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SELECTION AND TRANSMISSION PROCESSES

WITHIN THE IRISH NATIONAL

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION: 1831 - 1900

A thesis submitted to Cambridge University in fulfilment of the requirements for a Ph.D. degree

By

MARY J. KELLY

1978
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ABBREVIATIONS USED

A.S.R.: American Sociological Review
C.N.E.I.: Commissioners of National Education in Ireland
I.E.R.: Irish Ecclesiastical Review
I.N.T.O.: Irish National Teachers' Organization
I.T.J.: Irish Teachers' Journal
M.B.N.E.I.: Minutes of the Board of National Education in Ireland

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration.
CHAPTER I

SPECIFYING THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The Irish national school system was established in 1831 as a state supported system for the education of the Irish poor. The number of national schools increased rapidly - in 1840 there were some 2,000 national schools with 233,000 pupils on rolls, while by the 1870's the number of national schools had increased to over 7,000 with more than one million children on rolls. As the population continued to decrease from 8.5 million in 1841 to 5.4 million in 1871 and again to 4.5 million in 1901, the number of children on national school rolls began to level out in the 1880's and to decline to some 800,000 children by 1900. The average number in daily attendance at school however remained relatively constant at 500,000 in the latter quarter of the century, and the number of national schools increased to almost 9,000 by 1900.

The national system of education in the 19th century offered an elementary education to all who wished to avail of it, second level education to a minority, as well as teacher training. This research set out to investigate the organization of educational knowledge within this educational system at all these levels. It investigated the content and structure of the curriculum, analysed the text books used and examined how curriculum subjects were taught and to whom they were taught. It also set out to analyse the social context within which different kinds of knowledge came to be selected and organized as appropriate educational knowledge for given social groups. To put this more formally, it attempted to trace and investigate the social
structural factors related to educational selection and transmission processes within the national system between 1831 and 1900.

The lack of research into educational selection and transmission processes within Irish 19th century education, into how the educational system articulated with the class structure, or into the educational ideas which informed the selection of curricula and pedagogies, made the precise specification of the research problem difficult at the outset. The research design was thus conceived of as exploratory: a process of formulating sociological questions and sensitively revising these as the empirical historical investigations progressed. Three of the sociological questions which proved most fruitful were, (1) a question initially raised by Max Weber regarding the relationship between educational selection and transmission processes and the maintenance of social class and prestige structures, a question which has more recently been again examined by Pierre Bourdieu among others; (2) questions raised by the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Basil Bernstein regarding how administrative and teaching groups within educational institutions tend to select those students, forms of educational knowledge and modes of teaching which best contribute to the establishment and maintenance of their own power and autonomy; and (3) questions raised by the work of Philip Foster and others regarding how parents, or certain groups among them, may influence the structure of the curriculum by redefining and using for their own advantage educational selection and transmission processes designed by elite groups to meet other ends.

Below will be discussed some sociological and historical research which suggest how each of these three social structural factors may influence educational selection and transmission processes, thus proposing fruitful areas for further empirical investigation.
and theoretical elaboration. Also discussed will be Basil Bernstein's pioneering work regarding how curricula and pedagogic practices might be fruitfully examined in terms of their boundary maintaining procedures.\textsuperscript{11} Little work has been done to empirically test Bernstein's work. It is hoped that this research will contribute to such an empirical testing as well as contributing to its theoretical development.

1. The stratification of educational knowledge

Max Weber argued that the formal educational structures which exist in industrialized and bureaucratized societies, play a major role in limiting the supply of candidates for élite positions and in monopolizing these positions for those who have the appropriate education or hold the appropriate examination certificates.\textsuperscript{12} Such educational structures not only select personnel for élite positions but legitimate this selection by inducting potential élite recruits into a select 'status culture',\textsuperscript{13} or socially exclusive forms of knowledge and codes of conduct. The possession of this 'status culture' is seen to differentiate its possessors from the remainder of the population, to set them apart as 'superior,' and thus to legitimate their claim to status privileges and to legitimate their taking up of élite positions. Max Weber has described how these legitimating processes operated in relation to the education of the Chinese literati,\textsuperscript{14} and R. Wilkinson\textsuperscript{15} has elaborated them with regard to Victorian public schools.

Pierre Bourdieu has examined the consequences of the allocative and legitimating functions of the contemporary educational system in France for the kinds of educational knowledge and pedagogic practices offered to different social classes. He argues that the French educational institution has the "...function ... of reproducing the structure of power relations between groups or classes..."\textsuperscript{16} It fulfills this function by the
educational favouring of the higher social classes - the giving to the already privileged those 'superior' forms of knowledge which will legitimate their access to elite positions. Through participation in the higher levels of the education system, élite recruits become 'the cultivated' and 'distinguished' sector of society, with a monopoly of the instruments of legitimate culture, while the majority, 'the uncultivated', 'the common people', are deprived of access to this legitimate status culture. Yet the education of 'the uncultivated' must ensure that they are taught to recognize what distinguishes 'the cultivated', even if they themselves are not given access to it, and it must also ensure that 'the uncultivated' fully internalize those "disciplines and censorships which best serve the material and symbolic interests of the dominant classes when they take the form of self discipline and self censorship."  

Educational systems fulfil their role in the reproduction of class and prestige structures through the stratification of educational knowledge - i.e. through offering different forms of educational knowledge to groups differentially located in the class and status structure. The consequences of this stratification for the education of those in the lower social classes, for those of a different ethnic or religious origin from élite groups, and for those in a dependent colonial or post colonial situation have begun to be documented. 

With regard to the education of those in the lower social classes, research into the education of 'the poor' in 19th century England and in the United States of America has suggested that the education which upper middle class élites sought for the great majority of the poorer classes at this time, featured subordination, discipline and punctuality in its pedagogic practices and was modelled on the behavioural requirements of the
factory. It rigidly excluded the majority from such élite forms of educational knowledge as Latin and Greek, concentrating instead on religion and the 3 rs. It consequently excluded the majority from the possibility of access to élite positions, and thus, as Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis suggest, functioned to reproduce the existing inequitous social relations of production in the interest of economic élites.  

The Lancasterian monitorial schools in the early part of the 19th century with their military precision and order were particularly well regarded in this light, while later in the century, manual instruction, it has been suggested, was to play a similar moral and disciplinary role, teaching "...habits of order, accuracy and neatness."  

Societies vary in their modes of stratifying educational knowledge, some rigidly excluded non élites from 'élite' educational knowledge, some encouraging the meritocratic few to become socially mobile through education. Carl Kaestle has suggested that England in the 19th century exhibited the former rigid exclusion, while the United States of America institutionalized "...a modicum of social mobility through schooling." He explains this variance partially in terms of differences between the élite structures of the two societies. England he suggests in the early 19th century was characterized by a division between aristocratic and upper middle class educational interests. On the one hand there was an alliance of aristocratic, Tory and Anglican church interests who feared that the education of the lower orders above their station would "...subvert proper authority," and threaten the rural, social and occupational structure which was the basis of their power. On the other hand there was an alliance of upper middle class groups: of radical Whigs, utilitarian philosophers, philanthropists and economists, industrialists and professionals, who sought an education for the lower classes which
would teach good order and discipline, the 3 r’s, science and economics. These would teach the lower classes the rationality of middle class interests and thus maintain social stability.27 Most of the members of this group, however, subscribed as much as the former group to assumptions regarding the necessity of maintaining a hierarchical, deferential society. However, they were, to a degree, successful in persuading the aristocratic group that education was the most fruitful way to maintain this hierarchical and static structure. The consequence was the establishment of an educational system in which 'education for the poor' was quite distinct and separate from education for the élite.28

The composition and relationship between élites in the United States of America at the same period was somewhat different. As Kaestle points out, the division between aristocratic and upper middle class interests did not occur there.29 The absence of a native aristocracy and an Established church meant that an intrenched conservative opposition to mass education was almost totally absent (except with reference to slaves). On the contrary, the moral education of all, in the interest of social stability, was advocated. Increasing waves of immigration, urbanization and industrialization reinforced the commitment to a common curriculum for all for purposes of acculturation and social order.30 Also absent was the fear of individual mobility through education. Indeed Michael Katz argues that in Massachusetts it was felt that a limited degree of social mobility would ensure long term social stability and prosperity.31
These two differing elite structures gave rise to different forms of educational selection and transmission. Ralph Turner has developed this further, comparing the selection processes in English schools with those in schools in the United States of America in the mid 20th century when the English educational system was still characterized at second level by highly selective public and grammar schools, while high schools in the United States, he suggests, were characterized by a common curriculum. Turner argues that in England educational selection was by 'sponsored mobility.' In this form of mobility elite recruits tend to be chosen at a young age, on the basis of criteria established by the elite, and educated within schools completely separate from those for the majority. Once among the chosen few, elite recruits are taught socially exclusive forms of knowledge and modes of conduct. The majority, excluded from access to these forms of knowledge and codes of conduct, are labelled 'inferior', are taught to regard themselves in this light and are offered socially and financially inferior education.

In the United States of America an educational structure developed which was characterised, Turner suggests, by contest mobility. In this form of mobility, the winner over a long series of educational and other contests, gains legitimate access to elite positions. This legitimacy is developed, not only by the fact of winning, but by the fact that losers have equally competed in a sufficiently long series of contests to ensure that each individual is encouraged to:

...think of himself as competing for an elite position so that loyalty to the system and conventional attitudes are cultivated in the process of preparing for this possibility ... To forestall rebellion among the disadvantaged majority, then, a contest system must avoid absolute points of selection for mobility and immobility and must delay clear recognition of the realities of the situation until the individual is too committed to the system to change radically. 33
In this form of selection, it may be suggested, the content of the 'status culture' is presented as a 'common curriculum' equally available to all, and all are early initiated into it. Only later does the slow and continuous process of exclusion begin.

Turner's two modes of educational selection - sponsored and contest mobility - may be seen as two modes of controlling access to elite knowledge, of controlling the boundary to this knowledge. In the former the boundary is rigid, in the latter it is presented, in theory at least, as permeable. This concept of boundary was found to be helpful in conceptualizing the process whereby educational knowledge is stratified. This is not the first time the concept of boundary maintenance has been found useful in understanding how educational curricula and pedagogies are structured - Basil Bernstein extensively uses it to examine how curriculum subjects are differentiated in a classroom setting. Bernstein used the term 'classification' to mean rigid boundary maintenance between subjects in the classroom, while he used the term 'integration' to mean lack of explicit boundary maintaining procedures. In this research these terms were borrowed and developed into the concepts of 'vertical classification' and 'vertical integration'. Vertical classification means rigid boundary maintaining procedures between forms of educational transmission offered to groups differently located in the class and status structure, as Turner described in relation to sponsored mobility; while vertical integration means the lack of explicit boundaries in the educational transmission offered to groups differentially located in the class and status structure. Thus, in a vertically classified curriculum, the vertical boundary between curriculum subjects is made substantially evident, institutionalized and ritualized. It is a 'tiered' education
structure offering different forms of education to different classes. In the case of a vertically integrated curriculum, the boundary between subjects offered to different groups and social classes is less clear.

Researchers have noted that a vertically integrated curriculum, although it may present and legitimate itself as being 'meritocratic' and equally accessible to all, in fact frequently hides its inequitous and class practices. It may do so in different ways. It may, as Dennis Smith has suggested with regard to the development of comprehensive secondary education in England, hide its social class practices by emphasizing equality and co-operation within the school and diverting attention away from the different life-chances of school groups taking different kinds of curricula and from the different social class backgrounds from which these school groups are drawn. Likewise, meritocratic structures may, while ostensibly offering a vertically integrated curriculum to all, introduce subjects for particular groups, especially for the 'disadvantaged', legitimating this in terms of 'meeting individual needs.' It may also hide educational inequalities between social classes by the use of the so-called 'neutral' and 'objective' sciences of psychological and educational testing, which are presented as being administered by 'disinterested' groups within a 'meritocratic' education system, ideologies which hide the class advantages embodied in these tests and the class nature of their outcomes.

With regard to the 'meritocratic' educational system in France, Pierre Bourdieu has suggested that it uses its meritocratic ideology to sanctify the selection of the already privileged and advantaged for elite positions by equating their educational success with personal merit and with 'natural' superiority. He suggests that within such a meritocratic educational system educational selection and classification processes are disguised as the 'natural' selection of the superior and most meritorious, thereby legitimating the selection of a few for elite positions and the
dispossession of the majority. This tendency to define humanly constructed social practices as 'natural' and 'inevitable', he argues, is not only evident in the ideology informing meritocratic educational institutions, but may enter into the content of educational knowledge when it attempts to inculcate 'a habitus', or an orthodoxy which presents the structure of the social system and other classification systems as natural and inevitable, hiding their social and political nature.

The stratification of educational knowledge has been studied not only in its social class context, but also within a colonial context. In the 19th and early 20th century British colonialists introduced a two-tier educational system in, for example, India and Malaya - an English education for native elites at second and third levels, thus providing recruits for senior civil service, administrative and industrial positions, while at primary level vocational and vernacular education was introduced.

Philip Foster and Remi Clignet in their studies of the development of educational institutions in the French West African colony, the Ivory Coast, and the British colony, Ghana, have described the differing policies with regard to African education which British and French colonial elites in these countries advocated. These policies differed, for example, with regard to the extent to which education for Africans ought to be assimilated to the forms of education offered at the metropole or adjusted to meet 'local African needs'. They also differed with regard to whether education should offer parity in educational and status opportunities to Europeans and Africans alike, allocating occupations by merit, or whether education for Africans ought to be in the vernacular, and industrial and agricultural in orientation. They suggest however, that the policies of colonial elites, and differences between them, were of less importance in their consequences for the development of African education than the "... divergencies between the traditional social structures into which the schools were transplanted." It was the economic, political and social structure of the African colonies themselves which influenced the adoption of, participation in and use to which education
was put - factors which will be discussed further below. Some of the most pertinent social structural factors were regional and ethnic differences, variation in levels of urbanization, length and intensity of European contact, and traditional forms of political authority and differentiation of sex roles.

Donald Akenson, in his study of the national education system in Ireland, considers that a vital component in the creation of the national system was the effectively colonial relationship between Ireland and England, a relationship which:

...union with England did not destroy or even moderate.
...Whatever the constitutional theory of the union, Ireland continued to be governed as an English crown colony, open to the imposition of coercion, fiat rule, and state interference in all aspects of everyday life. 44

Education, he suggests had long been used as "...an accepted weapon in the Irish state's arsenal of social control devices." 45 He does not investigate in a systematic manner how the colonial situation influenced transmission processes from 1831 to 1900, but from an examination of some of the pre-1870 school readers used in national schools, concludes that:

Not only were the school books culturally antiseptic concerning Ireland but school teachers were enjoined from making nationalistic departures from the texts. 46

He also examines, to a limited degree, the process whereby Irish native elites - especially the Catholic church - adapted the national system to its own interests, working with native Catholic politicians 47 and members of the national board, 48 as well as parents, to do so.

J. M. Goldstrom in his study entitled The Social Content of Education, 1808-1970, in which he looks at some Irish 19th century school books, also suggests that the desire of the government for political and religious control over "Ireland's hostile population and alien religion" 49 was the most significant factor in the state's support for education for the Irish poor. His analysis of the texts also concurs with that of Akenson regarding the culturally antiseptic character of these books. 50 However, in general,
he is not so much interested in how social factors enter into and structure selection and transmission processes, but in what some of the textbooks used during this period have to say about five categories: Christian instruction, the class structure, domestic and vocational training, the outside world, and good and bad conduct. Goldstrom's work is of interest, but the research in hand was also concerned to investigate the social structural factors influencing the content of educational knowledge, and in particular in investigating the relationship between the vertical classification of educational knowledge offered within the national system and the élite structure in 19th century Ireland. This élite structure was considerably influenced by the Irish colonial situation as well as by the interrelationship between native élites. This research investigated the consequences of the structure and interrelationship among élite groups for 'the education of the poor' as offered within the national system.

Demand for education

It has been suggested above that the development of education in the Ivory Coast and in Ghana depended to a significant degree on the structure of the receiving society and on parental perception of the uses to which education could be put. Philip Foster has examined the extent to which parents in 19th and 20th century colonial Ghana influenced educational selection and transmission processes. He concluded that in a colonial society where the economic, occupational and political structure had already been changed by the introduction of a cash economy and a colonial administration, the colonial élite acted as a normative reference group for those Ghanians who desired to become occupationally mobile. Their only means to attain the new prestige and greater returns offered by the changing status and occupational structure, so clearly exemplified by the colonial élite, was through an education which would offer some degree of parity with this élite. Ghanians desired an English, literary education which would qualify them for administrative and professional posts within the colonial
administration. The colonial elite, on the contrary, frequently sought to design an educational system informed by their conception of 'the needs' of the native population. However, Ghanians rejected such attempts, as well as rejecting, in 1900, the attempt by the colonial government to 'Africanize' the curriculum by introducing the vernacular and extensive agricultural and manual instruction, legitimating this on the basis of the putative 'needs' of the Africans - 'needs' which were unrealistic both in relation to Ghanian aspirations and in relation to the actual use to which education could be put within the Ghanian occupational structure. What the native population wanted was an academic education, and this:

...reflected their realistic perception of the differential rewards accorded to individuals within the occupational structure. The financial and prestige rewards resulting from agricultural or industrial instruction were not commensurate with those derived from academic studies.... African parents, like those elsewhere, did not send their children to school to meet the need for economic growth; they sent them there to maximize their children's opportunities within the emergent occupation and prestige structure created by colonial rule. 53

Attempts to introduce agricultural and manual instruction into the schools during the colonial period were unacceptable and avoided by Ghanians.

Students of independence movements in Africa have noted the frequency with which these movements criticize mission and colonial education. Yet, their desire was not for 'relevant' African education of "...twice weekly spear throwing and tribal dancing,"54 nor for 'relevant' technical and agricultural instruction, but for an English or French literary and academic education under African control.55 And after independence, this was, in general, the form of education demanded and provided, "...despite the call to adopt schools to African conditions and cultural requirements."56

Parents and pupils need to perceive the utility value (whether occupational or otherwise) of the curriculum and pedagogy offered by an educational system, before they willingly participate in it. Thomas Laqueur has noted that parental support and pupil participation in early 19th century English Sunday schools varied according to the breath of
the secular curriculum offered and how well this was taught. Bible reading supplemented by writing and arithmetic was more attractive than bible reading alone, as "it appears likely that ... the ability to read, write and do arithmetic would be of considerable value in an increasingly industrial and commercial economy and that it was perceived to be so by a large segment of the working classes." It has also been noted that the increasing working class participation in state-supported elementary schools in England in the latter half of the 19th century, was the outcome of:

...a certain harmony of perception between aspiring parents and the promoters of education as to the function of elementary schooling. In both cases the viewpoint was a limited and instrumental one, the object being to enhance the chances of children becoming white-collar workers.

Again in this century it has been observed that while secondary modern schools in England were originally envisaged as having a 'non academic curriculum,' with 'brighter' pupils being creamed off into grammar schools, the teachers, under pressure from parents with an eye to the employment prospects for their children, rapidly introduced work on grammar school lines.

It appears that headmasters and teachers favoured this reorientation.

Pupils may also reject 'non-academic' subjects, which they perceive as having no marketable pay-off. John Spradbery has documented the rejection by a class of pupils in an English secondary school of a new mathematics curriculum for pupils of 'less than average ability,' in favour of what they called 'proper maths.' He suggests that this new curriculum:

...presented material whose status was only that of everyday, or even inappropriate knowledge. Such knowledge was rejected because it was not seen as examinable or useful in future employment.

It was also rejected because pupils recognized that "...they were being denied the chance to compete in Mathematics on the same terms as 'more academic pupils.'" It appears that it was more acceptable to fail at 'proper maths' than to be reduced to doing 'baby sums.'
Donald Akenison's proposal not only regarding the colonial context for the establishment of the Irish national system, but his evidence as to the widespread desire of Irish parents in the 19th century for education, and his suggestion - though not fully developed - of the meritocratic nature of the national school curriculum, would indicate that parental interest in and perception of the utility of education may be fruitfully related to the degree of vertical integration in the Irish national school selection and transmission practices.

The educational institution

The administrative structure of an educational system may be defined as that hierarchy of defined status positions linking the local teacher and local school to a specialized decision making educational organization at the centre. The extent to which groups within an educational administrative structure have autonomy from groups outside the educational system, from the hierarchy within, or from the centre, varies. Research has shown that in establishing and exercising their power, groups within an educational bureaucracy tend to define transmission and selection practices which operate not solely to select and transmit knowledge to pupils, but which also operate to confirm or redistribute the power of the educational institution relative to outside pressures, and the power of different statuses and groups within the bureaucracy relative to one another. Recently, historians and sociologists of education have become increasingly interested in this dual process and have begun to pay particular attention to the tendency for educational ideals, phrased in terms of helping pupils and creating a better educational system, to be used as educational rhetorics to negotiate or hide the distribution or redistribution of power.
Pierre Bourdieu is particularly interested in this area, and suggests that an organized cadre of professional educators, drawing legitimacy from their sanctified traditional role of conserving and transmitting a culture inherited from the past, may have sufficient autonomy to retranslate those demands which come from outside the educational system into selection and transmission processes compatible with their own interests. One such interest is that of creating, elaborating and reproducing a hierarchical educational system which controls and legitimates access to elite positions, thus investing education, and the position of educators, with a social and sanctified significance.70 Another such interest is that of teachers seeking to reproduce those educational practices in which their qualifications have currency.71 He concludes that:

The evolution of the school system depends not only on the strength of external constraints but also on the coherence of its structures, that is, both the resistance it can counterpose to events and its power to select and reinterpret accidents and influences in accordance with a logic whose general principles are laid down as soon as the function of inculcating a culture inherited from the past is taken in hand by a specialized institution served by a body of specialists. Thus the history of a relatively autonomous system presents itself as the history of the systematizations to which the system subjects the constraints and innovations it encounters, in accordance with the norms which define it as a system. 72

Researchers in Britain have also noted the need to be aware of the power of educational administrators and teachers to reinterpret educational goals established by outside élites. As Sheldon Rothblatt notes of Cambridge University in the 19th century:

A traditional institution like Cambridge, under public but not authoritarian pressure, may draw upon its own history, heritage and ideals to interpret the demands upon it in an unique and unexpected way. A university which is being asked to reform, but is still allowed a high degree of internal freedom, may restructure itself to acquire an identity and function which few expected. 73
Thus, as Cambridge came to adjust itself to the changing economic and social conditions in the 19th century, it did so, not by playing "... a vigorous role in building up the economy and facilitating technological change," but by defining the University's role as that of educating for the professions and thus building a cadre of supposedly morally and intellectually superior leaders to enter political, administrative and professional élites, rather than industry.

Joan Davies likewise notes:

...although political élites [or other élites] have goals which they try to impose on the educational system, these policies have to be transmitted through the educational élites and the teachers and lecturers. The extent to which education is able to counter the political élites policies will depend in part on its own economic independence, in part on patterns of socialization which are strong enough to resist the norms of the system, and in part on the persistence of centres of local political power which are able to back alternative schemes. This is not simply a question of centralist v pluralist societies...

There may be considerable difficulty in locating the holders of power within educational institutions as rhetorics may tend to hide this distribution. Michael Young suggests regarding the English educational system today, that although 'the individual autonomy of the teacher' is proclaimed, this rhetoric hides a consensus among professional educators about educational selection and transmission processes, about differences between 'academic' and 'non-academic pupils,' about what constitutes educational knowledge, and how this knowledge is vertically classified. He suggests that this consensus is maintained and reinforced by third level educational institutions, educational officials and headmasters and remains essentially unquestioned by teachers. Tony Becher and Stuart MacLure have noted that this myth of teacher autonomy is preserved by the reluctance of parliament, the Department of Education and Science, and the School's Council, to set out clearly the constraints in terms of which the
This situation contrasts sharply with that of elementary teachers in England in the latter half of the 19th century. Their classroom activity was precisely defined by payment by results and by an inspectorate who deemed themselves socially and intellectually superior; furthermore elementary teachers were to be socially and occupationally contained by a vertically classified curriculum.

Sociologists and historians in the United States of America have also turned their attention to examining how educational administrators design, use and legitimate selection and transmission processes which enhance their own control. David Tyack has outlined the parallel processes whereby educational administrators in the United States of America at the turn of the century increased their control over the progressively centralized urban school boards at the same time as they established more uniform educational selection and transmission practices. The establishment of more uniform educational practices, the creation of 'the one best system' 'standardized by such devices as the age-grading of students, the use of uniform text-books and routine procedures and rules," facilitated the measurability and comparability of school 'efficiency' which further legitimated central intervention in schools. For those who did not 'fit' the newly introduced uniform classifications and standards - those who were too young, incapable or deviant - specialist schools such as kindergartens, trade schools, evening schools and institutions for deviant children were developed. The introduction of more uniform practices, and the related transferral of power from local wards to a centralized, city wide and professional administration was legitimated in terms of the 'educational need' to establish order in the rapidly expanding urban areas, the 'need' to make rural schools more efficient, and the 'need' to take schools out of local politics where religious and ethnic differences found expression.
One of the most systematic pieces of work on the relationship between transmission processes and the maintenance of power within educational institutions, has been undertaken by Basil Bernstein. Bernstein suggests that the relationship between school subjects offered in the classroom may be examined in terms of a classificatory code. This code is concerned with "...the strength of insulations," with boundaries, with establishing inclusion and exclusion between subjects. Curriculum subjects may be organized for each class according to a 'collection code' which defines subjects as separate and bounded forms of knowledge, or according to an 'integrated code' in which boundaries between curriculum subjects are blurred and subjects integrated in order to better express a unified ideological theme. In order to distinguish this form of integration and classification from the vertical type discussed above, I have called Bernstein's codes 'horizontally' integrated or classified.

Bernstein suggests that for teachers working within a horizontally classified code, their knowledge of, and expertise in, a particular curriculum subject is 'cultural capital' legitimating their status position and their relative autonomy within this position. In order to ensure the continuance of this mode of legitimation the subject area must remain pure, sacred and uncontaminated by association with or integration into other subjects. Teachers consequently exhibit a strong subject loyalty and inculcate this in their best students - a situation epitomized for Bernstein in the English grammar school. It may be suggested, however, that this relationship between horizontally classified codes and teacher autonomy is but one of the many possible forms of relationship between such codes and the distribution of power within an educational system. The horizontally classified type curriculum enforced by superintendents and administrators in the United States
public school system had the consequence of limiting teacher autonomy in the interest of bureaucratic uniformity and centralized power. It might be suggested that the similarity between the above two examples lies in the disagreement, or differences in perspectives, among relevant groups controlling educational transmission. In the first example, differences lay in the subject loyalties of teachers; in the second, they lay in the contrary interests of administrators attempting to impose 'the one best system,' and the hostility of local patrons and teachers to this. In this latter situation, precisely defined and delimited goals with regard to each separate subject may be more easily enforced, examined, and their successful implementation enumerated, than a horizontally integrated curriculum. A horizontally classified code thus contributes to centralized control in this conflict situation. Likewise, in a situation where particularistic interests are in conflict - as Donald Akenson has described with regard to religious interests in the Irish national system - a solution may be to 'horizontally classify' the form of instruction causing the conflict, separating it and the pupils who participate in it. Thus, in more general terms, it might be suggested that a horizontally classified curriculum tends to be institutionalized in a conflict situation when élites, educational administrators, teachers or parents disagree regarding appropriate forms of educational knowledge, and have sufficient power to make this disagreement felt. Also the possibility which a horizontally classified curriculum offers for control from the centre over specified amounts of knowledge, within delimited subjects, may be noted.
To turn to Bernstein's horizontally integrated code: in this code the maintenance of boundaries is of less importance than the desire to subordinate some or all forms of knowledge to a role of subscribing to, or elaborating, a dominant ideology. Bernstein suggests that an integrated code may only work effectively when "...there is a high level of ideological consensus among the teaching staff." Integrated codes thus:

"...rest upon a closed explicit ideology. It should then follow that this code should stand a better chance of successful institutionalization in societies where (1) there were strong and effective constraints upon the development of a range of ideologies and (2) where the education system was a major agent of political socialization." Bernstein here suggests that horizontally integrated codes tend to develop in societies where educational systems have little autonomy, but have to subscribe to and inculcate political or other dominant ideals. However, in his later study of the development of an integrated curriculum in nursery schools he sees this development as the consequence of (a) the efforts of nursery school teachers to establish themselves as a professional group rather than child minders, by aligning themselves with the 'expertise' of psychologists and psychoanalysts, (b) the emergence of what he calls a 'new middle class' of professionals and administrators who seek to replicate the interpersonal socializing practices used in the homes of this social class in the nursery school, and (c) the shared interests of the two groups. Thus it might be suggested that horizontally integrated codes tend to develop when controlling groups share similar educational perspectives and interests, so that the need to impose control and hide conflict through boundary maintenance does not arise, or when one controlling group has sufficient power to disregard other sources of conflict.
It is thus proposed that the greater the conflict between educational groups, and the more these conflicts are seen as legitimate, the greater the probability that the curriculum will exhibit forms of boundary maintenance between subjects in an attempt to accommodate differing interests - it will tend to be horizontally classified. It is also proposed that the attempt by one group to establish centralized control in a situation where there are conflicting educational interests will tend to increase the degree of horizontal classification in an attempt to make the achievement of centralized goals visible and thus controllable. It is proposed that horizontally integrated curricula tend to be institutionalized in situations where there is consensus among educational groups, or where one group has the power to override conflicting interests.

A second set of codes in which Bernstein is interested is related to the organization of pedagogic practices. He suggests that the form and structure of the pedagogic relationship between teacher and taught are specified by a framing code. This code specifies the degree of control vested in teachers and taught over what may or may not be transmitted in the pedagogic relationship:

...frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organisation, pacing and timing of the educational knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogic relationship. If teachers have a wide area of discretion, with a number of options available to them within the pedagogic relationship, then the frame as it refers to teachers is said to be weak. If, on the contrary, teachers (and pupils) have little room to manoeuvre, with the pedagogic relationship being precisely specified and controlled by, for example, a centralized educational administration, then the frame structuring the teachers' pedagogic relationship is said to be strong. Frame therefore
refers to the relationship between teacher and taught and the extent to which the teacher and pupil have autonomy in specifying this relationship. The strength of frames may vary across the different aspects of the pedagogic relationship - that is, it can vary with regard to the autonomy of teachers and pupils over (a) the selection, (b) the organization, (c) the pacing, and (d) the timing of educational knowledge.

Framing specifies the mode in which pupils are introduced to and taught curriculum subjects. It thus defines the mode in which they are initiated into an horizontally classified or integrated curriculum. Bernstein is interested in investigating the consequences for educational transmission of varying relationships between horizontal classification and framing codes. While classification and framing strengths may vary independently of each other, Bernstein is particularly interested in teasing out the characteristic of educational knowledge when there is strong classification and strong framing - forming a 'collection code,' or at the other extreme, when there is weak classification and weak framing - forming an 'integrated code.' Some of the most important characteristics of collection and integrated codes are set out below.

It is hoped that this research will contribute to empirically investigating them:

1. In a collection code, bounded subjects are introduced according to an explicit sequence, a sequence specified in the class timetable for each school day, and specified in the graduated curriculum for each school year. Classroom practice reinforces boundary maintenance through its use of class space, time, and condensed symbols such as bell-ringing. In an integrated code on the contrary, sequencing rules are implicit and occasionally invisible
- for example, the child progresses when he is 'ready' as assessed by the teacher through observation and elaborate interpersonal communication. Furthermore in an integrated curriculum neither subjects, space nor time are bounded.

2. In a collection code the pupil has low status, teaching methods are didactic and the hierarchical relationship between teacher and taught is explicit. In an integrated code the pupil has, in theory at least, greater status and is allowed to question and initiate certain forms of action. Hierarchy is implicit rather than explicit.

3. In a collection code there are specific and standardized evaluative criteria - frequently written examinations into pupils' ability to reproduce specified pieces of knowledge. Pupils compete against one another in these examinations, while their outcome results in the explicit and visible labelling of each student. In an integrated code evaluation is implicit rather than explicit, with the teacher intruding into the 'inner' attributes of the student in his assessment.

4. The kind of knowledge offered within a collection code tends to be specialized and 'uncommonsense' knowledge, while some commonsense knowledge is allowed to intrude in an integrated curriculum. A collection code also tends to reproduce knowledge created in the past, while an integrated code emphasizes ways of knowing and the creation of new knowledge.

5. Finally, Bernstein suggests that the textbook epitomizes the organisation and form of knowledge offered within a collection code:
The textbook offers knowledge according to an explicit progression, it provides explicit criteria, it removes uncertainties and announces hierarchy. It gives the child an immediate index of where he stands in relation to others in the progression. It is therefore a silent medium for creating competitive relationships. Thus socialization into the textbook is a critical step towards socialization into the collection code. The stronger the collection code, i.e., the stronger classification and frames, the greater the emphasis on early reading and writing.  

In an integrated code textbooks are only one element of the available learning resources.

Bernstein has recognized the formal and theoretical nature of his concepts of classification and framing, and that they require "...at every point empirical evidence," a fact equally recognized by other researchers, and which this research hopes to rectify.

To summarise the research outline briefly, it has been suggested that:

1. The relationship between social structural factors and educational selection and transmission processes may be fruitfully analysed in terms of (a) the degree of vertical classification linking selection and transmission practices, and (b) the degree of horizontal classification and integration.

2. That vertical classification may be analysed in relation to the mode in which education structures articulate with access to, or exclusion from, élite positions. This mode of access may be further related to the composition and relationship between élite groups, and between élites and non-élites, especially non-élite parents.
3. That the degree of horizontal classification is related to the structure and relationship between controlling groups, both within and outside the educational institution; and

4. That Bernstein's distilling out of the implications of horizontally classified and integrated codes might be fruitfully tested.

Sources and methods

It was judged to be essential to analyse in detail the 'discourses' presented in national school text books and pedagogic tracts to ascertain accurately the degree of vertical and horizontal integration of the national system's transmission processes. The method of analysis was qualitative rather than quantitative, and to some degree it drew on Michel Foucault's suggestion that a text, or 'discourse' should be analysed as far as possible in its own terms, according to its own categories, its own mode of presentation and argument, rather than imposing categories extraneous to the text to suit one's own interests. Anthropological work on the cognitive component of cultures has undertaken some such analyses, investigating the classification systems and categories used by different societies to discriminate, define, understand and communicate about 'reality'. This work was found to be of help in the content analysis of the school texts. Within the national system's curriculum, various discourses, such as geography, history, scriptural extracts, moral tales and natural history, were selected and reorganized into a 'national school curriculum.' In this study it was proposed to examine, how these discourses - excluding mathematics and grammar - were organized within the curriculum, how they were divided into 'lessons' in a 'graduated series', how and when they were introduced to different classes, and how boundaries between them were maintained, or alternatively, how integration was achieved. Also used as source material in assessing degree of integration and classification were teaching manuals, annual
reports of the national school inspectorate, and, from 1868 when it was begun, The Irish Teachers' Journal.

J. M. Goldstrom's analysis of some of the national school readers used between 1831 - 1860 might have been expected to contribute to, or overlap, with this analysis. However, this in general was not the case as the two sets of school readers - those of the 1830's and 40's - which Goldstrom analysed together, were found in this research to be different in both authorship and orientation, and thus analysed separately.99

The primary sources used with reference to the social structural factors influencing selection and transmission processes were the minutes of the board of national education, their annual reports, and the reports and evidence of the many commissions and select committees on national education which sat during the 19th century.

In order to examine in detail how social structural factors were related to the selection and transmission processes established within the national system in the 1830's, and subsequently reoriented in the 1840's, 1860's and 1880's, a case study method examining each period was used. This was found to be the most appropriate method to encompass the very different constellations of social structural factors and hence selection and transmission processes at each of these periods. The results of this analysis are presented in chapters 3 - 6 inclusive. Chapter 7 then draws out the more theoretical implications of these chapters. Chapter 2 presents a historical introduction to the establishment of the national system.
Footnotes to Chapter I


2 Educational selection processes may be defined as 'who' is taught, while transmission processes may be defined as 'what' and 'how' they are taught - i.e. curricular and pedagogic practices.

3 The major work on the national system of education is that by D. H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, which is primarily concerned with church/state relations and the development of administrative structures; W. Jacques', The Chief Factors Determining the Developments in Primary Education, Ireland, 1831 - 1947, Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 1952, is concerned with similar factors. J. M. Goldstrom's, The Social Content of Education, Shannon, 1972, has one chapter analysing the content of school readers used in junior classes in Irish national schools to 1860; E.O Héideain's National School Inspection in Ireland: The Beginnings, Dublin, 1967, is limited to examining some aspects of the selection and organization of the national school inspectorate from 1831 to mid century; while J.W. Musson's, The Training of Teachers in Ireland from 1811 to the Present Day, Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 1955, contains a description of the development of teacher training within the national system.


Bernstein, B. *Class, Codes and Control*, Vol. 3.


Weber, M. 'The Rationalization of Education and Training.'


Weber, M. 'The Chinese Literati.'


See in particular, Bourdieu, P. 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction,' and Bourdieu, P. 'The School as a Conservative Force.'


22 Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. Schooling in Capitalist America, and Bowles, S. 'Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labour.'


