of great importance, for the purpose of carrying on the manual training of the children, from the Kindergarten stage to the higher grades of Manual Instruction. Further we consider that some form of more advanced Manual Instruction should be introduced, as far as possible, in the higher classes of schools for boys; and we recommend, as most suitable for this purpose, instruction in the principles and practice of *Woodwork,* treated educationally. The object to be

aimed at, is not to make the boys carpenters, but to train them in habits of accurate observation, careful measurement, and exact workmanship. Such habits we regard as of great value to all boys, whatever may be their subsequent career in life.

III. DRAWING—We recommend that Drawing should be made compulsory, as far as possible, in all National Schools. The first elements of it find a place in the Kindergarten system, and it should be continued, we think, to the end of the school career. In the classes above the Kindergarten, it should be associated with Hand and Eye Training, with Woodwork, and to some extent also with Elementary Science, as soon as these subjects are introduced.

IV. ELEMENTARY SCIENCE—We are of opinion that a simple course of Elementary Science should form a part of ordinary education in National Schools. This course should be so framed as to bring home to the minds of the children an intelligent knowledge of the common facts of nature, and the rudimentary principles of science. In the lower classes, it should consist in great part of object lessons; and in the higher classes, it should be illustrated by simple experiments. The pupils should be encouraged and assisted, as far as may be found practicable, to take part in the experiments. The programme for this course, while following everywhere the same general lines, may with advantage be varied in its details, according to the circumstances of the locality, and the character and condition of the children.

V. AGRICULTURE—We do not think that Agriculture as an art, that is to say practical farming, is a subject that properly belongs to elementary education. At present, the study of what is called the Theory of Agriculture, is compulsory for boys in all rural schools, and is highly encouraged by fees. But our inquiry has shown that this study consists, for the most part, in committing a text-book to memory; and we have come to the conclusion that it has little educational or practical value. We recommend instead, that the course of Elementary Science to be taught in rural schools, should be so framed as to illustrate the more simple scientific principles that underlie the art and industry of Agriculture. We also recommend the maintenance and extension of School Gardens, as a means by which these scientific principles may be illustrated and made interesting to the pupils. On the other hand, we do not consider that the maintenance of School Farms, the object of which is to teach the art of Agriculture, properly belongs to the functions of a Board of primary education. As regards the Model Farm at Glasnevin and the Munster Dairy School, we think that they could be made more useful for the purposes of agricultural education, if

placed in charge of an Agricultural Department, whenever such a Department is established in Ireland.

VI. COOKERY, LAUNDRY WORK, AND DOMESTIC SCIENCE—We think it very desirable that Cookery, Laundry Work, and Domestic Science, should be taught, as far as may be found practicable, in girls' schools. We cannot advise that these subjects should, at present, be made compulsory; but we do recommend that aid should be freely given to provide the necessary buildings and equipment for teaching them; and that managers and teachers should be encouraged to take them up, by a liberal system of grants.

VII. NEEDLEWORK—Needlework should continue to form, as at present, an important element in all schools for girls. The first elements of it are taught in the Kindergarten system. It should be continued in Classes I, II, and III, as a part of Hand and Eye Training; and, in the higher classes, advanced Needlework will naturally occupy the time devoted to Woodwork in schools for boys.

VIII. SINGING—We recommend that Singing should be brought within the reach as far as possible, of all the children attending National Schools in Ireland. It has a cultivating and refining influence, and furnishes a source of permanent enjoyment. In England and Scotland, the number of children who are taught Singing, in schools inspected by the State, is about 99 per cent of the number in average attendance; and we see no reason why an equally good result should not be attained in Ireland, if equal encouragement be given. From the experience of English and Scotch schools, it seems clear that the Tonic Sol-fa method of teaching is the most simple and effective. This system has been already adopted in some Irish schools; and we strongly recommend that it be extended as rapidly and widely as may be found possible.

IX. DRILL AND PHYSICAL EXERCISES—Various kinds of Drill and Physical Exercises are now a recognised part of primary education in England, in Scotland, and on the Continent of Europe; and we think they should be introduced into the primary schools of Ireland, with the least possible delay. We are satisfied, from what we have seen and heard on this subject, that such exercises contribute largely to the health, the spirits, and the general well-being of the children. They are no additional burden on school life, but rather a pleasant form of recreation; and the children return from them to their studies with renewed energy.

The report then went on to give some suggestions about how these new subjects might be introduced. It stressed that the changes should not be made all at once but should be introduced 'gradually and tentatively'. It

pointed out the need for in-service training of teachers and for an immediate reform of the programme of the training colleges.

We think that the changes recommended ought to be introduced, not all at once, but gradually and tentatively. They should be tried first in the larger centres, and afterwards extended to more remote districts. It would be necessary, at the outset, to engage the services of experts, from outside the present staff of the National Education Board, whose duty it would be to organise the classes, and to aid the teachers with their counsel and instruction. But we have no doubt that this work, after a little time, could be taken up by the ordinary staff of the Board. Again, it is obviously important that all future teachers should be trained in the new subjects; and the programme of the Training Colleges must accordingly be framed to this end, with as little delay as possible.

We have carefully considered the question, by what means time may be found for the several exercises in manual and practical training which we have recommended; and we have pointed out certain modifications in the present programme of studies, which may be adopted for that purpose, and which, we believe, will not interfere unfavourably with the course of instruction hitherto given in the National Schools.

Lastly, we are strongly of opinion that the system of Results Fees, depending on the individual examination of pupils, at present in force in the National Schools, ought not to be applied to these subjects of Manual and Practical Instruction. While it should be always open to the Inspector to examine individual pupils, we think that the grants awarded to the teacher, in these subjects, should largely depend on the general evidence 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.

Finally, the commission summarised the background to their findings. It emphasised that the recommendations were based on educational principles; it criticised the existing system as being 'one-sided in its character', and stated that children should be taught 'not merely to take in knowledge from books, but to observe with intelligence the material world around them'. It referred to the experience of schools in England, Scotland and other European countries where a system such as they were recommending had already been tried. In summary, the commission believed that the changes it was recommending 'would give all-round training to the faculties of the children'.

The considerations by which we have been led to the general con-

clusions above set out, will be fully discussed in the second part of the Report, under the several heads of Manual and Practical Instruction. But we think it will be for your Excellency's convenience, that the general summary of our conclusions should be here followed by a general summary of the grounds on which they are based.

I. First, then, there are reasons founded on educational principles. The present system, which consists largely in the study of books, is one-sided in its character; and it leaves some of the most useful faculties of the mind absolutely untrained. We think it important that children should be taught not merely to take in knowledge from books, but to observe with intelligence the material world around them; that they should be trained in habits of correct reasoning on the facts observed; and that they should, even at school, acquire some skill in the use of hand and eye to execute the conceptions of the brain. Such a training we regard as valuable to all, but especially valuable to those whose lives are to be mainly devoted to industrial arts and occupations. The great bulk of the pupils attending primary schools under the National Board, will have to earn their bread by the work of their hands; it is therefore important that they should be trained, from the beginning, to use their hands with dexterity and intelligence.

II. Next, we have the practical experience of those schools in England, Scotland, and on the Continent of Europe, in which such a system as we recommend has been already introduced and tested. The evidence we have received on this point, is absolutely unanimous and, as we think, entirely conclusive. We have been told, over and over again, that the introduction of manual and practical training has contributed greatly to stimulate the intelligence of the pupils, to increase their interest in school work, and to make school life generally brighter and more pleasant. As a consequence, the school attendance is improved; the children remain at school to a more advanced age; and much time is gained for the purpose of education.

We inquired particularly whether the literary side of school studies – reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography – had suffered any loss by the change; and the answer was uniform, that no such loss had been observed. In some cases, we were assured that the literary studies had been positively improved by the introduction of manual training. This result was accounted for, partly by the increased intelligence of the children, partly by the constant change and variety of their occupations – many of the most useful exercises being only a kind of organised play – and

partly by their increased interest in their work.

We regard it also as a very significant testimony to the value of manual training, that wherever it has been once introduced, it has, with hardly an exception, been continued and extended. There has been practically no disposition to go back to the old system, which made primary education almost exclusively literary in its character; and after an experience extending over some years, there is a general consensus of managers of schools, inspectors, and parents, that the value of primary education has been greatly enhanced by the change.

III. Lastly, there is a consideration of a practical character, which seems to us deserving of no little weight. A strong desire exists throughout this country, and it is growing stronger every day, for the introduction of a general system of Technical Education. It is thought that a good system of Technical Education would contribute largely towards the development of arts and industries in Ireland; and in this opinion we entirely concur. But the present system of primary education is so one-sided in its character that it leaves the pupils quite unprepared for Technical Education. The clever boys trained in the National Schools, if they are disposed to seek for a higher education, may pass with advantage into Intermediate Schools, even if they had such a school at their doors. Now it seems to us that the changes we recommend would go far to remedy this defect. The system of National Education, modified as we propose, 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 their circumstances.

[*Royal commission of manual and practical instruction in primary schools under the board of national education in Ireland.* 1898 (C. 8923) xliv 1.]

III.8 The revised programme of instruction, 1900.

The final report of the Belmore commission was presented to the lord lieutenant in June 1898. The commissioners of national education were anxious to see its recommendations implemented and two of the commissioners, Archbishop Walsh of Dublin and Professor Fitzgerald of Trinity College, who had also been members of the Belmore commission, were particularly active in pursuing the matter. The appointment of a new resident commissioner, W. J. M. Starkie, in February 1899, gave a new impetus to the movement for curricular reform. Starkie immediately became involved in drawing up a working scheme for the introduction of

manual and practical instruction in national schools, and by early 1900 the final arrangements for a major reform of the national school programme were complete. The new programme was known as the Revised programme and it came into effect in all national schools in September 1900. Under this programme, payment by results was abolished and was replaced by a composite salary scheme for all national teachers. The new programme encouraged a more child-centred approach to education; it allowed for flexibility in the range and content of subjects offered; it was adaptable to the needs of different localities and teachers were exhorted to be 'absolutely unfettered' in their choice of methods of instruction. The programme was considerably broader in scope than the results programme and included a wide range of subjects including manual and practical subjects. In introducing the programme, Starkie referred in particular to its 'freedom and elasticity' and stated that 'it is worth while sacrificing a great deal of the accuracy exacted by an examination test in exchange for the alertness and independence, the slow but continuous development which a less rigid training fosters.'

He also expressed the hope that 'at no distant epoch the new and less bookish methods of instruction will remove the existing obstacles to the spread of industrial enterprise.'

The programme was circularised to managers and teachers and the preface was entitled *Notes, hints and observations for the information of managers and teachers.* In the general introduction, it was pointed out that the programme was not 'an exposition of the precise requirements' in each subject, but was rather 'an indication of the general view (of the board) as to the curriculum that should be pursued in national schools'. It was emphasised that the programme was 'promulgated provisionally and tentatively' and that there was no obligation on schools to adopt it in its entirety. The programme was described 'as representing the maximum of requirements under the various heads'. Specimen time-tables were given as shown on p. 150.

The introduction went on to state that the programme was designed to give scope for an adequate amount of education for the average child attending primary schools while at the same time giving a child of above average intelligence the opportunity of developing it to the best advantage. The broad scope of the programme was described as follows:

> The general Programme is designed with the object of affording scope within its limits for an adequate amount of education for the average child attending primary schools, and at the same time of giving a child whose intelligence is above the average opportunities of developing it to the best advantage.
>
> The cultivation of the intelligence, and the training of the senses, as represented by the hand, the eye, and the ear, are provided for, while the development of the physical faculties that are so impor-

SPECIMEN TIME TABLE — BOYS' SCHOOL

Showing Number of Minutes devoted to Subjects each day.

Day of Week	English		Arith-metic	Kinder-garten, &c.	Drawing	Object Lessons and Elemen-tary Science	Cookery, &c.	Needle-work	Singing	School Discipline and Physical Drill	Recrea-tion.	Total No. of Minutes
	Reading, Spelling, Grammar	Writing, Composi-tion										
Monday.....	60	30	30	—	45	—	—	—	25	20	30	240
Tuesday.....	60	30	30	30	—	45	—	—	—	15	30	
Wednesday.....	60	30	30	—	45	—	—	—	25	20	30	
Thursday.....	60	30	30	30	—	45	—	—	—	15	30	
Friday.....	60	30	30	45	—	—	—	—	25	20	30	

SPECIMEN TIME TABLE — GIRLS' SCHOOL

Showing Number of Minutes devoted to Subjects each day.

Day of Week	English		Arith-metic	Kinder-garten, &c.	Drawing	Object Lessons and Elemen-tary Science	Cookery, &c.	Needle-work	Singing	School Discipline and Physical Drill	Recrea-tion.	Total No. of Minutes
	Reading, Spelling, Grammar	Writing, Composi-tion										
Monday.....	40	30	20	—	—	—	60	30	—	30	30	240
Tuesday.....	60	30	20	30	—	30	—	40	—	—	30	
Wednesday.....	60	30	20	—	30	—	—	40	30	—	30	
Thursday.....	60	30	20	30	—	30	—	40	—	—	30	
Friday.....	40	30	20	—	30	—	—	30	30	30	30	

tant to all children, but especially to the children of primary schools, forms a conspicuous feature of the revised curriculum.

Under the new Rules, English (including its subheads) and Arithmetic are to be compulsory in all schools. In schools where there are Irish-speaking pupils the Teacher, if acquainted with the Irish Language, is advised to use the vernacular as an aid to the elucidation of English, and Inspectors are at liberty to use Irish in conducting the school examinations. Kindergarten methods and Manual Instruction, Drawing, Object Lessons and Elementary Science, Singing, School Discipline, and Physical Drill, are compulsory in schools in which there are Teachers holding certificates of competency to give instruction in them, and these branches must be introduced into all schools as soon as possible. Cookery and Laundry work are compulsory in Girls' schools where there are competent Teachers and suitable appliances, and Needlework is compulsory for girls in all schools with Female Teachers or Workmistresses.

The individual examination of all the pupils in each subject of the Programme is abolished, except in special cases, but all schools will, as a rule, be examined fully at least once a year in the course that may be sanctioned for each. These courses can be arranged, with the approval of the Commissioners, so as to suit the needs of the various localities in which the schools are situated.

Geography and History are not specified as Day School subjects, but they are by no means excluded from the New Programme, and during the Reading Lessons the Teachers will be required to convey a sufficient knowledge of these branches, by the alternative use of Literary, Geographical, and Historical Reading Books. As the pupils will not be required in future to purchase Grammars, Geographies or Spelling Books, the cost of two additional Reading Books will not be a serious burden. In very poor localities, however, it is expected that a free stock of Reading Books shall be available for the use of the pupils.

Although the Commissioners will be satisfied if instruction is efficiently given within the limits of the Programme outlined in the preceding paragraphs, yet they recognise the fact that, under the old Results System, additional subjects - Irish, French, Latin, Instrumental Music, &c., were taught in many cases during school hours, and also before and after school hours. Under the Rules hitherto in force, if these subjects were taught in *ordinary schools during school hours,* no results fees were paid for the instruction; but if they were taught in Model Schools, Convent, or Monastery Schools, during school hours, results fees were paid. The Commis-

sioners considered that in ordinary National Schools, where the staff and accommodation were limited, these subjects could not be taught, during the ordinary school hours, with efficiency, without imperilling the proficiency in the essential subjects of the Programme. But they did not *prohibit* the teaching of these subjects during school hours, even in ordinary schools.

In connexion with the new scheme, the Commissioners sanction, as they sanctioned in connexion with the old Results System, Irish, French, Latin, Mathematics, and Instrumental Music, as optional branches that may be taught in all National Schools, and that may be taught in these Schools during the ordinary school hours, provided the adequacy of the course of instruction in the usual Day School subjects is not impaired or hampered thereby. But as the time for secular instruction is very limited, it may not be found possible in some schools to provide for instruction in any of these branches during the ordinary school hours. In such cases the Commissioners will be prepared to recognise them as *extra* branches if the course of instruction is approved, and to grant special fees for the additional labour entailed on the Teachers giving the instruction. These fees will be supplementary to the regular incomes of the Teachers for the work done during the ordinary school hours.

As an example of the content and approach of the different subjects, the programme for *Third Standard* in all the subjects of the Revised programme are given here:

I—ENGLISH – with Sub-heads: (1) Reading. (2) Writing. (3) Spelling. (4) Grammar. (5) Composition.

Reading – To read with ease, distinctness of articulation, correctness, and intelligence, the lessons of the Third Book, or of any similar Reading Book approved by the Commissioners, and to answer, in fully formed sentences, simple questions on the words, phrases and matter of the lesson read. To repeat correctly and expressively, about 60 lines of the poetry contained in the Reading Book. To know what is a Sentence and what is a Paragraph.

Writing – To write from dictation a short passage (not more than six lines) from Reading Book, read slowly once, and then dictated slowly. Round hand copy-books, with exercises regularly dated for each day of pupil's attendance, to be ready for inspection.

Spelling – To write correctly on a slate words selected from the lessons, and to spell short sentences and phrases selected from the lessons. To be able to make more advanced combinations in Word Building than what is required in 2nd Standard.

Grammar - To point out the principal Parts of Speech in an ordinary sentence.

Composition - To form simple sentences, employing parts of speech selected by Inspector.

II—ARITHMETIC - (*a*) To read and set down any number up to, and including, six places of figures. (*b*) To know the Pence Tables. (*c*) To work on slate or paper sums in all the simple rules, (1) whole numbers without decimals, (2) whole numbers with decimals. (*d*) To measure with the Metre scale. (*e*) To weigh quarter stones, half stones, and stones. (*f*) To measure pints and quarts. (*g*) To perform mental calculations involving the use of easy concrete numbers in the four simple Rules. (*h*) To know the sub-divisions of £1. (*i*) To know the sub-divisions of a month, and the number of days in each month.

III—KINDERGARTEN METHODS AND MANUAL INSTRUCTION - More advanced exercises on Brick work, placing six or more bricks from description, and from plan and elevation. Transferring points from a brick to the drawing and *vice versa*. Drawing the plan and elevation of several bricks.

Simple exercises in string work. Tying a reef knot, a slip knot, &c., from drawing.

IV—DRAWING - (*j*) More advanced exercises in (*f*), (*g*), (*h*) and (*i*). (*k*) Ruling and freehand from memory. (*l*) Bold curves. (*m*) Filling in part or the whole copy with parallel lines with pencil or coloured crayons.

V.—OBJECT LESSONS AND ELEMENTARY SCIENCE - (Alternative courses).

Course I Experimental Science.	*Course II* Principles of Agriculture and Horticulture.	*Course III* Sound, Light, &c.	*Course IV* Electricity and Magnetism.
Measurement of lines, areas and volumes. Water displaced by a body immersed in it. The see-saw or lever leading to a knowledge of the pair of scales or balance. Relative weight of different kinds of material.	Character of the root, stem, leaves, flower, and fruit of *common* plants. Effects of watering, heat, frost, &c., on plants.	Melting, dissolving in hot and cold water. Expansion, the thermometer. Its construction and use. Boiling and freezing points.	Properties of magnets. Attraction, repulsion, magnetisation. The compass needle.

VI—SINGING - A: Tonic Sol-fa; B: Staff Notation.

A. 1. To sing from the Examiner's (or Teacher's) pointing on the

Modulator the tones of the chords of *Doh* and *Soh* in any easy order.

2. To sing any six previously prepared exercises with time and tune combined on the Second Step of the Method.

3. To sing sweetly, in unison, any six approved school songs.

B. 1. To sing from the Examiner's (or Teacher's) pointing on a Blank Staff the tones of the chords of *Do* and *Sol* in any easy order.

2. To sol-fa any six previously prepared exercises of an elementary character with time and tune combined.

3. To sing sweetly, in unison, any six approved school songs.

VII—SCHOOL DISCIPLINE AND PHYSICAL DRILL – Marching (as for 2nd Standard). Change step on the march. Counter-marching. Running in step. Turns. – Right turn; left turn; half-right turn; half-left turn; right-about turn. Wheeling in fours, forwards and backwards. Opening and closing of ranks for exercises. Dumb-bells. School games. Deportment. Politeness. Good manners. Respect for parents and superiors. Punctuality.

VIII—COOKERY AND LAUNDRY WORK

A. *Cookery* – 'Setting' fires, lighting fires, cooking potatoes and cabbage. Making colcannon. Uses of meal – making 'stirabout' or porridge, gruel. Slicing and frying potatoes. Uses of lard. Boiling, frying, and poaching eggs. Cutting and buttering bread. Making tea, coffee, and cocoa. Uses of milk.

B. *Laundry Work* – Scrubbing and cleaning. Washing white articles. Washing a shirt, a collar, a cuff, &c.

IX—NEEDLEWORK – To knit the leg of a sock or stocking, with rib; also (in sewing), to be taught stitching, and run-and-fell seam, and how to make a simple pinafore, or a woman's apron. One or other of these articles to be completed by pupil during year.

[*Revised programme of instruction in national schools,* published in appendix to the *Annual report of the commissioners of national education. 1902 (Cd. 1679) H.C.* 1903 xxi.]

III.9 Efforts by Chief Secretary Wyndham, to reform Irish education, 1902.

In 1899 and 1902, administrative changes of a fundamental nature took place in the English education system. In 1899, a single board of education was set up to supersede the various bodies responsible for different levels of education and under the education act of 1902, local education authorities were set up in each county and county borough to administer education within their own boundaries. These local education authorities had power to levy a rate for education and up to 50% of education costs

were raised through these rates. In Ireland, where state funds for education continued to be channelled through a number of different bodies, less than 5% of the cost of national education was provided from local sources. The lack of co-ordination between the main bodies responsible for administering education (i.e. the national board, the intermediate board and the department of agriculture and technical instruction) was a matter of growing concern in government circles and the reform which had taken place in English educational administration provided a blueprint for possible action in Ireland. Moreover, the local government (Ireland) act of 1898 had provided a framework for possible devolution. The first intimation of official thinking on the matter was contained in a confidential report on building grants for national schools submitted to the Treasury in November 1902 by a committee which included the resident commissioner of national education, W. J. M. Starkie and representatives of the Office of Public Works and of the Treasury. In this report, the opinion was expressed that the only solution to the difficulty of obtaining increased voluntary contributions towards the building and improvement of schools would be 'to make the local rates liable for one-third of the cost of these schools'.

Two months later, in a letter to the Treasury, Chief Secretary Wyndham set out detailed proposals for reforming the administration of Irish education. The following extracts from the letter outline Wyndham's proposals:

I am directed by the Lord Lieutenant to refer to letter of 1st ult. in which it was stated that a further communication would deal with the general question of the growth of expenditure on Irish elementary education. The present time appears suitable for considering the whole subject in view of the large addition to be made to the Imperial contribution to the cost of elementary education in England. It has been stated in the House of Commons both by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Secretary that any corresponding grant made to Ireland would not necessarily be devoted to educational purposes but would be expended in whatever way might seem best suited to Ireland's peculiar needs. Although the improvement of education both higher and elementary is undoubtedly a pressing necessity, it is in the view of the Irish Government, a matter of even greater urgency to stimulate and assist the efforts now beginning to be made towards economic amelioration. Poverty is one principal cause of the defective provision made for education in Ireland, and in particular of the very small proportion which local contributions bear to its total cost.

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In England and Scotland the responsibility of providing elemen-

tary education lies, in default of voluntary effort, on locally elected bodies; their action is supervised by a Government department; the law of compulsory education enables the Government to enforce the supply of deficiencies at the cost, in great part, of the locality. In Ireland, compulsory education is not generally in force outside the towns; there is no power of enforcing a local contribution, and no responsibility of locally elected bodies; the central controlling department is not a department of the Government. The Irish system therefore lacks both the stimulus of local interest and the efficiency of State control.

It is not necessary to go at length into the historical causes for this state of things; but it is for consideration whether those causes are still operative to such an extent as to necessitate the continuance of the present unsatisfactory system.

The dependence on voluntary control to the exclusion of local control, of local contribution, and of compulsory attendance, is due partly to poverty, partly to the absence of any representative local Government before 1898. The new local authorities established in that year have, upon the whole, exceeded expectation in the businesslike way they have done their work, and it is, in the view of the Irish Government, desirable to enlarge their responsibilities, although doubtless advisable to proceed gradually and with caution. The difficulty of poverty remains; the rates in some of the poorer unions are already most oppressive as shown in the Report of the Royal Commission on Local Taxation.

In considering the other cardinal defect of the system, viz. the anomalous constitution of the National Board, the Lord Lieutenant is able to speak with more confidence. The compromise by which representatives of the principal denominations, in fixed proportions, are selected to control a system professedly undenominational, may have been the best or indeed the only practicable course in 1831; and it is not maintained that even at the present time the state of sectarian feeling, or the public faith in the impartiality of Government, is such as to permit of its abolition without any substitute. But it has not maintained undenominational education; it does not prevent sectarian contention, and it is not a satisfactory representative of the state. . . .

It is clear that the present tendency in Ireland is for elementary education to become purely denominational. This tendency, it may be observed, aggravates an evil due to sparse population, viz. the multiplication of small schools. But it clearly reduces the force of any argument in favour of the present constitution of the Board of National Education based on the supposed necessity that e.g. Pro-

testant representatives should protect the Protestant children who attend Catholic schools.

The necessary defects of the Board as a representative of the Government are obvious. The Resident Commissioner is the only member who receives pay and devotes his whole time to his duties; he sits at the Board and has a single vote like any other Commissioner. The other members, being selected to fill vacancies among the representatives of their particular denominations, cannot be expected to take the same view of their functions, as if, on the one hand, they were appointed to represent the Government, or, on the other hand, they have with regard to the spending and the administration of public funds, power without responsibility. On the other hand, they are, with regard to teachers and managers of schools in a position of responsibility without adequate power. Teachers derive their emoluments entirely from the State, but authority over them is divided between the managers and the Commissioners, and the Commissioners have no adequate means of ensuring proper exercise of the Managers' authority. In consequence, complaints by teachers against managers, the justice of which is admitted, go unredressed, while on the other hand the teachers are able, by continuous pressure, to secure concessions from the Commissioners for which public funds have to pay, e.g., the discretion vested in the Commissioners to give a special rate of salary to teachers coming under the new conditions whose cases were not adequately met by a rate based on an average of three years has been exercised in 3,000 cases out of a total staff of 13,000. Nevertheless, constant complaints are made to the Government and to Parliament on behalf of the teachers; Government has not the required knowledge of particulars, and the Board has not the requisite official position to resist such demands.

The consciousness of these imperfections in the present system is one of the principal reasons which led the Irish Government to urge upon their Lordships the proposal 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 being able to restrain expenditure on the part of the various semi-independent bodies which at present administer education in Ireland. Such a proposal does not however, diminish the desirability of fully considering the constitution of these bodies, and in particular of the Board of National Education.

As a preliminary to any wider enquiry into these questions which it may be thought proper to make, I am to suggest 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. It would be desirable that the Inspector selected should, if possible, have some experience of the head-quarters office, and also some knowledge of foreign systems of education.

One point of school economy which occurs to His Excellency as worthy of examination, by such an inspector, is the absence in Ireland of any such arrangement as, it is understood, exists in England, whereby in country schools, including pupils of various ages, the infant and younger children may be taught by any person appearing to the inspector capable of giving elementary instruction, no other qualification being demanded. Other points of comparison would doubtless occur to an observer familiar with the English system.

After obtaining and considering such a report as is suggested, the Irish Government would be prepared either to suggest modifications of the present system or to indicate the directions in which further enquiry might appear desirable.

[State Paper Office, Dublin Castle. CSO RP 1904 10032.]

III.10 Report of Mr. F. H. Dale on primary education in Ireland, 1904.

In December 1902, Chief Secretary Wyndham had suggested that it might be helpful to have a report on Irish elementary schools carried out by an inspector from the English board of education 'who would be able to compare what he saw with the conditions with which he was familiar in England'. 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. 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. The Irish children whom he saw, impressed him 'as brighter and more intelligent than the English', but Dale drew attention to 'certain radical defects in the general conditions under which the schools work and in their organisation, which are bound both to impair the efficiency of any syllabus of instruction however well devised, and to render the expenditure of public money on education wasteful and unproductive'. Dale was critical of the 'deplorable' lack of local interest

in primary education, except among the clergy, and he stated that this resulted in inadequate local financing of schools. He felt that local authority involvement in Irish national education would help to overcome the problems of local financing, particularly in relation to the building and upkeep of schools. He found that the instruction in Irish national schools 'compared favourably with that of similar English schools in point of accuracy, but very unfavourably in point of intelligence of method and aim'.

The following extracts are from the summary and conclusions of the Dale report:

1. The premises of the Irish Town Schools are markedly inferior to those of the English both in the requirements essential for proper sanitation and in their convenience for purposes of effective teaching.

2. This inferiority has been chiefly caused (i) by excessive economy in building, (ii) by the absence of a local authority, such as exists in England, responsible for the supply of Schools, and competent to raise rates for the purpose.

3. The absence of such an authority has also led at once to (a) inordinate delay in the provision of suitable School buildings, and (b) serious waste of money owing to injudicious methods of expenditure.

4. In order to bring the premises of these town Schools up to the English level it would be necessary (i) to adopt better building plans for all new Schools; (ii) to make considerable structural improvements in many existing Schools; (iii) to establish local bodies with the power of rating and the responsibility for School supply.

5. A majority of the Irish country Schools compare not unfavourably as regards the requirements essential for a School building with country Schools in England.

6. The premises of a few of the Schools are extremely unsuitable and fall far below the standard of the worst English Schools.

7. The chief defects in buildings otherwise satisfactory are the want of cleanliness, the neglect of small repairs, and the insufficient heating.

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11. The continued existence of the bad premises is partly due to the poverty of the Irish rural districts and partly to the want of suitable organisation for the distribution of State and local aid.

12. Considerable improvement might be made by (i) the allot-

ment of State-aid according to the varying necessities of different districts; and (ii) the establishment of Associations of Managers drawing local aid from a large area and distributing it according to necessity.

13. The defects in the cleanliness and heating of many Irish country School buildings can be remedied only by fixing the responsibility for the condition of the Schools in these respects upon the Managers, and by arousing a general local interest in elementary education.

EQUIPMENT

1. Most of the Irish Schools are tolerably well supplied with the absolutely necessary equipment for School work.

2. As regards this necessary equipment, there are three main differences between the Irish and English systems, *i.e.*, (i) in Irish Schools desks are provided for only one-half or two-thirds of the children instead of for all, and are frequently of an unsuitable kind; (ii) books, etc., are bought by the children instead of being provided by the Managers; (iii) slates are much more generally used.

3. An improvement in the quality of the desks is much more important than an increase in the quantity; and such an improvement, together with the provision of a greater variety of books, are objects to which local funds might properly be applied.

4. In attractiveness of appearance and in all equipment other than necessaries (putting aside the apparatus for special subjects provided by the Central Office), Irish Schools, with the exception of the Convent Schools, are extremely deficient when compared with English.

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11. *Salaries* - In England, owing to the existence of many large Schools, supported by wealthy localities, there is a considerably larger proportion than in Ireland of highly-paid posts for Primary Teachers.

12. A proportion (about 15 to 20 per cent.) of Irish Teachers, who are often employed in very small Schools of a type rare in England, receive salaries less than the minimum paid to English Teachers.

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15. The supply of qualified Teachers in Ireland is much in excess

of the demand, and the competition to enter the profession of Primary Teacher is very keen.

16. The Irish system of the payment and promotion of individual Head-Teachers compares unfavourably in its bearing on economy and efficiency with the English.

17. In Ireland the selection of Teachers for promotion rests primarily with the Inspectors of the Central Office and not with local Managers as in England. The proper performance of such a duty appears to be incompatible with the present position of Government Inspectors and to be likely to produce discontent among the Teachers.

INSTRUCTION

1. The instruction in Irish Schools, when compared with English, is adversely affected by certain fundamental defects in the general conditions under which the Irish Schools work, viz.: (i) the multiplication of small Schools, often unsuitably staffed and organised; (ii) the lack of any local interest, except among the clergy, in Primary Education; (iii) the inadequacy and faulty distribution of the staff in a large number of Schools; (iv) the irregularity of the attendance of the scholars.

2. The number of Elementary Schools in Ireland has steadily increased, though the population has diminished.

3. This increase has taken the form of the establishment of separate Schools for (i) Roman Catholics and Protestants; (ii) different sects of Protestants; (iii) children of different sex and age.

4. It has led to a high rate of expenditure on Irish Schools without a corresponding measure of educational efficiency.

5. Some of the Schools are unnecessary, and in many of them the staffing and organisation are most unsuitable and extravagant; and the effects on the instruction – especially of the younger children – have been often disastrous.

6. The primary cause of the multiplication of Schools has been the preference for a strictly denominational system of education. The object of the National School system in Ireland, has, therefore, not been achieved.

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11. Except amongst the Clergy, little or no local interest is manifested in the Primary Schools in Ireland, whereas improvements in all branches of English Primary Education have

been largely due to the wider interest in the subject among various classes of the community.

DISCIPLINE, INSTRUCTION AND CURRICULUM OF ORDINARY IRISH NATIONAL SCHOOLS

32. The discipline in the ordinary Irish Schools compares unfavourably with that of similarly circumstanced English Schools.

33. This difference is due partly to the unsuitability of the premises of Irish town Schools for the purposes of School work, partly to the faulty organisation adopted in teaching various subjects.

34. The instruction in ordinary Irish Schools compares favourably with that of similar English Schools in point of accuracy, but very unfavourably in point of intelligence of method and aim.

35. For this difference the longer continuance in Ireland of the system of 'payment by results', and the narrowness of the Curriculum prior to 1900, are chiefly responsible.

36. The reforms made by the Revised Programme of 1900 are calculated to remedy the defects in instruction, but in order that those reforms may be fully carried out, the Inspectors of the Board should, like the English Inspectors, be relieved from the work of annually examining every School, and more detailed guidance should be given by the Board to Teachers, especially in the methods of training infants, and the subjects of Arithmetic, Geography and History.

37. The introduction of Singing, Drawing, Object Lessons, and Physical Exercises, as essential elements of the Primary School Curriculum in Ireland, has been most beneficial, and the State-grants for equipment, etc., in those subjects have decidedly increased the efficiency of the instruction.

38. The order and tone of the Convent Schools are excellent, and the instruction, as a whole, is distinctly superior to that given in the ordinary National Schools; and in various subjects, especially Reading, Needlework, Singing and Physical Exercises compares very favourably with that given in large English Schools.

39. Effective instruction in Hand-and-Eye Training for the older children is, under existing circumstances, impracticable in the vast majority of Irish Schools, and the Syllabus of that subject should be withdrawn for the present.

40. Of the alternative Courses prescribed in Elementary Science, Course II, with certain modifications, appears to be the best suited

to the circumstances of the majority of Irish Schools.

41. The instruction in Cookery has greatly promoted the utility and popularity of the education given in Irish National Schools.

[*Report of Mr. F. H. Dale, His Majesty's inspector of schools, Board of Education on primary education in Ireland.* 1904 (Cd. 1981) xx 947.]

III.11 The Bilingual Programme, 1904.

Following experience of the Revised Programme of 1900, a number of modifications were made in 1904. Specimen programmes were devised as guidelines for different sizes of school; manual instruction was removed from the curriculum and bilingual programmes were permitted for Gaeltacht areas. The introduction of bilingual programmes was, to a large extent, a response to pressure from the Gaelic League for recognition for the Irish language in both national and intermediate schools. Since its foundation in 1893, the Gaelic League had engaged in a wide educational programme outside the school system involving Irish language, dance, music, history and folklore and had also organised summer courses for teachers in many areas throughout the country.

The bilingual programme of 1904 was the first programme since the setting up of the national board in 1831 that allowed teachers to teach children from Irish speaking areas through the medium of Irish. An extract from the 1904 bilingual programme, giving the programme for infants in schools without special infant departments and the explanatory notes, is reproduced here:

PROGRAMME FOR INFANTS IN SCHOOLS WITHOUT INFANT DEPARTMENTS

Language—(*a*) The pupils to be taught to speak the native or 'first' language audibly and distinctly by means of picture lessons, simple object or nature lessons, simple rhymes and recitations, and story-telling.

(*b*) For children of not less than five years of age suitably graduated exercises in reading the 'first' language from the black board should be given - these leading on to the reading of a Primer and First Book for older children.

(*c*) A progressive series of systematically arranged lessons on the "Direct" method in the second language - the pupils over five years of age to be able to read off the black board simple sentences used in these lessons.

(*d*) To copy from the black board the letters of the alphabet and combinations forming simple words (optional).

Arithmetic—*As in the ordinary programme. In the beginning the 'first' language only should be used, and as the pupils become

familiar with the work, the second language should be introduced.

Singing.—*As in the ordinary programme, with one of the songs in the second language.

Drawing, Drill, and Kindergarten.—*As in the ordinary programme. The 'first' language should be the medium of instruction in the beginning. Terms and class directions in the second language should be gradually introduced as the pupils become familiar with the work.

Object Lessons—*As in the ordinary programme. Each lesson may be given (1) in the 'first' language with the cultivation of an intelligent observation for its principal aim, and (2) then in the second language for the purpose of further impressing the points learned, and teaching expression in the new language. As the pupils gain facility in the new language the lessons may be given alternately in English and in Irish.

NOTES REFERRING TO THE BILINGUAL PROGRAMMES

1. In the interpretation of the programme 'first' or native language must be taken to mean the language which the children best understand and speak with the greater ease and fluency.

2. *Reading* must include the explanation and subject matter of the lessons. In all standards above the first, the reading, at sight, of passages from any suitable book approved by the Commissioners, other than the Readers in use should be practised.

The reading must be correct and intelligent, and due attention must be given to phrasing and intonation.

3. Suitable story-books should be used in the standards above the first.

4. The same group must not read the same portion of the same Reader in two successive years.

5. *Oral Composition* should be regularly practised in all standards, as an aid to written composition and reading.

6. Written exercises in all subjects must be carefully executed, and regularly signed, dated, and preserved for inspection.

7. In the fifth and higher standards written composition should take the place of transcription.

8. Text-books in Geography and Grammar may be introduced in the fifth and higher standards. Those in Geography should be always used in connection with the maps.

9. Special attention should be given to mental arithmetic, which should be taught in both languages, using the 'first' language mainly in the junior standards, and both English and Irish in the senior division.

10. List of books in Irish considered suitable for the various standards in bilingual schools:

Infants and First Class—The books specified as suitable for Standard III course in Irish as an extra subject.

Standard II—Those considered suitable for Standard IV course in Irish as an extra subject.

Standard III and Standard IV—Those considered suitable for Standard V course in Irish as an extra subject.

Standards V and higher—Those mentioned as suitable for Standard VI course in Irish as an extra subject.

11. The Readers in English may be selected from those already approved by the Commissioners as suitable for the different standards.

[*Programmes of instruction for national schools,* published in appendix to the *Annual report of the commissioners of national education, 1905.* H.C. 1906 (Cd. 3154) xxix 635.]

III.12 Further efforts to reform Irish education, 1906-1907.

III.12(a) Report of the conference of representatives of the boards of intermediate and national education and the department of agriculture and technical instruction on the feasibility of co-ordination between the three systems of education under existing powers, 1906.

When Wyndham retired as chief secretary in March 1905, he was replaced by Walter H. Long. In November 1905, Long set up a committee to investigate the feasibility of improving co-ordination between primary, intermediate and technical education. He invited the national board, the intermediate board and the department of agriculture and technical instruction to appoint two members each to this 'conference on co-ordination' and the six members completed their deliberations within a month. The report was sent to Dublin Castle in January 1906. The report was only seven pages long and it was basically a report praising the co-ordination which it alleged existed between the three education departments. The following extracts are from the report:

EXISTING CO-ORDINATION

We desire to point out, in the first place, that since the establishment, under Section 27 of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, of the Consultative Committee for Co-ordinating Educational Administration, 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.

As a result of the suggestions of the Consultative Committee, co-ordination has been promoted in the following matters: Arrangements between the Intermediate Education Board and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for co-ordinating the courses in Science and Drawing of these two bodies; the training at summer courses by the Department, of Secondary School teachers, for giving instruction in Experimental Science, Drawing, Domestic Economy, and Manual Instruction, in Intermediate Schools; the utilisation of Technical Schools for training National School teachers; the co-ordination of the National Education Board's Code for Evening Schools with the Department's Code for Evening Science and Art Classes; arrangements regarding the teaching of Cookery, Laundry Work, Domestic Economy, and Manual work in Wood and Metal for pupils of the higher standards of National Schools; the recognition of Domestic Economy as a special subject on which grants are payable in girls' day Secondary Schools. Amongst the subjects which have been considered by the Consultative Committee were the grading of schools and the existing arrangements regarding Scholarships and Exhibitions available for pupils of Primary and Secondary Schools, whether through the Intermediate Programmes or those of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. Furthermore, at the instance of the Committee, a sub-committee representing the Intermediate Education Board and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was appointed with a view to working out in detail the subjects of co-ordination between the two Departments, recommended by the Consultative Committee. This sub-committee has been meeting regularly since its appointment in 1901. In pursuance of this process of co-ordination, which is steadily advancing, a Committee of Head Masters of Secondary Schools has been appointed by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction to confer with them regarding the Programme of Experimental Science, &c., in the Secondary Schools, and the Intermediate Board have established communications with the Heads of Secondary Schools in a similar way.

In addition to the foregoing reforms which have been brought about, or suggested, by the Consultative Committee, the following matters may also be mentioned as further instances of the harmony which prevails amongst the various educational authorities in Ireland, and of their mutual co-operation in all matters relating to co-ordination.

The Commissioners of National Education in drawing up their

syllabuses and in framing their regulations for the appointment of monitors and pupil teachers, have endeavoured as far as possible to bring their system into touch with that of the Board of Intermediate Education.

Thus:

> The managers of primary schools are encouraged to adopt as alternative programmes for the 7th and 8th standards the programmes for the preparatory and junior grades of the Intermediate examinations.
>
> In order to attract pupils of Intermediate schools to enter as teachers the service of the National Board, special inducements are offered. Students who have passed in the junior or middle grade of the Intermediate examinations may be appointed monitors in National schools, and pupil teacherships are offered to students who have passed with honours in the junior or middle grade. We append, for your information, a copy of the scheme. (Appendix I).
>
> Candidates, too, for the training colleges for primary teachers are exempted from examination in subjects in which they may have passed examinations in the middle and senior grades.

The universities also recognize the examinations conducted by the Intermediate Board, and do not require candidates for entrance to pass at the matriculation examination in subjects in which they have satisfied the examiners in the higher grades of the Intermediate Examinations; and very valuable exhibitions for newly-matriculated students are awarded by Dublin University on the answering of the honour candidates in the senior and middle grades under the Intermediate Board.

In view of what has already been accomplished, and the nature of the difficulties which have been overcome, we are satisfied that the Consultative Committee for Co-ordinating Educational Administration provides an instrument fully competent to bring about co-ordination between the three existing educational departments.

We believe the efficiency of this valuable Committee would be still further increased if the following suggestions could be adopted:

I. The Consultative Committee should meet at stated times, at least once in each quarter, and on other occasions should the necessity arise.

II. The reports of all meetings of the Committee should be transmitted to the three departments.

III. Each of the three departments should submit, for the information of the Committee, all programmes of studies and should report any educational changes which might affect the work of the other departments.

IV. The Annual Reports of the Inspectors upon the general state of education in the schools under their charge should be brought before the Consultative Committee, so that they may consider any recommendations for educational reform which are contained in these reports.

We would also suggest that it might be of much assistance to the Committee if the three departments concerned could arrange for periodical joint conferences of their leading inspectors.

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To sum up, then, we are of opinion that the chief obstacles, to co-ordination in the grades of education below the University grade are:

(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 grade.
(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.

[Copy in State Paper Office, CSO RP 1914/1839.]

III.12(b) The Irish Council Bill, 1907.

The submission of the report of the conference on co-ordination coincided with a general election and as a result of this election the Liberal party came to power with an outright majority in parliament. James Bryce was appointed chief secretary to Ireland in January 1906 and he was replaced a year later by Augustine Birrell who remained in office until 1916. Shortly after his appointment as chief secretary, Birrell introduced the Irish council bill to parliament. This bill, which had been drafted by under-secretary, Anthony MacDonnell, provided for the establishment of an Irish council of 82 elected and 24 nominated members. The bill proposed to amalgamate, for administrative purposes, eight of the forty-five boards which administered government grants and to put them under the

control of the council. The boards in question included the national board, the intermediate board, and the department of agriculture and technical instruction. The new council, which would not have any taxing powers, would administer an annual grant from the exchequer in respect of the services covered by the transferred boards.

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'. The Roman Catholic hierarchy saw the bill as the long threatened Irish education reform bill and objected strongly to it. 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 its acceptance at the forthcoming convention will incur grave suspicion of endeavouring to deceive his countrymen in the interests of the ministry'.

At the convention of the Irish party on 21st May, a proposal by Redmond that the bill be rejected was passed unanimously. Shortly afterwards the bill was withdrawn.

The following extracts indicate some of the provisions of the bill:

CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS OF IRISH COUNCIL

1.—(1) A Council shall be established, to be called the Irish Council, consisting of eighty-two elected members and twenty-four nominated members, with the addition of the Under Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant as an ex officio member.

(2) The elected members of the Irish Council shall be elected by the local government electors of the constituencies set out in the First Schedule to this Act, in such manner and with such number of members for each constituency as is provided by that schedule.

(3) The nominated members of the Irish Council shall be nominated by His Majesty for or during the first term of office of those members, but after the expiration of the first term of office shall be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant.

(4) The President of the Council shall be a member of the Council appointed by the Council.

(5) The Chief Secretary, though not a member of the Council and not entitled to vote, shall have the right to be present at meetings of the Council, or any committee thereof, and to speak at any such meeting.

(6) The provisions in the Second Schedule to this Act shall have effect with respect to the Council and the members and proceedings thereof.

2.—(1) The Irish Council shall have control in accordance with this Act over the exercise of the powers to which this Act applies,

and the departments or authorities in whom those powers are for the time being vested shall act in accordance with any resolution of the Irish Council with respect to the exercise of those powers, and shall obey any directions given by the Council with respect to the submission of any matters relating to the exercise of those powers to the Council.

(2) The powers to which this Act applies are:

(*a*) any powers vested at the time of the passing of this Act in the following departments and authorities, namely, the Local Government Board for Ireland, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, the Congested Districts Board for Ireland, the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, the Registrar-General, the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland; and

(*b*) any powers vested in the Lord Lieutenant or Chief Secretary at the time of the passing of this Act of controlling, regulating, or directing, or appointing officers in connection with, or otherwise incidental to, the exercise of the above-mentioned powers, and the powers of the Lord Lieutenant with respect to the control of the Estates Commissioners under subsection (8) of section twenty-three of the Irish Land Act, 1903; and

(*c*) any other powers which may be declared to be powers to which this Act applies under this Act or under the provision made for the purpose by this section, and any powers given by any Act passed after the date of the passing of this Act to the Lord Lieutenant or to any Government department in Ireland which are not powers expressly excluded from the operation of this Act.

(3) The Lord Lieutenant, after consultation with the Irish Council, may by Order in Council declare that any powers of the authorities specified in the Third Schedule to this Act, and any powers of the Lord Lieutenant or Chief Secretary in relation to those authorities shall be powers to which this Act applies, and His Majesty may by Order in Council declare that any powers of any Government department or authority in England, so far as they are exercised in or in relation to Ireland, shall be powers to which this Act applies.

(4) Any Order under this section declaring powers to be powers

to which this Act applies may make any provision as to the transfer of those powers or otherwise with respect to those powers which it appears necessary or expedient to make with a view to giving full effect to the purposes of the Order.

3.—(1) The Lord Lieutenant may reserve any resolution of the Irish Council on any matter relating to the exercise of powers to which this Act applies for his consideration, and any resolution so reserved shall not operate unless and until it is confirmed by him.

(2) On the consideration of any resolution so reserved, the Lord Lieutenant may either confirm the resolution of the Council, or annul the resolution, or remit the matter for further consideration by the Council, together with any statement of his opinion he thinks fit to make thereon, but, if in the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant immediate action is necessary with respect to the matter to which the resolution relates, in order to preserve the efficiency of the service, or to prevent public or private injury, the Lord Lieutenant may make such order with respect to the matter as in his opinion the necessity of the case requires, and any order so made shall have the same effect and operate in the same manner as if it were the resolution of the Irish Council.

(3) The Lord Lieutenant, in cases where he does not concur with any resolution of a committee with reference to any matter which is delegated by the Council to that committee, may require the resolution to be submitted to the Council for their approval, notwithstanding that the resolution would not otherwise be subject to the approval of the Council.

[*Bill to provide for the establishment and functions of an administrative council in Ireland and for other purposes connected therewith.* 1907 (182) ii 481.]

III.13 The history of Irish primary and secondary education during the last decade.

(An inaugural address delivered on 3rd July 1911 by W. J. M. Starkie on the occasion of the inauguration of university extension lectures in the Queen's university of Belfast.)

W. J. M. Starkie had been appointed resident commissioner of national education in 1899, and from the outset he had difficulty in obtaining adequate government finance for curricular reforms in national education. By the end of the first decade of the century, Starkie was publicly critical of the government and in 1911 he accused the government of 'deserting' the national board and of sequestering funds which he alleged should have been allocated to national education. He claimed that because of the lack

of adequate funding, the board, in trying to introduce curricular change, was 'attempting to make bricks without straw'.

The following extracts from Starkie's address in Belfast in 1911, indicate his disillusionment with the government's handling of primary education in the first decade of the twentieth century:

Looking back on the history of the last decade, I see little to regret in our revolution of 1900. I admit that it was not sufficiently appreciated that men, whether inspectors or teachers, who had for most of their lives toiled in a slavery equal to that of the Egyptians, would find a great difficulty in fully grasping, or even in welcoming, the conceptions underlying the new system of education. In this way, misapprehension arose, and some errors were committed. But it is not so plain to outsiders, as it is to me as an administrator, that most of the unpopularity that originally attached itself to the new scheme was due to causes over which we had no control. In 1899, when we undertook our revolution, Lord Cadogan was Viceroy, and Mr. Gerald Balfour Chief Secretary; both assured me of the enthusiastic support of the Government in the undertaking of whose arduous character they were well aware. Before the new scheme was fairly launched, Mr. Balfour left Ireland, the Boer war had begun, and, with it, the new policy, which is not yet abandoned, of starving Irish education, in order that the local authorities might be constrained to levy a rate for education. The Treasury accepted our proposals with the proviso that they should not cost anything in addition to the existing grants. As the reforms could not be deferred, now that the results' examinations had been abolished, we were compelled to accept their terms. 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; but in our difficulties we were deserted by the Government, who, as was shown in the sequestration of the Development Grant, had other fish to fry. 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. Even my Belfast address was utilised in order to secure the appointment of Mr. Dale, with a view, not to help the reformers of Irish education, but to effect reductions, or at any rate to obviate increases, in an already insufficient grant. That excellent scholar wrote a report which was a masterly justification of our policy, but for that the credit is due to his own honesty and ability, and not to the

benevolence of those who were responsible for his appointment. Thus, 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.

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As an illustration of the cynicism with which Irish needs have been treated, I may instance the Building Grants. Following upon our representations as to the deplorable character of the schoolhouses, and the shortcomings of the plans in use, in August, 1902, an inter-departmental committee of the Treasury, Board of Public Works, and National Board, assisted by a Scotch inspector, inquired into the whole question, and presented its report in October. In our Report for 1903 (which, curiously enough, bears the date 1905), the Board commented as follows on this subject – 'This Committee reported to the Government; but up to the present neither a copy of the report nor the decision, if any, arrived at by the Government and Treasury has been communicated to us, and nothing has yet been done by the Executive to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee. This inaction on the part of the Government has not merely been indirectly injurious to the provision of suitable schoolhouses, but it has actually brought to a standstill in hundreds of cases the work of building, owing to the desire of managers to await the publication of the new plans and scales of grants, and it has caused us to refrain from compelling the managers of unsatisfactory schools to apply for building grants. The plans hitherto in use are defective, and the old scale of grants is insufficient to provide schoolhouses even according to these plans.' Meanwhile, the Development Grant, which in England and Scotland had been ear-marked for education, was devoted to land flotation, steam dredgers, light railways, piers, or Arklow Harbour; and our petitions to the Treasury were met by a reference to the Irish Secretary's speech, that Irish primary education was sufficiently endowed, and Irish Education Boards could not be trusted with more money. So the game was played out until the coming of Mr. Birrell, in 1907. In my evidence before Sir Kenelm Digby's Commission, on June 25th, 1906, I spoke as follows: 'We are not allowed to build a school; building has come to an end for

the last year, although the condition of schools in Ireland is a disgrace to the Government. No civilised Government ought to permit such a state of things to exist as exists in this country. I spend a couple of months every year in inspecting schools, and really I am ashamed of my country when I see the abominable state of filth and degradation in which our children are brought up. We are told by the Exchequer that these school buildings must be put on the rates. But that is a Government question; we cannot raise a rate; the Government, on the other hand, tell us they cannot propose rating, as they could not pass it in the House of Commons. Then the Treasury say, "You must go to the Development Grant"; but the Treasury know perfectly well the Grant is practically exhausted. Meanwhile our inspectors condemn these buildings; and they recommend that no children should be allowed into them. The managers write up to us, and say, "Give us grants; we cannot raise the money locally"; and I am perfectly certain they cannot. Now, what can we do in the face of our inspectors' reports? We can only write down and say that we are very sorry, but the Treasury have stopped the building grants. . . . Such is the position of affairs with regard to the Education Grant in Ireland at present. 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.' To Mr. Birrell we are indebted for the restoration of the Grant, in 1907, and for the sanction of the splendid new plans; but the turnings and twistings of the Treasury were not exhausted, as appears from the controversy of the last two years. The sleight-of-hand by which they reduced the insufficient grant of £120,000 to £50,000 is not likely to be soon forgotten by those who have studied the question.

[W. J. M. Starkie, *History of primary and secondary education during the last decade*, Dublin, 1911.]

III.14 The Dill Committee, 1913.

The address given by Resident Commissioner Starkie in Belfast in 1911 did not improve attitudes in government circles to Starkie and to the

system of national education in Ireland. The already ambivalent attitudes of some government officials to Irish education were further damaged by growing friction between the I.N.T.O. and the national board.