25 For a similar emphasis on variable élite structures as an explanatory variable in differing rates of cross national participation in third level education, see Ben-David, J. 'The Growth of the Professions and the Class System,' in Bendix, R. and Lipset, S.M. (eds), Class, Status and Power, New York, 1966, pp. 459–472.

26 Kaestle, C.F. '"Between the Scylla . . .', p. 179. On the continuing influence of this alliance throughout the 19th century, see Smith, D. 'The Urban Genesis of School Bureaucracy,' in Dale, R. et al. (eds), Schooling and Capitalism, pp. 66–77.

27 See also Simon, B. History of Education, 1780–1870, and Johnson, R. 'Notes on the Schooling of the Working Class.'

Of course many other forms of alliances and conflicts between elite groups also influence the structure of educational systems, see for example, Smith, D. 'The Urban Genesis of School Bureaucracy.' Here Smith has documented how differences between established and outsider groups, and between local and cosmopolitan interests in Birmingham in the latter half of the 19th century influenced educational change; how these categories cut across religious and occupational differences, and how shifting alliances between different groups were formed on various educational issues. Michael B. Katz has also documented how the establishment of secondary education in Grotou, a developing industrial town in Massachusetts in mid-century was influenced not only by the commitment of new industrial and professional groups to the establishment of a meritocratic and graded high school, but also by conflict between different sections of the town, and between centralizing and local interests. [See Katz, M.B. The Irony of Early School Reform, Massachusetts, 1968, pp. 77-80.] Basil Bernstein has examined the more recent conflict between fractions of the upper middle class, between the old industrial elites and the new professional and administrative elites in England, regarding the curriculum in English primary schools. He suggests that this conflict is not about the function of the educational system in the reproduction of the class structure, but about forms of social control and educational transmission processes. [See Bernstein, B. 'Class and Pedagogies, Visible and Invisible,' in Bernstein, B. Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3, p. 116-156.

Kaestle, C.F. 'Between the Scylla...' p. 186.

See also, Katz, M.B. The Irony of Early School Reform;
Tyack, D.B. The One Best System, Massachusetts, 1974, and


Ibid, p. 77.

35 Bernstein, B. 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge.'


39 See for example Bourdieu, P. 'Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction,' pp. 84 and 99.


48 Ibid, p. 266-278.

50 Ibid, p. 66.
53 Foster, P. Education and Change in Ghana, pp. 105-6.
57 Laqueur, T.W. Religion and Respectability, pp. 147-160.
58 Ibid, p. 158.
64 Ibid. This somewhat contradicts the suggestion that lower stream pupils consistently reject the academic values of the school, see Hargreaves, D.H. Social Relations in a Secondary School, London, 1967, and Lacey, C. Hightown Grammar, Manchester, 1970.
Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 17, 49 and 58. It might be noted however that he suggests that Irish parents had almost no influence on the curriculum, ibid, pp. 154-5.

Ibid, pp. 233 and 239.


Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J-C. Reproduction, pp. 144-152.

Ibid, pp. 60-61.

Ibid, p. 152, also pp. 58-9; also see Bourdieu, P. 'Systems of Education and Systems of Thought.'


Tyack, D. 'City Schools at the Turn of the Century,' p. 399, in Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (eds), Power and Ideology in Education, pp. 397-411. Also see Tyack, D. The One Best System; Callahan, R. Education and the Cult of Efficiency; Troen, S.K. The Public and the Schools; and Lazerson, M. Origins of the Urban School.

See in particular, Bernstein, B. 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge,' and Bernstein, B. 'Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible.'
Bernstein, B. 'Class and Codes and Control,' Vol. 3, p. 25.

See pp. 13-19 above.


Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 240-274.

Bernstein, B. 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge, p. 107.


Bernstein, B. 'Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible.'

Bernstein, B. 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge,' p. 89.

Bernstein, B. 'Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible,' pp. 133-134.


Bernstein, B. 'Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible,' pp. 140-142 and 119-120.

Bernstein, B. 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge,' pp. 98-99 and 102.


Bernstein, B. 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge,' p. 112, italics in the original.


Ibid.

For example, see readings in Douglas, M. (ed), Rules and Meaning, and Goody, J. The Domestication of the Savage Mind.

Goldstrom appears to have been unaware of these differences, Goldstrom, J.M. The Social Content of Education, p. 66.
CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF A NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY FOR THE IRISH LOWER CLASSES

The national, or state-supported, system of education established in Ireland in 1831, was by no means the first attempt by the government of Great Britain and Ireland to promote education in Ireland. Since the 16th century parochial clergy of the Established church were legally obliged to establish schools in each parish in which the English tongue and English 'civilitie' might be taught. Numerous acts continued to be passed during the 17th and 18th centuries endowing and exhorting the parish clergy to maintain schools whose educational goal became increasingly the advancement of the Protestant religion. Despite exhortation from King and parliament however, the local parish clergy frequently failed to establish these schools.¹ Plans for diocesan and royal schools, mainly for the secondary education of the Anglo-Irish middle classes, were hardly more successful.²

A more concerted effort was made towards the middle of the 18th century when clergy and wealthy laymen of the Established church voluntarily contributed to the founding of charity schools. To encourage and maintain this voluntary effort, parliament, in 1747, voted the Incorporated Society for the Education of the Poor in Ireland funds with which charter schools for the poor were to be established "...for the advancement of true religion and the increase of the Protestant interest in that kingdom."³ Pupils were to be instructed gratis

...in the English tongue, in the principles of the Protestant religion, in reading, writing and arithmetic, and other such parts of learning as to the society shall seem meet, and bring
them up in virtue and industry, and cause them to be instructed in husbandry and housewifery, or in trades or manufactures or other manual occupations. 4

Between 1733 and 1824 the Incorporated Society spent one million pounds from the state, and half a million pounds from private sources on building and maintaining 58 boarding establishments with farms and workshops attached and with a capacity for some 2,700 children. 5

Government inquiries at the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries found, however, that not only were the children in the charter schools grossly maltreated and funds misused, but the Incorporated Society had patently failed to fulfil its educational policy of converting and civilizing the Irish natives. 6

Hedge schools

While the Established clergy failed to set up schools, Catholic and Presbyterian parents and teachers showed considerable initiative in maintaining what were called hedge or pay schools for the elementary education of their children. These common pay schools were illegal until 1782 when the Irish parliament, recognizing that the laws relative to the education of Catholics were too severe and had not had the desired effect, passed an act allowing Catholics to become school teachers, and in 1793 removed the requirement that school teachers be licenced by the local Established clergy. 7 The Select Committee on Education in Ireland (1828), estimated that in 1826, there were almost 400,000 pupils attending pay schools. In fact, 68 per cent of all children attending schools were attending these pay schools (see Table 1 below).
Table 1  Number and percentage of children receiving instruction in 1826

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number of all children at school</th>
<th>Percentage of all children at school</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common pay schools/hedge schools</td>
<td>394,732</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools supported exclusively by the Roman Catholic priesthood and laity</td>
<td>46,119</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools maintained by private charity</td>
<td>84,295</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools maintained in the whole or in part at public expense</td>
<td>55,246</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total number of scholars receiving instruction in 1826:</strong></td>
<td><strong>580,392</strong></td>
<td><strong>99</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The total of 580,392 is unaccountably different from the total of 560,547 given in the script of the report.


In the hedge schools, teachers usually taught the 3 r's and occasionally offered a wider range of subjects, with parents specifying the subjects in which they wanted their children instructed, and paying per subject taught. The livelihood of the teacher thus depended on the good will of the parents, and in particular the more wealthy parents. Parents further controlled reading material as children brought miscellaneous books from home in which to learn to read. As the pupils received individual instruction from the teacher this hardly created quite the havoc, nor the deleterious effects, that later educational reformers suggested. Reformers were to quote the report of one of the 1824-7 Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, who, on visiting a hedge school in Co. Sligo, observed:

...a Child holding the New Testament in its Hands, sitting between two others, one of whom was supplied with the "Forty Thieves," and the other with "The Pleasant Art of Money Catching," while another at a little distance pursuing the "Mutiny Act," and all reading aloud their respective Volumes at the same moment.

Patrick Dowling, in his rather eulogistic account of hedge schools, suggests that:
...the very least that was taught in the Hedge Schools included reading, writing and arithmetic. Other subjects found their way into the curriculum according to local needs and in so far as the qualifications of the teacher would allow: history, geography, book-keeping, surveying and navigation. Latin and mathematics were commonly taught, sometimes Greek. 11

This contrasts sharply with the charter schools, founded and centrally controlled by the Incorporated Society. When the New Ross charter school applied for the senior class to read Roman and Greek histories they were informed by the central committee of the Incorporated Society that they did not consider such books fitted for charity schools, instead they desired the master to select from among the religious books distributed by the society. 12 The extent of religious instruction in hedge schools had not been established. 13 In some, the catechisms of the different churches appear to have been taught to their respective adherents. 14 The individual instruction of pupils as was usual in hedge schools would have facilitated this. Martin Brenan has noted the evidence that in some areas Catholic bishops exercised supervision over the schools, the children being examined in the Catholic catechism and doctrine by the Catholic clergy. 15

Parents sent children to the hedge schools so that they might become literate and numerate. To become literate was to learn to read and write the English language. By the early 19th century English was replacing Irish as the medium of instruction and text books in the Irish language were not generally available. 16 The desire for literacy in the English language appears to have been widespread, as the Kildare Place Society reported in 1820:

In Ireland, every interest, every ambition, every means of advancement and hope of profit for the peasantry, depend upon their acquisition of English. ... The mere existence of a paper currency, as a medium of commerce, has rendered it necessary. 17 English was the language of commerce and of the landlord, of the priest, of the politician, the lawyer and the press.

The hedge schools were used by a wide range of social classes for the elementary education of their children; at least some of the Catholic gentry (e.g. Sir Thomas Wyse), large farmers (e.g. Daniel O'Connell and
the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Murray), and the smaller tenant farmers (e.g. the Rev. Cooke, Presbyterian leader and William Carlton, novelist) initially attended pay schools. They were used by the higher classes for the elementary education of their children before they proceeded elsewhere for their further education: for example Daniel O'Connell and Dr. Murray proceeded to the continent, Sir Thomas Wyse to Stonyhurst, the Rev. Cooke to Glasgow. The middle classes of the towns, a group whose influence and wealth had greatly increased during the 18th century also sent their sons to local pay schools (e.g. the future Archbishop McHale and Brother Rice, founder of the Irish Christian Brothers).

It may be queried whether the poorer sections of the rural and town population could afford to avail themselves of the pay schools. Archbishop Doyle reporting on education in the three comparatively wealthy counties of Carlow, Kildare and Offaly in 1821 wrote: "Of these three counties, I may safely say that nine-tenths of the farmers' children, and all of those of the better classes, receive education of a very imperfect kind,"\(^{18}\) i.e. in hedge schools. "The children of the poor in the county are entirely neglected; in the towns, many of them are left in absolute ignorance; others obtain some little knowledge of reading, and writing, and arithmetic."\(^{19}\)

The hedge schools were violently criticized by three groups during the first thirty years of the 19th century - by the Protestant establishment, by the Catholic hierarchy and by wealthy middle class professional, administrative and business groups. These three groups were united not only in their disparagement of the hedge schools - of their haphazard nature, their lack of organisation, the ill qualified masters, and the immoral and seditious nature of the miscellaneous books used - but by their belief in the efficacy of a centrally controlled, well-ordered system of non-denominational education for the poor as an instrument of social control.
Below will be traced the evolution of these beliefs in centralized 'well ordered' education for the poor through the reports of three bodies, those of the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1806 - 12; those of the Kildare Place Society, 1811-30; and those of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1824-7.

Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1806-12

The Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland appointed in 1806 to inquire into "...the state and condition of all schools upon public or charitable foundations in Ireland,"20 consisted entirely of lay and clerical members of the Protestant establishment. It included, among others, the Archbishop of Armagh (influential in the appointment of the commission),21 the Bishops of Cashel and Killala, the Provost of Trinity College, as well as two laymen, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, and later, John Leslie Foster. Both of the latter were barristers, M.P.s., and members of the Anglo-Irish landed gentry, and were of particular importance in the evolution of a centrally controlled national system for the education of the Irish poor. This was due not only to the clarity of their conception of appropriate education for the poor, but, at least in the case of John Leslie Foster, to his untiring efforts through membership of the Kildare Place Society and his work on the later 1824-7 commission to put his vision into action.

Two letters to the Commissioners of the Board of Education included as appendices to their final report, one from Leslie Foster and the other from Edgeworth, indicate that fear of the hedge schools, of their rapid growth, their potential seditiousness and their complete independence from establishment control, was a prime motivating factor in the establishment's concern to establish a centrally controlled system of education for the poor. Edgeworth stated:

The progress of knowledge has spread now so far that it cannot be stopped without destruction to those who attempt to arrest its course. The people will read and will think; the only question for their governors is, how to lead them to read such books as shall accustom them to think justly, and thus make them peaceable subjects and good members of society. 22
Leslie Foster, having noted the extensive number of hedge schools, the "pernicious and ridiculous" nature of the books used in them and the notorious deficiencies of the teachers, yet recognised that, due to the "...extraordinary and universal desire of the peasantry to obtain instruction for their children," the establishment had little choice:

...if we do not assist them, instructed nevertheless they will be; ... the limits of our choice are confined to the quality of that instruction; so that to such persons as think education unfitted for their [the peasantry's] station, no such alternative is presented; our choice appears to be, not whether they shall be educated or ignorant, but whether they shall be taught to be profitable members of society in their humble stations, fullfillers of their religious, moral and social duties, obedient to the laws, and loyal to the government, or continue under the systematic mis-instruction upon these points, which in so many instances appears to be their present lot. 23

The commissioners themselves in their final report followed and expanded Leslie Foster's letter. They concluded that their extensive investigations had indicated "...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." 24

That the instruction they received was frequently "...no farther than Reading, Writing and the Common Rules of Arithmetic," 25 but that the masters were ill qualified even to give this limited instruction:

...having 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 inforcement of which some of the best advantages of Education are derived. 26

Further, while reading by the lower orders ought to be morally and religiously elevating, the books used in the hedge schools were "... calculated to incite to lawless and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition, or to lead to dissension or disloyalty." 27

While in Britain at this time the educational debate centered on whether the lower orders ought to receive any education at all, 28 the seven members of the Protestant establishment who signed the final report of the 1806–12 commission, despite their distaste for the
hedge schools, evidently felt this debate irrelevant in the Irish context:

...for such Education as has been objected to, under the idea of it leading to evil rather to good, they [the lower orders] 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. 29

The improvement the commissioners suggested was:

To substitute for the ill-taught and ill-regulated schools a systematic and uniform plan of instruction, such as should gratify the desire for information, which manifests itself among the lower classes of the people of Ireland, and at the same time form those habits of regularity and discipline which are yet more valuable than mere learning. 30

To do this commissioners should be appointed, under the authority of an act of parliament, 'with extensive powers' to facilitate the expansion of teacher training facilities, to select and prepare schools books, and to build, endow and equip at first a small number of 'supplementary schools' within which the commissioners would prescribe the course and mode of education, control the appointment, conduct and dismissal of teachers. These schools would act as model or exemplary schools.

The expansion of teacher training facilities was given high priority in the hope, no doubt, of gaining some control over hedge school masters "...whose ignorance ... is not seldom their least disqualification." 31

With regard to school books the commissioners were to select and prepare 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, [and include] 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. 32

The commissioners' fear of the seditious potential of the hedge schools was based in part on their belief in the power of educational knowledge: so much subversive and superstitious inputs implied an output of so many subversive and superstitious pupils. The solution was, given the impossibility of closing off educational sources, to take over control of educational knowledge, to ensure that the education offered
was "...suited to [the pupils'] station in society," and to ensure, as Leslie Foster emphasized, that "...the acquisition of the art of reading shall at the same time be made the means of conveying proper principles to the mind." Edgeworth recommended to the 1806-12 commissioners the establishment of a three-tier educational system. At the lowest rung would be dame schools "...for young children, to habituate them to cleanliness, order and obedience." On the next rung preparatory day schools would be provided in each parish. In preparatory schools there were to be two classes: the first class would consist of junior boys and all the girls attending the school. This class would be taught the 3r's. A more extensive curriculum would be offered to senior boys, and each year, on the basis of a public examination, two boys would be selected for entrance to a higher grade provincial school. Here they would be boarded and educated at public expense, and taught "...bookkeeping, surveying, agricultural economy, practical mechanics, and such parts of practical chemistry as are useful in the trades and occupations for which they are designed." They would have subsequent access to "...employments and situations in a rank or step above their own," which would act:

...as a powerful motive, both on parents and children: a motive which would excite the energy of the young, and secure the co-operation of the old: the poor would see advancement in many lucrative and honourable occupations is thus laid open to industry and merit.

A state-supported meritocracy would have the political function of taking "...a considerable number of boys, of the best conduct, and of the best abilities, ... from the ranks of the profligate and ignorant," and encourage them to become "...indissolubly attached to the laws and government of the country." The structure of the educational system and the content of educational knowledge were not alone in being deemed important for the correct learning of social roles - the mode of organisation in the classroom was also believed to be of utmost significance. Edgeworth suggested that in the charter
That discipline by which armies are governed ... might be introduced ...; the division into small bodies, with the system of gradual subordination, and promotion from merit, would induce habits of submission and emulation, which would be carried from the school into every situation where the boys might afterwards be placed. 40

Leslie Foster suggested that in the proposed schools to be established by the commissioners, reading, writing and arithmetic be taught:

...upon the improved system of Bell and Lancaster; a system peculiarly calculated for the lower classes in Ireland as much by the habits of order, method and regularity it introduces, as by the vast saving of time and expense... 41

With regard to religious instruction, in the proposed centrally controlled, non-denominational schools, the leading principle was to be that "...no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians." 42 This central principle was assumed to be consistent with giving a considerable degree of religious instruction to all pupils, in particular scriptural instruction. 43 No suggestion was made of a need to consult either Catholic or Presbyterian authorities on these matters despite the fact that the great majority of the children to be educated belonged to these communions, while with reference to the membership of the central board, the commissioners opted out of this knotty problem, simply stating, "With respect to the selection of these commissioners it does not appear to belong to us to enter into any particular suggestion." 44 This disregard for consultation or power sharing was part, no doubt, of the ascendency's assumption that:

Theirs it was to give and patronise, theirs to discuss how the Catholic ought to be educated, theirs to judge what the Catholic was fit to receive and when it should be granted. ...This superiority, the Protestant was convinced, was based not on mere legal, or even economic and social grounds, but was the moral superiority inherent in men who held the soundest possible theological and philosophical principles. 45
One such principle was a belief in free access to the scriptures as the main source of truth, and the establishment felt the right, even the duty, to educate others to this truth. The fact of their being the sole possessors of the truth legitimated in their eyes their monopolistic control over education.

Leslie Foster, though himself deeply committed to the diffusion of scriptural knowledge, was aware that, despite ascendancy claims, the real source of educational power lay with the Catholic authorities. He thus suggested in his letter to the 1806-12 commissioners:

...that whatever plan may appear to this Board most eligible, it should be laid before the heads of the Roman Catholic clergy, previous to our report. No person acquainted with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland can doubt, that on the sentiments of the Bishops will depend the degree of resistance or co-operation which such a plan would receive from, the subordinate ministers of their religion. 46

This political realism recognised that if the establishment wished to gain control of the education of Catholics by setting up a central supervisory body, they could only do so by offering the Catholic hierarchy the carrot of funds, swallowing the pill of power sharing, and, more critically, by accepting the fact that their claim to be the sole purveyors of truth was no longer held to legitimate their exclusive control of education.

The Kildare Place Society

Accepting power sharing and the consequent legitimacy claims of other religious groups caused, no doubt, the "considerable difficulty" 47 encountered in the appointment of members to a central board as recommended by the 1806-12 commissioners. To avoid this problem, it was decided to make a parliamentary grant to an institution already in existence, rather than appoint a new board. The institution in question was the Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in Ireland, better known as the Kildare Place Society. This voluntary society of business and professional men in Dublin, the majority of whom were Protestant, 48 since 1811 had promoted educational principles similar to those suggested by
the commissioners: they advocated for the Irish poor, a well ordered, centrally supervised system of religiously mixed education in which the scriptures were read by all. The belief that a well ordered system of education, providing 'useful' information, would protect the poor from being prey to seditious influences, was shared by the Tory Chief Secretary, Robert Peel.49 In 1816 the Kildare Place Society received its first parliamentary grant of £6,000 to enable it:

...to provide and distribute moral and instructive books, and to assist them in diffusing an improved system of education among the lower orders of the people of Ireland. 50

By 1831 it had received annual grants totalling almost £250,000.51

The central organising committee of the Kildare Place Society used this money "...to rescue the children of the lower orders, from absolute idleness or (what is perhaps worse) from the hedge schools."52 The children thus rescued from the hedge school were to be schooled "...by an improved class of teachers and subject to the immediate control of a committee of responsible individuals in the neighbourhood."53 These patrons, having pledged themselves to comply with the non-sectarian and scriptural principles of the society, might then apply to the central committee in Dublin for building grants and book supplies, send their teacher for training in the Kildare Place model school run on Lancasterian principles in Dublin, and receive the benefit of inspection by one of the society's six inspectors 'of superior standing,' who were exhorted "...to see not merely that due proficiency is made by the scholars in learning, but that proper attention is paid to the forming of habits of cleanliness and subordination ..."54 In 1830, the Kildare Place Society claimed that it was granting aid to over 1,600 schools, in which there were some 130,000 pupils.55

Despite increased central control over administration, teacher training and inspection, at the local level the power of teachers and parents remained predominant. For, despite united commitment at the centre to
the 'improved' or Lancasterian system, trained teachers were frequently unable to introduce monitorial methods into small rural schools, due to a "...dislike to some parts of the Lancasterian system which seems to pervade the peasantry to a considerable extent." Furthermore, the large reading and lesson tablets prepared by the Kildare Place Society on the Lancasterian pattern for the simultaneous instruction of groups of pupils, were found to be useless in many rural schools, causing the central committee to prepare individual reading and lesson books instead. It would appear that parents preferred the individual instruction, traditional in the hedge schools, to monitorial methods, and that they had as yet sufficient power - no doubt by threatening to withdraw their children - to insist on this.

The Kildare Place Society in Dublin, as its sister society, the Lancasterian Society in London, originated in a concern among the early 19th century urban, upper middle classes to provide a well ordered and scriptural system of education for the poor. The zealous pursuit of this ideal was motivated by a convenient coincidence of class interest and evangelical fervour: scriptural knowledge would teach to the lower classes that duty of subordination and industriousness by which the upper classes profited. In 1826 the Kildare Place Society reiterated that its labours had been directed:

...to the improvement of the lower classes in good order, cleanliness and industry, to the promotion of respect for the laws, and the impressing upon the youthful mind early lessons of piety and brotherly love.

This education was constantly contrasted with that provided in hedge schools, whose system of instruction was seen as "...more pernicious than ignorance itself;" "...the only object attended to in these schools is to instruct in reading, writing and arithmetic; whilst cleanliness of person, decency of language, and regularity of conduct are totally neglected."
The upper middle class nature of the Kildare Place Society was evident from the beginning: on its managing committee of 21 in 1813 were at least ten influential Dublin merchants, bankers and manufacturers, and six members of the Irish bar. It retained its predominantly middle class composition over the next twenty years, barristers coming, however, to take over the majority position from business men: over sixty per cent of the managing committee in 1830 were gentlemen of the bar. The predominance of the upper middle classes, as well as the changing balance between business and professional groups, reflected perhaps changes among elite groups in early 19th century Dublin. After the Union in 1800, the gentry, following parliament, moved its financial and social centre from Dublin to London. This undermined not only their own position and that of the Established clergy, but also business interests in Dublin. In their place, professional groups gained in precedence.

R.B. McDowell suggests that the professional classes in Dublin:

...had attained, since the Union, to a dominant social position which could be matched only in Edinburgh. In this class the lawyers and clergy were still at the top but the physicians, and, in only slightly lesser degree, the surgeons, were close on their heels. 63

The merchants and bankers so influential in the early Kildare Place Society were mainly of either Quaker or Hugenot origin.64 These two small groups of puritans had come to Ireland some 150 years previously as part of the Cromwellian and Williamite settlements.65 During the latter half of the 18th century Hugenots had taken a prominent part in the industrial and commercial development of the country, and at the turn of the century, aligning themselves with the Protestant establishment, gained considerable political power. The wealth and power of the Hugenots, combined with the zealous educational principles of the Quakers, gave to the Kildare Place Society a particular potency. The influence of these two industrious and thrifty groups can be traced in the Society's evangelical emphasis on the efficacy of the Holy Book, in its belief in
the power of literacy and the consequent need to control reading, and in
its "ascetic protestantism," that is, its commitment to the "...systematic
rational ordering of the moral life as a whole"66 as an educational ideal.
This rational ordering of the pupil's moral life was to be assured not
only by the precise ordering of the Lancasterian school room and school
day, by the disciplining of the body through marching, cleanliness and
the silent moving in and out of desks, but by the production and dis-
semination of school books which would inculcate upon the youthful mind
those moral principles and well-ordered facts which were suited to the
pupils' station in life. The society thus planned to "...wrest out of the
hands of [the peasantry] the works of obscenity, of lawless adventure of
vice and of profligacy, with which their minds and their tastes had been
hitherto polluted and depraved," and to substitute "...an ample supply of
wholesome useful and moral instruction and information..."67

To this end the society published two readers and other school books,
as well as a library of eighty-five68 informative and entertaining books
of which almost one and a half million were sold by 1830.69 Members of
the Kildare Place Society took this aspect of their work with extreme
seriousness. The legislature having granted a sum of money for the purpose
of procuring a supply of moral and entertaining books, the society pro-
claimed themselves:

...deeply impressed with a sense of the responsibility this
devolved upon them; they felt that no other branch of the
business of the society was so much caution necessary, as in
no other would the mischief of a failure be so extensive or
injurious, and they resolved to make every exertion to expend
the money thus liberally granted [by parliament] in such a
manner as to extirpate a deep rooted evil, and to bestow a
permanent advantage on the country. 70

Belief in the potency of the printed work - its potency for good or evil,
for enlightenment or damnation, arising as it did from an absolute com-
mitment to the bible as the only source of authoritative doctrine, con-
version and salvation,71 endowed evangelicals with a passionate zealousness
in promoting wholesome literature, and an equally passionate suspicion of what they considered immoral. The immoral included the imaginative and fictitious. Only 'true' facts were appropriate educational knowledge for the poor. This puritan and evangelical distrust of the imaginative pervaded the school readers and the library of useful and instructive literature. In the preface of one of the latter works, it is suggested that:

Although Fairy Tales are sometimes amusing, they, nevertheless, it must be confessed, are of little use, and even do mischief, by holding forth what is not true, and thus misleading the reader; we have, therefore, made here a collection of real occurrences, and of true accounts of some of the most remarkable works of nature and art, which will astonish and entertain our readers, at least as much, we would hope, as the stories they have been in the habit of perusing; with this further advantage, that as our book contains only what is strictly true, and vouched to be so by the best authority, those who read, will obtain instruction as well as amusement.

The two school readers which the Kildare Place Society prepared, the Dublin Spelling Book and the Dublin Reading Book drew on the school texts of the American Quaker, Lindley Murray, as well as other popular spelling and reading books. The Dublin Reading Book consisted in the main of graduated lessons in religion, morality and 'useful information.' It included information in natural history on wild and domestic animals, descriptions of cataracts, earthquakes and volcanoes, and discussions of the work of the carpenter, basket maker and shepherd. It presented a world ordered and controlled by God, in which each man and beast had a place. God, man and beast could live in harmony and contentment if man kept the moral law. Man should work hard, be honest and gentle in his relationships with others, be temperate, truthful and obedient. These virtues brought their own rewards, while vice, introducing disorder into the world, brought inevitable retribution - unless forgiveness was sought and granted. All lived in the sight of God and were dependent on his providence, as each kingdom in nature was also dependent on the others. The Dublin Reading Book also included some
narrative pieces on, and short orations by, Greek, Roman and other leaders. To aid the teacher in the use of these readers, the Kildare Place Society prepared The Schoolmaster’s Manual and Questions on the Dublin Reading Book.

The Kildare Place Society also produced a geography text for use in schools, as well as arithmetic and needlework texts. Its library of informative and entertaining books included by 1831, religious, moral and scriptural texts, instructive works on the arts and agriculture, books on natural history, and on voyages and travellers’ tales.

A well-ordered education, however, was not considered sufficient in itself. United with it must be the spiritual haven of the scriptures. The Kildare Place Society desired to "...open the scriptures to every poor man, and, at the same time, be free from even the suspicion of proselytism." Within Kildare Place schools they required that the bible be read by children of all denominations, without note or comment. Catechisms and instruction in the particular tenets of religious creeds were to be scrupulously avoided. It was thus hoped to unite in the friendship and companionship of common schooling Protestants and Catholics of the lower classes and thereby to lessen the religious prejudice seen by the members of the Kildare Place Society as one of the major causes of disharmony in Ireland. It was felt that:

...by bringing together while young, and thus attached to one another by the friendly bonds of common instruction, the several members of the community, however differing in religious opinions - [the Society] has on the one hand guarded with the most scrupulous care and anxiety against all interference with the peculiar religious opinion of any description of Christians, and on the other, with equal foresight, avoided that most alarming and dangerous error, the increasing through the means of knowledge the power of the lower orders, without at the same time providing against the abuse of such increase, by diffusing among them, through the medium of the Scriptures, moral and religious principles, inclinations and habits.

By 1823, under criticism from Catholic authorities that only the Authorised version of the scriptures was used, the Douay version was made available, and permission given that the appropriate version might be read, without note or comment, by pupils of the relevant creed. However, selections
or abridgements of biblical extracts were not allowed to substitute for the bible. 82

Kildare Place members shared belief in the redemptive and purifying influences of the bible with members of evangelizing bible societies then operating in Ireland, including the Bible, Tract and Missionary Societies, the London Hibernian Society, and the Baptist Societies, whose proselytizing aims were frequently explicit. Overlapping membership in these societies, including the Kildare Place Society, and the support given by the latter to some schools promoted by bible societies were claimed by Catholic leaders in the 1820's to evidence its growing proselytizing sympathies. 83

As criticism by Catholic leaders of scriptural education increased and was given official recognition by government commissions and committees, a corresponding entrenchment and commitment to it occurred among Kildare Place members. When the 1824-7 commission enquiring into Irish education pronounced against the compulsory reading of the scriptures, "CLING TO YOUR PRINCIPLES" appeared in bold capitals in the next report of the Kildare Place Society. 84 The society's report for 1828 reiterated: "...you have made your stand upon that book which is the record of the will, and conveys the commands of the Almighty - which must be the foundation of the belief of every christian." 85 The bible was "That immovable rock," 86 that "bright and pure light," 87 which constituted the "chief cornerstone" 88 of education. Belief in scriptural education functioned to legitimate Protestant involvement in the education of Catholics, likewise, criticism of scriptural education was seen as an attempt to wrest control from Protestant hands: in the 18th report of the society, it was stated that criticism of scriptural education by the Catholic hierarchy and clergy might be traced "...to other and very different causes than the merits and demerits" of this system of education; rather:
Opposition of the Roman Catholic hierarchy may ... be traced to a desire on their part to establish a system of education purely under their own control; and for that purpose to obtain a portion of the funds granted by parliament in aid of education, which must necessarily confer upon them a power and influence of no small extent. 89

Educational principles of the Catholic hierarchy and upper middle class

By 1830 the Catholic hierarchy had emerged not only as an owner of considerable property and wealth, but as an organised political force - the removal of Catholic disabilities and the control of the education of Catholic children being the two centres around which their political action focussed. An essential element contributing to the growth of their political power was the emergence of a Catholic professional and business class who sought the legitimacy afforded by church support for their own drive to political power: cooperation between the hierarchy and Catholic middle class aspirants to political success, in the fight for Catholic emancipation and Catholic education, was to the advantage of both sides. The Catholic business class had, despite the penal laws, grown in wealth and prosperity during the 18th century, while the Catholic professional class, in particular barristers, chaffed at their exclusion from political and administrative offices. In the Catholic Association formed in 1823 to campaign for the removal of Catholic disabilities, the hierarchy and the Catholic upper middle classes combined to create a self assured political pressure group. Between 1826-28 the "almost aggressive self confidence" of Catholic leaders, backed by the organised support of Catholic tenants, drove a wedge into the landlord and establishment monopoly of county politics by defeating landlord supported candidates at by-elections, and led to the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829.

With regard to education for the poor, the Catholic upper middle class appear to have agreed with their Protestant counterparts on its function in maintaining law and order. Dr. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, sought an education which would unite religious
instruction with the literary improvement of the people, for religious education taught reverence for the church's maxims, obedience to its laws, submission of the reason to its mysteries and a habitual fear and love of future punishments and rewards. The result was:

The poor man who receives a religious education is generally obedient to the laws, and looks to the ranks and orders of society as an ark projected by the finger of God for the preservation of the species. When pressed by want he does not become turbulent nor disaffected, but rests satisfied with the dispensations of Providence.

The remaining Catholic hierarchy agreed. Only a religious education could ensure obedience not only to religious but to civil and economic laws. In a letter to the Chief Secretary signed by five bishops (1822), it was:

...respectfully submitted to the consideration of his Majesty's Government, that the want of an early religious education is one of the principal causes why the peasantry of this country are easily induced to take rash and unlawful oaths, to combine for bad purposes, and commit those excesses which for centuries past, as well as at present, having disgraced their country, disturbed its peace, and prevented its prosperity.

The education offered in the hedge schools, in the eyes of the Catholic hierarchy, as in the eyes of the establishment, by no means contributed to maintaining social control. As Dr. Doyle commented:

...their masters, in many instances, are extremely ignorant, their school-houses are mere huts, where the children are piled on each other, and the sexes promiscuously jumbled together. From the want of space, the Lancastrian plan, or that of Bell, cannot be introduced; and if there were space, we have not funds to buy forms, books, or to pay a master capable of instructing.

He concluded that the pupils in hedge schools "...receive education of a very imperfect kind, and imparted in a very defective way, by men, in most instances, incompetent to teach."
united in the same school room - at least for combined literary instruction. But the ideal form of Catholic education for the poor, an ideal which was to progressively assert itself as the century advanced, was epitomised in the schools of the Christian Brothers. Within the context of a Congregation bound by religious vows, they offered a well-ordered, useful and doctrinal education to poor boys. The congregation was begun in 1802 by a young Catholic businessman, Edmund Rice, in Waterford, who, by 1824, had been joined by some forty other young men mainly of similar provincial middle class origin. Joined by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, they further vowed to teach children gratuitously during their lives. In 1821 they formalised and centralised the organisation of the congregation, drawing up "Regulations for the government of the Congregation, for the training of novices, the direction and life of the communities and the work and management of the schools." Their schools, established on invitation from the relevant Catholic bishop, were large and urban, the pupils being chiefly children "...of the class of Tradesmen, Labourers, Servants and Clerks," and were run on monitorial principles:

The value of discipline was then highly appreciated, the movements of boys in the classroom were orderly, and in going from and returning to the class halls were regulated with military precision; silence reigned during class hours amongst the pupils ... The curriculum included the 3 r's for the lower classes, and for the higher, English grammar, book-keeping, algebra and geometry, while doctrinal instruction in the Catholic creed through the use of catechisms played a central role, and the 'errors of Protestantism' were averted to.

Bible histories were read in the schools of the Christian Brothers, but the 1824-7 commissioners found no copy of the scriptures in any of these schools. This was in conformity, as Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin and Dr. Doyle had pointed out, with:
...the principles and discipline of the Catholic Church, inasmuch as she considers such practice [as school children reading the scriptures] as tending to diminish the reverence which the professors of her faith should entertain for the Word of God; to unsettle their religious belief, by giving occasion to young and ignorant persons to form erroneous judgements on many passages of the Scriptures difficult to be understood, and which have ever been interpreted in different ways by divers persons, and not unfrequently to the great detriment of the venerable institutions both in Church and State. 107

This Catholic principle was of course infringed by the Kildare Places' requirement that the scriptures be read by all children, without note or comment. The hierarchy, having failed in its attempts to establish a foothold within the Kildare Place Society management committee, petitioned parliament in 1824. 108 They complained of the religious discrimination evidenced in the Kildare Place regulations, in particular the compulsory reading of the scriptures, and of its use of public funds - suggesting that the clergy of the Protestant churches were favoured in the allocation of building grants. 109 The prelates stated that they deemed it:

...a duty to inform the House that Roman Catholic Poor of Ireland continue unprovided with School Houses, School masters, or with any such Aids as are necessary for promoting amongst them a well-ordered System of Education. 110

Furthermore, they desired to:

...most humbly suggest to the House, that any System of Education incompatible with the Discipline of the Catholic Church, or superintended exclusively by Persons professing a Religion different from that of the vast Majority of the Poor of Ireland, cannot possibly be acceptable to the latter. 111

Commission of Irish Education Inquiry, 1824-27

Parliament responded to this statement of Catholic grievances by appointing a commission of inquiry. Of its five members, three were Irish, the two most significant appointments being John Leslie Foster, a member of the managing committee of the Kildare Place Society and a former member of the 1806-12 commission when, with a certain political foresight, he had unsuccessfully recommended consultation with the Catholic hierarchy on educational matters; and Anthony Richard Blake,
a senior government administrator, a Catholic and a future member of the national board of education.\textsuperscript{112} Having observed the success with which the Catholic clergy were withdrawing children of their communion from Kildare Place schools, the commissioners immediately undertook investigation of Catholic grievances, and in 1825 issued their first report, recommending changes in the use of government funds for the education of the Irish poor.\textsuperscript{113}

The commission recognized the extensive provision of education in hedge schools. The number of hedge schools, and the number of pupils attending them, had more than doubled since 1812.\textsuperscript{114} They also noted that this education was provided without "...any particular Control or Superintendence."\textsuperscript{115}

They accepted prevailing views on the need, in the interests of the state and civil harmony, for a well-ordered system of non-denominational education for the Irish poor - indeed, Leslie Foster had already done much to formulate and disseminate these views. The commissioners observed that they considered non-denominational education:

...a Point of Great Importance to the Interests of the State, as it was only by training up the Youth of all Persuasions in Habits of Early Intercourse and Attachment, that they could hope to establish among them those reciprocal Charities upon which the Peace and Harmony of Society must depend.\textsuperscript{116}

On this there was elite consensus. There was also a consensus on the need for a religious education, on the need "...to lay the foundation of all moral Obligation in religious instruction."\textsuperscript{117} The problem was: who was to control the definition of what constituted a religious education? The commissioners recognised that the pay schools in fact provided a non-denominational education in which religion was taught - to the satisfaction of parents if not their betters. They stated:
We had in the course of our Inspection been much struck with the State of many Schools, in which the Pupils paid for the Instruction they received, and in which there appeared to be perfect Harmony amongst Children of all Persuasions. These Schools were carried on as Objects of private Speculation, and not supported either by public funds or by the Aid of Societies. Each Child was taught the Religion which its Parents wished it to learn; and the Master, who depended for his Livelihood on giving Satisfaction to his Employers, was content to impart as he could the Instruction necessary for each. In this Manner we frequently found the same Master teaching the Catechism of the Church of England to one child, the Roman Catholic to another, and the Presbyterian to a Third ... 118

Such a mixture, however, was not compatible with what the commissioners perceived to be a well-ordered system of education. They stated clearly their disapproval of "...the same Master teaching different and conflicting religious doctrines." 119 In a well-ordered system, uniformity - the separating out of distinct groups for simultaneous instruction in distinctive pieces of knowledge - was required.

The commissioners noted:

The modern Practice of mutual [Lancastrian] Instruction ... has created the Necessity of adopting a more precise Uniformity of Reading than existed in the unimproved Schools ... in which the Study of one Child has little or no Connexion with that of another. According to [the improved system] ... the Children, who are divided into Classes, read successive Passages out of similar Books, and the Difficulty of avoiding the Conflict of Religious Differences is thereby considerably increased. 120

Having assumed the superiority of this well-ordered system, and having recognized the conflicting claims to control the religious knowledge taught in such a well-ordered system, the commissioners concluded that uniformity and order could only be established and maintained by the different creeds receiving their religious instruction separately 121 - with reservations as shall be seen below. They thus recommended that:

...it is desirable to unite Children of the different religious Persuasions in Ireland, for the Purpose of instructing them in the general Objects of Literary Knowledge, and to provide Facilities for their Instruction separately, where the Difference of religious Belief renders it impossible for them any longer to learn together. 122
In the balancing of conflicting claims, the power of the Catholic hierarchy had to be balanced against the claim of the Established church regarding the divinely sanctioned superiority of scriptural education - a claim the majority of the commissioners accepted.\textsuperscript{123} It was thus suggested that should the Catholic hierarchy refuse to sanction scriptural education during the hours of united instruction, (a) a harmony of the gospels and a bible history be prepared for use during this period, and (b) that the Douay version of the scriptures be supplied to Catholic children for use during their separate denominational religious instruction.\textsuperscript{124} In general, two teachers should instruct in each school, one of these being Catholic or Presbyterian "...where any considerable Number of Roman Catholics [or alternatively, Presbyterians] are in Attendance on the School."\textsuperscript{125} With regard to separate religious instruction, clergy of the different religious creeds had the right to define what denominational religious instruction might be given, to supply books relevant to this instruction, and to attend the school at these times.\textsuperscript{126}

Control of the proposed system of national education was to be in the hands of a central board, it being suggested that centralised government control was the only possible non-sectarian solution in a country torn by religious strife.\textsuperscript{127} It was proposed that a central board be appointed by the government to administer grants for the building and maintenance of schools, funds being transferred from the Kildare Place Society, the Charter schools, the Association for Discountenancing Vice and the Lord Lieutenant's Fund for the purpose.\textsuperscript{128} School committees or patrons who opted to receive government aid would transfer legal right to the school house to the board, have their schools inspected, their school books vetted and their teachers (exclusively lay) appointed by the central board. It was further proposed that the Kildare Place Society
continue its book publishing and its teacher training schools, which the commissioners stated, "...have been extremely well managed." 130

The commissioners' proposals pleased neither Protestant or Catholic groups. As described above, the Kildare Place Society responded with the battle cry - CLING TO YOUR PRINCIPLES - to the commissioners' suggestion that their system of united scriptural education; having failed to give universal satisfaction, must be superseded by a system of united literary and separate religious instruction. This was simply selling out to Catholic power, and the fact that the commissioners accepted the legitimacy of the Kildare Place claims as to the superiority of scriptural education did nothing to soften the blow - on the contrary it smelled of a traitor within the ranks.

As for the Catholic hierarchy, their right to some say in state-supported education was established, and they were now in a position to state the terms (some, perhaps, negotiable) under which they were prepared to co-operate in government funded, united education. In 1826 thirty prelates signed a series of resolutions stating the conditions which would sufficiently protect the religion of Catholic children, and allow for their religious instruction, in non-denominational schools: if Catholic children formed the majority in a school, a Catholic teacher should be appointed, if in a minority, a Catholic assistant should be appointed; Catholic teachers should be appointed only "with the express approval" of the Catholic bishop of the diocese; teachers of different creeds should be trained in separate institutions; books used during separate religious instruction should be selected by Catholic prelates, and no book objected to by the Catholic bishop of the diocese should be used during hours of united instruction; finally, existing and future school property should not be transferred to the state. 131
The hierarchy's ability, however, to offer alternative Catholic controlled education was limited by lack of funds. This can be particularly seen in the sluggish activities of the Catholic Education Society in Dublin, established under the patronage of the Archbishop of Dublin and managed by a committee of parochial clergy, business and professional men, in 1827. By 1831 it had built but two schools and were preparing to build a model school for boys. Within Catholic schools education was offered to all creeds without interference, but "...religious instruction every day at school and during school hours, is to be imparted to the scholars," and the clergy were in regular attendance. Of almost equal importance:

Besides the general objects of religious and literary education, particular attention has been paid in both these schools to impress the minds of the scholars with habits of regular attendance, industrious application, cleanliness and order. 133

The hierarchy also established in 1827 a Catholic Book Society, controlled exclusively by priests. Its object was to diffuse religious knowledge among the people of Ireland, to supply satisfactory refutations of prevailing errors and to supply schools with approved books. In its first year it printed some 150,000 catechisms, reading and spelling books, and doctrinal works. 134

The Catholic hierarchy were faced with a situation in which the majority of their flock were receiving their education in the reprehensible hedge schools, disparaged by upper class Catholics and Protestants alike. Catholic resources being insufficient to supplant the hedge schools, financial aid was needed from the government. 135 Catholic political power, however, was growing, in particular at the local level through clerical involvement with the Catholic Association in successfully mobilising mass support for Catholic Emancipation. The political leverage of grass-roots power in educational matters was
manifested to the political centre by the hierarchy's widespread success in restraining Catholic parents from sending their children to scriptural schools - including those of the Kildare Place Society. 136

At the centre, the educational power of the Tory establishment was vested in the Kildare Place Society, who, at least theoretically, diffused its educational initiatives through local patrons, in particular the gentry. The latter, however, despite repeated exhortation from the centre, lacked enthusiasm and failed to fulfil the centre's expectations. Furthermore they had begun to lose their monopolistic control of local politics. The Tory establishment were also under threat at the centre by the Catholic rejection of their claim regarding the self-evident superiority of a united scriptural education for the Catholic and Protestant poor, and by the hearing the 1824-7 Commission had given to the Catholic position. It was on the issue of united scriptural education that the 1824-7 Commission finally broke down. They attempted to prepare a harmony of the scriptures (to be read during hours of united instruction), acceptable to both Catholic and Protestant leaders. The project ended in a complete stalemate, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin rejecting the Protestant proposals and the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh rejecting Catholic proposals. 137

Whig proposals for national education, 1828-31

Also threatening the Tory establishment were radical Whigs, both Catholic and Protestant. They legitimated their claim to educational power not by a belief in the superiority of the scriptures, but by a belief in the superiority of the pooled intelligence of experts at the centre, who would introduce rational efficiency and order at all levels. After the failure of the 1824-7 Commission to get national education off the ground, Spring Rice, a leading Irish Whig and M.P. for Limerick, member of the Benthamite Political Economy Club 138 and involved in the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, organised a House of
Commons Committee on Education in Ireland, with himself as chairman. Having reviewed the work of previous commissions, the committee produced in 1828 a terse report of some four pages, reiterating the need for a centrally controlled educational system in which the Protestant and Catholic poor would be united for secular instruction, and thus "... imbibe similar ideas and form congenial habits tending to diminish that distinctness of feeling now but too prevalent." As the religious superiors of the poor appeared unable themselves to attain to this charitable ideal on the issue of united religious education, the 1828 Committee proposed the complete segregation of pupils of different creeds for religious instruction. Two days in each week were to be set aside exclusively for religious education, one of these days was to be:

...appropriated solely to the separate religious instruction of the Protestant children, the other for the separate religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children. ...the whole of this separate religious instruction to be placed under the exclusive superintendence of the clergy of the respective communions.

Furthermore, favouring Catholic prescriptions, the scriptures were to be read only during the hours of separate instruction, the version read being authorised by the relevant clergy. Controlling the educational system from the centre was a salaried board of experts, appointed by the government irrespective of their religion. This board would administer government education funds, superintend teacher training, edit and print all school books for combined instruction, and print all books for religious instruction.

The Tory establishment were sufficiently strong to forestall implementation of Spring Rice's proposals until a Whig government was formed in 1830. However, the Benthamite programme needed some adaptation to the religio-political realities of the Irish scene. The first reality,
as the new Whig Chief Secretary, Lord Stanley, pointed out to the House of Commons, was that Catholic participation had to be courted, and that furthermore it was in the political interest of the government:

...not to oppose the Catholic priesthood and people, but to bring the priesthood and the Catholic people through their influence into an amicable and friendly relationship with the Government... 142

To this end, two of the seven commissioners in the newly established board of national education were to be Catholic and there was to be local control over the appointment of teachers, though these might be fined, suspended or removed altogether by the authority of the commissioners. Compromising on the issues of teacher training and the control of books - which the hierarchy suggested be vested in their hands, while the 1824-7 commissioners had suggested they might remain to a certain extent under the auspice of the Kildare Place Society - the new board was to be directly responsible for "Establishing and maintaining a model school in Dublin, and training teachers for country schools;" and for "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 lower than half price." 143

The government also needed to court the participation of Protestant groups if the national system was to be truly religiously mixed, thus forestalling the claim that the state was exclusively supporting Catholic education. In this delicate situation a board of salaried experts was rejected in favour of appointing members with authority within their respective churches. As Lord Stanley noted in his letter on 'The Formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland, October, 1831:

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. 144
Seven members were in fact appointed to the new board of national education: as chairman, the Duke of Leinster - the first peer of the realm and member of the Established church, who had withdrawn his patronage from the Kildare Place Society with O'Connell and members of the Catholic gentry in antipathy to the compulsory scriptural education of Catholic pupils; Archbishop Whately, previously Professor of Political Economy at Oxford and appointed to the Archbishopsric of Dublin by the incoming Whig government in 1830; Dr. Sadlier, Provost of Trinity College; Dr. Murray, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, educated at Salamanca and of liberal politics; Anthony Richard Blake, one of the first Catholic senior government administrators and member of the 1824-7 Education Commission; Rev. Dr. Carlile, Presbyterian clergyman in Dublin, of Scottish origin and education, and previously Moderator of the Presbyterian church in Ireland; and, finally, Mr. Holmes, a Unitarian barrister. This board was to be responsible for administering parliamentary funds for the building of schools, paying inspectors, paying gratuities to teachers, teacher training and the publication and distribution of school books. Stanley noted to the House of Commons, that if the national system - the system of combined literary and separate religious instruction failed, "The government would ask for a Board of paid commissioners."

It was this board of seven commissioners who, with the consent of the Whig government, shaped the national system and its curriculum, in particular weakening the distinction between moral, literary and religious instruction. It was also they who were to successfully establish an effective educational bureaucracy at the centre, responsible for teacher training, inspection and school books.

Conclusion

The 'problem' of educating the poor in early 19th century Ireland was defined by Protestant and Catholic religious élites and by upper middle
class professional and business groups as a need to control, order and contain the labouring classes. And this was considered to be a particularly urgent problem due to the existence of potentially subversive hedge schools. Centralised control of education demanded conformity to the precise rules, distinctions and categories defined by the centre, while containment demanded that the subjects taught and books read preached the subordination and discipline appropriate to the lower classes. Education was proposed as a panacea for the social and religious unrest of the poor. This civil unrest was defined as a problem peculiar to the poor, unrelated to the policies and practices of the élite. Thus, the 'problem' of inter-religious conflict might be solved not by religious élites examining the consequences of their own beliefs and policies, but by the Catholic and Protestant poor being educated together. The Catholic and Protestant poor were already frequently receiving a denominationally mixed education in the hedge schools, with hedge school teachers teaching each pupil the catechism his parents selected. Yet because the élite found this individual method of instruction distasteful - due to the fact that it appeared to lack the desirable order and discipline of all children receiving similar and simultaneous instruction - they introduced separate religious education and thus more obvious religious segregation than had existed previously.

The 'solution' which the national system offered to the 'problem of educating the Irish poor,' is intelligible less in educational than in élite terms. Firstly, it assured élite groups of all religions that the poorer classes would receive 'appropriate', 'well-organized' and 'disciplined' education. Secondly, it incorporated Catholic élites into cooperation with the state in providing a centralized and state financed educational system. And thirdly, as Oliver MacDonagh has pointed out, centralized control meant consolidation of a sparsely distributed and weak Protestant establishment, and "...better security for their material interests."
Footnotes to Chapter II

1 Akenson, D.H. *The Irish Education Experiment*, pp. 20-25.


5 Jones, M.G. *The Charity School Movement*, p. 238.

6 Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, *Third Report*, p. 17. The Commissioners also reported that in 1808 there were 39 charter schools in operation with 2251 children. Ibid.


10 First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry, H.C. 1825, xii, p. 44.


12 Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, *Third Report*, H.C. 1813-14, v, p. 84.


14 First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry, H.C. 1825, xii, p. 92.

15 Brenan, M. *Schools of Kildare and Leighlin 1775-1835*.

16 Dowling, P.J. *The Hedge Schools of Ireland*, pp. 72-3.
In a similar vein, Patrick Keenan, head inspector of national schools in his 1856 Report, wrote of the inhabitants of the Irish speaking islands off Donegal, and in particular of their "strong passion for education." "This passion," he suggested, "May be traced to one predominant desire - the desire to speak English. They see, whenever a stranger visits their islands, that prosperity has its peculiar tongue as well as its fine coat; they see that whilst the traffickers who occasionally approach them to deal in fish, or in kelp, or in food, display the yellow gold, they count it out in English; and if they ever cross over to the mainland for the 'law,' as they call any legal process, they see that the solemn words of judgment have to come second hand to them through the offices of an interpreter. Again, English is spoken by the landlord, by the stray official who visits them, by the sailors of the ships that lie occasionally in their roadsteads, and by the schoolmaster himself; and whilst they may love the cadences, and mellowness, and homeliness of the language which their fathers gave them, they yet see that obscurity and poverty distinguish their lot from the English-speaking people; and, accordingly, no matter what the sacrifice to their feelings, they long for the acquisition of the 'new tongue,' with all its prizes and social privileges. The keystone of fortune is the power of speaking English, and to possess this power there is a burning longing in their breasts that never varies, never moderates. It is the utilitarian, not the abstract, idea of education which influences them, for they know nothing of the pleasures of literature, or of the beauties and wonders of science. The knowledge which they thirst for in the school is, therefore, confined to a speaking use of the English language." Twenty-Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland for the Year 1856, Appendix, H.C. 1857-58, xx, pp. 391-2.


Ibid.


Brian Simon has noted these rationalist tendencies in late 18th century England in the educational ideas of R. Lovell Edgeworth, J. Priestly and Thomas Day. They held, he suggests, "... a belief that education can change men's nature ... the belief that man was a rational being and therefore capable of advancing to perfection, the firm conviction that it was not only possible but also essential to form children's minds, a faith in the all powerful influence of education." [Simon, B. History of Education, 1780-1870, p. 44]

Certain aspects of these educational proposals were similar to Edgeworth's curriculum recommendations to the same commission regarding charter schools, see Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, Third Report, H.C. 1813-14, v, p. 109. Here he suggested that religion "ought to be taught dogmatically to the poor, unlike the religious teaching given to the higher ranks"; that reading matter in schools for the poor should inculcate "piety and morality and industry"; while the abridgements of Greek and Roman histories he had seen were "certainly improper; to inculcate democracy and a foolish hankering after undefined liberty, is not necessary in Ireland." Rather, children ought to be taught useful information "applicable to the situation of the lower classes of people," for example, agricultural knowledge, "But everything that leads to restlessness and adventure should be carefully avoided. The attention should be turned as much as possible to sober realities; for instance, the habit of estimating measurement should be early taught, it enlarges and occupies the mind, and is of daily use in every situation of life." Donald Akenson has
suggested that it was Edgeworth, sitting on, and speaking for, a
Select Committee on Education in Ireland in 1799, who "envisioned
a system of lower class education apart from schools of the middle
sort and apart from any ladder of university entrance," and suggests
that in this respect it differed from two previously proposed
educational schemes for Ireland, that of Orde in 1787 and that of
the Commissioners of Education in Ireland in 1791. [Akenson, D.H.
pp. 74-5].

40 Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland,
41 Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland,
Fourteenth Report, H.C. 1813-14, v, p. 344.
43 Ibid, p. 333.
44 Ibid, p. 331.
46 Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland,
47 McDowell, R.B. Public Opinion and Government Policy in Ireland,
48 The Commission of Irish Education Inquiry reported that in 1825 the
central organizing committee of the Kildare Place Society, consisted
of 21 Episcopalians, 4 Quakers, 2 Presbyterians and 2 Roman Catholics.
The First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry,
H.C. 1825, xii, p. 48.
50 Fourth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor
in Ireland, Dublin, 1816, p. 22.
51 Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 86-87.
52 Twelfth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor
in Ireland, Dublin, 1824, p. 21.
53 Ibid.
54 Eleventh Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the
Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1823, p. 22.
55 Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, p. 97.
56 Seventh Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor
in Ireland, Dublin, 1819, p. 19.

Seventh Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, pp. 26-27.


For the early interest of middle class Catholics in Cork City in Lancastrian methods see, 'Catholic Poor Schools in Cork City, 1793-1815,' in Corcoran, T. *Educational Systems in Ireland*, Dublin, 1928, pp. 80-86, and 'Regulations of the Irish Christian Brothers' First School, Waterford, 1804-10,' ibid., pp. 95-99.

Fourth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1826, p. 57.

Fifth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin 1817, p. 30.

Second Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1814, p. 11.


Perhaps most prominent among the Quakers on the committee were Edward Allen and Samuel Bewley, Dublin businessmen; while most prominent among those of Hugenot origin were the La Touche family and Thomas Lefroy, later Lord Chief Justice – see annual listing of members of the management committee in the Kildare Place Society Annual Reports.


Ninth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1821, p. 27.


Troeltsch, E. *Protestantism and Progress*, Boston, 1958, p. 66.

73 Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, The Entertaining Medley, being a Collection of True Histories and Anecdotes calculated for the Cottagers' Fireside, Dublin, 1826.

74 Second Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1814, p. 16.


76 Moore, H. Kingsmill, describes this as "a portly volume containing three hundred and eighty four octavo pages. It deals with all the then known countries of the world, and is full and precise in its details, even of those which are remote." [Ibid, p. 227].


79 Fifth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1817, p. 29.

80 Ninth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1821, p. 32.

81 Eleventh Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1823, p. 82.

82 Fourteenth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1826, p. 29. This emphasis on offering all access to the Bible was in line with true Evangelical thinking: reading the Holy Book, even if not fully understood, opened to each individual its purifying and redemptive influences. See Altick, R. The English Common Reader, p. 99 and Troeltsch, E. Protestantism and Progress, p. 47.

83 Twelfth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin 1824, pp. 56 and 90.


85 Sixteenth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1828, p. 37.

86 Ibid.


88 Eighteenth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, Dublin, 1830, pp. 18-19.

89 Ibid, p. 31. See also Bowen, D. The Protestant Crusade in Ireland 1800-70, Dublin, 1978, pp. 50 and 83-123.

Maureen Wall has suggested that it was perhaps because of the Penal Laws that the Catholic middle class became wealthy — being unable to indulge in ostentatious spending they reinvested their growing wealth. [Wall, M. 'The Rise of a Catholic Middle Class in 18th Century Ireland,' p. 107, Irish Historical Studies, xi, 1958-9, pp. 91-115.]

Thomas Wyse noted that in 1829, of the 2062 officers connected with the administration of justice in Ireland, 39 were held by Catholics; that there were 780 offices of 'Civil Rank' — from Lord Lieutenant to Provost and Fellows of Trinity College—from which Catholics were excluded; and of the 3087 offices of civil or military rank supported in whole or in part by public funds only 134 were held by Catholics. [Wyse, T. Historical Sketch of the Late Catholic Association, Dublin, 1829, Appendix, pp. ccclxxxiv - ccxxc.]


Ibid, p. 118.

Thoughts submitted to the Right Hon. Charles Grant on the Education of the Poor in Ireland, by Lord Fingal and by Dr. Troy for himself and four other R.C. Prelates, Jan. 1822, ibid, p. 232.

Letter from Bishop Doyle, April 1821, ibid, p. 176.

Ibid.

First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, H.C. 1825, xii, pp. 96-97.


First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, H.C. 1825, xii, p. 85. This commission also reported that at this time (1825) there were eleven Christian Brothers' schools, with an average of some 500 boys in each. Ibid.


First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, H.C. 1825, xii, p. 85.
105 Ibid, pp. 85-86.

106 Ibid, pp. 85-86.

107 Letter from Lord Fingal, Dr. Troy and four other Roman Catholic Prelates to Right Hon. Charles Grant, 3 Jan., 1822, quoted in Fitzpatrick, W.J. Life, Times and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, p. 232. Also see Petition to House of Commons by Roman Catholic Prelates, 1824, quoted in the First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, H.C. 1825, xii, pp. 1-2.


110 Ibid.

111 Ibid.

112 For other members, see Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, p. 95.

113 First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, H.C. 1825, xii, p. 2, also pp. 90-91.

114 Ibid, p. 102.

115 Ibid.

116 Ibid, p. 95.

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid, p. 92.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

121 Ibid.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid, p. 98. The commissioners stated that they were, "Deeply impressed with the Importance and Necessity of introducing the Scriptures into all Institutions for the Education of the People, as a fundamental part of Instruction."

124 Ibid, pp. 97-98.

125 Ibid, p. 97.

126 Ibid, pp. 97-98.


130 Ibid, p. 100.


132 Fourth Annual Report of the Education Society for the Doctrinal, Moral and Useful Instruction of the Poor, Dublin, 1831, p. 11.

133 Ibid.

134 First Report of the Catholic Book Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge throughout Ireland, Dublin, 1929. In this report (p. 9-10) it was stated by its committee of 26 clergymen that the whole management of the society had been "consigned exclusively to Ecclesiastics, in order that the Society might be perfectly formed, and its system and plans natured, before it would be subjected to the indiscriminate interference of the Public, by which the original intention might be frustrated."

135 Even the zealous Bishop Doyle, in one of the richest diocese stated in a letter to the Earl of Derby in Jan. 1831, that "We have within these few years suppressed numberless hedge-schools, and united, often within the place of worship, the children theretofore dispersed. We have built or enlarged sixty-five schoolhouses of good size; we have provided only a portion of those with good teachers, for we had not wherewith to pay respectable masters. Nearly all our schools are in an unfinished state; few of them are well furnished or sufficiently supplied with requisites, and I might say that in none of them is there a provision sufficient for the maintenance of a respectable master or mistress.

I find it impossible without aid to establish or keep them on a proper footing, or to satisfy my own mind that the education provided for the middle or lower classes of the people is such as it could and ought to be, whilst the pressure of the times disables us from making farther progress in its improvement."

Letter of Dr. Doyle to the Earl of Derby, Jan. 1831, quoted in Fitzpatrick, W.J. Life, Times and Correspondence of Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Vol. ii, pp. 254-255.


137 Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 100-102, also also Report of Select Committee of the House of Lords on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, viii, pt. 1, p. 55.


140 Ibid, p. 605.


143 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, October 1831, in Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, Appendix, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 586.

144 Ibid.


146 MacDonagh, O. Ireland, New Jersey, 1968, p. 23.
CHAPTER III

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICIES:

1831 - 1839

The goals of the national system, as perceived by the commissioners of national education, were clearly stated in their Instruction to Inspectors in 1833:

The objects which the Government have in view are:
First to promote the general intelligence and good conduct of the poorer classes of this country.
Secondly, to allay animosities and to cultivate good feeling between those parties that may have been at variance. Thirdly, to introduce as much religious instruction as can be done without exciting jealousy and contention, and hostile feelings, either toward the Government or toward one another. ¹

To achieve these goals an educational system was gradually shaped in which three types of educational knowledge were to be taught: (1) separate, denominational religious instruction, (2) combined scriptural instruction and (3) combined moral and literary instruction. The social context within which this curriculum came to be shaped, as well as an analysis of some of the text books prepared for use in national schools in the 1830's, are the subjects of this chapter.

Separate religious instruction

Lord Stanley's letter of 1831 had stated that:

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. ²

Excepting model schools, however, the national board had no authority to build its own schools, it was dependent on the initiative and cooperation of local patrons to build schools, or place existing schools, under the
national system. Neither had it control over the appointment of teachers, this again being in the hands of the local patron, although the board might fine, suspend or remove teachers for inefficiency or misconduct. In a letter to the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster very different in tone to that just quoted, Stanley wrote in 1833, "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." A certain power was thus vested in local patrons, particularly if organised, by refusing to participate in the national system unless the board's regulations suited them, they could seriously undermine it. The extent to which this bargaining point was used to gain local denominational control over the boundary between secular and religious instruction, is one of the main themes of this section.

Regarding the curriculum, the board required:

...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 literary, or separate religious instruction; none to be employed in the first except under the sanction of the Board, or 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.

It was the formal policy of the government, as stated in Stanley's letter, that the centralised board of commissioners should have control of who should be taught what, and when. The commissioners were to have complete control of combined literary instruction and control of the conditions stipulating separate denominational religious instruction.
The division between combined literary instruction and separate religious instruction was to protect each creed from even the suspicion of proselytism.

This radical curriculum division between combined literary and separate religious instruction was a major cause of the violent opposition expressed toward the national system by the majority of Established\(^5\) and Presbyterian\(^6\) clergy, and the gentry, united in Tory\(^7\) and evangelical\(^8\) groups. They claimed the right to teach the unmutilated and unadulterated bible - the symbol and ideological source of Protestant ascendancy - to all: the national system denied this right, the bible was to be excluded from the hours of combined instruction. Furthermore, the national system demanded that Protestant schools offer facilities to the Catholic clergy for the religious instruction of children of that creed during the hours of separate instruction. This was decreed as the legal establishment of popery and infidelity, and as "...the tyranny of the popish priests,"\(^9\) a tyranny which was now being sustained by the national board.\(^10\)

Opposition was expressed not only through the non-participation of many Protestant schools in the national system, but loudly voiced through three select committees appointed to investigate the functioning of the national system;\(^11\) numerous debates in, and petitions to, both houses of parliament;\(^12\) pamphlets,\(^13\) sermons\(^14\) and mass meetings;\(^15\) and violent attacks on national schools themselves.\(^16\)

Fear of, and hostility to, the national system was but one aspect of a much greater conservative backlash to the undermining of Protestant power. Members of the Established church and Presbyterians were united in Tory and evangelical groups, such as the Protestant Defence Association,\(^17\) by the belief that "...never, in the history of Ireland, was Protestantism in greater danger than at this hour."\(^18\) 'Protestantism' in this instance meant, not only their religious, but their political, economic and educational ascendancy. Their political power was threatened by Catholic
emancipation (1829), municipal reform (1840), the appointment of Catholics and liberals to important official posts, and agitation for repeal of the union; their economic welfare was threatened by the tithe war, subsequent tithe commutation act (1833), and by the suppression of two archbishoprics (1833); and their educational power by the national system. The hysteria among Protestant groups consequent to this onslaught on their power led to an extremism, particularly in the form of conspiracy theories, related to the remaining sources of protestant power: union with Britain, the rights of property, and belief in the bible, all three being seen as threatened by an alliance of popish and radical conspirators. As the Bishop of Raphoe, Dr. Bisett, wrote to his sister:

Many are of opinion that Ministers deliberately propose to give up Ireland to the dominion of Popery; and the exclusion of the Scriptures from the schools to be supported by the public money I consider a proof of this. ... It is necessarily an abandonment of the great principle upon which the Reformation was founded. ... The Popish aims are no longer to be guessed at; they are openly avowed to be the subversion of the Protestant Church and the repeal of the Union.

The national system undermined exclusive Protestant control of education, for, in formal policy terms, power passed to the national board of commissioners. The commissioners were empowered to administer an educational system based on universalistic religious norms: the national system offered an equal right to all christian creeds to participate, and an equal opportunity to each creed to religiously instruct its children. Despite the fact that the national system was based on universalistic religious norms, the composition of the national board reflected the existing power of the Protestant establishment, rather than more democratic principles. Stanley, in a letter dated 20th October, 1831, to the Lord Lieutenant, regarding the proposed board, wrote:
We must lose no time in naming our Commissioners for our new Board of Education. This will be a task of some delicacy. I propose, however, if you approve, to make them a Board of seven, of whom three to be of the Established Church, two Catholics, and two Protestant Dissenters; this will, I think, be a fair distribution. 26

The constitution of the national board thus presented something of an anomaly: a board appointed on a particularistic politico-religious basis to administer an education system based on universalistic religious norms. Furthermore, members of the national board were leaders of their respective religious groups and were appointed to the board as such. This participation of religious leaders in the administration of the national system was a two edged weapon: on one hand it only conferred legitimacy on the national system when the leaders were themselves respected, for example the appointment of Whately and Sadlier, both Whigs, as representatives of the Protestant religious establishment added but fuel to the flames of Tory-Protestant opposition; 27 while, on the other hand, leaders who were respected by their religious communities (and thus conferred legitimacy on the board) could only maintain that respect by being more favourably disposed toward the particularistic commitments of their own religious creed than to the universalistic goals of the national system. They were thus especially vulnerable to the temptation to adapt the national system to suit the needs of their own communions.

The consequences for the curriculum, given the particular constitution of the board and the pressure from the violent hostility of Tory and Protestant groups, was the gradual reformulation of the boundary between combined secular and separate religious instruction. Using Bernstein's curricular terms, it was a change over the next decade, from a horizontally classified type curriculum with the boundary between secular and religious instruction clearly demarcated and defined by the centralised board, to a more horizontally integrated type curriculum, with the boundary between secular and religious instruction not only less clear but to a
large degree controlled and defined by the local patron - i.e. local clergyman or gentry - rather than by the central board.

The national system's policy of separate religious instruction was criticised on two grounds by organised Protestant, Tory and evangelical groups. Firstly, the national system excluded the scriptures from the hours of combined instruction by defining bible reading "...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." While "...such portions of sacred history, or religious and moral teaching, as may be approved of by the Board," were permitted during the hours of combined instruction, evangelical groups proclaimed that a national system ought to be "...founded on the whole unmutilated bible." The General Synod of Ulster, especially convened in January 1832, to consider the new system of national education for Ireland, resolved:

That it is our deliberate opinion and decided conviction, that in a Christian country the Bible, unabridged and unmutilated, should form the basis of national education, as we learn from Deut. vi.6, Psal. cxxix.9, John xvii.17, 2 Tim.iii.14,15,16; and that, consequently, we never can accede to any system that in the least degree interferes with the unrestricted possession and use of the Scriptures in our schools. 31

Secondly, evangelical groups criticised the state provision of facilities for separate religious instruction as an encouragement of popery and infidelity, as heterodox and unclean. The Protestant Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Trench, a strong Tory and evangelical, commanded one of his clergy who insisted on participating in the national system, "...to come out from among them and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing." With equal venom the heterogeneous religious composition of the board was characterised in the House of Lords by Lord Roden, a leading Irish evangelical, as a "...cage if not of 'unclean' of 'many coloured' birds." 33
Likewise, the right of Catholic priests to enter national schools on the 'fifty-two popish holidays' - i.e. days of separate religious instruction - to teach Catholic doctrine was seen as having caused more actual dislike of the national system than any other point. 34

And the Synod of Ulster recorded their:

...peculiar disapprobation that part of the proposed system required Presbyterian patrons to afford right of access to Catholic priests for the inculcation of doctrine which he must conscientiously believe to be directly opposed to the sacred Scriptures. 35

Presbyterian clergymen already controlled a widespread network of scriptural schools in Ulster. It was reported to the 1837 Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the national system, that some members of the Synod of Ulster:

...have superintended a dozen schools literally parochial and exclusively Presbyterian; ... and in these schools the children were frequently accustomed to learn in the Scriptures, ... and that the rule for the exclusion of the Bible during any part of the day was never heard of in their schools or in the country at large, until the establishment of the Board and the new system of education. 36

To forestall any temptation local Presbyterian groups might feel toward placing their schools under the national system, a letter circularised among Synod members appealed: "For the paltry considerations of a few shillings in school requisites and master's salary, touch not the unclean thing."37 And, in general, Presbyterian and Established church clergymen complied, see Table 2.

The Rev. James Carlile, Presbyterian commissioner of national education and an influential member of the Synod of Ulster, attempted to facilitate Presbyterian demands regarding scriptural instruction: in the Belfast News Letter, 14 September, 1832, he wrote, without seeking the consent of the other commissioners:
The principle upon which the Scriptures may be introduced into (national) schools is simply this, let the conductors of the school fix any hour during which they desire the Scriptures to be read, and announce it, so that no children whose parents do not approve of their being present at that exercise shall be present. 38

This attempt by Carlile to place authority over the boundary between separate religious and combined literary instruction in the hands of the local patron proved unsuccessful. In October, 1833, the commissioners of national education restated their authority to draw the boundary: religious instruction, including scripture reading, must be confined to "...the hour before the hours of school business commenced, or the hour after school business ceased." 39

Table 2  Number of 'Correspondents', *, and amount of teachers' salaries received, by province and religion, 1835-6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correspondents</th>
<th>Ulster</th>
<th>Leinster</th>
<th>Munster</th>
<th>Connought</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Established Church and Presbyterian clergymen</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>£.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>£.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1036</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic clergymen</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1593</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>2763</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant laymen</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1259</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic laymen</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>4,151</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>4,079</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Later to be called 'patrons' or 'managers'.

Source: adapted from Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the year ending 31st March, 1836, H.C. 1836, xxxvi. p. 88.
In 1836, there appeared some modification in the attitude of the clergy of the Established church in the Diocese of Derry and Raphoe toward the national system, in the event, short lived, and a willingness to consider the possibility of giving up the Protestant ideal of compulsory reading of the scriptures by all denominations in favour of providing bible instruction only for those pupils, Catholic and Protestant, whose parents so chose. This bible instruction could be provided at any hour, so that "...free access to the word of God shall be prohibited at no hour or minute of the day." In response to this proposal, the board decided that they might change the letter of the rule as to the hours of religious instruction (as Carlile had proposed in 1832) without violating the principle of the national system. They stated in their 1836 Report:

We ... propose modifying the letter of the rule so as to allow religious instruction to be given and, of course, the Scriptures to be read, or the catechism learned, during any of the school hours, provided such an arrangement to be made as that no children shall take part in, or listen to, any religious reading or instruction to which their parents or guardians object.

While a boundary between religious and secular instruction was still to be maintained, control of the hours of religious instruction was now in the hands of the local patron rather than the national board. Furthermore, as it was not clearly stated whether the patron should expressly require parental approval for the religious instruction offered or whether it was the responsibility of the parent to take the initiative of objecting, patrons had thus to some extent the further discretionary power of defining who attended religious instruction. Members of the Established Church did not bite at this bait, but the Presbyterians did.