Following the abolition of payment by results and the introduction of the revised programme in 1900, it had been hoped that the role of the national school inspector would be more that of an adviser than an examiner and that relationships between teachers and inspectors would improve. However, this did not happen, as the changes introduced in 1900 had given the inspectors effective control over the increments and promotion of teachers. Some teachers claimed that inspectors were unduly harsh in their assessments and that as a result, their increments and promotion had been adversely affected. The I.N.T.O. made a number of efforts to raise the matter with the national board but Starkie was unsympathetic to the complaints of the teachers and took no effective action to improve the situation. In 1912, the I.N.T.O. at its annual congress, decided to mount a major political campaign against the national board. A deputation of teachers went to London to put their case before Chief Secretary Birrell and they demanded a public enquiry into the whole question of national education in Ireland. Birrell acceded to the demands of the teachers and in January 1913 he appointed a vice-regal committee of enquiry under the chairmanship of Sir Samuel Dill.

The committee met on over seventy occasions in the year 1913. It collected considerable evidence and 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. F. H. Dale, who, by this stage, was chief inspector of elementary schools in England.

The report of the committee effectively vindicated the teachers in their criticism of the board's procedures and its inspection system. The committee found grave defects in the organisation of the inspectorate and in the relations between inspectors and teachers. The committee also found discontent among teachers with the slow rate of promotion and with the system of appeals and access to the board.

The following are the summary and recommendations of the committee:

SUMMARY

129. In the course of our prolonged inquiry we have investigated as thoroughly as we could the various complaints of the teachers as to the present administration of the National Board. Some of these complaints seemed to be due to misunderstanding, others did not properly come within the scope of our inquiry. But by far the greater number deserved and have received the most careful examination. We have investigated the system of inspection, the mode of appointing inspectors, their relations to the Board and to the teachers, and the manner in which they perform their duties.

We have also considered their mode of distribution in districts. Our Report has showed that under these heads grave defects have disclosed themselves in the organization of the Inspectorate, and in some cases in the relations between inspectors and teachers which have given rise to just discontent. The inspectors have been led to rely too much on their personal impressions of the tone of a school; on the other hand we have found that some inspectors were still conducting examinations on the style of the Results system with the effect that their verdicts have often failed to command the confidence of the managers and teachers. Their action seems not to have been under proper control, and while responsibility has been too much divided, the inspectors in many cases appear to have been allowed too large a latitude. Moreover, the inspectors, as a rule, seem not to be retained long enough in their districts to acquire a thorough knowledge of their schools.

130. On no subject have we had a greater volume of evidence than on the system of Merit Marks, and the absence of uniformity in their award, and on no subject is the conclusion to be drawn from the evidence more unmistakable. The nature of this system demands a rigid uniformity of standard, which if attainable, has never been attained. There have been sudden variations in the marking which have had disastrous effects in some districts. The combination of Merit Marks with a system of triennial increments is one which inevitably must cause serious hardship by the loss of one good mark out of three. It is regrettable that in 1900 the Board were prevented by financial causes, to which we have referred, from adopting an annual system of increments under which the teacher would lose, on an unsatisfactory report, only the increment of one year.

131. We have found much discontent with the slow rate of promotion under the present system of grading. A teacher's advancement depends not only on good service, but on the average numbers of his school. And the system of standard numbers places a further obstacle in his way to the highest rank. How to enable young teachers of talent and energy to rise earlier to the charge of important schools is a most difficult problem, but one which sooner or later must be solved. We are fully aware that the efforts of the Board to solve this problem have been hampered by difficulties which the Local Authorities in England have not to encounter. We have ventured to make some suggestions towards a solution, and we hope that expert knowledge may discover a means of remedying what is admittedly one of the great weaknesses of the present system of the National Board.

132. If Merit Marks are abolished, the question of the method of promotion offers some difficulty which we have discussed in the body of the Report. The general reports of the district inspectors must then be the basis on which promotion should be made. The Chief Inspectors, in consultation with the district inspector, seem to be the best tribunal to adjudicate on the claims of teachers for promotion.

133. The question of appeals and access to the Board is one on which the teachers have shown the strongest desire for further securities. The present system of dealing with appeals has created a large amount of distrust. It is, of course, impossible that the Board should hear and decide on all appeals. The question which we have tried to solve is how to secure that appeals on reasonable grounds shall receive liberal consideration, and in the more serious cases, involving status and emolument, shall always be submitted (as at present), for the final decision of the Board.

134. It seems to us also that a freer access to the Board might with advantage be allowed to managers and teachers by deputations and conferences on the proposal to make new rules or changes in existing rules. We are aware that the Board have in recent years received such deputations, but we think the practice might be still further extended.

135. We have had it in evidence that the freedom of organization and the right, subject to criticism, to modify programmes, which is conceded by the rules, might be made more real and effective if inspectors gave more definite encouragement to initiative on the part of managers and teachers. In the variety of local circumstances, anything like a uniform programme for schools is admittedly not desired by the Board, and would be injurious to the interests of the pupils.

136. With regard to the claim of the teachers to have unrestricted civil rights, we think that the special circumstances of Ireland at present renders such a concession inexpedient. But we have suggested a modification of rule 89 (*a*) which would permit the attendance of teachers at political meetings without sanctioning their taking an active and prominent part in them. A few others of the teachers' claims are either founded on misunderstanding, or lie beyond our terms of reference. The claim that portions of the grant which may be 'surrendered' to the Treasury should be utilised to satisfy the teachers' claims belongs to the former category. By Treasury rules, money voted under a particular head cannot, without express permission, be diverted to another object.

137. The claim for higher initial salaries and for monthly

payments of salaries, belonging to the province of finance are beyond the range of our Inquiry.

138. On those questions on which we are definitely empowered to report, we beg to submit the following recommendations:

RECOMMENDATIONS

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.

5. That until a system of annual increments is introduced, a teacher shall only lose the amount of his increment for that year in which his report is unsatisfactory.

6. That promotion of teachers shall be in the hands of the Chief Inspectors whose selection, subject to the approval of the Board, shall be final, and who shall in their selection have regard to seniority, professional merit, general attainments, and the circumstances under which the teachers work.

7. That there shall be a redistribution of inspectors' districts so that the sole responsibility for reporting on the schools of a district shall rest on one inspector.

8. That district inspectors should, as far as the exigencies of the service will permit, be retained for some years in the same district.

9. That candidates selected for the post of inspector be appointed on probation for two years, and must at the end of each year of this period be favourably reported on by the Chief Inspectors as to their knowledge of educational methods and their general qualifications.

10. That the reports of inspectors on the work and conduct of a school shall in future be communicated in full to managers and teachers with the least possible delay.

11. That every school from time to time, but not necessarily every year, be subjected to a thorough inspection, with notice of at least a week to the manager and teacher, to be followed by a full report; that the report be based upon a thorough investigation of (a) the methods employed in teaching; (b) the progress made by the children as tested by oral or written examination; (c) their general bearing and habits as formed in the school.

That such inspection be made in the last half of the school year, and as far as possible in the last *three* months of it. That in no case shall any record be made of the success or failure of any individual child.

12. That the use of observation books be discontinued.

13. That appeals made against an unfavourable report of an inspector be lodged by the manager or teacher of the school within a given period of the reception of the report, and that if a *prima facie* case be made out to the satisfaction of the Chief Inspector, a full re-inspection be ordered to be made by an officer or officers of superior rank to the reporting officer with the least possible delay, and that due notice of such re-inspection should be given both to manager and teacher. We think that, save in obviously frivolous cases, appeals should always be granted.

14. That where a teacher is accused of any 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. That the officer holding the inquiry shall report fully to the Board, which shall pronounce its decision, giving the teacher an opportunity to appear if necessary.

15. That the present system of issuing reprimands by the examiner, countersigned by the Secretary, being open to grave objections, should be re-considered.

16. That in view of the increased duties which may be imposed on the two Chief Inspectors, the Committee strongly approve of the proposal of the Board to appoint at least four Divisional Inspectors to assist the Chief Inspectors.

17. That all instructions by circulars issued to inspectors with regard to the general discharge of their duties should be issued simultaneously to managers and teachers.

18. That before the adoption of any new regulation, due notice of the intention of the Board should be given, and full opportunity should be afforded to managers, teachers, and other persons interested, by conference or written communication, to lay their views before the Board.

19. That in the interests of education in all parts of the country, all responsible proposals to vary the programme to suit the special circumstances of each locality, should be met with a generous, as well as a careful and discriminating consideration. The Committee noted that in England there is no such thing as a compulsory subject.

[*Vice-regal committee of inquiry into primary education (Ireland), 1913*. 1914 (Cd. 7235) xxviii 1081.]

III.15 The Killanin Committee, 1919.

The period immediately after the first world war was one of major reconstruction for the British government. Apart from the rebuilding of physical facilities such as roads, housing, etc., the government spearheaded a programme of 'reconstruction' of its public services. Among the services affected were the educational systems in England and Scotland. The Fisher act of 1918 made provision for increased participation of young people in secondary education in England and resulted in a significant increase in government funding of education there. In Ireland where the war had caused serious inflation, teachers at both primary and secondary level were seeking an increase in their salaries. In 1917, Chief Secretary Duke offered an increase in national teachers' salaries, but the I.N.T.O. refused to accept Duke's offer on the grounds that the amount offered was unacceptably low. Early in 1918, the I.N.T.O. 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 question of salaries and conditions of service of Irish national teachers. Such an enquiry had also been sought by the Treasury some months earlier when they had suggested that 'the opportunity afforded by the present large increase in the provision of elementary education in Ireland (should be) taken to secure a radical revision after adequate enquiry of the present admittedly defective system'.

In August 1918, the government decided to set up a vice-regal committee under the chairmanship of Lord Killanin to carry out a full inquiry into the system of primary education. Much of this report was concerned with details of teachers' salaries (including probation, increments, pensions, etc.). The report also addressed itself to the system of funding national education. The following extracts from the report relate to the distribution of grants from public funds, to the need for amalgamation of schools and to the desirability of setting up local committees:

VI - DISTRIBUTION OF GRANTS FROM PUBLIC FUNDS

62. An important part of our task was to enquire and report as to possible improvements in the distribution of grants from public funds for Primary Education in Ireland. We make three recommendations in reference thereto, dealing with the methods practised as regards the distribution of grants from public funds, the economy effected by the amalgamation of schools, and the establishment of local Committees with a power of administering a local rate for certain school purposes.

63. *Treasury Grants* - In the first place, however, we desire to say that in our opinion 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. The need is imperative and ubiquitous; and the corresponding obligation is not a matter to be left dependent upon local inclination, varying according to means, energy, or public spirit. The teachers' salaries should, therefore, as has been the case for some time in Ireland, be a State charge, based on a national scale; and correspondingly the teachers are servants of the State with obligations and duties to it. The State rightly concerns itself with their training and efficiency and appointments. As a condition precedent to appointment, teachers must pass certain tests, and in order to earn their salaries and pensions, they must observe definite regulations laid down by the State. 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 as shown, for instance, by the provisions of the Teachers' Superannuation Act, 1918.

64. Now, in order to provide for the improved salaries of teachers which we recommend, there will have to be a substantial increase in the present Exchequer grant for that purpose, and we submit that our figures, which are moderate and reasonable, are necessary to meet the educational needs of the country. They will do no more than place the profession in Ireland on a sound financial basis. Notable advances have recently been made in England and Wales and Scotland, and there is much more leeway to be made up here than in these countries.

65. When we examine recent procedure with regard to the provision of funds for Irish Primary Education we find that the service has suffered grievously. Grants from public funds would appear to have been made in a spasmodic and haphazard manner. For our purpose we need not go back further than 1900 when a new scheme of remuneration for teachers was introduced, by which the various payments formerly made to them - class salary, additions to class salary, results fees, customs and excise grant bonuses, gratuities, residual capitation grants and union rates - were consolidated or abolished. On that occasion the difficulty in radically changing the method of paying thousands of teachers of various classes and ages, who were in receipt of complicated salaries made up of these driblets, and whose existing and prospective rights had to be calculated and protected, was immensely increased because the Government of the day made it a condition that the alteration

should involve no immediate increase in the grants. The new scale of remuneration was thus handicapped from the beginning and injustice and anomalies were in many cases unavoidably created. Subsequent financial treatment by the Government shows little improvement. In 1902 an annual grant of £185,000, which was said to be the equivalent of a grant towards Primary Education in England, was diverted from Irish Primary Education and devoted to quite extraneous objects. The amounts of other grants were settled regardless of the representations of the Commissioners of National Education. New building grants were suspended altogether for a time, 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. For years a very definite grievance was caused by the 'standard numbers' arrangement, by which only a fixed number of teachers could be recognised in the upper grades, no matter how many had fulfilled the other necessary conditions of promotion.

66. This treatment of Irish Primary Education was not only injurious and unfair, but was also part of a deliberate policy of the Government that Ireland was to get no further financial aid except on the 'equivalent grant' theory. Apart from the merits of the various devices – population, Imperial contribution, attendance, by which the actual ratio of our equivalent rights has been from time to time calculated, 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 is 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. This policy has resulted in grants – arbitrary, illogical, and insufficient, which had to be distributed by the Commissioners in the best manner permitted by the amounts. The needs, the merits of the case, which alone decide the amounts of grants towards English Education, have been repeatedly ignored as regards Ireland. Accordingly we strongly recommend a reform in the method of distributing grants from public funds for Primary Education in Ireland.

In connection with the proposals for increased State expenditure

on Irish Primary Education, attention was directed in evidence before us to the Report of the Childers' Commission on the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

67. *Amalgamation of Schools* – There cannot but be a large number of small schools in Ireland on account of our scattered population, and as a large proportion of the children of the country are educated in them, and as teaching in such schools is a difficult and responsible undertaking, the salaries should be sufficient to attract good teachers. But there are, we believe, many small schools that might with advantage to educational and to communal interests be amalgamated, and we hope that the Commissioners' policy in that direction will be continued with determination. For these reasons we make the following recommendations:

(a) The average required for the recognition of separate schools for boys and girls, adjoining or in close proximity, and for the appointing of a new teacher on the occurrence of a vacancy, under Rule 179 (c) of the Commissioners' Code, should be higher than it is at present. The single-teacher school is relatively less efficient and is expensive.

(b) Small schools should be amalgamated where they exist within a mile or two of each other and where amalgamation would not entail any serious religious inequality or disadvantage to any religious denomination.

(c) In urban areas where there exist at present more than one school under the management of the same religious denomination we strongly recommend that one large school should be established in a suitable and well-equipped building within reasonable distance of the homes of the children concerned.

(d) Separate ordinary schools for boys and girls adjoining or in close proximity and under the same management, or one or both of which there has been for the preceding calendar year an average attendance of less than thirty-five pupils, should, as a general rule, be amalgamated on the occurrence of a vacancy in the principalship of either school, or by agreement.

(e) Generally speaking, amalgamation should be carried out whenever possible. A list should be kept in the Education Office of all schools suitable for amalgamation, and in case of a vacancy in the principalship of such a school a new appointment should not be made until the Commissioners of National Education have given their approval. Managers should receive notice of the placing of their schools on this list at the time when the list is prepared, even though there should then be no vacancy in the principalship. All schools under Protestant management should be put on the list if

they have an average daily attendance of less than thirty-five pupils and are within two miles distance of one or more schools under Protestant management, and a similar rule should apply in the case of schools under Roman Catholic management.

68. *Local Committees and Local Aid* – While we hold that the work of teaching in Primary Schools in Ireland is a national service, and that the assistance heretofore given from State grants towards the original capital expenditure on the erection of schoolhouses should be continued, there are, in our opinion, directions in which localities may well be called upon to evince their interest in the success of the State service, by contributing by a local rate towards the expense of Primary Education.

69. We therefore propose that it be obligatory on County Councils and County Boroughs in conjunction with the Board of National Education to appoint School Committees on the same lines as School Attendance Committees are at present constituted. Their duties and powers to be as follows:

(1) The enforcement of school attendance enactments throughout Ireland.

(2) The maintenance, repairs, heating, cleaning, and equipment of National Schools unless adequate provision has been otherwise made.

Before expending money in the maintenance, repairs and equipment of non-vested schools the owners of the buildings should enter into agreements with the School Committee as regards the use of the buildings during certain hours and for a certain number of years for Primary Education purposes, so as to warrant the committee in incurring such expenditure.

It should also be optional for such local Committees to undertake the following charges:

(1) The payment of the moiety required from the locality in order to secure the medical and dental treatment of the pupils in the schools, and to secure the provision of meals in necessitous cases. Also the payment of the local moiety towards discharging the annuity on the residence for the principal teacher.

(2) the provision of school books and requisites in necessitous cases.

(3) The provision, where necessary, of plots of land for the purposes of horticultural instruction, and also the provision of sites free of cost to enable managers to erect teachers' residences where not already provided.

The expenses incurred in exercising these powers and fulfilling these duties to be met by a County-at-Large or Borough rate. In

cases of dispute in the distribution of the local rate for any of these purposes the matter should be referred to the commissioners of National Education for their decision.

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VII - CONCLUSION

72. Having ascertained that certain defects existed in the position, conditions of service, promotion and remuneration of teachers in Irish National Schools, and in the distribution of grants from public funds for Primary Education in Ireland, we have now suggested what we consider to be appropriate and adequate remedies, and we have recommended a suitable scale of salaries and pensions for different classes of teachers. The evidence and our own deliberations made us realise more and more the importance and far-reaching nature of the work in hand; and our sense of this was deepened by our appreciation of the gravity of the times we live in. Yet we avoided issues which we could not import into the terms of the Enquiry without violating its obvious intention, and we kept clear of disruptive changes, believing that proposals which have not a due regard for existing principles, customs and traditions may lead to the revolutionary collapse rather than to the reconstructive amelioration of social organisms. Our aim has been simple and moderate - to provide for efficient teachers, fairly paid and pensioned, and to have fewer schools, well-equipped and well attended; and we are satisfied that if our recommendations are carried out, the system of Irish Primary Education will prove to have been remodelled, so far as the terms of reference permitted, on lines that will greatly facilitate its smooth working and be fair to every deserving member of the profession.

73. We know, however, that even large improvements in the material conditions of a service or in the machinery of its administration are not everything. With the removal of grounds for discontent and agitation among teachers in reference to ways and means, we trust that a greater degree of efficiency and a more general application of energies to intellectual and academic questions connected with the profession will ensue. We believe that our recommendations will tend to create in the public mind a livelier interest in the schools, in their value and significance, and in their conditions, which have so close a bearing on the character and attainments and health of the children of a country. We hope to see a new heart and soul, a new force and responsibility pervading and inspiring the service in its external and internal aspects, and raising the whole standard of education to the high level which is essential

if Ireland is to compete successfully with other countries. We, therefore, think it our duty to submit that, in our opinion, effect should be given to our suggestions and recommendations without delay, and we confidently rely on a Government which has pledged itself to undertake the reconstruction of social life, not to overlook the very beginning and foundation of all social welfare and progress.

[*Vice-regal committee of inquiry into primary education (Ireland) 1918.* 1919 (Comd. 60) xxi 741.]

III.16 The Education (Ireland) Bill, 1919 (The McPherson Bill).

While the Killanin committee was enquiring into the remuneration of primary teachers, another vice-regal committee under the chairmanship of Chief Justice Molony was examining the question of the remuneration and conditions of service of teachers in intermediate schools (see IV.9). This committee submitted its report to Dublin Castle in March 1919 and shortly afterwards the government took steps 'to frame a great educational measure' which would reform Irish education. This measure was the education (Ireland) bill which was introduced in parliament by Chief Secretary McPherson in November 1919. 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 new Department of Education 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. An advisory board of education would be set up with representatives from a wide range of educational interests. The bill also provided for the setting up of local education committees in each county and county borough. Under the terms of the bill, the funding of Irish education would come from a special Irish education fund.

From the outset, the Roman Catholic hierarchy opposed the bill and launched a campaign against it. They feared that the bill would undermine the church's control of its schools and they were also concerned that the bill might interfere with the freedom of schools in relation to religious instruction. The protestant churches, on the other hand, tended to favour the bill. The bill was supported by the Church of Ireland House of bishops, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, by the Association of Irish School-mistresses as well as by the provost of Trinity College and the heads of many protestant schools. The I.N.T.O. welcomed the financial provisions of the bill and indicated that it would improve the existing situation of financing Irish primary education.

The bill was due for its second reading in the House of Commons on

15th December 1919, but members of the Irish Parliamentary Party took action to ensure that the second reading would not take place on that day and the bill was postponed until the spring session.

Antagonism to the bill grew in Ireland in the early months of 1920. A slightly amended version of the bill was introduced in parliament in February but this version was no more acceptable to the Roman Catholic hierarchy than the earlier one. The campaign against the bill became increasingly bitter during the spring and early summer and eventually the government decided not to proceed with the bill.

The debacle of the education (Ireland) bill ensured that it would be a long time before a Dublin government would attempt to interfere with the structure of Irish education.

The following extracts from the bill outline its proposals in relation to *local administration and local education committees.* It sets out the proposed composition of these committees and gives details of their powers.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

8.—(1) A local education committee shall be established for each county and for each county borough.

(2) The local education committee of a county shall consist of:

(a) a number of persons appointed by the council of the county equal to one-third of the total number of elected members of the council or the nearest integer thereto;

(b) one person appointed by the council of each urban and rural district in the county; and

(c) a number of persons appointed by the Department equal to the aggregate of the number of persons appointed by the county council and the councils of the urban and rural districts.

(3) The local education committee of a county borough shall consist of:

(a) a number of persons appointed by the council of the county borough equal to one-third of the total number of members of the council or the nearest integer thereto; and

(b) an equivalent number of persons appointed by the Department.

(4) The Department, in exercising their power of appointing members of a local education committee of a county or county borough, shall endeavour to secure that at least one-half of the total number of members of the committee shall be persons who are managers or patrons of national schools situated in the county or county borough, or managers, patrons, or head masters of secondary or technical schools so situated.

(5) The provisions of Part I of this act with respect to term of office, times of coming into office and going out of office, and

casual vacancies, shall apply to a local education committee and the members thereof in like manner as they apply to the Board of Education and the members thereof.

(6) A local education committee may from time to time appoint such and so many sub-committees, either of a general or special nature, and consisting of such number of persons as they think fit, for any purposes which, in the opinion of the committee, would be better regulated and managed by means of such sub-committee.

(7) Subject to the approval of the Department, a local education committee may appoint a secretary and such other officers as they think necessary for the performance of the duties of the committee, and every officer so appointed shall perform such duties and be paid such remuneration as the committee may with the approval of the Department assign to him.

(8) The enactments relating to the superannuation of officers of boards of guardians shall, with the necessary modifications, apply to officers of a local education committee.

9.—(1) There shall be transferred to the local education committee of a county borough the powers and duties of the council of the county borough:

(a) in relation to technical instruction;

(b) under the Education (Provision of Meals) (Ireland) Acts, 1914 to 1917;

(c) under section ten of the Irish Universities Act, 1908.

(2) There shall be transferred to the local education committee of every county the powers and duties of the council of the county and of the council of each urban or rural district in the county in relation to any of the matters or under any of the enactments aforesaid.

(3) Expenses incurred by a local education committee in the exercise or performance of any of the powers and duties transferred to them under this section shall be defrayed as part of their expenses under this Act.

(4) *The Education (Provision of Meals) (Ireland) Acts,* 1914 *to* 1917, *shall have effect as if any reference therein to a national school included a reference to any school recognised by the Department as providing efficient elementary education.*

(5) This section shall apply to any existing committee appointed by a council in relation to any of the matters or under any of the enactments aforesaid, and (so far as respects powers and duties to be exercised and performed within the county or county

borough) to any existing joint committee so appointed, in like manner as it applies to the council.

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14.—(1) For the purpose of promoting education a local education committee, in addition to their other powers, shall have power:

(a) to provide or assist in providing books and school requisites for national schools in their area;

(b) to provide or assist in providing means of conveyance for children attending national schools in their area, where such provision appears necessary;

(c) to enable or assist in enabling afflicted children ordinarily resident in their area to obtain elementary education and industrial training in suitable schools recognised by the Department;

(d) to enable or assist in enabling children or young persons ordinarily resident in their area who appear to be specially qualified to profit thereby to attend secondary schools or universities or other places of higher education approved by the Department, by payment of travelling expenses, fees, or cost of residence, or by provision of exhibitions, bursaries, scholarships, or maintenance allowances or by a combination of these methods of assistance or otherwise;

(e) to assist in the establishment and maintenance of evening continuation schools;

(f) to provide plots of land for the purpose of horticultural instruction in connection with national schools in their area.

(2) The powers given to a local education committee under this section shall be exercised in such manner as may be approved by the Department.

[*Bill to make further provision with respect to education in Ireland and for other purposes connected therewith.* 1919 (214) i 407.]

III.17 The Education Programme of the Gaelic League, 1918.

After the success of Sinn Fein in the election of 1918, Ireland experienced a period of heightened patriotic fervour and idealism. It became an accepted element of nationalist belief that education should play an important role in reviving and extending the Irish language, history and culture. Nationalist voices became increasingly critical of the curriculum in primary and intermediate schools which they maintained did not pay sufficient attention to Irish ideals and principles. The Gaelic League had grown in numbers and strength in the 25 years since its founda-

tion and there were many teachers among its membership. In 1918, the Education Committee of the Gaelic League produced an education programme for a free Ireland. The following is the text of the first draft of this programme, which was agreed by the committee in November 1918:

I. THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

A. In Purely Gaelic-speaking Districts

1. All school subjects (excepting English and other foreign languages) to be taught through the medium of Irish only.
2. Irish history to be taught to all pupils. Even the infants might be told the story of Cuchulainn, Fionn Mac Cumhaill, etc.
3. None but Irish music to be played while pupils march from class to class, etc.

B. In Semi-Gaelic Districts

1. Irish should be the official school language, i.e. roll-call, orders, prayers, etc., in Irish.
2. The Bilingual programme, as in present Bilingual schools.
3. & 4. History and Music as above.
5. Foreign languages – each foreign tongue to be taught through the medium of that tongue.

C. Purely English-speaking Districts

1. Irish to be the official school language as in B.
2. 3. & 3(a). History, Music and Foreign languages: as above.
4. Irish to be taught as a *living tongue* to each pupil for at least one hour each day.

In two years time:

5. Grammar, Reading, Writing, etc. to be taught in Irish and English on alternate days to all pupils except infants, and

In five years time:

6. The full bilingual system to be enforced in each primary school, except, perhaps, in the case of infants.

II. SECONDARY SCHOOLS

1. Irish to be taught as a *living tongue* to all pupils, and no public money to be bestowed on any school in which Irish is not properly taught.
2. In the case of each language examination, all questions to be set in that language.
3. All other examination papers to be set in both Irish and English, each pupil examined having permission to answer in whichever of the two languages he may think fit.
4. Irish History to be taught to all pupils and to be an essential subject in all examinations.

III. UNIVERSITY

1. The *spoken knowledge* of Irish, as also Irish History, to be essential for Matriculation.
2. & 3. As in the case of secondary schools.
4. All professors, except language professors, to use whichever language they think fit in giving their lectures, but pupils to be permitted to use Irish or English as they may think fit, in answering questions.

N.B.: By Primary Schools is meant
(1) all National Schools and
(2) all other schools or parts of Secondary Schools attended by children under 14 years of age.

[*Coisde an Oideachais, Conradh na Gaeilge.* Minutes dated 27 November 1918.]

III.18 A statistical overview of the system of national education, 1850-1921.

By the middle of the nineteenth century there were over four and a half thousand national schools in Ireland catering for about a quarter of a million children. The government grant for national education was £125,000 per annum. The system expanded rapidly in the second half of the nineteenth century, and by 1900, there were over eight and a half thousand national schools in the country attended by half a million pupils. The total government grant in that year was £1,274,000.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the level of funding of Irish

national education grew more slowly than in the nineteenth century. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, public financing of civil service departments generally had been adversely affected by the cost to the exchequer of the Boer war at the turn of the century. Secondly, the rationalisation of educational administration in England in 1899 had resulted in some economies in the system there. Thirdly, the 1902 education act in England, which had led to the setting up of local education committees in that country, resulted in an increase in local funding of education with a consequent decrease in costs to the exchequer. The government was increasingly of the opinion that similar administrative reforms should be introduced in Ireland and was reluctant to allow exchequer funding of aspects of education which in England were being financed from the rates.

The following table contains details of the numbers of schools and pupils in the national school system in the years from 1850 to 1921. It also contains information on the parliamentary grant to national education in the same period. Using the wholesale price index as a deflator, the value of the annual grant is expressed in constant prices and is also shown in average per capita terms:

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.

IV

Intermediate Education

IV.1 Prospectus of St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, 1783.

Before 1878, secondary education was the concern of a small minority of the population and the state gave no grants towards its provision. Secondary or intermediate schools were run predominantly on denominational lines.

Some protestant schools such as the diocesan free schools, the royal free schools and the Erasmus Smith schools benefitted from endowments. Others were privately founded and funded. Up to the end of the eighteenth century, the penal laws impeded the setting up of secondary schools for the Roman Catholic community and many Catholic students were educated in Irish colleges on the European mainland, e.g. Louvain, Salamanca, Paris and Rome. Following the repeal of the relevant penal laws in the late eighteenth century, religious orders of nuns and brothers began to found secondary schools. By the middle of the nineteenth century a number of secondary schools for girls, run by orders such as the Ursulines, Presentation, Loreto and Mercy had been established. Secondary schools for Roman Catholic boys were founded by the Christian Brothers, the Jesuits, the Holy Ghost Fathers and by diocesan clergy. There were also private schools and academies run by individual lay men and women.

One of the first secondary schools for Roman Catholic boys was founded in Kilkenny in 1783. This was subsequently described as 'the earliest Catholic College in the Kingdom' and was set up by two local priests, Drs. Dunne and Lanigan. The following is a copy of the first prospectus of the college:

TO THE PUBLICK

As the Wisdom and Liberality of our Legislature hath graciously repealed the Laws that hitherto impeded the regular Education of the Roman Catholic youth of this Kingdom, Messieurs Dunne and Lanigan, registered Priests of the City of Kilkenny, have embraced this happy Occasion to make an humble Offer of their Services and strenuous Endeavours for the Attainment of so desirable an End.

They now beg leave to acquaint the Publick, that they are determined to open an Academy the 13th January 1783 where Youth will be taught English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, French, Latin,

Greek, Geography, Mathematics, ancient and modern History, in short every Branch of useful and polite Literature on the most improved Plan. For this Purpose they have taken a very commodious House in St. James's Green, an open dry airy Situation, with a spacious Square in Front, and a large Garden in the Rear, inclosed with an eight Foot Wall.

As this Academy meets with the Sanction and warm Approbation of the Most Rev. Dr. Troy, and is to be under the immediate Inspection of the Reverend Doctor Molloy; and as the strictest Care will be taken to inculcate religion, and form a Taste for Virtue and Purity of Manners: they flatter themselves that the Roman Catholics in General will Cheerfully favour it with Their Countenance and Encouragement.

REGULATIONS

The price for Boarders £20 a year, to be paid quarterly; Firing and Candle Light included.

Washing at the lowest Price.

Day Boys a Guinea a Quarter. It is necessary to remark that no Boy will be received into the Academy who is not fit to begin the Latin.

Boarders to bring with them a Plate, Spoon and a Pair of Sheets.

To rise at six o'clock in the Morning, from February to November, and to go to Bed at nine at Night.

Prayers, Study, &c., at stated and regular Hours.

Sufficient Time allowed for wholesome Exercise and Amusement.

Religious and Moral Instruction on Sundays and chief Holydays.

No entire Days to be allowed for Play, except the Time of Vacation, which will commence in the Dog Days.

Quarterly Examinations.

Solemn Distribution of Premiums, immediately before the Vacation; at which the Parents and Friends of the Scholars may assist.

It is obvious that a punctual Observance of these Regulations will accelerate and compleat the Education of Youth.

[This document was preserved in the Thurles (Archdiocese of Cashel) Archives, and was read for the Ossory Archaeological Society, January 1883. It is reproduced in Rev. Peter Birch, *St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny,* Dublin, 1951.]

IV.2 Report from the select committee on foundation schools and education in Ireland, 1836 (The Wyse Committee).

Following the setting up of the national school system in 1831, a select committee was established in 1835, under the chairmanship of Thomas Wyse, M.P., to inquire into 'the existing condition of the endowed schools and to suggest plans for their improvement and the advancement of education'. The committee, which reported in 1836, produced a detailed plan for secondary and higher education in Ireland. It suggested that existing endowed schools be reorganised and expanded to provide a basis for a countrywide system of day secondary schools or academies. These schools, which would be religiously mixed, would be funded, like the national schools, from local and state sources. The curriculum would be wide and balanced and the teachers would be trained and would benefit from a salary and pension scheme.

The plan was not adopted for a variety of reasons. The concept of state funded secondary education was not generally supported. The major churches were opposed to the idea of religiously mixed schooling and the structure and condition of such secondary schools as were in receipt of endowments was not such as would facilitate development.

The following extracts from the report of the Wyse committee outline the ideas of the committee in relation to the system and curriculum of secondary education:

IV.—SUGGESTIONS FOR AN EXTENDED, IMPROVED, AND PERMANENT SYSTEM OF ACADEMICAL AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION IN IRELAND

Your Committee having considered the existing state of the Diocesan, Royal and other Schools of Public foundation, now proceed to inquire 'how far their utility may be increased, and in what manner, and from what resources, Academical Education may be improved, extended, and permanently maintained in Ireland.'

The education of the Lower classes in Ireland has, at various times, attracted the serious attention of the Government and the Legislature, and large grants, and various plans, been applied to its extension and improvement.

Your Committee are not less sensibly impressed with the importance of extending the same encouragement to the promotion of the education of the Middle orders. To a well-educated middle order, the State must mainly be indebted for its intellectual and moral progress. Such a class is especially desirable at the present time in Ireland.

Your Committee are of opinion, that a liberal, judicious, and appropriate system of education for the middle class, is the only means by which they may be enabled to acquire and maintain that proper position in society to which they are entitled, and by the maintenance of which the community can be fully protected from the chances of internal disorder. They are further of opinion that such system is not likely to be provided as rapidly and extensively as may be required, by voluntary efforts; and that it thus becomes the duty of the Legislature to intervene, as in the case of the education of the lower classes, in order to secure its blessings.

To effect this, it appears to your Committee that the following objects should be kept in view: The system should be in harmony with the real wants and position of the class for which it is intended; it should, as much as possible, accord with other portions of the education system; it should be of the most improved character; it should be general, common to all, without distinction of class or creed; and once established it should be rendered permanent.

The upper classes generally, and a portion of the middle, devote themselves to the learned professions, especially to the bar, and with that view enter the University. The great majority, however, is necessarily destined to agricultural, commercial, and, in some instances, to manufacturing pursuits. There is at present a demand for knowledge in all these branches, consequent upon the extension of public works and private speculations; and it is to be hoped that, with the farther development of the resources of the country, this demand will continue to increase.

The evidence before Your Committee shows how inadequately the whole of this important body is supplied with the means of acquiring such knowledge. The education at present given, is not only limited, but in general inapplicable to their after pursuits in life.

These defects have been in some degree supplied by private Commercial Schools, and by Mechanics and other Institutions, but in none with the effect observable in the Belfast Institution and Academy. The introduction of the mechanical, physical, and moral sciences in these establishments, to an extent unknown in other parts of the country, has been effected without difficulty, and been productive of satisfactory results. A taste for these studies has been diffused through the north, especially in the neighbourhood of the town itself. The natural result of this will be to raise, extend, and improve the moral and intellectual character of the people, to give an impulse to industry, and to obviate, it is hoped, many of the

evils arising from the imperfection of former or existing systems.

At the same time it must be observed, that even Belfast (though in many particulars beyond other places), does not yet furnish all that is required. The system is not complete; natural history is not sufficiently taught; political economy is not studied. But Belfast, even as it is, stands alone; the South and West, especially, are altogether without any great public institution affording education suited to the peculiar wants of the middle order.

To supply this deficiency, two courses are open to the Government and Legislature: 1. To leave the present schools precisely as they now are, and appropriate them principally to classical education, as preparatory schools to the University; founding, at the same time, other establishments for commercial and industrial instruction; or, 2. To take advantage of the present system, enlarging, improving and extending it, so as to render it applicable to both commercial and classical education, and thus fit it to the wants, at the same time, of both the middle and upper orders.

Your Committee are disposed to consider the latter of these arrangements as better suited to promote the objects of education, social harmony, and economy, than the farmer.

It does not appear advisable, all other considerations being equal, to separate branches of instruction, calculated mutually to aid and illustrate each other.

Nor is any arrangement tending to divide the several classes of society less objectionable. Your Committee cannot concur with some of the witnesses in the belief that the combination of classical and commercial instruction would tend to drive away the higher classes; or even in the case of so unfortunate a result, would the rich be left without instruction, as must necessarily be the case with the middle in the event of a perseverance in the actual system.

Separate institutions would require a large additional expenditure, and immediate outlay; by availing ourselves, on the contrary, of existing foundations, considerable expense may be saved. Admitting, then, on all these grounds, that institutions combining the different branches of education are preferable to such as separate them, we have next to consider how such combined system may be carried into effect.

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INSTRUCTION

The object to be held in view in organizing anew the instruction of the County Academy, is the providing such a course or courses

of study as may fit the upper and middle classes, not for one, but for each of the pursuits to which they may severally be called.

In this view Your Committee do not consider classical instruction nor even intellectual instruction of itself sufficient.

In the Elementary School, Your Committee have insisted on the combination of physical, intellectual, and religious instruction, in order thoroughly to realize the idea of a sound and complete public education.

The physical education of the County Academy will require a more direct attention to gymnastic and industrial exercises than is at present usual. For this purpose, each Academy should be provided with a sufficient extent of ground, appropriate buildings, &c. Agricultural and horticultural pursuits should be encouraged.

The intellectual instruction should embrace two great departments – 1. *Literature,* 2. *Science.* Each should be conducted in 1, 'general', and 2, in 'special' courses.

1. *Literature.* Under this designation should be ranked, as
   'General course':
   English grammar, reading, history of literature, and composition. Elements of geography and history.
   As 'Special courses':
   a. Latin grammar, reading, history of Latin literature, composition, connexion with the arts.
   b. Greek ditto.
   c. French ditto, and other Southern languages.
   d. German ditto, and other Northern languages.
   e. Geography and History, general and in detail.

2. *Science.* Under this head should be ranked, as
   "General courses":
   a. Elements of logic and mental science.
   b. Elements of arithmetic and geometry.
   c. Elements of physics, &c. &c.
   As 'Special courses':
   a. Abstract science and its applications, geometry, &c.
   b. Mechanical science and its applications, physics, &c.
   c. Natural science and its applications, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, botany, zoology, and physiology.
   d. Moral science and its applications, ethics, elements of law and constitutions, political economy and natural theology.

To these general and special courses should also be annexed general and special courses in music, drawing, and the other fine

arts, according to circumstances of time and place.

Each of the 'general' courses should be obligatory upon all students. The 'special' courses should be *ad libitum,* and paid for separately. No pupil should be received to either class without previous examination.

The religious instruction should embrace the reading and history of the Scriptures, and such special courses, as may be approved by the religious denominations, to be given, as now, apart.

It would be desirable that each of these courses should have a separate Teacher; but circumstances, at the outset, such as want of Teachers or applications, may require one teacher to conduct two or more. The Head Master should be allowed to select his course; the others should be allotted as might be arranged amongst the teachers themselves. Each Teacher should be entitled to the fees paid by the pupils in his particular class.

The Teachers should be appointed by the Board; but as it is important that the persons named should possess the confidence of those who are connected with the school, it should be from a list of candidates who had fulfilled the conditions enumerated above, presented by the Teachers in concurrence with the local body, or at least subject to a veto on the part of each; and the Head Master should be appointed on the same principle, and under the same restrictions.

The Board should have the power, as in the case of elementary schools, of suggesting the promotion of Teachers from one Academy to the other, with the consent of the Academy to which such promotion was recommended. They should also be authorized to grant superannuations for a specified period of service.

Each academy should be fully provided with museums, archaeological and scientific, a small gallery of casts from the antique, &c., a collection of prints, libraries, &c. &c.

Each year examinations should be held, in the presence of the whole body of the Teachers and the Public, and the results entered, with other particulars, in the Annual Report.

In arranging the hours of study and courses, due attention should be paid to a fair intermixture of physical, intellectual, and moral and religious instruction.

A practice, as much as possible uniform and permanent, should be adopted throughout all the Academies; all arrangements, additions, and variations should be sanctioned by the consent of the Body of Teachers, and approbation of the Board.

[*Report from the select committee on foundation schools and education in Ireland* (Wyse). 1837 (701) vii 345.]

IV.3 Legislation relating to intermediate education.

IV.3(a) Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878.

The proposals relating to state involvement in intermediate education put forward by the Wyse committee in 1836 were not acted upon. In 1858, a further commission, the royal commission on endowed schools, recommended that the state should support intermediate schools and take steps to expand and reform the curriculum. But it was not until the 1870s that action was taken by the government to make public funds available for intermediate education.

One of the main problems faced by the government in funding intermediate education in Ireland was to devise a scheme which would give financial assistance to existing schools without appearing at the same time to support denominational education. The solution proposed in the 1870s centred around a system of payment by results. Payment by results had been introduced in elementary schools in England in the 1860s and into Irish national schools in 1872. A similar scheme for Irish intermediate education was devised by Patrick Keenan, resident commissioner for national education, at the request of the chief secretary and in 1878 the proposed scheme was embodied in the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act which was passed in August of that year. Under the terms of the act, an unpaid board of seven commissioners, aided by two full-time paid assistant commissioners, was to be appointed. The board would devise and administer a system of public examinations on the results of which fees would be paid to managers of schools which fulfilled the board's regulations. Prizes, exhibitions and certificates would be distributed to successful pupils. The board was given an allocation of one million pounds from the church disestablishment fund and the annual interest from this sum would be used to finance the proposed scheme.

In theory, the act was non-denominational and gave no direct support to denominational education as such; a conscience clause (section 7) was included which required schools to show that *'no pupil attending such school is permitted to remain in attendance during the time of any religious instruction which the parents or guardians of such pupil shall not have sanctioned, and that the time for giving such religious instruction is so fixed that no pupil not remaining in attendance is excluded directly or indirectly from the advantages of the secular attendance given in the school.'* In practice, however, the act supported denominational schools. Provided that schools fulfilled the examination conditions, results fees were paid to managers of all schools, whether denominational or not.

The intermediate board was more limited in its powers and functions than the national board. The intermediate board did not provide capital funds for building or equipping schools; it had no function in training, monitoring or paying teachers; it did not employ inspectors to visit and inspect schools and it had no control over the textbooks used in the schools. Its functions were limited to devising programmes, conducting the

examinations and paying awards.

The following is the full text (including the schedule of rules) of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1878:

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878.

2. A Board shall be established, to be called 'The Intermediate Education Board for Ireland' (in this Act referred to as 'the Board'). The Board shall consist of seven members, who shall be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant, and shall hold office during his pleasure.

If any vacancy occurs in the office of any member of the Board by death, resignation, or otherwise, the Lord Lieutenant may appoint some other fit person to fill the vacancy.

The Board shall at their first meeting in every year appoint one member of the Board to be chairman, and another member to be vice-chairman, who shall continue in office for one year.

If any casual vacancy occurs in the office of chairman or vice-chairman the Board shall, at a special meeting to be held not sooner than one month after the occurrence of such vacancy, choose some member of the Board to fill such vacancy, and the chairman or vice-chairman so elected shall continue in office so long only as the person in whose place he is so elected would have been entitled to continue if such vacancy had not occurred.

The Board shall be a body corporate, and shall have a common seal.

Three members of the Board shall form a quorum.

3. The Lord Lieutenant may from time to time appoint two assistant commissioners to assist the Board in the execution of this Act, who shall hold office during his pleasure. The assistant commissioners shall also act as secretaries, and, when required, as inspectors. The Board may from time to time, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant, and with the approval of Her Majesty's Treasury, appoint such examiners for such terms as the Board shall fix, and such other officers as they deem necessary for the purposes of this Act, and may, with such consent as aforesaid, remove such officers.

4. The following sums shall be paid by the Board out of any moneys for the time being in their hands in pursuance of this Act:

(1) To each of the two assistant commissioners a salary not exceeding one thousand pounds per annum;
(2) To the examiners and other officers such salaries or other remuneration as the Board may recommend, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, and as the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury may approve.
(3) The other expenses of carrying this Act into execution.

5. It shall be the duty of the Board to promote intermediate secular education in Ireland in the manner provided by this Act; that is to say:

(1) By instituting and carrying on a system of public examinations of students;
(2) By providing for the payment of prizes and exhibitions, and the giving of certificates to students;
(3) By providing for the payment to managers of schools complying with the prescribed conditions of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students;
(4) Generally by applying the funds placed at the disposal of the Board for the purposes of this Act as hereby directed; provided that no examination shall be held in any subject of religious instruction, nor any payment made in respect thereof.

6. The Board shall from time to time, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, make rules for the purposes of this Act with respect to the following matters:

(1) For prescribing the duties and powers of the assistant commissioners and other officers;
(2) For appointing times and places at which examinations shall be held in each year;
(3) For defining the qualifications of the students who may present themselves for examination;
(4) For applying, as far as conveniently may be, the benefits of this Act to the education of girls;
(5) For defining the subjects and nature of the examinations;
(6) For requiring candidates for examination to give such notice as the Board may prescribe of their intention to present themselves for examination, and for fixing the fees to be paid by candidates upon such notices;
(7) For fixing the numbers and amounts of the prizes and exhibitions which may be awarded in each year, and for declaring the conditions with respect to age, attendance at school, attendance at the examinations to be held under this Act, and the standard of merit, and conditions with respect to such

other matters as the Board may prescribe, upon compliance with which such prizes, exhibitions, and certificates may be obtained and held. No candidate shall be allowed to obtain a pass, nor be awarded any exhibition, prize, or certificate at any examination under this Act, unless he satisfies the examiners that he possesses an adequate knowledge of one at least of the first, second, third, or fifth divisions of the subjects mentioned in the schedule to this Act;

(8) For prescribing and satisfying themselves as to the observance of the conditions upon which managers of schools may receive payment of results fees;

(9) For making proper provisions to carry out the rules in the schedule to this Act, and for varying, altering, and amending the rules contained in such schedule;

(10) Generally for carrying this Act into effect.

All rules made in pursuance of this Act shall, within three weeks after the same shall have been made, be laid before both Houses of Parliament, if Parliament be sitting, or if not then within three weeks after the beginning of the next ensuing session of Parliament; and if any such rules shall be disapproved by either House of Parliament within forty days after the same shall have been so laid before Parliament, such rules, or such part thereof as shall be so disapproved, shall thereupon become void and of no effect.

In the meantime, and until altered by rules to be made by the Board in the manner provided by this Act, the rules contained in the schedule to this Act shall govern the proceedings of the Board.

7. The Board shall not make any payment to the managers of any school unless it be shown to the satisfaction of the Board that no pupil attending such school is permitted to remain in attendance during the time of any religious instruction which the parents or guardians of such pupil shall not have sanctioned, and that the time for giving such religious instruction is so fixed that no pupil not remaining in attendance is excluded directly or indirectly from the advantages of the secular education given in the school.

8. For the purpose of carrying this Act into effect, the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland shall, out of the property accruing to the Commissioners under the Irish Church Act, 1869, when and as required by the Board, provide for the use of the Board, either in cash or in securities or rent-charges of an equivalent value, such amount, not exceeding in the whole one million of pounds sterling, as the Board shall estimate to be required for the purposes of this Act.

The annual income arising from the amount so provided shall be

applied by the Board for the purposes of this Act, and if and so far as the same shall not in each or any year be required to be so applied, the same shall be invested by the Board by way of accumulation in the purchase of Government securities.

9. The several provisions of the Irish Church Act, 1869, with respect to the raising of money by the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland, and the giving of security for the repayment thereof, and of interest thereon, and with respect to advances to be made by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt to the said commissioners of Church Temporalities, and with respect to the powers of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury in relation to the money so to be raised, shall be extended and shall apply to the purposes of this Act as fully as such provisions apply to the purposes of the Irish Church Act, 1869.

10. The Board shall present an annual report to the Lord Lieutenant, to be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and the Board shall prepare, in such form and either annually or for such shorter periods as the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury may direct, accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the capital and the revenues derived from all funds under the control of the Board under this Act; and within three months after the expiration of each year, or other shorter period to which the accounts relate, the Board shall transmit the same to the Comptroller and Auditor-General, to be audited, certified, and reported upon with reference to the provisions of this 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; and the accounts, with the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General thereon, shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament not later than two months after they have been tendered for audit, if Parliament be then sitting, and if not sitting, then within one week after it shall be next assembled: Provided always, that the expense of such audit shall be included in the expenses of carrying this Act into execution, and shall be defrayed accordingly.

SCHEDULE OF RULES

Examinations

Examinations extending over a course of three years shall be held in accordance with the rules following:

1. The examinations in each of the three years shall be held between the first day of June and the first day of August, at conve-

nient centres to be selected by the Board, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant. The examinations shall be held, if possible, in the Town Hall or other public buildings suitable for the purpose. The following shall be the divisions of the subjects of examination; viz.:

(1) The ancient language, literature, and history of Greece;
(2) The ancient language, literature, and history of Rome;
(3) The language, literature, and history of Great Britain and Ireland;
(4) The language, literature, and history of France, Germany, and Italy, or any one of them, either separately or together, with the Celtic language and literature;
(5) Mathematics, including arithmetic and book-keeping;
(6) Natural sciences; and
(7) Such other subjects of secular education as the Board may from time to time prescribe.

2. A programme of the examinations, including a list of the authors in which the literary part of the examinations shall consist, shall be furnished by the Board to any person on application.

3. The Board shall, before the first day of January in each year, prepare and publish a list of examiners in the various subjects for the year, to which list additions may, if necessary, be made during the year from time to time; and a sufficient number shall be selected from such list, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, to conduct the examinations.

4. A student of the first year's course shall be under the age of sixteen years on the first day of June in the year in which he shall first present himself for examination. No student shall be eligible to present himself for examination in either the second or the third year's course in any year after 1879 and 1880 respectively, who shall not have been examined and have passed in two divisions at least in the year previous to his so presenting himself, unless the Board shall, for special reasons to be stated by them in each case, dispense with this condition of eligibility. In the year 1879 any student may present himself for examination in the second year's course who shall be under the age of 17 years on the 1st day of June in that year; and in that year and in 1880 any student may present himself for examination in the third year's course who shall be under the age of 18 years on the first day of June in the year in which he shall so present himself.

5. Every student desiring to be examined in any year shall, in the month of April previous to his presenting himself for examination, send to the Board notice of his intention so to do, accompanied by a certificate of age. A fee not exceeding 2s. 6d. shall be payable

upon every notice given by a student, and shall be paid in such manner as the Board shall order. A number shall be assigned to each student so giving notice of his intention to be examined, by which alone he shall be known in the subsequent examination. Before admitting any student to examination, the Board shall satisfy itself that during the twelve months immediately preceding the date of examination he has pursued a course of study in Ireland.

Prizes and Exhibitions

Exhibitions not exceeding £20 a year, tenable for three years, shall be awarded to the students obtaining the highest places at the examination for the first year, who shall have passed in three divisions at the least.

Exhibitions not exceeding £30 a year, tenable for two years, shall be awarded to students obtaining the highest places at the examination for the second year, who shall have passed in three divisions at the least.

No student shall hold two such exhibitions at the same time.

No exhibition or prize (except medals or minor prizes) under the Act shall be tenable by any student holding a scholarship, exhibition, or free scholarship from any other endowment.

No exhibition shall continue to be held by any student in any year subsequent to the year in which he has obtained it, unless in each such subsequent year he presents himself for examination and passes in three divisions at the least, and obtains a certificate of merit in one of such divisions.

Upon the recommendation of the examiners silver medals and prizes in books will be awarded to students of merit, who pass in three divisions in any year, and obtain certificates of merit in two of them, but fail to obtain exhibitions.

Prizes not exceeding £50 shall be awarded to the students obtaining the highest places at the examination in the third year's course. No student to whom such a prize is awarded shall continue to hold any exhibition under this Act previously held by him.

The number of prizes and exhibitions to be awarded in each year shall be determined by assigning one prize or exhibition according to the respective years for every ten students in the aggregate who shall have passed in three of the divisions of examination for each such year.

Such prizes and exhibitions shall be awarded to the students highest in order of merit in the general examination list for the

whole country in each year, without reference to the order of merit in the examination list for any particular place of examination.

Results Fees

Results fees shall be paid to the managers of schools for students who, having attended their schools from the 15th of October of the year previous to that of the examination, and having made at least one hundred attendances from that date to the last day of the month preceding the examination, may obtain passes according to the following scale:

	One Division	Two Divisions	Three Divisions	Four Divisions	Five Divisions	Six Divisions
		Not exceeding	Not exceeding	Not exceeding	Not exceeding	Not exceeding
	£	£	£	£	£	£
First Year	Nil	3	4	5	—	—
Second Year	—	4	5	6	7	—
Third Year	—	5	6	7	8	10

For the purposes of this rule a school shall mean any educational institution (not being a national school) which affords classical or scientific education to pupils not exceeding eighteen years of age, of whom not less than ten shall have made one hundred attendances at the least in the period between the fifteenth of October and the last day of the month preceding the examination in respect to which the result fees are claimed.

[*Bill, intituled, an act to promote intermediate education in 1878* (275) iii 543.]

IV.3(b) Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1882 (An act to amend the intermediate education (Ireland) Act, 1878).

The interest on the money which had been allocated to the intermediate board from the church disestablishment fund amounted to about £32,000 per annum. In the first two years of its existence, the board did not spend all its income, but under the provisions of the 1878 act it was required to invest any accumulated surplus in government securities and was not empowered to transfer a surplus from one year to the next. To overcome this situation, an amending act was passed in 1882 which allowed the Board '*to apply in whole or in part the surplus income of (any one) year, not required to be applied to the purposes of said act during said year, for or towards the purposes of the said act in or for any other year or years*'.

The following is the full text of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1882:

Whereas by the eighth section of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, it is amongst other things enacted that the annual income arising from the amount by said Act directed to be provided for the use of the Board shall, so far as the same shall not in each or any year require to be so applied, be invested by the Board by way of accumulation in the purchase of Government securities:

And whereas there was a surplus of the annual income for the years one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine and one thousand eight hundred and eighty over and above the amount which in said years respectively was required to be applied for the purposes of said Act, but the annual income for the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one was insufficient for the purposes of said Act:

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1882.