Among the remaining difficulties between the board and Presbyterian participation in the national system was the right of access of Catholic clergy to give religious instruction to Catholic pupils. After further
negotiations between Synod delegates and the commissioners, the latter ceded this point by establishing different requirements for 'vested' and 'non-vested schools.' 'Vested' schools were those built with aid from the commissioners, while non-vested schools received aid only by way of salary and books. In the latter schools the right of access of clergy of a denomination different from the manager was no longer required.46 Denominational control at the local level over separate religious instruction, over who gave it, when it was given, and, to a degree, to whom it was given, was thus firmly established in non-vested and thus the majority of schools.

Almost immediately after the board ceded these points, sixty-three Synod applications were accepted by the national board, and a little later two hundred more.47 Members of the Established Church viewed Presbyterian alignment with the national board with much hostility:48 they remained unwilling to accept the legitimacy of the national system which had so radically undermined their educational power. Presbyterian participation now destroyed their central claim and criticism as to the exclusively popish nature of the national system.

Previous to this, however, other organizational factors had contributed to subverting the manifestly nondenominational and centralising goals of the national system. In its attempt to bring about inter-denominational cooperation at the local level, Stanley's letter had stipulated the favouring of applications for aid which had been signed locally by both Catholics and Protestants. The board, however, did not vest local control of the school in these signators (e.g. as a local education committee), but vested control in the 'correspondent' or patron who mobilised support for the application and corresponded with the board. As this tended to be the local clergyman (in the early days of the national system over half the correspondents were Catholic priests - see Table 2 above), he came to be accepted as the local patron. The establishment of one person
as patron rather than a committee composed of persons of different religious persuasions was criticised by two of the four national school inspectors in 1833, reporting on their first tours of inspection. Only such a committee, they felt, could guarantee to both commissioners and parents that the non-sectarian system would be faithfully and efficiently acted upon. It might also be noted that the board at this time acted upon a rule "...never to make the teacher the correspondent; the correspondent is to be a check over the teacher."

Denominational control was also increased by the decision of the board, in 1832, to accept applications from convent and monastery schools. Here the board's dilemma was whether the manifestly denominational character of these schools outweighed the board's desire to bring such schools under their centralised control. The latter desire prevailed: Carlile confirmed that it was "...felt at the time by the Board and by the Government that it was desirable to obtain over these, as over all schools, such restraint and control as would be obtained by the Board giving assistance to them." Assisting convent and monastery schools confirmed Protestant suspicions of the popish character of the national system. However, Protestant hostility to the national system, their initial non-participation in it, their withdrawal of Protestant children from national schools and the non-attendance of their clergy at these schools all had the function of increasing local Catholic control. Also, the refusal of Protestant gentry to give land for the building of national schools caused schools to be built on Catholic church property, frequently adjacent to the church, thus forging even closer links between national schools and local clerical control.

Local patrons had control, as has been discussed above, over what was taught during the separate religious instruction of children of their own creed. Originally Stanley had intended that "...the Roman Catholic translation of the New Testament ... should be read by Roman
Catholics at the time of separate religious instruction, and that Testaments should be supplied by the Board. The Catholic members agreed, but the "Protestant ecclesiastical members" objected to supplying the Catholic translation and the project was dropped. Thus, the board's regulations neither required scripture reading nor specified what ought to be taught during the hours of religious instruction, nor did it propose supplying religious texts for use during separate religious instruction. It simply stipulated that books used during the hours of religious instruction received "...the approbation of those members of the Board who are of the same religious persuasion with those for whose use they are intended," and the board's first rules ensured the enforcement of this requirement. Carlile summed up to the 1837 Commons' Select Committee the position of the commissioners relative to separate religious instruction: the commissioners, employed no one to give the separate religious instruction, nor did they supply school books, they contributed nothing to the separate religious instruction beyond the school-house. Control of these factors was entirely in the hands of the local patron and religious instructors, with a veto power by the board over books "... of injurious tendency."

The distribution of education power by 1840 was delicately balanced between central and local control, the latter having made steady encroachments on the former; likewise centralised universalistic religious principles had given way to local particularistic interests. The curriculum structure mirrored this distribution of power and its particularistic principles of social control: the proposed horizontally classified type curriculum with the boundary between religious and secular instruction clearly demarcated by the central board in order to maintain the universalistic principle of equal protection for each religious creed, had become a more horizontally integrated type of curriculum with particularistic religious control of
the boundary between combined secular and separate religious instruction.

**Combined scriptural instruction**

The commissioners of national education, over half of whom were ministers of religion, queried the desirability - or indeed the possibility - of instructing children in literary knowledge apart from moral and religious knowledge, as Stanley had originally proposed. The Powis Commission (1870) outlined their initiative in this matter:

In the first draft of [Stanley's] letter the plan projected by Government was described as one of 'combined literary, and separate religious education, each department altogether to exclude the other,' but when that was submitted by Mr. Stanley to the intended commissioners, it appears that some of them ... objected to administer a system which was designed to exclude all religious teaching from the combined education. Accordingly, after mature deliberation between Mr. Stanley and the several members of the Board as to the possibility of introducing into the united education such scriptural teaching as might involve no matter of controversy among Christians, the first draft of the letter was altered with the full consent of the Government and the Commissioners, by describing the system to be established as one for 'combined moral and literary [instead of simply literary] and separate religious instruction,' and by adding to that description the following proviso, ... '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.'

 Combined literary instruction was thus to include such religious education as the board unanimously decided was appropriate for all Christians, including sacred history. As Carlile concluded:

This concession considerably altered the original proposed system and rendered it, instead of being a rigid system of exclusion of all religious questions from the deliberations of the Board, and the common education of the people, an experiment how far Roman Catholics and Protestants could proceed together with perfect unanimity, in introducing scriptural light among the population generally ...

The infusion of a common Christianity into the course of studies to be followed during the hours of combined instruction was a consequence of the appointment of religious leaders to the board of national education, and they were particularly sensitive to the criticism that they were administering a purely literary or secular system of education. The Rev. Carlile replied to one such critic:
Without a shadow of foundation for his allegations, he has charged men who have been set apart for the defence and promulgation of Christianity, with opposition to the introduction of revealed truth among the youth of Ireland, and with the baseness of lending themselves to the management of a system of education, the tendency of which is 'to make the nation infidel, and to keep it so.' 65

On the contrary, their position as religious leaders was of major importance in bringing about the introduction of extensive religious and moral instruction during the hours of united instruction. Carlile stated publicly:

...my motive for assisting in administering the National System of Education in Ireland is not to promote either Popery or Infidelity, but to diffuse the light of natural and revealed truth - the latter 'not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth but in the words which the Holy Bible teacheth,' even the unadulterated words of the Bible ... 66

The commissioners were successful in introducing combined scriptural instruction into national schools chiefly through their initiative in preparing four volumes of Scripture Lessons and by including scriptural readings in the second, third and fourth lesson books which they edited and published. They "strongly recommended" 67 that their Scripture Lessons be used during the hours of combined instruction and, along with other books published by the commissioners, they supplied the Scripture Lessons as 'free stock' to national schools every fourth year during the 1830's. 68 The commissioners had no authority to insist on the use of their books, it being the right of the school patron to decide whether or not to use the board's publications, but, no doubt the poverty of most schools was a formidable incentive to acceptance of the board's texts. 69 By 1837, over 90,000 individual volumes of the Scripture Lessons had been distributed - over 60 per cent of these being sent to national schools as free stock. 70 A special investigation reported their use in almost 80 per cent of inspected national schools. 71

The preparation of the Scripture Lessons, and the degree of cooperation and cohesion which developed among the commissioners during its preparation, was of central importance in the delicate task of drawing
The commissioners together into a centralized decision making group.

The Rev. Carlile took an early initiative in proposing the preparation of the Scripture Lessons. He described his initiative in this matter:

In regard to the Scripture Lessons, before the Board was constituted I called on all the proposed Commissioners to ascertain how far they would be disposed to sanction such a book. I found Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, not only willing but anxious for the introduction of such a compilation. He, however, made three stipulations: first, that it should not be extracted exclusively from the authorized version, but that he would willingly receive such a book of Scripture Lessons drawn from the two versions, or translated directly from the original languages; secondly that it should not be in form of chapter and verse, but of school lessons; and, thirdly, that he would require notes, not, however, theological or controversial notes, but notes relating to history, chronology, geography, or other kindred subjects. I found the Archbishop of Dublin (Whately) had his difficulties on the subject, the chief of which was, that our opponents would say these extracts was (sic) the only religious instruction that we intended to give, and that it was imperfect, garbled and mutilated; which prognostic was abundently verified. I, however, had the pleasure of satisfying him on that and on other points; and he afterwards most cordially and zealously co-operated in the compilation of the extracts - no book that we could find fulfilling the stipulations of Dr. Murray.

The Scripture Lessons contained the chief part of the early historical books of the Old Testament (printed in Old Testament, Nos. i and ii, published respectively in 1832 and 1836); the Gospel of Luke and the Book of Acts (printed in New Testament, Nos. i and ii, published in 1833 and 1835). Carlile explained in the preface to the first volume of the Old Testament that extracts were selected on the criteria of suitability for children and for use by unqualified teachers. The translation had been made by comparing:

...the Authorized and Douay versions with the original. The language sometimes of the one, and sometimes of the other, have been adopted and occasionally deviations have been made from both.

As the selection and translation were in process, Carlile sent proofs to all the commissioners and proceeded with printing only when the two archbishops had given their express approval. Conflicts concerning
the translation occasionally arose, as Carlile noted: "I was altogether unaware how far the Roman Catholics would go along with us, and had therefore to feel my way with great delicacy." For example, difficulty arose in translated St. Luke's gospel concerning the use of the word 'penance', as in the Douay version, or the word 'repentance' as in the Authorized edition. Carlile used the latter term but:

...to satisfy the minds of Dr. Murray and the Roman catholics as to the general use of the word repentance; I drew up a note for that purpose in manuscript, and gave it to Dr. Murray; it did not precisely meet his view, and he wrote a note himself; I afterwards made some corrections upon that note. It was submitted to the Commissioners, and there were further corrections, particularly by Mr. Holmes [Unitarian commissioner]; the proof underwent the fullest investigation and consideration by every member of the Board and particularly Dr. Murray.  79

The selections chosen for the lessons did not simply follow the scriptural narrative, but were interwoven with:

...other portions of Scripture relating to the narrative, either from the Old or New Testament. Thus, after the narrative of the Creation, extracts from the Book of Psalms referring to the Creation have been introduced.  80

As well as these interwoven scriptural comments, explanatory notes were appended and detailed questions added at the end of each chapter. As Carlile noted, this went far beyond the scriptural instruction allowed in Kildare Place schools.  81 In addition to the preparation of the Scripture Lessons, scriptural history claimed almost one fifth of the space in the second through to the fourth reading books prepared by the commissioners. This scriptural history included not only selections from the Genesis record of the creation, fall and deluge, accounts of the faith of Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, and the history of Moses as in the Scripture Lessons, Nos. i and ii, but also a potted history of the Israelite nation from Moses to the birth of Christ.

The scriptural comments and appended notes in the Scripture Lessons, as well as the presentation of the scriptural history in the reading books
offered a religious and moral interpretation of the biblical narrative. One of the central concerns of these comments and notes was to emphasise that sinful man was the source of evil and disorder in the world, while God was the source of all goodness, order and beauty:

God is light and in him there is no darkness at all. ... If we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he [God] is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all iniquity. 82

This redeeming God spoke directly to each individual through the scriptures, 83 but man could reject this and thus bring evil and conflict into the world. It was thus necessary to warn, "Take heed brethren, lest there be in any of you an evil heart of unbelief, to depart from the living God." 84

Man's evil lay in the weakness and corruption of his body which constantly tempted him to forsake the word of God: "...the love of this life and its enjoyments, is a great temptation to deny Christ and renounce his religion, and who so ever would wish to save life in this world on such terms will fail of eternal life in the next." 85 Man was made in the image of God, but, it was noted, "This image of God in man is not in his body but in his soul." 86 And man's body was corruptible, for, "All flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass - the grass withereth, the flower thereof falleth away: but the word of the Lord endureth for ever..." 87 As man was defined as the source of evil it became important to clearly delineate those sinful acts which would introduce evil into the world. Quite the contrary feature has been noted by Edmund Leach of the Old Testament, where "'sinfulness' is a very ambiguous quality which is close to 'Godliness'." 88

The Scripture Lessons corrected this ambiguity by appending notes delineating sinful behaviour and carefully specifying the retribution paid. Thus, to the account of how Jacob deceived Isaac, his father, in order
to receive his blessing, it was noted that "...although Jacob had a right to the blessing as it had been decreed by God before the birth of the children, he and Rebekah were wrong in seeking to obtain it by fraud. They should have procured for Jacob the blessing in a manner consistent with his integrity." Furthermore, it was stated that the scripture "...records the punishment with which this sin was followed" - Rebekah was punished by the loss of her sons, and Jacob by the future deception of others, and by being "...humbled before his brothers... on account of the deceit he had practiced."

The Old Testament God of the Israelites was not only the creative agent of goodness and order in the world, but an angry and jealous God, the historical agent of evil, destruction and disorder when the Israelites deviated from the Law. God as the direct agent of disorder in the world was felt to need some reinterpretation by means of notes in the Scripture Lessons, in order to emphasise that it was man's evil choice rather than God's direct action which introduced evil: appended to the verse, "The Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh against the plea, 'Let my people go,'" was the note, "We are not, however, to suppose that God operated directly on the heart of Pharaoh, to blind his understanding; but that he withheld from him those lights and graces from above, of which he had proved himself unworthy." Likewise, to the New Testament verse, quoting Christ, "'I am come to cast fire on the earth,... Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you NO; but rather division,'" was the note, "Christ's intention was to promote peace, but man's pride and prejudice were so great as to occasion great animosity against him and his followers. ... [Division is] the natural consequence of reception of the gospel by some, and its rejection by others; a consequence not to be charged on the gospel, but on the perversity of its enemies."
Mediating between the goodness, holiness and spirituality of God on the one hand, and evil, sinful, bodily man on the other was the incarnate God, the saviour Jesus Christ, "...holy, harmless and undefiled, separated from sinners and made higher than the heavens ..."95 whose sacrificial blood, "...as a lamb unspotted and undefiled,"96 had redeemed sinners. Belief in this scriptural message was the source of man's redemption from corruption and evil. Yet even faith, as with all goodness, had its source, not in man, but in God: "For by grace ye are saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should glory ..."97 However, faith was not to be considered an irrational act: even Abraham's faith when ordered to slay his son, was interpreted as a rational act, and accordingly an appended note read:

Abraham was certain that his son would either not be slain or else would be restored to life; because the Lord has assured him that the descendants of Isaac would inherit the promised blessing. Abraham's faith was shown in his assurance that he should not finally loose his son, even when he was commanded to slay him. 98

The comments and notes in the Scripture Lessons did not emphasise those aspects of the New Testament taken by the Catholic church to legitimate the institution of a sacramental and hierarchical church as "...an extension and continuation of Divine incarnation" in the world.99 On the contrary, their emphasis was purely Protestant, concentrating on the individual act of belief radically bridging the chasm between sinful man and salvation. Nevertheless, Protestant groups violently attacked the Scripture Lessons as a mutilation of the bible and an attempt to mend God's word. They criticised the giving of selections or extracts rather than the whole bible to school children, as well as accusing the translation of tending to popery.100 The note on penance was bitterly criticised,101 as was the translation of the second commandment. The
latter used the words of the Douay version: Thou shalt not worship a graven image. 102 It was stated to be:

...too bad that his Grace of Dublin and the Rev. Carlile should unite with the Roman Church in giving a less definite and elegant meaning to a Scripture word, to enable the Priests to hoodwink their people, and encourage idolatrous and forbidden practices. 103

Carlile replied to this criticism. He was personally absolutely committed to the diffusion of the bible and to the self-evident and rational truths he believed it contained. He wrote, "There is no science in the world which is founded more firmly, or proceeds more directly, upon self-evident principles of reasoning, than Christianity." 104 His intense and zealous interest in the scriptures lay in a commitment to its 'rational' message and in each individual's duty to study and apply this message. 106 His commitment to the scriptures as 'rational' knowledge rather than as a symbolic expression of Protestant superiority, and to its widest diffusion, legitimated - in his own eyes - his use of the Douay translation in places, if, by this means, the Scriptures were more widely read. When criticised for his translation by some of his Presbyterian brethren, he brusquely asked:

What must be the cast of that man's mind who can see nothing to cheer and gratify him in the prospect of having so much of Scripture introduced among multitudes of children, who... would never otherwise see any portion of the bible ... 106

A further cause of conflict was a note 107 taken from the Douay version to the Genesis verse, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed; and it shall crush thy head, ..." This came under particularly virulent attack from Protestant groups both in public speeches and in parliament. It was suggested that the note opened the possibility of the Catholic interpretation of "her" as the Virgin Mary - rather than as Eve - and consequently to her idolatrous worship. 108
The board stood firmly against this and many other criticisms regarding the Scripture Lessons. Archbishop Whately stated to a House of Lords Select Committee in 1837, that changing the Scripture Lessons in response to criticism or pressure would be "...unwise; I think that it would be a sort of symptom of weakness and apprehension which would impress them [the critics] rather with an idea of our feeling less confidence in the truth of our own cause." As religious leaders, the commissioners were committed to the diffusion of scriptural and religious knowledge during the hours of combined instruction. As the Scripture Lessons had to be agreed upon unanimously by them this necessitated their working closely together on its compilation, and helped no doubt to form the board into a sufficiently cohesive group to face criticism from outside with a united front.

Combined moral and literary instruction

The cohesiveness and decisiveness with which the commissioners acted in regard to the Scripture Lessons, was also evident in their preparation of an extensive and complete series of text books, from primers to texts for teachers in training. These books were supplied to all national schools, according to the number and standard of the pupils, as free stock every fourth year. Patrons, as noted above, were not obliged to use these texts, but generally did so.

The growing centralized control over text books, and hence over the curriculum, was facilitated, not only by the fact that the centre could supply them free, but by the consensus among dominant groups regarding the imperative necessity of banishing books of immoral and seditious tendency, and their desire to control the reading matter of the poorer classes. Perhaps also, the preoccupation of the anti-national education lobby with scouring the board's Scripture Lessons for errors, allowed the preparation and distribution of 'moral and literary'
texts to proceed, it appears, almost unheeded.

Again it was the Rev. Carlile who took the initiative in preparing the texts - altogether, between 1832-1837 he organized the preparation and distribution of some sixteen text-books for the use of pupils in national schools. Not only did he prepare the Scripture Lessons, but supervised the preparation of a graduated series of five lesson books and a Reading Book for Use in Female Schools; a book of Sacred Poetry; three mathematical texts in arithmetic, geometry and mensuration; book-keeping and needlework texts; as well as wall tablets, copy lines and maps. His zealous enthusiasm "...in preparing the Scripture Extracts, assisting in editing school books and examining applications from schools," was viewed as "...of much importance" by other board members. Finding that board business encroached upon his duties to his congregation, he decided to forego the latter in favour of appointment as full time and salaried resident commissioner. This appointment he took up in October 1833. In 1837 he resigned as resident commissioner to become professor of the art of teaching and conducting schools in the board's model school, but in 1839 decided to return to the Presbyterian ministry.

Cooperating with Carlile in the preparation of text books was Dr. McArthur, a fellow Scotch Presbyterian, whom Carlile had invited to Dublin to become headmaster of the Presbyterian academy in his parish in 1830. In 1832, Carlile recommended McArthur to the commissioners of national education as headmaster of the board's model schools. The commissioners approved, and he was appointed at a salary of £300 per annum. Dr. McArthur, under the general editorship of Carlile, and with the help of other teachers from Carlile's academy, prepared the series of five lesson books for the use of national schools. McArthur was also influential through his directorship of the board's model school and teacher training programme. During the three month programme for teachers summoned to Dublin for training, McArthur 'took them through' the new lesson books, instructing
them in how best to teach the subjects introduced in the texts. Between 1832 and 1837, McArthur thus trained some two hundred and fifty teachers, almost ninety per cent of whom were Catholic.\textsuperscript{113}

The series of five lesson books were prepared between 1832 and 1835.\textsuperscript{114} The Reading Book for Use of Female Schools was prepared by Carlile and published in 1838. It was conceived of as a sequel to the Fourth Book of Lessons, and contained lessons which were thought to be "...more generally useful to girls than those contained in the Fifth book."\textsuperscript{115}

This graduated series of lesson books played a central role in specifying the curriculum to be followed during the hours of combined instruction, excluding mathematics, book-keeping and needlework, each of which had its own text. They specified the curriculum for all classes, from the lowest classes, who read the first book, to teachers in training who, ideally, should read right through to the fifth book. Pupils in fact were classed not by age, but by what lesson book they were reading. The board's lesson books were thus felt by inspectors to be indispensable to the uniform classification of pupils, who were said to be 'in' a certain lesson book, rather than 'in' a certain class.

The curriculum subjects as presented in each of the lesson books are set out in Table 3 below.

Three general trends in the curriculum offered by national schools and in the teaching methods espoused might be noted before the content of the text books is discussed in detail. Firstly, the wide range of social and natural sciences included in the commissioners' text books may be noted. This curriculum was indicative of the influence of utilitarian liberalism which went beyond a negative fear of working class literacy to the positive espousal of inculcating religious, economic and scientific knowledge among the working class as a means of maintaining social order. This was the educational philosophy of the utilitarians Jeremy Bentham and James Mill,
Table 3  Curriculum subjects as presented in each of the lesson books

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<th>Curriculum Subject</th>
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of Kay-Shuttleworth, and of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (the S.D.U.K.), to whose Quarterly Journal of Education the commissioners subscribed. The utilitarian educational philosophy assumed that crime was the consequence of ignorance. But this ignorance might be dispelled through a knowledge of the right ordering of economic and social life as presented in the science of political economy; through a knowledge of the right ordering and classification of things as in the natural and physical sciences; and through a knowledge of the proper use of the English language, learned through instruction in grammar.
The commissioners of national education stated in their first report that the power of reading bestowed on national school pupils should be directed into a "beneficial channel," and that it was "...of the highest importance that, while they are taught to read, their thoughts and inclinations should have a beneficial direction given them." Thus, the lessons in the national school books "...have been so written or selected as that, while they are used as reading exercises, they convey elements of knowledge to the children in a regular order." 

Secondly, reinforcing the utilitarian emphasis on the presentation of well-ordered information was the fact that the Rev. James Carlile and Dr. McArthur were advocates of the 'intellectual system' of education, developed by Mr. Wood in the Edinburgh Sessional Schools, favourably reported upon in the Quarterly Journal of Education and accepted by the commissioners and inspectors. The intellectual system stressed that educational knowledge should be used both as a source of enlightenment and as a means whereby the reasoning powers of pupils were developed: education was concerned with the transmission of ideas and with useful scientific facts, not merely with teaching the mechanical art of reading or rote learning. The intellectual method also emphasized that subject boundaries were not absolute, but rather, teaching and questioning in the classroom should be broad and wide ranging. A lesson on the natural sciences might thus legitimately raise questions in, for example, grammar and geography. No doubt the fact that most schools had but one teacher facilitated this integration.

Thirdly, subject boundaries were further bridged by an abundant sprinkling of evangelical statements and scriptural references throughout the lesson books - although less so in the Fifth Book... with its large sections on science and history. All subjects were seen to lead to a knowledge of God, of the bountiful universe he had created, of sinful man redeemed by a loving God. The 'holy alliance' between religion and
science, as it had existing in the 18th century, still continued into the early 19th century and was reflected in the early national school texts. 124

Religious and moral lessons

As well as scriptural knowledge, the lesson books offered a wide range of religious and moral tales, fables and poems. These tended to be dispersed either between curriculum subjects, as in the Fourth Lesson Book, or between individual lessons, as in the second and third books, where they were interspersed through natural history and geography lessons. Furthermore, many lessons in nominally 'secular' subjects contained scriptural and religious references. Poetry was felt to be a particularly appropriate form for the teaching of religious and moral sentiments - so much so that the Rev. Carlile prepared a slim volume of Sacred Poetry (1833) for the use of national school pupils. 125 Its contents are here analysed together with the sacred poetry presented in the lesson books. In the preface to Sacred Poetry, the poems were defined as a record of sacred truths and precepts which, when committed to memory, "...a man carries constantly about with him, ready to be used for his direction when he may require," while the poetic form was defined as tending to "...soften [the reader's] manners, to refine his taste, and give him a relish for pleasures of a higher order and of a purer kind than those to which he might otherwise be tempted to betake himself." 126 In teaching poetry, it was recommended in the Third Book of Lessons that pupils "...be made to commit the best pieces of poetry to memory; and that they be taught to read and repeat them with due attention to pronunciation, accent and emphasis." 127

The prevailing concern of the religious lessons, both in Sacred Poetry and in the lesson books, was the salvation of sinful man through total submission to God's eternal law. Man was naturally sinful and evil.
one of the first readings in the First Book of Lessons, italicized for emphasis, stated - in words of one syllable - "If I sin I am bad. Let me not sin as bad men do." Its first reading sequence clearly outlined the central salvation message: "God loves us, and sent his son to save us. The word of God tells us to love him. If we are bad, God will not love us, and we will not go to him, when we go from this world," and this was followed by, "God gave this law to men, that they would love him more than all things in the world."

Thus, from the very beginning the child was presented with the sinful nature of man whose salvation lay in submission to God's law. Salvation for man lay in belief and trust in God, creator, protector and father. His salvation meant "deliverance from ignorance of God" through spiritual knowledge; deliverance from the guilt and power of sin to which man was naturally a slave; deliverance from the ills and calamities of life, so that afflictions were but the discipline of God for our spiritual advantage; and finally deliverance from the power and fear of death by the hope of the blessedness of heaven. The inevitability of death and the everlasting consequences of the state of man's soul on death pervaded the third and fourth lesson books. The only defence against this "fathomless abyss! a dread eternity!" was adherence to God's "righteous law" during this life. Not much time, however, was allowed to man. Every moment of fleeting time must be used and accounted for to prepare for that "duration infinite." In the face of this terror, however, neither ascetic withdrawal nor utopianism was advocated, but the virtues of the Protestant ethic: independence, industry and foresight, temperance and contentment. These virtues not only conveniently stored up interest against damnation, but created a 'rational,' self-sufficient and contented life while on earth.

Social pride was condemned - whether it took the form of social pretentions beyond one's station, or the claiming of superiority by one
station over another. Social relationships, and in particular, relationships between social classes, were seen as structured and governed by hierarchical authority on the one hand and tolerance and compassion on the other, with God, the supreme authority and source of mercy, unifying the totality of social relationships.

Not only was God the creator and maintainer of each man, family, village, town, kingdom, race and continent, but he was the creator of nature and the whole physical world. The beauty and order of nature bore witness to his greatness, and thus also should man bear witness. God, redeemed man, society and nature formed a reflecting chain and became a totality, the right order of each reflecting the other and ultimately God. The rational faith of redeemed man, well ordered social relationships governed by authority and mercy, and the harmony of nature all reflected the sovereignty, goodness and mercy of an almighty God.

Domestic economy

The Reading Book for Use of Female Schools contained similar religious and moral themes, but supplemented these with many lessons concerned to didactically define the appropriate behaviour of women when in a position of authority over children (whether as mother, nurse or governess), or when responsible for the care of a household (whether as housewife, housekeeper, maid or cook). Women were presented as having a natural competence in creating goodness and peace within the home, in particular when a member of the family was ill. Of the woman tending in a sick chamber it was stated:

...night after night she tends him like a creature sent from a higher world, when all earthy watchfulness has failed - her eye never winking, her mind never palling, her nature, that at all times is weakness, has now gained a superhuman strength and magnificence, herself forgotten, to her sex alone predominant.

As servants or housewives within the home, women were admonished to manage their household honestly, efficiently and economically, by maintaining "order, regularity and punctuality" at all times.
When in authority over children, women were admonished to ensure their immediate and prompt obedience and submission, an obedience modelled on the submission of man to God. Kindness, warmth and tenderness were usually sufficient to ensure a child's obedience, but should they fail, a child ought to be punished and fear instilled, fear being seen as "...a useful and necessary principle in the government of children. God makes use of it in the government of his creatures." Industriousness in children ought to be encouraged at all times, and "...on no occasion whatever should a child be excused from finishing what she has begun. ... Habits of perseverance are of incalculable importance. The 'rational' and well-ordered organization of the emotions and the imagination were all important - both for those who had the care of the child, and the child himself. The child ought to be under constant surveillance, and their amusements directed, so that if, for example, children were drawing, "...pains should be taken in pointing out errors and inducing them to make correct imitations." Those to whom the care of children was intrusted should evidence "...a spirit of tranquility and purity," and at no time should children "...be allowed to see or feel the influence of bad passions," or constant irritability. Likewise, those in authority should be "...sincere, upright, fair and without artifice," in their relationships with children, and expect absolute truthfulness "...even in the most minute particulars" from them. Indulgence toward children was unacceptable, even birthdays "...should be marked by cheerfulness - not folly, - by measured, sober happiness - not by indulgence in any shape." Thus, a birthday ought to be the day on which a child was encouraged to review his moral development and to plan "...what new lessons in self denial must be practiced..."
The lessons on political economy presented in the third and fourth lesson books were equally didactic. They were written by Archbishop Whately, former professor of political economy in Oxford, and published separately as *Easy Lessons on Money Matters*, as well as being constituent sections of the lesson books. The rationalist orientation of Whately's work will be particularly discussed in the next chapter, for in the 1840's his influence came to predominate, especially through his revision of the lesson books.

The lessons on political economy dogmatically pronounced the rational harmony of interests maintained by the operational laws of a free market economy. To maintain these laws, the labourer ought to be free to sell his labour and the employer to buy that labour, as with buying and selling anything else. Anything that interfered with the ordered working of the free market was an irrational disturbance, and a particularly undesirable disturbance was caused by trade unions. These illegal combinations were ignorant of the true interests of the labouring classes. If educated, and this was the manifest purpose of teaching political economy, they would seek:

... true liberty; that is that every man should be free to dispose of his own property, his own time and strength and skill, in whatever way he himself may think fit, provided he does no harm to his neighbours.

Future economic progress was assumed, and consequently a continuous increase in jobs, so unemployment could only be a temporary affair for the industrious.

The operations of a free market had the advantage of not only ordering the interests of the working classes, but of harmonising these with the interests of the rich and the advancement of society in general. One mechanism by which it attained this harmony of interests was by stimulating and rewarding the industrious. But, a note of caution was
felt to be necessary at this point: "...it is; of course, not to be expected that many poor men should become rich; nor ought a man to set his heart on being so." However, this was but a temporary impasse, the harmony of interests attained by a free market might again be proclaimed, for the rich man:

...though he appears to have so much larger a share allotted to him, does not really consume it; but is only the channel through which it flows to others. And it is by this means much better distributed than it could have been otherwise.

The interests of the profit seeking capitalists were transformed by the laws of the free market to become identical with the interests of society as a whole. It was, indeed, "...curious to observe, how, through the wise and beneficial arrangement of providence, men thus do greater service to the public, when they are thinking of nothing but their own gain." Natural history

Utilitarian advocates the study of natural history and philosophy by the poorer classes - and indeed by all classes - because it was thought to afford a knowledge of "...things and not words which are the mere sign of things." Furthermore, science exercised the mind in that inductive power "...by means of which it compares, judges, abstracts and reasons, but the subject of its operations is derived from without." Jeremy Bentham in *Chrestomathia* outlined the beneficial effects of a scientific education in the right ordering and classification of things, suggesting that it gave to the youthful mind "...habits of order applicable to the most familiar, as well as to the highest, purpose: good order, the great source of internal tranquility and instrument of good management."

In the first four lesson books, the vegetable and animal kingdoms were presented in terms of a chain-of-being paradigm: nature was seen as a unified totality, a continuum from the vegetable kingdom, through the animal kingdom to men, all under the law of God, and all reflecting the
majesty of their creator.\textsuperscript{163} Within nature, there existed a "gentle and easy ascent" from one species to the next, and from one kingdom to the next. Man occupied a 'middle space' in this continuum, between animal and intellectual nature. Thus he might "...in one respect look upon a Being of infinite perfection as his father, ... in another respect, say to corruption, 'Thou art my father,' and to the worm, 'Thou art my mother and my sister'."\textsuperscript{164} Each species, as well as the total multitude of nature, reflected the majesty of God in its own unique way, and each unique species, if it remained within its own God-given sphere within the total order of nature, imaged an ideal social order.\textsuperscript{165} Each should be respected. Even "...the worm, the snail, the reptile, the creeping vermin" should be free to live unmolested by man, within the order and economy of nature.\textsuperscript{166} However, as the social hierarchy must be maintained, so much the natural: should the creeping vermin upset man’s convenience or health, or should they with man’s "...safety interfere, his rights and claims / Are paramount and must extinguish theirs."\textsuperscript{167} Mercy, however, should govern man’s relationship to animals - and again the reflection theme - the mercy of man to animals mirrored and brought the mercy of God to man.

Lessons on discrete natural phenomena, frequent in the second and third lesson books, tended to draw their material from the animal rather than the vegetable kingdom. The lessons, whether on an animal, insect, fish or bird, described the visible characteristics of the animal, its feeding and breeding habits, and its adaptability to its environment. Its complex and ingenious activities (for example, nest building) were ascribed to animal instinct, infused in each species by God and indicative of his wisdom and goodness.\textsuperscript{168} The use of the animal or vegetable to man was almost always cited, for under the law of God, man had the use of nature’s abundance — the 'treasures of providence.'\textsuperscript{169} Frequently the lesson was concluded, or immediately
followed by, a fable or a poem, an indication of what a child might learn
from the observation of nature, or a scriptural reference to the
phenomenon being discussed.

Attitudes to quadrupeds differed according to whether they were
herbivorous or carnivorous. Herbivorous animals, both wild and
domesticated - the wild elephant, rhinoceros and buffalo, as well as
the hare, the goat and the cow - were defined as "inoffensive"
and as having "gentle dispositions." Herbivorous animals were seen
as extremely useful to man, for example, the native horse, the ox, sheep
and goats; in other countries, the reindeer and elk, the camel and
elephant. On the contrary, opposed to these inoffensive creatures,
"...and, in some measure to prevent their exuberance, there is a species
of carnivorous kind, of inferior strength, indeed, but of greater activity
and cunning." Carnivorous animals were defined as 'treacherous' and the
'undisputed tyrants' of dark tropical forest, at night time preying on others.
The tiger was described as having an "...insatiable thirst after blood," the bear as being "...savage and solitary," the wolf as "...one of the
most savage enemies of mankind." An anomaly within this classification
was the domestic dog, praised in the lesson books as wise, docile and
affectionate, loyal and useful to man. It was further considered "...
a remarkable circumstance that the dog is seldom or never spoken of in the
Scriptures without expressions of contempt," the dog being unclean in
Jewish law.

The Fifth Book of Lessons presented the scientific subject
'Physiology, Vegetable and Animal,' in some fifty pages. It opened with
the contemporary French naturalists' differentiation between organic
and inorganic matter, and continued by differentiating between animal
and vegetable forms. It was also fascinated by the hidden life forces
evidenced by organic matter.
Each lesson in animal and vegetable physiology concentrated on a particular organ - for example, the root, stem or leaf - gave its function, described the organic structure(s) which fulfilled this function, the interdependence between structures, and occasionally, the chemical actions involved in the fulfilment of organic functions. The organic functional model prevailed, but occasionally in conclusion to a lesson, the older chain-of-being model, reflecting divine creation recurred. For example, having described the complex structure and functioning of a seed it was pronounced to evidence a striking proof of order and design, showing, "The care, which Providence has bestowed upon it." 183

Michel Foucault has noted the similarities between the older chain-of-being paradigm and that of the French naturalists of the late 18th and early 19th century - and contrasted these with the quite different classical and Linnaean classification of natural phenomenon. 184 He has also noted that in the late 18th century the animal kingdom became wild once more after the taming of classical tabulation. 185 This shall be discussed further in the next chapter, for in Whately's revision of the first four lesson books in the 1840's he introduced distinct and tabulated classifications of natural phenomena.

Classifications had already been introduced in the third and fourth lesson books with regard to phenomena in the mineral kingdom. Minerals were divided into four classes: earths, salts, combustibles and metals, with lessons on a selection of minerals in each class. These lessons pointed out the visible characteristics and chemical properties of the minerals under discussion, where each was found and its uses for man. Very occasionally biblical references were given. It was suggested in the Third Book of Lessons that Pestalozzian methods, as exemplified in Dr. Mayo's Lessons on Objects, be used. 186 Particular attention was called in the preface to the 'Lesson on Glass,' reprinted from Mayo's Lessons on Objects. It was recommended that teachers provide specimens of each of the minerals and that the pupils should learn to observe and
describe them in detail as things: the teacher in a Pestalozzian
text stated to the pupils: "The names may slip your memory, but you
cannot see metals at all, without being sensible of the things." 187
This 18th century rationalists' emphasis on the visible, on the independent
existence of the object apart from the word denoting it has been summarised
by Foucault: "Things and words were to be separated from one another," 188
while the fundamental task of scientific investigation was to observe and
classify 'things' and then ascribe a name to each.

This was also the scientific paradigm presented in the natural
philosophy lessons in the Fifth Book, which included sections on hydro-
statics, pneumatics, optics, astronomy, electricity and chemistry. 189

These sciences offered a secular, observable, intelligible and controllable
world.

Geography

The lessons on geography, as those on natural history, used varying
paradigms. In the third and fourth books, geography lessons were discursive,
each country being presented in terms of its physical boundaries, its history,
political structure, religious affiliation and cultural traits, and, in some
instances, its climate, vegetation, trade and manufacturing. The varying
cultural traits of each country were presented in their uniqueness, but
never in pejorative terms. 190 In general, the lessons evidenced a
sensitivity toward the uniqueness of each culture and society and its
right to define its own future. Patriotism to one's own country (in particular
Scotland) was praised. A poem entitled 'The Irish Harp;' presented the harp
as a symbol of one's "own native land" in which it could waken "all the
ardour of patriot feeling," "freshen the shamrock," and "mingle patriot
pride and tear." 191

Yet, as in natural history, a hierarchy of countries existed, the
criterion of superiority being the commitment of inhabitants to Christianity
and enlightenment, and their evangelical zeal, under the universal
kingship of God. Thus of Europe it was said, that no other continent:

...is possessed by a population so free, active and
enlightened. In some periods both of ancient and
of modern history, the nations of Europe have held
in subjection almost every other part of the habitable
world; and though they have now lost much of their
political power, yet the moral influence still remains
with them. So far as we can read the future designs
of Providence from the present aspect of affairs, it
is from the nations of Europe, that all great efforts
to enlighten nations which still dwell in darkness,
and in the region of the shadow of death, must proceed. 192

The highlighting of some of the incompatible aspects of this
paradigm in different lessons indicated a certain ambivalence: on the
one hand, the extent of the British Empire in Europe, America, Africa
and Asia was grandiously proclaimed, and its Hurculean power and merchantile
prowess lauded, 193 yet imperialism, war and oppression were in other
lessons expressly condemned. 194

Lessons on 'wonderous' and 'spectacular' physical features, for
example, the Giants Causeway and the Niagara Falls, were interspersed
with lessons on individual countries. These were described and appro-
priately exclaimed upon as to their 'stupendous size,' 'sublimity,'
singular beauty,' and 'majesty.' This, on occasion, lead to reflect
on their creator and the insignificance of man. 195

The lessons in geography in the second and fifth books were quite
different. They were concerned to describe and enumerate the physical features
of the earth's surface, not by the discussion of how these characterised
individual countries, nor by the parade of individual 'wonders', but by
using visible or measurable criteria such as size or direction, to order
disparate data. Thus, for example, instead of discussing individual
peninsulas, it was stated:

In both continents (old and new), the direction of the large
peninsulas is similar, almost all of them running toward the
south. This is the case with South America, California,
Florida, Alaska and Greenland in the New World; and in the
old, with Scandinavia, Spain, Italy, Greece, Africa, Arabia,
Hindustan, Malaya, Cambodia, Corea and Kamtschalka. 196
A further means used to order and make intelligible, was to draw a line attaching scattered phenomena together. Thus, volcanic mountains were systematized by:

...a line drawn round the great Pacific Ocean, so as to include the long range of mountains on the west of America, the Asiatic peninsula of Kamtschalletka, and the islands of Sumatra and Java, will have within it by far the most extensive volcanic system in the world. 197

This might all be made visible on the map of the world: "That picture of the four quarters and five oceans, with their islands, capes and mountains, seas, lakes, straits, bays, gulfs, firths, creeks and rivers..."198

Despite giving proofs of the rotundity of the world, the earth seemed to be visualised as a flat 'mappable' surface, crossed by multi-directional lines dividing it into hemispheres, zones and meridians, circles, latitude and longitude, into land and water, into old and new worlds. It was crossed by oceans which permitted communication, trade and evangelizing, and by rivers; and on its surface "Mountains are distributed in various forms and sizes ... and serve as a sort of connecting band to the other portions of the earth's surface."199 This surface was constantly, if slowly, changing, due not only to volcanic eruptions, but to the movements of running water.

Over this surface was the atmosphere, "...one of the most essential appendages to the globe we inhabit and [which] exhibits the most striking proof of Divine skill and omnipotence."200 The atmosphere appended to the earth was described in terms of the great weight with which it was pressed down upon it, as well as in terms of its chemical composition and its interrelationship with the heat and vapour of the earth in changing weather conditions.201

This relatively stable and tranquil world view might have been previously disrupted by contemporary geology, if lessons on this latter subject, as presented in the Fifth Book... had not carefully integrated
geological findings into the prevailing God-centred world view.

Having shown the determinate order of the earth's strata, founded mainly on the criterion of animal and plant fossils, yet noting the extraordinary fact of tropical fossils found in the Artic and marine fossils "...imbedded in stratified rocks at the greatest elevations," the lessons asked:

...what mighty revolutions must have taken place to cause rocks, formed in the depths of the ocean, to occupy the summits of the highest mountains! By what known agency can so extraordinary a change of position have been effected?

Furthermore: Sometimes [the layers] are not only disturbed from their horizontality, but are bent and contorted in the most extraordinary way, as if they had been acted upon by some powerful force while they were yet in a soft flexible state.

But the answer provided was more comforting:

This seeming disorder and confusion is evidently part of the order and harmony of the universe, a proof of design in the structure of the globe, and one of the progressive steps, by which the earth seems to have been prepared as a fit habitation for man. Throughout all this, there reigns such a harmony of purpose, that the conclusion is irresistible, that the break up of the earth's crust is not an irregular disturbance, but a work of design, in perfect accordance with the whole economy of nature.

From the evidence of fossil remains it was known that "...in the lowest beds of the series of secondary strata, ... the organic remains consist chiefly of corals and shells, i.e. of animals having a comparatively simple anatomical structure." This had led to a theory of the gradual development from simple to complex animal life. This theory was refuted as 'unsound' in the Fifth Book of Lessons. Rather than an evolutionary theory, it was suggested that:

Fossils reveal to us the important and wonderful fact, that the Author of Nature has created different species of animals and plants, at successive and widely distant intervals of time, and many of those, that existed in the earlier ages of our globe had become totally extinct before the creation of others in later periods, and before the creation of man. This was not contrary to the Genesis
account of the creation, as it described a 'pre scriptural' world, while the scriptures described the world as contemporary men knew it. 207

History

It is appropriate to end this analysis of the 1830 texts with secular history in the sense that it drew many of its interpretive themes both from scriptural history and British liberalism, thus presenting another facet of the delicate integration of religious and secular subjects.

History, as narrated in the Fifth Book..., began with the scriptural documentation of the creation in B.C. 4004, and traced the political evolution and vicissitudes of the Israelite nation, including its involvement with the Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman Empires, to the birth of Christ. This took some hundred pages. European political events occurring between the time of Christ's birth and the Napoleonic era were rapidly sketched in some twenty four pages and entitled 'Modern History'.

Two themes pervaded the presentation of history: the theme of the great and divinely blessed leader whose belief in, and obedience to, God brought victory and prosperity to the nation; and the theme of sinful man, who through his evil brought destruction and chaos into the world.

From the beginning of history, man's evil nature was predominant: Adam and Eve sinned and were duly punished; Cain committed murder, evidencing that "...corruption, with which human nature has been tainted," 208 while before the deluge, the whole world was "...one scene of violence and corruption. Only Noah was found upright before God." 209 Nor did the deluge check man's wickedness, "...the conduct of men very soon proved ... it had done nothing toward purifying the human heart from its proud ambitious passions." 210 This wickedness was seen as having "...disgraced and consumed mankind, and kept whole regions of the earth in desolation and wretchedness till the present day." 211 To check this evilness and idolatry:

God selected a family with whom he might deposite the knowledge of himself and his will, and to whom he might give so conspicuous a station among the nations of the world, and diffuse it among the rest of mankind. 212
God blessed the leader of this chosen people, Abraham, and promised "to give him a numerous posterity ... and to make of them a great nation..." And when this nation was threatened by destruction, either through internal dissention and wickedness, or by external attack, God raised up a leader to deliver them.

In the account of 'secular' or 'heathen' history, of the rise and fall of the Babylonian, Persian, Greek and Roman Empires, the hand of God could not be so readily availed of as an explanatory variable; victory was now the prize, not of the divinely blessed and strong leader, but of strong, aggressive and skilful leadership of the armed forces, while defeat and decline remained the price of the weak and profligate. No doubt could remain after this account of ancient history of the wickedness of man: aggression and revenge, bloodshed and destruction, both within and between the succession of empires were given pride of place, as were the regicide and murder, usurpation and treachery, defeat and betrayal at the centres of power.

To the paradigm of successful empires being led by strong and skilled leaders and a cohesive elite group, in particular the army, and of decline being the consequence of the weakening moral fibre, a third factor was added to the discussion of Greek and Roman history: conflict concerning the distribution of political and economic power. This was a conflict between monarchical and republican principles, between elitist and democratic political and economic ideals, between the rulers and the ruled. The history in the national school texts considered external peace and internal order more important than political liberty or social equality.

The birth of Christ, or in the text book's terms, "The appearance of that illustrious personage on our planet" was defined as:
...the commencement of that great revolution of mind, which has already produced such stupendous effects, and which is every day extending and strengthening its influence. It was then that those sublime views of the Deity and that pure morality, which the nation of the Jews had received from the Scriptures, began to be diffused over the world, a process which soon changed the aspect of the Roman empire, and laid the foundation of that superior illumination and humanity, and those just conceptions of the rights and liberties of men, which distinguish from the rest of mankind Europeans, as well as all who are of their kindred in other regions of the globe. 217

Progress of that enlightened and rational christianity of which the renaissance and reformation were seen as heir, was however slow. This was due not only to the inevitable wickedness of the unconverted, but of christians themselves, 218 and also due to the institutional form, - i.e. the Catholic church, although not named, which the institutionalization of christianity took. Thus, the history book was ambivalent toward the conversion of Emperor Constantine 219 and the Crusades, 220 and hardly mentioned the growth of papal power.

The renaissance was seen as particularly momentous in man's natural movement toward rationality, liberty and progress, not least because:

This age, so fertile in great events was also the age of the Reformation; in which the Protestant churches separated from the church of Rome, an event which still continues to influence the political affairs of Europe. 222

The progress of enlightenment and liberty was again overshadowed in this instance by the establishment of absolute monarchs in Europe, who:

...regarded the introduction of any political or religious doctrines into their dominions, without their consent, as a dangerous enroachment on their power and prerogative, and, aided by many of the clergy and aristocracy of that day, attempted to crush every such tendency to innovation. Thence arose wars, persecutions, proscriptions, and massacres, scarcely less revolting than those which stain the pages of ancient history. 223

In contrast the fight for civil liberties in Britain was seen as successful: "...the revolution which commenced in the reign of Charles I and ended in the accession of William and Mary to the throne, settled the British constitution on a solid foundation." 224

This was to bear fruit, in the 18th century:
Britain was rising to be, beyond comparison, the first maritime power in the world, and was extending her empire on every side. ... And while her empire has been extending abroad, she has been consolidating her strength and resources at home. All civil disabilities have been removed from the Roman Catholics of Ireland; and the union between Britain and Ireland has been completed. These measures afford great promise of imparting new vigour to the empire, and of raising that portion of it, which is at present in a state of depression to its just level. 225

Three factors were felt to especially emphasise the progress of the British nation: firstly: the rapid and astonishing advancement of science, and of the useful arts; secondly, the translation of the scriptures in 75 new languages; and, thirdly, the abolition of slavery in the British colonies. 226

The history lessons ended with this latter subject:

The manner, in which this last act of justice was effected, is, perhaps, unique in the history of the world. The British nation purchased the freedom of the slaves from their masters, subjects of the empire, and has actually agreed to advance to them £20,000,000 to set the wretched captives at liberty. 227

It would appear that while the godly men of the past were Israeli prophets, those of the 1830's were the rational and liberal gentlemen of England.

Conclusion

The early national school curriculum was broadly based in the moral, social, natural and physical sciences, expressing the commissioner's rationalistic belief in the potentiality of these 'facts' to promote social harmony among the Irish poor. Perhaps a particularly apt example of this belief was Archbishop Whately's General Lesson, which he recommended to the second meeting of the board, 2 December, 1831. Aiming at the promotion of harmony among all christian creeds, it was phrased in the reasoned tones of christian liberalism and found a solution to religious conflict in toleration:
Many men hold erroneous doctrines: we ought not to hate or persecute them, we ought to seek 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. 228

Whately, in recommending this lesson to the board, stated categorically:

There is no moral duty more important to be early inculcated in a country like this: and it is one in which I should hope we may all agree. At least if we cannot I do not see how the ultimate views of Government can be carried into effect. 229

The board did indeed agree, and expressed their "cordial approbiation" of the lesson and their "...entire concurrence in his Grace's views." 230

It was decided to publish the lesson in tablet form, to require it to be hung in each school, and its principles to be "strictly inculcated..." 231

The commissioners were facilitated by, and worked within, a consensus already established among upper middle-class groups of all religions regarding the efficacy of 'useful information' for the poor. They developed a curriculum structure within this consensus which was consistent with their own commitments as religious leaders, thus introducing extensive religious and moral instruction. They also allowed the Rev. Carlile and his group of Presbyterian teachers to take the initiative 232 in preparing text books, which drew on a broad range of social and physical sciences, and indeed on conflicting paradigms within the same sciences. This profusion of paradigms, however, was to be greatly reduced in Archbishop's Whately's revision of the lesson books in the next decade.

The curriculum subjects as presented in the text books were integrated by an infused religious orientation and by a chain-of-being paradigm which integrated nature, man and God into a total cosmology. Even conflicting paradigms served to make subject boundaries less clear: there were no fixed boundaries, questions or methodology appropriate to each subject. Also helping to integrate the curriculum was the fact that
at the centre there was but one professor, McArthur, organising not only
the text books but the training and model schools. Thus, vested interests
in maintaining subject boundaries by different professors teaching different
subjects were eliminated. Also, at the level of the individual national
school, an integrated curriculum was facilitated by the fact that the
majority of schools had but one teacher, and the role of this teacher was
defined, at least by the central administration, not in terms of competence
to teach a particular subject, but in terms of initiating pupils into the
right order of facts with the assumed behavioural consequence of disciplined
subordination to this order.

By 1840 there were almost 2,000 national schools with almost 233,000
pupils on rolls. It is important to remember, however, that despite
activity at the centre, the power of the commissioners to define educational
knowledge was based on their control, and ability to administer, financial
resources, not on any legal power to require that their curriculum be
followed or their books used in each school. The right to decide what might
be taught in each local school was in the hands of local patrons, over half
of whom in 1835 were Roman Catholic priests. It ought also to be noted
that a certain local power remained in parental hands, especially in what
had previously been hedge schools, the teachers being dependant on
parental good will and on their payment per subject taught for at least
part of their living. The national school inspector for Connaught noted
in 1833, "The Teachers at present in the Country are all in general un-
acquainted with School Discipline, and so identified with the People as to
be more attentive to the Means of acquiring their good Will than of de-
serving the Confidence of the Commissioners or their Officers." It
would appear that parents exerted this power in refusing to accept the
monitorial system, for, as the inspector for Munster pointed out, there
was an impression "...somewhat general among the inferior Classes that
instruction by Monitors or even in Class, is not so good or so much worth
their Money as when the Teacher instructs each Child separately.\textsuperscript{234}

National Schools, as the hedge schools, were pay schools: teachers were still dependant on parental good will. What was new was the institution of two further layers of control: (1) teachers were appointed and dismissed by the local patron, and that part of their salary paid by the commissioners was paid to the teacher through the patron; (2) text books, teacher training and inspection were controlled and administered from the centre.
Footnotes to Chapter III

1 Instruction to Inspectors, Reports from the Select Committees on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, H.C. 1836, xiii, p. 355.

2 Copy of a Letter from the Chief Secretary ... on the Formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland, op.cit, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 586.

3 Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 110.

4 Copy of a Letter from the Chief Secretary ... on the Formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland, op.cit, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 586.

5 Evidence of Rev. James Carlile suggesting that in 1832, 17 of the 22 bishops of the Established Church were opposed to the National System, Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 89.


11 See Reports from the Select Committees on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, pts. i and ii, H.C. 1836, xiii, and H.C. 1837-8, vii; Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the New Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C., 1837, viii, pts. i and ii; and Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix.


13 For example, Carlile, J. Defence of the National System of Education in Ireland, in reply to the Letters of J.C. Calquhoun esq. of Krellmont, M.P., Dublin, 1838.

14 For example, Cooke, H. National Education : A Sermon Preached in the Presbyterian Church, May Street, Belfast, Sunday the 15th of January, 1832, Belfast, 1832.
15 See, for example, Scriptural Education in Ireland, A Full Report of the Great Protestant Meeting held in Exeter Hall, Strand, 1832, London, 1832.


17 Porter, J.L. The Life and Times of Henry Cooke, p. 326.


23 Porter, J.L. The Life and Times of Henry Cooke, pp. 227 and 326.


25 Quoted in Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, pp.492-3.

26 Quoted in the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, p. 21. The population of Ireland in 1834 was 81% Catholic, 11% Established Church, and 8% Presbyterian. [Akenson, D.H. The Church of Ireland, p. 165].


28 Regulations and Directions to be attended to in making Application to the Commissioners of National Education, 1st Report C.N.E.I., H.C. 1834, xl, p. 58.

29 Copy of a letter from the Chief Secretary ... on the Formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland, op.cit, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 586.

30 Letter from Dr. Trench, Protestant Archbishop of Tuam to Dean Burgh, 4 February 1832, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the New Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, viii, pt. ii, p. 181.


33 O'Brien, R.B. Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, London, 1885, p. 150.

34 Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, xi, pp. 39-41, and 475.


37 Letter circulated among Synod members proporting to emanate from a Committee of the Synod of Ulster, critizing the National System, written by Rev. Stewart, aided by Dr. Cooke, in Carlile, J. Address to the Ministers and Elders of the Rev. The Synod of Ulster, September 22, 1832, London, 1832, p. 69.

38 Quoted in the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, p. 34.


41 Quoted from the Dublin Evening Mail, 5 December, 1836, in Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, p. 196.


44 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pp. 86-87. This was especially the case in 'non vested' schools (see below) where the patron was only obliged to give public notification of the times of religious instruction, with parents being at liberty to withhold their children at these times. Ibid, p. 83. Also see Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 201-2, re the 'Stopford rule,' 1847, when the requirement that patrons of vested schools exclude pupils from denominational instruction different to the pupils' own religion was dropped from the Board's rules.
The board's changes regarding religious instruction were first formally embodied in revised rules published in 1842. These stated: "In schools, toward the building of which the Commissioners have contributed, and which are, therefore, vested in Trustees for the purposes of National Education, such pastors or other persons as shall be approved of by the parents or guardians of the Children respectively, shall have access to them in the School-room, for purpose of giving them religious instruction there, at convenient times to be appointed for that purpose, whether those pastors or persons shall have signed the original application or otherwise. In schools not vested, but which receive aid only by way of Salary and Books, it is for the Patrons to determine whether religious instruction shall be given in the School-room or not; but if they do not allow it in the School-room, the children whose parents or guardians so desire, must be allowed to absent themselves from the School, at reasonable times, for the purpose of religious instruction elsewhere." [9th Report C.N.E.I. 1842, Appendix, H.C. 1843, xxviii, p. 111]. Throughout the century the number of non vested schools was consistently higher than the number of vested schools, see McElligott, E. Education in Ireland, Dublin, 1966, p. 5.


57 *Ibid*.

58 Copy of a letter from the Chief Secretary ... on the Formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland, *op.cit*, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 586.

59 Regulations and Directions to be attended to in making application to the Commissioners of National Education, 1833, *op.cit*. H.C. 1834, xl, p. 58.

60 Quoted in Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 27.


63 Letter from Rev. James Carlile to The Times, quoted in Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to Inquire into the Practical Working of the System of National Education in Ireland, H.C. 1854, xv, p. 17.

64 *Ibid*.


68 The board thus went beyond Stanley's original plan that they should edit and print "such books of moral and literary instruction as may be approved of for the schools, and supplying them ... at not lower than half price." For the board's decision regarding supply of free stock see, M.B.N.E.I., 16 September and 7 October 1833.
Previous to the preparation of their own lesson books, the Commissioners had bought books from the Kildare Place Society and the Catholic Book Society and sold them at half price to schools. [M.B.N.E.I., January 19, and June 21, 1832]. The two readers supplied by the Catholic Book Society were altered before being supplied to schools omitting Catholic references, for example a lesson on the Virgin Mary. [See, Alterations required by the Board of National Education in any School Books issued by the Roman Catholic Book Society which have received the Sanction of the Board, ... etc., Returns relating to the Board of Education in Ireland, House of Lords, 1837/2, cccx, pp. 396-398.]

Return of the Issue of Scripture Extracts in Free Stock and at Half Price to National Schools, and those Sold to the Public, for each year since their Publication, 1837, reprinted in Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, p. 42.


He received assistance from Dr. Arnold of Rugby, a friend of Archbishop Whately's in preparing the New Testament, M.B.N.E.I., 8th December, 1835.


Scripture Lessons, for the Use of Schools, Old Testament, No. i, Dublin 1855, p. 3.

Evidence of Rev. J. Carlile, Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 70.


Ibid, p. 162.

Scripture Lessons, ..., Old Testament, No. i, p. 3.

Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. xi, p. 81. The reasons Carlile gave for the inclusion of comments were twofold: to introduce an element of practicality into scripture reading by associating moral and religious instruction with "a recital of most interesting facts," and secondly, to enable the teacher to give further religious and moral information. See ibid, pp. 81-84.

Scripture Lessons, for the Use of Schools, New Testament, No. i, Dublin, 1854, p. 95.
For example, in the Commissioners of National Education, Fourth Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1834, p. 205, salvation was defined as "deliverance from ignorance of God, rescued by the salvation of the Gospel."


Scripture Lessons ..., Old Testament, No. i, p. 7.


Scripture Lessons ..., Old Testament, No. i, p. 71.

Ibid.

Ibid, p. 85. See also pp. 108 and 112 for retribution paid to Jacob's brothers.


Scripture Lessons ..., Old Testament, No. ii, p. 15.


Scripture Lessons..., Old Testament, No.i, p. 41.


Ibid, pp. 56-57.

Scripture Lessons..., Old Testament, No.i, p. 52.

Troeltsch, E. Protestantism and Progress, p. 19.

See for example, evidence of Rev. R. Murray, Dean of Ardagh, Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 344 seq.

See for example, evidence of Rev. C. Elrington, Ibid, pp. 158-159.

See Letter circulated among Synod Members proporting to eminate from a Committee of the Synod of Ulster, criticizing the National System, written by Rev. Stewart, aided by Dr. Cooke, included as Appendix I in Carlile, J. Address to the Ministers and Elders of the Synod of Ulster, pp. 72-76.

Ibid, p. 74.


106 Carlile, J. Address to the Ministers and Elders of the Synod of Ulster, pp. 51-2.

107 The note read: "THE 'WOMAN' - so divers of the Fathers read this place, conformable to the Latin; others read it ipsum, viz. the seed; the sense is the same, for it is by her seed, Jesus Christ, that the woman crushes the serpent's head." [Scripture Lessons..., Old Testament, No.1, p. 16.].

108 See for example, Evidence of Rev. C. Elrington, Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, pp. 189 seq.


110 Evidence of Archbishop Whately, ibid, p. 323.

111 M.B.N.E.I., 31 January, 1833. The Rev. James Carlile was born in Paisley, Scotland in 1784, attended Edinburgh University and was an ordained minister of the Synod of Ulster. In Dublin, in the 1820's he was minister to St. Mary's congregation and committee member of the Hibernian Bible Society. His association with the national system caused hostility among some members of the Hibernian Society and he withdrew from it. [Carlile, J. Address to the Ministers and Elders of the Rev. The Synod of Ulster, pp. 36-7]. For further details of Carlile's work for the national board, see M.B.N.E.I., 8 March, 1832, and evidence of Dr. McArthur, Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the New Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, viii, pt. i, pp. 292-298.

112 The Rev. James Carlile described to the Select Committee of the House of Commons the mode of their compilation: "I had a school under my own management, in which I had four or five teachers, I brought them together, and consulted them upon the subject, and suggested a plan for the formulation of the books; some amongst them undertook the compilation of them. Those were the teachers of my school, with the headmaster of the school, who is now the headmaster of our model school. Then they were all revised by myself." [Report from the Select Committee on the Plan of Education in Ireland, H.D. 1837, ix, p. 120.]


114 The first, second and third lesson books were prepared and submitted to the commissioners in 1832 [M.B.N.E.I. 27 September and 8 November 1832]; the fourth in 1833 [M.B.N.E.I. 31 October, 1833]; and the fifth in 1835 [M.B.N.E.I. 25 June 1835].

115 Commissioners of National Education, Reading Book for Use of Female Schools, Dublin, 1840, Preface.
The S.D.U.K. publications such as the Penny Magazine and the Library of Useful Knowledge influenced the content lesson books, especially the senior texts on geography, geology and natural philosophy, some of which were taken directly from these sources. In a review of the first four Commissioners' lesson books, the Quarterly Journal of Education recommended the natural history, geography, political economy, poetry and moral tales which they offered. ['National Education in Ireland,' Quarterly Journal of Education, Vol. 9, 1835, pp. 193-213.]

Grammar and etymology were given a central role in teaching the accurate knowledge of words, "to accustom young persons to habits of combination and analysis, as well as to give them a command of expression in their own language." [Commissioners of National Education, Fourth Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1834, p.iii, and commended in 'National Education in Ireland,' Quarterly Journal of Education, pp. 209-210.]

Grammar and etymology were given a central role in teaching the accurate knowledge of words, "to accustom young persons to habits of combination and analysis, as well as to give them a command of expression in their own language." [Commissioners of National Education, Fourth Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1834, p.iii, and commended in 'National Education in Ireland,' Quarterly Journal of Education, pp. 209-210.]


In the preface to the Fourth Book of Lessons (p. iv) an example "of the method in which the lessons are recommended to be taught" was detailed. Taking as an example the following sentence from the first lesson on natural history in the Fourth book, "Linnaeus, the great Swedish naturalist, characterizes and divides the three kingdoms of nature, the animal, the vegetable and mineral, in the following manner: stones grow; vegetables grow and live; animals grow, live, and feel," the teaching method advocated was as follows: "The Teacher having seen that his Pupils can spell every word in this sentence, and read it with proper pronunciation, accent, and emphasis, may examine them upon it as follows: Who was Linnaeus? - A Swedish naturalist. From what Latin root is naturalist formed? - Natura, nature. What is the first affix added to nature? - Al, of or belonging to. What part of speech is natural? - An adjective. What affix is then added to natural? - A noun. Why is it called a noun? - Because it is applied to a person. Applied to persons what should it be? - Naturalists, in the plural number. Is it applied to males or females? - To both, and is therefore of the
common gender. What is the meaning of the word naturalist? A person who studies nature. What kind of a naturalist was Linnaeus? - Great. What part of speech is great? - An adjective, because it expresses quality. Where was Linnaeus born? - In Sweden. Where is Sweden? - In the north of Europe. Point it out on the map. What is Linnaeus said to have done? - He characterized and divided, etc. What parts of speech are these words? Active verbs, because they express what Linnaeus did. Any affix in characterize? - Ize, to make. The meaning of the word? - To make or give a character or name to. Give me some of the derivatives of divide. - Division, divisible, indivisible, divident, etc. - What did Linnaeus characterize and divide? - Animals, vegetables, and minerals, What are these called? - The three kingdoms of nature. How did he characterize minerals? - They grow, etc. etc. State to me, in your own words, what you have learned from this sentence? - Linnaeus was a great naturalist - He was born in Sweden - He formed all natural objects into three great classes or kingdoms - And he distinguished each of these kingdoms from the other: "stones grow," Etc. Etc." [Fourth Book of Lessons ..., 1834, p. iv].

124 See also Layton, D. Science for the People, p. 20.
125 The volume of Sacred Poetry consisted of 60 poems, mainly "selections made from the Paraphrases of the Church of Scotland, Doctor Watts' Hymns for Children, and Miss Taylor's Hymns, containing a considerable range of religious instruction, derived from revelation, which they [the Board] recommend to be committed to memory by the children in their schools." [Carlile, J. Defence of the National System of Education in Ireland, p. 10 ].
126 Commissioners of National Education, Sacred Poetry adapted to the Understanding of Children and Youth for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1835, p.iii.
127 Commissioners of National Education, Third Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1842, p.iii. See also, 'School Poetry,' Quarterly Journal of Education, Vol. 3, 1832, pp. 332-345. In this article poetry for the poor was particularly advocated - "it could not fail," it was suggested, "to have a beneficial influence upon their minds." (p. 339). A later article assessing the operation of the national system and its books, stated that "The miscellaneous selections of both poetry and prose, the object of which is to combine amusement with instruction, are made with a considerable degree of taste and judgement. The poetry, especially, is of a quality that can hardly fail to be interesting to children whose minds have been awakened to the perception of moral beauty, and whose hearts have been opened to the influence of benevolent feelings. ('National Education in Ireland,' op.cit., p. 208.
128 Commissioners of National Education, First Book of Lessons for the the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1836, p. 13.
129 Ibid, p. 20.
130 Ibid, p. 28.
131 Fourth Book for Lessons..., 1834, p. 207.
133 Ibid, p. 272.

134 Through diligence and foresight man gained economic sufficiency; through a healthy suspicion of others he remained self-reliant; through temperance he was protected from greed and 'unrestrained indulgence' with its 'inevitable destruction'; while through contentment he learned to be thankful for his lot and not to envy others. For examples, see Commissioners of National Education Second Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1836, pp. 89-94, 98-100 and 139, and Third Book of Lessons ..., 1842, pp. 223-224, 227-229 and 243-246.

135 Social pretensions were punished by the derision of others, as was the jackdaw who pretended to be a peacock. The lesson of this fable was clearly articulated: "We should never assume a character which does not belong to us; nor aspire to a society or a situation for which we are not truly qualified. Such affectation and presumption will sooner or later bring us into contempt. It is wisest and safest to pretend to nothing that is above our reach and our circumstances, and to aim at acting well in our own proper sphere, rather than have the mere appearance of worth and beauty in the sphere which is designed for others. [Third Book of Lessons..., 1842, pp. 160-161].

136 In a lesson entitled 'God's Family,' a hierarchical and integrated structure of social relationships was presented. At the base of the hierarchy were individual families: "The father, the mother and children, make a family; the father, is master thereof." Families united in a village were linked through the virtue of compassion: "If one is poor, his neighbour helpeth him; if he is sad, he comforteth him." As the hierarchy proceeded the town with its magistrate was enveloped by the kingdom with its king. Superseding the kingdom was the totality of different kingdoms and continents, races and climates: the whole world and "God governeth it. ... All are God's family; He knoweth every one of them, as a shepherd knoweth his flock; they pray to him in different languages, but he understandeth them all." [Second Book of Lessons ..., 1836, pp. 175-178].

137 God "...marshals all the order of the year; / He marks the bounds which winter may not pass, / ... And, as one flowery season fades and dies, / Designs the blooming wonder of the next. / The Lord of all, himself through all diffused, / Sustains, and is the life of all that lives./ Nature is but a name for an effect, / Whose cause is God. One spirit - His / Who wore the plaited thorns with bleeding brows, / Rules universal Nature. / ... Happy who walks with him." [Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, p. 73].

138 Reading Book for Use of Female Schools, 1840, pp. 151, 244-5, 283-5.

139 Ibid, p. 181.

140 Ibid, p. 225.

141 "The entire submission which we are to require at the hands of our children, is a type of that obedience which we, on our part, owe to the Great Father of the universe. In terms sufficiently plain He has made known to us his will. Does it become us to ask Him why his will is such as we find it to be?" [Ibid, p. 198].


The Quarterly Journal of Education in their review of the national school texts, in 1835, approved of the lessons on political economy, stating, "For want of that knowledge [of political economy] how often have the labouring classes been led by the ignorant or designing to form opinions, and to embark in projects fraught with equal mischief to themselves and their employers. Knowledge of this kind, if generally spread, would deprive of their hurtful character the 'Trades Unions', which have occupied so much of the valuable time, and absorbed so much of the hard-earned money of the workmen, and would teach both men and their employers ... how much their real interests are identified." ['National Education in Ireland', pp. 208-9].

Whately, R. Easy Lessons on Money Matters, 24, p. 104.

See in particular Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, pp. 4-5. In this lesson book the Linnaean classification of nature was criticized, one reason being its attempt to rigidly differentiate between animal and vegetable—phenomena seen as a reflecting continuum in the first four lesson books. See ibid, p. 1. See also Michel Foucault’s discussion of the differences between a chain-of-being and a classificatory approach to natural history in Foucault, M., The Order of Things, London, 1970, pp. 125-162.

Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, p. 5.

Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, pp. 75-76.

Ibid, p. 76.

See for example, Second Book of Lessons..., 1836, pp. 49-53.

See, for example, Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, pp. 21-39.

Thus, for example, the child, by observing the tenderness, care, and solicitude which insects, fishes and birds gave to their young, might learn the filial duty he owed to his parents; or by observing the busy activities of the ant, learn industriousness and foresight. See Second Book of Lessons..., 1836, pp. 29-30, 126-127, 145-146.

Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, pp. 5-6.


Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, p. 6.


Third Book of Lessons..., 1842, p. 11.

Ibid, p. 15.


Ibid, p. 34.


Michel Foucault has noted, "It is, in fact, from the period 1775-95 onward that the old articulation of the three or four kingdoms disappears; the opposition of the two kingdoms—organic and inorganic—does not replace that articulation exactly; but rather, by imposing another division, at another level and in another space, it makes the old articulation impossible. Pallas and Lamarck formulate this great dichotomy—a dichotomy with which the opposition of the living and the non-living coincides. 'There are only two kingdoms in nature,' wrote Vicq d'Azyn in 1786, 'one enjoys life and the other is deprived of it.'" [Foucault, M., The Order of Things, p. 232].
This fascination was particularly evident in the first lesson on animal physiology. The lesson questioned the mode of existence of living beings and of life itself: "What life is we know not; what life does we know very well." And it continued by detailing the extraordinary powers of life: "Life counteracts the laws of gravity;" "Life resists the effects of mechanical powers;" "Life prevents chemical agency. The body, when left to itself, soon begins to putrify; the several parts of which it is composed, no longer under the influence of a higher controlling power, yield to their chemical affinities; new combinations are formed; ammoniacal, sulphuretic, carburetted, and other gases are given off, and nothing remains but dust. This never happens during life." Further, "Life modifies the power of heat;" and, finally, "Life is the cause of the constant changes that are going forward in our bodies." Hidden and indefinable life controlled nature. Life was the hand of providence. [Fifth Book of Lessons... , 1835, pp. 245-246]

Ibid, p. 242; also see pp. 255 and 257.


Third Book of Lessons... , 1842, p. iv, and 'Lesson on Glass,' ibid, pp. 1-3. The Pestalozzian method whereby the teacher was to inculcate the knowledge of 'things' was exemplified as follows: "Teacher: Now, in this piece of glass, which I hold in my hand, what qualities do you observe? What can you say it is? Pupil: It is bright. Teacher: Feel it, and tell me what it is? Pupil: It is cold." [Ibid, p. 2.]. And so on, to describe glass as smooth, transparent and brittle, and metals in general as "brilliant, opaque, malleable, ductible and fusible minerals." [Ibid, p. 117].


See Foucault, M. The Order of Things, p. 120.

Chemistry and electricity were added in the 1836 edition of the Fifth Book of Lessons... , 1835.

For example, Fourth Book of Lessons... , 1834, pp. 158-162.

Third Book of Lessons... , 1842, pp. 192-193, also see pp. 183-184, 186-187, 250-251.


Fourth Book of Lessons... , 1834, pp. 90-91.
This ambivalence was evidenced in a poem which described an imaginary voyage round the world, visiting different countries, and noting the variety of places, climates and peoples with their changing histories. It praised free, independent countries and condemned slavery and colonialism: for example, "... India next is seen, / Ah! What horrors here have been / War, disguised as commerce, came; / Britain, carrying sword and flame, / Won an empire, - lost her name." The same poem ended lauding patriotism to one's own country - Britain, "... Britain thou'rt my home, my rest; / My own land I love thee best." [Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, p. 162. Also see, Third Book of Lessons..., 1842, pp. 260-261, 281-283].

For example, see Fourth Book of Lessons..., 1834, pp. 104-108.

Fifth Book of Lessons..., 1835, pp. 4-5.

Ibid, pp. 9-10.

Second Book of Lessons..., 1836, pp. 34-35.

Fifth Book of Lessons..., 1835, p. 7.


These lessons were directly transposed from the Penny Magazine, a publication of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and contained frequent acknowledgement of the work of Cuvier, his classification of animals and his work on comparative anatomy.

Fifth Book of Lessons..., 1835, p. 53.

Ibid, p. 54.


Ibid, p. 79.

Ibid, p. 73.

Ibid, pp. 75-77.

Ibid, p. 103.


Ibid.

Ibid, p. 108.

Ibid.

For example, see ibid, pp. 112-118.


Ibid, for example, pp. 159, 188-190.

Despite this the history lessons were criticised for lacking an explicit Protestant orientation. To the Wyse Select Committee of the House of Commons Dr. Murray, Archdeacon of Ardagh, suggested that the history was "garbled" as well as the Scripture Lessons, "to favour the views of Rome." Thus Pope Gregory's declaration the "'whoever calls himself, or desires to be called by others, the Universal Bishop or Priest is the forerunner of Anti-Christ'," was omitted, as was the unlawful manner in which the Pope had gained temporal power. Furthermore, the Reformation was "considered as a mere political movement, while everyone who knows the Reformation knows it was the gracious influence of the spirit of God upon the people which produced that most important event." [O'Brien, R.B. Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland, pp. 167-171].