2. It shall be lawful for the Board to apply the surplus income, which in the years one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine and one thousand eight hundred and eighty arose from the securities vested in the Board, and which now remains after satisfying the purposes of the Act for the said years respectively, to the purposes of the said Act for the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one.

3. In the event of the income of the Board being in the present or any future year more than sufficient to answer the purposes of said Act for such year, it shall be lawful for the Board to apply in whole or in part the surplus income of such year, not required to be applied to the purposes of said Act during said year, for or towards the purposes of the said Act in or for any other year or years.

4. It shall not be lawful for the Board to anticipate in one year the income of any future year, but this enactment shall not prevent the hiring of any office, the assignment of salary to any officer, the grant of exhibitions, or any other like act in one year which involves a periodical payment not only in the said year, but in future years.

[*Bill, intituled, an act to amend the intermediate education (Ireland) act, 1878.* 1882 (258) ii 523.]

IV.3(c) Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890.

During the 1880s the low annual income of the intermediate board caused some dissatisfaction among school managers. The financial situation improved in 1890 when an extra grant for intermediate education became available under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act. This act stated that a proportion (nine-eightieths) of the local taxation duties collected in Great Britain and Ireland should be paid to the local taxation (Ireland) account. Of this amount, £78,000 would be allocated to national education and the residue would be paid to the intermediate board. Under this arrangement the income of the board fluctuated depending on the amount of excise duty collected each year. The revenue from this source varied from as little as £39,000 in 1891 to as much as £71,400 in 1900. In 1910 the government agreed to fix the income from the local taxation act to intermediate education at £46,000 per annum and it remained at that figure until 1922.

The following extracts from the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, sets out the conditions under which payments were made from this source to Irish education:

3. (1) The Irish share of the local taxation (customs and excise) duties paid to the local taxation (Ireland) account on account of any financial year shall be applied as follows, that is to say, out of such share:

(i) The sum of seventy-eight thousand pounds shall be paid to the Commissioners of Education, and shall be distributed by them as nearly as possible in proportion to the average number of pupils daily attending the several national schools in Ireland in aid of which salaries or any other money payments are paid by the said Commissioners, estimated according to the rules and regulations of the said Commissioners for the time being in force, and such distribution shall be made according to rules to be framed by the said Commissioners with the consent of the Treasury and the amounts:

(a) in the case of every national school in a union which is not a contributory union, shall be paid for the benefit of the schools which are not model schools as an addition to the local contributions to or in respect of such schools within the financial year fixed by the last-mentioned rules; and

(b) in the case of every national school in a union which is a contributory union, shall be paid to the guardians of such union, provided that no such payment shall be made to the guardians of any contributory union in excess of the amount paid by them within the financial year fixed as aforesaid, pursuant to the provisions of the National School Teachers

(Ireland) Act, 1875, out of the poor rate;

(c) all sums so paid to the guardians of a contributory union shall be applied in aid of the poor rate; and

(d) any sums not paid to the guardians of a contributory union by reason of the proviso restricting the amount of payment herein-before contained shall be paid for the benefit of the national schools in the union which are not model schools in the manner herein-before mentioned.

(ii) The residue of such share 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, 1878, 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 conditions prescribed under 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 the Treasury.

(2) Expressions which have meanings assigned to them by the National School Teachers (Ireland) Act, 1875, shall have the same meanings respectively in this section.

[*Bill for the distribution and application of certain duties of Customs and Excise and for other purposes connected therewith.* 1890 (404) vi 437.]

IV.4 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Commission, 1899 (The Palles Commission).

Twenty years after the passing of the intermediate education act, 1878, the members of the intermediate board 'felt satisfied that there are many defects in the system, and asked the lord lieutenant to set up a commission to inquire into the system of intermediate education. In May 1898, the lord lieutenant appointed the intermediate board itself to act as a special commission to carry out such an inquiry. The commission, under the chairmanship of Lord Chief Justice Palles, received written evidence from over 500 people including managers of schools, examiners under the board, members of the hierarchy of the different churches, members of parliament and the heads of municipal bodies. Oral evidence was also heard from over 60 witnesses. Many witnesses praised the system as operated by the board and referred to the increase in the number of students availing of intermediate education since the passing of the act in 1878. There was

general agreement on the impartiality with which the examinations were carried out. However, many witnesses referred to the undesirable effects of the system of payment by results. There was criticism of the lack of balance in the curriculum, of the stress on memory and rote-learning and of the unhealthy rivalry and competition encouraged by the system.

Within the commission itself, opinions were divided as to how the system might be reformed. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Walsh, was clearly opposed to the system of payment by results and proposed that 'the making of the grants to the schools in the form of "results fees" be discontinued'. His proposal was not, however, carried and the final report of the commission recommended that '*a public general examination of students should be retained as the basis of the calculation of the school grant, but that this examination should not be competitive*'. Those who had hoped that the commission would recommend radical reform were disappointed and the recommendations were for modifications of the existing system rather than for a thorough reform.

IV.4(a) General summary of the principal recommendations of the Commission.

XV.—GENERAL SUMMARY

The following is a summary of our principal recommendations:

1. That a public general examination of students should be retained as the basis of the calculation of the school grant, but that this examination should not be competitive.

2. That the papers set at this examination should be of such a character as (a) to test true educational work, as distinct from the mere overloading of the memory, and (b) to be within the capacity of a well-taught pupil of average ability.

3. That the programme of the Board should prescribe at least *two* distinct courses – (1) the Grammar School course, and (2) the Modern course, in either of which a student may present himself for examination.

4. That the school grant should be a capitation grant paid on the 'Intermediate School Roll' ascertained in the manner which we have already explained.

5. That in order to be entitled to receive a grant at the minimum rate, a school should be required to pass a fair proportion of the total number of pupils on the 'Intermediate School Roll', as defined above.

6. That a school passing the prescribed percentage of the total number of its pupils on the roll as defined above should receive a grant at a certain rate; and that the percentage should be graduated according to the proportion of passes until a defined maximum rate

is reached. The capitation grant payable to a school, thus ascertained, may be called the 'normal school grant'.

7. That in order to encourage schools of more than average efficiency, the 'normal school grant' payable to a school should be increased by the addition of bonuses, at rates to be prescribed by the Board, as (for instance):

(*a*) By the addition of a bonus, or bonuses, if the average marks gained by its pupils, in all grades, amounted to a certain percentage of the maximum number of marks attainable at the public general examination.

(*b*) By an additional bonus, if the number of its passes in the Middle Grade be not less than a prescribed percentage of the number of its passes in the Junior Grade.

(*c*) By an additional bonus, if the number of its passes in the Senior Grade be not less than a prescribed percentage of the number of its passes in the Junior Grade.

(*d*) By an additional bonus as the result of inspection, subject to the limitations stated in the body of our Report.

8. That the 'normal school grant' should be reduced by a prescribed percentage in the case of a school the number of whose passes in the Junior Grade does not bear a fair proportion to the number of its passes in the Preparatory Grade.

9. That, to guard against the inconvenience otherwise likely to result from sudden changes in the amount of the yearly school grant, the grant should be given each year, not upon the results of the examination in one year only, but upon an average taken on a triennial period.

10. That, to enable a school to have, before breaking up for the summer vacation, an exact knowledge of its financial position as affected by the grant from the Board, the three years preceding each current year should be taken as the triennial period – so that, for instance, the grant for 1904 should be fixed by the results of the examination of 1901, 1902, and 1903 – a special provision being made for the transitional period intervening between the old and the new systems.

11. That, in subjects which cannot be adequately tested by written examination, the Board should adopt means to satisfy itself of the efficiency of the teaching, by the visit of an inspector, or by *viva voce* examination in the school or at a common centre.

12. That the Board should satisfy itself as to the sufficiency of the teaching staff; the sanitary condition of the school; and the reasonableness of the arrangements as to school hours.

13. That the Board should also satisfy itself that, in schools

where Natural and Experimental Sciences are taught, proper equipment and appliances have been provided and used for teaching these sciences practically.

14. That submission to the requirements of the Board in the matters mentioned in 11, 12 and 13 should be a condition precedent to a school obtaining any grant from the Board.

15. That an honour examination should be held in each year immediately after the general pass examination, and that the Board should continue to allocate in each year a portion of the funds under its control for exhibitions and prizes, subject as regards the mode of distribution, to any modification which may take place under the suggestion contained in Part IX of this Report.

16. That the Board should be authorized to stipulate with managers presenting pupils for examination in the Natural and Experimental Sciences, that a certain proportion of the school grant should be applied in the provision of proper equipment and appliances for the practical teaching of these sciences.

17. That the Board should be empowered to advance money to managers of schools upon approved security, to enable them to provide proper equipment and appliances for the teaching of practical Science, and for similar purposes to be approved by the Board.

[*Final report of the commissioners on intermediate education (Ireland)* (Palles). 1899 (C. 9511) xxii 629.]

IV.4(b) Evidence of Douglas Hyde, LL.D., President of the Gaelic League, to the Palles Commission.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, many European nations, including Ireland, experienced a renewed interest in and enthusiasm for their national culture, language and heritage. The setting up of the Gaelic League in 1893 provided a focus for the cultural nationalist movement in Ireland and during the 1890s and the early years of the twentieth century, this organisation successfully increased public awareness in this area, The Gaelic League emphasised the important role of the education system in reviving Gaelic civilisation and provided a strong pressure group to forward this view. In the evidence to the Palles Commission, a number of witnesses spoke of the importance of Irish or Gaelic in the examinations of the Intermediate Board and some sought to have a higher number of marks allocated to this subject. Others, including Dr. Mahaffy of Trinity College, had negative views on the matter and had questioned the place of Irish on the intermediate examination programme. The evidence of Dr. Douglas Hyde, President of the Gaelic League, who sought to contradict

the negative approach, was carefully prepared and presented. Dr. Hyde had written to a number of prestigious Celtic scholars in other European countries - notably, Dr. Kuno Meyer of Liverpool, Professor Zimmer of Greifswald, Prussia, Dr. Ernest Windisch of Leipsig, Dr. Stern of Berlin and Dr. Holger Pedersen of Copenhagen - and he produced letters of support for the Irish language as a serious linguistic study from these experts. The following extracts from Dr. Hyde's evidence outline his views of the matter:

Now, the raising or the lowering of the status of the national language in the national education, and especially of the Intermediate Board, will have a powerful indirect influence, either in discouraging or encouraging the growth of such a sentiment as obtains in Ireland, and which we attempt to neutralise. A feeling of snobbishness, a want of national self-respect and national self-reliance - these are the great enemies of the Irish language, and the Board, by raising the national language to its proper place in the system of national education, will gain a victory over these. The study of it will create amongst Irish boys, more than any other study, perhaps, feelings of national and personal self respect, in which they are at present so deplorably wanting, but without which we, of the Gaelic League, believe that no healthy prosperity is possible.

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I have heard it argued that there is no genuine desire amongst the Irish people to take up the study of Irish. On the contrary, there is a tremendously strong and constantly-rising tide of opinion in favour of it. During the passing of the Intermediate Education Act, a memorial, signed by forty or fifty Irish Members of Parliament, was presented in favour of including Irish amongst the subjects. The result of including it, even though it has only been within the last eight or ten years that it has begun to bear fruit, has been to enormously stimulate intellectual activity in Ireland, and has amply justified the prescience and foresight of the statesmen who included it in the Intermediate course.

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Then, too, it must be remembered that Irish is a very beautiful and highly inflected language, one regular, for the most part, in its declensions and conjugations; it is very subtle and accurate in its idioms, and fully as well adapted for educational purposes as any

modern European language. It is now once again putting forth new leaves and buds, and day by day is assimilating fresh words to bring it into touch with the requirements of the present day. It is still spoken, and well spoken, by a large number of educated men in Ireland, and it is only about two months ago since I had the pleasure of attending a large meeting, in which the Primate of All Ireland took the chair, and beside him was the Bishop of Raphoe, and half-a-dozen monsignors, a number of priests and educated people, and not one word was spoken by anyone through the whole course of that meeting except in Irish. So that it is not a dead language. It is both the language of many of our educated men, and the language of a large portion of our uneducated men. It has an extraordinarily large vocabulary, and a grand power of word-formation, so that any objections put to it by anonymous experts as a rugged or ragged language, fall absolutely to the ground, and to this I hold in my hand the deliberate testimony of nearly all the greatest scientific linguists in Europe.

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I should just like to read two lines from Professor Zimmer's letter, because I know that directly opposite evidence was put in by a person who has been at the study of Irish for about two years, while Professor Zimmer has given up his life to it. . . .

'With regard to the Irish language as a subject of instruction in the Intermediate education system in Ireland, I know of no other modern language which, regarded purely as a language, possesses a higher educational value than modern Irish for a boy who knows English. Practically, and from the point of view of modern literature, a knowledge of French and German, outside of Ireland, would be certainly more valuable; but for thorough education and schooling of the mind and of the intellect, Irish stands at the very least on a level with the above-named languages, in fact, is, in many respects, superior to them, because it is more characteristic, and consequently gives more matter for thought. Through the phenomena of aspiration and eclipsis peculiar to the Celtic languages, which combine some of the principal phenomena of Indo-European speech, but which are now lost in other Indo-European tongues, all but a few fragmentary remains, Irish opens up to the growing youth, who is to be educated to think, new and highly instructive linguistic points of view.' He goes on to enlarge upon that at much greater length, and says, 'I can think of no modern language, which, for any Irish boy, who knows English,

would be more educational than Irish, if it be rightly taught in Intermediate instruction'.

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Miss Hull says: 'The natural genius of the people can flow freely only through their own vernacular. The Irish character is highly poetic and imaginative, and the expression of strong feeling is conveyed by means of very delicate and subtle similes, which cannot be expressed at all in English, but for which the Irish tongue seems to be specially fitted. See what a number of very lovely poems have been written within quite recent times by peasants in their own language, which would certainly never have been composed in any foreign tongue. Your own inimitable collection of the "Love Songs of Connacht", and Dr. Sigerson's fine translation in the "Bards of the Gael and Gall', put it into the power of English readers to judge of this for themselves. The composer of "The Fair Hills of Eire" was a poor exile living at Hamburg during the penal *regime,* who, in spite of the penal laws against education, succeeded in mastering the classic tongues; the impassioned and elevated poem, "Love's Despair", was written by a young farmer in County Cork, in the first quarter of the present century. The larger number of these later poems are written by quite poor people, and your own collection has been gathered from peasants in the humblest station. Yet these are gems of poetry which would rank high in any collection of European lyrics. I have seen no English lyrics of recent years that can approach them in grace and tenderness and in lovely melody. Surely the language that inspires and expresses thoughts like these should be encouraged by every means in the power of the State or of private individuals.'

[*Evidence to the commission on intermediate education (Ireland)* (Palles). 1899 (C. 9512) xxiii 1.]

IV.5 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1900 (An act to amend the law relating to intermediate education in Ireland).

Following the publication of the report of the commission on intermediate education (1899), the government passed an act in August 1900 to amend the legislation relating to intermediate education. This act increased somewhat the powers of the intermediate board, by allowing it to make its own rules for distributing grants, subject to the approval of the lord lieutenant. The membership of the board was raised from seven to

twelve and the board was given power to appoint inspectors. New rules were made by the board the following year and these came into effect in 1902. The main purpose of the new rules was to reduce the competitive element of the examinations and to provide a more balanced curriculum, but in practice, little change occurred in the system in the first decade of the new century. Temporary inspectors were appointed in the school years 1901/2 and 1902/3 but were not reappointed in 1903/4 and it was not until 1909 that a permanent inspectorate for intermediate schools was established.

The following is the text of the intermediate education (Ireland) act of 1900:

Be it enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. (1) Notwithstanding anything in the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, or the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, the funds placed at the disposal of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland (in this Act referred to as 'the Board') may, subject to the proviso in subsection (4) of section five and to section seven of the said Act of 1878, be applied by them in the manner provided by rules to be made by the Board, with the 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 one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.

(2) All rules made in pursuance of this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within three weeks after the same have been made, if Parliament be then sitting, or if Parliament be not then sitting within three weeks of the session then next ensuing, and, if any such rules are disapproved by either House of Parliament within forty days after the same have been so laid before Parliament, such rules, or such part thereof as may be so disapproved, shall thereupon become void and of no effect.

2. 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.

3. The Board may, if they think fit, out of the funds placed at their disposal, grant, with the approval of the Treasury, super-

annuation allowances to the Assistant Commissioners, inspectors, clerks, and other officers of the Board, not exceeding in amount the allowance provided by the scale contained in the Superannuation Act, 1859.

4. In the provision in section two of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, which fixes the number of members of the Board, 'twelve' shall be substituted for 'seven'.

5. This Act may be cited as the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1900, and the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1882, and this Act shall be construed as one Act, and may be cited collectively as the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Acts, 1878 to 1900.

6. In section three of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, the words 'but for no other purposes' are hereby repealed.

[*Bill to amend the law relating to intermediate education in Ireland.* 1900 (315) ii 515.]

IV.6 Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, His Majesty's inspectors of schools, Board of Education, on intermediate education in Ireland, 1905.

Following the passing of the intermediate education (Ireland) act, 1900, six temporary inspectors of intermediate schools were appointed in 1901/2 and four were appointed the following year. Following experience of the temporary inspectorate, the intermediate board decided to appoint permanent inspectors and applied to the government for sanction in 1903. Chief Secretary Wyndham had plans to reform the administration of Irish education and was reluctant to approve any major changes in the existing system pending the implementation of this reform. Consequently he refused to sanction the appointment of permanent inspectors and initiated what was to become a protracted correspondence between the board and Dublin Castle on the financial implication of a permanent inspectorate. During 1903 and the early months of 1904 Wyndham took advice from F. H. Dale, H.M.I., on the possible duties and remuneration of permanent inspectors. In particular, he asked Dale's views on the extent to which inspectors could take on the work of the examiners, thereby reducing the cost of examinations. The question of the relative role of inspection and examination in the distribution of school grants became quite a contentious one in subsequent years.

During the course of the correspondence between Dublin Castle and F. H. Dale on the question of appointing inspectors, it was suggested by

Dublin Castle that a full scale inquiry into intermediate and technical education in Ireland should be carried out. Dale replied by stating that 'for an effective investigation into intermediate and technical education in Ireland, a sound knowledge of physical science and technical education as well as a good knowledge of literature and acquaintance with primary education are essential'. In May 1904, Dale and another inspector from the English board of education, T. A. Stephens, were invited to carry out such an enquiry and the terms of reference they were given were specific and detailed. Dale and Stephens visited nearly eighty intermediate schools during the following months and interviewed 'a large number of ladies and gentlemen whose position and knowledge rendered them able to speak with special authority upon the subjects of our inquiry'. They presented their report to the lord lieutenant on 15 February 1905.

The report condemned the existing system of payment by results in Irish intermediate education. It was critical of the physical condition of many schools; of the small proportion of graduates on school staffs and of the lack of formal teacher training. It also pointed out that relatively few pupils continued their intermediate education to senior grade, and showed that only 10% of pupils who sat for preparatory grade continued on until senior grade.

Among the recommendations made by Dale and Stephens were that a central authority should be set up to co-ordinate education at different levels and that payment by results should be abolished in intermediate schools. They conceded that some system of inspection was necessary but were reluctant to support the intermediate board's claim for a permanent inspectorate stating that '*this course is not to be recommended so long as in other respects the existing system remains unchanged*'.

The report of Dale and Stephens further convinced Wyndham of the need to reform the structure of Irish education. He continued in his efforts to introduce this reform during the final months of his term of office but failed to achieve his objective.

The summary and conclusions of the report of Messrs. Dale and Stephens were set out under four headings, in line with the terms of reference.

I

The first section dealt with *the relationship between intermediate and primary education* and noted a number of specific defects. In this section there was much criticism of the lack of co-ordination between the two systems and some suggestions were made for greater co-ordination.

1. As regards the existing relation of Intermediate to Primary Education, the following specific defects have been noted:

(I) Although many children pass from the national to the Intermediate Schools, no steps are taken to secure that

such passage shall be made at the most suitable point in the child's school life. Overlapping in the form of undue retention of the scholars in Primary Schools is so common as to be practically universal.

(II) There is a great deficiency in the provision of scholarships, or bursaries, for the transference of poor children of ability from the National to the Intermediate Schools. Such provision is, in particular, entirely absent as regards children living in most of the rural districts, especially as regards the poorer Roman Catholic boys intended for secular pursuits.

(III) There is a considerable local deficiency of schools, especially in the North of Ireland, for supplying a systematic course of Intermediate Education in its lower grades to children attending the National Schools whose parents, though possessing limited means, could afford to give them such education.

2. The primary cause of this want of co-ordination between the system of Intermediate and that of Primary Education, is the non-existence in Ireland of any Department with power to survey the two systems as a whole; co-ordination could only be effectively secured by means of legislation.

3. The existing system of scholarships awarded by the Intermediate Board should be reconstructed. In particular there should be two distinct classes of Junior Scholarships tenable at Intermediate Schools, the first class for scholars from the Primary Schools, the second open to all children within the limits of age. Apparently a sum of £4,050 per annum would be available for these Junior Scholarships.

4. A Central Authority might undertake various measures to remedy the deficiency of good local schools for children up to sixteen, namely (after a detailed survey of each district) by making loans to managers for new buildings, by encouraging local Technical Committees to assist schools in their areas, by establishing in certain districts advanced departments in National Schools, by regularising the position of the Model Schools, and by arranging for the instruction of monitors in the lower grade Intermediate Schools.

5. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction has assisted in the erection and equipment of laboratories in Intermediate Schools, and has reformed the teaching in Experimental Science. This result has been secured by the co-operation of the Intermediate Education Board, and marks a distinct advance in

the efficiency of Irish Intermediate Education.

6. Serious defects, however, in organisation arise from the fact that the Intermediate Schools have to deal with two authorities. Grants are made on two principles inconsistent with each other, the rules of the two Boards relating to the management of schools are at variance, a school subsidised by the one Board may be refused recognition by the other, in some cases laboratories have been added to unsuitable school buildings, and a premium is put on the teaching of science, which should not be treated as a subject detached from the rest of the curriculum.

7. The remedy for these defects would appear to be to transfer the administration of the funds devoted to the promotion of Science and Art in the Intermediate Schools from the Department to the Central Authority; such a change would not impair the proper co-ordination of Intermediate and Technical Education.

8. The connection of the Universities with Intermediate Education is at present very imperfect. The Intermediate Board does not necessarily include representatives of the Universities; there is a lack of substantial identity between the Intermediate Board's courses of study and those required for the University Entrance Examinations; there is an overlapping of Examinations; the Intermediate Board's methods of awarding Exhibitions prevent proper preparation for subsequent Honours courses at the University.

9. These defects can only be removed by the equalization of the final School Examinations held by the State with the Entrance Examinations to the Universities. For this purpose, and in order that the Universities may exercise a preponderant influence on the higher classes of the First Grade Schools, we recommend the formation by the Central Authority of a small Consultative Committee, which should include representatives of the Universities.

II

The second section dealt with premises and equipment and it was noted that provision in this area varied between larger and smaller schools and between schools under Roman Catholic and Protestant management.

10. As regards premises and equipment, the larger schools, chiefly boarding schools, in number about 65 boys' and 52 girls' schools, are well provided; there are some 50 day schools with about 50 scholars each, and the condition of these institutions is as a rule also not unsatisfactory; but of the 110 schools with fewer

than 50 scholars each, at least 40 fall below a proper standard as regards school-rooms, cloak-rooms, playgrounds, lighting, ventilation and sanitary arrangements.

11. Such unsatisfactory institutions are in some cases the result of an over-multiplication of schools, generally of Protestant schools.

12. Efficiency would often be promoted by the amalgamation of several institutions into one effective school. It is desirable that the Central Authority regulating Intermediate schools should have power to deal with schemes of School Endowment, as is the case in England.

13. As regards staffing, the majority of the clerical teachers in the Roman Catholic Schools have received their training at Maynooth or at some other institution of University rank; the proportion of graduates among the women teachers in Roman Catholic schools was 8 per cent. In Protestant schools the proportion of graduates was 55.8 per cent. of the men and 30 per cent of the women teachers.

14. The number of teachers employed in an Intermediate School is generally adequate – in fact, the rules of the Intermediate Board result in many cases in the staff being unduly large.

15. The most serious defect in the staffing is the employment, especially in Protestant schools, of a large number of inexperienced assistant-teachers who do not intend to remain members of the profession. The primary cause of this serious defect is the lowness of salaries; it was found that the average salary of assistant-masters in 70 Intermediate schools was £82 6s. 7d., and of assistant-mistresses in 47 schools was £48 2s. 7d.

III

In the third section, the allocation of the school grant was discussed. Dale and Stephens were critical of the excessive cost of 'administration and of examination machinery' and recommended that this cost should be reduced. They also criticised the system of payment by results and pointed out a number of 'grave educational defects' in the grants system.

16. The amount paid in school-grant in 1903 was £57,318 11s., and this sum was allocated to the schools on the same principle of individual examination (Results Fees system) as was laid down in the Act of 1878, although the amount distributed has been enormously increased by the addition to the Intermediate Funds of the residue of the Irish share of the Excise money. Consequently, since neither the number of schools nor that of students has greatly

increased, the average capitation grant to the schools for each individual success now bears no reasonable proportion to the cost of educating the pupil. On the other hand, the total aid to the schools is not in excess of their needs; it is desirable to increase the sum available for the schools by reducing the excessive cost of administration and of examination machinery.

17. The following grave educational defects are inherent in the present system:

(I) The work of a school, as a whole, is not tested, nor is efficiency secured. To provide a remedy for this defect the Intermediate Board desire to appoint a permanent inspectorate, but this course is not to be recommended so long as in other respects the existing system remains unchanged.

(II) The grant to the school is subject to extreme variability, and the rules governing its distribution are unduly complicated.

(III) There is no differentiation of the curricula of the schools. In particular, the group-system has failed to effect that differentiation of schools which was pressed upon the Vice-Regal Commission, and which is an essential principle in the educational organisation of other countries.

(IV) A continuous course of study is secured for only a small number of the pupils of Intermediate schools.

(V) Other serious defects are: The hindrance to proper educational experiments; the danger of a loss of initiative on the part of many teachers; the subordination of the organisation of the school to the requirements of an external examination; neglect of physical training; the undue prominence of monetary rewards.

18. We recommend that the Act be so amended as to remove the restriction which at present compels the Central Authority to award its grants largely on individual examination.

19. As a condition precedent to receiving grants, a school should be officially recognised by the Central Authority; such recognition to be given on the requirements of the Authority being satisfied as to premises, staff, school fees, the school being 'necessary', and as to inspection and examinations for School Certificates.

20. To schools so recognised a block capitation grant should be paid annually. The total amount to be distributed amongst the schools would be about £70,000 per annum, which would probably ensure an average payment of not less than £6 per pupil.

21. The efficiency of the recognised school should be secured by

inspection, but it should not be the function of the inspectors who would be appointed to assess the exact amount of grant to be paid to each school. The examination system should comprise an internal examination conducted by the school authorities, under the general supervision of the inspectors, and external examinations for School Certificates, conducted by the Central Authority.

22. These Certificates should be of two grades, determined by the ages at which pupils leave the Intermediate schools. The Lower Certificate Examination should also serve for awarding scholarships to boys continuing at school in order to prepare for the Universities, and on the Higher School Certificate Examination scholarships should be given to students to enable them to proceed to the Universities.

IV

In the fourth section, the question of establishing a profession of intermediate teachers was addressed. Suggestions were made regarding registration and training of teachers as follows:

23. No conditions at present exist for Intermediate teachers analogous to those in force for Elementary teachers with regard to standard of qualifications, provision for training, and recognition of training and registration; consequently the standard of remuneration for Intermediate teachers is lamentably low.

24. The registration of Irish Intermediate schools and teachers will be best effected by making use of the common Register established for the United Kingdom and the British Colonies by Order in Council of March 6th, 1902.

25. The small number of Irish schools and teachers so registered at present is chiefly attributable to the absence of any complete system of inspection of Intermediate schools.

26. The steps taken to provide training for Intermediate teachers should be in general conformity with the Regulations for such training prescribed under the Order in Council; but regard should be had, in the recognition of institutions and schemes for training teachers by the Central Authority, to the special conditions prevailing in many Irish Schools, e.g., Convent schools.

27. There are in existence in Ireland three or four schemes for such training, which, with modifications and extensions, appear to meet the requirements, namely, the schemes in connection with St. Mary's College, Waterford, and the Training College of the Christian Brothers at Marino, and the courses instituted at present for examination purposes only at some of the institutions of University rank.

28. Whilst any scheme for suddenly raising the salaries of assistant-masters and mistresses would be impracticable, much might be gradually effected by eliminating unqualified persons by means of registration and inspection. A Pension Fund for Intermediate teachers is eminently desirable.

29. In order to encourage the employment of registered teachers, we recommend the payment out of the Intermediate funds of a bonus of £5 per year for ten years to each Intermediate school for each teacher on the staff registered in Column B.

[*Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens. His Majesty's inspectors, Board of Education, on intermediate education in Ireland.* 1905 (Cd. 2546) xxviii 709.]

IV.7 The appointment of a permanent inspectorate of intermediate schools; negotiations between the intermediate board and headmasters regarding the role of the inspectors, 1909.

Abstract of statement made by the joint consultative committee of the headmasters' association at a conference with a committee of the intermediate board on 2 December 1909 on the following subject: 'To consider the question as to the information concerning the qualifications and salaries of assistant teachers which it is expedient that the inspectors of the board should elicit'.

Following the withdrawal of the Irish Council Bill in 1907 (see section III), Chief Secretary Birrell adopted a more positive approach to proposals from the national and intermediate board for developments within the education system. In April 1908, the intermediate board passed a resolution calling for the appointment of inspectors and asserted that

> 'it is necessary for (the board) 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. . . .'

Despite the reservations of some of his officials, Birrell decided to support the intermediate board's request for the appointment of inspectors and in September 1908, the approval of the Treasury for the appointment of six inspectors was obtained. This decision was generally welcomed in educational circles but the Headmasters' Association was anxious to ensure that the appointments would not in any way undermine the autonomy of the intermediate schools. A conference was held between a committee of the board and the joint consultative committee of the Headmasters' Association in February 1909 in which the headmasters expressed a number of concerns about the proposed inspectorate. One of the points made by the headmasters underlined their determination to ensure that the

examination system would continue to form the basis for the payment of grants to schools. The headmasters asked '*that the inspectors should be definitely instructed to take full account of the fact that the annual written examinations must be the most potent factor in determining the nature and direction of the work of the schools, and the distribution of the schools grant*'. The Roman Catholic headmasters made it clear that as a matter of principle they would not allow the inspection of the boarding arrangements of any of their schools.

The appointment of the first six permanent inspectors was made by the lord lieutenant and the treasury in March 1909. The inspectors were all Irishmen and had previous experience of intermediate education either as examiners or advisory examiners. Within months of the appointments, a controversy arose between the headmasters' association and the board about the information which the inspectors were asked to obtain in relation to the qualifications and salaries of assistant teachers. The Roman Catholic headmasters objected strongly to answering any such enquiries in relation to their staff whereas the protestant headmasters had no such objection. In December 1909, a conference was held between a committee of the board and the joint consultative committee of the Headmaster's Association on this issue. The following statement summarises the position of the headmasters on the matter:

The subject of the Conference was the instruction given to the Board's inspectors to obtain information as to the qualifications and the salaries of assistant teachers.

The demand for the qualifications and the 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 difference is even more marked on the question of qualifications and salaries than it is with regard to the inspection of the residential portion of the schools.

If it be suggested that the Catholic Headmasters have introduced the religious element by their resolution on the subject, the reply is that the Headmasters had a perfect right to pass that resolution. The matter may ultimately be brought for settlement to a court of law to determine whether the Board have power, within their Acts, to withhold grants on account of adverse reports based on inspection of the matters under consideration.

The Protestant schools are not directly concerned with this discussion. Their reasons for joining in the protest are:

1. Loyalty to the teaching profession in Ireland.
2. A natural anxiety lest they should be placed in a worse position than the Catholic schools.

QUALIFICATIONS

With regard to the qualifications of assistants it is notorious that Catholics have suffered disabilities in respect of university education that have prevented them from obtaining such academic qualifications as have been open to Protestants. If it be said that 'qualifications' are not restricted to university degrees that is not the general interpretation of the term. Much of the difficulty is removed by the assurance that these returns are private, and that they will not be issued in any form by the Board – not even in response to a demand from Parliament. Still, before giving this information, we should require to know

1. the *use* the Board intends to make of it, and
2. the *right* the Board have to demand the returns.

The objection to furnishing the return of the qualifications in the academic sense is based on the *present* state of university education. In view of recent legislation, it would not be unreasonable if the Board, after the lapse of a sufficient number of years, should insist on teachers possessing certain evidence of qualification.

We are willing to accept instead of 'qualifications' a term that is not restricted as that is popularly to university degrees, provided that the substituted term does not raise new issues.

SALARIES

An assurance that the returns of salaries would not be in any way accessible to persons other than the Commissioners, and that they would not be communicated even to Parliament, would remove one of the grounds of objection to furnishing the return. But the really important objection still remains – an objection that brings out clearly one essential difference between Catholic and Protestant systems of school management. The Catholic Headmasters' Association represents two classes of schools – (1) the Diocesan Seminaries, and (2) the schools of the religious orders.

1. It appears to be 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. Any attempt at State control in this direction would compel the Bishop to withdraw from the Intermediate system. The management of Protestant schools offers nothing analogous.
2. No useful purpose can be served by an inquiry into the salaries and accommodation of teachers who are bound by vows to devote themselves to work without reward.

The penalty for refusing the information is that the Board will exclude these schools from the list of those submitting to the full inspection – a list that will at once be popularly assumed to include only the best schools of the country. No indication will be given that among the schools not appearing in the list are those which object to part of the inspection on principle only, and not through any fear as to the result of the ordeal.

Should the Board propose to use the information as a basis for an application for increased endowment, much of the difficulty would be removed.

If the Board intend, by exacting the return, to prevent cases of 'sweating', it seems unnecessary to enforce a comprehensive scheme on account of an evil that can exist in but very few instances. Small salaries are sometimes given with the charitable object of relieving a destitute teacher who is out of employment. No doubt, the Board would make due allowance for the motive; but the determination of the 'living wage' in a given case depends on matters that the Board are scarcely competent to investigate. Before pronouncing on any one teacher's salary the Board must have before them the amount of the school fees, the endowment, the other sources of income, the working expenses, the market price of such services, and even the economic conditions of the district.

Even if the Board were to obtain additional funds for the assistants, Protestant and Catholic schools would be still further differentiated. For Protestant schools the increase in the grant would be ear-marked for the assistants; while if a capitation grant be allowed to the Catholic schools for the unpaid teachers, the headmaster would receive a sum which he is free to expend in whatever manner he may determine.

There is a political aspect of this question which cannot be ignored. 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.

[*Report of conference between heads of schools and the intermediate board.* 2 December 1909.]

IV.8 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914.

The intermediate board had no control over the conditions of service of teachers in intermediate schools. Questions of salary, tenure, training and superannuation rights were outside the ambit of the board. The situation of intermediate teachers in the early years of the twentieth century was an unenviable one and in 1911 the chairman of the intermediate board, Dr. Starkie, commented that '. . . no layman wilfully takes up (intermediate school) teaching as a permanent occupation'. In the same year, Chief Secretary Birrell indicated that the chancellor of the exchequer was 'quite willing to set apart a sum of money for intermediate education' and he (Birrell) proposed that this money be used to introduce a scholarship scheme to enable boys 'to proceed from the primary schools to the secondary schools, so that they may compete for scholarships at the university'. If the money provided was more than adequate for this purpose, it could 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'.

In 1909, the Association of Secondary Teachers (Ireland) had been set up and one of its first objectives was to improve the status and salary of intermediate school teachers. This move was supported by the (protestant) Schoolmasters' Association and in June 1910, the Roman 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 Catholic Headmasters' Association was, however, ambivalent on the matter and by refusing to provide information on the existing salaries of lay teachers, they made it more difficult for the board to present a case to government for additional financing for this purpose.

The government decided in July 1912 to make a sum of £40,000 available to improve the status of lay teachers. The scheme, as originally conceived, proposed that this sum would be paid on condition that

(a) at least one teacher be employed for every 40 pupils on rolls in any one school
(b) lay teachers would have a contract of employment
(c) a register of teachers be established.

The Catholic Headmasters' Association objected to the condition that schools should be required to employ a minimum number of lay teachers and during 1913, a protracted correspondence on this issue took place between Rev. Canon A. Murphy of the association and Chief Secretary Birrell. The situation appeared deadlocked by the summer of 1913 and to clarify the matter, Birrell presented the full correspondence to parliament and it was published as a parliamentary paper. The publication of the correspondence did nothing in the short term to solve the problem of lay teachers' salaries and no additional money for intermediate education was made available in the financial year 1913/14. It was not until summer 1914 that a compromise was reached between Birrell and the Catholic Head-

masters' Association and an act was passed in August 1914 providing that a sum of £40,000 - to be called the teachers' salaries grant - 'would be paid to the board each year out of moneys provided by parliament'. This act also allowed for the setting up of a Registration Council which would draw up regulations for a register of intermediate school teachers. The teachers' salaries grant was paid annually to schools from 1915 onwards but the Registration Council was not constituted until 1916 and did not come into force until 31 July 1918.

The following is the full text of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914:

Be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1.(1) The Lord Lieutenant may constitute a Registration Council consisting of representatives of—

(*a*) the teaching profession in Ireland;
(*b*) the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland;
(*c*) the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland; and
(*d*) such universities and other bodies interested in education as ought, in the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant, to be represented thereon.

(2) There shall be assigned to the council the duty of framing, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, regulations for a register of the intermediate school teachers in Ireland who satisfy the conditions of registration prescribed by the regulations and apply to be registered.

(3) The register shall be formed and kept by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland (in this Act referred to as the Board) in manner prescribed by the regulations.

2. From and after the commencement of this Act there shall be paid to the Board in each year out of moneys provided by Parliament a sum not exceeding forty thousand pounds, and an amount equivalent to the sum so paid (in this 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 this Act and approved by the Treasury.

3.(1) The Lord Lieutenant may make rules for carrying this Act into effect, and in particular for the purpose of prescribing, with the approval of the Treasury, the manner in which the Teachers' Salaries Grant is to be applied, and for the purpose of defining the constitution and regulating the procedure of the Registration Council.

(2) All rules made in pursuance of this section shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament within twenty-one days next after the same have been made, if Parliament is then sitting, or, if Parliament is not then sitting, within twenty-one days after the commencement of the then next ensuing session, and, if such rules are disapproved by either House of Parliament within forty days after the same have been so laid before Parliament, such rules, or such part thereof as may be so disapproved, shall thereupon become void and of no effect.

4. This Act may be cited as the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, and shall be construed as one with the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Acts, 1878 to 1913, and this Act and those Acts may be cited collectively as the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Acts, 1878 to 1914.

[*Bill to amend the law relating to intermediate education in Ireland and for other purposes connected therewith.* 1914 (161) iii 477.]

IV.9 Report of the vice-regal committee on intermediate education (Ireland) 1919 (The Molony Committee).

Because of rapid inflation experienced during the war years, the spending power of the pound had been considerably eroded in the period from 1914 to 1918. An extra grant of £50,000 was sanctioned by parliament for intermediate education in 1918, but this grant, like the teachers' salaries grant of 1914, was paid to schools, not to teachers, and did little to alleviate the grievances of teachers. In August 1918, the government set up a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Chief Justice Molony to enquire into the question of the financing of intermediate education. The report of this committee was presented in March 1919. The committee met on 30 days and examined 20 witnesses. It was influenced by the reports of two similar committees which had been set up in England and Scotland during the same period – a report dated 31 July 1918 which had been submitted to the president of the board of education for England and Wales by the departmental committee for inquiring into the principles which should determine the fixing of salaries for teachers in secondary and technical schools etc. and a report, dated 14 November 1917, of the committee on remuneration of teachers in Scotland.

In its report, the Molony committee criticised the system of payment by results in Irish intermediate schools and recommended its immediate abolition. It found that the salaries of lay teachers in intermediate schools were grossly inadequate. It also stated that intermediate education in Ireland had been inequitably treated by the government in comparison with

intermediate education in England. The report was critical of the lack of co-ordination between different levels of education in Ireland and stated that co-ordination would not be a reality '*until there is a single central authority responsible for education, primary, secondary and technical*'. It also recommended that a rate should be levied for education and that a proportion of this rate should be allocated to intermediate education.

The Molony report presented a blueprint for educational reform which complemented the recommendations of the Killanin report (see Section III). The government took steps immediately to implement the proposals of both committees and the education (Ireland) bill of 1919 was its response to these reports. Details of the bill and of its outcome are given in section III.

The general conclusions of the Molony report were summarised in one paragraph as follows:

IX—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

125. From the evidence which we have heard, we have come to the conclusion that the present system of intermediate education in Ireland is, in many ways, most unsatisfactory, and that early legislation is required in order to place it on a proper basis. The Intermediate Education Board have for many years urged the necessity of effecting radical changes in the system. The Irish Government have recognised the necessity for reform, inasmuch as, in the rules for the distribution of the grant of £50,000 lately voted by Parliament, they have given effect to many of the improvements suggested by the Board. Piecemeal reform is not, however, sufficient. What is needed is that the whole system should be reconstructed.

The principal defects of the system are:

(1) The great and urgent need of improvement in the salaries and security of tenure of intermediate teachers, and the necessity for the provision of pensions.

(2) The absence of an organised single Central Authority for primary, intermediate, and technical education.

The recommendations of the committee dealt mainly with the question of teachers' salaries and conditions of employment. Consideration of these issues led to a discussion on the administration of intermediate education and the committee's views in this regard were radical. The committee was of the opinion that the only way in which the various levels of education in Ireland could be co-ordinated, would be by introducing a system of educational administration, similar to that in operation in England. Other recommendations dealt with the implications of abolishing the system of payment by results and the payment of a capitation grant to schools. The following is a summary of the recommendations of the Molony committee:

126. We recommend:

(1) That in the case of all full-time, fully-registered teachers:

(*a*) It is desirable in the interests of education that, as a rule, there should be no dismissal during efficiency and good conduct.

(*b*) The contract of employment (except in case of dismissal for gross misconduct) should be determinable only on three months' notice in writing, on either side, taking effect at the end of a school term. Provided, however, that in every case where a teacher has served for the whole of a school year, he shall receive a full year's salary, and if for a lesser period, a proportionate part of the salary on the basis that he is to be paid a full year's salary for a school year's work.

(*c*) When notice of dismissal is given, the teacher shall, within a month, have the right of appeal to some referee or tribunal to be stated in the contract of employment, such notice to be withdrawn if the referee or tribunal shall determine that it should not have been given. Provided that, if the referee or tribunal shall decide that the notice of dismissal was unreasonable, but it appears that the head of the school is not willing to take back the teacher, or the teacher, for reasons satisfactory to the referee or tribunal, is unwilling to return, the referee or tribunal may award to the teacher such sum, not exceeding twelve months of the salary payable by the school, as shall appear in the circumstances of the case to be just, such sum to be paid out of the school funds.

(2) That the Associations representing the heads of schools and the assistant teachers should meet and come to an agreement as to the referee or tribunal which should be named for the purpose of the appeal in particular types of schools.

(3) That the number of hours and the amount of work expected from individual teachers in intermediate schools should be taken into consideration by the Central Authority, who should not approve a time-table which makes excessive demands upon either pupils or teachers.

(4) That all full-time teachers in recognised intermediate schools who are fully registered under the Regulations for the Register of the Intermediate School Teachers in Ireland should be placed on a scale of salaries.

(5) That the initial salary of a full-time, fully-registered teacher should be not less than £180 per annum, and that it should rise by £10 a year to £240, and afterwards by £15 a year to £450 per annum.

(6) That, so far as the Central Authority is concerned, the scale

of salaries mentioned in the preceding paragraph should apply to heads of schools, but that the responsible authorities of each school should increase the salary of the headmaster or headmistress in proportion to their means.

(7) That the fixed minimum salary should be paid by the school, and that the increments should be paid by the Central Authority through the manager of the school.

(8) That the increments should be paid normally, subject to a certificate signed by the head of the school and countersigned by the inspector for the district to the effect that the teacher has done his work efficiently during the year.

(9) That increments should be withheld or deferred only after an inquiry (if asked for by the teacher), in which at least two inspectors (neither of whom should be the inspector for the district) should take part and report to the Central Authority in favour of so doing.

(10) That no variation should be made by the Central Authority in the application of the scale of increments on the ground either of special ability as a teacher or of specially high academic qualifications.

(11) That all fully-registered teachers (who irrespective of any war bonus) have not reached the minimum salary, should be placed at once on that salary, and that the adopted practice of the Civil Service and analogous systems prevailing at the time that legislative effect is given to the suggestions we make, should be followed in determining the position in the scale at which a teacher with past service should be placed.

(12) That as a condition precedent to receiving any grants from public funds for intermediate education, a school should be required to pay the appropriate minimum salary (see recommendations (5) and (16)) to all full-time teachers up to the number which the Central Authority shall consider necessary and sufficient for the proper staffing of the school.

(13) That, unless for reasons which the Central Authority shall consider sufficient, there should be employed in the school at least one fully registered teacher for each complete 40 pupils in respect of whom the capitation grant is payable.

(14) That a pension scheme for Irish intermediate teachers should be established, and that it should follow the lines of the School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918.

(15) That pension rights should be accorded to registered teachers only.

(16) That teachers who are not registered, or are merely

registered provisionally, should receive a salary of not less than £130 per annum for full-time work.

(17) That the Central Authority should establish exhibitions or burses to provide intending teachers in intermediate schools with the means to enable them to undergo the course of training in teaching necessary for registration.

(18) 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.

(19) That an Advisory Committee with defined statutory powers, composed of representatives of the teaching profession and of persons connected with intermediate education in Ireland, should be established; and that this Committee should be consulted by the Central Authority (or the Intermediate Education Board, as the case may be) on all questions concerning syllabuses, curricula, and other matters affecting the educational policy.

(20) That the present system of payment by results should be abolished, and that a capitation grant should be paid, at a flat rate, in respect of all pupils between certain prescribed ages who have been in regular attendance throughout the year, to every school recognised by the Central Authority.

(21) That while the principal test of the efficiency of a school should be inspection, examination should also have a direct, but subordinate, place.

(22) That the Central Authority should carefully consider the question of the weight to be given to examination as a factor in determining the efficiency of a school.

(23) That inspection should not be confined to the grant-earning classes, but that a school should be inspected as a whole.

(24) That the flat capitation rate should not vary in different schools, but that when the total grant payable to a school is less than a certain specified sum, say, £250, the Central Authority should have power, after considering the sum required for its efficient maintenance and its importance towards a due provision of higher education for the area, to make up the grant to the specified sum.

(25) That the limitation as regards the conditions of recognition of schools, imposed by the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, should be removed, and that the Central Authority should have power to refuse recognition to a new school which, in their opinion, is unnecessary.

(26) That no school should be retained on the grant list which the

Central Authority shall decide to be conducted exclusively for private profit.

(27) That the present system of three examinations should be abolished, and that there should be substituted two examinations, viz., one for an 'Intermediate Certificate', and one for a 'Leaving Certificate'.

(28) That the examination for the 'Intermediate Certificate', which might be taken at the age of 15 or 16, should be on a general course which should allow the widest possible liberty to schools in the selection of texts to be read, and that there should be only one set of papers (suitable for average pass candidates) on which, however, it should be possible to obtain distinction by obtaining a high percentage of marks on a certain number of papers.

(29) That the examination for the 'Leaving Certificate' – to be taken at the age of 17 or 18 – should allow a more specialised choice of subjects, but that the papers should be set for the average candidate; and a pass in it should be recognised as equivalent to the entrance examination to universities and other places of higher education.

(30) That it should be open to a candidate to take at the examination for the 'Leaving Certificate' special papers for distinction.

(31) That the syllabus for the examinations should be as wide and elastic as possible.

(32) That intern examiners should not, at least for the present, be employed in conducting the examinations.

(33) That the amount of money allotted to exhibitions (in our Recommendations called 'burses') should be substantially increased.

(34) That some further means should be provided from public funds to enable children of proved aptitude to pass from elementary to intermediate education; and that the following classes of burses should be established, viz.:

(*a*) Burses from primary and other schools giving elementary education to intermediate schools, to be offered for pupils at the age of 11 or 12, but not later, and to be tenable until the age for taking the 'Intermediate Certificate' examination.

(*b*) Burses tenable in intermediate schools by students who have passed the examination for the 'Intermediate Certificate'.

(*c*) Burses tenable in the university or other places of higher education to be awarded to students who have passed the examination for the 'Leaving Certificate'.

(35) That the number and value of the burses of the various grades should be determined by the Central Authority.

(36) That the selection of the burse-holders under heading (*a*) above should be arranged between those responsible for primary and intermediate education, respectively; and that these burses should be tenable only in schools which the Central Authority consider suitable; that burses under (*b*) and (*c*) above should be awarded on the results of the general examination to pupils chosen by the schools, which should receive grants from the Central Authority for this purpose — such burses to be confined to pupils who have passed with distinction.

(37) That the awarding of book-prizes, and small money prizes of £2 to £4, should be discontinued; but that medals should be awarded for highly distinguished answering at the examination for the 'Leaving Certificate'.

(38) That all the existing funds for intermediate education in Ireland should be amalgamated.

(39) That Irish intermediate education should receive from voted moneys the sum to which it is entitled on the basis of equivalent grants as between England and Wales and Ireland.

(40) That the funds devoted to Irish intermediate education should not consist of a fixed sum or sums as at present, but should, as in England and Wales, be elastic and capable of expansion.

(41) That certain sums should be ear-marked for special purposes, such as teachers' increments, &c.

(42) That the cost of administration should, as in Great Britain, be borne by the Treasury.

(43) That a flat national rate should be levied in Ireland for the purpose of intermediate education and paid to the account of the Central Authority, who should spend it impartially for the benefit of education through the country; and that an Advisory Committee, representative of the various localities, should meet in Dublin at stated periods to discuss educational matters with the heads of the Central Authority.

127. We do not recommend that there should be any difference in salary between men and women.

[*Report of the vice-regal committee on the condition of service and remuneration of teachers in intermediate schools, and on the distribution of grants from public funds for intermediate education in Ireland* (Molony). 1919 (Cmd. 66) xxi 645.]

V

Technical Education

V.1 Charter of the Royal Dublin Society, 1749.

On 25 June 1731, at the rooms of the Philosophical Society, Trinity College, Dublin, the Dublin society was formally established. Among those present on that occasion were Thomas Molyneux, Thomas Prior, Arthur Dobbs and William Maple. Their expressed purpose was to form an association for improving husbandry, manufacture and other useful arts and sciences. At a time when the tradition of classical education predominated in Ireland the new society took up the challenge of change and fostered a scientific approach towards agricultural and industrial development. The society was incorporated in 1749 and through successive acts of the Irish parliament it was entrusted with responsibility for drawing schools, a botanic garden, a museum of natural history and a library.

The Royal Charter of the Royal Dublin Society

George the Second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to all unto whom these presents shall come greeting, Whereas several of Our nobility and gentry of Our kingdom of Ireland, members of the Dublin Society, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the members of the said Society, have, by their petition to you, as Our lieutenant-general and general governor of Our said kingdom, set forth, that having observed vast tracts of land and bog in Our said kingdom uncultivated, and a general want of skill and industry in the inhabitants to improve them, they formed themselves into a voluntary Society, by the name of the Dublin Society, for promoting husbandry and other useful arts in Our said kingdom, and have at their own expense made many experiments, and published useful observations and instructions, for raising flax, draining bogs and improving unprofitable lands, and distributed considerable sums of money in premiums to the most deserving, whereby a spirit of industry and emulation hath been raised, and great hopes conceived that much greater effects might arise therefrom, tending further to civilize the natives of Our said kingdom, and render them well affected to Us, and Our Royal

Family, and more able to contribute to the increase of the revenue, and the support of the establishment of Our said kingdom; that divers of Our good subjects are willing to contribute large sums of money for the good ends and purposes aforesaid, but the said voluntary Society are not capable in law of taking or receiving such contributions, or of carrying their good intentions effectually into execution, unless they be incorporated by Our Royal Charter, for the ends and purposes in the said petition mentioned, with such clauses, powers, jurisdictions and authorities as are usually contained in charters of the like nature: And whereas you did, by your order, bearing date the 12th day of April 1748, refer the said petition to Our attorney and solicitor-general of that Our kingdom to examine and consider the allegations of the said petition, and report unto you whether it would be adviseable for Us to grant the charter thereby desired, who by their report, bearing date the 22d day of January 1749, are of opinion that the granting the petitioners such a charter as is desired will be of great benefit and advantage to that Our kingdom: We, therefore, being graciously pleased to encourage so laudable an undertaking, know ye, that We, of Our special grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, by and with the advice and consent of Our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, William, Earl of Harrington, Our lieutenant-general and general governor of Our said kingdom of Ireland, and according to the tenor and effect of Our letters under Our privy signet and sign-manual, bearing date at Our Court of St. James, the 20th day of February 1749-50, in the 23rd year of Our reign, and now enrolled in the Rolls of Our High Court of Chancery in Our said kingdom of Ireland, have willed, ordained, constituted and appointed, and by these presents for Us, Our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, constitute, declare and grant, that Our well-beloved cousin and counsellor, William, Earl of Harrington, Our lord lieutenant-general and general governor of that Our kingdom of Ireland; Our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, William, Duke of Devonshire; Our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, Lionel Cranfield, Duke of Dorset . . .

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. . . and such others as shall from time to time be elected in the manner hereinafter directed, to be one body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name of the 'Dublin Society for promoting Husbandry and other useful Arts in Ireland'; and by the

same name to have perpetual succession, and to purchase, have, take, receive and enjoy, to them and their successors, lands, tenements and hereditaments of whatsoever nature or kind, not exceeding in the whole the clear yearly value of 1,000*l.*, and also all manner of goods and chattels of what value soever, and by the same name to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, in all courts and pleas whatsoever, of Us, Our heirs and successors, in all suits, plaints and demands whatsoever; and that they and their successors may have a common seal, such as they shall think proper, for the use of the said corporation, and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their successors to change, break, alter or make new the said seal from time to time as they shall think fit.

[*Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the administration of the Royal Dublin Society with a view to the wider extension of the advantages of the Annual Parliamentary Grant to that Institution and to whom the Return of the Charter Rules and Regulations of the Dublin Society was referred.* 1836 (445) xii 335.]

V.2 Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825: Royal Cork Institution.

The progressive enterprise of the Royal Dublin Society provided the inspiration and model for the founding of kindred associations elsewhere. The establishment of the Cork Institution, 1799, and the Belfast Academical Society 1807, is evidence of a growing interest in matters scientific in the provinces. This new trend was to find more widespread expression with the growth of the mechanics' institutes' movement after 1825.

The Cork Institution was founded in 1799 by Thomas Dix Hincks, minister of the Protestant dissenting congregation in Cork and a former student of the Dissenting Academy at Hackney. The purpose of the institution was to teach 'by courses of Philosophical Lectures and Experiments the application of Science to the common purpose of life . . .'. In addition agricultural development was encouraged and a library and model room were opened. The Royal Dublin Society expressed support for this developing enterprise and presented the institution with duplicate specimens from its natural history museum. The institution was incorporated in 1807.

Anxious to secure more formal recognition and financial aid for its work, the management of the institution invited the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, 1825, to report upon its proceedings.

This Establishment appears to have been originally founded by the Rev. Mr. Hincks, a highly-respected Schoolmaster of Cork,

who induced a few gentlemen of that city to subscribe for the purchase of philosophical apparatus, with a view to illustrate Lectures delivered by him to his pupils and others at his private residence.

A Charter of Incorporation was granted to this Society on the 20th March 1807, in the 47th year of George the 3d, on the petition of some of the principal Gentlemen of Cork, to the Duke of Bedford, at that time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The persons whose names were subscribed to the petition were by charter constituted a Corporate Body by the name of 'the Proprietors of the Cork Institution', and were appointed Managers for the first year, with power to acquire property to the annual value of 500*l.*

A set of bye-laws was framed, providing for the election of a President, Secretary, and thirty Managers, of whom the two former, and one third of the latter, were to be chosen annually at a general Meeting of the Proprietors, to be held in the course of the autumn. Another General Meeting was also appointed to be held in the spring of each year. A Proprietor's qualification was fixed at thirty guineas (the number of Proprietors being unlimited), in consideration of which they become entitled to a personal and transferable right of free admission to the different objects of the Institution, and to various other privileges. The subscription of a life-member was fixed at fifteen guineas, and of an annual subscriber at three guineas: both of these classes enjoy the particular rights and privileges of Proprietors, as they are specified in the bye-laws.

Soon after the establishment of the Institution, Professors were appointed, and Lectures given in Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Natural History and Agriculture. It was provided by the bye-laws that the united salaries of the Professors should not exceed one third of the funds of the Institution, nor the salary of any one exceed 100*l.* per annum. Sums were appropriated for the purchase of suitable Philosophical Apparatus, Models of useful Machinery in every Art and Manufacture, and the most improved Implements of Husbandry. A Library was commenced, to be supported in part from special subscriptions, and in part by grants from the Funds of the Institution. A collection of Minerals was purchased, and a Botanic Garden established. These, with the appropriation of certain grants and subscriptions (not exceeding one third of the whole funds), to the purposes of Agriculture, under the superintendence of a Committee and Secretary, to act in concert with the several Country Farming Societies, constituted the objects of the Institution.

The four Professors are - first, Dr. Taylor, Lecturer on Natural History, who receives an annual salary of 100*l.* Irish. He delivers a course of Lectures, which comprehends the sciences of Botany, Mineralogy, Geology and Zoology. It consists generally of twenty-four Lectures, which commence in April, and are given twice a week during two or three months. Dr. Taylor holds also the situation of general Superintendent of the Institution, for which he has a salary of 100*l.* Irish per annum. He has lately undertaken to discharge gratuitously the duties of Secretary and Under Treasurer, for which Mr. Davy, until his resignation in 1826, received 150*l.* per annum, which has been withdrawn in consequence of the reduction of the Parliamentary Grant.

Second, - The Professorship of Chemistry was vacant at the period of our visit of inspection, by the removal of Mr. Edmund Davy to the Royal Society of Dublin. The salary attached to it is 100*l.* a year, Irish. The Lectures generally commence in October.

Third, - Dr. James Willes, M.D., is Lecturer on Natural Philosophy, and receives an annual salary of 100*l.* Irish. In the course of the year, beginning either in March or June, he gives twenty-four or twenty-six Lectures on Optics, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Electricity, and Astronomy.

The attendance on the three foregoing Classes is represented to us as being very numerous, and the Lectures which are given in the morning, are repeated in the evening by each Professor to another class.

Fourth, - Mr. George Tisdall is the Lecturer on Agriculture, and has 100*l.* a-year Irish, in consideration of which he now discharges also the duties of Agricultural Secretary, the salary of 50*l.*, formerly annexed to that office, having been lately withdrawn. He commences his course in May, and gives one Lecture in each of fifteen weeks. These Lectures are not repeated in the evening. The attendance is much less numerous at these Lectures than at those of the other Professors.

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The delivery of the various courses of Lectures, which we have already noticed, appears to be at once the most successful and important part of the Institution; its good effects are described by all the witnesses whom we have examined on the subject: Dr. Taylor says, that his 'morning course is usually attended by "persons of a higher order", and the evening lectures by commercial persons or "shopkeepers".' The same observation is applicable

to the other classes, with exception of the agricultural. Some of the senior boys from the Schools in Cork attend the Lectures of the Institution.

The Lecture room can accommodate about 200 persons, and is described as being generally full.

In speaking of the results of the Lectures, Mr. Cuthbert, one of the original Managers of the Institution, 'thinks they have been attended with great utility in the town; they are very much attended by ladies particularly, and by scientific men; in fact, almost every man that wishes to improve himself attends either morning or evening'. He also adds that he considers this branch of the Institution 'as a place of education very much for the improvement of the younger inhabitants of Cork'. Mr. Lecky, another of the original promoters of this Society, gives his opinion 'that the Institution has done incalculable benefit to the 'city and neighbourhood of Cork', and 'has raised a spirit of inquiry among the middling classes, particularly with respect to science, that he thinks has been of great benefit to them, and to the community at large.'

[*Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry*. 1826-27 (443) xiii 501.]

V.3 Laws and Regulations of the Cork Mechanics' Institute, 1825.

Among the earliest and most potent forces to contribute to the emergence of a popular system of technical education in nineteenth-century Ireland was the mechanics' institutes' movement. That movement was not of Irish origin but an offshoot of the parent movement in Great Britain. Scarcely had one year elapsed since the establishment of London Mechanics' Institute in 1823 than a similar idea was mooted in Dublin, and by 1825 institutes had been established in other urban centres notably Armagh, Belfast, Cork, Galway, Limerick and Waterford.

The original aim of the institutes was the instruction of the artizan or mechanic, as he was then known, in the scientific principles underlying his trade. In time this purpose was expanded upon to accommodate a more diversified programme of general education; literature, language, drama, poetry, history and geography.

The means by which these objectives were to be realised were three-fold: lectures, library and reading room. In some of the larger institutes, Cork, Dublin and Clonmel in the 1840s, schools in connection with the institutes were also established, and premiums awarded.

SECTION 12TH

Premiums

To excite a laudable emulation among the members, Premiums to such an amount as the Directors may think fit, shall be granted annually to those who excel in Inventions or Information connected with the objects of the Institute, to be decided by Judges appointed by the Directors.

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SECTION 13TH

The Library

1. The Library shall consist of such Books as have been or may be presented to it, with such others, as the Directors may deem fit to purchase with the funds of the Institute, these latter shall be chiefly confined to works connected with Science and the useful Arts.

2. The Library shall be open on every Week-day from 10 o'clock in the morning, until 3 o'clock in the afternon; and from 6 o'clock in the evening, until 10 at night; and on every Sunday, from 2 o'clock in the afternoon, until 6 in the evening.

3. The first object shall be to form a Library as complete as possible, for reading in, but as soon as practicable, there shall be another collection added to be used as a lending Library. When this collection is sufficiently extensive, the members shall be entitled to borrow any Books contained therein, on the payment of one penny weekly in advance, and on making such a deposit, or giving such security as the Library Sub-Committee shall deem satisfactory.

4. All monies received for lending Books, shall be expended in replenishing and enlarging this branch of the Library. The Directors shall at the first meeting after their Election in each year, appoint from among their own body, a Sub-Committee of Seven, five to form a Quorum, who shall meet on the first Tuesday of each month, at noon, and on the third Tuesday of each month, at Seven o'clock in the evening, for purposes to be hereafter specified, and for all other matters concerning the Library, not infringing on the powers of the Board of Directors.

5. There shall be a Room attached to the Library for study, in which strict silence must be observed.

SECTION 14TH

Lectures and Lecturers

1. There shall be a course of Lectures given annually on Mechanical Science and its application to the useful Arts, including such parts of Natural Philosophy as are necessary for understanding the contrivances by which water is elevated and conveyed, and for comprehending the explanations which shall be given of the principal sorts of Machines, whether impelled by the weight or elasticity of bodies, by muscular force, wind, water, or steam. The Lectures on Machinery shall be prefaced by a brief statement of the facts and arguments which prove that the use and improvement of Machinery, not only increase the wealth of all ranks, but greatly extend the employment of all the working classes.

2. Another course shall be given annually, on Chemistry. These Lectures shall explain the nature of the atmosphere, and whatever other matters connected with his subject, the Lecturer may think most useful for preserving health, and checking contagion; but their principal aim will be to explain and illustrate the chief Chemical operations which are practiced in the useful Arts, especially in those of purifying and working the metals in making Glass and Porcelain, in Brewing and Distilling, in obtaining Glasses for the purpose of Light, in Tanning, Soap-making, Dying, Bleaching &c.; they shall also convey information for the selection and arrangement of Building Materials, with a view to their durability, so far as air, water, and other chemical agents are concerned.

3. Each of these annual courses shall consist of at least Forty Lectures, or as many more as the Directors may think right; the time of their commencement shall be appointed by the Directors, and the hour of their delivery between seven and ten in the evening.

4. The Lecturers will be required to make their language so simple and their explanations so clear, as to be understood by a working mechanic of ordinary capacity.

Before the delivery of these courses, each Lecturer shall prepare a Syllabus not less than 20 pages 12mo., nor exceeding 50, containing in a distinct chapter for each Lecture, all the definitions, and the principal propositions, which will be proved, explained, and illustrated in the course; this shall be printed at the expense of the Institute, and a copy given at first cost to each member, who desires to attend the Lectures. Should a Lecturer be at any time under the necessity of deviating from the order in which the topics have been laid down in his Syllabus, he shall give notice to his hearers in what

part of the Syllabus the topics are to be found, which will form the subject of his first Lecture; thus every member will be enabled, and induced, to make some preparation for hearing each Lecture with advantage.

5. These Lectures shall be open to all the members without any additional charge. Any other Lectures besides the two annual courses on Mechanics and Chemistry, may be charged for, on such terms as may be agreed on, between the Lecturers and Directors, without whose concurrence no Lectures shall be delivered in the Institute.

6. The appointment of each Lecturer shall be for a single course. An advertisement for Candidates shall appear in all the Cork Newspapers, and such others as the Directors may think fit, at least a month previous to the appointment.

7. Such Candidates for Lectureships as shall be approved of by the Commmittee of Directors, will be required to give two probationary Lectures before the members of the Institute, previously to any final agreement being entered into, the Directors shall determine the amount of Salary for each of these courses, to be regulated as far as practicable, according to the number of persons attending.

SECTION 15TH

The Scientific School

1. In the School to be established in connection with this Institute, instruction shall be given in Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry, and their different applications, particularly to perspective Architecture, Mensuration, Surveying and Navigation.

2. This school shall be available to any of the members, their sons or others whom they may recommend (if approved by the Directors) on the annual payment of Ten Shillings, or Two Shillings and Sixpence, paid Quarterly in advance.

3. The sons of Mechanics and Artisans being members, shall be preferred as Pupils.

Not more than one pupil will be admitted on the recommendation of each Member.

4. Candidates for admission must be previously instructed in reading and writing, and know so much Arithmetic, as to be able to work any question in the Rule of Three.

To judge of the qualification of candidates, a committee of five shall be appointed by the Directors.

5. The appointment of a Master, or Masters shall rest with the Directors, who shall ballot, after having advertised for Candidates in the manner already prescribed with regard to Lecturers.

The engagement shall be subject to the sanction of each new Board of Directors annually.

The Directors shall regulate the salary on a plan, whereby the amount may depend on the Teacher's merits.

6. The School shall be conducted as far as practicable, on the system of mutual instruction. All printed Books, Pens, Ink, and Slates will be supplied by the Institute, without any charge, for the first year, and permanently if the funds be found to allow it, but Paper must be provided by the Pupils themselves, who may obtain it from the Institute at first cost.

7. No Books shall be used in the School, nor instruction given, tending in any degree to excite religious controversy.

8. Pupils who have studied in the school for one year or upwards, and who have given complete satisfaction by their attention and good conduct, shall, on leaving it, if they so desire, be examined by the master, assisted by the Committee of five, and any other persons whom they may be pleased to invite, and such as answer well, shall receive certificates of their proficiency and good conduct, which will probably prove serviceable to them through life.

SECTION 16TH

The Model Room

1. A large and convenient apartment shall be provided, in which a selection of the most useful machines, implements of husbandry, or models of them shall be properly arranged, and where the numerous inventions of native genius may be exhibited, and their merits duly appreciated.

2. A Book shall be kept in the room containing a list of all articles belonging thereto, and in which all Models &c., presented to the Institute shall be registered with the names of the Donors.

3. The Room shall be open at the same periods as the Library except on Sundays, during which time the members shall have free access to examine whatever it may contain; but on no account shall any article be permitted to be removed therefrom.

4. A part of the annual income shall be appropriated to purchase such apparatus, Models of Machines, and Farming Implements, as shall be deemed necessary.

[Cork: Pr. John Bolster, 1825.]

V.4 Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the Administration of the Royal Dublin Society, 1836.

The opening decades of the nineteenth century marked a period of growth in the scientific departments of the Royal Dublin Society. Between the years 1800 and 1804 a sum in excess of £17,000 was expended in the renovation of premises at Poolbeg Street to facilitate this growing enterprise. The noted scientist Sir Humphrey Davy was introduced to the society as visiting lecturer in 1810 and 1811. In 1812 Professor Jameson of Edinburgh was appointed professor of mineralogy, Richard Griffith was engaged as mining engineer in the same year and in 1834 Robert Kane was appointed lecturer in natural philosophy.

Notwithstanding these progressive developments the Royal Dublin Society became the subject of controversy in the mid 1830s. Arguing that the society was inaccessible to the general public and believing it to be of the character of a club William Smith O'Brien called for an inquiry in 1836. In response to that demand a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed to report on the society's proceedings under the chairmanship of William Smith O'Brien in the same year.

When finally presented the report contained thirteen recommendations. The most far-reaching of the proposals was one which recommended the extension of the society's activities to the provinces. To ensure that the parliamentary grant would be more widely availed of, it was resolved that the society should appoint its lecturers to deliver courses of scientific lectures at provincial centres. The society responded swiftly with the introduction of what became known as the Provincial Lecture Scheme, and a sum of £500 was set aside to fund the new undertaking. The Provincial Lecture Scheme met with immediate success although its impact was clearly impeded by inadequate funding. The availability of a travelling professional team of scientific lecturers was particularly appreciated at scientific societies and mechanics' institutes throughout the country.

Your Committee have been led to hope, that, under a more efficient system of administration, the Dublin Society may be made instrumental in affording those opportunities which have heretofore been wanting, and in thereby creating and diffusing a taste for useful science throughout Ireland as well as in the Metropolis. In order to enable the Society to discharge this duty, they think that an annual sum might with advantage be specially allocated to the Dublin Society for this particular object, from which special purpose such grant ought on no account to be diverted. It would then become the duty of the Dublin Society, whenever a desire existed in any of the minor towns of Ireland, to procure a course of lectures upon any branch of science, to meet that desire by sending down either one of their own Professors, or

by employing for the occasion some eminent lecturer not attached to the Institution. In order, however, to prevent applications, where there is no prospect that the lectures would be properly appreciated, it would be necessary that the parties making the application should be required to raise the whole of the Professor's travelling expenses, and a certain proportion of the remuneration which he was to receive for the course of lectures. What this proportion ought to be would depend very much upon the circumstances of the town from which the application was made, as it would not be reasonable to expect, from a town such as Tralee or Athlone, the same amount of subscription as might be raised in Cork, Waterford or Limerick. Your Committee cannot estimate what amount might with advantage be eventually applied for this purpose by Parliament, as it would depend upon the number of such applications; but the allocation for this purpose of a sum of 300*l.* per annum would enable the Dublin Society to make the experiment, and if it should be found productive of the beneficial results which Your Committee anticipate, Parliament would naturally be induced in future years still further to encourage so useful an appropriation of the Grant to the Society.

[*Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the administration of the Royal Dublin Society with a view to the wider extension of the advantages of the Annual Parliamentary Grant to that Institution and to whom the Return of the Charter Rules and Regulations of the Dublin Society was referred.* 1836 (445) xii 335.]

V.5 Announcement of Provincial Lecture Scheme, Royal Dublin Society, 1844.

The Lords of the Treasury having recommended to Parliament to grant a sum of Money, to be placed at the disposal of the Royal Dublin Society, to be given in aid of local Subscriptions, in such provincial Towns as may be desirous of having Lecturers on literary and scientific Subjects sent thither, towards defraying the expenses and remuneration of such Lecturers; the Council are ready to receive such applications as may be made to them on this subject, directed to the Assistant Secretary, and containing the following information:

1. The place where the Lecturers are required, and the literary or scientific Body applying for such.
2. The time it is desired that the Lecturer may be sent.
3. The Subject of such Lectures, and the number required in the course.

4. Whether the Lectures are to be free to the Public, or whether Tickets will be issued, and at what rate.

The Council being desirous of nominating Lecturers, whom they may deem the most efficient in the several branches of science, they cannot consider themselves bound by any agreement which may be made without their sanction.

It is requested that all applications may be made to the Council before the 1st June, next.

[*Royal Dublin Society*, 6 May 1844.]

V.6 Robert Kane's The Industrial Resources of Ireland, Dublin, 1844.

The ambitions of nineteenth-century Ireland to secure a constructive system of scientific and technical education are nowhere more manifest than in the career of Robert Kane (afterwards Sir Robert), 1807-1890. Kane first came to public notice when his research findings were published in the London *Quarterly Journal of Science Literature and Art* in 1828 and 1829. Two years later he was appointed to the chair of chemistry at Apothecaries' Hall in Dublin and in 1834 he was selected to fill the recently adopted chair of natural philosophy at the Royal Dublin Society.

Kane consistently argued that the key to Irish economic stability and growth lay in the establishment of an educational infra-structure specifically designed to serve the unique needs of the Irish economy. His life's energy was devoted to that task and his name will be found associated with most of the major reforms undertaken in the nineteenth century in the sphere of scientific and technical education.

When the Irish topographical survey was renewed in the early 1840s a museum of economic geology was established and Kane was appointed first director in 1845. So positive was his influence here that the original objectives were soon expanded to embrace a more active role. By 1860 the museum had four departments, a museum, a chemical department, a school of applied science and a library. Class instruction in practical chemistry was also offered.

Widely acknowledged for his intellectual capacity and administrative acumen, Kane was appointed first president of Queen's College in Cork, an office he held in conjunction with the directorship of the museum until 1873, when he resigned from both positions.

In 1867 the Museum of Irish Industry was displaced by a new Royal College of Science, an objective to which Kane had devoted much of his endeavour.

In his most noted work *The Industrial Resources of Ireland* Kane dwelt on the question of industrial education at considerable length with a tone that was singularly redolent of nineteenth-century utilitarianism.

. . . To give an industrial education, therefore, it is necessary to unite the two elements – science and practice. Science should be taught especially with a view to the application of its principles. Practice should be followed with constant reference to the principles upon which it rests. In this way, the elements of the highest industrial progress should be obtained. . . .

A person about to be educated for industrial purposes should, therefore, be first thoroughly grounded in the general principles of the natural and physical sciences, and in elementary mathematics. All this can be done with far less expenditure of time, of trouble, and of money, than is usually incurred with the Greek and Latin, for which, in industrial pursuits, there is seldom the slightest use. Thus grounded in general education, he should pass to his special branch, according as he is to be a chemist, a maker of machines, a worker in metals, or of other trade. Of all the objects used in his peculiar occupation he should acquire the most minute knowledge; their properties and composition; their adulterations; where they are found; how they are obtained; what can be substituted for them; how they can be made. All these are things on which may depend, at each step of his future progress, whether he follows a losing trade, or whether he be eminently successful.

To this general education should be added the experience of the workshop. The simplest operation in the arts requires a degree of manipulative skill that no books, no words can give. The most perfect theoretical acquaintance with the construction of machines and the nature of various materials used would not enable a man to do good work. But if the man has obtained the manual skill by working practice, there is no doubt but that the knowledge of the tools he is using and of the materials he works upon, will enable him to do it better than he otherwise could. The practical education of the artizan in the place of actual working is, therefore, of all the most important, and requires most time. The ultimate object of the previous discipline in science is to enable him fully to avail himself of the opportunities of improvement in his art which the workshop continually affords.

This subject of industrial education is, as it appears to me, specially important to this country, as without it any available development of our industrial resources must be almost impossible. In every branch of manufacture England is already in possession of the field, and if we only learn from her, and are competent merely to follow her routine processes, we must remain always behind in the march of industrial improvement. There is no physical disadvantage in this country to render it necessary that we should

always remain destitute of manufactures as we are at present. But we certainly do not possess any advantage over England. On the contrary, her character is already made; her mechanism is already in operation. To keep a market does not require at all as much exertion as to obtain one; and hence it is only by the most strenuous exertion, and by the most perfect knowledge of his trade, that an Irish manufacturer can have any chance of success. To succeed against his English competitor, he must know more than him. It is evident that we have much to change, yet it is not impossible. . . .

[Robert Kane, *The Industrial Resources of Ireland,* Dublin, 1844.]

V.7 Report from the Limerick Athenaeum to the Committee of Lectures, 1860.

Your Committee are much gratified in being able to commence their report by expressing their satisfaction at the results obtained in this district from the series of provincial lectures and examinations which have been held under the direction of the Committee of Lectures.

No more striking example could be afforded of the practical good which has resulted from the present system than the fact, that the entire of the unusually large number of successful answerers (19) at the examination held on the 17th November 1859, were persons exclusively belonging to the artisan class, thus showing that the industrial portion of the community will gladly avail themselves of sound scientific instruction when it is placed within their reach.

Your Committee deem it to be of the greatest importance that the present system should not only be continued, but, if possible, enlarged, so as to permit of a more regular course of lectures in those places which may give satisfactory evidence of a practical result, such, for example, as has been already given by Limerick. A desire for education is, without doubt, the most striking feature of the present time in this country; and it should be the care of those whose especial duty it is to foster and encourage this feeling by every means in their power.

Your Committee cannot close this report without alluding in terms of the highest possible praise to those gentlemen who have so ably lectured on various subjects at this institution. It is sufficient to mention such men as Professors Edmund, Davy and Sullivan, to show that the 'Committee of Lectures' have availed

themselves of the very best talent that could be procured.

Signed on behalf of the Committee of the Limerick Athenaeum,

W. Fitzgerald, Mayor, President,

William Lysaght, Secretary.

[*Report from the Select Committee on Scientific Institutions (Dublin); with the Proceedings, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index.* 1864 (495) xiii 1.]

V.8 Schools of Design.

The importance of art instruction towards industrial development was the subject of a Select Committee of Inquiry in England in 1835. In evidence before this inquiry it was repeatedly stated that French manufacturers in matters of design, were gaining world supremacy. The British inferiority was immediately attributed to a lack of educational provision for art, design and industrial drawing. In response to the recommendations of the report a normal school of design was established at Somerset House in 1837 with an initial grant of £15,000. By 1851 this had increased to an annual amount of the same figure.

In the meantime schools of design were established in a number of provincial centres throughout the United Kingdom with the aid of state subsidies. The first schools of design in Ireland were in Belfast, Dublin and Cork. By 1860 this number increased to include schools at Clonmel, Limerick and Waterford. European industrial competition motivated further reform and in 1852 the Department of Practical Art was established with responsibility for the expansion and administration of art education. The former schools of design were then designated schools of art. Amongst the first inspectors to visit the Irish schools was Ambrose Poynter the noted London architect.

DUBLIN

The Dublin school is making progress; and although the miscellaneous character of the instruction which it has inherited from the drawing classes which preceded it, in connexion with the Royal Dublin Society, is by no means obliterated, yet enough is done to justify all the satisfaction expressed by the Fine Arts Committee at the advance of the school, and its utility in the interest of industrial art.

The arrangement proposed for an increased attendance of the masters has been carried into effect, much to the relief of the pressure on the head master, and to the efficiency of the school. It is now to be desired that the master of the modelling class should also be enabled to attend more frequently. The distinction this class has always maintained, and the able manner in which it is con-

ducted, have more than once been adverted to; and it is a disadvantage to the school that Mr. Panormo's services to the morning class should be limited to one attendance in the week, since the morning male class bears a large proportion to the evening class (differing in that respect from the classes in manufacturing towns), and the female class, of whom several are modelling, attend in the morning only. The committee are aware of the importance of this class, but they want funds to meet an increase of the master's salary. Every aid towards the efficiency of the school is contributed or procured as far as the means of the committee extend. Plants are given from the Botanical and College gardens, and the prizes are continued to the pupils who have profited best by the lectures thrown open to them by the society. The several professors by whom the examination of the pupils is conducted bear high testimony to their intelligence and attention. Of fifty-three questions put by the professor of botany, fifty-one were satisfactorily answered by one of the pupils; in botanical drawing the works of a female pupil were distinguished as evincing the closest observation; and of 113 pupils attending the lectures on natural philosophy, a female divided with a male pupil the honour of answering the best.

The lending library has been found, as in all other cases, of the greatest benefit to the pupils. In October 1850, 80 volumes were lent to 30 readers. In March 1851 the volumes lent amounted to 219, and the readers to 133. As the use of the lending library is held out as a reward, this result indicates not only the popularity of the library, but also the good conduct and progress of the students. Since October 1850 the gallery of casts has been opened to the public once a week. It is the only gallery of art so opened in Dublin. From the 1st October 1850 to the 31st March 1851, 2,026 visitors attended, being an average of 112 for every open day. The attendance of the classes is as follows:

Monday, male morning class and female morning class, 9 a.m. to 12, including modelling.
Evening male class, 7 to ½ past 9 p.m.
Tuesday, ditto, except that the modelling master does not attend in the morning.
Wednesday, the same as Tuesday, except that part of the time in the morning is occupied by a class lecture to the female pupils.
Thursday, the same as Tuesday.
Friday, ditto, except a class lecture to the male students in the evening.

It will be observed that the male and female morning classes meet

at the same hour daily. As the female class number 190, of whom as many as 143 have been present at one time, the duties of the morning classes are too heavy, and too much divided, especially as the pupils are distributed on two floors, to make it possible that they should be efficiently performed. The studies of the female class are also too miscellaneous; and although some of them, as it has been seen, have taken distinguished places among the students of both sexes, it must be admitted that others are occupied in a manner little creditable to the school or to themselves. There appears to be some danger of this class acquiring an undue preponderance.

There are about thirty governesses and teachers in the female class; and it has been stated, with respect both to this and to the Cork school, that there is a considerable attendance of female students qualifying themselves as governesses with the purpose of going to America.

Several students are reported by Mr. McManus as having been enabled to turn the instruction received in the school to account in manufacturing art. One, a designer for poplins and waistcoats, who designed the figured waistcoat selected as the best specimen of that manufacture for the Exhibition; two schoolmasters, recommended to appointments by their knowledge of drawing, a fact indicative of the spreading demand for art education; four stone-carvers, two wood-carvers, three moulders and pattern-makers, and one silversmith, who has been employed to design a testimonial piece of plate; three have obtained employment with architects, two of them in London, and three as permanent superintendents of buildings. In the female class, exclusive of the governesses already referred to, two are teaching drawing, and two tempera painting, and three are drawing patterns, one of whom has met with success as a designer for lace. Most of the pupils enumerated were in the drawing classes previous to Mr. McManus taking the direction of them, but seven of the males, and all the females, have joined the school since that period.

BELFAST

The progress of the Belfast school continues to be satisfactory, and it has identified itself with the manufacturers of the town to a degree which no other school has ever attained within the short period that has elapsed since its establishment.

Forty-four students are entered as being immediately occupied in the manufactories, and of these eight are designers for damasks

and sewed muslins, ten apprentices to designers, and three 'penners', who are distributed in the employment of twelve manufacturers, fourteen are engravers, and nine, agents and clerks. These numbers are somewhat less than in the winter months. The attendance of the classes is as follows:

General evening male class, 7 to 9.45 p.m. daily (Saturday excepted)
General evening female class, do. do.
Geometrical instruction on Tuesday, and perspective on Thursday evening.
A separate class for governesses 7 to 9.30 p.m., Tuesday and Wednesday.
Advanced morning class, 8 a.m. to 1. Tuesday and Thursday; and on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday the school is open all day to the advanced pupils; but there is no general morning school class.
There are three private classes, viz.:
Male private classes, 8 to 10 a.m. and 2 to 4 p.m. Monday and Wednesday. Female private class, 1 to 3 p.m. Tuesday and Thursday.

On Friday evening the library of reference is opened, not only to the pupils, but to all whose occupations may render the use of the books advantageous to them; it is well attended. The exhibitioners are expected to attend (in addition to the evening school daily) from 8 a.m. to 1; the first on three days, the second on two days, and the third on one day; being in proportion to the amount of their exhibitions, which is supposed to be an equivalent for their morning time.

With reference to the report of June 1850, it is satisfactory to state, that the school is permanently settled in the premises first appropriated to it in the academic institution, and that there is a prospect of a statue gallery being erected shortly.

The manufacture of 'linen bands' and 'headings' has very greatly increased, probably threefold, since the establishment of the school; and the improvement of the quality of these articles in a still greater proportion is directly due to the pupils of the school. The embroidered waistcoat trade is also increasing, and the school has undoubtedly contributed to its advance.

The committee have provided admissions of twenty students to the Botanical Gardens; they are granted as rewards to the advanced students, and three are allotted to the governesses class.

CORK

The long continued illness and death of the master, Mr. Willes, since the last report on the Cork school, has necessarily thrown some damp upon its proceedings; but his successor, Mr. Scanlan, has obtained the full confidence both of the promoters of the school and of the pupils, and the state and progress of the school are satisfactory. In a city not possessing the basis of a staple manufacture conspicuous results in industrial art will not be expected from a school of design; but although there is no great specialty to which the energies of the pupils can be directed, yet a very considerable majority, both male and female, are entered with objects strictly accordant with the intentions of a school of industrial art. Among the former are cabinet-makers, carvers (5), engineers, builders (10), carpenters, marble masons, coach and house painters, decorators (4), silversmiths, lithographers, modellers (8), and pattern drawers, and eight entered as artists. Among the females are ten teachers and governesses, seven teachers and pattern drawers for embroidery, and two japanners.

Fifty of the pupils are free, eight are females from the schools for embroidery, a growing branch of industry, to which the school promises to be, and indeed has already been, of important service, as the promoters of the embroidery schools testify. The rest of the free pupils (who are supplied with drawing materials at a low price) are the nominees of the corporation from various schools, in consideration of the annual grant from the town council.

Several of the pupils are stated to have obtained employment by their artistic skill. A medal for the Queen's College, to be executed at Birmingham, is from a drawing by one of the pupils, and others have executed some very meritorious carvings; but the school appears to be freely used as a preparation for artificers and teachers destined for America, where they are known at once to take high positions in their several callings in consequence.

The lending library has not been put properly into operation. No distinction has been made between the lending library and the library of reference, and, in fact, the books have not been lent out of doors at all. It has been supposed that, giving all credit to the pupils themselves for a desire to take care of the books, the habits of those with whom they live are such as to render it unsafe to trust the books in their hands. It has been suggested that the trial ought to be made, even at the risk of some sacrifice, and it will be made. In the meanwhile the books are accessible to the advanced pupils only twice a week. The library of the Cork Institution contains a

few good works on art which have been placed at the disposal of the school.

The school of the 'Christian Brothers' was mentioned in a former report as having been encouraged by Mr. Willes. As in many similar cases its utility as an elementary school is likely to be impaired by an ambition to do too much.

The attendance of the classes is as follows:

Evening male class, half past 6 to half past 9 p.m. daily (Saturday excepted).
Evening female classes, ditto, ditto.
Morning male class, 10 a.m. to 1, daily.
Morning female classes, ditto, ditto.

Geometry and perspective to female classes on Wednesday, and to male classes on Thursday.

There is a small private male class who meet in the morning, at the same time as the other pupils. Three are from Queen's College.

Mr. Wornum's lectures were attended by the Principal of Queen's College and many of the pupils, and excited great interest among the best educated classes in the city.

June 1851. *Ambrose Poynter.*

[*Reports and Papers relating to Head and Branch Schools,* 1851 [1423] xliii.]

V.10 First Report of the Department of Science and Art, 1854.

While the Department of Practical Art undertook responsibility for art education the more popular area of scientific education remained neglected. In 1853, however, motivated again by the fear of European industrial supremacy, evident at the Great London Exhibition 1851, a science division was added to the Department of Practical Art, which then became known as the Department of Science and Art. The science division was led by Lyon Playfair, while the art section was under Henry Cole. The newly established institution then took responsibility for the administration of all science and art institutions which sought state subvention. The Department of Science and Art remained adamant, however, that the initiation of science and art schools or classes resided with local voluntary bodies. Once local effort became evident the department offered a grant in aid in addition to paying results' fees under its own selection of listed subjects.

V.9 First Report of the Department of Practical Art, 1853.

Name of School	Parliamentary Grant	Fees	Other Receipts	Total	Expenditure	Number of Students (a)		Occupation and Attendance classifi[d]	
						Male	Female	Occup'n (b)	Attend'ce (c)
	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.				
Belfast	600	185 18 2	133 6 2	919 4 9	850 1 4	271	54	Given	Given
Birmingham	600	165 6 3	134 5 4	899 11 7	1,234 8 5	403	133	Do.	Do.
Cork	500	100 7 6	250 0 0	850 7 6	848 16 7	112	57	Do.	Do.
Coventry	200	29 6 6	125 2 11	354 9 5	362 7 0	140	28	Do.	Not given
Dublin	500	121 4 0	533 18 0	1,155 2 0	1,087 2 0	141	150	Do.	Given
Glasgow	600	379 4 0	902 4 7	1,881 8 7	1,177 19 4	307	62	Do.	Do.
Leeds	200	45 13 10	58 15 5	304 9 3	295 8 10	93	25	Do.	Do.
Limerick	150	30 2 3	150 17 6	218 9 9	182 14 3	105	58	Do.	Do.
Macclesfield	300	47 10 3	100 3 0	472 13 3	474 13 6	179	3	Do.	Given
Manchester	600	306 10 0	355 2 6	1,261 12 6	1,082 6 0	600	100	Not given	Not given
Newcastle-upon-Tyne	150	122 7 6	104 5 6	376 13 0	359 0 9	124	17	Given	Given
Norwich	150	136 7 0	202 10 0	488 17 0	443 15 9	63	38	Do.	Do.
Nottingham	450	117 13 0	136 14 0	704 7 0	695 1 3	139	30	Do.	Do.
Paisley	400	81 17 0	59 2 9	540 19 9	463 11 5	79	17	Do.	Do.
Potteries (Stoke & Hanley)	600	136 14 1	142 5 0	878 19 1	773 5 5	237	102	Do.	Do.
Sheffield	600	219 17 0	234 10 2	1,054 7 2	951 4 2	240	38	Do.	Do.
Spitalfields	450	98 3 3	175 5 2	723 8 5	723 8 5	196	32	Do.	Do.
Stourbridge	150	79 13 0	788 16 0	1,018 9 0	196 15 9	84	10	Do.	Do.
Worcester	150	139 7 3	434 11 6	723 18 9	549 0 11	173	70	Do.	Do.
York	150	95 2 6	125 2 6	370 5 0	367 1 2	76	32	Do.	Do.
	7,500	2,638 4 4	5,146 18 0	15,197 12 9	13,118 2 3	3,762	1,106		

[*First Report of the Department of Practical Art, 1852/1853*. 1853 (1615) liv 1.]

CREATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND ART

Correspondence between the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, on the Constitution of the Department of Science and Art.

Office of Committee of Privy Council for Trade,
16 March 1853.

Sirs,

I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade to request that you will inform the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury that my Lords have had under their consideration, by desire of the First Lord of the Treasury, the question of the best means of carrying into effect, so far as this Department is concerned, the announcement contained in the speech delivered from the Throne at the commencement of the present session of Parliament: 'The advancement of the fine arts and of practical science will be readily recognised by you as worthy the attention of a great and enlightened nation. I have directed that a comprehensive scheme shall be laid before you, having in view the promotion of these objects, towards which I invite your aid and co-operation.'

Their Lordships understand that the object in view is to extend a system of encouragement to local institutions for Practical Science, similar to that already commenced in the Department of Practical Art; that the systems should be combined on an enlarged scale; and that arrangements should be made for furnishing, through the instrumentality of one Department in conjunction with the Executive Government, having the support and being subject to the control of Parliament, the means for mutual co-operation and correspondence to every district of the kingdom where the local intelligence and energy of the inhabitants shall create schools of industrial science and art.

My Lords can have no hesitation in stating that the time has now arrived when the consideration of the important question of supplying scientific and artistic instruction to the industrial classes of this country in a more systematic manner than has hitherto been possible can no longer be postponed. The subject is one which assumes a more prominent position from day to day, and a recent and forcible expression of the public wants in reference to it will be found in the Surplus Report of the Royal Commissioners for the Great Exhibition of 1851. Their Lordships have therefore approached the consideration of that subject with a full appreciation of its importance; and I am now directed to explain the conclu-

sions at which they have arrived as to the mode in which the proposed object may be accomplished.

With regard to what they find already effected in the direction above indicated, as evinced by the present extent of local exertions, my Lords direct me to point out that more than twenty of the principal cities and towns in the kingdom are already associated with the Department of Practical Art under their Lordships' superintendence; and from the communications which they understand have been addressed by deputations and otherwise to the Government School of Mines by places of great importance, such as Manchester, Birmingham, and Newcastle, their Lordships have every reason to believe that a cordial disposition will be shown to co-operate with the Government in promoting industrial science.

In the proposed United Department of Science and Art the motive power will thus be local and voluntary – the system, in the main, self-supporting; while the advantages will be distributed over every part of the United Kingdom; and the assistance received from Parliament be applied for the general good of all.

My Lords are of opinion that it will be necessary that, out of the existing materials, there should be formed a metropolitan establishment, where the most perfect illustrations and models in both branches may be accessible to students sent up from the provincial schools to pupils resident in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, to training-masters, and to the public at large.

Connected with this metropolitan establishment there should be a school of the highest class, in which pupils may obtain the best instruction at the completion of their course of training, in which all improvements suggested by experience may be adopted and made generally known; and from which, therefore, the most useful information may at all times be communicated to the provincial bodies in connection with it.

In order to accomplish this end it is essential that the institution should be supported to a considerable extent by the fees of pupils. It is desirable that the principal teachers in the metropolitan school, upon whose efficiency the whole working of the national system must, in a great degree, depend, should continue to receive from the State some moderate payment, and be directly responsible to the Executive Government. But if the metropolitan school were to be wholly sustained by a parliamentary vote, it might be regarded as an attempt on the part of the State to impose its own views of science and art, rather than as a healthy and perpetually progressive exhibition of the state of advancing knowledge.

For the administration of the proposed department, it appears to

my Lords to be necessary that there should be two persons, each filling the office of secretary and inspector combined; one for the Department of Science, the other for that of Art; with such clerks as may be requisite for conducting the correspondence.

[*First Report of the Science and Art Department.* 1854 (1783) xxviii 269.]

V.11 Report of the Commission on the Science and Art Department in Ireland, 1868.

From the Irish viewpoint the Science and Art Department had one major inadequacy. It was far too centralized an institution and it was consistently argued in Ireland that syllabuses and 'payment by results' regulations devised in London took little account of the unique needs of Irish industry. Furthermore, the department's insistence on the principle of 'self-help' was too unsympathetic. Throughout the 1860s a campaign of pressure was orchestrated from Dublin in an attempt to secure an Irish Science and Art Department to be resident in Dublin.

By 1868 it seemed as if that demand was to be granted. A commission of inquiry was to ascertain the means by which a separate department might be established in Ireland. The appointed commissioners, however, in a unique about-face stated that they were not in agreement with the initial brief and therefore sought fresh instructions. That objection was conceded and a significantly different set of instructions was issued. The commission was now requested to recommend how the Science and Art Department might be more effectively exploited in Ireland.

Although the case for a separate Irish department was keenly contested the commission found against the proposal. Further recommendations concluded that the concentration of scientific institutions in Dublin be located on the site of the Royal Dublin Society. It was also suggested that the society's school of art be placed directly under state control. In 1877 these recommendations were carried into effect.

Despite the report, the claim for a separate department continued and gathered considerable momentum by the end of the century.

On comparing the instructions which exist in Ireland with those of England and Scotland, it will be seen that the former country is deficient in an industrial museum. Some branches of such a museum already exist. There are the technological collections of the Museum of Irish Industry still retained in the College of Science, and there are the collections of the Royal Irish Academy, which, even though kept distinct, might form, for the periods which they historically represent, the basis of a fine-art collection. By the addi-

tion of specimens of decorative art, casts, &c., and examples of modern manufacturers, a valuable industrial museum might be formed.

It will be seen that of Science Schools and Classes Ireland has established fully its fair proportion, if not more, and has won a correspondingly large share of the grants which are given as payments on results. It has been equally successful in obtaining the highest honours in the annual examinations. The very large proportion of medals carried off by Irish students has on several occasions been specially noticed in the reports of the Science and Art Department.

Of 36 Royal Exhibitions to the Royal School of Mines in London, and the Royal College of Science in Dublin, which have been awarded since their foundation, 11 have fallen to Irish candidates, the remaining 25 to Scotch and English.

On the other hand, art schools have not been so widely established, and one or two that were founded have died away. Where they have been maintained they have been as successful as the English. Why art schools have not been as rapidly developed in Ireland as Science Schools is readily accounted for. Science classes can be taught almost anywhere, and under the stimulus of a personal payment a competent teacher with little aid beyond his own energy managers to get them up. They may be small, but the teacher often has other occupation, and, at first at all events, he may devote but a portion of his time to them, and not look to them alone for support. An art school needs a special building, or at least special rooms. It requires more apparatus, and as it has mainly to support a specially trained teacher, who can readily find a more or less remunerative employment for his abilities in other ways, it involves a larger outlay of capital to commence with. An art school therefore requires a much greater combined effort on the part of the locality to establish it.

The less outlet there is for talent in Ireland the greater, in our opinion, is the reason for retaining the present imperial system, by which students throughout the kingdom are examined together. It affords an Imperial competition; success in it – and we see that Irish students are successful – not only carries far greater weight and prestige than in any simply Irish competition, but it opens to the successful student a far wider field. What, for instance, supposing there were a training school for art teachers in Dublin, would become of the teachers trained there? A promising student now comes to London, and we have it on record that many of them afterwards find employment in England and Scotland. Under no

circumstances could Dublin afford the same means of education for an art master as London. And would any English or Scotch school take a teacher from the training school in Dublin in preference to one from the school in London? Or would manufacturers be likely to go there for designers?

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Unless a different course of instruction be established for Ireland - and there is nothing to show the necessity for it - there can be no use in having a separate department. A double examination for Irish students would only be an unnecessary tax on them and on the State.

The utmost freedom is now allowed in the method of instruction - in fact there is no control in this nor in the especial bias which it shall receive. The only limit is that which is imposed on the teachers by the necessarily definite subjects of competition.

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We regret our inability to carry out the Minute of the 22nd May in its literal integrity, by framing a plan for the formation of a separate Department of Science and Art for Ireland analogous in its constitution to the existing Science and Art Department in London; as a mature consideration has convinced us that the formation of a separate department for Ireland would be detrimental to the interests of science and art in that country. We are of opinion, however, that all the advantages for Ireland proposed in that Minute may be practically secured by the arrangements indicated in the following recommendations:

1. That in order to afford advantages and facilities to students, artizans, and others in Dublin, in some respects similar to those which are yielded by the South Kensington Museum in London, and, in other respects, to those afforded by the Science and Art Museum in Edinburgh, it is very desirable that there should be a General Industrial and Fine Arts Museum in Dublin. The people of Ireland would thus obtain the fullest opportunity of improvement in the cultivation of the Industrial and Decorative Arts by the study of approved models and objects.

2. That this museum should be purely a State establishment under a director responsible to the Lord President, or other Minister in charge of education.

3. That the director of the Science and Art Museum should be in immediate relation, not only with the Minister of Education, but

also with the Irish Government, and it should be his duty to place himself in communication with the representatives of the various industrial interests of the country, with a view to the development of its resources.

4. That all votes for museums and educational establishments in Ireland should be taken on the responsibility of the Lord President of the Council, or other Minister in charge of education directly responsible to Parliament.

5. That with a view to completing the establishment of a central institution in Dublin, corresponding as far as possible with the South Kensington Museum and Educational Establishment in connexion therewith in London, we recommend that the Royal Dublin Society be invited to allow their School of Art to be made a purely State school, placed under the control of the director of the Science and Art Museum, thus relieving the Society of what is now a drain upon its funds.

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8. That a concentration on one site of several of the institutions mentioned in the minute is feasible, and very desirable, and that it may be carried out without prejudice to the independent rights of the societies concerned.

9. That the ground now held by the Royal Dublin Society, with some additional land adjoining their premises, which could easily and with advantage be purchased, affords sufficient space for the concentration of all the institutions which we think it desirable to bring together. From a full consideration of the various sites that are available in Dublin, we are of opinion that this would afford the greatest facility for carrying out the object proposed by the Minute of the 22nd May, - of combining or bringing into harmonious action the existing societies receiving State grants for Science and Art - consistently with the convenience and with the views of these bodies. If the Royal Irish Academy be removed to this site all the institutions referred to in the Minute of the 22nd May, that can with advantage be concentrated, will be placed in immediate contiguity, and in a central and most convenient locality; and the result will be a great central group of institutions - a Science and Art Museum, a Public Library, a Museum of Natural History, a Museum of Irish Antiquities, a National Gallery, and a School of Art.

[*Report of the Commission on the Science and Art Department in Ireland*; Vol. I; *Report* 1868-69 (4103) xxiv 1. Vol. II; *Minutes of Evidence Appendix and Index.* 1868-69 (4103-1) xxiv 43.]

V.12 Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1881-1884.

Ever since the Great Industrial Exhibition 1851, it was becoming increasingly obvious that British industrial and economic pre-eminence was being keenly contested by her European counterparts, notably France and Germany. The results of the Paris exhibition in 1867 and again in 1878 clearly confirmed the emerging challenge. A new drive for educational reform was called for and between 1868 and 1884 two royal commissions and one select committee of inquiry gave extensive consideration to the best means by which education might be drawn closer into line with industrial needs.

The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction was charged with a two-fold brief. The commission was directed to make a comparative analysis between the technical instruction undertaken by the industrial classes of certain foreign countries and that of their counterparts throughout the United Kingdom. Additionally, the effectiveness of technical instruction facilities in relation to industry and manufacture 'at home and abroad' was to be measured.

In June of 1883 the commission took evidence at Dublin, Belfast and Cork, while it also visited a number of centres of industrial education. A questionnaire inquiring into the means of livelihood, educational facilities and ambitions for an improved system of technical education was circulated in twenty-six Irish counties in an attempt to augment oral evidence. Opinions were solicited not only from educationalists but from industrialists, trades unions and other interested parties as well, bringing to bear upon the deliberations of the commissioners a wide-ranging and representative sample of viewpoints relative to technical education in Ireland.

In search of a masterplan for a scheme of technical instruction designed to Irish industrial needs the commission solicited the views of W. K. Sullivan, president of Queen's College, Cork, a noted proponent of technical education.

The commission recommended reform at every level of the educational system and was particularly concerned at primary and intermediate school and teacher training. The question of compulsory attendance was also raised.

While the recommendations of the Royal Commission were not immediately instrumental in introducing reform its reports did spark a sequence of further investigative action that was followed by substantial reform before the close of the century.

We would also remark that we have received evidence of a very contradictory nature as to the teaching of science in the Irish Intermediate Schools. We believe, however, that it is engaging the attention of the Board of Intermediate Education, and we only deem it necessary to state in reference to this subject, that efficient instruction in science will not be possible in those schools unless

they are provided with proper laboratories, which in most, if not in all of them, are at present entirely wanting.

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By the courtesy of Sir Patrick Keenan, K.C.M.G., the Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland, your Commissioners have been furnished with what they understood to be a complete set of the books used in the Irish National Schools. They find that these books are well adapted for the literary instruction of the children of various ages in those schools, and that they contain much interesting information on the natural features and resources of Ireland. But, except as to agriculture, they do not afford adequate assistance towards graduated instruction in industrial processes, or in the rudiments of the sciences on which those processes are founded. As the Irish National Education Commissioners are by their regulations mainly responsible for the selection of the books used in the schools, this defect should receive their early attention.

There is a general consensus of opinion on the part of persons of all ranks in that country, whatever may be their views on other subjects, that the prosperity of the poorer districts of Ireland may be greatly promoted by technical instruction in handicrafts and in home industries. There is a conviction not less general, and it is one which our visits have fully confirmed in our minds, that the children and young people of Ireland of the labouring class possess great manual dexterity and aptitude, which only requires to be developed in order to be useful to themselves and to those amongst whom they live. As evidence of this, we need only refer to the remarkable success of the Christian Brothers, and to that of the ladies of Religious Orders, in training children and young persons for handicrafts, in Industrial Schools and Institutions of a like nature. There appears to be no reason why similar instruction to that which is given in these schools should not be given elsewhere, if the necessary funds and teachers are forthcoming. We have shown that instruction of this kind, given on the Continent to persons in remote districts, who would otherwise be idle, has added materially to their resources, both directly, and by training them for employment in larger industrial concerns, and we have ascertained that no great expenditure of public money has been required in order to produce these effects.

Not only is instruction of this kind deemed to be desirable, but we have found that there is a willingness on the part of benevolent

persons in Ireland to assist its promotion by subscriptions and in other ways. It is true that by some it has been proposed that the Government should itself initiate, if it did not entirely charge itself with this work, but we were happy to find there were others who would be quite satisfied if its utility received the imprimatur of the Government, and if the State offered rewards for the ascertained results of instruction of this kind. We are of opinion that successful work of this nature, whether it be conducted by individuals or societies or by religious bodies, deserves the recognition and reward of the Government. We think it no part of our duty to state which are the home industries best adapted to the conditions of different parts of Ireland. Each locality will be able to form its own judgment in regard to this, and due weight should be given by the Government to such local expression of opinion; payment in all cases being dependent upon the results obtained in the schools or classes. We do not think it would be possible for the Government to train teachers for a variety of home industries, but it might contribute to the payment of such teachers appointed by the localities; and it would be expedient to establish a class of itinerant teachers for service in districts where resident instructors cannot be maintained.

These suggestions apply even in a greater degree to the instruction of girls than of boys.

We need scarcely point out that, if it be deemed desirable to introduce manual instruction in the use of tools in elementary schools at all, this would apply in an eminent degree to the primary schools of Ireland. It was stated in evidence before us that in some parts of Ireland, ordinary handicrafts, like those of the mason, have become absolutely extinct. Whether the children remain in their own immediate localities or migrate to other parts of the country, or emigrate to our colonies or to foreign countries, such instruction leading up to their apprenticeship as skilled labourers, instead of their fulfilling, as is now too much the case, the part of mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, would be of the greatest value to them. We are happy to find that the authorities of the National Board of Education in Ireland appreciate the importance of introducing instruction in manual work into their schools. They have already begun to give instruction of this kind to some few of their teachers, with a view to qualify them for imparting it to the children in the schools; but, in order that this instruction may be satisfactory, it is important that the training of the teachers themselves should be systematic and thorough; and, obvious as this might appear to be, we do not hesitate to impress it upon the minds

of the authorities of the National Board.

Whilst dealing with Irish education, we cannot refrain from expressing our satisfaction at having found that public opinion amongst all classes in Ireland is in favour of some measure for gradually making primary education in that country compulsory. The subject is one surrounded with difficulties of a nature which appear to us to place the discussion of its details beyond the scope of our commission. We consider, however, that we should not do our duty if we did not express our decided opinion that no marked progress in the direction of technical education can be effected in Ireland, until primary education in that country has been placed on a proper footing.

The following is an extract from a proposed scheme submitted by W. Sullivan, president of Queen's College, Cork, to the Commission:

I. ART EDUCATION

Drawing in Primary Schools - There already exists in a few Irish towns the nucleus of technical education, as regards Art, in the shape of an Art School, and the elementary drawing classes of the national schools. The art schools are, however, few in number, and require reorganization, more aid, and enlargement of scope, and the art classes of the national schools are comparatively barren of results, notwithstanding the laudable efforts of Mr. Vere Foster to provide cheap drawing books. Simple outline drawing of common objects is of as much importance to the artizan in many cases as writing, and should consequently be made an obligatory subject in town schools, or, at all events, should be placed on a level with writing as regards results payments. Nor should it be neglected, even in rural schools, for it has a high value as an agent of mental training.

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Provincial Academies - Finally, there should be in the chief city or cities of each province still larger art schools or academies, having provision for not only a large collection of casts, but also a permanent collection of pictures and other objects of art. Here, too, in forming the art collection, regard should be paid to existing local industries or possible local industries as well as in the teaching, without, however, losing sight of the higher functions which such schools should perform. In such schools a sufficient

salary should be provided to induce an artist of merit to connect himself with the school. Travelling scholarships should also be established to enable the best pupil or pupils of the year to visit the great art centres during at least two years. In view of the great importance of such art schools, a liberal building grant should be made to enable towns placing themselves under taxation for art and science schools to erect suitable buildings and to form permanent art collections.