It might be noted that a literary assistant, recommended by Dr. Sadlier (future Provost of Trinity College Dublin), was appointed in 1832, but apparently could not compete with the mobilized forces of Carlile and McArthur, and his compilation on Cottage Economy was never printed. He transferred to the inspection department, and his successor was appointed as clerk of editing and printing - a position it would appear without responsibility for the compilation of books. [M.B.N.E.I., 13 April 1832, 3 July 1834, 11 September 1834 and 15 October 1835].

CHAPTER IV

CENTRALISATION: 1839 - 1852

During the 1840's the central administration attempted to gain much greater control over what was taught in the classroom by increasing its control over the training of teachers. In particular, it inaugurated a programme of controlled mobility for teachers, administered through an extensive examination and grading system. This system functioned not only as a selective process but as a socialising and incentive control system over teachers. Central administrative control was to be further augmented by the building of 32 district model schools, one in each county, financed and controlled directly by the board, administered by their district inspectors and staffed by exemplary teachers. This controlled system of mobility and model schools was explicitly inaugurated by the commissioners and educational administrators at the centre to link local schools and teachers with the educational and political interests of the centre. Within this context, transmission processes were reoriented. The curriculum structure changed from a horizontally integrated to a collection code, with boundaries between subjects becoming more clearly marked, and control by the centre over the selection and organization of classroom knowledge becoming more specific.

The central administration and teacher training

From the inception of the national system the commissioners felt that the training of national teachers should be under their direct superintendence and not shared with any other academic body. In part this was due to their conception of the political role of national teachers and of the national system. A. R. Blake, Catholic commissioner of national education explained to the Wyse Select Committee on Education
in Ireland (1835 - 38) he believed the true principle of government to be the use of moral rather than physical power, and the best means of ensuring this principle was carried into effect was through "...a good system of national education, conducted through well-educated and well-disposed teachers." Teachers, he suggested should be "...a moral police, as useful, I should hope, as the existing constabulary force."3

The commissioners were conscious that existing teachers did not attain this ideal. They lacked allegiance to the board and deviated from the board's political ideals. In fact their involvement in anti-government political activity was soon felt to necessitate the prohibition of national school teachers from involvement in any political meetings, and a circular was sent to all patrons and managers stating:

...that the commissioners considered it to be incompatible with the due performance of the duties to be discharged by the masters and teachers of the several national schools that they should attend any political meetings whatever and that they therefore request the several patrons to prohibit such attempts. 5

In 1843 the commissioners enforced this prohibition by dismissing teachers who attended Repeal of the Union meetings.6 Furthermore, it was felt necessary to ensure the political affiliation of teachers in training by obliging them to take the oath of allegiance at the beginning of their course at the central training establishment. 7

The great majority of teachers in the first schools to associate themselves with the national system were hedge school teachers, among whom, as Carlile tactfully put it to the 1837 Select Committee of the House of Commons investigating the national system, there was "...a vast variety of character and acquirements."8 The commissioners were conscious not only of the immediate necessity of training existing teachers, but of inducing those with a more acceptable preparatory education to become teachers.

In their second report (1834 - 5) they stated:
If we are furnished with adequate means by the State, not only for training schoolmasters but for inducing competent persons to become candidates for teacherships, through a fair prospect of remuneration and advancement, we have no doubt whatever that a new class of Schoolmasters may be trained, whose conduct and influence must be highly beneficial in promoting morality, harmony and good order, in the country parts of Ireland. It is only through such persons that we can hope to render the National Schools successful in improving the general condition of the people. It is not, however merely through the schools committed to their charge that the beneficial effects of their influence would be felt. Living in friendly habits with the people, not greatly elevated above them, but so provided for as to be able to maintain a respectable station; trained to good habits; identified in interest with the State, and therefore anxious to promote a spirit of obedience to lawful authority, we are confident that they would prove a body of the utmost value and importance in promoting civilization and peace.

The commissioners outlined a training scheme for teachers in 1835, but it was 1847 before a complete training and mobility scheme was fully elaborated and in operation. Ideally it worked thus: selected by examination at fourteen, aspiring teachers entered a four year course, designed by the professors and the inspectorate, as paid monitors. On completion of this course, again selected by examination, they continued their training as candidate teachers for six months as boarders at the district model school. On passing this examination and receiving the inspector's certificate of competency the candidate teacher "...should be recommended by [the inspector] to those patrons of schools who apply for teachers." After an apprenticeship of two years teaching, during which teachers continued their studies and were examined on their progress, they were called to continue their training at the board's training establishment in Dublin. Here they stayed for a period of five months - or, if considered particularly meritorious, for a period of two years. Nor was the centre's control of teachers decreased on completion of this induction period. An extensive system for classifying teachers by a graduated series of examinations was inaugurated. On the results of these examinations, and on the report of the inspector as to 'good conduct', teachers were classified
into nine classes. The salary which the teacher received from the board was scaled according to this classification. A successful grade one teacher might further advance through the three inspectorship grades. The commissioners' report for 1846 stated that the training and mobility scheme for teachers would have the function of:

...securing the fittest person for each particular duty, and of stimulating to the utmost the exertions of every pupil and officer under us. We have provided that talent should have the means to rise, but that its elevation should be gradual; that each step in its progress should lead naturally to the next; and that, at each stage, the abilities of the person, his disposition and manners, should be prepared for the further advancement that awaits him. The unpaid may become a paid monitor; the paid monitor a candidate teacher in one of our district model schools; then a teacher in an ordinary school; next a student in the ordinary training class in Dublin. He may afterwards, perhaps, be advanced into the special training class; may possibly become a teacher in one of our district model schools; thence rise to be a Sub-inspector; then an Inspector; or eventually a Head Inspector. There will thus be formed a connected chain of promotion, of which the first link will be fixed in the village school, and the last in our central establishment.

The mobility and training schemes were elaborated and administered by senior officials of the board, including the new resident commissioner, Alexander Macdonnell, the senior secretary, Maurice Cross, the four head inspectors, and the two professors in the board's central training establishment. This group effectively administered the national system as it grew from 2,000 schools with some 233,000 pupils in 1840, to 5,000 schools and over 550,000 pupils on rolls by 1853. The number of commissioners was increased from the original seven to fourteen, but the new members were mainly "...gentlemen connected with the profession of the law," who as Senior Secretary Cross pointed out to the 1854 Select Committee of the House of Lords inquiring into the Irish national system:

...cannot, from the nature of their avocations, attend the meetings of the Board so frequently, nor can they devote so much attention to the details of business as would be desirable for a mere administrative body.
Heading the central administration was Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, resident commissioner for over thirty years, from 1839 to 1871. He sought the growth of an efficient central administration and the integration of local schools with the interests of the centre, especially through mobility and training schemes and the establishment of model schools. As many liberal Irish administrators, he believed that Ireland could be drawn closer to England by means of just and generous government, an essential part of which was "...sound education for the poor of Ireland of all denominations, free from the suspicion of proselytism." This absolute commitment to non sectarian education made him, despite his being a member of the Established church, acceptable as resident commissioner to the Catholic commissioners, Archbishop Murray and A. R. Blake.

Maurice Cross, as senior secretary to the board, also came to possess considerable power in relation to both the board and the central administration, and particularly over the flow of information from the administration to the board. He also sat in on board meetings and prepared the minutes. The board appears to have been appreciative of his services: when he was appointed senior secretary at an increased salary in 1841, it was noted in the minutes that "...the commissioners were unanimously of the opinion that the ... zeal and ability displayed by him at all times in discharge of his duties fully entitle him to this augmentation of his salary." Cross's own career epitomised the upward social mobility now sponsored by the board: he had begun as monitor in Lancaster's Borough Road School and was subsequently appointed teacher in the Frederick St. Lancastrian school in Belfast. He taught in this interdenominational school for some seventeen years, and after a period as manager of a Belfast bank, during which time he was secretary to the school's management committee, he was appointed joint secretary to the board in 1838. He held the post of senior secretary for over twenty years, resigning in 1863.

The inspectorate, with the two professors in the teacher training
college, were responsible to the board for the detailed specification and administration of the examination curriculum through which training and mobility was controlled. The first four inspectors appointed by the board in 1832 were described by Carlile as "gentlemen of respectable character," some of whom were preparing for the bar, others leaving posts in secondary schools to join the board. Four inspectors were initially appointed in 1832 and a further four in 1833, in 1839 the number of inspectors was increased to 25. By the end of the 1840's the number had risen to 40 and in the 1850's rose again to over 60. Half the inspectors appointed were Protestants and half Catholics, and this religious allocation was strictly maintained in all appointments. In 1846 the inspectorate was reorganized into a hierarchy which included 34 district inspectors and four head inspectors. Each district inspector was required to reside in the school district for which he was responsible, to supervise the development of the local model school and to inspect other schools in his district. He supervised examinations for monitors and candidate teachers, and for teachers undertaking classifying examinations in his district; enquired into applications for aid, and undertook any other duties the board or head inspectors might assign.

At local level inspectors had the power to judge and reward the 'good conduct' and merit of pupils and teachers who were potentially upwardly mobile within the national system. The inspectors' power to enforce the teaching of a specific curriculum was greatly increased by this power to define and assess 'good conduct'. 'Good conduct' included an assessment of the 'order and discipline of the school' and the 'efficiency of the teacher', which might be assessed by the extent to which time-tables recommended by the centre were established, publicly exhibited and adhered to, as well as the range of subjects taught and the method in which they were taught. Another source of their power, was the fact they were the only official information source on the
operation of the national system throughout the country, and their recommendations for change thus appeared to arise from the practical base of knowledge and experience. These recommendations, as well as their assessment of individual teachers, received extensive official publicity in the board's annual reports: in the 1851 report, the report of the commissioners, written by Macdonnell, was some forty-six pages. It was offered as a preface to two volumes, totally some 1,250 pages, of appendices, mainly of inspectors' reports and tabulations. A great number of the tables gave the results of the teachers' classifying examinations, giving the name of each individual teacher and specifying his achieved grade in each examined subject. Furthermore, the results of the inspection of individually named schools were published, under such specific headings as, 'order and discipline of school' and 'efficiency of teacher'. It was thus publically stated of one unfortunate teacher that he was "...a young man of very limited attainments, and without proper knowledge of the art of teaching, his mode of examination is quite mechanical and his questions are neither judicious nor put with animation." 30

The rules governing the appropriate behaviour of inspectors had indeed changed from the early 1830's when they were required to suggest educational improvements to teachers privately and "...with the most perfect kindness and respect." 31

Cooperating with the inspectorate in the design of the examination system were the two professors in the central training establishment. McArthur in the 1830's had instituted a three months course, during which teachers were taken through the books published by the board, in particular the lesson books, instructed in English grammar, geography, mathematics and book-keeping, and in the intellectual mode of instruction. 32

McArthur died in 1837, but despite initial plans to expand teacher training facilities and to appoint five professors 33 only two were appointed: Mr. Sullivan and Mr. McCauley. Robert Sullivan was a
member of the Established church and a graduate of the Academical Institute in Belfast. It was through the influence of Archbishop Whately that he was appointed as an inspector in 1832. In 1839 he was appointed professor in the teacher training college, responsible for instructing teachers in English grammar and literature, political economy, geography and history, logic and education methods. 

Mr. McGauley was a Roman Catholic priest, and was appointed professor in 1840. He was responsible for instructing teachers in mathematics and in the natural and physical sciences.

Despite these new appointments it was not until 1847 that the length of training for teachers was increased from three to five months, with an average of two hundred and fifty students trained each year. 

Also constituted was a special class of thirty:

...composed of fifteen males and fifteen females, who remain in their respective establishments for the space of two years, while the others return to their schools, after the completion of a five months course. Vacancies as they occur in this special class, are filled up principally by deserving teachers, selected from the best of those who have already passed through the ordinary course of training. 

By 1851 almost 5,000 teachers had been trained by the national system. However, there was a continuous drainage of qualified teachers to more lucrative appointments, leaving national schools with only 2,000 trained teachers out of a total of 5,000 teachers. In an attempt to encourage untrained teachers to instruct themselves in that knowledge felt to be appropriate for national school teachers (i.e. the national school lesson books) the board introduced a system of classificatory examinations, on the results of which the teacher's remuneration from the board was based. A relatively unsophisticated classification system of three grades and a probationary class was inaugurated in 1839 and administered by the district inspectors. In a circular for that year it was stated:
All new teachers appointed to conduct National Schools from 1st April, 1840, will be placed in the probationary class, in which they must remain for at least one year. They are then to be examined [by the district inspector], or if in the Training School, by the professors, and if deemed sufficiently qualified will be placed in a higher class, and receive the appropriate remuneration.

The classification thus attained was not permanent:

...it may be forfeited by misconduct, violation of rules or inefficiency. Special examinations will be held at stated periods ... with a view of raising meritorious teachers to a higher Class, or of depressing others, who may have conducted themselves improperly, or whose schools have declined in consequence of their inattention.

By 1847, this system of four grades had mushroomed into nine, with related salaries ranging from £10 to £30 per annum for men, £9 to £24 per annum for women. At this point it was decided at the central office to establish uniform classificatory examinations for all teachers, designed and administered by the four head inspectors. In the following year all the male national teachers in the country undertook classifying examinations, and were consequently assigned to the class to which they were entitled. The 1848 report of the commissioners, commented, "...there is every prospect that the arrangement we have adopted will secure still further improvement" in the qualification of masters.

The examination and classification of female teachers took place in the following year.

Not all at the central establishment were equally enthusiastic regarding the classification examinations and contest mobility of trained teachers. Professor Sullivan felt that it was not always advantageous to encourage teachers to move up the classification system. It was perhaps better if the teacher "... is a humble-minded man, as this is one of the best qualifications he could have as a teacher of the poor." Likewise he suggested
that Ireland did not need a highly educated class of teachers:

"A highly educated, ambitious, and badly paid class of teachers will be productive of harm rather than good: too many proofs of this we have seen already."\(^45\)

The centre's control was further extended by the establishment of model schools. The commissioners, as early as 1834, suggested a system of district model schools throughout the country for the intermediate education of candidate teachers. The lack of an intermediate education system for the 'middling classes' in Ireland at that time, it was suggested, necessitated this plan. In their second report (1834) they proposed that aspiring teachers should receive some preparatory training in one of 32 district model schools before moving up to the central training establishment in Dublin.\(^46\) In 1837, they reiterated and extended this plan, proposing to add an agricultural department to each model school where feasible.\(^47\) It was not, however, until 1846 that detailed plans for the establishment of model schools were drawn up by Macdonnell\(^48\) and approved by the Lord Lieutenant.\(^49\) Having in 1844 established their legal right to acquire property by a Charter of Incorporation, the commissioners planned to build model schools which would be:

...vested in the Board and be placed under their sole control ...without the intervention of local patrons; [the inspector] of the district acting as manager of the school, under the commissioners. \(^50\)

Model schools, when situated in a large country town, were to consist of an infant, a male and a female school, each capable of accommodating one hundred children. Should the model school be situated in a smaller country town, the infant school was to be replaced by an agricultural school. Sufficient space was to be left for the erection, at a future time, "...of a middle-class school-house, and an industrial
department, should the commissioners desire to establish such in connexion with the district model school." The building and maintenance of these schools proved more expensive than the board had anticipated: it cost nearly £5,000 to erect each school, and £400 for its annual running cost. Nevertheless, by 1853 nine model schools were in operation. Ideally, model schools in each school district were to "...afford unity and full efficiency to the national system." They were to operate not only as exemplary schools, but as a focal point for the upwardly mobile monitor and school teacher.

Curriculum structure and pedagogy

The mobility schemes developed within the national system decisively influenced the curricular structure and content, and pedagogy, by formulating rigid examination requirements in specific, bounded subjects. The emphasis changed from the unifying inclusiveness of a God manifested in and through all knowledge as in 1830s, to discrete pieces of examinable information, in which memory of the contents of tabulated subjects, rather than the imaginative inclusiveness of a chain-of-being, came to predominate. It was also during the 1840's that the subjects on the curriculum came to be segregated into time slots, with the time table, its public display in the school room and rigid adherence to its plan, becoming a matter of grave importance to inspectors. The time table routine was held to be a primary symbol of the order and discipline of the school, and, no doubt, its public nature made it eminently observable and thus examinable by the inspectors. Thus, in the head inspectors' reports for 1851, Head Inspector Kavanagh criticised the lack of method and organisation in the ordinary national schools, in these terms:

The Time Tables are not filled up properly in many schools, and in some they are mere blanks. These are grave faults. The exercise of each class should be specified on this table, and the time given to them; and once marked down, the order of the exercises and the time noted for each, should be faithfully adhered to, the time table being meant to be the law of the school. 55
The time table routinized the daily teaching and acquisition of educational knowledge in the classroom. The examination programme routinized the annual curriculum - at least for senior classes. And for junior classes (i.e. pupils in the first to third lesson books, or to the age of fourteen when the monitory course began), the commissioners' annual reports reproduced the time-tables and exemplary programmes followed at some of the district model schools, see Table 4 below.

Pupils in fourth and fifth classes were usually 14 - 18 years of age, spending two years in each class and, if undertaking the monitors' programme, took four examinations. This four year programme for paid monitors was drawn up in 1847 by the professors, who reported to a sub-committee of the board. The district inspectors were also asked to submit suggestions. The final course decided upon was structured almost exclusively around a progressive and detailed knowledge of the board's text books as can be seen from the table below. This programme was of great importance as it provided the basis on which the examination programmes for candidate teachers, teachers in training, and teachers undergoing classifying examinations were built. The classifying examinations for teachers, primarily designed to encourage untrained teachers to educate themselves in the board's texts, required third and second class teachers to exhibit a knowledge on a par with that required of paid monitors and candidate teachers, while aspirants to the first class were required to follow a course similar to that pursued under the professors in the central training establishment, including Professor McGauley's Lectures on Natural Philosophy.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Lesson books¹</th>
<th>English language</th>
<th>Geography</th>
<th>History</th>
<th>Mathematics</th>
<th>Science</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Class</td>
<td>First Book of Lessons</td>
<td>Spelling</td>
<td>Map of the World</td>
<td>Elementary notions of geography, trace outline maps</td>
<td>Mental Arithmetic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Class</td>
<td>Second Book of Lessons, or part of</td>
<td>Writing, spelling, (portion of first part of S.B.S.), grammar</td>
<td>Ancient History</td>
<td>Arithmetic: Mental/Slate Tables</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower division</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Class</td>
<td>Sequence to Second Book of Lessons</td>
<td>Writing, spelling, (first part of S.B.S.), grammar: elementary notions</td>
<td>Maps of Ireland and Europe, trace outline maps</td>
<td>Ancient History</td>
<td>Arithmetic: Mental/Slate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upper division</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Class</td>
<td>Third Book of Lessons</td>
<td>Writing, spelling, (first part of S.B.S. with rules for spelling), grammar</td>
<td>Europe, Asia, Ireland, outline maps</td>
<td>Arithmetic: from simple division to compound rules, and reduction</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Class</td>
<td>Fourth Book of Lessons, or part of</td>
<td>S.B.S., specified portion of reading text and grammar text, etymology, and book of poetry</td>
<td>Ireland, England, Palestine; Mathematical geography; outline maps</td>
<td>Outlines of Modern History</td>
<td>Mechanics⁷</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Class</td>
<td>Specified portion of Fifth Book of Lessons</td>
<td>S.B.S., grammar, etymology, book of poetry, precis of lesson from early lesson books</td>
<td>Asia, British Empire and Palestine; Mathematical geography</td>
<td>From Fifth Book and Sullivan's Introduction</td>
<td>As above</td>
<td>Scientific sections from Third, Fourth &amp; Fifth Books and Agricultural Classes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes to Table 4

1. These would usually include: scripture lessons; moral tales, fables and poems; natural history and geography; political economy; and in the Fifth Book... history and science.

2. R. Sullivan, Spelling Book Sperseded.

3. The usual texts were R. Sullivan's, Geography Generalized and Introduction to Geography....

4. The four year examination programme for monitors was drawn from and helped define the programme for fourth and fifth classes.

5. The usual texts were: the Commissioner's, Introduction to the Art of Reading and R. Sullivan, Introduction to Grammar.

6. The usual text was M. Cross, Selections from British Poets.

7. Only in some model schools.

8. Fifth classes in model schools, and for the monitors' programme, might also be taught book-keeping, R. Whately's, Elements of Logic and Easy Lessons on Money Matters. Teaching practice was also required on the monitors' programme, as was needlework for girls with a less extensive science and mathematics programme.
The board's examinations required a detailed memorization of the facts presented in the lesson books, and in Whately's, Sullivan's and McGauley's text books, as well as an analytical knowledge of the English language and a competency in mathematics. Head Inspector Kavanagh, commenting on the results of the classifying examinations held in 1848, stated that the answering of teachers who had attended national schools:

...was in general very superior to that of other teachers; characterized by that intellectual sharpness, technical accuracy, and logical clearness, arising from their having been required from their childhood to express their ideas in correct, and where the subject admitted, demonstrative language.

When the monitors' programme is compared with that for pupil teachers in England, introduced in 1846, it may be noted that the Irish programme was more detailed and centrally controlled in terms of specifying the precise texts required. It also required more extensive knowledge in such subjects as natural history, natural philosophy and agriculture, as well as political economy and logic. It did not examine vocal music or the ability to teach drill, or religious knowledge as required of English monitors. Indeed the commissioners and Professor Sullivan considered the natural philosophy requirements as too extensive and attempted:

...to abridge and simplify the course of instruction to teachers in training, in order that their attention may be principally devoted to those branches which are most essential to an official performance of the duties devolving upon them, as teachers of the poorer classes.
They observed "...that much time is devoted to lectures on Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Optics, which they consider might be abridged."64

The curriculum for all classes was structured around the board’s publications and subsidized books. These increased in number during the 1840's with Archbishop Whately and other members of the central establishment preparing new texts. Archbishop Whately revised and extended the series of lesson books, included two sequels to the Second Book of Lessons, and changing the Reading Book for Use in Female Schools, to the Sequel to the Fourth Book of Lessons. His Easy Lessons on Money Matters and Easy Lessons on Reasoning were also sanctioned for use in national schools and sold at subsidized prices, as were two religious texts, Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences and Lessons on the Truth of Christianity. Professor Sullivan prepared Spelling Book Superseded, Introduction to Grammar, and The Literary Class Book, as well as Introduction to Geography..., and Geography Generalised;65 Senior Secretary Cross prepared Selections from British Poets and Biographical Sketches of British Poets,66 and Professor McGauley, Lectures on Natural Philosophy. All of these were sanctioned by the commissioners for use in national schools and sold as a subsidized rate. The centre’s power to directly control educational knowledge was greatly augmented by its ability to edit and publish its own textbooks, to supply them as free stock or at reduced prices, and by its power to place a premium on the exclusive use of the board’s texts through control of the examination programme. The
professors held a further power in being frequently asked by the commissioners to advise on the sanctioning or vetoing of a wide range of texts from other sources.67

Also integrating and mobilizing the centre's control was a belief in the capacity of a 'rational' education as defined by the centre, to bring about moral elevation. During the 1840's and 50's the primacy of a moral education, with intellectual education as a necessary prerequisite to this, was emphasised by Archbishop Whately, Professor Sullivan and Mr. Young - headmaster of the central infant model school.68 All were members of the Established church and all wrote pedagogic texts for teachers in training,69 informed by the ideal of integrating moral and intellectual education. For Whately, education in rational principles would dispel error, crime and disharmony, for children but needed instruction in the ways of 'right reason' to know their duty.70

Young and Sullivan appear to have been rather less confident in the absolute powers of reason to teach morality, and tended to emphasize the primary inculcation of moral habits to which reason might then lend support. Young quoted Locke on the need to inculcate moral habits at an early age when the passions and affections 'are most yielding and susceptible.'71 Directly following Locke's educational advice, Young repeated the need to protect the young mind from evil influences, to encourage every good influence and to constantly watch for, and repress, evil tendencies.72 In developing the child's capacity for self denial and self control, however, one needed "...a corresponding development of the reasoning and intellectual faculties, thereby to enable the pupil to govern and regulate his conduct."73 But, as Sullivan, emphasised:

...mere literary education without moral training is to be deprecated rather than desired. ... In fact, if children be not taught the duties of love and obedience to parents, respect and subordination to superiors, the principles of truth and honesty, and in a word, the precepts and practice of morality, it is better for themselves, and safer for society, to leave them entirely uneducated; for bad as ignorance is, education without morality is a thousand times worse. 74
Young and Sullivan both supported Lockian and Pestalozzian educational ideas regarding the need to develop in the child the capacity for accurate observation of "...real sounds, real forms, real colours, real things," and a capacity to describe these accurately. The senses needed to be trained as they were the source of all our knowledge. The reasoning powers might then 'arrange and combine' these sense impressions by the powers of comparison and combination. This was the process which also concerned Whately in his *Easy Lessons on Reasoning*. As well as the Pestalozzian rhetoric, however, Young and Sullivan also emphasized the need to 'exercise' the memory through the learning of rhymes and poems, rules of grammar, classifications of animals, and geographical knowledge. Thus, the memory would become as Locke had suggested "...the treasury or storehouse of all our ideas, ...arranged and ready for use when we require them." Combined religious instruction

In the late 1830's and early 1840's Whately induced the board to add two of his religious texts for children to the commissioners' list of sanctioned books for use during combined religious instruction. These were, *Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences* and a version of this apologetical tract, *Lessons on the Truth of Christianity*, revised by Reverend Carlile, approved by Archbishop Murray, and published by the board in 1838. However, it should be noted that the board had decided in 1842 to no longer include the religious books it published, i.e. *Lessons on the Truth of Christianity, Scripture Lessons* and *Sacred Poetry*, in its supply of free stock to each school. Instead, only one copy of each of these texts was supplied with the rest of the stock. Then, should the manager require further supplies, he received them gratuitously on application to the board. During the 1840's the board permitted the use of these religious texts during the hours of combined instruction. Should parents object, however, they were only to
be read either before or after school hours, when children whose parents objected would not be obliged to attend. 79

The rationalist tendencies of all Whately's work were again apparent in these books. He stated in his introduction to Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences that he had written it with the purpose of "...brining before the minds either of young people of the age of 14 or 15 ... evidences that shall engage their attention and afford them rational conviction," 80 of their christian faith. And, as "...all matter of controversy between different Churches have been carefully excluded from these lessons," he suggested that they were thus "...adapted to the use of all professed Christians of whatever denomination." 81 Yet, privately he wrote to the Bishop of Norwich:

I am beginning to give an outline of the evidences, chiefly for the benefit of the Roman Catholics, who are in great danger from the sudden influx of light, and yet we are neither authorised nor able to keep them any longer in Darkness. 82

In the revised version, Lessons on the Truth of Christianity, the first two chapters of the Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences, which had emphasised the superiority of belief based on reason rather than on tradition, were omitted completely. Instead, a rather confused lesson attempted to accommodate conflicting groups by stating, firstly, that children ought to be grateful to God for being born and educated as christians; secondly, that they should not question the christian instruction they received as it was not "...to be expected that a child should be able to weigh the proofs of the Christian religion," and thus "...must depend upon his parents, or on those religious teachers, under whom his parents may place him, for religious instruction." 83 Yet, thirdly, it was suggested that the pupil "...should be made early acquainted with some better reasons for being a Christian than that his parents were before him;" 84 and that his faith should be protected by reason rather than tradition. Again in the concluding chapters, taken
in the main unrevised from the Evidences, Whately stated categorically:

God has provided evidence to prove the truth of Christianity and has given us the faculty of reason, by which we can understand that evidence; and what is more, he has expressly directed us to make use of that faculty. 85

Moral lessons and poetry

In the religious and moral tales, fables and poems in the revised series of lesson books, Whately was much concerned to define and illustrate the rational principles or maxims by which men should direct their behaviour. To both Whately and Carlile, God was the father, shepherd and creator of all, and Whately retained Carlile's lessons, which reinforced this theme. 86 These lessons suggested that God sanctioned behaviour by praising the good and withdrawing his love from the wicked, so also did those in authority on earth: the parent, teacher and master. Whately's moral tales reiterate this frequently - the industrious boy earned the praise of the master, the truthful boy the praise of his father. 87 Whately omitted evangelical themes on death and fear of God, substituting lessons which emphasized that man was endowed by God with reason and that it was his duty to acknowledge the principles of right action and act upon them. Having identified one's duty, one conscientiously fulfilled its requirements never squandering "...precious time" when "...it is our duty to be busy." 88 Such conscientious action, it was always noted, brought its own rewards - those of an easy conscience, the praise of others and the continuing presence and grace of God. 89

The tales presented a rural or village setting within which social roles were clearly demarcated and the social duties attached to them strictly labelled: the benevolence of the rich, the deference of the poor, the obedience of the child, and the honesty, industry, good order and courtesy of all. Within this established setting one's moral duty was clear and unquestioned. It might be noted that the poems presented
by Maurice Cross in Selections from British Poets, under the heading 'Characters', also concentrated almost totally on characters taken from village or country life: the village schoolmaster and mistress, the country parson, the shepherd, pedlar and village blacksmith, the blind or deaf village boy. Each was described within the established and contented limits of a rural setting: "Toiling, rejoicing, sorrowing,/Onward through life he goes; / Each morning sees some task begin, / Each evening sees it close ..."90 And within this traditional social scene each owed gratitude to God for the gifts of life, health and reason, and the duty to use these gifts in healthy labour and rational foresight. The ideal child of the labouring classes was like Martha Dunn - a hard working, obedient, cheerful and obliging orphan, who despite being a cripple, gave thanks to God and was contented with her lot. She applied herself to her books, "...became the village schoolmistress, and lived to a good old age, beloved and respected by rich and poor."91

In the lesson books Whately was concerned to specify role obligations clearly and didactically. The role of the ideal school pupil was a particular favourite. The ideal national school pupil was tidy, clean, punctual and conformed to school rules. He learned to read, which was to his own use and advantage, but for which he would have "...to give an account of on the day of judgement."92 He learned of the world around him and also received a knowledge of the scriptures, and it was "...a great blessing to be able to read them for yourselves, your friends and to the sick."93 Furthermore, the national school pupil should not forget that it was through the benevolence of the government and gentry and of "...very many other persons in your country and in England," who were "...taking the trouble to have the poor taught,"94 that he was being educated at all.

In the new Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons, a revised version of Carlile's Reading Book for Female Schools, some of the
lessons relating to the domestic role of women were retained, but the lessons idolizing women and motherhood, as well as the many poems on the death of a mother were omitted. Women, as well as men, were admonished to be well ordered, industrious and rational in their behaviour and the lesson on the almost sanctified competence of women when caring for the sick which was quoted in the last chapter was omitted entirely in favour of two new lessons which itemized clearly and distinctly the duties of a kind and efficient nurse. Whately's lessons allowed neither saints nor heroes: it was noted in a lesson in Fourth Book..., that those in low estate tended to view those in power as either tyrants or heroes, while in fact, "Neither black nor gold are they,/ But everyone a sober grey." Thus, was the world to be disenchanted, in favour of the efficient and dutiful.

The moral tales presented by Whately were quite different to the elementary lessons presented by Carlile. This can be clearly seen by comparing one of Whately's lessons entitled 'The two gardens', with Carlile's lesson entitled 'The flower garden', which was omitted in Whately's revision. Whately's lesson was a moral tale in which the cultivation of a garden by the impatient Tom was contrasted with its cultivation by the patient Kate. Inevitable rewards accrued to Kate, while Tom achieved nothing. Carlile's lesson was quite different and exemplified an imaginative chain-of-being linking child, nature and God, for:

...it is the art and industry of man, with the blessing and influence of heaven which has made it [the cultivated garden] so beautiful a scene; for what would it have been without these? A wild desert, full of thistle and thorns. Such also would youth be, if it were not trained with the greatest care and attention. But when young people early receive useful instruction, and are wisely directed, they are like lovely blossoms, which delight us with their beauty, and will soon produce food and pleasant fruit.
Whately's was a social world in which neither romanticism nor evangelical enthusiasm was allowed to disrupt the established tabulation of clearly designated social roles and their appended duties. Maurice Cross, in both his *Selections from British Poets* and his *Biographical Sketches of Eminent British Poets*, reinforced these moral themes. The books placed primacy on instilling moral objectives and assumed that these might be impressed upon the mind by literary means. In the *Selections from British Poets* the prevailing mood of the "specimens" selected from the poetry of Chaucer through to Wordsworth, was an apparently necessary poetic melancholia. Human life was seen as inevitably imbued with pain, a definition supported by innumerable melancholic lingerings on the suffering and shortness of man's journey through life, on the pain and sorrow of those mourning the death of a loved one, and on the futility and vanity of "Fame, honour, beauty, state, train, blood and birth," in the face of the levelling process of death.

Given this definition of life as inevitably full of sorrow and pain, patience and resignation to one's earthly lot were the main virtues extolled - especially for the poor: "Content with poverty my soul I arm / And virtue, though in rags, will keep me warm." This resignation was founded on faith and hope in God, for who was man to question life's vicissitudes: "...an erring and sinning child of dust / Should not wonder, nor murmur, but hope and trust." Resignation was indeed a potent virtue - transforming a fear of death to a welcoming of its peace and tranquillity, and transforming potential discontent into an acceptance of the "...daily round / Of duty and of love." Thus might man achieve the contentment brought by virtuous duty, not least of which was the gratification of hearing "...the still small voice of conscience speak / Its whispering plaudits to the silent soul." Moral objectives were also paramount in the *Biographical Sketches of Eminent British Poets*, for biography, it was suggested, affected
"The improvement of the mind by means of example, which is frequently more powerful in its influence than precept."

Some biography in particular, it was stated, "...cannot be studied without producing a moral affect on the mind. The biographies of this class have been given more fully than in other compendiums of a similar kind."

The biographies were presented chronologically from Chaucer through to Burns, with the historical details carefully sifted of topics "...of a controversial nature, whether ... political or religious..."

The poetry of each was assessed by quoting at length the critical writings of "Competent judges of poetic merit." These authorities had frequently been published in such oracles of tabulated knowledge as the British Cyclopaedia, the Penny Cyclopaedia, Chamber's Cyclopaedia of English Literature, and the Encyclopedia Britannica. The columns of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews were also drawn upon. Assessment of poetic merit, especially of those considered 'great poets,' usually strung together a series of bland superlatives:

The great merit of Chaucer consists in his infantime, his Homeric simplicity, and his truely dramatic delineations. He is perhaps the most picturesque poet we possess. ... His morning sketches are bright with perpetual sunshine; his flowers are always in bloom, fragrant with odoriferous perfumes and gemmed with sparkling dewdrops. He reveals an everlasting spring, which is cheered with the singing of "small birds", and rendered delightful by sights and sounds, the impressive indications of rural happiness.

Added to this poetic assessment by superlatives was a moral grid in terms of which the biographical details of each poet was assessed, in particular his industriousness and temperance. Thus was the life and poetry of each tabulated, labelled and controlled. No heroes, no tragedies, but the melancholia of the 'sober grey', and the morality of conscientious attention to daily duty.

Nature, natural history and agriculture

Two major lesson forms - the poetic and the scientific - were used to present a knowledge of the order of nature. These two forms, it was suggested, were complementary, as Cross stated in his Selections from British...
Poets, the poetry of nature might stimulate "...a taste for the cultivation of the science itself." The conjunction of the two, it was felt, "...if pursued aright, assists in cultivating qualities both of head and heart, of the highest importance in the performance of our social duties as members of society." The moral purpose for which this poetry was taught was also clearly stated. It was to bring about that useful combination of sanctification and pacification so prevalent in the 1840 text books:

They will awaken and nurture in [the young mind] the purest and most benevolent feelings. They will foster a growing admiration of the magnificent works of the Almighty. They will induce, perhaps, the youthful student, after reading with delight the sublime effusions of the great Masters of the Lyre, to contemplate, in a spirit of reverence, humility and gratitude the living volume of Nature. Studies of this kind, next to the devout exercises of religion, bring us into close communion with the great architect of the universe...

It was also noted that "In the workshop of the artizan, the cottage of the peasant, and the field walk of the agricultural labourer, the sweet and inspiring strains of our Descriptive and Moral poets would be safe and useful companions."

Nature was defined in the poetry texts as ordered and structured. In particular, it was structured into discrete time units: seasonal, monthly and daily variations. Cross gave each of these time units a separate section, in which stereotyped 'natural' sensations and observations appropriate to each were presented. Thus spring 'meant' the joy of rebirth, it meant gentle winds and soft showers; daisies, primroses and violets; butterflies and bees; the swallow and the robin; the frisking lamb. Summer was equated with mirth and music: "the chirp, the hum, song, low and bleat;" the air "soft and sultry and profound;" the "ranging moon" and cooling wind at evening; the cattle, deer and dog; the bee, butterfly and grasshopper. Some of the poems on autumn and all those on winter identified these seasons with the 'black despair' and 'formless wild' of death: "Harrow wide extends his desolate domain." But inevitably: "Virtue sole survives,
Immortal never-failing friend of man."  