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II. SCIENCE EDUCATION

Science Teaching in Primary Schools – The teaching of the elements of physical science should be specially encouraged in all primary schools, provided it be done without injury to the ordinary essential school work. In forming science classes in primary schools the following rules should be strictly adhered to: 1. To limit the range of subjects so as to avoid converting the system into a mere agency for earning fees. 2. To specially encourage an exact knowledge of the fundamental sciences; for instance, no results fees should be paid for passes in such subjects as experimental physics, unless the pupil had already shown a sufficient proficiency in mathematics, and so on. In this way a pupil would be led to follow a regular course of study. 3. Regard should always be paid to the special circumstances of the locality. Thus, in agricultural districts, elementary mechanics, land surveying, heat and steam, meteorology, chemistry, the biological sciences and geology, would be the most useful subjects to encourage. Mathematics, except as the essential basis of all accurate physical science, and so far as may be necessary to understand mechanics, surveying, and heat, would in general be of much less importance than to artizans in towns. In manufacturing towns, on the other hand, special encouragement should be given to mathematical sciences. Results fees alone would not be sufficient to pay for the teaching of such subjects in any of the Irish towns.

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Polytechnic Schools – Without a college for the teaching of the higher branches of science, and which, for convenience, I shall call a Polytechnic school, no system of technical education would be complete. It is the centre of life of the whole system, for it is there the science teachers of the secondary schools would be educated. It is chiefly to such higher schools that the success of the systems of

technical education established in various European countries is due. Four institutions fortunately exist already in the country, which, with moderate development, would supply all that is required to complete a system of technical education for Ireland, namely, the Royal College of Science in Dublin, and the three Queen's Colleges.

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The Queen's Colleges – Each of these colleges has already a successful engineering department, which might at very small cost be expanded into a fully organised Polytechnic school for the province in which it is situated.

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I. *Experimental Workshops attached to Schools*

The establishment of experimental workshops for the purpose of bringing the designer and the workman into contact, showing the first what is possible to be done in any given material and by any particular mechanism, and showing the workman the importance of art, in varying the products of his labour and enabling him to compete successfully with his rivals, can readily be attempted in connection with existing schools. As, without such workshops, art schools must be barren of results, I consider their establishment in connection with art and science schools to be an essential factor in any scheme of technical education for Ireland.

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I will conclude with the following expression of opinion as to the principle that should govern every scheme of technical education: All institutions, save reclamation and afforesting schools should spring from the wants and wishes of the locality, which should bear part of the burden of maintaining them, but that, in the exceptional condition of Ireland, the State should liberally help. That the management should always be in the hands of local authorities, subject to careful and competent government inspection, and rigid audit of expenditure.

[*Royal Commission on Technical Instruction First Report*. 1881 (C.3171) xxvii 153. *Further Reports with evidence and appendix*. 1884 (C.3981) xxix, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, Pt. 1.]

V.13 First Annual Report of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland, 1893.

By the close of the nineteenth century the climate of social and political opinion proved more accommodating to industrial and educational reform. Under Chief Secretary Arthur Balfour a new strategy – coercion and conciliation – was embarked upon in an attempt to solve the Irish question. The conciliation aspect of that policy prompted significant reform for technical education and more generally education related to industry.

The first offensive of that campaign to have implications for technical education came with the establishment of the Congested Districts Board in 1891. Here was an attempt to stimulate industry in the most economically depressed parts of the country. The responsibilities of the new board included agriculture and fisheries, the amalgamation of small holdings and the promotion of local industries as suggested in the report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884, through financial subsidy and technical instruction. Four committees were elected to attend to the areas of industries, fisheries, land and finance. Horace Plunkett was a member of the industries committee and his work here provided him with first-hand knowledge of the most pressing of Ireland's economic needs.

III. INDUSTRIES

The aiding and developing of spinning, weaving, knitting, and other industrial handicrafts must be recognised, after even a little reflection, as being the most difficult duty that has been entrusted to the Board, both as regards the selection of fields of work, and the carrying out of schemes for affording assistance.

One principle of a negative kind has been adopted, namely, that the Board will not undertake the ownership or management of any industrial enterprise. The terms and conditions upon which industries may be assisted are numerous, varied, and altogether dependent on the circumstances of the case, and the nature of the co-operation that may be available.

A woollen factory, at which 43 hands are employed, has been opened recently at Foxford, Co. Mayo, by the Sisters of Charity, and to this community the Board has advanced a sum of £7,000, at 2½ per cent. interest, repayable in 18 years by fixed half-yearly instalments.

Similarly the same religious community has opened a knitting factory at Ballaghadereen, Co. Mayo, at which 92 hands are employed, and the Board has advanced £3,000 on like terms to the same community.

Both these loans are secured by a mortgage on real property possessed by the Sisters of Charity in the County Dublin.

It is also under consideration whether both these factories might not be further assisted by Capitation Grants for boys or girls instructed in the respective industries.

Though the matter should not, perhaps, be referred to as an *industrial* enterprise, the Board has agreed to advance to the Skibbereen Co-operative Dairy Company a sum of £400, at 2½ per cent. on mortgage, repayable by instalments, in order that farmers who are too poor to become shareholders in the usual way may obtain the benefits of the dairy company.

For the purpose of providing a market for goods manufactured in congested districts, the Board has agreed to make a grant of £400, payable in two annual instalments, to the Association formed some years ago for the advancement of industries in Carna and Kilkerrin, in Connemara. An agency for the sale of goods is to be established in Manchester, and it will be arranged as far as possible that the Association shall not restrict its efforts to the sale of articles knitted or made in Carna and Kilkerrin alone.

Reference has already been made to the giving of Technical Education in net-mending. A small grant of £20 has also been voted by the Board for giving technical instruction in carpentering at Cashel National School, where the circumstances seemed to be exceptionally favourable for such instruction.

In the north of the county of Donegal the factory and cottage industry of the making of shirts and underclothing by sewing machines and by hand-sewing, is a most valuable source of employment to women and girls. An effort is now being made by the Board to extend this industry to Ballyshannon, in the extreme south of the County Donegal, for the benefit of the adjacent congested districts in the Counties Donegal and Leitrim. The War Office has greatly contributed to the advancement of the project by placing at the disposal of the Board, for this purpose, the disused military barracks by Ballyshannon. Negotiations in the matter are now in progress.

Schemes for improving the supply of woollen yarn, and also for developing the very promising manufacture of home-spun tweeds, are at present under consideration. In these branches of industry the difficulties in the way of giving wise and effective help are very great.

[*First Annual Report of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland 1892.* 1893-94 (C. 6908) lxxi 525.]

V.14 Report of the Recess Committee, 1896.

Much of the renewal and many of the reforms in the interlinked areas of agriculture, industry and education during the final decade of the nineteenth century must be attributed to the dynamism and persistence of the renowned Horace Plunkett (1854-1932). The second son of Lord Dunsany, a wealthy Co. Meath landowner, Plunkett had given deep consideration to the plight of Irish agriculture. In 1890, the same year that he was appointed to the Congested Districts Board he launched the Irish Cooperative movement for the advancement of agricultural production. Two years later he was elected Unionist M.P. for the constituency of South Dublin.

On entering the House, Plunkett was to take the view that most Irish M.P.s were deflected by the Home Rule issue from attending to measures of practical reform for Ireland. In August of 1895 he addressed a letter to all Irish M.P.s and other interested parties inviting their participation in a conference to discuss the general economic welfare of Ireland. The response was remarkably favourable and the support of the many strands of Irish public opinion, Nationalist and Unionist, Roman Catholic and Protestant, was enlisted.

Holding its conferences at the Mansion House, Dublin, during periods of Parliamentary recess - hence the title - the policy and procedure of the Recess Committee were uncomplicated and practicable. Irish economic deficiencies were traced to their source. Ireland's potential as a viable economy was reviewed, and in search of a model special studies of European countries were commissioned.

In August 1896, one year after its initiation the Recess Committee issued its report.

Calling for wide-ranging reform of the educational system and for renewed emphasis on industrially related education the report's most significant proposal was for the establishment of a ministry of agriculture and industries for Ireland. Since it was generally acknowledged that unique circumstances prevailed in Ireland a solution relative to Irish requirements, it was held, might only be found with the creation of an Irish Department.

With a government minister at its head and a consultative council to advise on matters of policy the proposed department was to be cohesively structured with seven designated sub-departments: Promotion of Agriculture and Industries; Practical Education; Veterinary Administration; Forestry Reclamation and Drainage; Fisheries; Agricultural and Industrial Statics; Finance.

A more constructive response to the report could scarcely have been hoped for. The Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Bill was given its first reading in the House on 9 May 1899 and finally entered the Statute Book before the summer recess of 1899. One year previously the Local Government (Ireland) Act had been passed and this provided for the local authority structures for a decentralized system of technical education.

Our proposal is that Parliament should establish a Ministry of

Agriculture and Industries for Ireland, which shall consist of a Board, with a Minister responsible to Parliament at its head, and be advised by a Consultative Council representative of the agricultural and industrial interests of the country. This Department, besides undertaking certain new duties hitherto left undischarged, should, save as particularly mentioned below, take over the functions of the following existing Departments of Irish Government: The Congested Districts Board, the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council, part of the functions of the Board of Works, the Agricultural Department of the Land Commission, the Agricultural Department of the Board of National Education, and the functions of the Science and Art Department in Ireland.

We consider it necessary to create a special Department for the following reasons. The work to be done is large, its nature is special, and it involves initiation, construction, organization, and experiment.

The work of the new Department, extending over so wide a range of interests, would be so important, that its head ought to be a Minister responsible to Parliament. It will be charged with the business of several existing Departments which are now represented in Parliament by the Chief Secretary; and its specially created functions will be even more important. In any case, it is desirable that the head of such a Department should be answerable to Parliament, and be in a position to secure for his office the utmost possible degree of public confidence and public observation.

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We recommend the appointment of a Board to act with the Minister, consisting of not less than five members, chosen as the members of the Congested Districts' Board are chosen, that is to say, with the object of representing as far as possible the different districts and political complexions of the country; though this principle should not be allowed to militate against what should be the first principle of selection for this Board, namely, that of securing the best men possible for the work, irrespective of political considerations.

The necessity for a Consultative Council representing the agricultural and industrial interests has, we trust, been amply demonstrated in Parts III and IV. The function of this Council would be – (1) to keep the Department in direct touch with the public opinion of those classes whom the work of the Ministry con-

cerned, and (2) to distribute some of the responsibility for administration amongst those classes. It might consist of about 42 members, and should be partly elective and partly nominated, in accordance with the principles which have been found to work satisfactorily in other countries. It should meet not less than twice a-year, and its meetings should be attended by the Minister and the members of the Board. Its office being advisory and consultative, the Minister, while having regard to its recommendations, should not be bound by them. For the purpose of more frequent consultation this Council should elect each year, from amongst its members, a Permanent Committee.

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Of the existing Departments whose function it is proposed to transfer to the new Department, there are two to which special reference is necessary, viz., the Science and Art Departments and the Congested Districts Board.

The obvious impracticability of the new Department in Dublin leaving an essential portion of its own educational scheme to be administered by an independent Department in South Kensington, ought to be sufficient reason for the transference of the Irish functions of the latter to the new body.

[*Report of the Recess Committee on the establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Industries for Ireland,* Dublin, 2nd ed., 1896.]

V.15 The Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899.

The Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899, does not fall comfortably into the category of educational legislation. Its general governing principle was the regeneration of the Irish economy. Towards that end, the introduction of a system of technical education suitably designed to meet the requirements of industrial growth was identified as a key component. The Act not only recognised the importance of technical education, but insisted that any such system be administered by a state department committed to industrial expansion. Thus an innovative and original industry-education tandem had been established.

Arranged under three parts and thirty-five sections, its main provisions established a structure that provided for a decentralised, democratized means of administration.

Under Section 2, the Department now administered a number of responsibilities which hitherto had been scattered amongst the various branches

of Government. In relation to technical education, the department gathered under its charge the administration of the grants for science and art and technical instruction, previously transacted at South Kensington in addition to taking responsibility for public buildings and institutions formerly under the control of the Science and Art Department. Finally, the duties of the Commissioners of National Education in connection with the Albert Institution and the Munster Institution, were transferred to the new Irish Department.

Section 7 provided for the establishment of what might be called representative advisory committees, a Council of Agriculture, and Agricultural Board and a Technical Instruction Board. The general purpose of these assemblies was to assist the department in decision-making, and to bring to bear upon the policies of the department the reactions and opinions of interested parties at national and local level.

In a further attempt to achieve harmony between the various state educational agencies a Consultative Committee of Education was introduced under Section 23 of the act. Technical instruction, it was generally agreed, must be assured an auxiliary framework. Accordingly, the Consultative Committee of Education was to constitute one representative of the Commissioners of National Education, the Intermediate Board of Education, the Agricultural Board and the Technical Education board respectively. The vice chairman of the department was to act as chairman of the committee. The stated function of the committee was one of 'co-ordinating educational administration'.

Financial accommodation was afforded the department under three heads. First there was the Annual Endowment Fund of £166,000. For the purpose of distribution that sum was divided on a triennial basis into three sections: Agriculture, Technical Instruction and Sea Fisheries. A total of £55,000 was allotted the Technical Instruction Branch. There were two additional sources of income available: the grants formerly administered by the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington and the grant in aid of technical instruction as defined in the Technical Instruction Act of 1889.

Technical instruction was defined according to the same criteria employed by the precursor Technical Instruction Act 1889.

The following extracts from the act indicate the duties and responsibilities of the new department:

> (*e*) The administration of the grant for science and art in Ireland;
>
> (*f*) The administration of the grant in aid of technical instruction, as defined by the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, in Ireland;
>
> (*g*) The powers and duties of the Department of Science and Art in relation to any public building or institution in Ireland under their control, and also any property in Ireland held by or for the purposes of that Department;
>
> (*h*) The powers and duties of the Commissioners of National

Education in connection with the Albert Institution and the Munster Institution, and also all property held by those Commissioners for the purposes of the said institutions; and

(i) The powers and duties of the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries.

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CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL, AGRICULTURAL BOARD AND BOARD OF TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION, AND FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

7. For the purpose of assisting the Department in carrying out the objects of this Act there shall be established:

(*a*) a Council of Agriculture;

(*b*) an Agricultural Board; and

(*c*) a board of Technical Instruction.

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10. The Board of Technical Instruction shall consist of the following members:

(*a*) Three persons to be appointed by the county council of each of the county boroughs of Dublin and Belfast;

(*b*) One person to be appointed by a joint committee of the councils of the several urban county districts in the county of Dublin; such committee to consist of one member chosen out of their body by the council of each such district;

(*c*) One person to be appointed by the council of each county borough not above mentioned;

(*d*) One person to be appointed by each of the chambers of commerce of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork;

(*e*) One person to be appointed by each of the trades councils of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork;

(*f*) One person to be appointed by the provincial committee of each province;

(*g*) One person to be appointed by the Commissioners of National Education;

(*h*) One person to be appointed by the Intermediate Education Board; and

(*i*) Four persons to be appointed by the Department.

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The annual sum of fifty-five thousand pounds shall be divided into such portions as may be determined by the Department, with

the concurrence of the Board of Technical Instruction, and of those portions:

(i) One shall be distributed in proportion to their respective populations between the county boroughs, and shall be applied by the respective councils of those boroughs in aid of schemes, approved by the Department, for the purposes of technical instruction; and

(ii) The other portion shall be applied, subject as regards any particular application to the concurrence of the Board of Technical Instruction, for the purposes of technical instruction elsewhere than in the county boroughs, and in making or aiding in making such inquiries and collecting or aiding in collecting such information as the Department may think important for the purposes of technical instruction.

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23. For the purpose of co-ordinating educational administration, there shall be established a Consultative Committee consisting of the following members:

(*a*) The Vice-President of the Department, who shall be chairman thereof;

(*b*) One person to be appointed by the Commissioners of National Education;

(*c*) One person to be appointed by the Intermediate Education Board;

(*d*) One person to be appointed by the Agricultural Board; and

(*e*) One person to be appointed by the Board of Technical Instruction.

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The expression 'technical instruction' means instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employments. It shall not include instruction given in elementary schools or teaching the practice of any trade or industry or employment, but save as aforesaid shall include instruction in the branches of science and art with respect to which grants are for the time being made by the Department, and any other form of instruction (including modern languages and commercial subjects) which may for the time being be sanctioned by the Department, by a minute laid before Parliament and made on the representation of

a county or urban district council that such form of instruction is required by the circumstances of its district, and shall also include instruction in the use of tools, and modelling in clay, wood, or other material.

[*The Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act.* 1899 (300) i 93.]

V.16 Organisation and Policy of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, 1900.

The new department was eager to represent its policies and explain its organizational structure to the parties concerned and to the general public. In its *Organization and Policy* document the policies of the Department were explained as were the means by which these were to be accomplished. In addition the functions of the representative boards and the Consultative Committee of Education were outlined. Particular emphasis was placed on the role of local initiative in an attempt to create a harmonious relationship between popular participation and efficient bureaucracy.

3. EDUCATIONAL POLICY

To the educational part of its work the Department looks as the most powerful and abiding means of promoting the end in view. In a country which is so industrially depleted as Ireland, and in which the economic drain is still continuing, the direct measures for improving industry above referred to, however valuable, and however they may extend as the work progresses, and as legislation creates new opportunities, cannot by themselves alone produce very great or deep results, and large expectations based upon them may lead to disappointment. But a proper system of education, which, while paying due heed to the training of the character and the will, will train the intelligence to deal with concrete things as well as with ideas, and which will give to the generation receiving it skill and knowledge that will bring out and make them conscious of their own powers and resources in practical affairs, cannot have disappointing results. Experience has amply proved that it is to the *individual* and *national resourcefulness* and the confident character thus developed by an educational system, more than to any other cause, countries which have in recent times achieved marked industrial success owe their progress. The Department, accordingly, feel that however imperfect other forms of effort may be, or whatever the conditions which may prevail in Ireland, if the people be placed in full possession of the benefits of such an educa-

tional system, they will have the instrument of their own salvation in their hands. Supplemented by such a system moreover, and directed by a public opinion instructed on economic subjects, all other forms of State action in relation to industry become immensely more effectual. For this reason the Department lay stress on the educational work which they have been commissioned to do in co-operation with the other educational authorities of the country.

In undertaking these duties the Department will act on the view that the education of a country should be considered as a whole, and that it is a grievous fallacy to expect sound results from any special scheme which is not made an organic part of the general educational system. The experience of countries which have given most attention to the connexion between education and industrial development shows that the best results in this direction are due to the secondary school and the university or higher technical college. When the secondary school, on, at least, one of its 'sides', is permeated with the practical spirit, and deliberately related to the real economic and social needs of the country it becomes possible to produce leaders of industry, that is, men who have learned to apply intellect and science, as well as enterprise, to the callings of commerce, manufacturers, and agriculture; and when properly-trained leaders of industry are available for a country reforms in all the grades of practical education inevitably follow. Again, that great undeveloped resource, the latent intellect and artistic and mechanical skill of the working classes of the country cannot be rightly got at until the primary schools, rural and urban, fit their pupils to take direct advantage, whether of the general schools or the technical schools of a complete system, with their respective avenues of progression. There cannot be the most useful educational ambition in a country until the pupil of talent in the humblest elementary school feels that the way is open for him, so far as educational opportunity can open it, to the highest careers in industrial, agricultural or academic life. The primary school, the secondary school, and the university are thus regarded as having their part to do for what is commonly called technical education, as well as the specially technical institutions.

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1. LOCAL INITIATIVE AND CENTRAL DIRECTION

1. Administration of this kind must fail in its best result unless it seeks to evoke and fortify the self-reliance, enterprise, and sense

of responsibility of the people. Both economic and social laws dictate this principle.

2. In encouraging local initiative and responsibility the danger, on the other side, of an indiscriminate multiplication of unrelated local schemes must be guarded against by a due conservation of the principle of central direction. It is the duty of the Department to keep in mind the national as well as the local point of view, and to bring to bear on schemes and problems that power of co-ordination and that expert aid which the resources of a Central Authority, acting and thinking with and for the whole country, can command. The importance of this principle is well illustrated in the efficiency of the Continental systems of State aid for Technical Instruction and Agriculture, on which the constitution of this Department has been to some extent modelled.

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The Agriculture and Technical Instruction Act is, so to speak, built into, as well as out of, the system of representative local government established by the legislation of 1898. The Department, paying due regard to this fact, has studied, in administering the Act, and in so far as the nature of its functions permitted, to extend the responsibilities of the local authorities, and it looks forward to having their aid in many ways in strengthening the spirit of economic and social self-help amongst the people generally. The Act contemplates that the six County Boroughs should formulate their own schemes; and the Department desires, in the area outside the County Boroughs as well, to stimulate local initiative in the preparation of schemes of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. It delegates to them, moreover, the local administration of such schemes, and has assisted them to construct a machinery for this administration in the shape of County committees for Live Stock, and for Agricultural and Technical Instruction, and Urban Committees for Technical Instruction. This course has an educational value of importance, inasmuch as, on the one hand, it gives the Department the benefit of local opinions and experience, and, on the other, it brings the local bodies themselves into contact with the difficulties of the problem to be dealt with. It helps, besides, to produce in the country a sympathetic understanding of the necessarily tedious process by which sound reforms of this kind are accomplished.

[*First Annual General Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) 1900/1901*. 1902 (Cd. 833) xx 511.]

V.17 Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction Experimental Science, Drawing and Manual Instruction in Secondary Schools. Explanatory Circular to Managers and Head Teachers of Secondary Schools, 1901.

In addition to its accountability for a national network of local technical instruction schemes, the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction also exercised control over the distribution of the science and arts grants in Ireland. Included in that function was responsibility for the teaching of science and art in schools under the Intermediate Board. Acknowledging the historical unsuitability to Ireland of the subjects listed in the Science and Art Directory, the department took immediate remedial measures. Having secured the agreement of the Treasury, a new programme of *Experimental Science, Drawing, Manual Instruction and Domestic Economy* was drawn up. The Intermediate Board's having accepted the recommendations of the Commission on Intermediate Education (Ireland) made the timing of the department's innovation all the more propitious. After a conference between a sub-committee of the Intermediate Board and officers of the department the new programme was introduced to the secondary school in 1901.

The introduction of the new programme demanded, in the view of the department, a new approach to science teaching in Ireland. The traditional book-centred method was to be replaced by a practically oriented one. The principles underlying that approach were outlined as '(1) careful and accurate collection of facts; (2) observation of the inter-relation and sequence of facts; (3) construction and testing of hypothesis to account for facts'. Rote learning was to be replaced by research methods and observation and teachers were advised to select a course content that accommodated pupil participation.

Such innovation had obvious implications. To conduct practically oriented courses secondary schools needed to be appropriately equipped. Secondly, in place of the traditional written examinations and the payment by results system, a new mode of assessment was required. Finally, a force of suitably trained teachers was regarded as essential to the success of the campaign.

Funds were immediately made available for the erection and furnishing of laboratories, and it was insisted that secondary schools wishing to qualify for recognition be equipped with a laboratory. To ensure that laboratories were adequately designed prior departmental approval was required. By 1901 progress was well under way and the department disclosed that plans for 100 laboratories had been sanctioned.

In place of the payment by results fees the department introduced a system of inspection. Teachers whose performance was deemed satisfactory were paid a fixed salary. In the case of exceptional merit the grant might be increased by one tenth. Alternatively, in the instance of an unsatisfactory performance the grant might be reduced by one or more tenths. No reduction would be made without the school being served due

notice, however. To ensure an efficient and qualified teaching force to service the new programme the department organised teacher training courses at the Royal College of Science and at other provincial venues.

The Department, in taking over the Science and Art Grant, feel that the methods of assessing it might with advantage be changed, in order to render it more directly applicable to existing educational needs in Ireland. They have accordingly prepared new Regulations for the administration and distribution of Grants for Experimental Science, Drawing, and Manual Instruction in Secondary Schools. These Regulations, together with suggested Syllabuses, are enclosed herewith.

In the main, the new Regulations form a scheme of payments, based on the results of inspection, for instruction in Experimental Science, Drawing, and Manual Work or Household Economy.

The Department regard the question of the qualification of teachers as of the utmost importance. They have arranged that increased opportunities for the training of qualified teachers shall be available at the Royal College of Science, and they will, by means of Summer Courses, assist Schools in this particular as far as possible. But it must be fully understood that a three weeks' or a month's Summer Course alone is not sufficient to qualify a teacher to give such instruction as the Department contemplate, and further, that none but properly qualified teachers of Science, Drawing, Manual Instruction and Household Economy will be recognised. The Degree of any University, or the Diploma of any approved Technical College, where Physics and Chemistry are part of the Degree or Diploma Course, or First Class Certificates in the Advanced Stages of any two Physics subjects (see Science and Art Directory) *and of* Inorganic Chemistry, will, for a time, be recognised as qualifying to teach Science in Secondary Schools, but the Department will, at the earliest convenient moment, require proof that the teachers have also had a practical Course in an approved Laboratory.

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(1) No scheme will be approved unless the Department are satisfied that due provision is made for the instruction of the pupils in the other main branches of a general education.

(2) No grant will be made for instruction unless due provision is made for experimental work in Science on the part of the pupils, in properly equipped and approved laboratories.

. . . . . .

(6) The grant to be made in respect of any course, in accordance with the foregoing regulations, may in exceptional cases, be increased by one-tenth when the Inspector of the Department is of opinion that the work is of conspicuous merit. It may also be reduced by one or more tenths on the ground of unsatisfactory work, or for defects of equipment or of organisation, or for any other cause which may tend to lessen the efficiency of the work done.

COURSE IN SCIENCE

I - Prefatory Note

The committing of facts to memory, however important or useful, is not Science teaching; and it is hoped, therefore, that during at least the first two years of the course the text-book will occupy a very small (if any) share in the work of instruction. The object in view is the introduction of the scientific method of Science teaching as a means of mental discipline; and it is because the methods and spirit of the teaching cannot be measured by the ordinary form of written examination, that the annual written tests have been abandoned in favour of inspection.

The principles underlying the scientific method are (1) careful and accurate collection of facts, (2) observation of the inter-relation and sequence of facts, (3) construction and testing of hypotheses to account for facts; and it is possible, even in the simplest exercises, to have due regard to these principles. To the scientific method, the mere *telling*, or *learning*, of facts is therefore opposed. The work is to be practical, and by this is meant the working out of the exercises by the pupils themselves. The business of the teacher is to shape his course of instruction by exercises chosen on some definite plan; to instruct his pupils how to measure and weigh accurately, and, in general, how to collect the results of their observations; and to assist them in arriving at correct conclusions. Results should, as far as possible, be tested in more ways than one; and the pupils should gradually gather confidence in their own observations, so that, whether hopeful or not as to the correctness of their conclusions, they should have complete confidence in the accuracy of their facts.

As far as possible, the 'research' method should be adopted even in the earliest exercises; but the teacher will probably find that at one time the 'research' method, and at another the method of

'verification' will best serve the interests he has at heart, and carry along his work without undue loss of time. Instructions as to the carrying out of exercises will necessarily *precede* the actual measurements, weighings, and so on; but the drawing of conclusions, the driving home, so to say, of the meaning of the facts, will *follow* laboratory practice. To this end the class should be 'kept together'. Much of the value of this kind of teaching is lost in the case of young pupils if individuals are allowed to 'go on'.

[*First Annual General Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland); 1900/1901*. 1902 (Cd. 833) xx 511.]

V.18 Revised Programme for Primary Schools, 1900.

The very limited curricular content of the primary school was the object of increasing criticism during the closing decade of the nineteenth century. Evidence to the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction 1881-1884 consistently pointed to the absence of practical subjects. Similar criticisms were made of the intermediate programme. In response to such unease and in keeping with wider European trends a Commission on Practical and Manual Instruction was assigned to present proposals towards reform in 1897. Having examined more contemporary educational developments in Britain, Europe and America the commission advocated a new child-centred approach to education in addition to an expanded curriculum. The response to these ambitious recommendations proved favourable and a revised programme for the primary school was introduced in 1900. Included in the expanded curriculum was a programme of elementary science.

ELEMENTARY SCIENCE PROGRAMME FOR PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1900

	Course I Experimental Science	Course II Principles of Agriculture and Horticulture	Course III Sound, Light, &c.	Course IV Electricity and Magnetism
1st STANDARD	*Infants up to First Class*	*Infants up to First Class*	*Infants up to First Class*	*Infants and First Class*
	Object lessons on natural objects selected as *far as possible* that every child should be able to handle them either in the school or in the home.	Object lessons on the animals about a farm, their food and usefulness.	Sounds and noises, musical sounds. A piece of looking-glass. Bright and dull substances. Transparent and opaque substances.	General object lessons to cultivate careful observation.
	First Class	*First Class*	*First Class*	
	Twenty object lessons on some common objects or changes, *e.g.* - the fire, candle flame, burning oil; ice, water, steam; salt, soda, sugar, flour, starch, soap; an egg, butter, milk, cheese, &c.	Twenty object lessons on the principal plants and vegetables in kitchen, garden or in farm.	Twenty object lessons. High and low notes, colours. Breaking up of white light by piece of glass or bottle of water. Heat from the sun, burning glass.	

2nd STANDARD	Twenty object lessons on: - The properties of common substances - Brittleness, malleability, solubility, hotness, coldness, and hardness, melting, evaporation, solids, liquids, gases.	Twenty object lessons on tools or implements used in farm or garden. Daily life on a farm. Ploughing, sowing, reaping, the dairy, flour, milk, &c., &c.	Twenty object lessons on: - Tuning fork, echoes, effects of heat on substances. Methods of conveying heat from one place to another. Plane, mirror, image in a bent piece of polished metal.	Twenty object lessons on Effects of rubbing such substances as amber, sealing wax, glass, ebonite, with silk, flannel, &c. The Electroscope.
3rd STANDARD	Measurement of lines, areas and volumes. Water displaced by a body immersed in it. The see-saw or lever leading to a knowledge of the pair of scales or balance. Relative weight of different kinds of material.	Character of the root, stem, leaves, flower, and fruit of *common* plants. Effects of watering, heat, frost, &c., on plants.	Melting, dissolving in hot and cold water. Expansion, the thermometer. Its construction and use. Boiling and freezing points.	Properties of magnets. Attraction, repulsion, magnetisation. The compass needle.
4th STANDARD	Floating bodies. Weight of a body in water. Air has weight. Water *pressure. U tube*, barometer, syphon. General effects of heat on matter. Expansion. Measurement of hotness by thermometer. Evaporation, moisture in the air. Weather observations. Soluble and insoluble substances. Experiments to elucidate nature of burning in air. Changes in appearance and weight of various substances heated in air.	Functions of different parts of a plant, the food supply of a plant. *The necessity for* cultivation. Fruits, buds, tubers, seeds.	Evaporation. Heat capacity. Revision of previous work. Measure*ment of heat.*	Simple magnetic fields of earth, bar magnet, horse shoe magnet. Terrestrial *magnetism.* Mariners' compass.
5th STANDARD	The units of heat and temperature. Revision of relative weight experiments. The rusting or slow changes occurring to iron, copper, lead, and phosphorus, in the air. Active and inactive part of air. Solution of metals in acids and gases evolved in the process. Inflammable air or hydrogen. Liquid produced by burning hydrogen shown to be water. Decomposition of steam by heated iron.	The effects of sunlight, soil, and the atmosphere on growth of a plant. Different kinds of soil; their mechanical characters and treatment. Crops best suited to each.	Intensity of light, shadows, Pinhole camera, Reflection, mirrors, Refraction. Simple explanation of magnifying glass.	Voltaic battery, and notions of a current. Magnetic and heating effect of a current. Galvanometer, electric bell.
6th STANDARD	Revision of heat experiments. Lime, chalk and marble. Effects of heat, water, and acids on each. Measurement of gases evolved. Chalk gas proved to be identical with that produced by burning carbon in oxygen. Experiments to show chalk = lime + carbonic acid gas. Hard and soft water.	The purpose of the various operations of a farm. The use and nature of manure; drainage of the land. Broad classification of common plants, and chief characteristics of each class.	Propagation of sound. Elementary notions of vibrations and waves. Echoes, Qualities of sounds, pitch.	Chemical effect of a current. Electrolysis, Electric telegraph. Telephone. Production of a current by moving a coil in a magnetic field. Elementary facts of statical electricity.

V.19 Schemes of Technical Instruction in Non-Agricultural Subjects, Ballymena, 1903-1904.

It was with the creation and design of local technical instruction schemes that the department showed most concern. Technical instruction committees were provided with the advice and guidance of departmental inspectors while schemes were being formulated. To secure departmental sanction, schemes were to be devised in accordance with a particular mode designed and issued by the Department. That procedure demanded that each technical instruction committee specify its geographical jurisdiction, in addition to its population and the sum of the rate levied in aid of the scheme. The chief industries of the locality were to be described, and the scheme in its objectives and syllabus was to correlate with the requirements of the industrial hinterland. Under the financial section, a detailed account of all 'Estimated Income and Expenditure' was required. Surplus or accumulated funds were not to be expended without the prior approval of the department. Regulations governing the administration of schemes insisted that no teacher be appointed without departmental approval, and that the minutes of each committee meeting be forwarded to central headquarters. Further, attendance registers were to be 'carefully, regularly and punctually marked'.

BALLYMENA

TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION SCHEME

1st August, 1903, to 31st July, 1904.

Chief Industries - Spinning, Weaving, Bootmaking, Coach-Building, Pork-curing, Shirt, Collar, and Cuff-making, Mining.

Population, 10,886. Valuation, £30,988.

Value of 1d. rate, £120, which will be paid to Committee on March 1st, 1904. Members of Committee: 5 Urban Councillors, 4 co-opted, total, 9.

I—*Objects of Scheme*

To seek to improve the industries of the neighbourhood by the establishment of a central school, in which are to be taught subjects which have a direct or indirect bearing on the welfare of the trades and industries of the town and district.

II—*School Premises*

The buildings recently acquired for Technical School premises are situated in Galgorm-street, and will when completed contain ten rooms, including a Chemical and Physical Laboratory, with Balance-room and store adjacent; a Carpenter's workshop, containing also textile machinery; one room for Principal's office and

board-room; one for Mechanical Drawing and Experimental Mechanics; one for Science lecture room; one for Plumbing and Modelling; one for Art, and one for Domestic Science, with Scullery adjoining.

III—*Subjects of Instruction*

1. *Technology* - Electrical Engineering, Wood-carving, Flax Spinning, Linen Weaving, Plumbers' work, Tailors' work, Lacemaking, Bootmaking, Carpentry and Joinery.

2. *Science and Art* - Mathematics, Magnetism and Electricity, Steam, Physiography, Machine Construction, Building Construction, Practical Plane and Solid Geometry, Mechanics, Chemistry, Hygiene, Freehand, Light and Shade, Model, Perspective, Geometrical Drawing, Memory Drawing of Plant Form, Modelling, Painting from Still Life.

3. *Domestic Economy* - Cookery, Laundry-work, Home Sewing, and Dressmaking.

4. *Commercial Subjects* - Commercial Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Shorthand, Typewriting, and French.

Control will be exercised over admission to classes, so that students may take only associated subjects, and admission to certain classes may be limited by entrance examinations, in order that the classes may be of manageable size, and that the pupils may be only those capable of taking full advantage of the instruction.

IV—*Staff*

The only teacher on the permanent staff is the Principal, who teaches Science and Technical subjects, including Mathematics, Magnetism and Electricity, Electric Lighting, Practical Geometry, Steam, Chemistry, Mechanics, Physiography, Elementary Science for Plumbers, Hygiene.

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GENERAL—*The Scheme requires:*

1. That schools aided under the scheme should be at all times open to the Department's Inspectors, who will from time to time visit and report on the efficiency, condition, and suitability of the school buildings and class-rooms; the character and quality of the instruction and the suitability of the subjects of instruction to the locality; the efficiency of the teaching staff for the number of students under instruction; the progress of the students, which they may ascertain in such a manner as may be necessary; the method of registration; and, generally, the carrying out of the scheme in

accordance with the Department's regulations.

2. That the managers should make accurate returns of such particulars as are asked for by the Department, and at the specified times.

3. That attendance registers should be carefully, regularly, and punctually marked.

4. That the Committee should furnish full particulars of the qualifications and experience of any teacher they propose to engage, and should obtain the Department's approval of the appointment in writing before the appointment is actually made.

5. That within a week of any meeting of the Committee, a copy of the minutes of proceedings of that meeting, as entered up in the minute book, should be furnished to the Department, and it is not to be understood that if a question is not raised on the minutes, the Department's sanction had been thereby obtained. When the Department's approval is required, it should be specifically asked for *in a separate communication.*

6. That expenditure not covered by this scheme be not incurred without the previous written approval of the Department. Such approval will not be given unless the proposals involving the expenditure have been submitted for the Department's sanction *before any liability is incurred.*

If the conditions laid down are not fulfilled, the Department may reduce the annual contribution to the scheme.

[*Third Annual General Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland; 1902-1903.* 1904 (Cd. 1509) xxi 261.]

V.20 Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, 1905.

In the summer of 1904 F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, two inspectors of the English Board of Education, were commissioned to survey Irish intermediate schools. In a broad-ranging frame of reference their brief included the co-ordination of the various levels of the educational system, staffing, accommodation, funding and teacher training. Though their time was short the survey was extensive and considered many aspects of the Irish educational system at the time.

The report, when presented, called for a number of significant reforms, a central coordinating authority, an inspectorate, abolition of payment by results and a teacher registration council.

Dale and Stephens were very obviously impressed with the efficiency of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction and reserved their most laudatory remarks for the cooperative manner in which both the

department and the Board of Intermediate Education combined in the science and manual programmes.

88. By these measures a genuine co-ordination has been effected in the working of the two Departments concerned. A single set of Rules and a single inspection serve the purpose of assessing the grants of both, and this avoidance of overlapping is in itself no small gain. Again, the greatest benefit has undoubtedly been derived from the unanimity with which both Departments have directed their influence to the re-establishment of Science and Art in the Intermediate Schools. The contrast with the conditions prior to 1900 may be seen by the following table:

Number of Secondary Schools possessing Laboratories in the various Provinces:

	Prior to 1900	*1904*
Ulster,	6	54
Munster,		58
Leinster,		88
Connaught,		14
Total,		214

The cost of the laboratories and appliances alone has been estimated by the Department for us at about £50,000; and this estimate does not include sums spent by Managers on any structural alterations of existing buildings for the purpose of science-teaching. That these expensive improvements have been carried out, as our enquiries showed, without friction and in so short a time is in itself a sufficient testimony to the tact of the Department's officers and the public spirit of the managers of the Intermediate schools.

89. The number of students offering Experimental Science and Drawing in the Intermediate examination of 1903 was no less than 5,950 – *viz.*, 4,576 boys and 1,374 girls; while the special grants made by the Department for the subject, which in 1902-3 amounted to £9,294 8s. 2d., rose in 1903-4 to £12,353 16s. 4d.

90. It is hardly possible to over-estimate the importance of this reform in Irish Education. For the first time in Ireland genuine instruction in Science and Drawing has been rendered possible, and the old methods of purely theoretical work, based solely, or almost solely on text-books and examination papers – work which was not merely futile in itself, but absolutely prejudicial to any proper grasp of scientific method – have been superseded by a system under which every student is forced to familiarise himself with the pro-

cedure of investigation by actual experiment. It would be superfluous to dwell on the educational gain involved; in every school that we visited where Science was being taught the teachers were unanimous in their application of the increased interest of the subject and the benefit to the scholars already won under the new conditions and syllabus. This verdict is the more satisfactory since the work is still in its initial stages. The novelty of the change and the lack of specially-trained teachers have hitherto prevented, and must for some years prevent, the full fruit of the reforms from being properly seen.

[*Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, H.M.I.s, Board of Education on Intermediate Education in Ireland.* 1905 (C. 2546) xxviii 709.]

V.21 Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, Canada, 1913.

Information obtained from 'Conversation' with Mr. George Fletcher, Asst. Secretary in respect of Technical Instruction, Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland.

The commissioners visited Ireland and were particularly interested in the work of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. T. P. Gill, the secretary of the department, and George Fletcher, the assistant secretary at the technical instruction branch, were interviewed. Both interviews were recorded and published in the report. While this was a remarkable, if not unique approach by the commissioners, the informality and openness of the 'Conversations' present an inside first hand account of the thinking of two of the department's principal officers. In addition the department's policies and administrative procedures are explained with clarity.

T. P. Gill recorded subsequently in his own notes that the administrative structure of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was adopted in Canada at a later date.

This Branch of the Department is concerned with the following operations: (1) Secondary Schools; (2) technical schemes in various urban centres and rural districts; (3) Central Institutions; (4) the policy in regard to industrial development.

When the Technical Instruction Act of 1899 was passed there was transferred to this Department the administration of the grant for Science and Art in Ireland, and also the administration of the grant-in-aid of technical instruction as defined by that Act. The South Kensington authorities had made grants to Secondary

Schools in Ireland before this Department came into existence. The Department inherited that power and right, and has exercised it to the full, and while it worked under the South Kensington regulations for several years, it was found that those regulations, unsuitable for Scotland and England, were still more so for Ireland; hence no time was lost in altering them.

The Department, recognizing that all Technical Education must be based on sound Primary and Secondary Education, endeavoured as one of their first steps in Technical Education, to reform the teaching of Science in the Secondary Schools of Ireland. An extremely small amount of science teaching was being done in the Secondary Schools when the Department established its programme. There was a programme of natural philosophy which did not involve any practical work whatever. It was tested solely by examination, and the number of students in the whole of Ireland had fallen down to something like 600 – a desperate condition of things when it is realized that there are very nearly 300 Secondary Schools.

SCIENCE TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The Department had a fairly clear course, because they had the power to make grants for the teaching of science in Secondary Schools; therefore they established a programme which has some very interesting fundamental principles. First of all the Department said to schools, 'We can make grants to you for the teaching of experimental science, but we require that the teaching shall be very practical in character, and that practical work shall be done by the scholars themselves. Mere demonstrations are insufficient. Therefore we cannot recognize a school which has not a fairly equipped laboratory for the teaching of science. Next, we require that teachers shall be trained to carry out this course, which shall be for four years. The first and second years, called the preliminary course, shall be quite fundamental in character, shall impress the elementary principles of physics, and must be taught practically. For the third and fourth years you may choose among the specialized subjects: physics, chemistry, mechanics, botany, or domestic economy for girls, drawing, or physiology or hygiene.'

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HOW TEACHERS WERE TRAINED

The difficulty of teachers then appeared. Teachers were admitted pretty freely to Summer Schools, and if they had not taken a

suitable course in some University or higher institution they were given special recognition after passing five sessions of summer courses. The fifth course might be a repetition of one of the courses gone through, or a special course in laboratory arts devised for the purpose of giving them some manual dexterity in making and mounting apparatus. These summer courses took in a large number of teachers, who were given travelling allowances and £3 10s. for personal expenses for the month. The students who attend at the Royal College of Science and the Metropolitan School of Art get this grant out of a parliamentary vote: but for all institutions outside those, the money comes out of the Department's Endowment Funds. There have been 500 or 600 Secondary School teachers every year in the summer courses, and as a result a very fair amount of training has been secured.

The Department decided to use the regular teachers for the science work in Secondary Schools. For Experimental Science and Drawing, three hours weekly are required. No school may take one without the other. The first and second year's course is fixed for the schools by the syllabus, and they all adopt this, although the Department allows them to draw up their own if they choose. One reason they are content with the syllabus is that they themselves have a voice in its revision.

ADVISORY COMMITTEE A SAFETY VALVE

There is an Advisory Committee of Head Masters, and when any great change in the regulations is proposed, the Department calls them together and discusses these things with them. Sometimes they propose alterations or reductions, but the Committee is exceedingly reasonable. Mr. Fletcher considered a Committee like this a most excellent affair, because changes, proposed as the result of experience in working, would be received very badly, and would cause passive resistance if not actual opposition, unless such changes commended themselves to the Head Masters.

CO-OPERATION OF INTERMEDIATE BOARD

Mr. Fletcher did not think they would have taken it up so generally if the Intermediate Board, which controls the Secondary Schools, had not worked in with the Department. As soon as the programme was published, the Intermediate Board passed a resolution adopting the Department's programme in place of their own programme of Natural Philosophy, and recognizing the Department's inspection in lieu of their own examination, so that the two

bodies worked together in the matter. The Department inspects for the National Board, and the latter adopt the inspectors' passes and failures as their own. Hence schools find it convenient and profitable to work on the Department scheme, and there is hardly a school in Ireland that is not using that scheme.

Grants which were originally about £1,000 a year have gone up to £28,000. A school might get from 30s. to £2 per head of pupils, depending upon its efficiency, the amount of time it devotes and the excellency of the teaching. Mr. Fletcher said there was no branch of the Department's work less known than this, yet, in his opinion, none more worthy of attention, because he believed that Ireland stood out almost unique, certainly among the countries of Europe, for this class of work. He knew it was not done so well in England or on the Continent, and he ventured to suggest that this would be found a most interesting and profitable line of enquiry.

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Another point of importance is that the Department deals directly with the Secondary Schools, and not with any local authority.

For the work done through the local authorities – county and urban committees – the sum of £55,000 is available, together with the proportion of the local rate, plus the Science and Art grant for Secondary Schools. When this work was begun, there were only two or three technical schools in all Ireland; now there are 50 or 60. These are managed by local committees with co-opted members. These committees had had no experience, as Ireland was very much behind either England or Scotland, where Technical Education took a great leap through the passing of the Local Instruction Act and the Technical Instruction Act in 1890-91, when the Beer and Spirit money was made available for Technical Education. The Irish equivalent was not given to technical education, but to intermediate and primary education, which at that time was perfectly justified, as there was no machinery for the former. The Local Government Act did not pass till 1898, so that from 1891 to 1901, practically, there were ten dead years in Ireland as related to technical instruction.

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HOW SCHEMES ARE FRAMED

These local Committees in Ireland had no experience in framing

schemes; but an Inspector from the Department discusses schemes with them, and these are adopted, submitted to the Board and approved, and the Committees go to work at once. To-day every county in Ireland has a Technical Instruction scheme. That of County Cork may be taken as typical: it includes advanced evening classes, day trade preparatory classes, technical classes and scholarships for girls, domestic economy day classes, instruction in manual work and domestic economy, preparatory course of instruction, and general conditions that come into all the schemes.

While very great use is made of examinations for the purpose of deciding on the qualifications of teachers, the Department believe they can find out what work is being done in a technical school by means of inspection better than by examinations, which are entirely abolished.

LOCAL RATES AND GRANTS

No grant is given in any county or town unless it raises a rate, and the Department is generally satisfied with a penny rate. The town of Pembroke raises twopence, and certain other towns raise more than a penny. The basis of distribution of the fund is this:— At the option of the Department the £55,000 may be divided into two portions, one portion available for the 6 county boroughs in Ireland, and the other for the rest of the country. The basis of allocation is this:— The Department, wishing to relieve any poor district of the consequence of poverty, decided to begin by making up its rate to £20 per thousand of population, so that no town would suffer from poverty in respect to the smaller amount raised by the rate; then the amounts are allocated on the rough basis of population, in some cases the principle being departed from for special reasons. That makes up the grant called the grant from Endowment. There is also the product from the rate; also the earnings from the Science and Art Department.

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ITINERANT CLASSES

From Mr. Fletcher's point of view a most important scheme is that of Instruction in Itinerant Classes. The Department set to work to train teachers in manual work and domestic economy, and in special courses, running over 8 months, trained some 80 young tradesmen, and those who passed their examinations were set to work in Counties, being given salaries commencing at £120 and

rising. These give their whole time. The principle is that different centres make application to the County Committee, who allocate instructors for courses extending for six weeks in daily classes. The course may be extended to three months if it is going on well, but the Department prefers a six weeks' course repeated the following year.

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DAY TRADES PREPARATORY SCHOOLS

The Day Trades Preparatory Schools form an entirely new type, organized by the Department. While a certain amount of English is kept on the programme, the subjects may be said to be Applied Drawing, Workshop Arithmetic, Experimental Science, Manual Instruction, with perhaps a little Commercial Instruction. These schools are worked mainly through local authorities, which send in an estimate of their probable expenses, and if approved, the Department pays three-quarters of the actual expenses as shown by vouchers, the other quarter being provided from local funds, consisting of the Department's grant plus local rates.

[*Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education (Canada).* Report of Commissioners (3 George V, Sessional Paper No. 191DA: 1913), 4 vols.]

V.22 Fifteenth Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, 1915.

The development of a system of technical education under the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was impeded by a number of obstacles some of which were quite persistent. The novelty of the enterprise, the acute shortage of finance, the lack of a building fund, the relative immaturity of local government structures, a thinly scattered rural population and a heterogeneous industrial framework, all combined to render its task more formidable. In addition there were the problems of inadequately prepared incoming pupils and inconsistent attendance. On the political front, the department was the object of hostility from that section of nationalist sympathisers who viewed it as a decoy to the Home Rule objective rather than a means towards it.

In its fifteenth annual report the department specifically highlighted these difficulties, most notably, preliminary education, attendance and school accommodation.

SCHOOL BUILDINGS

Attention is again called to the disadvantages experienced owing to the want of suitable school buildings in many centres. Although enormous improvements have been made in recent years, a number of centres still lack accommodation at all commensurate to the work being done and waiting to be done, and Inspectors report on the unsuitability of the provision for classes conducted by itinerant instructors in rural districts. So far as the larger centres are concerned it is clear that no building operations could in any case be undertaken before the end of the war, but much might be done in the case of rural classes by better organisation. While the work of organisation in urban centres is generally in the hands of teaching Principals, in many county areas it falls upon the Secretary of the committee. In some instances it is very well done but in many others it leaves much to be desired, and as opportunities occur it is very desirable that only those should be entrusted with the duties of organising technical education in a county area who have had some experience of teaching or of technical work, or of both, and that more assistance and encouragement should be extended to local centres to avail themselves of the advantages which it is the duty of the statutory committees to confer. Mr. McGann, in his report, speaks strongly of the defective accommodation at Mullingar, where technical classes are still conducted in the old jail, a place difficult of access and wholly unsuited to the work carried on. The committee and council have done their best, but the proposals for improvement must unfortunately be deferred for the present. Mr. McCaffery remarks that:

'Maryborough, though not an urbanised centre, has a young and thriving technical school, which necessitates the use of rooms in three widely separated buildings. The inconvenience arising from such a state of things, and the necessity for a central institution have led the committee to contemplate the erection of a new school adequate to the requirements of the town, and the plans are being prepared. In certain other towns in the Southern District accommodation intended solely for the use of technical classes has been secured, but in scarcely a single instance can it be claimed with a show of reason that such accommodation is adequate to the present needs of the urban centres concerned, whilst Clare, Waterford and South Tipperary, with such important centres as Ennis, Kilrush, Dungarvan, Carrick-on-Suir and Cashel have no accommodation meriting the title of technical school. Cork and North Tipperary are not so destitute as the counties just mentioned, but even in those

two counties the situation in regard to the provision of suitable accommodation is far from satisfactory. Generally speaking, committees have remained content to continue to allow their instructors to use the class-rooms of local primary and secondary schools which served the needs of students and instructors well enough in the early stages of the schemes, but which are less adapted to the requirements of the more highly organised schemes operating nowadays. In not a few cases the use of the class-rooms of secondary schools has become a source of embarrassment to instructors and indirectly militates seriously against the interests of the rural districts in the distribution of the benefits which should accrue to them from the Act. In permanent centres, *i.e.*, centres where technical classes are held perennially, it is important that committees should have the exclusive use of the premises in which their classes and equipment are housed. The need for such accommodation in developing schemes and operating them on sound and economic lines is second in importance only to the need for a Principal.'

PRELIMINARY EDUCATION

Current events have clearly emphasized the vital importance of technical education to this country. Its progress has been very marked during the last few years, but it is evident that every nerve must be strained to make it more efficient and more general. It would be well then to refer to some of the circumstances which retard progress. Attention has more than once been drawn to the fact that a large number of students offering themselves for instruction in Technical Schools are quite unable to avail themselves of the advantages conferred by such institutions owing to the extremely low standard of their general elementary education. To meet this difficulty, which has always been felt, the Department some years ago introduced into their programme for Technical Schools and Classes provision for an Introductory Course including English, Mathematics, and preparatory technical subjects. It was intended that this course should prepare students for the more specialised technical subjects which constitute the *raison d'être* of the Programme, but a very large number of students have not sufficient education to justify admission even to an Introductory Course, and this is, no doubt, due in a large measure to the fact that a large proportion of children leave the primary school before they have reached the Fifth Standard. A very large part of the population of the towns and cities is therefore entirely cut off from the instruction they so sorely need. Dr. Garrett in his report remarks that 'the evil

is naturally most pronounced in such towns as Sligo, where the compulsory clauses of the Education Act are not in operation; but even where the Act is in operation it requires strengthening to enable the evil to be met'.

ATTENDANCE IN TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

A second defect rests in the irregularity of attendance of students. The introduction of the Course System – which has, on the whole, resulted in a great improvement – and the increment grant for prolonged attendance, have done very much towards improving attendance, and in a few centres the attendance is extremely good, but it varies enormously from school to school. 'Thus', Dr. Garrett remarks, 'the attendance in the Dublin Technical School was in the main very irregular. Some 40 per cent. of the classes failed to make half the possible attendances, the corresponding percentage in Belfast being 7, and in Londonderry 26. This diversity is not confined to the county boroughs, but is apparent also in smaller centres. In such schools as Armagh, Banbridge, Ballymoney, Carrickfergus, and the county Antrim and county Londonderry Schools great regularity is maintained, while in others, such as Ballinasloe, Enniskillen, Galway, Navan, Newry, and Sligo, the attendance is dishearteningly irregular. The differences are by no means entirely due to differences in efficiency of instruction. They are partly due to local labour conditions, which often interfere with the attendance of students; partly to the fact that the desire for education varies from place to place, and partly to differences of organisation. The last-mentioned cause is probably the most important, and it is also the most easily remedied. Prize schemes which enable all Course students to obtain prizes who make upwards of 75 per cent. of the possible attendances, and who make serious effort to do home work, have had a potent effect in stimulating regularity. These schemes, though open to criticism from an educational point of view, are clearly of great value until the real advantages of the instruction become more widely recognised.' In this connection a matter calling for remark is that Technical Schools should open the session at an earlier date than is customary at present. Some of them can scarcely be said to be in regular working order before the end of October. There seems to be no reason why schools should not begin their operations in the first week in September.

[*Fifteenth Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) 1914/1915.* 1916 (Cd. 8299) iv 413.]

VI

University Education

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Ireland had one university, the University of Dublin, Trinity College.

By 1908 it had three universities – Trinity College, Queen's University, Belfast and the National University of Ireland. The demand for university education grew throughout the century and the problem of finding a 'solution' to the university question dominated national politics for fifty years.

In 1793 the Relief Act had opened Trinity College, Dublin, to non-anglicans and in 1795 Maynooth College had been founded to provide education for the Roman Catholic priesthood. In 1845 in an attempt to provide university education for a wider section of the population, Sir Robert Peel's government founded the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway. These 'godless colleges' were condemned by the Roman Catholic hierarchy and Catholic students were forbidden to attend. In 1854 the Catholic University of Ireland was founded with John Henry Newman as its first rector, but it was unable to obtain a charter.

In 1873 in a bold attempt to solve the university question Gladstone introduced a university bill to open the University of Dublin and create a single national university incorporating Trinity College, the three Queen's Colleges and a new Catholic college. The bill was strongly opposed and defeated, and Gladstone's government resigned. Later that year Fawcett's Act removed religious tests for all offices at Trinity College (save in the Divinity School which was still reserved for Anglicans).

In 1879 the Royal University of Ireland was set up as a compromise measure. It was an examining body only and students attending the Queen's Colleges and the Catholic University College in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, entered for its degrees. However attendance at a college was not essential (except for medical students) and numbers attending the Queen's Colleges declined. Since Royal University degrees were open to women, the 1879 Act did much to encourage the higher education of women.

In 1901 the Robertson Commission was established to consider all aspects of the university question except with regard to Trinity College, but the commissioners were divided in their recommendations. In 1906 the Fry Commission was set up to examine the position of Trinity College and the University of Dublin, but again the commissioners could not agree on a solution. Finally in 1908 Augustine Birrell, the Liberal chief secretary, successfully passed the Irish Universities Act which set up two new universities, the National University of Ireland and Queen's University, Belfast.

The National University consisting of University College Dublin, University College Cork and University College Galway was to be a 'university for Catholics' while Queen's College Belfast, elevated to become a full university, was to maintain its Protestant tradition. Trinity College and the University of Dublin remained unchanged.

VI.1 Charter of Trinity College Dublin, 1592.

The University of Dublin, Trinity College, was founded in 1591 as part of the Tudor monarchy's policy of colonization and therefore it was a Reformation foundation. It was to be 'a college for learning whereby knowledge and civility might be increased by the instruction of our people there'. The college was granted the site of the monastery of All Hallows 'near Dublin', and was to be called 'Collegium Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis juxta Dublin a serenissima Regina Elizabetha fundatum'.

The 1592 Charter defined the college as 'unum Collegium matrem Universitatis' and therefore Trinity College was both a college and a university and so was empowered to appoint university officers and to award degrees. The college built up its size and reputation in the eighteenth century and developed a campus of fine buildings. In the nineteenth century a controversy arose as to whether the University of Dublin could be separated from Trinity College and other colleges founded within it. Trinity College claimed that a new charter would be necessary if its status was to be changed.

The following is a summary, in English, of the 1592 Charter of Trinity College, Dublin:

By this Charter it is enacted,

I. That a College be erected in a place called *Allhallowes* near Dublin, for the education, institution, and instruction of youths and students in arts and faculties, to endure for ever.

II. That it be called COLLEGIUM SANCTAE ET INDIVIDUAE TRINITATIS JUXTA DUBLIN A SERENISSIMA REGINA ELIZABETHA FUNDATUM.

III. That it consist of one Provost and three fellows in the name of more, and of three scholars in the name of more.

IV. That the first Provost be Adam Loftus, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland. The first fellows, Henry Ussher, A.M. (Archdeacon of Dublin), Luke Challoner, A.M., and Lancellot Moyne or Monie, A.B.; and the first scholars, Henry Lee, William Daniell, and Stephen Whyte.

V. That the said Provost, Fellows, and Scholars, and their successors for ever be a body corporate, under the name of *the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College of the Holy Trinity, founded by Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin,* and that they and their

successors be by that name capable to purchase, take and possess any manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments to them and their successors for ever, either from the Queen, her heirs or successors, or from any other person, for their support and maintenance, to the yearly value of £400, notwithstanding any statutes of mortmain (so as such lands be not held of the crown immediately in capite in demesne or service), and that they may sue and be sued, implead or be impleaded, by such name in all causes and actions, real, personal, and mixed, in all courts temporal or spiritual in Ireland or elsewhere; and further, that they have a common seal for transacting their business.

VI. That upon any vacancy of the Provostship by death, departure, resignation, deprivation, or otherwise, the fellows and their successors, or the majority of them, be empowered to elect another fit Provost, within three months after such vacancy. And likewise, on the vacancy of any Fellowship or Scholarship, that the Provost and the remaining Fellows, or the majority of them, may elect one to succeed within two months after the vacancy.

VII. That the Provost and Fellows of the said College may make, constitute, and confirm, from time to time, such laws, statutes, and ordinances, as to them may seem meet for the government of the College; and may choose from the statutes of Oxford or Cambridge such as they shall judge proper for their purpose, and especially that no body else should profess or teach the liberal arts in any other place in Ireland without the Queen's special licence.

VIII. That the students of this College be admitted to the degrees of Bachelors, Masters, and Doctors, in all arts and faculties in the proper time after their admission. Provided that, when the Fellows of the College shall have completed seven years in their office from the time of their taking the degree of Master of Arts, they shall be displaced from their Fellowships, and others be elected in their room for the benefit of the kingdom and the Church.

IX. William Cecil, Baron of Burghley, Lord Treasurer of all England, was appointed by the patent first Chancellor of the University; but it was provided that for the time to come the Chancellor should be nominated by the Provost and the majority of the Fellows. It was also enacted, that the Chancellor or his Vice-Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, the Vice-Treasurer, the Treasurer at War, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and the Mayor of the City of Dublin, all for the time being, or the major part of them, shall be visitors, and shall determine all strifes, actions, and controversies arising in the College, which the Provost and majority of the Fellows cannot

compose, and shall have power to punish all *'graviora delicta'*, which the Provost and Fellows have left unpunished.

X. That for obtaining all Degrees among themselves they shall have liberty to perform all acts, and scholastic exercises, in such manner as the Provost and major part of the Fellows shall think fit; and that for this purpose they may elect all necessary officers, whether Vice-Chancellor, or Proctors.

XI. Full liberty was given to all the Queen's subjects and officers to grant such aids for the better constituting, maintaining, and supporting the College as they should think proper.

XII. And lastly, that all the goods, chattels, lands, tenements, and hereditaments belonging to the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the College should be for ever exempted from all burdens, taxes, tallages, cesses, subsidies, exactions, compositions or demands whatsoever, either in time of war or peace.

[*Dublin University Calendar*, 1833, pp. 26-29.]

VI.2 Foundation of Maynooth College, 1795.

In 1794, the Roman Catholic bishops, lead by Archbishop Troy of Dublin, petitioned the government to found a seminary for the training of Catholic priests in Ireland. The advent of the French Revolution had forced the closure of seminaries on the continent to which Irish priests had been accustomed to travel. The government, fearful of the spread of revolutionary ideas and anxious to place the training of the Catholic clergy under its control, agreed to found a seminary and Maynooth College was established in 1795 by act of parliament. The college, funded by the state, was to provide for the education of Catholic students only and the majority of the trustees were Catholic bishops. Although initially both clerical and lay students were admitted, after 1817 Maynooth became exclusively a seminary and it grew to be the centre of Catholic theological studies in Ireland.

ACT of INCORPORATION, intituled, 'An Act for the better Education of Persons professing the Popish or Roman Catholic Religion'.

Whereas by the laws now in force in this Kingdom, it is not lawful to endow any College or Seminary for the education exclusively of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and it is now become expedient that a Seminary should be established for that purpose; BE it therefore Enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords

Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the Right honourable John Viscount Fitzgibbon, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Right honourable John Earl of Clonmel, Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench in Ireland, the Right honourable Hugh Lord Carleton, Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas in Ireland, and the Right honourable Barry Yelverton, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, and the Chancellor, or Lord Keeper, Chief Justices, and Chief Baron of the said Courts for the time being, together with Arthur James Plunkett, commonly called Earl of Fingall, Jenico Preston, commonly called Viscount Gormanstown, Sir Thomas Browne, baronet, commonly called Viscount Kenmare, Sir Edward Bellew, baronet, Richard Strange, of the city of Dublin, esquire, Sir Thomas French, baronet, the Reverend Richard O'Reilly, of Drogheda, doctor in divinity, the Reverend John Thomas Troy, of the city of Dublin, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Thomas Bray, of Thurles, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Boetius Egan, of Tuam, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Patrick Joseph Plunkett, of Navan, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Philip MacDavett, of Strabane, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Francis Moylan, of Cork, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Gerald Tehan, of Killarney, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Daniel Delany, of Tullow, doctor in divinity, the Reverend Edmond French, of Athlone, doctor in divinity, and the Reverend Thomas Hussey, of the city of Dublin, doctor in divinity, and the persons to be hereafter elected, as by this Act is directed, shall be Trustees for the purpose of establishing, endowing and maintaining one Academy for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion; and that the said Trustees shall have full power and authority to receive subscriptions and donations to enable them to establish and endow an Academy for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and to purchase and acquire lands not exceeding the annual value of one thousand pounds, and to erect and maintain all such buildings as may be by the said trustees deemed necessary for the lodging and accommodation of the President, Masters, Professors, Fellows and Students who shall from time to time be admitted into or reside in such Academy.

2. And be it Enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for any Popish ecclesiastic to officiate in a chapel or building, to be appointed for that purpose by the said Trustees, or any seven or more of them; any law, statute or provision to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. And be it further Enacted, That it shall and may be lawful for the said Trustees, or any seven or more of them, to appoint one President and so many Masters, Fellows, Professors and Scholars on the foundation, and ministers, servants and assistants of and in the said Academy, with such pensions, salaries, exhibitions, wages and allowances as to them shall seem fit; and also to make such bye-laws, rules, regulations and statutes for the government of the said Academy, and for the education and government of all such persons to be on the foundation thereof, or to be educated therein, and for the appointment and election of a President, Masters, Fellows, members and officers of the said Academy, as to the trustees, or any seven or more of them shall seem meet: Provided that the same shall not be contrary to law.

4. Provided always, That all such bye-laws, rules, regulations and statutes not affecting the exercise of the Popish or Roman Catholic religion, and the religious discipline thereof, be laid before the Lord Lieutenant, or Chief Governor of this Kingdom, and shall be binding and valid, unless such Lord Lieutenant or Chief Governor shall disapprove thereof in one month from the time when such bye-laws shall be laid before such Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor respectively.

5. And be it further Enacted, That the said Trustees, or any seven or more of them, shall have the superintendence and visitorial power over the said Academy, and over all persons on the foundation, or educated therein.

6. And be it Enacted, That the said Trustees shall and may assemble within one month after the passing of this Act, at such time and place as shall be appointed by any seven or more of said trustees, by writing under their hands, and shall at such their first meeting, make such rules and regulations for their assembling in future as to them shall seem expedient; and that the acts of the trustees so assembled at the said first meeting, or the major part of them, and of the trustees to be duly assembled at any future meeting, or the major part of them, shall be binding on and be deemed the act of all the said trustees.

7. And be it Enacted, That so often as a vacancy shall happen by the death, removal or resignation of the said Trustees or any of them (save the said Chancellor or Lord Keeper, Chief Justices, and Chief Baron of the said courts), the said Trustees shall at their meeting elect a person being a natural-born subject of His Majesty, to fill such vacancy.

8. Provided always, and be it Enacted, That no person professing the Roman Catholic religion, shall act as a Trustee to the said

Academy, and that no person shall act as a President of the said Academy; and that no person shall act as a Master, Fellow, Professor, Teacher or Tutor, or enjoy any place on the foundation of the said Academy, or be otherwise admitted into the same as a student, officer or servant, until he shall have taken and subscribed the oath appointed by the Act passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of His Majesty's reign, intituled, 'An Act to enable His Majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him'.

9. Provided always, That it shall not be lawful to receive into, or educate or instruct in the said Academy, any person professing the Protestant religion, or whose father professed the Protestant religion; and that any President, Master, Professor or Teacher, who shall instruct any person in the said Academy, professing the Protestant religion, shall remain liable to such pains and penalties, as he would have been liable to, before the passing of this Act.

10. And whereas by an Act of Parliament, passed this session of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act for securing the payment of the Annuities, and of the interest upon the principal sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of such principal sums in such manner as therein is directed, and for enabling the officers of His Majesty's Treasury to receive certain sums for a limited time, in manner therein mentioned, and for granting to His Majesty a certain sum of money out of the Consolidated Fund, and for applying a certain sum of money therein mentioned, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five', a sum not exceeding two million four hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred pounds sixteen shillings and nine-pence farthing, is granted to His Majesty for the service of the present year; Be it Enacted, That any sum or sums of money, not exceeding eight thousand pounds, part of the said sum of two million four hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred pounds sixteen shillings and nine-pence farthing, shall and may be issued and paid by the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, or any three or more of them, towards establishing the said Academy.

11. And be it Enacted, That all sum and sums of money, from time to time issued and paid out of His Majesty's Treasury, on account of the said sum of eight thousand pounds, shall be paid to the Trustees by this Act constituted, or to any seven or more of them, and shall be accounted for before the Commissioners of Imprest Accounts.

[35 Geo. 3. c. 21.]

VI.3 Foundation of the (Royal) Belfast Academical Institution, 1810.

The Belfast Academical Institution was founded in 1810. The city 'was the focal point of Irish presbyterianism and its leading citizens were deeply concerned about the absence of any local alternative to the Scottish universities for the education of the presbyterian clergy. They aspired to a local seminary, not only for this purpose but also to end the exodus of Ulster students to the medical schools of Scotland, and to a lesser extent of Dublin'.[1]

The institution therefore contained a collegiate as well as a school department and it provided higher education in addition to ordinary school subjects. There were six professorships in the collegiate department and the school was divided into four separate departments each with its own headmaster. Religious instruction was taught separately and the institution was non-denominational, accepting students of all creeds. In the 1820s the collegiate department became the centre of a controversy between the orthodox and the non-subscribing presbyterians and it was closed in the 1840s. In 1853 the General Assembly of the presbyterian church in Ireland established the Assembly's theological college in Belfast and its students received their secular arts education at the newly established Queen's College, Belfast. Later, in 1865, Magee College, Londonderry, was opened as a Presbyterian foundation to try to provide an integrated arts and theological education.

1. T. W. Moody and J. C. Beckett, *Queen's, Belfast, 1845-1949; the history of a university*, London, 1959, Vol. 1, p. xliv.

Belfast Academical Institution

THE Plan and Objects of this Institution cannot be more clearly set forth than in the words of Circular Address, issued by a Committee of Subscribers in December 1808, entitled:

A STATEMENT of the Origin and Proceedings of the BELFAST ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION since its commencement.

The formation of literary Institutions in various parts of the United Kingdom having been found highly conducive to the dissemination of useful knowledge, a desire has been for some time very generally expressed, that this part of the kingdom should partake of these advantages by means of an Institution founded on similar principles. The want of such a Seminary has long been felt in the north of Ireland, and is still demonstrated by the annual resort of Irish Students to the Scotch Colleges. Notwithstanding the expenses attending such a journey, they have been found much less than those attending one to the capital of this part of the kingdom.

The children of the wealthier classes alone in Ulster have been able to avail themselves of the advantage of a liberal education in the Dublin University, while no mode whatsoever has been provided for disseminating that species of knowledge so necessary for the lower classes, who are engaged in manufactures, mechanics, or agriculture. While the province was thus unprovided with the means of attaining the higher branches of science, the increasing population of the country made the want of primary Schools be as severely felt.

It was therefore thought by the friends of literature, that an Establishment, comprising both, would be highly useful, as well to the immediate neighbourhood of Belfast, as to the Province at large. By this combination the progress of science would be extended among the higher ranks, and a number of teachers would also be brought forward at a cheap rate, who would diffuse knowledge among the lower classes.

In pursuance of these intentions, an application was made by a number of the most respectable inhabitants of Belfast, and its vicinity, to the Marquess of Donegall for his approbation, and a grant in perpetuity of a suitable lot of ground for the necessary buildings. This application was immediately acceded to in the fullest manner, and a lot of more than four acres, in a central and advantageous situation, was assigned by his Lordship to trustees for the uses of the Institution.

In consequence, a meeting of its friends was held on the 1st of August 1807, at which a Committee was appointed to draw up a Plan for the future regulation of all its departments. This Plan was laid before a second meeting held on the 22nd of September following, and after some discussion adopted and published.

In this Plan, it is proposed to form two Schools, one for the Education of Children intended for the learned Professions; the other for those whose future pursuits do not necessarily require a knowledge of the learned languages; also, to found Lectureships, to which young men might be admitted, after having finished the common course of school learning, either in the Seminaries of the Institution, or elsewhere, and in which they might proceed through a regular series of studies, at the termination of which, they might be furnished with a stock of knowledge equal to what is generally deemed necessary for engaging in any of the professions to which they may have been destined. In addition to those lectures that require a previous regular course of studies, it is proposed to have others of a general and popular kind, in the sciences more intimately connected with agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, from which persons wishing to gain information on any of these subjects may derive instruction, though they had not received the

rudiments of a liberal education.

Although the prospectus takes no notice of the religious part of education, it is the intention of the Institution to admit professors of Divinity, and to afford them suitable accommodations, on an application from any Ecclesiastical Body.

With respect to the internal economy of the Society, the amount of the subscription requisite to entitle a subscriber to interfere in the management, or to hold any of the places of trust, was finally fixed, so as to preclude the possibility of the management falling into the hands of a few individuals; and to guard more effectually against this evil, the privileges of subscribers were made hereditary.

The government of the Institution is entrusted to a President, four Vice Presidents, twenty Managers, and eight Visitors, the whole chosen by the proprietors at large; one-fourth of the Vice Presidents, Managers and Visitors, vacating their seats annually. The President and Managers, with the assistance of the Visitors, appoint Masters and Professors, and regulate the whole of the internal economy of the Institution.

At this meeting, the Marquess of Donegall was chosen President for life, and a Committee appointed for collecting subscriptions. The universal wish for the establishment of such a Seminary now became manifest; upwards of £10,000 was subscribed in fourteen days, principally in the town and its immediate vicinity. The subscribers, though not including every individual whose circumstances authorized them to devote part of their property to useful public purposes, yet comprised a great majority, and was supported with equal liberality by persons of every rank and description.

The Committee at the same time employed themselves in circulating prospectuses, and in endeavouring to procure the patronage of persons of rank and influence through the country. The result has been almost universally favourable.

The subscriptions having now amounted to upwards of £14,000, a sum deemed sufficient to commence the execution of the design, a General Meeting of the Subscribers was held on the 4th of February 1808, for the election of the officers in whom the direction of its affairs was to be invested. As, since the publication of the prospectus, several persons of high rank and literary talents had subscribed, it was then resolved, that the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Dromore and Down, should be elected Honorary Visitors, admissible to all the privileges vested in that Board by the rules of the Institution.

[*Fourth report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*. H. C. 1826-27 (89) xiii.]

VI.4 Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, 1835 (Evidence of Rev. R. J. Bryce, principal of the (Royal) Belfast Academy).

Although by the Relief Act of 1793 all religious tests, save of the offices of provost, fellows, professors and scholars, were abolished in Trinity College, and Roman Catholic and non-conformist students were free to attend and to be awarded degrees, Trinity College remained largely a wealthy Anglican preserve. The provision of alternative university education for Roman Catholics and non-conformists remained a key issue, and in 1835 the select committee on foundation schools, chaired by Thomas Wyse, M.P., recommended that a system of secondary schools and third-level provincial colleges should be set up to provide a wider access to higher education. There was to be an academy in each county which would meet the needs of the middle classes. The curriculum was to include both scientific and literary subjects. Modern languages, geography and history were to be taught in addition to the classics. The four higher level provincial colleges would prepare students for professional and business careers as well as university entrance. Both the county academies and the provincial colleges were to be non-denominational and maintained by the grand juries of each province and county under the supervision of a state board of education. One of the leading witnesses who gave evidence before the committee was Rev. Reuben John Bryce, principal of the (Royal) Belfast Academy, and his ideas had an important influence on the report.

QUESTION:

If you were entrusted with the formation and establishment of a system of Education for Ireland, which should embrace all classes of society, from the son of the mechanic to the son of the man of independent fortune, with the view of fitting them for their future probable course of life, whether in trade or manufactures or agriculture or the learned professions, what course would you propose, taking into consideration the separation of the classes of society and their relative means of procuring education?

ANSWER:

The principles by which I should be guided are the following: First, that a good system of education for the poor, as distinct from the rest of the people, never can exist. The proof of this position is contained in a pamphlet which I published about seven years ago, entitled, 'Sketch of a Plan for a System of National Education for Ireland'. The second principle is, that education will probably at last support itself, though some sacrifice of public money is probably necessary in the mean time to accelerate its improvement.

Thirdly, the great thing which is wanted for the improvement of education, and that which the spontaneous influence of competition and discussion would be the slowest to supply, is a large body of well qualified teachers; and by well qualified teachers I mean, men possessing solid general information, high mental culture, and skill in the practice of the profession; that is, skill in the art of communicating knowledge and of managing the mind and forming moral habits and intellectual tastes; therefore I should conceive, that to furnish a large supply of such teachers, and to open inducements for them to enter into the profession, by showing them, through the profession, a way to honourable, influential and profitable situations, is the first and most important object to which public money should be applied. These being the principles, the *measures* which I would suggest, if I am to give a beau ideal of a system of public instruction, are the following: I would found a professorship of the science of education in the University of Dublin, and induce, not force, that body to adopt some other improvements. I would assist one or both of the Belfast seminaries in completing the system of education which they already give, and making it equal to that of an university. I would erect, in Limerick, Sligo and Cork, universities on the plan of the Scotch and German universities, and the plan of the Belfast seminaries: the work of teaching should be done by professors, not by tutors, as in the English colleges, not excluding however the assistance of tutors in certain cases, but the main burthen of teaching should rest upon the professor; and the principle of division of labour should be introduced. These seminaries should further resemble those of Belfast, in containing a number of schools as well as university classes, so that the same institution should furnish every means of education, from the infant school up to the highest department of an university. I would take care to have in each of those seminaries a Principal, an individual Head, directly responsible to the public, who should, if possible, be the professor of education. I would accomplish those objects successively, not simultaneously, in order that a sufficient number of well qualified competitors for the new situations might be procured; because, if we establish all those seminaries at once, we must be contented with an inferior set of masters and professors; and it would also be desirable, that the experience acquired in erecting one seminary, should be made available in the establishment of the next. Some mistake might be committed, which would not be detected, till the practical working had gone on for some years, and that mistake might be avoided in the next. I would create some sort of degree or diploma, which each

of those universities should give to teachers, in the same way as a degree or diploma is now given to the practitioners of medicine. I would not by law forbid a person not having this diploma to teach, because I would calculate, that the public would soon see the advantage of having such teachers, and would therefore come to expect a diploma or a degree for teaching, just as they now do for medicine. Whatever public money should be given to each of those seminaries, I would require that the seminary should give value for this money to the public, by educating, free of expense, so many persons intended to be teachers, as would be a fair return for the sum expended; and I would have the persons who should receive this free education chosen by competition, from among the children of the schools in a certain district surrounding the town where the university is to be founded. I would announce, for example, that an examination of such persons already teachers or desirous of becoming teachers, residing in a certain parish or barony or county, as choose to come forward, will be held at a certain place, on a certain day, and that a certain number of free tickets for education at such a university, will be given as prizes to those who shall show the best acquaintance with certain subjects of examination, to be specified in the programme. I would take every precaution to secure an impartial decision; and perhaps a few exhibitions or bursaries, to assist in supporting some at least of the winners of the prizes, in the course of their future education, might be added. In most instances, however (and I speak of this also from experience, because I have seen the thing tried), I think that if the education were given without expense, it would be an inducement to the parents of such young persons, or to young persons themselves, to make exertions to support themselves while receiving their education, which they would not otherwise have thought of making. I would not make those prizes permanent; I mean to say, I would not make an arrangement that a certain number of such persons should always be thus educated, because I think the establishment of free teaching from generation to generation, in that way, would be liable to abuse; but in the present condition of Ireland it would be desirable to give an artificial stimulus to set a-going that sort of education. Then, at the same time that I commenced the establishment and improving of the universities, I would encourage the formation of schools of a higher kind, for the education of the upper and middle classes, and endeavour to introduce improvements into such schools of this kind as at present exist. Those improvements should be, *in the first place,* throwing them more open to competition among teachers, so that the

lucrative situations should be a stimulus to those that are employed in the lower rank of teaching; *secondly,* enlarging the course of instruction in such schools; *thirdly,* improving the methods of instruction and government; and, *fourthly,* reforming the constitutions, so as to prevent the abuse of literary patronage. And I would encourage the formation of such schools in all varieties of ways: I would encourage those which might be established as matter of public spirit and public benevolence, the subscribers seeking no advantage to themselves; I would encourage the formation of joint stock companies for schools, in which the shareholders should receive the interest of their money; and I would encourage the formation of schools, in which there should be remuneration given to subscribers, not in money, but in the power of nominating pupils to free tuition, or to tuition at reduced rates, so as to try the effect of every possible variety of constitution. I would not exclude even the mode of giving a power to the inhabitants of the barony or the county to assess themselves for the purpose of establishing a seminary; but I would first wait for some years to see how far the method of subscription and the other means would be sufficient to supply the wants. I would give every sort of direction and assistance with regard to the constitution and internal arrangement of those schools; and I would suggest the appointment of two or more masters for separate departments, the number of masters to be determined by the expected number of pupils, upon the principle that the division of labour always must be limited by the extent of the market. I would pass a general Act of Parliament, enabling such societies and institutions to be incorporated by some simple and cheap process, so as to avoid the necessity of a charter or an Act of Parliament incorporating each. I would make it a fundamental rule of all seminaries to which the Government should give any advantage, either pecuniary aid or the facility of incorporation, that no person should be eligible to a professorship or mastership, who had not obtained one of the diplomas, certifying to his skill in teaching, which I mentioned in a former part of this answer; that is, I would take care that the seminaries on which Government bestowed anything, should not employ such persons; but I would not prohibit such persons from teaching, if any other persons chose to employ them. The first set of professors and masters in each of the universities should be appointed, generally speaking, in whole or in part, by a Government Board; in whole, if the expense be wholly or chiefly borne by government; in part, if the expense be partly borne by the town or the surrounding district. The power of electing to professorships which should be afterwards founded,

would of course require to be determined at the time of the foundation of each new professorship. The filling up of vacancies I would give, I am inclined to think, principally to the body of professors, care being taken to guard against abuse in this respect by not granting such power, unless where the number of professors is considerable. If there were a small number of professors, they would probably be disposed to club the thing amongst themselves and appoint their own relatives; if there be a large number of professors, deriving their emoluments chiefly from the fees of students, there is no danger of such a result. The plan of encouraging the foundation of such schools for the middle and higher classes of society, I would carry as far down in the scale as possible; and if it were found that the effect of thus giving prizes for the higher departments of education was not sufficient to stimulate young men to enter into the profession of teaching, and to be content with a very small income, while teaching among the poorer classes, I would then be guided by experience in deciding to what extent it might be necessary to go in expending public money in the direct endowment of schools for the poorest class of society. I am firmly persuaded, however, that little or no endowment of the kind would be necessary; that men of the highest literary and intellectual qualifications would be found willing to undertake the instruction of children of the lowest classes, just as we now find men of the highest attainments as physicians willing to begin their professional career by practising among the poor, knowing that by doing their duty there, they cannot fail to rise, in process of time, to obtain more lucrative employment. In short, I am firmly persuaded, that no endowment would be required; but I would put this opinion to the test of experience, and if not borne out by experience, I would at once abandon it, and retreat upon endowments. I think that to refuse a fair trial to this principle, which I maintain to be both cheaper and more effective, would be to waste the public money and trifle with the public interest. In the mean time, while that trial is going on, I would keep up something like the present system of education; that is to say, providing schools in part at the public expense for the poorer classes of society; and I should expect, that every year, the expense of supporting those schools for the poor would be gradually diminished, and that in the course of 10 or 12 years it might altogether cease, and the education of the poor be in a much better condition than it is at present. I would not change violently and suddenly from the endowing system to the spontaneous; I would make the one pass into the other gradually.

[*Report from Select Committee on Foundation Schools.* H.C. 1836 (630) xiii.]

VI.5 Colleges (Ireland) Act, 1845.

In an attempt to extend the provision of university education in Ireland, Sir Robert Peel's Conservative government introduced the Colleges Bill in 1845. Earlier that year Peel had passed successfully the Maynooth Act which gave the Roman Catholic seminary a large capital building grant and an increased annual grant. Peel considered that he now had sufficient support to tackle the university question.

The bill proposed that three Queen's Colleges, one each at Belfast, Cork and Galway, be established which were to be non-denominational and state funded. The staff would be appointed by the Crown but there was to be no state endowment for theological teaching which could be endowed by private sources. The colleges were to be non-residential, the fees low, and generous scholarships provided.

The bill caused bitter controversy. It was opposed by Daniel O'Connell but supported by the Young Irelanders, including Thomas Davis, who considered that the provision of 'mixed' university education for Catholics and Protestants would bring increased religious harmony to the country. The Roman Catholic hierarchy were opposed to the 'godless colleges' which were considered unsuitable for the education of Roman Catholics and the bishops sought to have amendments made to the scheme which would have given the Church more control. Peel however refused to concede to any of their requests and the bill was eventually passed. The three Queen's Colleges opened in 1849 and the Queen's University was established in 1850 as the degree awarding authority.

The following is an extract from the Colleges (Ireland) Act of 1845:

For the better advancement of learning among all classes of her majesty's subjects in Ireland, be it enacted by the queen's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that in case her majesty shall be pleased by letters patent, under the great seal of Ireland, to found one or more new colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland, the commissioners of her majesty's treasury of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland for the time being shall be empowered, by warrant under the hands of any three or more of them, to charge the consolidated fund of the said United Kingdom (after providing for all preceding charges, and in preference to all future charges), and to direct to be issued or paid thereout, such sum of money as shall be needed by the trustees hereinafter mentioned for purchasing or providing lands, tenements, and hereditaments for the use of such college or colleges, and for the necessary buildings, with the appurtenances thereof, and for establishing and furnishing the same, nor exceeding the sum of one hundred thousand pounds in the whole.

. . . . . .

X. Provided always, and be it enacted, that no college shall be entitled to the benefit of this act, or deemed to be within the provisions thereof, unless it be declared and provided, in and by the letters patent constituting such college, that the visitor or visitors of the said college shall be such person or persons as it shall please her majesty, her heirs and successors, from time to time to appoint, by any warrant or warrants under the sign manual, to execute the office of visitor; and that all the statutes, rules, and ordinances concerning the government and discipline of such colleges shall be made or approved by her majesty, her heirs and successors; and that the president, vice-president, and professors shall hold their several offices during the pleasure of her majesty, her heirs and successors; and that the sole power of appointing the president and vice-president shall be vested in her majesty, her heirs and successors; and that the power of appointing the professors shall be vested in her majesty, her heirs and successors, until the end of the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, and afterwards as shall be otherwise provided by parliament, or in default of any provision to the contrary, in her majesty, her heirs and successors.

XI. And be it enacted, that all the statutes, rules, and ordinances which shall be made or approved from time to time by her majesty, her heirs and successors, concerning the government and discipline of the said colleges, respectively, which shall be in force at the beginning of every session of parliament, and which shall not have been before that time laid before parliament, shall from time to time, within six weeks after the beginning of every such session, be laid before both houses of parliament by one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state.

XII. And be it enacted, that the said commissioners of her majesty's treasury shall be empowered, by warrant under the hands of any three or more of them, to charge the said consolidated fund of the said United Kingdom (after providing for all preceding charges, but having preference for all future charges), and to direct to be issued or paid thereout by four equal quarterly payments, on the fifth day of January, the fifth day of April, the fifth day of July, and the tenth day of October in every year, such sums of money as shall be needed for defraying the several stipends which shall be by her majesty appointed to be paid to the president and vice-president and to such professors in the several faculties of arts, law, and physic as shall be from time to time established by her majesty, her heirs and successors, and to the bursar, registrar, librarian, and

other office bearers and servants in each of the said colleges, and for defraying the expenses of such prizes and exhibitions as shall be by her majesty, her heirs and successors, awarded for the encouragement and reward of students in each of the said colleges, not exceeding in any one year the sum of seven thousand pounds for every such college, or the sum of twenty-one thousand pounds in the whole, the first instalment for each college to become due and payable on such of the said quarterly days of payment as shall first happen next after the grant of the letters patent for the establishment of such college.

XIII. And be it declared and enacted, that it shall be lawful for the professors in each of the said colleges, in addition to the stipends with which they shall be so respectively endowed, to demand and receive from the students in the said colleges such reasonable fees for attendance on their lectures, and for the bursar of the college to collect from the said students, on behalf of the said college, such reasonable fees for matriculation and other collegiate proceedings as shall be from time to time provided by the statutes, rules, and ordinances so to be made or approved by her majesty, her heirs and successors, as aforesaid.

XIV. And for the better enabling every student in the said colleges to receive religious instruction according to the creed which he professes to hold, be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for the president and professors, or other governing body of each of the said colleges which shall be constituted in and by the said letters patent, to assign lecture-rooms within the precincts of such college, wholly or in part, for the use of such religious teachers as shall be recognized by such governing body, subject in each case to the approval of her majesty, her heirs and successors, and also subject to the like approval, to make rules concerning the days and times when such religious instruction shall be given therein, and for securing that the same shall not interfere with the general discipline of the college; provided always, that no student shall be compelled by any rule of the college to attend any theological lecture or religious instruction other than is approved by his parents or guardians, and that no religious test shall be administered to any person in order to entitle him to be admitted a student of any such college, or to hold any office therein, or to partake of any advantage or privilege thereof; but this proviso shall not be deemed to prevent the making of regulations for securing the due attendance of the students for divine worship at such church or chapel as shall be approved by their parents or guardians, respectively.

XV. And for the better government of the students in the said

colleges, be it enacted, that no student shall be allowed to continue in any of the said colleges unless he shall dwell with his parent or guardian, or with some near relation or friend selected by his parent or guardian, and approved by the president of the college or with a tutor or master of a boarding-house licensed by the president of the college as hereinafter provided, or in a hall founded and endowed for the reception of students and recognized by the college as hereinafter provided.

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XX. And be it enacted, that every such college which shall be established and endowed under this act shall once at least in every year, and also whenever her majesty's pleasure shall be signified in that behalf, report to her majesty their proceedings; and a copy of every such report shall be laid before both houses of parliament within six weeks after the same shall have been made, if parliament be then sitting, or if not, then within six weeks next after the next meeting of parliament.

XXI. And be it enacted, that this act may be amended or repealed by any act to be passed in this session of parliament.

[*An act to enable her majesty to endow new colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland.* 8 & 9 Vict., c. 66, 31 July, 1845.]

VI.6 Memoranda of subjects for the consideration of the Board of the Queen's Colleges, 1846.

In January 1846 a joint Board of Colleges consisting of the newly appointed presidents and vice-presidents of the Queen's Colleges met in Dublin under the chairmanship of Sir Robert Kane, president of Queen's College, Cork. The task of the board was to plan the college courses, appoint the staff and create a common university structure to combine the colleges.

Memoranda drawn up by the Home Secretary, Graham, and presented to be read at the first meeting of the board, showed clearly the objectives of the government in founding the colleges. While the undergraduate course in arts still would be regarded as the foundation of a sound general degree, it was recommended that the Board should introduce into the curriculum 'those branches of modern literature and science now essential to be known by every well-educated man'. There were to be professional courses offered not only in the traditional areas of law and medicine, but also in 'those branches of practical and applied science upon which the

subsistence of the people and the well-being of the state are grounded'. In planning such courses the Queen's Colleges were to pioneer the broadening of the university curriculum and were to give academic recognition to both the modern languages and applied sciences. In 1847, twenty professorships were established in each college, thirteen in arts, five in medicine and two in law. Among the chairs in arts were to be history and English literature, modern languages, mineralogy and geology, natural history, civil engineering and agriculture. A chair of Celtic languages was also founded which was a marked innovation showing a growing awareness of the ancient language of the country.

1. That Her Majesty's Government in founding the Provincial Colleges had in view to diffuse amongst the people of Ireland, and especially amongst the youth of the middle classes, the blessings of a full and satisfactory Literary and Scientific Education, and also to provide efficient means of instruction in those subsequent departments of study which constitute the preparation for the various practical avocations of afterlife.

2. With these objects, the authority of Parliament has been obtained for establishing within these Colleges respectively, Faculties of Arts, of Law, and of Physic; and it will be the duty of the Board of Presidents and Vice-Presidents to give their best consideration to the question of how the plan of education in these respective Faculties may be most suitably and most completely carried out.

3. In all existing Collegiate Institutions, and there does not appear to be any reason for deviating from that principle in the new Colleges, those studies which form in their aggregate the materials of sound general education, are continued in the Undergraduate course of the Faculty of Arts. The Degree in Arts is, therefore, the testimonial to which the class seeking for education will generally aspire, and the greater proportion of the students will naturally enrol themselves in that Faculty. The departments of Law and Physic being not for general but for professional education, and therefore not to be entered upon by students until the basis of their general education has been soundly laid, it is evidently proper that the Board of Presidents and Vice-Presidents should first carefully take into consideration the course of study to be pursued in the Undergraduate system of the Faculty of Arts, and endeavour to render it full and satisfactory, and to bring it in advance, if possible, of the systems of Undergraduate education hitherto and elsewhere adopted.

4. In regard to the subjects which should be included in the Undergraduate course of the Faculty of Arts, it will be of course

the duty of the Board to advise His Excellency regarding the nature and the position to be occupied by each. The Board will, however, recognise the importance of introducing into the curriculum of studies those branches of Modern Literature and Science, now essential to be known by every well educated man. This, it is to be hoped, can be satisfactorily accomplished, without in any way sacrificing those valuable departments of Classical Literature and Philosophy, in which so much of the most interesting truths have been handed down to the present day, and an acquaintance with which is indispensable to all who claim the possession of scholarship or learning.

5. When the system of general education, by means of the Undergraduate course of the Faculty of Arts, shall have been fully arranged and approved of by His Excellency, it will be proper and necessary for the Board of Presidents and Vice-Presidents to proceed to consider the plan of education that may best be followed, and the arrangements that should be made in regard to the Faculties of Law and Physic. It will then be also proper for the Board to consider in what manner the departments of Literature and Science, embraced in the Faculty of Arts, should be carried forward beyond the limits of the Undergraduate course, especially in relation to instruction in those branches of practical and applied Science, upon which the subsistence of the people and the well-being of the State is so materially grounded.

6. The general plan of studies having been thus organized, the Board will naturally pass to the consideration of the particular appliances for carrying those arrangements into effect. For illustrating Lectures, for reference in study, and for research, the assistance of a Museum of Natural History and of Geology, a Chemical Laboratory, a Cabinet of Physical Apparatus, a Botanic Garden, and a Library will be ultimately required; and although it is not contemplated to provide these departments all in complete form at once, it will be proper for the Board to ascertain how far the resources of the respective localities of the Colleges may afford assistance, or by what application of the means available to each College, those departments may be most rapidly and most completely organised.

[*Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the progress and condition of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway*, Appendix VII. 1857-58 (2413) xxi.]

VI.7 First Rescript on the Queen's Colleges from the College of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, October 1847.

The Roman Catholic bishops were divided on their attitude to the Colleges Bill in 1845. Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin favoured a compromise but Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam was strongly opposed to the measure. Both parties resorted to Rome for advice and eventually three papal rescripts were issued condemning the Queen's Colleges and advising the bishops and clergy not to support them.

The Papal rescripts urged the bishops in Ireland to set up a Catholic University modelled on the Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium; and in 1854 the Catholic University of Ireland was established with Dr. John Henry Newman as the first rector. The government however refused to grant the new university a charter.

The following is a copy of a translation of the First Rescript on the Queen's Colleges from the College of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, 1847.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST REVEREND LORD – It will, perhaps, appear strange that the reply of the Sacred Congregation on the subject of the Academical Colleges should have been so long delayed; but the deep importance of the question at issue, and the great variety of matters to be considered, rendered it necessary that much time should be spent in duly examining the documentary proofs and reasons on both sides, before judgment could safely be delivered. First of all, we deem it our duty to declare that the Sacred Congregation never imagined that the prelates who appeared to be in favour of establishing the Colleges proposed to do what they believed to be incorrect, for long experience has proved their probity; and the Congregation consider that they were only impelled to take that view through the hope of effecting a greater good, and promoting the prosperity of religion in Ireland. However, the Sacred Congregation having considered the matter maturely and in all its bearings, dares not presume to promise itself fruits of that kind from the erection of such Colleges; it even dreads that grievous peril to the Catholic faith would thence arise; in one word, it considers that institutions of the sort would be a detriment to religion.

Therefore it admonishes the archbishops and bishops of Ireland to have no part whatever in carrying them out. But as it could have wished that some bishops, before treating with the Government to obtain an amendment of the law regarding the Colleges in question, and other matters, in their favour, had first solicited the decision

of the Holy See; so, also, it does not doubt, so great has been the obedience which the Prelates of Ireland have ever professed to the Head of the Church, but that those same bishops will retract what they may have done to the contrary. But all this notwithstanding, any of your body who may have aught of greater moment, and requiring further notice to communicate, will be at liberty to disclose it to the Sacred Congregation, that in all things a right judgment may be given.

The Sacred Congregation is well aware how important it is that provision should be made for the instruction of the young, especially of the higher classes, in science; it therefore exhorts your grace, together with your suffragan bishops, to use every legitimate means within your power to promote that object. It will be yours to take care that the Catholic Colleges which are already in existence may flourish more and more, by adding those more useful chairs, particularly in the philosophical department, which may, possibly, be yet wanting, and by enlarging the accommodation, so that a greater number may enter according to the wants of the surrounding districts. Of all things, the Sacred Congregation would deem it most advantageous that the bishops, uniting their exertions, should erect in Ireland a Catholic academy on the model of that which the prelates of Belgium founded in the city of Louvain.

And that these things may be successfully carried out, the Sacred Congregation exhorts the bishops to cultivate, as far as possible, mutual union, and the greatest concord; not to permit themselves to be carried away by partisan zeal on matters which have nothing to do with the sacred ministry intrusted to them, and to let all see that they have nothing in view but the worship of God, the good of religion, and the salvation of souls.

This we believe you will do with the greater earnestness, because the same are in every respect the views of our most Holy Lord Pius IX. When he had accurately informed himself respecting the whole circumstances of the case, he ratified the Council of the Sacred Congregation, and added to it the supreme weight of his own authority.

In the meantime we pray God that he may grant your Grace a long and happy life.

Your Grace's most obedient servant,

(Signed), *J. Phil. Cardinal Fransoni, P.D.P.F.*
Alexander Barnabo, Pro Secretary.

College of the Sacred Congregation for the
Propagation of the Faith, Rome, October 9, 1847.

[*Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission,* Vol. II, Part III; H. C. 1857-58 (2336-11), xxii, part III.]

VI.8 Decrees of the Synod of Thurles, 1850.

In 1850, the national Synod of Thurles under the presidency of the new archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Paul Cullen, condemned the Queen's Colleges, and by its decrees, Catholic clergy were forbidden to teach or hold office in them. The decrees emphasised the decision of the Papal Rescripts and all the faithful were warned of the 'grave and intrinsic dangers to which, by the judgment of the Holy See, the faith and morals of studious Catholic youth are exposed' in the colleges. The Synodical address issued by the bishops at the close of the Synod stated that the Queen's Colleges 'which would have called for our profound and lasting gratitude, had they been framed in accordance with our religious tenets and principles, must now be considered as an evil of a formidable kind, against which it is now our imperative duty to warn you with all the energy of our zeal and all the weight of our authority'.

1. As in the Roman Pontiff we recognise and venerate the Vicar of Christ on earth and the successor of St. Peter to whom is committed by Heaven the office of instructing the Faithful in the best doctrine, and of removing them from pestilent and poisonous pastures; we, with a willing mind and with fitting obedience, do assent to the admonitions and rescripts which relate to the question concerning the Queen's Colleges, lately erected amongst us, and which rescripts, furnished with the authority of the Vicar of Christ himself, have been communicated to us by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda.

2. Adhering not only to the letter, but to the spirit of these rescripts, we declare that no Bishop of Ireland can assume to himself any part in carrying on or administrating the aforesaid colleges.

3. We prohibit all Priests and other Clerks or Clerics from taking or retaining any office which relates to the administration of these colleges; and from becoming or remaining Professors or Deans of Residence in these colleges.

4. But if any Priest or Clerk shall have arrived at such a pitch of temerity, as despising the authority of the Apostolic See, or the Statute of this National Council, to dare to act otherwise, let him incur suspension *ipso facto*.

5. Moreover, concerning the aforesaid colleges, because of the grave and intrinsic dangers to which, by the judgment of the Holy See, the Faith and morals of studious Catholic youth are exposed in them, we declare that they are such that by all means they are to be rejected and avoided by faithful Catholics, who ought to prefer their Faith to all temporal advantages and emoluments.

6. But that the faithful people committed to our care, of whose

faith and eternal salvation a strict account is to be rendered by us to Almighty God, may suffer no detriment by our Silence, we shall in a Pastoral Letter, to be published in the name of this Synod, indicate the grave and intrinsic dangers mentioned by the Holy See to whom Catholic youth are exposed in these colleges, and we shall admonish and exhort all the faithful with weighty and charitable words, that they wholly abstain from frequenting these colleges, lest their Faith contract some stain, or they be infected with some pestiferous doctrines.

7. Let the Bishops of the places where the colleges are situated diligently take heed that these statutes be kept by all the Priests, and that fitting veneration be shown by them to the mandates of the Apostolic See, and obedience and veneration to the Statutes of this Council.

8. Lastly, for a perpetual remembrance of the thing, let the Rescripts and admonitions of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, which relate to the Queen's Colleges, be inserted in the acts of this Council.

9. In order at length to provide for the sound education of Catholic youth, and to follow up the reiterated recommendations given to us by the Apostolic See, we consider it our duty to strive, with all our might, to cause by our common counsels to be erected, as soon as possible, a Catholic University in Ireland.

[*Battersby's Catholic Directory,* Dublin, 1853, pp. 148-9.]

VI.9 Dublin University Commission, 1853.

In 1851, contemporary with the royal commissions on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the government appointed a commission to enquire into the state of the University of Dublin and Trinity College, Dublin. The chairman was Richard Whately, Church of Ireland archbishop of Dublin. The commissioners included Maziere Brady, Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Mountiford Longfield, professor of law at the university. The report was much less critical than those on Oxford and Cambridge and it acknowledged the reforms which the college had initiated in the 1830s. The B.A. curriculum had been broadened, honors courses introduced and in 1841, a school of engineering established with two professorships. However, most of the teaching was still done by the tutor fellows and all fellows still were required to be in anglican orders. While the degrees of the university were open to all, the foundation scholarships were still restricted to anglicans and in 1843 Denis Caulfield Heron, a Catholic law student, had won a scholarship but had been barred

from taking it up. He had contested his case unsuccessfully but it gave publicity to the issue. The Whately commission therefore recommended the setting up of non-foundation scholarships with no religious restrictions and this was done in 1854.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

We have noticed, at some length, the changes which have been introduced into the Collegiate system, and we have given an account of the present state of all the developments of the University. As to some we have made recommendations; as to others, in consequence of their satisfactory state, we have no suggestions to offer. We find that numerous improvements of an important character have been from time to time introduced by the authorities of the college and that the general state of the University is satisfactory. There is great activity and efficiency shown in the changes which have been introduced in the courses of education to adapt it to the requirements of the age.

We are of the opinion:

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4. That the Board should be empowered with the consent of the Visitors, to vary the subjects prescribed for the Fellowship Examination, and to regulate the mode in which the Examination should be conducted; and that any Junior Fellow who holds a Professorship may be summoned to examine in the subject of his Professorship.

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6. That the fees payable to Tutor Fellows by their pupils should be divided into four parts; that one fourth should be payable to each Tutor by his own pupils, and that the other three fourths should be thrown into a common fund, to be distributed, on a system to be settled by the Board and Visitors for the endowment of Professors, Lectureships and Examinerships, to which Junior Fellows should be alone eligible; and the power of appointing Tutors should be vested in the Provost and Senior Fellows.

7. That the general obligation to enter Holy Orders now imposed on Fellows should be abolished, but that it should be required that at least four of the Senior Fellows should be in Holy Orders.

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11. With a view to a more general and efficient cultivation of the Modern Languages, we submit it to Your Majesty, that the power of appointing to the Queen's professorships of French and German, and of Spanish and Italian, might be entirely delegated to the Provost and Senior Fellows; and that the study of one Modern Language, at least, should be made compulsory on all candidates for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

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14. That a reasonable number of Exhibitions should be increased in value, and given in the same manner as the College of Scholarships, but without making the holders of them members of the Corporation; and that they should be open to persons of all religious denominations.

[*Report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of the University of Dublin, and of Trinity College, Dublin*, H.C. 1852-53 (1637) xlv.]

VI.10 The Queen's Colleges Commission, 1858.

Lack of growth in the Queen's Colleges led to the setting up of a commission by Lord Palmerston's government in 1857 which was to make a full inquiry into the progress and condition of the three colleges. The commission was contemporary with the university commissions on Oxford and Cambridge (1852) and Trinity College, Dublin (1853). The chairman was the marquess of Kildare who at the same time chaired the commission on endowed schools. The 1858 report stated that one of the main causes of the retarded growth of the Queen's Colleges was the lack of a well organized system of secondary schools. It drew attention to the findings of the endowed schools commission which recommended state support for second level schooling. Other factors militating against the Queen's Colleges were the continued hostility of the Roman Catholic Church, the superior attraction of Trinity College and the suffering and poverty caused by the Great Famine of 1847.

The following is an extract on the 'progress of the colleges' from the report of the commission:

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We consider that any impression which may exist as to the Queen's Colleges not having succeeded, arises mainly from what is

done in the Colleges being imperfectly understood, and further, from the comparatively small number of those who meet in Dublin to be examined for Degrees in the Queen's University, and who, thus coming very prominently before the public, are taken as the only test of the success of the Colleges. . . .

It is our opinion, from comparing the number of Students who are shown to have attended throughout the whole course in the College, with the number who have actually proceeded to graduate at the University, that the success of the Colleges should not be judged by the number of Degrees conferred. Neither can attendance throughout the whole course be taken as the sole proof of all the educational work done by the Colleges, for many who have attended a portion of the course, and received a certain though deficient amount of education, still from various causes, such as having obtained appointments in the Public Service, in mercantile establishments, or as tutors, or from ill-health or family circumstances, do not complete the curriculum.

There is, also, a considerable class, consisting of those who are unable to go through their course on account of the severity of the College training. We think that this is but a temporary difficulty, which will be removed when the Students are enabled to acquire a higher school education than it is possible for them to do at present.

We are of opinion that a main cause of the falling off of the number of Students in their College course, is the want of any positive motive for the Student to complete a University education, in the Queen's Colleges.

In Arts, the A.B. Degree, as yet, confers no social *status,* or almost none; nor does it confer any particular privilege on its possessor, save entitling him to be admitted a little sooner than he otherwise could be to either branch of the Legal profession. The Queen's Colleges afford no Divinity education, nor can they be regarded as the roads to the clerical profession in Ireland, except to a limited extent in the case of the Presbyterian Church. They have none of the Fellowships or Livings which belong to the older Universities, and which exercise no slight influence in attracting and retaining Students.

In Medicine, the Medical Degree, as we have seen, is under positive disability, and the more lax requirements of the various Licensing Bodies allure from the Colleges Students who would otherwise be likely to complete their education in them.

In Law, a strict and severe Legal education is insisted on, but no privileges of any importance are attached to the possession of the Degrees in Law.

We attach the utmost importance to the existence of a University, in connexion with the Queen's Colleges, to which students of those Colleges may resort for graduation. In fact, we consider it *essential* to their success; but we think that the number of Students graduating in the Queen's University affords a most fallacious test to judge of the work performed in, or the Progress of, the Queen's Colleges.

A new University, with its component Colleges, established in a country where none had previously existed, would not, in the space of a few years, acquire a reputation or become the resort of very large numbers of students. Still less could it be expected to do so in Ireland, where the ground, to a certain extent, was already occupied.

That the Queen's Colleges have not aggregated to their Halls, in preference to the old Universities, any large numbers of those who generally take a University education, is nothing more than might have been reasonably expected. The Queen's Colleges are entirely destitute of that prestige and of those associations which, in so many cases, determine the place of education for the sons of those who receive and who most value a liberal education. While these circumstances have operated against their receiving Students from the higher classes, the difficulty of obtaining an elementary Classical education has been an obstacle to the middle classes of society entering the Queen's Colleges. This want has been, and, if not supplied, must still continue to be, perhaps, the most powerful cause in preventing the youth of Ireland availing themselves of the advantages held out by the Queen's Colleges.

The Endowed Schools of Ireland have hitherto been mainly in connexion with the Established Church, and with Trinity College, Dublin. As might be expected, they consequently have not afforded education to any large number of students entering the Queen's Colleges. It would appear that the Royal Schools of Ireland, out of 694 Students who have entered the Queen's College, Belfast, to 1856-57, have supplied but 14 Students, and the other Endowed Schools in Ulster but 12 Students – in all 26, or less than 1/26 of the Students who have entered that College. The best Students of the Royal Schools are attracted to Dublin by School Exhibitions in Trinity College, while all their associations almost necessarily induce the mass of the boys educated in them to proceed to that institution. We think that it is only a matter of justice that Students educated at great Public Schools should not be deprived of any advantages of the nature of Exhibitions, if they should think fit to resort for their education to Colleges which, aided by the liberality

of Parliament, Your Majesty has founded and endowed for the better advancement of learning among all classes in Ireland.

But, in addition to any changes that may be made in the existing system of Intermediate Schools, we feel called on to express our opinion that the advantages for obtaining a high education, both in the Queen's Colleges and in Trinity College, can only be realized for the great mass of the middle classes by the much wider extension of the means of Intermediate Education, which, it is almost universally stated, have been enormously diminished by the operation of the schools under the National Board, in which, although no Classical instruction is given, yet the English education afforded is so superior as to have drawn off the scholars who had hitherto been the main support of the lower Classical schools.