Poems on the daily cycle of morning, evening and night emphasized the gentle and essentially benevolent, passage of cyclical time: the sun brought mildly forth the morning and commanded man, beasts, birds and insects to renew their daily tasks. In the calm, tender and serene twilight, the setting sun was seen as uniting heaven with earth, as the contented labourer returned home to rest. In the solitude of night all was still. Nature was personified - the sun was masculine, the earth feminine and they brought forth fruitfully "God's simple common things," - the flowers, such as the 'humble primrose' with its 'bonny face', the trees and the birds of the English countryside, domesticated animals and man. The earth and sky, man and nature were interrelated and without conflict.

The poems selected by Cross represented, in the main, the neoclassical poetry of the 18th century, which formed part of what Walter Ong has called the 'commonplace tradition'. Only a few poems by the romantic poets were included. One such was Byron's 'The Ocean', in which the poet's desire for total integration with the wild and uncontrollable ocean was quite strange in contrast to the placidity and contentment described in the majority of the poems.

Before moving on to describe the explicitly scientific paradigm, some lessons, similar in form to those presented by Carlile in the earlier texts, will be discussed. Each of these lessons was devoted to a discrete natural phenomenon. It normally included a variety of details regarding the phenomenon's external characteristics, its habitat and its uses to man, as well as tales and fables, occasional scriptural references and other curious, interesting and instructive bits and pieces. This form had frequently been used by Carlile and was retained in some of the lesson books by Whately. It was retained in the Second Book of Lessons.
which concentrated on descriptions of the more domesticated animals such as the horse, cow and hen; in the Third Book of Lessons which concentrated on the wilder animals, the fox, lion, deer, panther, tiger and elephant; and was introduced into the new Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons which looked at some birds, insects and plants. Whately retained many of the animal fables introduced by Carlile, and indeed added some more. Accounts of these anthromorphasised animals taught the inevitable duties of contentment and obedience, kindness and industriousness (who else but the ant and bee), and the fall which followed the vice of pride. It is of interest to note that Whately did exclude two fables commented upon in the last chapter. These referred to 'upstarts' - 'The daw with borrowed feathers,' and 'The butterfly and the snail.' Perhaps in the meritocracy instituted by the commissioners of national education and the central administration, fables regarding the ascendancy of ascribed over achieved status were no longer relevant. It was now legitimate, and indeed central within the educational system, to aspire to the 'borrowed feathers' on the next rung of the meritocratic ladder.

While Whately retained the form of the discrete instructive lesson on a given natural phenomenon, he changed the content of some of these, particularly those on wild animals presented in the Third Book of Lessons. In Carlile's series, a lesson on the tiger had detailed its beauty, fearlessness, viciousness and its "...insatiable thirst after blood." Whately omitted these references completely. He replaced them with a tale of the taming of a tiger, its affection for its keeper, and its transportation to England in a cage. Likewise new lessons were added on the taming of a panther, its gentleness and transportation to England; on an elephant, its taming and use by man; and a lesson on the shooting of a lion. Nature in Whately's lessons was no longer untamed, wild and threatening to man, but potentially controllable and for man's use. If nature was
mysterious it was in the details of its internal operation, in particular when analysed under a microscope, \(^{122}\) not because it was totally 'other', strange and threatening to man.

The order of nature was intelligible, classifiable and controllable. The demystification and tabulation of nature also informed the new scientific lessons on natural history and the application of this knowledge to agriculture. The whole of nature was open to 'objective' examination and classification and might thus become available to the control of man. New lessons on zoology, botany, chemistry, mineralogy and agriculture set out this tabulated knowledge.

At the most general level, nature was classifiable into three kingdoms:

All that we know of the works of God connected with our own world, has been placed under three heads, which have been called Kingdoms in nature, or rather Natural Kingdoms; because they are each subjected by God's providence to certain laws or rules, by which their order is maintained, even as kingdoms among men are governed by rules laid down and maintained by the king's authority. \(^{123}\)

The 'laws' or 'rules' presented as maintaining order in the animal and vegetable kingdoms were the structural-functional differences between sets of phenomena, which, when observed, compared and classified led to the establishment of detailed classificatory tables.

It was felt to be eminently important to the development of the moral and reasoning faculties of pupils to inform them of this order in nature. Not only was the content of this knowledge useful, but learning how to observe, order and classify was good in itself. Mr. Young of the infant school suggested that "Mere miscellaneous information given without order is not useful. Some plan must be followed, and a broad and simple classification should be adopted and taught at the commencement." \(^{124}\) Teaching the lower classes this God given order of nature was assumed to exercise the faculty of observation, to develop habits of organization and arrangement, to encourage reasoning, to afford
"...inexhaustible pleasures" and to be associated with "...devotional feelings." 125

New lessons on zoology were introduced by Whately into the Sequel No. II to the Second Book of Lessons, which described six orders of birds and some seven orders of quadrupeds. In the Fourth Book... he continued by giving a detailed classification of vertebrates: mammals, birds, reptiles and fishes. The commissioners of national educational also sanctioned for senior classes, two new texts devoted to zoology, R. Patterson's Introduction to Zoology for the Use of Schools and his First Steps to Zoology. In these Patterson followed Cuvier's structural-functional classification of animals. He proceeded systematically through each of the classes and orders of animals beginning with the lowest invertebrate through to man. The discriminating characteristics of each class and order were defined, as well as giving a description of its habitat, its external characteristics, its senses, movement, respiration, digestion and reproduction, with examples and illustrations. This was a hierarchical classification with man at its apex, for by God's decree, man "...stands in the scale of the animal creation apart and unapproachable, gifted with dominion over 'the beasts of the field, the fowl of the air, and the fish of the sea, and whatsoever passeth through the paths of the sea.'" 126

Lessons on botany might also begin in the junior classes, Young suggested, with the different structure of each plant being compared with others, thus enabling students to observe how a classification system emerged. 127 A structural-functional model of plant life continued in a new section on botany in the Fourth Book of Lessons, while the section on botany (entitled vegetable physiology) in the Fifth Book of Lessons also using this model remained unchanged. This knowledge was put to practical use in the instruction on the propagation and care of flowers and fruit trees given the commissioners' new Agricultural Class Book:
How Best to Cultivate a Small Farm and Garden: together with Hints on Domestic Economy.

The chemical analysis of organic and inorganic substances was presented in Professor McGauley's Lectures on Natural Philosophy, published by the board, and in J.F. Hodges First Book of Lessons in Chemistry in its Application to Agriculture, sanctioned by the board. The practical application of this knowledge to agriculture was again presented in the board's more elementary text, Agricultural Class Book.

The fourth scientific subject expanded in the 1840 lesson books was mineralogy. It was concerned to list and describe, and at a more advanced level, chemically analyse, metals, rocks and soils. Whately, in the Fourth Book of Lessons listed and described the external characteristics and uses of a variety of stones and earths, combustible materials and metals. McGauley, in his Lectures on Natural Philosophy listed alphabetically a great variety of metals and described their chemical isolation in a laboratory setting, their chemical properties and the compounds they formed. The Agricultural Class Book at an elementary level and Hodges' at a more advanced level, gathered together the aspects of this knowledge which were relevant to agriculture. Hodges discussed the distribution of rock forms in Ireland, described the chemical properties and associated fertility of each; delineated the process of organic decay which created and fertilized the soil, and emphasized the necessity for maintaining fertility by manuring, draining and rotating crops; he discussed the chemical composition of different manures and their uses in different soils, and, completing the cycle, the process whereby plants incorporated the chemical resources of the soil. Such knowledge was necessary as old traditions and practices must give way to 'more advantageous plans' and more 'profitable cultivation,' for:

Providence has so decreed [that] not only bodily but mental exertion must be used to develop the resources of our soils. We must bring to the work ... ardent zeal, ... patient industry and science-directed skill." 128
Indeed it was man's responsibility to bring the soil to its greatest fruition, for, as Whately stated, it was God's design "...that man should exert and improve his reason and powers, by fitting for his own use the materials which the earth produced." There was a certain sting in the tail attached to this, as the Agricultural Class Book noted: "... God is so good, that though he does not suffer the ground to yield us bread without our labour, he always gives us bread for our labour." God had not only ordained hard work, but he had ordained the whole order of nature and man's dominion over it. But 'man's dominion' was to be exercised within the norms of the existing social structure, for God had likewise ordained the social order, and within it, the division of labour, "...and thus, by the design of Providence, every man was appointed to do a particular work, and the division of labour made men expert in their different callings and every class of people was benefited thereby." 

The Agricultural Class Book typified the knitting together of moral exertation and scientific knowledge. The first half of the text was concerned with soils, their draining and manuring, and with plants. This was given in catechetical style. The second half, in lesson form, was more concerned with exhorting the careless tenant to improve his holding, through industry, good organization and cleanliness. In the famine stricken Ireland of the 1840's one might wonder how legitimate national school pupils and teachers felt this to be.

Geography

As in natural history, classification was one of the keynotes of the new geographical texts - both the new lessons on geography introduced by Whately into the second, third and fourth lesson books and in Professor Sullivan's Geography Generalized and his shorter version, An Introduction to Geography, Ancient, Modern and Sacred; with an Outline of Ancient History. The classification of geographical knowledge was felt to be imperative as "It is only by methodical arrangement, clearness and
simplicity, that we can hope to impart just ideas on subjects so vast.”

The textbooks divided their subject matter under three heads: mathematical or astronomic geography, physical geography and political geography. Mathematical geography was introduced early. In the revised Second Book of Lessons the first lessons on geography were simple introductions to the shape of the globe, the divisions of the earth's surface into land and water and the four cardinal points. Sullivan suggested that teachers in the introductory geography classes should immediately acquaint pupils with the general locational ideas of geography - the cardinal points, mapping, the globe etc. These concepts, it was suggested, were best introduced by acquainting the pupils with the topography of their local district: for example, identifying the direction in which the school house faced, locating the direction of the surrounding streets, and drawing a map, to scale, of the school room.

In his Geography Generalized Sullivan opened with mathematical geography including detailed chapters on the form and motion of the earth, latitude and longitude. He noted in the preface:

...the writer is convinced, that there can be no rational, and therefore no real knowledge of geography, without clear and correct ideas of the FORM, MAGNITUDE and MOTIONS of the earth..."

In Geography Generalized, physical geography was next introduced, describing the distribution of climates, mountains, rivers and towns, plains and deserts etc. over the earth's surface, and classifying them by size, as well as describing tides and currents, the atmosphere, and the production of different weather conditions. This section concluded with a discussion of the distribution of vegetables, animals and races over the earth, classifying each.

Political geography was concerned to describe the physical features and social characteristics (political, religious and racial) of political
units. The Second Book of Lessons described the division of the world into countries and followed in the new Sequel No. I to the Second Book of Lessons with a tour of the countries and capitals of Europe.

Sullivan, in his more systematic account in Geography Generalized, described the physical and social characteristics of Europe, the British Empire, the countries of Europe beginning with Great Britain and Ireland, and on to the other continents. In relation to each area he described its boundary, its political divisions, its physical features tabulated by size, its climate, mineral products, and distribution of animals, vegetables and races.

The concept of race held a central place in all geography texts. The revised lessons in the third and fourth lesson books, as well as Sullivan’s texts, continuously labelled the racial characteristics of all those who departed from the modal British type. The concept of racial superiority was defined by degree of civilization, economic development, Christianity, education and nearness to centres of power, as well as by “...colour, features, habits and general appearance.” Europeans or Caucasians were, by definition, at the apex of this scale, and this was seen as legitimating their dominance:

In every period of their history, and in every part of the world, the European or Caucasian race have proved themselves superior to all the others in enterprise, energy and courage. The inhabitants of every country and climate have felt and acknowledged their superiority, and the whole world seems destined, at no distant day, to come under their dominion.

Britain was the inheritor and centre of this superiority:

It has been estimated that Great Britain rules over an extent of territory fifty times as large as itself, and over a population more than five times as numerous as its own. In fact the sun never sets upon the British dominions.

It was pointed out that other races and nations existed who “...do not dress as we do, nor do many things like us.” The modal type ‘us’ were British:
The people of [the British Islands] have one and the same language (all at least who are educated), one and the same queen - the same laws; and though they differ in their religious worship, they all serve the same God, and all call themselves by the name of Christ. 143

But even within these islands, the people were stratified hierarchically. The English, and particularly those living in London were at the apex. London was "...for trade and commerce, science and literature, wealth and magnificence ... the first city in the world." 144 The English were the one national group whose racial/national characteristics were never described or labelled in the text books. On the contrary, the Welsh were described as a clean, active, industrious people, who were fond of music; 145 the Lowland Scottish as steady, well educated and industrious, 146 and the Irish as:

...a clever, lively people; formerly much given to drink, and very ignorant: but now it is believed that they are one of the soberest nations of Europe; and it will be their own fault if they are not also one of the best educated. 147

Even further from the modal centre of London were the highlands of Scotland, whose inhabitants were described as "...of a totally different race from those of the lowlands, both in dress, language and race," 148 and the inhabitants of the west coast of Ireland, which was described as "...a wild district, where Irish is a good deal spoken, especially in one beautiful but barren tract, called Connemara. The people here dress differently from those of the other provinces." 149

The culture and norms of others were to be judged by the ideal-typical English pattern. The life-style of most Europeans were presented as, while not ideal, at least as coming within the limits of acceptability. As distance increased, however, so did xenophobia, finding its peak with the Laplanders, described as a "...peculiar looking people, ... in disposition they are quiet and harmless, but cowardly, indolent and extremely dirty in their habits." 150 Hungarians, Russians and Turks were also disparaged, 151 as were the Australian natives, 152 the American Indians, 153
the Esquimeaux and the Hottentots. The latter were described as "short, stunted and ugly" and as speaking an "odd language that sounds like the clucking of a hen." The low level of 'development' of these latter groups was assumed to give those at a higher level the right to dominate them.

Rev. James Carlile, after he had resigned as a commissioner of national education, prepared a geography text, Epitome of Geographical Knowledge which was published by the board. It was for the use of monitors and teachers in training, as was Sullivan's Geography Generalized. It was, however, quite different in some aspects of both form and content, being discursive rather than classificatory in style. It was also different in its approach to race and racial superiority, as may be exemplified by Carlile's description of the Hottentots:

The original natives of this region [South Africa] are called Hottentots, a harmless inoffensive race, but formerly greatly oppressed by the European settlers, particularly the Dutch. ... To the northward of these are the ... Bushmen ... [who are] greatly deteriorated by want and hardship, occasioned by the oppressive conduct of the European colonists, which has driven them from those districts in which they could obtain food, into the desert. They are of a diminutive stature, and forbidding appearance. But both they and the Hottentots are gradually being brought under Christian instruction and rising in the scale of civilization and comfort. For Carlile it was not race or wealth which made one man superior to another, but belief in Christ and virtuous conduct - conduct which did not include dominance by violent and unjust means.

Almost two-thirds of Carlile's Epitome... was concerned with what he called 'local geography' - a description of the changing political geography throughout the Primitive, Egyptian, Persian, Grecian, Roman, Middle Age and Modern periods. In this presentation he concentrated on the growth, development and decay of cities as the centres of both ancient imperial power and of contemporary power. It is of interest to note that the emphasis on imperial history presented in the 'history and chronology' section of the 1830's edition of the Fifth Book of Lessons
remained almost entirely unchanged in the 1852 edition. The emphasis was indeed reinforced by the inclusion of a longer section on the Roman Empire, detailing each of its emperors, their virtues and vices and their consequent successes or failures. A new 'history and chronology' section in the Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons was an abridged version of the history presented in the Fifth Book..., excluding some of the more bloodthirsty descriptions of battles, internecine conflict and vice which were so liberally scattered throughout the Fifth Book...

Sullivan ordered the historical information he presented in his textbooks somewhat differently to Carlile. Instead of interpreting 'historical' in the broad terms of the birth and death of empires, he added a historical sketch to the description of the physical features of each of the major nations of Europe. Within each of these exceedingly brief historical sketches, the conquests, defeats and leaders of each nation were outlined. He also included two brief chapters on sacred and ancient geography and in his Introduction to Geography..., included a 20 page sketch of ancient history.

A detailed knowledge of the classified information which was introduced into the national school texts in the 1840's was required to successfully compete in the board's many examinations. These examinations were held annually at Easter-time, and included written and oral tests into the candidates' knowledge of the lesson books, geography texts and economics, as well as on mathematics, grammar and book-keeping. Four of the nine examination papers given to pupil teachers in 1849 are reproduced on the next page, and exemplify examination demands. The type of examination questions asked remained remarkably similar right to the end of the century - relying on a detailed knowledge of the board's, Sullivan's and Whatley's texts, and adjusting only slightly as the content was revised. The other five papers to pupil teachers in 1849 included two mathematics papers, a grammar paper, a book-keeping
History.
(From 7.45 to 9.15, A.M.)
1. Chief object of History—of Chronology.
2. Name the events which mark respectively the beginning and the end of the 4th, 6th, and 8th period of 500 years from the Creation of the World.
3. Give some details concerning the Israelites under Moses.
4. Mention, with their several dates, the chief events which characterise the period of Modern History, that commences with the Crusades and ends with the discovery of America.
5. Give some account of the Crusades, and of their general influence on the civilisation of Europe.
6. Name the Sovereigns of England belonging to the House of Stuart, and relate such circumstances as you may recollect connected with any two of these Sovereigns.
7. Give a brief sketch of the three remarkable features of the last period of Modern History.

NATURAL HISTORY.
(From 7.45 till 9, A.M.)
1. Into what classes is the Mineral Kingdom divided in the Fourth Lesson Book?
2. Enumerate and describe the various forms in which lime occurs—mention some of its uses.
3. Explain the following terms:—Cotyledon, monocotyledonous, dicotyledonous, acotyledonous.
4. What is the mode of growth of the stem of monocotyledonous plants—and of dicotyledonous plants?
5. To which of these classes does the Sugar Cane belong? Describe the process by which sugar is obtained from it.
6. Enumerate the uses of the fruit of plants.
7. What natural objects are included in the Animal Kingdom?
8. Name the Four Classes of Vertebrated Animals.
9. To which class and order belongs the Dog? Name other animals of the same Order. Give a description of the Dog, and of some of the species enumerated in the Third Lesson Book.

LESSONS ON MONEY MATTERS.
(From 6.10 till 7.15, P.M.)
Write out the substance of the lesson on "Rich and Poor."
The following are the leading points to be developed:
—
Characteristic distinction between these two classes of society.
Two causes from which this distinction arises.
In what respect does property consist.
Injuries caused by laws that would, with regard to amount of property, place all persons, and oblige them to remain, upon the same footing.
Advantages resulting to all the inhabitants of a country from security of property.
The rich cannot but benefit the country.
The Apostles did not intend that the distinction between rich and poor should be abolished among Christians.
Practical lesson from seeing that all persons do not make a right use of their wealth.

GEOGRAPHY.
This Paper was drawn up by Mr. FLEWIN.
(From 7.15 till 9, P.M.)
1. Explain briefly the precise meaning of the terms Cohesion, Gravitation, Magnetism, Electricity, and state to which of these four species of attraction are we to attribute the gil-dinar form of the Earth, Planets, and Heavenly Bodies.
2. Of what two motions is the Earth's annual path around the Sun the resultant?—and what are the arguments which lead to the belief that the Earth has such a motion?
3. Supposing the mean diameter of the Earth to be 7,923 miles, state as accurately as possible the number of square miles which its surface comprises, and enumerate the steps by which you arrive at the required result.
4. Illustrate by a diagram the change of seasons—explain the principle upon which the diagram should be constructed.
5. Explain the various causes which (irrespective of latitude) may be supposed to affect the climate of a country.
6. Why has the method of dividing the Earth's surface into climates been superseeded,—and by what other system has it been replaced?
7. Of what elements is the Atmosphere composed? How is its weight ascertained?—and to which of its properties do you attribute morning and evening twilight?
8. Name the principal rivers which have their source in the mountain chains of the Alps, Apennines, Pyrenees, Himalach, and Andes.
9. Give a brief description of the leading political divisions situated in the East of Europe, Asia, America, and Africa.
10. Mention the capital cities of Europe and Asia that are not seaport towns.
11. What parts of Asia and Africa were best known to the Ancients—and what was their belief with respect to those countries which lie to the South of the Great Desert?
paper and one on teaching methods. The latter was particularly interesting as it asked examinees to set suitable written examination papers to test the proficiency of fourth class boys, thereby explicitly requiring of future teachers a competency in reproducing the existing educational system and its examination structure.

The use of formal examinations to ensure the adequate realization of the knowledge taught was not unique within Ireland to the national system. On the contrary, with regard to Trinity College Dublin, McDowell and Webb have pointed out that:

...examinations have always played a more prominent part in university life in Dublin than they have at Oxford and Cambridge. ... Dublin, in fact, possesses the questionable distinction of being the cradle of the public university examination. 162

They also noted that the knowledge required in Trinity examinations in the early 19th century emphasised the accurate and detailed knowledge of prescribed texts, and favoured "...the alert and analytical at the expense of the diffuse and imaginative."163

The subsequently history of third level education in 19th century Ireland - of the Queen's Colleges and the Royal University - is equally characterised by a continuing desire to control educational knowledge through a centrally controlled examinations. State support for intermediate education in 1878 was based on similar principles.

**The commissioners and the introduction of new curricular subjects**

While the system of teacher training and mobility gave senior officials detailed administrative control over those teaching practices and learning processes required for examination success, the commissioners retained full control over the introduction of new subjects. Four new subjects were introduced into the national school curriculum during this period: agricultural instruction for boys, more extensive and practical domestic economy for girls, linear drawing and singing. Influential in the adoption of these subjects were the educational philosophy and practices of the Committee of Council on Education, established in London.
in 1839, with Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth as its first secretary, and with whom the commissioners of national education rapidly established links, exchanging educational information and ideals.164

With regard to the teaching of singing, in 1841 the national board sent two of its teachers to Battersea Training College to learn how to teach the Hullah system of singing,165 which Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth had introduced, "...as an important means of diffusing a cheerful view of the duties of a labourer's life; of diffusing joy and honest pride over English industry."166 On their return they taught singing to the teachers in training and to the pupils at the central model school. This was deemed to be a success and worthy of extension to district model schools and ordinary national schools, if managers so desired and the teacher was competent.167

With regard to linear drawing, Dr. Kay had seen this subject successfully taught in Swiss and German schools and had subsequently introduced it at Battersea.168 The commissioners of national education wrote to Dr. Kay in 1847 requesting him to recommend a competent person who would teach this subject in their model school and Dr. Kay complied.169 The commissioners commenting on the usefulness of teaching linear drawing, stated in their report for 1847 that "The best judges on this subject have borne strong testimony to its applicability to many of the most important purposes of daily life."170 No doubt they would have considered the Wyse Select Committee as such a reputable judge: it had stated that the advantages of linear drawing:

"...as an instrument for exercising the senses and the acquisition of knowledge are numerous: its power cannot be too highly rated in fixing the attention of children, in accustoming them to pause upon objects and to retain their figures, in giving precision to the senses, etc.; it is of the utmost value to all, but especially to such as are destined for mechanical occupations. 171"

With regard to agricultural instruction, Kay-Shuttleworth believed that education for the poor should provide moral, religious and economic enlightenment and be associated with industrial or agricultural labour, for, among the labouring classes, no habit "...is more essential to
virtuous conduct than steady and persevering labour." To this end he reorganized the Norwood School of Industry in 1839, to include instruction in manual trades and gardening. The inspiration for this interest in industrial instruction was de Fellenberg, whose educational philosophy conveniently combined the belief that manual labour not only stimulated educational endeavour, but also improved the moral character, habituated the child to his future station, and taught a respect for property and for the existing social order. In 1840 the commissioners of national education sent Secretary Maurice Cross to visit Norwood School of Industry and to report back. The educational thought of de Fellenberg had also been diffused to Ireland through the efforts of the Wyse Select Committee. Wyse supported de Fellenberg's education methods and philosophy and suggested in the final report of the Select Committee, "...that with a view of improving the present habits of the working population of Ireland, it would be highly desirable to connect such a system of manual labour ... with intellectual and religious instruction." He suggested that agricultural or technical instruction should be taught in all national schools, and also that special agricultural schools should be established.

As early as 1835 the commissioners had proposed: "The propriety of communicating with the government upon the establishment of agricultural schools under the superintendence of the commissioners," and had purchased grounds at Glasnevin near Dublin for a model farm. By 1837 this was in operation with some 12 agricultural students.

In their report for 1837, the commissioners set out their long term plans for the national system, and in particular for agricultural and industrial instruction within it. They proposed that each district model school, and at a future date all national schools, should be divided into two departments, one for elementary education, the other for secondary
education in science - "...in particular those branches of science which have a practical application to husbandry and handicraft."\textsuperscript{182}

This secondary department would include instruction in the principles of agriculture (and, when feasible, its practice at a model farm of about forty acres) and instruction in the principles underlying manual trades. In this manner the commissioners felt that:

...considering, the very backward state of agriculture in Ireland, and that it forms the only source of employment for a vast portion of the labouring poor, we think it particularly desirable that a better knowledge of it should be promoted, and that schools under us should tend as far as practicable to bring forward an intelligent class of farm labourers and servants. \textsuperscript{183}

Support for agricultural instruction came from the government,\textsuperscript{184} from government commissioners,\textsuperscript{185} from agricultural societies,\textsuperscript{186} and from "leading public men."\textsuperscript{187} The commissioners attempted to promote it not only by the establishment of Glasnevin model farm, but by promoting through capital grants, model agricultural schools throughout the country and encouraging, through 'a more liberal salary', ordinary national schools with two - three acres attached, to teach the theory and practice of agriculture.\textsuperscript{188} By 1847, there were seven locally managed model agricultural schools and twelve 'ordinary agricultural national schools', i.e. with a few acres attached.\textsuperscript{189} The commissioners at this point reassessed the situation, partially under the stimulus, of a letter from Lord Monteagle (the former Spring Rice) which extolled the virtues and regenerative capacities of agricultural education.\textsuperscript{190}

Reaffirming their belief in an education which combined literary with agricultural or industrial labour, they decided (1) to establish model agricultural schools directly under their own control; (2) to place the agricultural department directly under the responsibility of the junior secretary Kelly, and to appoint a special agricultural inspector, Dr. Kirkpatrick, as recommended by Lord Monteagle; (3) to increase the salary of teachers in ordinary agricultural schools; (4) to grant a gratuity
to teachers in workhouse schools who taught agriculture; and (5) "... in order to supply the demand for persons qualified to conduct farms and Agricultural Schools," to increase to 24 the number of free pupils at their model farm at Glasnevin, and also to increase to 24 the number of agricultural teachers, called up from ordinary national school to train at Glasnevin. Furthermore, all teachers attending the board's training establishment in Dublin were to attend at Glasnevin model farm on one day each week, as well as receive lectures in agriculture. The board's new Agricultural Class Book was also placed on the programme for monitors and third class teachers, and more advanced agricultural texts on the programme for first class teachers.

By 1852, while there were 4,875 national schools, only thirty seven had opted to become agricultural national schools; a further twelve were agricultural model schools under the exclusive management of the commissioners and fourteen were agricultural model schools under the management of local committees.

It had been assumed by the commissioners that "...there is a great desire amongst all classes in Ireland for improvement in agricultural knowledge," and that, in particular, agriculture proprietors would be favourably disposed towards the endowment and management of model agriculture schools. These assumptions appear to have proved incorrect. Neither agricultural proprietors, school managers, teachers in national schools, nor the parents of pupils at these schools sought actively and willingly to cooperate in the creation of, or participation in, agricultural schools. When, in 1847, the commissioners reassessed their progress with regard to agricultural instruction, they admitted:

"...we feel bound to state that we can accomplish little, unless our efforts be cordially sustained by the cooperation of the landed proprietors of the country. The agricultural schools must, in almost all cases, be created by them, and conducted under their directions."
With regard to the creation of ordinary agricultural national schools, they had earlier stated that, "...it is, however, for the Patrons of each National School, not for us, to determine whether they will make agricultural instruction part of the education which it affords."¹⁹⁷

Nor did farmers appear to be interested in providing agricultural education for their sons,¹⁹⁸ and, no doubt reflecting the antipathy of their parents to agricultural instruction, pupils showed a distaste for participation in that healthful labour which was to have such virtuous consequences. Dr. Kirkpatrick, agricultural inspector, in his annual reports, constantly railed against this 'false pride'.¹⁹⁹ To overcome this reluctance an inducement of a small weekly payment of six pence a week was to be offered to the best and most diligent boys in the agricultural class. But even this was not sufficient to overcome the distaste for manual work, and the desire and expectation of parents and pupils to receive literary, but not a manual instruction, in school.²⁰⁰

With regard to the industrial education of girls, the commissioner's 1837 report had suggested that females be "...taught work suited to their sex," in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic.²⁰¹ From an early date female teachers in training had been instructed in sewing. It now became a requirement for female monitors, both to be able to knit and sew, and to be able to teach these skills to younger pupils.²⁰² In 1847 the commissioners outlined their plans for extending the industrial training of female teachers to include "...simple cookery, cottage economy and other matters necessary for young females to learn with a view to improve their industrial habits."²⁰³ Mrs. Campbell, headmistress of the girls model school, had previously been sent to inspect the Committee of Council's training school for girls, and a cottage kitchen was equipped in the female model school to provide "...the means of teaching them cookery in its simplest forms, together with washing, mangling and other branches of household managements."²⁰⁴ Finchley's Manual of Household
Work became in 1851 the standard examination text for the use of the advanced female pupils in national schools. It was placed on the board's list of sanctioned books purchaseable at a reduced price, and in the board's annual report it was claimed to contain, "...much useful instruction in household economy, and cannot fail to supply, at least to a considerable extent, a great disideratum in female education." 206

The commissioners also experimented with industrial schools for girls, reporting in 1850 that there were nineteen such schools, in many of which:

...large supplies of materials are procured from some principal manufactures of embroidery, lace, and sewed muslins, and the children are taught these various species of work ... The children are paid a small sum weekly by the manufacturers, who provide the materials, and dispose of the goods for their own pecuniary benefit. We shall watch with attention the progress of this experiment. 207

As has been described above the introduction of new curriculum subjects was greatly influenced by the educational policies of the Committee of Council for Education, whose social and educational policies regarding appropriate education for the poor tallied with those of the commissioners. Their policy was to use education to contain the lower classes - either by habituating them to traditional manual employment, or, for those considered sufficiently meritorious, by promoting them within the defined limits of the national system of education, as teachers, or for a tiny minority, inspectors. This policy of containing even the meritorious was clearly evident from the board's refusal to sanction the teaching of Latin and Greek within the national system, thus effectively blocking access of national school pupils to university education. However, middle class parents and upwardly mobile pupils were using the national system in their own interest: they appear to have increasingly used the education offered in the senior classes of the ordinary national schools, designed originally for the training of monitors, the model schools and the central training establishment to gain access to white collar employment other than teaching. In 1852 Head Inspector Kavanagh forwarded to
the board a petition from the parents of pupils in Clonmel Model School, for instruction "...in Latin, Greek and French, as to qualify [the pupils] for entrance in the Colleges and collegiate institutions in Ireland." 208

Kavanagh added to this petition that:

...there appear to be many persons in Ireland who doubt the propriety of giving our Pupil-Teachers in the District Model Schools and our Masters in the Central Training Institution, the important advantage of Latin and Greek. 209

The commissioners on considering the petition from Clonmel, stated that they did not "...feel themselves at present prepared to come to a final decision upon it." 210

Conclusion

A division between the educational interests of the commissioners and of the inspectorate began to become apparent in the 1840's. While the commissioners sought to introduce agricultural and industrial instruction, the inspectorate sought to establish and control a detailed meritocratic structure. Initially at least, the inspectorate proved more successful with agricultural instruction floundering on the apathy and distaste of patrons and parents at the local level. On the contrary, the incorporation of national teachers through a meritocratic system in which their status and pecuniary interests were aligned with the political and administrative interests of the centre, appeared to be more successful. The inspectorate and professors at the centre controlled the administration of this meritocracy - the examination structure, the text books and pedagogy. Within this structure the curriculum offered subjects which were (a) vertically integrated and accessible to the meritorious - within the confines of the national system; integrated in particular through the early initiation of the pupils into the delights of classification schema; and (b) horizontally becoming less integrated with specified time tableing of subjects and separate examinations tending to increase distinctness between subjects. However, the limited number of authors - Whately, Sullivan, Cross - tended to group subjects. For example, a competency in English included an ability to read, write, parse and know the derivations of words, as well as some prose and poetry - all of which
was taught from Sullivan's and Cross's texts. The similarity in the content of the school texts, across subjects, also tended to integration: all subjects used classification systems to order, not only the natural world, but also the social and literary world. They presented a disenchanted, rationally controlled and hierarchically dominated world view.

The central administration drew its personnel mainly from those whose origins were middle-class or lower. There was greater mobility within the national system in Ireland than within the Committee of Council's structure in Britain, with national teachers becoming inspectors as early as the 1840's, while such advancement did not become established in England for another 50 years. Two facets of the elite structure in early 19th century Ireland facilitated such a meritocracy. Firstly, there was an absence of a powerful resident gentry with assumptions regarding established and inherited superiority. Secondly, as senior administrative positions were only being opened up to Catholics and Presbyterians in the 1830's and 40's, there was no established mode of entry for these groups into the expanding administrative opportunities at the centre. Furthermore, access via university training was not feasible until the establishment of the Queen's Colleges in 1845 expanded university opportunities for these groups. This elite structure facilitated the elaboration of a national school curriculum, which was vertically integrated and accessible to the meritorious. The commissioners, however, limited the upper ranges of the curriculum by prohibiting the classics. Austensibly the national system had been established for the education of 'the poor,' and élites desired to inculcate through it that 'right order' which insured the maintenance of their interests. It would appear, however, that by mid-century, the middle classes were using it for their own purposes.
Footnotes to Chapter IV

1 See evidence of A.R. Blake, Reports from the Select Committees on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, H.C. 1836, xiii, p. 360.

2 Ibid, p. 361.

3 Ibid. On the positive response of some Armagh teachers to this definition see, Teachers' Magazine and Educational Inquirer, Armagh, 1840, p. 132.


5 M.B.N.E.I. 30 January 1834.

6 See M.B.N.E.I. throughout 1843.

7 M.B.N.E.I., 3 December 1840.

8 Report from the Select Committee on the New Plan of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837, ix, p. 117.


11 The scheme for paid monitors was introduced in 1843. They earned £4 in their first year with annual increments of a pound, to £7 in their fourth year. By 1847 there were 204 monitors. Selection by examination was inaugurated in 1847, the commissioners stating that the scheme had successfully "provided excellent assistant teachers at very small expense. ... Secured for humble talent the means of intellectual advancement; and ... supplied all the children of our schools with the strongest stimulus to exertion." [13th Report C.N.E.I. 1846, H.C. 1847, xvii, p. 194-195].

12 At most district model schools three male candidate teachers boarded with the master and one female candidate teacher with the mistress.


17 Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to Inquire into the Practical Working of the System of National Education in Ireland, H.C. 1854, xv, pt. 1, p. 245. From the M.B.N.E.I. it may be noted that during 1852 only four of the 14 members attended more than half of the board meetings. These were, Mr. Macdonnell, (resident commissioner), Archbishop Whately, Dean Myler (Catholic), and Mr. Gibson (Presbyterian).
18 He was the son of a Belfast doctor, and had been educated in Westminster and Oxford, where he had been a classical scholar for thirteen years. Before his appointment as resident commissioner he had practiced as a barrister in England and had been chief clerk in the chief secretary's office. [Kavanagh, J. Mixed Education, The Catholic Case Stated, Dublin, 1859, pp. 273-27].


22 M.B.N.E.I., 11 May 1841.


28 For example, in 1848, the district inspectors were required "to forward a list of such national teachers as they may deem eligible for holding the office of teachers of district model schools in Ireland, of colonial schools, and of other high appointments, and that the names of other candidates be furnished from time to time of which a confidential list is to be kept." [M.B.N.E.I. 28 September 1848].

29 For example, see report of inspector James Kavanagh, 17th Report C.N.E.I. 1850, Appendix, H.C. 1851, xxiv, pp. 247-250.


31 Instructions to Inspectors, Reports from the Select Committees on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, H.C. 1836, xiii, p. 355.


Also, gratuities varying from £1 - £3 per annum were awarded to "such of the masters and mistresses as most distinguished themselves by the order, neatness and cleanliness observable in themselves, their pupils and school houses," as assessed by the district inspector. [14th Report C.N.E.I. 1847, H.C. 1847-8, xxix, p. 225].


48 M.B.N.E.I. 18 April 1846.

49 M.B.N.E.I. 14 May 1846.


51 Ibid, p. 110.


56 M.B.N.E.I. 18 March 1847.
57 M.B.N.E.I. 22 April 1847.


63 M.B.N.E.I. 21 January 1847.

64 M.B.N.E.I. 11 February 1847, see also, 25 February 1847.

65 Prof. Sullivan's Spelling Book Superseded, Introduction to Grammar, and geography texts were immensely popular in both Great Britain and Ireland, enabling Sullivan to leave £45,000 on his death. [Robinson, J. Robert Sullivan... p.20 and 172]. Prof. Sullivan also compiled a Dictionary of the English Language and a Literary Class Book, both of which were sanctioned by the commissioners. The Literary Class Book was a book of reading for senior classes and sanctioned by the board in 1850. [M.B.N.E.I. 25 April 1850]. Its introduction into Ballymena District Model School caused complaints by a local Catholic priest, regarding extracts from Gibbon, Hume and Robertson, as infidel writers. [M.B.N.E.I. 31 July and 4 September 1851, also evidence of Inspector McCreedy, Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Enquire into the Practical Working of the System of National Education in Ireland, H.C. 1854, xv, pp. 520-521]. Whether for this or other reasons it does not appear to have been widely used, nor was it required for any of the board's examinations.