In considering the success of the Queen's Colleges, the condition of Ireland cannot be ignored. When the Colleges were opened the country had hardly recovered from the effects of the terrible calamity of famine, which crippled the means of an important proportion both of the higher and middle classes of the Irish people, and also, temporarily at least, changed the social circumstances of the country.

The opposition of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church must also be regarded as an important operating cause against the more complete success of the Colleges. This opposition, it would appear, originally arose in consequence of a supposition that the system of education pursued in the Queen's Colleges would be dangerous to faith and morals. We thought it right to make particular inquiry into this subject, and, as we have already reported, nothing whatever has occurred in the Colleges which would justify this apprehension, or indicate that the religion of any Student has been in the slightest degree interfered with. Considering that the Queen's Colleges were founded for the advantage of all classes of Your Majesty's subjects in Ireland of all religious denominations, we feel assured that should the present regulations at any time be found defective, such additional measures as may appear requisite will be adopted for securing the Students against any thing calculated to interfere with their religious convictions. A strict adherence to this principle has been, and must always continue to be, the basis upon which these Colleges rest. We have to express our anxious hope that the strong feelings entertained on this point in opposition to the Colleges will gradually undergo a change, when experience proves that the duties of religion can be attended to without raising up barriers of exclusiveness at the entrance of life between those who will have to spend their lives together as citizens

of a common country.

To the obstacles we have referred to as interfering with the complete success of the Colleges, we may add another circumstance, which must seriously affect the numbers of Students attending them. The University of Dublin must be regarded as a successful competitor for a large number of Students who would naturally go to the Queen's Colleges, were it not for the exceptional system of non-residence permitted in Trinity College. It appears, from the Report of the Dublin University Commission, that of 1,217 Undergraduates in Trinity College in 1852, only 636 were resident in the College and in Dublin and its suburbs. Of the remainder (nearly one-half of the entire), many it might be supposed would resort to the Queen's Colleges if a rigid system of residence were enforced in Trinity College.

We are able to report with unqualified satisfaction of the Educational Progress of the Colleges. Although but a short time in operation, they have distinguished themselves in those great public contests in which even the most distinguished Students of the old Universities are proud of success. At the Examinations for the most important appointments that are disposed of in these countries – the Writerships in the East India Company's Service – in the first year in which they were instituted (1855), a Student from the Queen's College, Cork, and another from the Queen's College, Galway, were amongst the successful competitors; in the second year (1856), a second Student from the Cork College was successful; and in the third year (1857), three Students taking the first, fourth, and tenth places and the only candidates from their College, evidenced the character of the education given in the Belfast College. In other departments, too – at the Woolwich Examinations and at the Indian Medical Service Examinations – Students from the Queen's Colleges have appeared with distinction and success.

We think, however, that the good done by the Queen's Colleges as great Public Institutions in Ireland, cannot be estimated merely by the number of Students in their Halls, or by the successful candidates whom they may send to the great public contests of the educated youth of the Empire. We believe that, beyond this, they are, by the honourable competition existing between the Students and Professors of the several Queen's Colleges amongst themselves, and also by the healthy and, we hope, friendly competition with the University of Dublin, materially aiding in advancing Learning in Ireland. We believe that the Colleges are calculated, and we trust the association of Students of various creeds and

opinions within their walls does operate, to soften those feelings of party antagonism and sectarian animosity which have heretofore unhappily had too extended an existence in Ireland; and that they are rapidly generating a feeling of local self-reliance and of self-respect, and exciting an interest in the culture of Literature and Science throughout the community at large. . . .

[*Report of the Commissioners to inquire into the progress and condition of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway with minutes of evidence, documents, tables and returns.* H. C. 1857-58 (2413) xxi.]

VI.11 Gladstone's University Bill, 1873.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy continued to condemn the Queen's Colleges and to press for a charter for the Catholic University of Ireland. In 1866, an attempt was made to amend the charter of the Queen's University to allow students other than those attending the Queen's Colleges to matriculate and obtain degrees, but this effort was defeated by strong opposition from the Queen's University itself.

In 1868, the Conservative chief secretary, Lord Mayo, began negotiations regarding a possible charter for the Catholic University. The governing body was to have a majority of Catholics, both clerical and lay, and there were to be guarantees to protect the religious beliefs of all students attending. The bishops, however, still required a predominance of clerical control and the discussions ended.

In 1873, the Liberal prime minister, Gladstone, made a major attempt to solve the university question by introducing a university bill which would open the University of Dublin and allow colleges other than Trinity College to be established within it. It was hoped thus to create one single national university in which both the Queen's Colleges and the Catholic University would be united with Trinity College. The bill pleased none of the parties but eventually was defeated by only three votes.

Gladstone, in his eloquent address introducing the bill in February 1873, stressed the right of all the people of Ireland to have access to university education and his ideal of university education was that of the liberal arts degree rather than mere professional training.

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Now, I will look at the question in a very simple form. What is the state of the case as to the actual enjoyment of University training by the Roman Catholics of Ireland? I shall not enter into those details of controversy which have been handled with great ability by gentlemen on one side and the other. There are those who think,

and who are bold enough to maintain, that upon the whole, considering who Roman Catholics are, considering how little property they possess, how little it is possible for them to enter upon the higher culture, their state, so far as University education is concerned, is not very bad at this moment. I hold, on the contrary, that it is miserably bad. (*Hear.*) I go farther; and I would almost say, it is scandalously bad. (*Hear.*) I will go into figures, which will at least bring to a test the proposition that I have laid down; but, in applying those figures, I will first protest against the manner in which the subject has hitherto been handled, and will call the attention of the Committee to a distinction which it appears to me they ought to bear in mind in order that they may estimate correctly the facts. In the Queen's Colleges, Ireland, the total number of matriculated students is returned to me as 708. The number of Roman Catholics among them is 181, or somewhat over one-fourth. But my proposition is this: In the return there is a fundamental fallacy: the great bulk of these matriculated students, or, at least, a very large portion of them, are simply professional students, and are not students in Arts. But when we speak of University education as an instrument of higher culture, we mean university education in Arts. (*Hear, hear.*) Schools of law, schools of medicine, schools of engineering, and I know not how many other schools, are excellent things; but these are things totally distinct and different from what we understand by that University training which we look upon as the most powerful instrument for the formation of the mind. (*Hear, hear.*) Therefore I am obliged to break down these figures into fragments, and to ask, out of these 181 students, how many are students in Arts? I now give the Roman Catholic students in Arts in the Queen's Colleges of Ireland. From 1859 to 1864, in the three Queen's Colleges, the Roman Catholic students in Arts averaged 59; from 1864 to 1869 they averaged 50; from 1869 to 1871 they averaged 45. I think these figures justify the statement that the numbers are miserably small (*hear*); and that, small as they are, they are, moreover, dwindling away. And, Sir, when I speak of recognizing only students in Arts, I am not hazarding the opinion of an individual; I am giving utterance to a judgment which I know every University man will sustain. It is the opinion upon which the University of Dublin has uniformly proceeded in its handling of this subject. The number of Roman Catholics matriculated as students in Arts at Trinity College seems to be about 100. That may not be the exact number, but, from the figures kindly supplied to me, it must be within two or three, one way or the other. Adding these 100 at Trinity College to 45 at the

Queen's Colleges we have 145 as the whole number of persons whom 4,000,000 and upwards of Roman Catholics in Ireland at present succeed in bringing within the teaching of a University to receive academical training in the faculty of Arts. Well, I think that is a proportion miserably small. (*Cheers.*) It is something, but it is really almost next to nothing. Again, Sir, the total number of students in Arts in Ireland I find to be 1179. So that the Roman Catholics, with more than two-thirds – I think nearly three-fourths – of the population, supply only an eighth part of the students in Arts. I think there are hardly any in this House who will think fit to say that that is anything like an adequate proportion – anything like the numbers which they ought to furnish, even after making every allowance which ought fairly to be made for the relative proportions of Roman Catholics in the different classes of the community. Well, I think, then, I have shown that there is a great religious grievance in Ireland. Had I been able to point to a state of things in which the movement was in the other direction – in which, instead of an almost constant decrease of Roman Catholic attendance at the Queen's Colleges, there was a steady, healthy, and progressive increase – the case would have been greatly different. You might have said, 'It is well to wait and see what happens'. But I am afraid if we wait to see what happens, the only result of that would be to aggravate a state of things already sufficiently bad. (*Hear, hear.*)

I now, Sir, quit the topic of the religious grievance. But quite apart from the religious grievance, there is a great and strong necessity for academical reform in Ireland. I will test the question first as to the quantity or supply of academical training in that country; and all along I will keep broadly and plainly in view the distinction between training in Arts and mere professional training. Now, in Trinity College there are attending lectures in Arts 563 young men, about the same number – I think it is a little more – as attend in Trinity College, Cambridge. In the Queen's Colleges the students in Arts are as follows (I take the year 1871, which is the latest I possess): At Belfast, 136; at Cork, 50; and at Galway, 35 – in all 221. Adding these two figures together we get 784 as the total for Ireland of University students in the proper sense of the word; that is to say, in the sense in which it is understood in Scotland, much more in the sense in which it is understood in England. Seven hundred and eighty-four is the whole number of students who are receiving regular instruction in Arts, for the whole of Ireland, with its five and a half millions of population. But there are a large number of students in the Queen's Colleges who are

receiving professional education in law, in medicine, and in engineering. The number of these is at Belfast 201, at Cork 174, and at Galway 80 – in all 455. Thus, when we include students preparing for a professional career with the Arts students, we come up to 1239. Finally, there are a large number of persons who belong to Trinity College, Dublin, who have the honour of paying, without any deduction, all the fees of Trinity College, Dublin, no other benefits – and great benefits they are shown to be, or the price would not be paid for them – than those of examination and a degree. The number of these is 395, so that in this way we get up the number of University students in Ireland to the very poor and scanty figure of 1634, of whom less than one-half are University students in the English or in the Scottish sense of the word. Of students in that sense in Ireland there are but 784, against 4000 whom Scotland, with not much more than half the population, sends to her Universities. (*Hear, hear.*) I think that is a pretty strong case as regards the absolute supply of University and academic training in Ireland.

But the case is stronger still, when we consider the comparative state of the academical supply. Take the Queen's Colleges, those valuable institutions which we should heartily desire to see in a flourishing condition. From 1859 to 1864 they matriculated on the average 226 persons per annum. This is in Arts and other faculties taken together. From 1864 to 1869 they matriculated 1039 persons, or an average of 208 persons. In each of the years 1870-71 they matriculated 200 persons. Thus, as far as the Queen's Colleges are concerned, even the present narrow supply of academic training is a supply tending downwards. What is the case as regards Trinity College? Having a strong sentiment of veneration and gratitude for that institution, which has done in Ireland a large portion of the good which has been done for her at all – (*hear, hear*) – I observe with the greatest regret the decline in the number of students there. I now draw no distinction between resident and non-resident students; and I find that during the period of years from 1830 to 1834 the annual matriculations were 433. Then, taking a period of 15 years down to 1849, at the end of which the Queen's Colleges were founded, the matriculations had sunk to 362 per annum; while from 1849 to 1872 they had again sunk to 295.

Thus, Sir, we find, upon examining this matter to the bottom, that notwithstanding the efforts of Parliament, notwithstanding the general increase of education, notwithstanding the opening of the Queen's Colleges with large endowments, the University students of Ireland in the proper sense – that is, the students in Arts

– are fewer at this moment than they were 40 years ago, when no Queen's Colleges were in existence. (*Hear, hear.*) . . .

[1873, *Hansard* 3, ccxiv, 386-8.]

VI.12 Fawcett's University Act, 1873.

Following the defeat of Gladstone's university bill in March 1873, Fawcett's University Act was passed which abolished religious tests for all offices in Trinity College and the University of Dublin. Appointments in the divinity school only, were to remain reserved for anglicans. This act meant that *de jure*, Trinity College and the University of Dublin were now non-denominational and any attempt to separate the college from the university could be more easily defeated. However, in practice Trinity College remained a protestant institution closely aligned with the Church of Ireland, and the number of Catholic students attending showed little immediate increase. The Roman Catholic hierarchy now regarded Trinity College as yet another 'godless college' and in 1875, the episcopal ban on the Queen's Colleges was extended to Trinity College.

An Act to Abolish Tests in Trinity College and the University of Dublin

Whereas it is expedient that the benefits of Trinity College and University of Dublin, and of the schools of the said University as places of religion and learning, should be rendered freely accessible to the nation:

And whereas by means of divers restrictions, tests and disabilities, many of Her Majesty's subjects are debarred for the full employment of the same:

And whereas it is expedient that such restrictions, tests and disabilities should be removed:

Be it therefore reinacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords' Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, by the authority of the same, as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as the University of Dublin Tests Act, 1873.

2. In the construction of this Act – The word 'office' shall not, so long as the University of Dublin shall continue to teach and to grant degrees in the Faculty of Theology, apply to any Professor of or Lecturer in Divinity; but save, as aforesaid, the word shall include every professorship, assistant or deputy professorship,

public readership, prefectorship, lectureship, assistant lectureship, provostship, fellowship, studentship, tutorship, scholarship, and exhibition and also any office or emolument not in this section specified, the income of which is payable out of the revenues or income of the said university or college or any of the schools therein, or which is held and enjoyed by any member of the same.

3. From and after the passing of this Act no person shall be required upon exercising, or to enable him to exercise, any of the rights and privileges which may heretofore have been or may hereafter be exercised by the students or graduates in the said university, or upon taking or holding, or to enable him to take hold, any office in the said university or college as aforesaid, or upon teaching, or to enable him to teach within the said university or college, to subscribe to any article or form and faith, or to make any declaration or take any oath respecting his religious belief or profession, or to conform to any form of public worship, or to do any act, in connexion with any form of public worship, or to belong to any specified church, sect, or denomination, nor shall any person be compelled in the said university or college to attend the public worship of any church, sect or denomination to which he does not belong; and no person elected to a fellowship or any other office shall be deprived of his office by reason that he is not or does not become ordained in Holy Orders. . . .

[*An Act to abolish tests in Trinity College and the University of Dublin, 1873.* 36 & 37 Vict., c. 21.]

VI.13 Royal University Act, 1879.

Following the Intermediate Education Act in 1878, Disraeli's government introduced a bill to establish a new university modelled on the lines of London University. The new university was to be an examining body only and degrees could be conferred on all persons who had matriculated and passed the examinations. Attendance at a college was not required except in the case of medical degrees. The university was to be non-denominational and there were to be no degrees in theology.

The senate of the Royal University was to consist of 36 persons, six of whom were to be elected by convocation, the rest appointed by the Crown. Finance was to be provided from the church surplus fund created by the Disestablishment Church Act of 1869, and up to 29 fellowships were to be endowed, half of which were then allocated to the Catholic University. There was a difference of opinion as to which of the catholic colleges these fellowships should be awarded but finally University College, St. Stephen's

Green was granted them all, and a flourishing university college developed which was to have many distinguished students including James Joyce, Thomas Kettle, Eoin Mac Neill and Francis Skeffington. As Royal University degrees were also open to women its foundation was a major step forward in the provision of higher education for women. The Queen's University was abolished in 1882 and students at the three Queen's Colleges were awarded Royal University degrees.

2. It shall be lawful for Her Majesty, in case Her Majesty wish to do so, by charter, to found a university in Ireland which shall be one body politic and corporate, by such name as her Majesty shall appoint.

3. The corporation shall consist of a chancellor, a senate and graduates. The chancellor shall be nominated from time to time by Her Majesty, and shall hold office during Her pleasure. The first senators of the University and such other persons, not exceeding thirty-six in number, as Her Majesty shall appoint. The first and every alternate vacancy in the senate shall reccur among the first senators, other than a vacancy in the office of chancellor (which shall in all cases be filled up by Her Majesty) shall be supplied by the election of a senator by the convocation of the University, until the number of senators elected by convocation shall amount to six.

. . . . . .

6. In case any such charter is granted by Her Majesty, the power of conferring all such degrees, or other distinctions as can be conferred in or by any other University in the United Kingdom, except degrees in theology, shall be vested by the charter in the University, and the general government of the University shall be vested by the charter in the senate.

7. The charter shall provide that the University shall confer a degree upon every person who having matriculated in the University and complied with such conditions as to his subsequent education and the passing of such examinations as the senate may prescribe, satisfies the senate that he is qualified in point of learning to obtain the same. No residence in any college nor attendance at lectures or any other course of instruction in the University shall be obligatory upon any candidate for a degree other than a degree in medicine or surgery.

8. The senate shall institute and make provision for carrying on such public examinations of candidates of matriculation and degrees, and such other University examinations in secular subjects, including examinations for women for degrees, and for such

suitable certification of proficiency as may be necessary; and for the purpose of conducting such examinations the Senate shall from time to time appoint examiners in several subjects of secular learning usually studied in the University, and shall make regulations for the conduct of such examinations, and the appointment, removal and remuneration of the examiners.

9. And whereas it is desirable to promote the advancement of learning in Ireland by means of the creation, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament of exhibitions, scholarships and fellowships, and other prizes, also by the erection of suitable buildings in connection with the University to be established under the said charter; Be it enacted that it shall be the duty of the senate, within twelve months after their first appointment, to prepare and forward to the Lord Lieutenant and other Chief Governor or Governors of Ireland a scheme for the better advancement of University education in Ireland, by the provision of buildings, including examinations room and a library, in connection with the University to be founded under any such character, and by the establishment of exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes, or any of such matters, in which scheme the following conditions shall be observed:

(1) The said several exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, and other prizes shall be awarded for proficiency in subjects of secular education and not in respect of any subject of religious instruction;

(2) They shall be open to students matriculating or who have matriculated in the University, and the scheme may propose that they shall be awarded, in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency, and that they shall be subject to any conditions as to the age of the candidates, their standing in the University, their liability to perform, and otherwise, as the Senate shall think expedient.

(3) In fixing the value and number of the said several exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships and other prizes, the senate shall have regard to the advantages of a similar kind offered by the University of Dublin and Trinity College to students matriculated in that University, so as to avoid as far as possible, any injury to the advancement of learning in that University and college.

(4) Provision shall be made that no student holding any exhibition, scholarship, fellowship, or other similar prize in any other University, or in any college attached to a University, or in any college endowed with public money, shall hold

any of the said exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, or other prizes in the University to be created by the said Charter without taking the value of such previous exhibition, scholarship, fellowship, or other similar prize into account. . . .

[*An act to promote the advancement of learning and to extend the benefits connected with university education in Ireland, 1879.* 42 & 43 Vict. c. 65.]

VI.14 Queen's Colleges (Ireland) Commission, 1885.

The Queen's Colleges commission was appointed by the lord lieutenant, Earl Spencer, to inquire into the well-being and efficiency of the colleges. The Queen's University had been abolished in 1882 and the Queen's Colleges were not pleased with the new Royal University.

The five commissioners presented a majority and a minority report. The two Catholic members, Richard Carton, the chairman, and Reverend Gerald Molloy considered that the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway would never make progress while they were shunned by Catholics on religious grounds. They suggested in their minority report that since Queen's College, Belfast, was acceptable to Presbyterians in the north and was a thriving institution, it could be established as a separate university thus allowing the two other Queen's Colleges to be altered to make them acceptable to Catholics. This idea eventually came to fruition in the 1908 Irish Universities Act.

The following is an extract from the minority report of R. P. Carton, Q.C., chairman and Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D. to the Queen's Colleges Commission, 1885:

We wish, at the same time, to say that any opinions and suggestions we may offer must be, of necessity, meagre and imperfect. We feel that the limits of our inquiry, as fixed by the terms of Your Excellency's Warrant, were such as to exclude from our consideration questions of weighty import, which we could not fail to see underlie the whole subject of University education in Ireland.

1. In the first place, we observe that the Queen's Colleges enjoy all the endowments provided by the State for Collegiate education in connection with the Royal University and yet a large majority of students in Arts, of that University, decline to go to these colleges for their education. During the past academical year, as we have shown, the three Queen's Colleges, taken together, have given education to less than one-third of the undergraduates in Arts who have passed the university examinations. The remaining two-thirds had to provide education for themselves, as best they could; the

great number of them according to the evidence before us, being unable, on account of their religious convictions, to avail themselves of the education offered in the Queen's Colleges.

This consideration receives additional strength, when we take the Queen's Colleges in detail. Queen's College, Belfast is situated in the midst of the Presbyterian community of Ulster; it meets the wants and enjoys the sympathy of that body; it receives, every year, the best trained boys from the various Presbyterian Schools, scattered over the North of Ireland. It is accordingly a practical success. During the past year it gave education to about 24 per cent of the students in Arts who passed the examinations of the Royal University; and its medical school is in a flourishing condition. We feel bound indeed to call attention to the fact, strongly urged upon us in the evidence, that it is of no avail to the Catholic people of Ulster who constitute 47 per cent of the population. But considering it, in reference to the Presbyterian community, and others who are able to take advantage of the education it offers, we can say with confidence that it successfully fulfils the functions of a University College, and makes a good return to the State for the public money expended upon it. We find, however a very different result when we turn to the Colleges of Galway and Cork. These two Colleges receive two-thirds of all the endowments expended by the State on Collegiate education in connexion with the Royal University; and yet taken together, they have educated, during the past year, less than 9 per cent of the undergraduates in Arts. This is a poor return for so large an expenditure is not due to any fault of the College authorities, we are satisfied that they do the best they can. But the students will not go to these Colleges because the system of education established there is inconsistent with the religious principles of the people. . . .

[*Queen's Colleges (Ireland) Commission,* Vol. III, H.C. 1884-85 (C. 4313) xxv.]

VI.15 Memorial presented at the Tercentenary of Dublin University, June 1892, signed by 10,560 Irish women.

In 1869 Trinity College had introduced examinations for women which provided a recognised standard of academic attainment but women still were ineligible for degrees.

After 1879 the degrees of the Royal University of Ireland were open to women and women's colleges such as Alexandra College, St. Mary's Dominican College and Loreto College began to prepare students for the

university examinations. However many women still hoped that Trinity College and the degrees of the University of Dublin would be opened to women. In 1892 at the time of the tercentenary celebrations a memorial was presented to the Board of Trinity College. The memorial had to be presented by three men, Mr. Justice Madden, W. G. Brooke and Professor D. J. Cunningham, because the Board would not receive women delegates. The 1892 request was refused but eventually in 1903 women were granted full admission rights to Trinity College and after 1908 the three constituent colleges of the National University were open to women.

The following is a copy of the memorial presented at the tercentenary of Dublin University, June 1892.

Gentlemen - We, the undersigned Memorialists, desire respectfully to lay before the Board of Trinity College the great necessity that now exists for the help of the University of Dublin in the higher education of women in Ireland.

During recent years important advances have been made in the education of Irish women, and every day the desire for culture, and the need for the means of acquiring it are being increasingly manifested.

Since the opening of the Royal University, ten years ago, nearly a thousand women have matriculated in that University; while every year numbers of women are leaving Ireland in order to study at Oxford and Cambridge, and for the London University. In every College and University in Great Britain liberal help is now being given to the education of women, and in Ireland all the degrees of the Royal University, and all the teaching of the Queen's Colleges and of Magee College, have been thrown open to them.

Women have eagerly availed themselves of these opportunities, and have by their distinguished success in every branch of science and literature, proved incontestably their ardent desire and their complete ability to attain the highest culture and the most thorough scholarship.

At the beginning of this great movement, the value of which to the advancement of the whole community can hardly be overestimated, Trinity College rendered material assistance by establishing examinations for women. These examinations, which were very useful as a guide and incentive at that early stage, have been outgrown by the progress of education. The time has now come when the throwing open of the Curriculum and Degrees of Trinity College would be a most important service to the higher education of Irish women, and would be widely taken advantage of. We venture to ask for this boon now, when the Tercentenary of the University is being celebrated, feeling that no greater com-

memoration of such an event could be made than by extending the benefits of Trinity College to a large portion of the community, who, while earnestly desiring culture and knowledge, are at present debarred from obtaining it in the best way in their own country.

We earnestly hope that Trinity College from the date of her Tercentenary, will no longer stand alone among English and Irish Colleges in withholding help from the education of women, but will, with this auspicious occasion, begin a new era of increased usefulness, by allowing Irish women to participate in the benefits she has for three hundred years conferred upon Irishmen.

We remain, Gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

.....

[*Memorial presented at the tercentenary of Dublin University, June 1892, signed by 10,560 Irish women of the educated classes, within a period of two months. Royal Commission on university education in Ireland, appendix to the first report.* H.C. 1902 (Cd. 826) xxxi 29.]

VI.16 Statement of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, June 1897.

In 1897, the Roman Catholic bishops issued a statement of their position on the university question. In a debate in the House of Commons in June 1897, Arthur Balfour, the first lord of the Treasury, had invited the bishops to make public their views on the structure and government of a proposed Catholic university. Both John Morley, the former Irish chief secretary (1892-95) and the historian, W. E. H. Lecky, M.P. for Dublin University, had given their support.

The bishops' statement showed how far they had modified their position. In 1868, when Lord Mayo had opened negotiations regarding a charter for the Catholic University, the hierarchy had rejected any plan which did not allow for full clerical control. However, now the bishops considered that 'for forty years, during which the Irish Catholics were engaged in agitating for redress in university education, this question [of the relative numbers of clerical and lay members on the governing body] was never once raised'.

The bishops would be prepared to accept a lay controlled non-denominational university which had specified safeguards for Catholics. No state endowment would be expected for a theological faculty and the appointment and dismissal of professors could be supervised by an agreed board of visitors.

However, in the next few years, a difference of opinion emerged among the Catholic leaders as to what would be the most acceptable solution.

Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick, as leading spokesman for the hierarchy, supported the establishment of a separate national Catholic university, while Archbishop William Walsh of Dublin favoured the founding of a Catholic college within the University of Dublin, and Fr. William Delany of University College, Dublin wanted the enlargement of the Royal University with an endowed Catholic teaching college within it.

The following is an extract from the statement of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, June 1897:

• • • • • •

With regard to the constitution of the governing body [of the projected Catholic University] we have to remark that the question of the relative numbers of laymen and ecclesiastics upon it is of very recent origin. For forty years, during which the Irish Catholics were engaged in agitating for redress in University education, this question was never once raised, nor was any opposition between these classes even suggested; and now we would impress upon the Government that nothing, in our opinion, would be more fatal to the future of the University than to approach its constitution in an anti-clerical spirit, which is absolutely alien to the whole character and disposition of our people.

If, however such a spirit is excluded, and there is simply a desire to give to the University the best and broadest constitution, with a view to attaining the highest educational results, we have to say that, whatever may be thought of the relative merits of ecclesiastics and laymen as the directors of a University in the abstract, we do not consider that in the particular circumstances in this case it would be reasonable to propose that there should be a preponderance of ecclesiastics on the Governing Body.

The new University will be called upon principally to provide secular teaching. Our theological students are provided for at Maynooth and other ecclesiastical colleges, and the need of a Catholic University is mainly to teach secular knowledge to lay students.

But, on the other hand, there are some considerations which it is well not to overlook. One of the advantages which we expect from the foundation of a Catholic University is the opportunity which it will afford to giving a higher education to the candidates for the priesthood in Ireland; and these alone, it will be observed, will make, from the first, a large accession to the number of students in the University.

Then the whole system of secondary education, in which thousands of Catholic youths are now pursuing their studies, has come by the spontaneous action of the Catholics of Ireland to be almost entirely under ecclesiastical direction. For many of these

students a University course is the natural completion of their studies, and we should hope that with our encouragement large numbers of them would pass on to the new University.

Finally, the Catholic University Colleges, notably those at St. Stephen's Green and Blackrock and the Catholic University School of Medicine, would with our consent be merged in the contemplated University; and hence it will be seen that we Bishops approach the settlement of this question, not empty-handed, but that, altogether independently of the rights which our Catholic people recognise as attaching to us as their religious teachers, we have claims to consideration which it would be neither just nor reasonable to ignore.

On this head, then, we have to say that if, in other respects, the Governing Body is properly constituted, we do not ask for a preponderance, or even an equality in number of ecclesiastics upon it, but are prepared to accept a majority of laymen.

2. As to theological teaching, we accept unreservedly the solution suggested by Mr. Morley – a solution which was accepted in principle by all the parties in Parliament in the year 1893; namely, that a theological faculty should not be excluded from the Catholic University, provided the Chairs of the Faculty are not endowed out of public funds. We are prepared to assent to such a provision, and to any guarantees that maybe necessary, that the moneys voted by Parliament shall be applied exclusively to the teaching of secular knowledge.

3. As to the appointment and removal of Professors Mr. Lecky raised an important point, and at the same time incidentally indicated at least the principle of its solution. As reported in 'Hansard', he said, referring to the appointment of professors: 'Of course they would be chosen not merely on the ground of competence, but also to a great extent on the grounds of creed. This was inevitable and, therefore, he did not wish to object to it; but he trusted that having been chosen, something should be done to give them security of position'.

Now it is perfectly obvious that reasons of religion which would prevent a man's appointment as professor, might in given circumstances tell against his continuance in office. But we think that both conditions – namely, absolute security for the interests of faith and morals in the University and at the same time all reasonable protection for the position of the professor – may be met by submitting such questions to the decision of a strong and well-chosen Board of Visitors, in whose independence and judicial character all parties would have confidence.

4. There only remains the condition which Mr. Morley suggests, of the application of the University of Dublin Tests Act, of 1873. With reference to this we have to say that, with some modifications in the Act, in the sense of the English Acts of 1871, and the Oxford and Cambridge Acts of 1877, we have no objection to the opening up of the degrees, honours and emoluments of the University to all comers.

We have to add that in putting forward these views, we assume that, if the Government deals with the question, it will be by the foundation, not of a College, but of a University; and we venture to express our belief that by doing so they will best provide for all interests concerned, especially for those of higher education. . . .

[*Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland;* appendix to the first report; H.C. 1902 (Cd. 826) xxxi.]

VI.17 Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, 1901-1903 (The Robertson Commission).

The Robertson commission was appointed by the Conservative government in 1901 in a major effort to find an acceptable solution to the university question. However the commission took two years to report and its recommendations were indecisive. All the commissioners except Professor R. H. F. Dickey of Magee College signed the report but all had reservations. The report recommended the reorganization of the Royal University as a teaching university which would include the existing Queen's Colleges and a new Catholic college as constituent colleges. The University of Dublin and Trinity College were specifically excluded from the brief of the commission and some of the commissioners considered that any solution to the university question without reference to the position of Trinity College, Dublin, was impossible. Bishop O'Dwyer of Limerick, one of the most important witnesses, presented an eloquent and forceful case for the rights of denominational Catholic higher education and for the recognition of a full Catholic university. Fr. Delany of University College, Dublin, was critical of the Royal University of Ireland stating that it could provide no religious teaching, had no collegiate life and was held in low esteem because it was an examining body only. He claimed that Dublin should have 'a suitably equipped and endowed college . . . under such conditions that Catholics might have confidence in its administration and conscientiously benefit from its teaching' and that such a college should offer both the educational advantages of and equal status to other university colleges funded by the state in Ireland.

VI.17(a) Evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. E. T. O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick.

The following is an extract from the evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. E. T. O'Dwyer, bishop of Limerick, to the commission:

• • • • • •

Chairman – Your statement has been so carefully thought out, and so clearly expressed, that I am sure we are much indebted to you for it. I wish only to ask you a few questions in order to still further elucidate your position. I understand you consider the Queen's Colleges to have been a complete failure? – That is, two of them.

Those are the Queen's Colleges that are in what I may call for shortness a Roman Catholic population? – Quite so and that is owing to the conscientious objection taken by the Roman Catholic bishops, clergy and laity, to mixed education? – Yes, and to mixed education as it was in the concrete form of these colleges.

Which is that? – That is the appointment of professors and removal of professors being entirely in the hands of the Crown, and no adequate provision being made for the exclusion from the work of the colleges doctrines that were inimical to the teachings of the Church.

. . . Those (Queen's) colleges were based on what was called the mixed system of education; that is that people of different religious professions should all frequent them, that nothing should be taught in the colleges but secular knowledge, and from that teaching steps should be taken by the Government to exclude anything that was tinged with infidelity or that might hurt the religious feelings or convictions of the students who were there. Now that is one ideal of education. Over and against that ideal of education is our Catholic ideal. Our ideal of education is that a secular and religious knowledge cannot be separated, and that a time between, say, eighteen years of age and twenty-five years of age, when every thinking young man is turning over in his mind the fundamental questions of life, questions that are the bedrock of all belief, that it is necessary for him to be brought up in surroundings that will be congenial to his faith and favourable to the growth of it. We hold that pure secularism, even supposing that it was possible, that the theoretic secularism that would be absolutely neutral as regards religion – we hold that that is not the true way to educate young men. Furthermore we say pure secularism may theoretically exist but that it cannot exist as a system of an educational institution,

that all the sciences that are taught in a University come in contact with so many aspects of religion and so many views of religious life that it is impossible to teach secularism purely without in one way or another touching on religious issues. Now, to take a concrete example, the instance of the secularism with which we have to deal in these Queen's Colleges. We have Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham telling us that if you set up a system from which you exclude all tests there is a danger of the faith of students being sapped by professors of secular knowledge, that it is necessary to take measures against that, so much so that Sir Robert Peel said "as to infidelity we are all agreed, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians and Protestants, to repel infidel doctrines. You cannot doubt that any attempt to disseminate such doctrines will be repelled if you commit to the Crown the power of Visitor to these academical institutions". Now Daniel O'Connell was in the House of Commons and his answer was this: "We, the Catholics of Ireland, will not trust the faith of our people to the guardianship of the Crown. You admit there is a danger; you admit that we should be protected, and you, a secular Government, you a Protestant Government, ask us to constitute you the protectors of our people's faith. That we will not do". Therefore we held, as we have all held, that there is but one authority as to the questions of doctrine that Catholics can accept that is the authority of their own Church. That is the essential objection we have. Furthermore, there was the question of the appointment of professors. The appointment of professors was reserved to the Crown, and the removal of professors, so that if the Crown were satisfied as to the fitness of a professor, not merely in the capacity of teacher of his own business, but in relation to the faith of Catholic people of Ireland, he was to be appointed on that judgement, without reference whatsoever to us. Now it is quite obvious that the citizens of a Catholic city like Cork, or the Catholic people of Munster, had no security whatsoever on which they could rely for the faith of their sons if they sent them to the colleges on these conditions. . . . My view is this – that all secular sciences may come in contact with religious doctrine, and that when a system was being set up in which it was expressly stated by the founders that there was a provision to be made for the contingency of the system coming into collision with the doctrines of the Catholic Church then the question was, who was the proper authority to determine whether Catholic doctrines are infringed or not. Sir Robert Peel said it should be certain nominees of the Crown. We held it should be some representatives of the Catholic Church – that is, that the Catholic authorities

should have the right to warn a secular teacher off their own ground. Not that we should have the right to go in, say to a teacher of Chemistry and regulate his teaching. We have no right whatsoever to do that. No authority in the Catholic Church has the right to interfere with the teaching of a science, *qua* science, within its own proper domain, anymore than it has to interfere with a man in the conduct of his business as a merchant, or a shopkeeper; but if a teacher goes outside his proper domain, and infringes on Catholic doctrine, then we say the Catholic authorities are the people to warn him off. . . .

[*Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland*; appendix to the first report. H.C. 1902 (Cd. 826) xxxi.]

VI.17(b) Recommendations of the Robertson Commission:

The following is a Summary of our principal conclusions and recommendations:

1. That the present arrangement by which the Degrees of the Royal University are obtainable by examination alone has lowered the ideal of University life and education in Ireland, and should be abolished.

2. That the system by which, in making appointments to the Senate and all the offices of the Royal University, account must be taken of the religious profession of the persons to be appointed with a view to maintain the even balance between the Churches is educationally indefensible.

3. That the system by which an indirect State endowment for certain Colleges is provided by means of Fellowships in the Royal University held by Professors in these Colleges, who act as University Examiners, must be condemned.

4. That the Royal University should be converted into a teaching University.

5. That the present Senate of the Royal University should be superseded by a governing body constituted on an academic basis in the manner explained in Section VI of this Report.

6. That the reconstituted Royal University should be a Federal University with constituent Colleges.

7. That the constituent Colleges should be Queen's College, Belfast, Queen's College, Cork, Queen's College, Galway, and a new College for Roman Catholics to be established in Dublin, and constituted on the lines suggested in Section VI of this Report.

8. That the endowment and equipment of the new College in Dublin should be on a scale required by a University College of the first rank, which is intended to draw its students from all parts of Ireland.

9. That the Catholic University School of Medicine should be absorbed into the new College in Dublin.

10. That the present government and constitution of the Queen's Colleges should be remodelled on the lines suggested in Section VI of this Report.

11. That the Colleges should be accorded a large measure of autonomy, so that each may be enabled to develop freely on its own lines while at the same time conforming to the common standard of culture prescribed by the University.

12. That a liberal increase should be made in the endowment and equipment of Queen's College, Belfast, so as to remove the deficiencies which at present hamper its work and hinder its expansion.

13. That, while we are aware of existing deficiencies in the equipment of the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway, we are unable to recommend that any addition should be made to the present endowments of these Colleges, until in altered circumstances they give evidence of increased utility.

14. That the Law Schools in the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway should be abolished, and that the School of Medicine in Queen's College, Galway, should be limited to the first two years of the medical curriculum.

15. That the Degrees of the reconstituted University should be open to women on the same terms as to men.

16. That attendance at lectures in one of the four constituent Colleges of the reconstituted University should be required from all candidates – without distinction of sex – who seek the advantages of University training, due exception being made in the case of matriculated students at present engaged in a course of extern study.

17. That Halls of Residence, for men and for women students, should be provided, in connection with the two colleges, in Dublin and in Belfast.

18. That the duplication of expensive equipment for the teaching of applied science should, as far as possible, be avoided. With this view, courses at the Royal College of Science for Ireland should be recognized as qualifying, in whole or part, for certain Degrees of the University.

19. That provision for higher technical instruction should be

made in Belfast, and that the co-operation of the authorities of the Queen's College and of the Municipal Technical Institute for this purpose, is desirable.

[*Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, final report.* H.C. 1903 (Cd. 1483) xxxii.]

VI.18 Royal Commission on Trinity College and the University of Dublin, 1906-07 (The Fry Commission).

Following the failure of the Robertson Commission to find an acceptable solution to the university question, attention turned once again to the University of Dublin and to the idea of separating it from Trinity Colege and establishing a national university. In 1906 the Liberal government set up the Fry Commission to investigate the place held by Trinity College and the University of Dublin 'as organs of higher education in Ireland' and the steps to be taken 'to increase their usefulness to the country'. Most of the witnesses called were against an enlarged University of Dublin and Father William Delany, president of University College was once again a key witness. The members of the commission were divided in their final recommendations. Five members favoured a federation of five colleges within the University of Dublin, three supported a 'Robertson' style solution, and one member, Mr. S. B. Kelleher was opposed to both. He wished to retain 'mixed' education for Catholics and Protestants within Trinity College as it then existed.

In 1907 the chief secretary, Bryce, introduced a scheme of his own whereby the University of Dublin was to be enlarged. Opposition to the scheme was so strong particularly from Trinity College which formed a defence committee and organised a 'Hands off Trinity' campaign, that Bryce dropped the plan, and resigned.

VI.18(a) Evidence of the Very Rev. W. Delany, S.J., President of University College, Dublin.

The following is a statement submitted by Very Rev. William Delany, S.J., LL.D., President of University College, Dublin:

Sir,

I regret that the pressure of official duties has delayed so long my reply to your letter of the 25th June, but I hope it is not yet too late.

In that letter I am invited to submit to the consideration of the members of the Royal Commission such observations or informa-

tion as I may desire to lay before them, as to 'the place which Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin now hold as organs of the higher education in Ireland, and the steps proper to be taken to increase their usefulness to the country.'

With regard to the former of these two questions, I think that the position of Trinity Colege and of the University of Dublin in relation to higher education in Ireland has been accurately and authoritatively stated by the Vice-Chancellor, Vice-Provost, and over 6,000 of its graduates, in the petition which they presented to the House of Commons in 1870, and in which they state that:

> 'The University of Trinity College, Dublin, was founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1591, for the purpose of promoting education in Ireland on the principles of the Protestant religion. That for three centuries Trinity College has faithfully fulfilled the trust imposed on it by its founder and benefactors, and has in consequence enjoyed the confidence of the Protestant people of Ireland . . . and therefore your petitioners pray . . . that the Protestant constitution of the University of Dublin may be preserved unimpaired.' – (*Parliamentary Paper, No. 110, Session* 1870.)

It needs but a slight acquaintance with Irish history to force one to recognise the accuracy of that description of the origin and history of Trinity College, and the extent to which – under favouring laws – it has fulfilled the purpose of its founder and benefactors in propagating and maintaining the Protestant religion amongst the aristocracy and the land-owning gentry of Ireland.

Until 1873 none but members of the Protestant Church could become Fellows; and it was only a little earlier, in 1865, that the statute was repealed which obliged all but four of its Fellows to become clergymen of the Protestant Church.

The legislation of 1873, known as Fawcett's Act, abolished tests in the College and the University; but it made no other change in the nature or powers of its governing body or in the teaching of the College.

And hence those who know it best, and whose Protestantism is unimpeachable, have claimed for it quite recently that – 'At the present moment, with all its toleration, all its liberality, all its comprehensiveness, and all its scrupulous honour, the *genius loci,* the guardian spirit of the place was Protestant.'

(Judge Webb, at the inaugural meeting of the College Historical Society, 1891. Professor Mahaffy and Lord Justice FitzGibbon spoke in the same sense.)

To-day, in 1906, there is one Catholic Fellow in Trinity College; but under its present form of government he will have to wait thirty

years or more before he can have any real part in the government of the College.

These considerations show at once the educational position of Trinity College: it is the College of the Protestant minority; it is entirely in harmony with that minority politically as well as religiously; and, therefore, it enjoys their confidence, and they are in the main entirely satisfied with it.

But for those same reasons it has been throughout its history, and is to-day, out of touch with the great majority of the people of Ireland, who look on it traditionally as the stronghold of the English Protestant garrison in Ireland, the defender and the supporter – at the cost of the many – of a privileged religion and a privileged class.

Hence with the exception of, comparatively, a mere handful of Catholics, who saw in Trinity College the only road to professional advancement and social recognition, the great mass of Irish Catholics have ever stood aloof from it, and regarded it from a political and national (as well as a religious) point of view, with feelings of aversion and hostility. And I am convinced that no patchwork reform, such as certain 'Catholics of Dublin and its neighbourhood' seem to think sufficient – would make Trinity College acceptable to the Catholics of Ireland as a place of education for their children.

I am unable to conceive any such change in the Constitution, mode of government, and system of education of Trinity College, which would make it acceptable to the Catholic body in Ireland as well as to the Protestants of Ireland, for whose benefit it has existed hitherto.

The second question regarding 'the steps proper to be taken to increase the usefulness to the country of Trinity College and the University of Dublin', has been already answered so far as it relates to Trinity College.

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With regard to the University, however, the case is different. But even here I may note that, in the formal petition, which I have quoted above, the petitioners describe the University of Dublin and the University of Trinity College, Dublin, as one and the same institution; and the same identity of description occurs in other important legal documents. But if there exists now, or if there be brought into existence, a University of Dublin distinct from Trinity College, and if in such a University, under a re-constituted govern-

ing body, on which Catholics were adequately represented, there were placed along with Trinity College a College for Catholics similarly equipped and endowed, controlled by a body so constituted as to command the confidence of Catholics and enjoying Collegiate autonomy, such as was recommended in the Report of the Robertson Commission, in such a condition of things I believe that a settlement of the Irish University Question on those lines would be accepted by a large body of Catholics, including many, like myself, who would have preferred another and much easier solution, involving little or no interference with existing vested interests.

Connected with the question of the relation of the University of Dublin to higher education in Ireland, there is one modification of the status of that institution which may possibly be recommended to the consideration of the Commission, but which, I earnestly hope, may not find favour with them, namely, a scheme which would establish Trinity College as the sole University of Ireland.

In Ireland or elsewhere, the social and economic conditions of the people impose the need of educational institutions of different types, suited to the conditions and the educational wants of the different classes of the population – institutions where the votaries of the ancient learning and the searchers after the newest sciences and their practical applications may alike find themselves adequately provided for. The popularity (despite all its drawbacks) of the Royal University – as shown by the large and ever increasing number of students who present themselves for its examinations – establishes, I think, that there is at once room and need in Ireland for a University of a different type from that of Dublin.

Again, educational experience everywhere else has led to the multiplication of Universities. It has been found in England, that even where – as in Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds – the experiment of federating local Colleges in one University had been tried under most favourable circumstances, the educational result had not been found satisfactory, and separate Universities have taken the place of the federation of Colleges.

I need hardly point out how much more difficult it would be to make such an experiment successful in Ireland, where – over and above the purely educational defects of the federal system – the problem of establishing and carrying on effectively and harmoniously one single University for all the Irish people, would be complicated by racial and religious and political animosities, which had no parallel in the federated Victoria University.

For these and other reasons, I am strongly in favour of separate

Universities, suited to the character, religious convictions, national sentiment, and social and economic conditions of the people amongst whom they are placed.

And I am convinced from the record of the educational work done by University College under the greatest difficulties, that if a suitably equipped and endowed University were provided for Irish Catholics, it would speedily take a high place on the list of Universities.

I am aware, in submitting these observations, that they may seem to travel outside the reference of the Commission but I hold that they are directly relevant to the issues raised by that portion of your letter which invites observations or information regarding the steps proper to be taken to increase the usefulness to the country of Trinity College and the University of Dublin.

I am convinced that a healthy competition with another residential University would increase, rather than injure, the usefulness of that institution to the country, whilst the removal thereby of the great grievance at present associated with its name and history, would, by the establishment of equality of conditions, do much to foster more friendly relations between the members of the different denominations.

But if, for any reasons, the establishment of a separate University be deemed not feasible or unadvisable, there remain two alternatives which the Catholic Bishops have declared their willingness to consider favourably:

(a) The solution suggested in the Report of the Robertson Commission.

(b) The establishment, in a re-modelled University of Dublin, of a College for Catholics suitably equipped and endowed.

And in this, as in the prior recommendation of a separate University, I may say respectfully that I am entirely in accord with the views of their Lordships.

Again apologising for the long delay,

I have the honour to be,
Yours faithfully,
William Delany.

[*Royal Commission on Trinity College and the University of Dublin, appendix to the first report.* H.C. 1906 (Cd. 3174, 3176) lvi.]

VI.18(b) Extract from the evidence of Dr. Anthony Traill, provost of Trinity College, to the Fry Commission.

. . . I wish to bring forward the following arguments against the introduction of a second College into the University of Dublin. Such a College must be either a free, open one, like Trinity College, not under any ecclesiastical control, or it must be what is demanded by the Roman Catholic Bishops and a section of the Roman Catholic laity, i.e., a College subject to the supervision and control of the bishops, both in relation to the professors and the books in the courses. If the second College were to be simply a replica of Trinity College, though started with a Roman Catholic 'atmosphere', it would not be required in Dublin, for it would obviously be as unfair to Trinity College to place it here as it would be to start a second College in Belfast on the same lines as those of the Queen's College there. I do not think anyone would think of proposing to set up a second College in Belfast on the same lines as the Queen's College, and it would be equally unfair to put up a second College here on the same lines as Trinity College especially with a lower scale of fees. That is an objection I always had to Mr. Balfour's scheme. If, on the other hand, it were to have the support of the Bishops, it could not be worked on the same principles as Trinity College. These principles require absolute freedom with regard to science, philosophy, and history, whether for discussion or research, and that no ecclesiastical authority should interfere with such investigations. The Roman Catholic Bishops, as against these views, claim that it is within their province to decide on the orthodoxy of the lectures of a professor, inasmuch as they consider themselves to be the guardians of the faith and morals of their people. These principles are inconsistent with each other, and could not be followed out within the same University. The clerical influence pervading the second College would extend itself to the University. The field of studies would become what Bishop O'Dwyer calls a 'cockpit'. In the Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge there is separate teaching, but joint teaching by the University professors. Here the University lectures would require to be common to both Colleges, because they could not be duplicated, and if mixed education is forbidden in the Colleges, how can it with any consistency be allowed in the University? The claim for a second College must inevitably involve a further claim that the system and limitations of that College should be applied to the University, so that books would be subject to an 'Index', and the Professors left without their freedom. In all University examinations

the examiners would have to balance each other on a religious test as on all public educational boards in Ireland at present. In the examinations in the professional schools this would give rise to constant suspicions. If the students of one college were more successful at the University Examinations than those of the other, suspicions, perhaps charges, of cheating would arise, and that could only be got over by importing a whole staff of 'external examiners' to secure fair play, and the cost of this would be enormous. All examinations for degrees, whether in Arts in the Professional Schools, must be above suspicion.

[*Royal Commission on Trinity College and the University of Dublin, minutes of evidence.* H.C. 1907 (Cd. 3311) xli.]

VI.19 Irish Universities Act, 1908.

In 1908, Augustine Birrell, the Liberal chief secretary, found an acceptable solution to the university question. By the Irish Universities Act, two new universities were created, namely the National University of Ireland and the Queen's University, Belfast. While both were legally non-denominational, the National University, consisting of three constituent colleges, University College, Cork, University College, Galway and a new college in Dublin, was to be in practice a university for Catholics, and Queen's College, Belfast, elevated to become a university, was to maintain its strong Protestant tradition. In both universities, there were to be no religious tests nor could public funds be used for chapels or religious instruction. During the negotiations, Birrell worked closely with Archbishop William Walsh of Dublin who became the first chancellor of the National University.

Two bodies of commissioners were appointed, one in Belfast and the other in Dublin, to frame the statutes of the new universities and these were then to be laid before parliament. The 1908 act which was strongly opposed by the Ulster unionists, can be seen as the forerunner of political partition where the creation of a single national university proved impossible and a separate solution for the north and south of the country had to be found. Trinity College and the University of Dublin remained unchanged. Maynooth College became affiliated to the National University as a recognised college, while Magee College became attached by a special arrangement to Trinity College. The following is an extract from the Act:

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

FOUNDATION OF TWO NEW UNIVERSITIES AND PROVISIONS AS TO QUEEN'S COLLEGES

1.-(1) His Majesty may, if pleased to do so, by charter found two new universities in Ireland (in this Act referred to as the new universities), those universities respectively to have their seats at Dublin and Belfast.

(2) The two universities shall be bodies corporate under such names respectively as His Majesty may be pleased to determine, and the governing bodies of the universities shall, until the expiration of five years from the day appointed for the dissolution of the Royal University of Ireland, consist of such number of persons nominated by His Majesty as His Majesty determines, and after the expiration of that time be constituted in manner provided by the First Schedule to this Act.

(3) The Royal University of Ireland and Queen's College, Belfast, shall be dissolved as from the appointed day.

2.-(1) His Majesty may, if pleased to do so, by charter, found a new college to have its seat at Dublin.

(2) The college shall be a body corporate under such name as His Majesty may be pleased to determine, and the governing body of the college shall be constituted in manner provided by the charter.

(3) Queen's College, Cork, Queen's College, Galway, and the new college having its seat at Dublin, shall be constituent colleges of the new university having its seat at Dublin, and, for the purpose of making any alterations in the constitution or government of Queen's College, Cork, or Queen's College, Galway, which the passing of this Act renders it expedient to make by charter, His Majesty may, if pleased to do so, either alter the charter existing at the time of the passing of this Act, or grant a new charter in lieu thereof, and may, if pleased to do so, alter the name of those colleges or either of them, and provision shall be made by any such new charter or alteration of an existing charter for adequate representation of graduates and professors on the governing bodies of the constituent colleges.

* * * * * *

3.-(1) No test whatever of religious belief shall be imposed on any person as a condition of his becoming or continuing to be a professor, lecturer, fellow, scholar exhibitioner, graduate, or student of, or of his holding any office or emolument or exercising any privilege in, either of the two new universities, or any consti-

tuent college; nor in connection with either of those universities or any such constituent college shall any preference be given to or advantage be withheld from any person on the ground of religious belief.

(2) Every professor upon entering into office shall sign a declaration in a form approved by the Commissioners jointly under this Act, securing the respectful treatment of the religious opinions of any of his class.

(3) Nothing in this section shall apply to any professor of or lecturer in theology or divinity; provided that no test of religious belief shall be imposed by the governing body of either of the two new universities or any constituent college on any such professor or lecturer as a condition of his appointment or recognition by the governing body as such professor or lecturer.

4.–(1) The statutes for the general government of the new universities and the constituent colleges of the new university having its seat at Dublin shall be made in the first instance, as respects the statutes of the new university having its seat at Dublin and the constituent colleges thereof, by the Dublin Commissioners appointed under this Act, and as respects the new university having its seat at Belfast by the Belfast Commissioners appointed under this Act, and, after the powers of these commissioners determine, by the governing bodies of the universities and colleges.

[*An act to make further provision with respect to university education in Ireland, 1908.* (8 Edward VII, c. 38).]

VI.20 Irish in the National University of Ireland, 1909.

Following the setting up of the National University of Ireland in 1908, the Gaelic League sought to have Irish made a compulsory subject for matriculation for the new university. The campaign was ably led by Dr. Douglas Hyde and Professor Eoin Mac Neill of University College, Dublin. Mac Neill in his pamphlet *Irish in the National University of Ireland,* (1909), declared that the success of the new university depended on its attitude to Irish nationalism – 'If this university does not learn to love the Irish Nation, and to make itself beloved by the Irish Nation, it is doomed to sterility'.

On the other hand, Fr. William Delany, former president of University College, strongly opposed the introduction of compulsory Irish claiming that it would exclude many students and make the university less 'national'. The Gaelic League gained the support of the county councils who declared that they would not grant university scholarships (as they had

been empowered to do under the 1908 act) unless the Irish language was made a compulsory subject for entry. Finally, in 1910 the Senate of the National University agreed that Irish would become an obligatory subject for matriculation from 1913 onwards.

. . . The following is an extract from MacNeill's pamphlet *Irish in the National University of Ireland*:

The University Act of 1908 comes indeed to Ireland upon the mandate of the State, but it differs from all the previous enactments in its creation of a largely autonomous authority with a professedly representative basis. The freedom of action of this authority, and the resources at its command, have been subjected to serious limitations in conformity with the wishes of the people of Great Britain, and not with the wishes of the people of Ireland. Nevertheless, within these limitations a full responsibility for the form and character of the education to be established has been placed on those selected in the first instance to represent a variety of Irish interests, and on their successors, of whom all but a few to be nominated by Government, will be chosen on a freely elective basis. The Irish people, so far as they can be interested in higher education – and they are rapidly learning to take a keen interest in it – will probably look to the authority of the new National University to justify its selection, and truly to represent the educational interests of the Nation.

The National University, from its very inception, has to face a critical situation which may, nay which must, deeply affect its prospects of success. The chief condition of success for it is that it shall secure the goodwill and affection of the Irish people; that they shall begin to look upon the University as their own, as an institution to which they are bound, and which is bound to them, by ties of intimate sympathy and confidence. Possibly to some who are made familiar by long experience with the officialized outlook of Irish education what I have just said will fail to convey a fulness of meaning. In a sense, no doubt, the seats of learning should be above popularity. And yet, in a still graver sense, popularity is the essential condition of success for our National University. If this University does not learn to love the Irish Nation, and to make itself beloved by the Irish Nation, it is doomed to sterility.

To attain to a university in which their religion and their national ideals shall have full and free scope, the people of Ireland have wandered in the wilderness not for forty but for well nigh four hundred years, have endured a degradation otherwise unheard of, have made tremendous sacrifices. Now at length they see within their

reach the priceless boon, the due and just reward of all that they and their fathers have endured. They clearly understand that those who are called on to represent them have it in their power to make the University what the Nation desires it to be made - the fostering home of every national ideal. As the opportunity is, so shall be the judgment. All previous education has been in the eyes of the people a purely governmental thing, incapable of earning gratitude or affection, even criticized with half indifference. Towards the National University the people of Ireland will be either frankly and heartily loyal or contemptuously frigid. The University will proceed on its way with all the advantages that the cordial adhesion of the public can confer on it, or with all the disadvantages that will arise from the sense of a bitter disillusionment. . . .

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. . . I, therefore, maintain that it is not only reasonable but imperative to include the study of Irish, coupled with a general knowledge of Irish history, as an essential and separate factor in the preparatory basis of knowledge for admission into the University.

In dealing with the advancement of the Irish language movement, as a Vice-president of the Gaelic League, I have more than once publicly declared against the weapon of compulsion. To such a movement adhesion without conviction is a grave danger. In a public address at Letterkenny, long before the question of Irish in the new universities began to be agitated, I made an emphatic declaration against any and every attempt to compel adhesion to the Language Movement, and by that declaration I have abided and will abide. And now I find myself reproached on both sides with inconsistency. On one side I am told that in claiming the position that I have claimed for Irish in the National University, I am falling back on the compulsion that I have deprecated and disclaimed. On the other side my distrust of compulsion is by some regarded as a proof that I am wavering in my fidelity to the rightful claims of the National Language. It is not, however, my consistency or my logic that is at fault.

The evil of compulsion lies in its substituting an artificial and demoralized adhesion for a loyal and high-principled adhesion. But these are cases, not a few, in which this view does not take effect. My children, for example, have never been allowed any choice in the matter: they have been brought up in the habit of speaking Irish to all their associates who can speak Irish.

The question now before me is not a question of the success or of the soundness of the language movement. It will be in the power of the University to exercise a deep influence on the language movement and on every other manifestation of national life. The University, if there is any wisdom in its counsels, will take care to be in harmony with that great, beneficent, educative and spiritual uprising of the popular mind. But the language movement would not be defeated by the indifference of the University, if the University were blind enough to become indifferent. The success of the language movement depends less on the University than the success of the University depends on the language movement. I trust that the truth of this statement will never be brought to the test of experience – that it may never be possible to distinguish between the beneficial results of these two great endeavours, which should act together as vital organs in restoring and maintaining a healthy national life. Who shall say whether the life owes more to the heart or to the brain?

The particular question at issue is of the character to be imposed on the National University. It will not take its character from the winds of the world. Its Act and Charters are things permissive, nowise creative. They mark an epoch in British statesmanship, by setting up, or rather allowing to be set up, an Irish institution which is very nearly free to shape its own course and character. The University will take its course and character from the conscious and deliberate or unconscious and indeliberate acts and activities of its members. So far as they can consciously affect it, by every regulation they devise, they will compel and coerce a course and character upon the University. Like every one of my colleagues, by action or by inaction, I cannot escape being a participant in this compulsion and coercion, no more than I can escape, by action or inaction, becoming a factor in the character and habits of my own children. I shall coerce Latin, I shall coerce Mathematics, I shall feel regret if I cannot coerce Logic into the preparatory course. Must I then stand aside and stand indifferent when it is a question of introducing the National factor among the qualifications for entrance into the National University? Or will it be accounted for virtue to me if I take my stand against the National factor, and thus coerce a cosmopolitan, or more truly a provincial, character upon this institution towards which the Nation, and the Nation only, looks up with strained and burning eyes? . . .

[Eoin MacNeill, *Irish in the National University of Ireland,* Dublin, 1909.]

VII

Guide to Sources

VII.1 Student Guide to Research in the History of Irish Education.

1. Guides to work already completed or in progress.

(a) Educational Studies Association of Ireland *Register of theses on educational topics in universities in Ireland.* See also Educational Studies Association of Ireland conference papers, now published annually as *Irish Educational Studies.*

(b) *Irish Historical Studies* carries each year an important list of theses entitled:
'Research on Irish History in Irish Universities'.
'Writings on Irish History' is published regularly on microfiche by the Irish Committee of Historical Sciences.

(c) History of Education Society in Britain publishes:
History of Education (three times a year).
History of Education Society Bulletin (twice a year).
Guides to Sources in the History of Education (occasionally).

(d) See also *Irish Economic and Social History* (the journal of the Economic and Social History Society of Ireland.

2. Bibliographies and guides (printed material).

(a) *Books on Irish History*

T. W. Moody (ed.), *Irish Historiography, 1936-70,* Dublin, 1971.
Joseph Lee (ed.), *Irish Historiography, 1970-79,* Cork, 1981.
Allan Eager, *A Guide to Irish Bibliographical Material,* Library Association, 1980.
Edith M. Johnston, *Irish History: A Select Bibliography,* The Historical Association, 1969.
K. Milne, *New Approaches to the Teaching of Irish History,* The Historical Association, 1979.

(b) *Books on Education*

George Baron, *Bibliographical Guide to the English Educational System* (third edition), 1965.
C. W. J. Higson, *Sources for the History of Education,* 1967, and *Supplement to Sources for the History of Education,* 1976.
W. Kenneth Richmond, *The Literature of Education,* 1972.

(c) *Periodicals*

Richard Hayes, *Sources for the History of Irish Civilization: Articles in Irish Periodicals,* 8 Vols. Boston, 1970.

(d) *Pamphlets*

Royal Irish Academy. The Haliday collection is a particularly valuable one.

L. W. Hanson, *Contemporary printed sources for British and Irish economic history, 1701-1750,* 1963.

R. D. C. Black, *Catalogue of pamphlets on Irish economic subjects published between 1750 and 1900,* Belfast, 1969.

3. Primary material.

(i) *Manuscript*

The main collections of manuscript material relating to Ireland are to be found in:

The National Library of Ireland (NLI), Kildare Street, Dublin 2.

The Manuscripts Department, The Library, Trinity College, Dublin 2.

The National Archives at the Four Courts and Dublin Castle (formerly the Public Record Office of Ireland, and the State Paper Office).

The Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 66 Balmoral Avenue, Belfast BT9 6NY.

The Royal Irish Academy (RIA), Dawson Street, Dublin 2.

Marsh's Library, St. Patrick's Close, Dublin 8.

Archives Department, University College, Dublin, at 82 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2, or Belfield, Montrose, Dublin 4, when library completed there.

Dublin City Archives, City Hall, Dublin 2.

Cork Archives Institute, Christchurch, Cork.

Mid-West Regional Archives (Limerick, Clare and Tipperary), 104 Henry St., Limerick.

The Chester Beatty Library, Shrewsbury Road, Dublin 4.

Representative Church Body Library (C. of I.), Braemor Park, Dublin 14.

Dublin Diocesan Archives (R.C.), Clonliffe Road, Dublin 3.

The National Trust Archives, 63 Merrion Square, Dublin 2.

See Richard Hayes, *Guide to Manuscript sources for the history of Irish Civilization* (indexed by persons and places), 11 vols., with supplements, Boston, 1965. J. Ainsworth, *List of Mss. in private keeping,* (NLI).

The Irish Manuscripts Commission has published many collections and calendars of manuscripts.

Also check the publications of The Historical Manuscripts Commission (Quality House, Quality Court, Chancery Lane, London WC2A 1LR) and the (British) National Register of Archives at the same address.

(ii) *Printed*

By far the greater part of printed primary material takes the form of official publications. The bulk of these are parliamentary papers, and they are to be found (but are not always available to be consulted) in the National Library of Ireland and the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Some libraries have modern reproductions of them. Guides to the parliamentary papers dealing with Irish affairs are:

Susan M. Parkes, *Irish Education in the British Parliamentary Papers in the 19th century and after, 1801-1920.* History of Education Society, Cork University Press, 1978.

Arthur Maltby and Jean Maltby, *Ireland in the nineteenth century: a breviate of official publications,* Oxford, 1979.

Dermot Englefield, *The Printed Records of the Parliament of Ireland, 1613-1800,* Lemon Tree Press, London, 1978.

P. and G. Ford, *A guide to parliamentary papers,* Shannon, 1972.

Printed parliamentary papers relating to Ireland *before* the Union (i.e. mainly the eighteenth century) are found in:

Journals of the House of Commons in the kingdom of Ireland, 1613-1800, 20 Vols., Dublin, 1796-1800, and

Journals of the House of Lords (of Ireland), 1634-1800, 8 Vols., Dublin, 1779-1800, both of which give parliamentary proceedings and documents.

The statutes at large (Ireland), 20 Vols., Dublin 1786-1801.

Printed primary material for 1800-1922, e.g. the reports of the Commissioners of National Education, are to be found by consulting the indexes to British parliamentary papers under the headings 'Education (Ireland)', 'Universities', etc.

From time to time various important collections of manuscripts have been printed, some official (e.g. state papers belonging to the Home Office), some unofficial (e.g. the correspondence of leading political figures). Again, lists of these are held by the major libraries, especially:

Calendar of State Papers, Ireland.
Publications of the Irish Manuscripts Commission.
Publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

For the official record of parliamentary proceedings in the 19th century see *Hansard.*

4. Miscellaneous works of reference.

Dictionary of National Biography.
Henry Boylan, *Dictionary of Irish Biography.* (Dublin, 1978).
Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1832).

Six-inch Ordnance Survey Maps (in, e.g., Royal Irish Academy) [see J. H. Andrews, *History in the Ordnance Map: an introduction for Irish readers*, Ordnance Survey Office, Dublin, 1974].

A note on the citation of official papers.

It is important to know the conventional way of citing parliamentary papers both for following up references, and also that your own references may be useful to other scholars.

The references used in this volume when citing the sources of extracts from parliamentary and other official papers follow conventions that students are advised to use. (For the purposes of this present collection of extracts page numbers have been omitted). The following explanation may be helpful:

Example

[1]*Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the progress and condition of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway, with minutes of evidence, documents, tables and returns.* [2]H.C. [3]1857-58 [4](2413) [5]xxi.

1. The title of the report.
2. House of Commons (sometimes House of Lords).
3. The year of the parliamentary session in which the report was presented ('sessional year').
4. The number allocated to the report in that session ('sessional number').
5. The number of the volume containing the report in the bound sets of reports that are held by some libraries.

VII.2 Educational History in the National Archives, Dublin.

Many of the unpublished sources for the history of Irish Education are to be found among the national archives in the Public Record Office of Ireland and the State Paper Office.[1] Foremost among these are the records of the Commissioners of National Education which are described in some detail in the following pages. Apart from this collection however, records of schools, of teachers and of government aided or privately supported schemes of education are to be found among many other record series in both offices. To offer a comprehensive account of all the source material available or even of all the material available within a particular class would not be practicable. What follows is intended to indicate the main record series which contain material of this nature.

(i) Records in the Public Record Office of Ireland.

Records of the Commissioners of National Education

This collection constitutes the largest body of material in the Public Record Office dealing exclusively with the history of education. It contains within its nine classes over 2,000 volumes and 29,000 files. The date span differs from class to class. Although the records are the central records of the Commissioners, the information contained relates mainly to the schools and teachers rather than the central administration.[2] A consolidated index to the applications (ED 1), registers (ED 2) and files (ED 9) has been compiled and is arranged by name of school within county. Lists of records in all nine classes also exist.

ED 1 Applications (1832-1890)

Applications were made to the Commissioners for grants towards the building of schools, payment of teachers, or provision of equipment. They were made on printed questionnaires. The completed forms are accompanied in some cases by inspectors' reports and relevant correspondence. In addition to the initial application for each proposed new school or each school connecting with the system for the first time, there are usually later applications for grants towards the payment of extra teachers or provision of furnishings. The applications are bound chronologically in volumes by county. They commence with the establishment of the system but the date of the latest application varies from county to county ranging from 1877 for Leitrim applications to 1890 for Longford applications. Likewise the number of applications varies from county to county, ranging from two volumes for Louth to ten for Cork.[3]

ED 2 Registers (1835-1905)

The registers summarise the Commissioners' dealings with individual schools. They should not be confused with the more familiar school registers which each school was obliged to keep and which contain information on individual pupils. The Commissioners' registers are arranged from 1835 to 1855 by county, thereafter by district. Each volume contains information on all the schools within the county or district. Schools are arranged within registers by roll number, and all Board orders, letters and other communications between the school and the office of the Commissioners are recorded in the appropriate pages. They thus offer a succinct digest of the schools' history.

For each school the following information is given:
The parish and townland in which situated
How situated in respect of religious houses
When locally established

When taken into connection with the Board
Names of clerical applicants whether Established Church, Presbyterian or Roman Catholic
Numbers of lay applicants with their religious denominations, Protestant and Roman Catholic.

From 1835 to 1855 the following additional information is given:
Dimension of school rooms
Number of scholars
Names of teachers
Amounts granted by Commissioners in aid
Amounts of local contributions
Number of National Schools within three miles.

The reorganisation of the Inspection Department in 1855 was reflected by changes in the registers. As well as registers being kept by district rather than by county, additional information was recorded for each school in the form of tabulated statistics from inspectors' reports. These recorded attendance, ages and levels of proficiency. Such statistics do not appear in the registers after 1869. This is possibly because the imminent introduction of the payments by results system required the abstraction of a greater volume of detailed information from inspectors' reports than could be accommodated within the pages of the registers. Although statistical information no longer appears in the registers after 1869, comments concerning proficiency and teaching standards continue to be recorded.

ED 3 Registers of District Model Schools (1845-1876)

Like the registers in ED 2, the registers of district model schools summarise Board orders and letters and other communications passing between the schools and the office of the Commissioners.

In the first volume of this series information for each school is given under two main categories: proceedings preliminary to the execution of the lease, and letters and orders from the time of entering into contract for building. Under the first is included information on the land and premises. Under the second is included details of construction contracts as well as information on the running of the school once it has been established. In later volumes information includes names of teachers, their religion, dates of appointment and resignation, and details of their salaries.

ED 4 Salary Books - National Schools (1834-1918)

There are over 1,700 volumes in this series recording salary payments to all national school teachers. Teachers are listed under their schools, and as well as giving details of earnings, the salary books record the status of individual teachers whether principal, assistant or monitor. In addition,

incidental information is frequently recorded such as names of schools in which teachers have previously taught or to which they have moved. The salary books allow one to discover the names of all teachers in a particular school or can allow one to trace the career of an individual teacher. From 1834 to 1844 each volume covers the whole country. From 1844 to 1855 volumes are arranged by province, sometimes subdivided into groups of counties. From 1856 to 1870 the arrangement is by county and thereafter by district. Arrangements within volumes is numerical by roll number of school.

ED 5 Salary Books - Model Schools (1862-1919) (formerly ED 5 and ED 6)

These contain the same information for model schools as is contained in ED 4 for ordinary national schools.

ED 7 Newspaper Cuttings (1854-1922)

These are contained in 26 volumes most of which are individually indexed. Cuttings concern educational matters generally but mainly concern national education. Apart from their value as a record of the office of the Commissioners, these indexed volumes offer a short cut to educational topics through the maze of 19th century newspapers.

ED 8 Miscellaneous Records (1861-1912)

These include circular letters issued to inspectors, 1861-1872, an index of teachers qualifying at training colleges, with subjects in which qualified, 1893-1907, and of teachers competent to teach Irish, 1895-1916, and prospectuses of Irish colleges.

ED 9 Files (1877-1924)

These are case files concerning individual schools. They cover a wide variety of subjects ranging from fairly routine appointments of managers to investigations into local allegations of misconduct against teachers. They offer more detail than is contained in the registers. The files are numbered consecutively from 1 to 29238. There is a contemporary index to them in five volumes (ED 10/1-5) but the main finding aids are the consolidated index to national schools records and the list of files. The index is arranged by name of school within county. The list is in numerical order by number of file and contains the following information: file number, name of school, county, roll number, date range of file, subject matter.[4]

No other record collection in the Public Record Office contains the same volume of material on education as do the records of the Commissioners of National Education but there are several other significant collection of education related material.

Records of the Commissioners of Intermediate Education (1897-1918)

Because the Commissioners of Intermediate Education, in marked contrast to their counterparts for National Education, had no direct responsibility for running schools or direct payment of staff, the records now in the Public Record Office are in no sense as comprehensive as the national schools records[5] and mainly consist of claims for grants from individual schools.

ED 101 School rolls, 1890-1915.
ED 102 Claims for school grants, 1910-1917.
ED 103 Choir and orchestra bonus claims, 1913-1917.
ED 104 Inspections and grants claims, 1917 and 1918.
ED 105 Birth certificates of candidates at examination, 1879-1899.
ED 106 Notices of intention to present for examination, 1915-1918.

Business Records

Since 1970 a country-wide survey of business records has been in progress under the auspices of the Irish Manuscripts Commission. Most of the records deposited with this survey are housed in the Public Record Office. In the course of the survey many records other than those which could be defined strictly as business records have been discovered and have been accessioned or copied. These include registers, roll books and other school records. The following are some examples:

Br CAV 6	Subscription book recording donations for Kilmoe Academy, Co. Cavan, 1839
BR DON 12	Registers of Drumglin National School, Co. Donegal, 1869-1906
BR DON 22	Roll books and other records of Kinnelargy Robertson National School, Co. Donegal, 1886-1941
BR DUB 52	Records of Inchicore Model Schools, Dublin, 1849-1920
BR WM 1	Records of Wilson's Hospital, Mullingar 1768-1966
BR WICK 19	Records concerning erection of Church and school at Preban, 1822-1829.

Business records are arranged and listed within county of provenance. As well as the lists, an index by type of business is also available.

Records of Charitable Institutions

These include records of the Claremont Institution for Deaf and Dumb Children, 1816-1950, and the Protestant Orphan Society 1809-1973, both collections containing material of educational interest.

The Claremont Institution was established in Dublin in 1816 and had a house in Glasnevin, later moving to Monkstown, Co. Dublin. Its records

include minutes, annual reports and school registers. The records of the Protestant Orphan Society include, as well as administrative records of the main society and constituent organisations, individual case histories of orphaned children and apprenticeship records. Access to records less than 70 years old in this collection is granted only to readers who have written permission from the committee of the Protestant Orphan Society.

Census Returns 1901 and 1911

A census of population was carried out in Ireland every ten years from 1821 to 1911. From 1841 information gathered included statistics on literacy and from 1851 statistics on spoken Irish. The results of these censuses were published as parliamentary papers. The original household returns and enumerators' abstracts contained more information than was recorded in the published reports. The household returns for the entire country are available for 1901 and 1911 and contain information for all members of households and institutions such as boarding schools and orphanages. Information is supplied under the following heads: name, age, sex, occupation, marital status, place of birth, education (read and write, read only or cannot read) and knowledge of the Irish language. Census returns are arranged by street or townland within district electoral division, within county.[6] In addition to the 1901 and 1911 returns some returns are available for 1821, 31, 41 and 51.

Records of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests

The commissioners were responsible for the administration of funds of charitable trusts and bequests. The main series of files (CHAR 2) relate to individual schemes or trust funds and many of these concern endowed schools. In addition to the files, this collection also contains some records of the Endowed Schools commission including manuscript minutes 1856-94 (sporadic) and records of individual charities such as manuscript minutes of the Friends of Education, New Ross 1798-1804.

This collection also includes manuscript abstracts of the evidence taken by the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-13, in respect of:

English Parish Schools (abstracted by Isaac Corry)
Diocesan Free Schools (abstracted by Isaac Corry)
Free Schools of Royal Foundation (abstracted by Isaac Corry and Mr. Daly)
Sunday Schools founded by private persons (abstracted by Isaac Corry)
Wilson's Hospital (abstracted by Isaac Corry)

Erasmus Smith's Schools (abstracted by Edward Cooke)
Protestant Charter Schools (abstracted by the Secretary of State).

The abstracts were originally intended to form the Commissioners' first report but were never presented in this form. They seem to have come into the hands of the Endowed Schools Commissioners many years later.

Records of the Office of Public Works

These include letter books concerning school buildings, 1856-1881, and papers concerning loans for teachers' residences, 1902-1920.

Records of the Quit Rent Office

The Quit Rent Office was responsible for the collection of rents payable to the Crown on land confiscated and granted under the Land Settlement Acts of the seventeenth century. This large collection of records includes information on schools funded by revenues from such lands including Carysfort Royal School. The records relate primarily to the lands rather than the schools but should be investigated by anyone with a research interest in endowed schools.

Records of Rathdown Board of Guardians (1839-1924)

The Rathdown Board of Guardians was responsible under the Irish Poor Law of 1838 for the administration of Rathdown Union Workhouse at Loughlinstown, Co. Dublin. The union covered a large area of South County Dublin and North County Wicklow from Milltown in the North to Delgany in the South. The records, numbering over 700 volumes, have been listed according to a uniform plan for all Board of Guardian records. They include workhouse admission registers (indoor relief registers) and minute books. Like most workhouses, Rathdown Union included a school, financed in part by the Commissioners of National Education. Records of this school are to be found among the National Schools Records described above but can be supplemented from records in this collection.

Royal Commission on Primary Education (Powis Commission) Records (1868-1870)

Included are minutes of Commission meetings concerning the drafting of the report and three volumes of written submissions to the Commission.

Miscellaneous Documents purchased and presented

Included among this large and varied group are many collections concerning schools and educational societies. These range in volume from M 253, a copy notice from the Commissioners of National Education to managers and teachers informing them of new rates of salary, 1880, to M 4699, papers concerning the administration of St. Thomas' Charity School, Dublin, 1795-1860.

The main finding aids are the list of M documents arranged roughly in chronological order by date of presentation or purchase, and a card index by name and place.

(ii) Records in the State Paper Office

Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers (CSORP) (1818-1924)

This is by far the largest series of records in the State Paper Office and consists of incoming correspondence received in the central registry of the Chief Secretary's Office, the most important department in the administration of 19th century Ireland. The arrangement of the Registered Papers went through some modifications in the early years, but from 1840 a system of consecutive numbering in annual registers was adopted. Each incoming paper was noted in the register as it was received and was given a number. Related papers were filed together, the files being arranged by the number and year of the latest paper on file. Thus a file bearing the reference CSORP 1890/1065 will end in 1890 but may have been built up over a period of years.

The main finding aids to the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers are the annual registers themselves, in which incoming correspondence to the CSO central registry was entered on a daily basis, and the indexes to them. Entries are arranged in the indexes by the name of correspondent and under various subject headings one of which is education. Among the many files concerning education within the CSORP series are files dealing with the Powis Commission (CSORP 1873/12782), the Dale Commission (CSORP 1904/10032), sectarian opposition to the establishment of the national school system (CSORP 1836/313), attempts to accommodate Christian Brothers' schools within the national school system (CSORP 1896/6999) and payment of teachers whose schools were boycotted in the period 1915-1922 (CSORP 1921 - 2/2489).

Chief Secretary's Office Letter Books (1801-1921)

Unlike other series described above which comprise mainly items incoming to the Chief Secretary's Office and its departments, the letter books consist almost entirely of copies of outgoing items. Each volume is indexed but there is no overall finding aid. When searching them therefore, unless

one is quite precise about dates, the best approach may be to commence with the collections of incoming material and having found details of date of receipt, by whom dealt with, the subject matter, etc., then attempt to follow the matter in the letter books.

Official Papers (1790-1880)

The Official Papers, like the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers, are papers incoming to the Chief Secretary's Office. They are mainly letters to the Irish Government from Public Departments or officials in England and Ireland. Unlike the CSORP however they were not put through the main CSO registry. This seems to have been because the subject matter in each case would have generated a large volume of incoming correspondence or correspondence on a consistent basis over a prolonged period. They include returns of information gathered for commissions of enquiry or applications made under various aid schemes. The official papers 1790-1831 are numbered consecutively. The finding aids for this period are a calendar and a card index to the calendar. Within the calendar entries for certain years are grouped together under subject headings one of which is education. Thus the following are among the items calendared under "Education 1823-1831":

OP/699 Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting Protestant Charter Schools in Ireland: memorial for payment of parliamentary grants, estimates of the expense of supporting the schools and correspondence with Government respecting its decision to discontinue public aid, 1824-1831

OP/700 Female Orphan House, Circular Road, Dublin: petition for grants of sums voted by Parliament, accounts and estimates of expenses with explanations, 1823-1831

OP/701 Foundling Hospital, Dublin: petitions for parliamentary grants; accounts of expenses and papers relating to the closing of the hospital, 1824-1831

OP/702 Hibernian Society for the Care of Soldiers' Children at Dublin: petitions for parliamentary aid; accounts and estimates, 1823-1830

OP/703 Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin: petition for parliamentary aid; accounts and estimates, 1823-1831

OP/704 Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland: petitions for parliamentary grants and estimate for year ending 5 January 1832.

Official Papers for the years 1832-1880 are arranged in chronological order and numbered in chronological sequence within each year. There is a list arranged numerically and a card index to this list with subjects including education and national education.

There is much material concerning educational matters in the Official

Papers. Included, for instance, are letters from Joseph Lancaster concerning the introduction of his system of education to Ireland (334/4), and verbatim reports of evidence given by William Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, before the Commission of Irish Education enquiry 1824-1825 (OP 578/2). Other records of eductional commissions among the Official Papers are those of the Endowed Schools Commission (Ireland) for the years 1878-1881 and of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission for the years 1885-1898. These include minutes, letter books and completed questionnaires.

The series also includes a large number of applications for grants from the Lord Lieutenant's School Building Fund, 1820-1826. This fund was set up in 1819 with the original aim of channelling aid to schools which were poorly circumstanced. It was discontinued in 1825 following an unfavourable report on its workings by the Commission of Irish Education Enquiry. Despite its cessation, some applications for aid continued to be received well into the following year. Applications for aid continued to be received well into the following year. Applications came from teachers, managers and others involved in running schools and contain a great deal of information on schools in Ireland in the 1820s. Some applications contain very comprehensive accounts of the schools for which aid was being sought. Some even include plans and elevations. On each application is noted the decisions of the commissioners administering the fund as to the amount granted or the resons for the refusing grant.

Among the many statistical returns concerning education to be found in the Official Papers are two sets dealing with educational standards among inmates of gaols and workhouses in 1849 (OP 1849/99 and OP 1849/159 respectively). The returns record for each workhouse or gaol the number of inmates under 15, over 40 and within five-year age groups between these. Information on inmates in each category is given under the following heads:

can neither read nor write	—	if ever at school and where
can read only	—	where educated
read and write imperfectly	—	where educated
read and write well	—	where educated
superior education	—	where educated
miscellaneous remarks		

Two other series of Official Papers exist. Official Papers, 1876-1922, are as yet unlisted. Papers in this series are arranged together by groups of subjects.

Official Papers (MA), 1832-1882, also contain some material on educational matters. There is a calendar with index to these papers.

Council Office Papers (1800-1922)

Among the items concerning education in this series is a return of all

teachers in the service of the Commissioners of National Education on 31 March 1905 with details of their ages, length of service and (where furnished) their place of education. The list is in alphabetical order by name of teacher and includes information under the following heads:

Surname
Christian name
Age on 31 March 1905 (yrs/months)
Length of service as a teacher on 31 March 1905 (yrs/months)

Places of Education
Name of school
Post town of school
Training college
Other institutions

School in which serving
County
Roll No.
Name of school
Position in school

The finding aids to the main series of Council Office papers are the 21 volumes of Council Office minute books.

Conclusion

As in the Public Record Office, information on educational matters is to be found among many classes of records, many of which might seem unlikely to contain material of this sort. A person researching prison schools would probably investigate the records of the General Prisons Board and come across an item such as the journal of the Headmaster of Mountjoy Prison, 1857-1866, but a person seeking information on social conditions of teachers in mid 19th century Ireland might well overlook the Distress Papers among the CSORP, 1846-1847, and miss such items as D 7913, an appeal for aid from a disabled schoolmaster. A researcher should always therefore make enquiries from the staff of the office on possible sources for their research topics.

FOOTNOTES

1. The Public Record Office is situated at the Four Courts, Dublin; the State Paper Office is in Dublin Castle. Both offices are open to readers from 10.00 until 17.00 Monday to Friday. A person wishing to read in either office is required to complete an application. This can be done on a reader's first visit and permission to read is generally granted there and then.

At the time of writing, the National Archives Act, 1986, has not yet been brought into operation. This legislation provides for the amalgamation of the Public Record

Office of Ireland and the State Paper Office to form a single administrative entiry under the title "The National Archives".

2. This collection does not include the minutes of the Commissioners. These are in the National Library, Kildare Street, Dublin 2.

Applications (ED 1) registers (ED 2) and salary books (ED 4) for counties now in Northern Ireland are held by the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, 66 Balmoral Avenue, Belfast BT9 6NY.

3. For an analysis of the applications from counties Cavan, Cork and Mayo covering the years 1831-1840 see Mary Daly, "The Development of the National School System 1831-1840", in Cosgrave and McCartney (ed.), *Studies in Irish History,* presented to R. Dudley Edwards, University College, Dublin, 1979.

For examples of completed applications and other documents in this series see *The National School System, 1831-1924, Facsimile Documents,* Public Record Office of Ireland/State Paper Office, 1984.

4. For descriptions of some of these files see Virginia Davis "Curious Goings-on in the National Schools, 1870-1890", *Retrospect,* 1980.

5. The minutes of the Commissioners of Intermediate Education are in the Department of Education, Marlborough Street, Dublin 1.

6. Examples of census returns as well as suggestions on their research potential are contained in *The Public Record - Sources for Local Studies in the Public Record Office of Ireland,* Dublin, 1982.

VII.3 Records in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland relating to Education.

In the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland is a range of records relating to the many different forms and bodies of education that have existed in the province of Ulster from the early eighteenth century. The records cover in considerable detail the national school era from 1831 to 1921 and the educational achievement of the newly created state of Northern Ireland, under the influence of the 7th Marquess of Londonderry as minister for education and many former Dublin civil servants, most notably Bonaparte Wyse. For the pre-national school period, there is evidence for several of the endowed, charitable and private educational establishments which were created and which contributed, with the many informal church and hedge schools for which no records have survived, to making Ulster the province with best educational provision, in terms of a ratio of schools to pupils, in the decade prior to the introduction of a national system of education.[1]

(i) National schools

Some two thousand five hundred national schools were established in Ulster from 1832 to 1870[2] and the records that have survived are held in the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, in three main series:

(a) *Grant aid applications*

The most extensive series are the grant aid applications[3] which record

basic details such as the date of establishment (including a note of the date of establishment if the school was in operation before it became a national school), name of the teacher, size and condition of the schoolhouse, the number of enrolled pupils and the daily average attendance. Of particular interest is the correspondence accompanying the original application from the clergy of all denominations in the locality served by the school. The series covers the period 1832-1889.

(b) *Registers*

The Registers kept by national schools, of which there are some one thousand five hundred in PRONI for the pre-1900 period[4], generally have a beginning date in the period 1860-1880s. There are occasional examples, such as for Edenderry National School in the parish of Shankill, County Antrim, of registers dating from the late 1840s and early 1850s. The school registers series record a range of accurate and useful information about the pupils on their entry to the school. The entries include sufficient information – date of birth, occupation and address of parents, religion, details of attendance and academic progress – for the registers to be regarded as surrogate census returns for the period 1861-1891, for which all census records were long ago pulped. Registers have, therefore, a practical value: in the case of missing birth certificates and details of birth, the Department of Health and Social Services in Northern Ireland accepts the entry in a school register as *bona fide* evidence of a claim for a state pension.

Registers of national schools also have a research value for the demographer: the school attended previously by the pupil is recorded and this is useful for tracing the movements of families.[5] This is especially the case in Belfast as the school registers can help establish the place of origin of migrants to the city during its industrial expansion in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Each pupil is given a number on registering with the school, a number that remains constant during his time at the school. This, and the other consistent 'fields' of information to be found in school registers, suggest the possibility of the data in the pre-1900 school registers, at some stage in the future, being computerised.

(c) *Registers of correspondence*

Registers of correspondence between schools and the commissioners of national education exist in an almost complete series from 1835 to the early 1850s.[6] In addition to much of the information to be found in the grant aid applications, these registers of correspondence (to 1855) list all previous teachers as well as those currently in post. This series of registers also records entries for the appointments of new patrons, and the amount of money received by each school every year from pupils (which is not recorded elsewhere) is noted. From 1855, Ireland was divided into sixty-one Education Districts and the old school correspondence registers were reorganised into 'district books'.[7] In addition to the information in the original series, these district books often provide information on the standard of instruction in the schools and the state of repair of school buildings.

(ii) Ministry of Education policy files

Policy files of the Ministry of Education, covering areas such as the establishment and building of new public elementary schools and in general the carrying into effect of the provisions of the Education Act (NI) 1923, are held by PRONI.[8] The topics covered also relate to the pre-1922 technical colleges and their post-1922 development, and liaison between the Free State and Northern Ireland governments regarding, for example, payment from Dublin of teachers who refused to recognise the new state.[9] Much of the documentation relates to the provision of educational premises and, in the course of time, more and more files are concerned with the development of a more broadly-based curriculum, with the pre-service and in-service training of teachers and with the establishment of 'maintained' status for, and government representation on the boards of, Catholic schools.

(iii) Private Education

Private education remained outside the national school system and some records for these schools have survived. One of the most important in Belfast in the nineteenth century and to the present day, Royal Belfast Academical Institution, has records containing pupils' names from 1814.[10] This was one of the schools established along the lines of a university to which the sons of the increasingly important merchant and commercial classes of Belfast were sent. There are five volumes of 'albums' 1814-1918, which are registers of pupils of the collegiate part of the school giving, as well as names, details of examinations sat and some details of subsequent careers.[11] There are also minute books and accounts of Belfast Academy,[12] founded in 1785 and re-named Belfast Royal Academy in 1887, which record, among other events, a classical instance of the eighteenth century tradition of 'barring out'. Some of the boys locked themselves in an upstairs dormitory (in 1792, so the additional influence of the French Revolution which was avidly reported in the Belfast News Letter cannot be ruled out) and proceeded to take pot-shots at all who remonstrated with them, including the headmaster's wife. The evidence of the subsequent inquiry shows the board of governors in a truly liberal (with the exception of the punishment they recommended) Presbyterian light.

Some records exist of the private schools attached to churches, such as five account books of First Holywood (Co. Down) Presbyterian Church 1834-91[13] which contain the names and accounts of pupils, including James Craig, later Lord Craigavon and first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. Records of private educational establishments for females are even rarer; and certainly, if the prospectus of The Lodge Ladies School on Somerton Road, Belfast, represents other female schools, there is little likelihood of records of pupils entering examinations . . . 'since the establishment of the school, no pupil has been . . . sent into any public examination as it is the belief of the Principal that severe competitive examinations, public or private, are detrimental to free education and entirely valueless to all girls except those intending to become teachers'.[14]

(iv) Charity, Endowed and Free Schools

Schools founded by the Erasmus Smith Endowment were established throughout Ireland in the eighteenth century and in the Armagh Diocesan Registry Papers are records of the Erasmus Smith grammar schools in Drogheda, Galway and Tipperary, as well as accounts of the trust and a copy of the charter of Charles II of 26 March 1670.[15] The charter sets out the reasons for the setting up of grammar schools and the means for maintenance; a licence in perpetuity for the founding of the three grammar schools is granted under the supervision of at least seven Governors including the treasurer who was to be the archbishop of Armagh. The charter specifies the number of schoolmasters and teachers, three of each to teach twenty poor children from within a radius of two miles, and all the children of the tenants of Erasmus Smith. Among the records are 'a list of scholars attending Drogheda school in 1795'. Beside each name is given the month and year of entry to the school and their age in 1795.

In the Foster-Massereene Papers is a selection of papers[16] dealing with the Erasmus Smith Endowment covering the period in the 1770s and 1780s when John Foster was an active Governor of the board. These papers are concerned mainly with the administration of the endowment in general and of the grammar school at Drogheda (Foster was member of parliament for County Louth form 1768 to 1821).[17]

The Southwell Charity School in Downpatrick was also established in the eighteenth century as a Bluecoat school and there are records in PRONI relating to its foundation in 1733 and subsequent administration in the nineteenth century.[18] Among the many estate collections are the records of Lurgan Free School established by Lord Lurgan in 1783, which provided education for the children of tenants on the Brownlow (Lurgan) estate, regardless of religion.[19] And there is an echo of this non-denominational emphasis in the archive of Lurgan College, founded in 1873 by an endowment in the will of Samuel Watts, a successful brewer and businessman in the town 'to erect and support an English, Classical and Agricultural School for the education of boys'. The early records of the school report the construction of 'certain buildings and premises intended to be used as an endowed, non-sectarian Agricultural school . . .'.[20]

It is also worth remembering that evidence relating to research into education can also be found in other sources. In the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland are some three thousand letters from emigrants to Colonial and British North America, the United States, Australia and elsewhere which have something to say, from a different angle, on the levels of literacy to be found both before and after the establishment of a national system of schooling. These and other more nominal sources such as leases, church registers and petitions can, with the evidence from more formal education which has been outlined here, provide some qualitative measure of educational attainment in Ulster for the two centuries since 1750.

FOOTNOTES

1. Second report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, H.C. 1826-27 (12) xii.
2. See thirty-seventh report of the commissioners of national education in Ireland for the year 1870, pp. 9, 16.
3. This series is in 33 volumes in PRONI, reference number ED1.
4. There are registers for over 900 national and post-1922 public elementary and primary schools in PRONI, reference numbers SCH 1-906.
5. See T. Parkhill, 'School Records and their value for genealogical research', in *Familia: Ulster Genealogical Review*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1985) published by the Ulster Historical Foundation.
6. PRONI ED6/1. I am indebted to the work of my colleague Dr. R. Strong for information on the ED6 series.
7. PRONI ED6/2.
8. PRONI ED13, ED14, ED15.
9. Many of these files will, however, be subject to extended closure.
10. PRONI SCH 524/1A – SCH 524/11.
11. PRONI SCH 524/1A/1-5.
12. PRONI D1905/2/177B. See also A. T. Q. Stewart, *Belfast Royal Academy: the First Century* Belfast, 1985.
13. PRONI D3686.
14. D3114/1.
15. PRONI DIO4/8/9/1/1-21; D104/8/9/2/1-58; D104/8/9/4/1-23.
16. PRONI D207/25/1-16.
17. For a detailed survey of the Erasmus Smith Endowment, see S. S. Brown, 'A Survey of the Records Available for the Study of the Erasmus Smith Endowment', unpub. M.A. thesis, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1982.
18. PRONI D1255/11/1, D2961.
19. PRONI D1928. See also B. A. Follis 'Lurgan Free School Register 1786', in the Ulster Genealogical and Historical Guild *Newsletter*, Vol. 1, No. 10 (1984), published by the Ulster Historical Foundation, 66 Balmoral Avenue, Belfast BT9 6NY.
20. D3664/10.

Appendix

TERMS OF REFERENCE AND MEMBERSHIP OF THE MAJOR EDUCATIONAL COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES REFERRED TO IN THE DOCUMENTS

III.3 Report of Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), 1868-1870 (Powis Commission).

Terms of Reference:

'To inquire into the nature, character and extent of the instruction afforded by the several institutions now existing in Ireland, and maintained in whole or in part from the Public Funds, by Private Individuals, or by Voluntary Societies or Subscribers, or Religious Orders, for the purpose of Elementary or Primary Education, and especially to inquire into the constitution and practical working of the Board of National Education in Ireland, and also to inquire and report how far the said National Board has fulfilled the objects for which it was established, and the causes or reasons why certain Societies and Patrons have been unwilling to place their Schools in connexion with its system, and also to inquire and report concerning the part of the said National System which relates to Model Schools, how far the same is capable of any and what improvement, and also to inquire and report as to the deficiency which is alleged to exist of Trained Teachers in the class of schools called Non-vested, and how such deficiency, if such shall appear, may be best supported, and also how far the Rules of the said National Board with regard to Religious Teaching could with safety be modified, so as to extend more widely the benefits of the system. And further to inquire and report whether any beneficial change could be effected in reference to the salaries and mode of payment of Teachers employed in National Schools, and also whether any improvement can be effected in the constitution of the Board with the view to a more satisfactory administration of its affairs.'

Members:

Edward James, Earl of Powis (Chairman)
E. R. Windham, Earl of Dunraven & Mount Earl
Samuel, Bishop of Meath
Robert, Baron Clonbrock
Justice Michael Morris
*(Sir Robert Kane)
William Brooke, Esq.
*(David Wilson, D.D.)
B. M. Cowie, B.D., Inspector of Schools
James A. Dease, Esq.

*(James Gibson, Esq.)
Scott N. Stokes, Esq., Inspector of Schools
W. K. Sullivan, Esq.
Lawrence Waldron, Esq.

(*Did not sign final report)

III.7 Report of the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, 1898 (Belmore Commission).

Terms of Reference:
'To enquire 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 the Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland.'

Members:
Somerset Richard, Earl Belmore (Chairman)
His Grace the Most Rev. W. Conyngham, Baron Plunket, D.D.
His Grace the Most Rev. William J. Walsh, D.D.
The Rt. Hon. Christopher Palles, LL.D., Lord Chief Baron
The Rt. Hon. Christopher Talbot Redington, B.A.
His Honor Judge Shaw, Q.C.
The Rt. Rev. Monsignor Molloy, D.D., D.Sc.
The Rev. Henry Evans, D.D.
The Rev. Hamilton Wilson, D.D.
Professor George F. Fitzgerald, F.T.C.D.
Stanley Harrington, Esq., B.A.
William Robert J. Molloy, Esq.
Captain T. B. Shaw, Science & Art Dept., England
J. Struthers, Esq., Scotch Education Dept.

III.10 Report of Mr. F. H. Dale on Primary Education in Ireland, 1904.

Terms of Reference:
'To inquire and report how typical Irish Elementary Day Schools compare with similarly circumstanced Public Elementary Schools in England as regards Premises, Equipment, Staffing and Instruction; and to what causes differences in economy and efficiency appear to be due.'

(This report was the work of one man, Mr. F. H. Dale, an inspector from the Board of Education in London.)

III.12(a) Report of the Conference of Representatives of the Boards of Intermediate and National Education and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction on (the feasibility) of co-ordination between the three systems (of education) under existing powers. 1906.

Terms of Reference:
'To ascertain to what extent and in what respects co-ordination is feasible between the three systems (of education) under existing powers.'

Members:
Rt. Rev. Mervyn Archdall, D.D. (Chairman)
W. J. M. Starkie, Esq., M.A., Litt.D.
Rt. Hon. Mr. Justice Madden
Rev. T. A. Finlay, S.J., F.R.U.I.
T. P. Gill, Esq., Secretary, D.A.T.I.
G. Fletcher, Esq., Asst. Secretary, D.A.T.I.

III.14 Report of the Vice-Regal Committee of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), 1913 (Dill Committee).

Terms of Reference:
'To inquire into and report upon the following matters connected with the Board of National Education in Ireland, viz: 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 systgem 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 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.'

Members:
Sir Samuel Dill, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D. (Chairman)
The Most Rev. Denis Kelly, D.D., Bishop of Ross
Sir Hiram Shaw Wilkinson
John Coffey, Esq.
Heneage E. B. Harrison, Esq.
Jeremiah Henly, Esq.
Walter McMurrough Kavanagh, Esq., D.L.
Thomas Michael Kettle, Esq.

III.15 Report of the Vice-Regal Committee of Enquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), 1918 (Killanin Committee).

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.'

Members:

The Rt. Hon. Lord Killanin, Commissioner of National Education (Chairman)
The Most Rev. Patrick O'Donnell, D.D., Bishop of Raphoe
The Rt. Rev. the Hon. Benjamin John Plunket, Bishop of Tuam
William Alexander Goligher, Esq., Litt.D., Professor of Ancient History, Trinity College, Dublin
Robert Thomas Martin, Esq., B.A., Member of the Senate, Queen's University, Belfast and Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution
Miss Margaret Doyle, M.A., Women Assistants' Representative, Irish National Teachers' Organisation
William Haslett, Esq., Vice-Chairman, Belfast and District Branch of the Principal Teachers' Union
William Bernard Joyce, Esq., B.A., Headmaster, Central Model School, Dublin
Robert Judge, Esq., President, Central Executive Committee, I.N.T.O.
Thomas Joseph Nunan, Esq., Vice-President, Central Executive Committee, I.N.T.O.
William O'Neill, Esq., President, Principal Teachers' Union
George Ramsay, Esq., J.P., Ex-President, Central Executive Committee of the I.N.T.O.
Maurice F. Headlam, Esq., Treasury Remembrancer
Andrew Nicholas Bonaparte Wyse, Esq., M.A., Secretary, Board of National Education in Ireland

IV.2 and VI.4 Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and education in Ireland, 1838.

Terms of Reference:

'That a Select Committee be appointed to examine into the State Funds and Management of the Diocesan Royal and other Schools of Public Foundation in Ireland, as also into the System of Education pursued therein,

with a view to increasing their utility, and to inquire how far it may be practicable and expedient, and in what Manner, and from Resources, to improve, extend and permanently maintain Academical Education in that Country, and to Report their opinion thereupon to the House.'

Members:

Mr. Wyse (Chairman)
Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer
Sir Robert Peel
Lord Viscount Morpeth
The Earl of Kerry
Lord Stanley
Mr. O'Connell
Mr. Goulburn
Mr. Shaw
Lord Viscount Acheson
Mr. More O'Ferrall
Mr. Sheil
Sir Robert Inglis
Mr. Smith O'Brien
Lord Viscount Mahon
Sir Robert Fergusson
Mr. Emmerson Tennent
Mr. Strutt
Lord Viscount Clements
Mr. Mackenzie
The O'Conor Don
Mr. Maxwell
Dr. Bowring
Sir Richard Musgrave
Mr. Mackinnon
Mr. Lynch
Mr. Henry Lytton Bulwer
Mr. Morgan John O'Connell
Mr. Montague Chapman
Mr. Bellew

IV.4 Report of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Commission, 1899 (Palles Commission).

Terms of Reference:

'To enquire 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.'

Members:

The Rt. Hon Christopher Palles, LL.D. Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland (Chairman)
The Rt. Hon. Mr. Justice Madden, LL.D. (Vice-Chairman)
The Rev. George Salmon, D.D., D.C.L., Provost of Trinity College
The Rt. Hon. O'Conor Don, H.M.L., LL.D.
The Rev. W. Todd Martin, D.D.
David G. Barkley, Esq., LL.D.
His Grace the Most Rev. William J. Walsh, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin

IV.6 Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, Board of Education, on Intermediate Education in Ireland, 1905.

Terms of Reference:

'To enquire into and report upon the system of Intermediate and Technical Education in Ireland - the latter so far as it is connected with the former - with a view to ascertaining whether any organic or other changes in that system are desirable.

The enquiry and report should, in particular, deal fully with the following points:

1. Co-ordination of Intermediate Education with Primary, Technical and University Education.
2. Staffing, equipment, sanitary condition 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 profession 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.

(This report was the work of two men, Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, H.M.I., Board of Education, London.)

IV.9 Report of the Vice-Regal Committee on Intermediate Education (Ireland) 1919. (Molony Report)

Terms of Reference:

To inquire 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 Intermedite Education, and as to the best means in the public interest of effecting such improvements.

Members:

The Rt. Hon. T. F. Molony, Lord Chief Justice (Chairman)

The Rt. Hon. W. J. M. Starkie, Litt.D., Ll.D., Resident Commissioners, Board of National Education, and Chairman of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Sir Joseph Larmor, D.Sc., F.R.S., M.P., Lucasian Professor of Mathematics in the University of Cambridge
The Rev. P. Canon Marshall, St. Brendan's Seminary, Killarney
Rev. Timothy Corcoran, D.Litt., Professor of Theory and Practice of Education, University College, Dublin
Rev. Bro. Hennessy, St. Mary's, Marino, Dublin
James Maxwell Henry, Esq., M.A., Professor of Education, Trinity College, Dublin
Robert M. Henry, Esq., M.A., Professor of Latin, The Queen's University of Belfast
John Thompson, Esq., M.A., The High School, Dublin
Miss Henrietta Margaret White, LL.D., Lady Principal, Alexandra College, Dublin
Miss Mary Ryan, Professor of Romance Languages, University College, Cork
William John Williams, Esq., Lecturer in English, Royal College of Science, Dublin
Coningsby Raywood Beavan, Esq., M.A., Chairman of the Ireland Branch, Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters in Secondary Schools
Miss Annie McHugh, Assistant Mistress
Miss Elizabeth Steele, Assistant Mistress
Maurice F. Headlam, Esq., Treasury Remembrancer
George Fletcher, Esq., F.G.S., D.A.T.I.
Ernest Ensor, Esq., M.A., Inspector, Intermediate Education Board

VI.9 Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of the University of Dublin, and of Trinity College, 1853.

Terms of Reference:
'That a commission should forthwith issue for the purpose of inquiring into the state, discipline, studies and revenues of Our University of Dublin, and the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity therein, and of all and singular the Colleges and Schools of Our said University.'

Members:
Richard Whately, Archbishop of Dublin (Chairman)
Maziere Brady
William, Earl of Rosse
James, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross
Mountifort Longfield, Dr. of Laws
Edward J. Cooper

VI.10 Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the progress and condition of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway, 1858.

Terms of Reference:
'That a diligent and full inquiry should forthwith be made into the state of the three Colleges founded by Us in Belfast, Cork and Galway, respectively, in that part of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, called Ireland, under the provisions of the statute passed in Ninth Year of Our Reign, and entitled "An Act to enable Her Majesty to endow new Colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland.'

Members:
Charles William FitzGerald, Esq. (Marquis of Kildare) (Chairman)
Sir Thomas Nicholas Redington, K.C., M.P. for Dundalk
Bonamy Price, Esq., M.A.
James Gibson, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law

VI.14 Reports of the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to inquire into certain matters affecting the well-being and efficiency of Queen's Colleges in Ireland, 1885.

Terms of Reference:
'To inquire into the following matters:
I. What is the Standard of Education maintained in the Queen's Colleges or any of them.
II. In what mode Honours and Rewards are distinguished in the said Colleges, respectively, among students having regard to their numbers and the various branches of Learning taught in the said Colleges.
III. To what extent and with what results, the students avail themselves of the advantages offered by the Royal University of Ireland.
IV. As to the Fees charged to the students in the said Colleges.'

Members:
Richard P. Carton, Esq., Q.C. (Chairman)
The Reverend Gerald Molloy, D.D.
George Johnstone Stoney, Esq., M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Professor William Jack, M.A., L.LD.
Deputy Surgeon-General Jeffrey Allen Marston, M.D.

VI.17 Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, 1901-1903.

Terms of Reference:
'To enquire into the present condition of the higher, general and technical education available in Ireland outside Trinity College, Dublin, and to

report as what reforms, if any, are desirable in order to render that education adequate to the needs of the Irish people.'

Members:
Lord Robertson, Scottish Lord of Appeal (Chairman)
Professor H. Butcher, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and University College, Oxford
Dr. John Healy, Bishop of Clonfert
Professor J. A. Ewing, Cambridge University
Professor R. C. Jebb, Cambridge University
Mr. Justice D. H. Madden
Lord Ridley, late home secretary and fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford
Professor John Rhys, Oxford University
Dr. W. J. M. Starkie, resident commissioner of national education and late president of Queen's College, Galway
Professor R. H. F. Dickey, Magee College, Derry
Professor J. Lorrain Smith, Queen's College, Belfast
Mr. Wilfred Ward, examiner in mental and moral science, Royal University of Dublin

VI.18 Royal Commission on Trinity College and the University of Dublin, 1906-1907.

Terms of Reference:
'To inquire into and report upon the present state of Trinity College, Dublin and of the University of Dublin, including the revenues of the College and of any of its officers and their application: the method of government of the University and of the College; the system of instruction in the College and the teachers by whom it is conducted; the system of University examinations, and the provision made for post-graduate study and the encouragement of research and also to inquire and report upon the place which Trinity College, Dublin and the University of Dublin hold as organs of higher education in Ireland, and the steps proper to be taken to increase their usefulness to the country.'

Members:
Sir Edward Fry, late Lord Justice of Appeal (Chairman)
Christopher Palles, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer Court
Sir Thomas Raleigh, K.C., fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford
Sir Arthur Rucker, principal of the University of London
Harry Jackson, Cambridge University, Regius Professor of Greek
Samuel H. Butcher, Edinburgh University late professor of Greek
Douglas Hyde, D.L., of Trinity College, Dublin
Denis Joseph Coffey, M.A., fellow of the Royal University of Ireland
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Irish Educational Documents

Volume I: From the earliest times to 1922

Edited by
Áine Hyland and Kenneth Milne

With the increased attention that educational studies are receiving at undergraduate and postgraduate levels, the history of education in Ireland is attracting more students and research workers. The basic documents of our educational history are of fundamental importance but are not readily available. Nor, since the pioneering work of Professor T. J. Corcoran, S.J., of U.C.D., have any such published compilations been attempted. This book presents a selection of extracts from educational documents as far as the period up to 1922 is concerned, and sets them in historical context. The editors and contributors hope that a second volume will appear at a later date covering more recent years.

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