66 Archbishop Whately actively encouraged and recommended Cross and Sullivan to prepare school texts, see M.B.N.E.I. 17 September 1846 and 3 July 1841.

67 See M.B.N.E.I. 18 May 1843; 13 and 17 June 1844; 29 October 1846; 23 September and 25 November 1847; 24 February, 8 June, and 30 November 1848; 29 March 1849, and 16 July 1852.

68 The infant model school had been founded in 1838 by Mr. Wilderspin who had organised numerous infant schools in Britain. The Quarterly Journal of Education commented that "The extensive establishment of infant schools must undoubtedly tend to raise the moral feeling, and so form useful and virtuous members of the community," thus ensuring the diminution of crime. [Review of S. Wilderspin's 'Early Discipline Illustrated,' p. 132, Quarterly Journal of Education, Vol. 5, 1833, pp. 131-142]. Having established the infant model school in Dublin at the request of the commissioners, Mr. Wilderspin recommended that his daughter and son-in-law be appointed master and mistress on his return to England. [Index to M.B.N.E.I. 1837-40]. Mr. and Mrs. Young were duly appointed. In 1852 Mr. Young received the commissioners
approval for his Teacher's Manual for Infant Schools and Preparatory Classes, and it was subsequently sold at a subsidised price to teachers. [M.B.N.E.I. 28 May and 25 June 1852].


74 Sullivan, R. Lectures and Letters on Popular Education, Dublin, 1842, p. 32.


76 Ibid, p. 33.


78 M.B.N.E.I. 27 January 1842.


81 Ibid, p. 6.

82 Whately, E.J. Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, ..., p.378.

83 Whately, R. Lessons on the Truth of Christianity, Dublin, 1853, p. 5.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid, p. 72.

86 For example, Commissioners of National Education, Second Book of Lessons..., New edition, Dublin, 1847, pp. 146-152, and 172-178.


89 For example, *ibid, pp. 15-19, 47-53, 134-139.*


91 *Second Book of Lessons..., 1847, p. 165.*

92 *Commissioners of National Education, Sequel No. II to the Second Book of Lessons..., Dublin, 1835, p. 15.*


94 *Ibid, p. 5.*

95 *Commissioners of National Education, Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons..., Dublin, 1846, pp. 425-433.*


97 *Second Book of Lessons..., 1847, pp. 118-129.*

98 *Second Book of Lessons..., 1836, pp. 126-7.*


100 *Ibid, p. 211.*


103 *Ibid, p. 139.*


105 *Commissioners of National Education, Biographical Sketches of Eminent British Poets, Dublin, 1897, p. iii.*


Ong, W.J. Rhetoric, Romance and Technology, New York, 1971, p. 256. Ong has suggested that this tradition placed "a premium on standardization or fixity, for in the absence of writing the major neotic effort of a society must be not to seek new knowledge but to retain what is known. ... In this economy of thought commonplaces serve an important function. They are major devices for standardising knowledge, for keeping it in fixed forms retainable in the memory, so that it can be retrieved orally at will. [Ibid, p. 261]. In contrast the romantic tradition, based on the security of written, tabulated and stored knowledge, might safely explore "what is different, original, strange, ineffable, inaccessible, unknown." [Ibid, p. 257].

For discussion of this form of natural history see Foucault, M. The Order of Things, p. 39 seq.

Third Book of Lessons..., 1846, pp. 68-69.


Supplement to the Fourth Book of Lessons, 1846, pp. 189-191.


Ibid, p. 450.


Agricultural Class Book, Dublin, 1848, p. 16.

Ibid, p. 18.

Young, T.U. Teacher's Manual..., p. 163. Sullivan's passion for classification can also be seen in his classification of words for spelling purposes in his Spelling Book Superseded, Dublin, 1857, and his classification of readings in his Literary Class Book, Dublin 1861.

Second Book of Lessons..., 1847, p. 130-4.

Despite this labelling, which appears to have been done unconsciously, there was also a lesson proclaiming all, in spite of differences "in colour, in language and in habits," descendents of Adam and Eve, and Sons of God. [Sequel No. II to the Second Book of Lessons, 1853, pp. 55-63].

The historical sketch of Great Britain and Ireland merited five pages; France: two; the Austro-Hungarian Empire: one.


Ibid, p. 18.

See M.B.N.E.I. 21 January 1847; 9 November and 21 November 1848; also the frequency with which Irish inspectors referred to, and quoted from, the reports of H.M.I.s may be noted. This influence was reciprocal - the Committee of Council circulated the Irish national school books: 15th Report C.N.E.I. 1848, H.C. 1849, xxiii, p. 96.

M.B.N.E.I. 11 November, 1841.


M.B.N.E.I. 6 October, 1842.


M.B.N.E.I. 9 March, 1848.


Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837-8, vii, p. 380.

Kay-Shuttleworth, P. Four Periods of Public Education, p. 298.


Ibid, p. 179.

M.B.N.E.I. 9 July 1840.

The Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland. Sir Thomas Wyse was an Irish Catholic landlord and barrister. He had been educated in England and Trinity College Dublin, and was Whig member for Waterford. He took a wide interest in educational matters in the 1820's and 30's and became known in the House of Commons as 'the Member for Education'. Prof. Sullivan also lectured to the teachers in training on Fellenberg.  [7th Report C.N.E.I. 1840, H.C. 1842, xxiii, p. 320].
177 Report from the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837-8, vii, pp. 379. The moral advantages of manual instruction were thus described: "It excites industry, gives a knowledge of the value of property, and consequently foresight and prudence..." [ibid].


179 M.B.N.E.I. 26 November and 17 December 1835, also 3 and 25 November 1836, 5 January and 12 January 1837.

180 M.B.N.E.I. 17 December 1835 and 7 January 1836.


183 Ibid.

184 M.B.N.E.I. 3 and 25 November 1836 and 5 January 1837.

185 Report of the Select Committee on Foundation Schools and Education in Ireland, H.C. 1837-38, vii.

186 See Kane, R. 'On the Importance of Agricultural and Industrial Education,' Journal of the Royal Agricultural Improvement Society of Ireland, 1848-49, pp. 65-82.


194 Quoted from the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of Law and Practice in respect to the Occupation of Land in Ireland, in 11th Report C.N.E.I. 1844, H.C. 1845, xxvi, p. 82.


This had already been noted in 1835, see Report from the Select Committees on Foundation, Schools and Education in Ireland, H.C. 1836, xiii, pp. 390-394.


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203 M.B.N.E.I. 18 February 1847.


205 M.B.N.E.I. 21 November 1851.


209 Ibid.

210 M.B.N.E.I. 19 November 1852.
Archbishop Whately resigned from the board in 1853. After his departure the vocational orientation of the curriculum became more obvious as the rhetoric of a 'moral' and 'rational' education weakened. The curriculum was now to be informed less by 'right reason' and 'combined christianity' and more by what the commissioners of national education, the civil service commission, inspectors, teachers and parents considered was most useful in vocational terms. The commissioners of national education continued to stress agriculture and domestic economy, and introduced instruction in navigation. Parents stressed literacy and numeracy as required for white collar work and for the lower grades of the civil service, some also campaigning for the introduction of Latin and Greek. The inspectorate supported the introduction of the classics and, in their revision of the reading books, excluded science in favour of those literary texts which would teach literary style, good taste and proprietary behaviour as appropriate for the upwardly mobile middle class.

By 1870 there were 6,806 national schools with almost one million names on their rolls, but just over a third of these in average daily attendance. Some seven per cent of these pupils were in the senior fourth and fifth classes - six per cent in fourth class and one per cent in fifth class - comprising, at a minimum, some 40,000 pupils in regular attendance. Indeed almost a quarter of all national school pupils were over 12 years of age, with 10 per cent over fourteen.¹

The denominational and meritocratic structure of the national system was seriously questioned by the Catholic hierarchy during these 20 years, and particularly in the 1860's. Archbishop Murray had died
in 1852 and the Catholic hierarchy gradually withdrew its clerical representatives from the board of national education. While Catholic control was extensive at local level (two-thirds of the ordinary national schools were managed by Catholic clergymen, while a further five per cent were managed by members of the Catholic laity), the Catholic hierarchy challenged central control by a state-supported board which maintained non-denominational and meritocratic policies. They claimed that only an education informed throughout by denominational norms could offer the state true security, and used the involvement of some national teachers in the Fenian movement to support this claim. They were given parliamentary support for their denominational policies by Catholic politicians organized in the Catholic Association (1864).

The growth and consolidation of the Catholic middle classes in the post-famine Ireland contributed to a demand for greater Catholic representation at the centre. Furthermore, some Catholic members of the predominantly middle-class Young Ireland movement of the 1840's began to come into positions of influence by the 1860's - at least two of the commissioners of national education at this time had been involved in the Young Ireland movement. The cultural and literary nationalism characteristic of this movement now began to find its way into the revised national school reading books - a revision requested by Catholic M.Ps., and carried out by the inspectorate in the 1860's.

Counteracting this influence was the Presbyterian middle class, concentrated in the relatively prosperous north-east. They challenged both denominational education, which they identified with increasing Catholic power, and the infiltration of nationalist sentiment into the national school books. They vehemently supported the meritocratic practices of the national system and its model school system. By 1867, there were a total of 29 district and minor model schools, including the central model school at Marlborough Street in Dublin. On rolls in these
schools were almost 8,000 pupils in average daily attendance who were taught by some 100 teachers, aided by 467 monitors and pupil teachers. Due to the hostility of the Catholic hierarchy to their establishment, as shall be seen below, almost half (14) of the model schools were situated in Ulster, and two-thirds of their pupils in 1867 were Protestant.

Challenge to the national system's meritocracy

In terms of demand for education, parents aspiring towards white collar work for their children might be expected to offer continuing support for a curriculum offering literacy and numeracy to an intermediate level, and all the more so in the light of the establishment of the Civil Service Commission in 1855. Mr. Gibson, Presbyterian lawyer and commissioner of national education, explained to the Powis Commission (1868-70) the meritocratic role the model schools and Queen's University had played:

In 1855 almost all the offices in the public departments of Government, which in 1812 and up till the last mentioned year had been at the bestowal of the heads of the Civil Service, were thrown open to competition by candidates within prescribed limits of age, who should excel in examinations in certain branches of learning. The opening up of the patronage of the State to all classes has necessitated also the opening up of corresponding facilities of education, in order that the humbler classes of society may be able to compete for such offices as may be fairly within their reach. The establishment of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, and the development of the National system by the opening of the model schools, have afforded to the youth of Ireland facilities for passing these examinations which otherwise they would not have possessed, and the latter especially has been the means of extending the operations of the Department of Science and Art in Ireland to an extent which otherwise would have been scarcely attainable.

The occupational structure in post-famine Ireland was changing rapidly. The number of farm labourers and servants, as well as the number of cottiers and small farmers (5-15 acres) decreased by a half between 1845 and 1851, and continued a more gentle decline. The number of larger farms (over 15 acres) began to slowly increase, as did the standard of living. The proportion of males over 15 years of age employed in agriculture declined from 75 per cent in 1841 to 50 per cent in 1871.
The proportion of the total labour force employed in manufacturing also fell over the same period from 27 per cent (n = 989,000) to 20 per cent, and was to fall further to 16 per cent (n = 379,000) in 1881. The occupational sectors which were growing were the white collar and service sectors – in particular domestic service, shop-keepers, clerks and professionals. Indeed it was estimated that while in 1841 about 20 per cent were occupied in 'non productive' services, this had increased to 40 per cent in 1881.

Middle class parents continued to utilize the national system, especially the model schools. It was noted to the Powis Commission by an English inspector of schools that, in Ireland there was no distinct educational provision for the children of the middle classes as in England. On the contrary, these children were educated along with children of the poor in national schools. He took Cork as an example: here children of professional men, of men 'in the higher ranks of commerce,' of clerks and others belonging to the middle classes were being educated in the model and other national schools, as well as in the Christian Brothers' school and those run by other religious orders, alongside children of the poor. However, it is likely that the group which made most extensive use of the national system were the "...the lower middle ranks" – the children of shop-keepers and farmers, as well as by the children of manual workers.

The inspectorate continued to be committed to the politics of meritocracy: Head Inspector Sheridan, stated to the Powis Commission that, in his opinion, national schools should afford to talented boys an opportunity to rise. He was asked, "Is it not the aim of National Education to make the bulk of the people industrious and contented in their own sphere of life, rather than help a few to rise out of it?"

He replied:

That is the main object, but both can be attained, and I think there is great danger to the State and to society in allowing the talented children of the poorer classes to remain with abilities uncultivated, because if they have genius, they will even in a low stratum of society have an influence over their fellows, and these are the persons who get up secret conspiracies throughout the country. The man of no ability never initiates any movement dangerous to the State.
In 1860, appointment to the inspectorate became based - at least to some degree\(^{21}\) - on success in an open competitive examination, eligible candidates being examined under the direction of the Civil Service Commission in a programme of subjects decided upon by the board of national education.\(^{22}\) By 1867, 15 of the 60 district inspectors had previously been national teachers and most of these had been appointed by competitive examination;\(^{23}\) one of the six head inspectors had been a national teacher and one of the chiefs of inspection. The latter, P.J. Keenan, a Catholic, exemplified the national system's ideal: he had progressed through the successive grades of pupil, monitor, candidate teacher and teacher to become head-master in the central model school (1845). Thereafter he became district inspector, professor in the central training establishment, head inspector in 1854 and chief of inspection in 1859. It was on the recommendation of the Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. Denvir, who was also a commissioner of national education, that Keenan was appointed inspector; he worked closely with Alexander Macdonnell while chief of inspection, and remained in good standing with the Catholic hierarchy during his years as a resident commissioner - a position to which he was appointed on Macdonnell's resignation in 1871, and which he held to his death in 1894.\(^{24}\)

The extent to which the commissioners of national education were committed to the meritocratic and intermediate educational functions of the national system is difficult to assess. While austensibly refusing to introduce the classics as regular curriculum subjects they apparently tolerated their introduction into some model and ordinary national schools as extra subjects.\(^{25}\) Furthermore, they did little to halt the continuous flow of paid monitors and pupil teachers in model schools out of the national system and into "...more lucrative employment in the Civil Service or in commerce."\(^{26}\) It would appear that some of the commissioners saw the national system as educating two distinct categories of pupils.
The first consisted of the majority of national school pupils who attended school irregularly and for only a few years. The second, a minority, were highly motivated to achieve and were offered an opportunity through diligent application to become upwardly mobile through the national system. Judge Longfield, influential commissioner of national education from 1853 to 1883, member of the Established church and son-in-law of Resident Commissioner Alexander Macdonnell, in a lecture which he gave to the Social Science Association in Dublin in 1861, and which was subsequently included in the revised Fifth Reading Book, stated of the first category:

Doubtless many of the [national school] pupils will hereafter, by disuse, forget the greater part of the literary instruction which they have received at school; but though they may forget the art of writing, and not be able to read without difficulty, if at all, the effect of the mental culture which they receive will turn to their advantage, and will tend to make them abler and better citizens. 27

But of the second group, the meritorious few, he stated that the national system afforded "...an opening for success, which otherwise would have been forever closed against them." 28 And those who thus achieved, he suggested:

...are debtors to the system, and it is in their power to repay the debt and give stability to the system, by showing that the intellectual activity which obtained success is accompanied by the patient industry and moral qualities by which alone they can become useful servants of the state. 29

Many of the commissioners also supported, and were involved in the administration of the Queen's Colleges, established in 1845. 30 The number of commissioners was increased by the government from 15 to 20 in 1861, equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. 31 The main change in occupational terms was the increased number of places held by members of the legal profession, especially among Catholic commissioners: three-quarters of the Catholic commissioners in the 1860's were gentlemen of the law, frequently holding senior positions in the administration of justice. In fact, almost two-thirds of all the commissioners in the 1860's were
involved with the judiciary and, in 1868, six of the 20 commissioners were judges. This knitting of educational and judicial administration heightened perhaps the commissioners' concern that the national system of education ought to be an agent of political and social integration, especially in a time of acute political instability.

The 1850's and 1860's were characterized by growing republican feeling, culminating in the Fenian insurrection of 1867. While some of the Catholic commissions were sympathetic to the cultural and literary nationalism of the Young Ireland movement, none would have supported the political and economic republicanism of the Fenians. In the commissioners' report for 1866, they described the Fenian conspiracy as...

...the most artful and seductive of all political agitations, a system of agitation founded upon the revolutionary theories of the Continent, a system that recognizes the schoolmaster as a political power, and tries by flattery to win him over to the ranks of revolution. 34

The revolutionary republicanism of the Fenian movement gained adherents among the lower middle and working classes, small farmers and labourers, precisely those classes from which national teachers were drawn, as clearly recognized by the commissioners. The allegiance of some national teachers to the Irish Republican Brotherhood was a source of severe embarrassment to the commissioners of national education. In 1859 they declared in a circular to all national teachers that teachers:

...should be thoroughly impressed with the conviction, that loyalty to their sovereign and the inculcation of that principle on the pupils entrusted to their charge are essential and paramount duties of their office. 38

Again in 1862 they wrote to the manager of a teacher suspected of being a member of a secret society:

It is not enough that the persons employed and paid by the State for educating the children of the Poor of Ireland, should never have been convicted of the Crime of disloyalty; their lives must be such as to place them above even the suspicion of disloyalty. 39

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Notwithstanding these directives, a number of teachers and teachers-
in-training were dismissed as "Fenians" in the late 1860's. 40

The Catholic hierarchy and their denominational supporters success-
fully publicized the growing fear that a secular meritocracy, uninformed
by religious control and discipline, was contrary to the interests of
the state, inimical to political and social order, and that evidence
for this lay in the number of national teachers involved in the Fenian
movement. This was represented to parliament in 1866, and repeated by
Cardinal Cullen to the Powis Commission. He quoted from Hansard as
to the effect of purely secular education divorced from religion on
teacher training:

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\text{He did not say these training schools were hot-beds of Fenianism; but many of those superficially-educated young men were connected with Fenianism, while several of the informers as to the movements of the conspirators, had been teachers who had been carefully trained in the model schools. ... [Furthermore] In the central training school, there was actually established a lodge of female Fenians.} 41
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He contrasted this involvement with the non-involvement of ex-pupils
from Christian Brothers' schools, and concluded:

\[
\text{It is a very dangerous thing to have a number of young men living together without great control, without being under restraint and discipline, and without receiving a good deal of religious instruction.} 42
\]

While some degree of local denominational control was vested in the
managers of ordinary national schools and thus some Catholic control of
primary education assured, the management of the expanding system of
model and training schools was vested entirely in the commissioners of
national education and control of teacher mobility lay in the hands of
the inspectorate. State finance, management and meritocratic principles
made Catholic principles and authority irrelevant in these institutions -
they had no need of Catholicism as a criterion of merit, or as a source
of motivation, reward or discipline. Cardinal Cullen in his evidence
to the Powis Commission criticised each step of the meritocratic process in the national system: firstly, the inspectors' right to nominate more than 2,000 monitors throughout the country was "...a step towards giving the government power of appointing all the school masters of the country"; secondly, regarding teachers' certificates, he stated that he thought "...the country would be better off without so many certificates. I would not require certificates." On the contrary, teachers ought to be judged on the results of their teaching. And thirdly, of the examination for inspectors, he stated, "I have heard ... that in the examinations for Inspectors under the Board, matters are oftentimes prescribed which may be very injurious to Catholic doctrine." 

With regard to the training of teachers in the board's model and training schools, the hierarchy claimed that they threw "...into the hands of the state, acting through a body of commissioners, the education of the country and the formation of masters and mistresses of the rising generation." That the teachers trained within them: 

...who are destined not only to instruct the minds but to mould the moral nature of the youth of Ireland, themselves pass through no wholesome discipline, are formed by no moral training that would fit them for their important duties, - not least of which was the giving of denominational religious instruction to pupils.

The hierarchy also condemned the 'tone' of the model schools which, it was claimed, undermined the respect of both pupils and teachers for the legitimate authority of the Church and of their religious superiors - this was a spirit, it was suggested to the Powis Commission, which might even lead to political disaffection. The distaste of the bishops for state control of the system of mobility within national school structure was succinctly summed up by Catholic ex-Head Inspector Kavanagh, the secularising tendency of the national schools had:
...banished from them a Catholic tone and unction, made not only the teachers but the more promising pupils look to the State rather than to the Church, and have established a dangerous authority over education which threatens to sap the foundations of both Catholicity and nationality in Ireland. 52

And in this ultramontane age, to sap the foundations of Catholicity was to sap the foundations of all certainty and authority, and to place individual rational man above the tradition and wisdom of the hierarchical church. 53

The hierarchy, and in particular Cardinal Cullen 54 not only worked and campaigned with Catholic members of parliament and with the Catholic Association, but they undermined the model and training school system by prohibiting Catholic clergymen from attending them to give religious instruction, and by prohibiting Catholic pupils from attending model schools in places where there were alternative Catholic schools to attend. 55 They also prohibited Catholic teachers from attending the training school in Dublin and refused to employ those who breached this prohibition. The number of Catholics attending model schools fell rapidly, as did the number of Catholic teachers in training. 56 In order to offer alternative educational facilities, especially where model schools existed, the hierarchy attempted to rapidly extend the network of denominational schools run by religious orders - between 1860 and 1869, the number of Christian Brothers' schools were doubled. 57

The commissioners attempted to compromise: if Catholics could no longer attend teacher training courses they could still be promoted by private study and success in classificatory examinations, and in 1866 the commissioners withdrew their rule prohibiting non-trained teachers from promotion into the first class. 58 Also, in 1862, the commissioners decided to allow the appointment of, and to pay, pupil teachers for two years in "...a few very large and highly efficient schools," i.e. in convent schools. 59 In reply to the charge of Presbyterian groups that
convent schools were now in competition with model schools, and that
the balance of educational power had thus been changed in favour of
denominational education, the commissioners noted:

If the State should refuse all assistance to convent schools,
no material diminution would take place in the number of
Roman Catholic females receiving their education there,
although the nature and effect of the education, and the
feelings of the pupils, might be changed in some respects to
the detriment of the State. 60

Again in 1866 the commissioners and Chief Secretary Fortescue
sought to compromise - again despite Presbyterian dissent.61 They were
spurred on by the prospect of an imminent change to Tory government62
favourable to complete denominational education. They proposed a system
in which teachers in training in Dublin would be boarded in separate
denominational residences, but receive lectures in common, and suggested
that model schools become vested in local (i.e. denominational) managers.63

The change to Tory government came immediately. Fortescue's plans were
shelved while the new government established the Powis Commission in 1867
to enquire into primary education in Ireland. The Powis Commission
pronounced in favour of denominational control of teacher training and
recommending the dismantling of the existing model school structure.

The extent to which these proposals were implemented will be discussed
in the next chapter.

There is a certain difficulty in assessing the Catholic hierarchy's
attitude to the meritocratic and intermediate educational activities of
the national system. Cardinal Cullen, in his evidence to the Powis
Commission, came out very strongly against its meritocratic role:

I think the requirements for the teaching in these National
schools ought not to be too great. I would teach the children
to read, and to write, and to cipher as far as the rule of
three and practice; and I would give them a practical and
well founded knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion,
and some little account of the history of the Scriptures and
the Church. I would not compel them to enter into discussions
on grammar or the Greek roots, or mammalia or marsupialia and
other classes of animals, and similar questions that are not
necessary for the poor people. Too high an education will
make the poor oftentimes discontented, and will unsuit them for following the plough, or for using the spade, or for hammering iron or building walls. The poor ought to be educated with a view to the place they hold in society in which it will be impossible for them to cultivate the higher branches of literature and science. There are several millions of poor people in Ireland, and out of these there will not be 500 that will ever rise to any distinction in literature; and I would not render education unfit for the majority in order to give a very small minority a chance of getting on. If there were a thousand children in a school and five or six displayed great talent, would it not be unjust to introduce a system unsuited to the wants of the 995 in order to cultivate the talent of a miserable minority?...

I do not think it would be necessary to make the poor schools of such a character as to prepare the pupils to be lawyers or doctors, or poets, or historians. If they be prepared to be ploughmen, and spadesmen, and smiths and masons, I think that will be the proper preparation for the bulk of the people... I am persuaded that there always has been and always will be to the end of the world a great distinction between rich and poor, and I think that the rich ought to get one sort of education and the poor ought to get another sort. Each class ought to be educated for the sphere of life in which they have to move. If I had care of a number of poor children, having taught them to read, and write, and cipher, and especially their catechism, I would send them out to the country to learn to spin and to dig, or to become apprentices to a carpenter or a smith, or a tailor, or shoemaker, and to prepare them for their after life, but I would not put them into that school to learn to live like gentlemen, and to pretend to things to which they never could attain. 64

While Cullen appears here to be against the concept of meritocracy per se, it should be noted that Christian Brothers' schools, which could only be established with the local bishop's approval, were probably very similar to the model schools in both the social class composition of their pupils and the extent of their secular curriculum.65 The hierarchy were loud in their praise of the Christian Brothers' schools - especially when they undermined local national or model schools.66

Certainly the hierarchy made no attempt to encourage the introduction of classics and French into the national school curriculum as did some Protestant groups, supported by both the resident commissioner67 and the inspectorate.68 It was suggested that the expansion of the national
system had put the small intermediate schools which used to have a classical department out of business, and in justice, the national system should rectify this situation by offering Latin as an extra subject for senior pupils. Protestants in Ulster were particularly favourable to the introduction of classics and petitioned the commissioners in its favour. Rev. Dr. MacIvor, of Newtown Stewart, wrote in 1859:

...calling attention to the importance of introducing instruction in Latin and Greek into the national school system generally and suggesting that a knowledge of these languages should be recognised in the classification of the teachers. 70

The commissioners refused but, as a minor concession, they decided in 1860 to introduce Latin and French as an optional subject for teachers in training. 71 Professor Sullivan, however, claimed that there was no time in the short five-months' course for such teaching, and recommended that it be limited to the special class. 72 This was approved.

In 1866, Dr. MacIvor again petitioned the commissioners to financially support the teaching of classics as an extra subject in national schools. 73 Quite contrary to previous decisions, they replied:

...that the commissioners approve of the general principle of placing the attainment of a knowledge of classics and French within the reach of the poorer classes, provided that it can be done without injury to the primary instruction given in the national schools. 74

This, Macdonnell later explained to the Lord Lieutenant had been agreed to as part of a deal to gain Presbyterian support for the Fortescue plan for denominational training colleges. 75 When the Fortescue plan was shelved, so was the plan for teaching Latin, Greek and French as extra subjects. 76 However, French and the classics were being taught in some of the model schools in 1867 - French in eleven of them and classics in five. 77 Presumably they were taught outside school hours and paid for by parents. The classics were also being taught in some ordinary national schools. 78 The extent of this practice is not known. Presumably
they were taught outside school hours, and thus under the authority of
the manager and teacher rather than the commissioners - as long as they
did not interfere with normal duties. It would thus appear that local
parental demands - and ability to pay - with teacher compliance and
managerial acquiescence, were stronger in implementing demands for inter-
mediate education than either the commissioners or Cardinal Cullen at
the centre.

Combined religious instruction

In the face of increasing Catholic power, combined religious
instruction, as implemented by Carlile and Whately, was squeezed out.
The political and educational power of the Established church had already
begun to be eroded by successive Whig governments before 1840, and even
the Tories in 1845 were reluctant - after some wavering - to reinstate
Protestant educational power. During the 1860's clergymen of the
Established church increasingly joined their schools to the national
system. This reflected the declining economic and political power of
the Established church after the famine, a decline explicitly summed up
in disestablishment in 1868.

However, this was not yet apparent in the late 1840's and early
1850's when the issue of combined religious instruction became parti-
cularly relevant with the opening of model schools. It was now the
responsibility of the commissioners as patrons, not simply to recommend
the use of the Scripture lessons, Sacred poetry and Whately's Lessons
on the Truth of Christianity, but to decide whether to introduce them or
not into the new model schools. In 1849 Inspectors Kavanagh and Butler,
both Catholics, and responsible for the opening of Clonmel and Newry
district model schools, decided after discussion with Resident Commissioner
Macdonnell not to introduce these texts because of the hostility to them
of the local Catholic clergy. Whately, on an incidental visit to
Clonmel model school in 1852, noticed the omission and wrote immediately to complain to the board. He considered, firstly, that the decision by an inspector not to use the Lessons on the Truth of Christianity and the Scripture Lessons a "...gross usurpation of [the Commissioners'] authority"; secondly, as inconsistent, since the same board which had recommended them to schools and placed them on their list of sanctioned books now appeared unwilling to use them in schools over which they themselves had direct authority; and, thirdly, as undermining the attempt to introduce as much common Christianity as possible and thus counter the criticism that the national system was Godless and unchristian.

Macdonnell and the Catholic commissioners agreed in considering the Lessons on Christian Evidences and its revised version Lessons on the Truth of Christianity to be unsuitable for the education of Catholic children. Archbishop Murray had died in 1852, and Cardinal Cullen in a pastoral address to the Catholic clergy and laity in 1853, stated that he wished to see Christian Evidences "...banished from the hands" of Catholic children. Bishop Haly, Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, had written to the commissioners in 1850 asking that the use of the Lessons on the Truth of Christianity be discontinued in his diocese.

Macdonnell explained to the 1854 Lord's Committee that:

Roman Catholics consider that it is a book written in an entirely Protestant spirit, and that it is a book which is written on a subject which ought not be introduced into poor schools attended by children, boys and girls, between the ages of 10 and 15, especially in a country like Ireland, where infidelity is happily almost unknown amongst the poor and where it is considered very unwise to introduce the question of Christian evidences, in so much as children have no doubts about the subject.

In fact, the rationalist tendencies evident in Whately's text were condemned by many Protestants as well as Catholics.

After much deferral and discussion between the commissioners and the Chief Secretary for Ireland, through whom Whately sought redress,
the board decided in 1853, by a majority of seven votes to four to omit the Lessons on the Truth of Christianity from the board's list of sanctioned books. Two members of the Established Church, Macdonnell and Brady, voted with the four Catholic commissioners. On hearing this, Whately wrote to the board expressing his "...entire dissent ...; his unfeigned wonder and surprise at their decision and his determination not to be party to any such decision being made or acted upon." He resigned from the board, along with two other members of the Established church, and caused a Select Committee of the House of Lords to be appointed in 1854 to investigate the working of the national system of education in Ireland. As suggested below, this committee was probably more surprised at the extent of Catholic denominational control of national schools than anything else, and from it emanated proposals to limit denominational influences.

As to the use of the Scripture Lessons and Sacred Poetry, the commissioners decided that managers should continue to have the option of introducing them or not, and that they, as managers of model schools, would introduce them. If parents objected, these books were not then to be totally excluded, but a special time either before or after school hours was to be set apart for the purpose of reading them and this time noted in large letters on the time-table. According to the new rules of 1855 it was the parents' responsibility to see that their children withdrew at these times if they objected to the instruction. With regard to the model schools, some Catholic parents did so object and the commissioners ordered, for example in the case of the central model school in Dublin, that 9.30 - 10.00 be set apart for reading of the Scripture Lessons by children whose parents did not object.
By the late 1860's however, 'combined christianity' no longer existed in the great majority of schools. In the commissioners' report for 1868, no model school was reported as using the Scripture Lessons, and only one (Newry) continued to use the Sacred Poetry.94 Similarly, in ordinary national schools it was reported to the Powis Commission that the Scripture Lessons had fallen into disuse, and that "... combined religious instruction, as it used to be when Archbishop Whately was on the National Board, has ... died out in this part of Ireland [Ulster]."95

Denominational religious instruction

The degree of Catholic denominational control and teaching in national schools appears to have taken the 1854 Lord's Committee enquiring into the national system somewhat by surprise, and stimulated the government to suggest to the commissioners of national education that they implement more stringent controls on denominational instruction,96 in order to ensure the strict separation of moral and literary from denominational religious teaching, and in order to make the denominational character of the schools rather less obvious. In conformity with these suggestions, the commissioners revised their rules in 1855.97 These stated that religious instruction had to be given at a separate time and noted on the time-table; religious instruction or prayers, including the Sign of the Cross, could only take place at an intermediate time once a day, and this time had to be noted on the time-table. The commissioners implemented these rules rigidly: crosses, religious emblems or images were not to be visible during the hours of secular instruction,98 nor were religious names to be used in the title of national schools.99 The new rules also limited the number of schools managed by religious orders.100
These rules were a considerable irritant to Catholic and Established church schools. The Catholic hierarchy strongly objected to a curriculum structure in which "...religion is unnaturally separated from secular instruction," and in which "...the State would substitute its own power for the authority of the Catholic Church in respect to the education of ... Catholic youth ...."\textsuperscript{101} Denominational religious instruction which in Catholic educational philosophy ought to be the central integrating focus of the curriculum, was within national schools contained within increasingly strict boundaries, boundaries which were defined by the state rather than the Catholic episcopacy.\textsuperscript{102}

While, by the new rules of 1855 denominational instruction was to be more strictly separated from moral and literary instruction in terms of time and physical environment, rules enforcing the segregation of different creeds attending denominational religious instruction were weakened. It now became the responsibility of the parent rather than the manager to ensure that a child of a different creed was excluded from the denominational religious instruction offered by the school. This change was made by a committee of six commissioners of whom only one was a Catholic.\textsuperscript{103} Catholics claimed that the change facilitated proselytizing practices and brought it to the notice of parliament in 1859 and again in 1862.\textsuperscript{104} The board, reconstituted since 1860 and now consisting of ten Catholics and ten Protestants, felt constrained in 1866, despite the hostility of Presbyterian commissioners, to state that it appeared:

\ldots from the return furnished to the House of Commons, that a large number of children are in the habit of attending Religious Instruction given by Teachers of a Creed different from that of the children themselves, the Commissioners, under these circumstances, have felt themselves called upon to re-consider the rules regarding Religious Instruction. \textsuperscript{105}

They formulated a new rule which prohibited the attendance of pupils at religious instruction given by a teacher of a different creed and
delineated clearly the responsibility of teachers and patrons to ensure this rule was implemented.

Framing the curriculum: the role of the inspectorate

Within the curricular limits, as defined by the commissioners, the inspectorate sought to make the teaching of the 3rs, geography, grammar and the lesson books more uniform and efficient throughout the country. In 1854 they published, circularised to all national schools and required to be hung in each school-room, a programme of minimum proficiency specifying the precise quantum of reading, writing, mathematics, grammar and geography, and for girls needlework required in each class. District inspectors annually examined each class in this specified amount and returned the results to the central administration where the numbers proficient in each subject were totalled, tabulated and presented in the board's annual reports.

It was by means of the programme of minimum proficiency that uniformity and efficiency in both teaching and inspection were to be established throughout the whole country. With the programme:

...the Inspector knows exactly what he has a right to demand from each teacher whose school he visits. There can be no conflict of opinion as to the necessity of teaching a certain subject, or as to the amount of it which should be taught in each class, between the Inspector on the one hand, and the manager or teacher on the other; ... [while, for the teacher, the programme] maps out clearly and precisely the task he has to perform; it furnishes him with an irresistible reply to the unreasonable demands of parents to have this or that branch specially taught or specially neglected; and it supplies to him an impenetrable shield against the injustice or caprice of either manager or Inspector. 107

For pupils, the programme of instruction should become both the source of order and of motivation: it indicated to them "...the grounds of their classification, and the exact amount of information which they must possess before they can seek for a higher position."108 It would thus: "...induce them to make stronger efforts for their advancement, while, at the same time, it will guide their efforts."109
To help teachers improve their methods of school organization, Head Inspector Keenan in 1856 initiated a scheme whereby 'school organizers', or experienced school teachers, visited schools around the country staying a fortnight in each, to advise the teacher - and it was hoped encourage the manager - to improve both the school's physical facilities, and the organization of teachers, monitors and pupils. The scheme itself was not a great success, but it is of interest because of the detailed monitorial system which it encouraged and which had long term consequences. One of the organizers was Patrick W. Joyce and he was subsequently appointed headmaster of the central model school in Dublin. In 1863, he wrote A Hand-Book of School Management, describing it as the outcome of Mr. Keenan's lectures on the science and practice of school management to organizing teachers in 1856, as well as his own experience as organizer and teacher. The book was placed on the board's list of sanctioned books in 1867 and became the standard text on school management in the teachers' classification examinations through to the 1890's - while Keenan was resident commissioner and Joyce was promoted to the position of professor of teaching methods in the central training college. Not only did Keenan and Joyce share the same occupational, class and Catholic backgrounds, but they appear to have shared a belief in education as a training in the efficient and industrious organization of time and place, of people and knowledge. Education should also enable the orderly upward mobility of those who gave evidence of industrious efficiency within this order and within the discrete areas of knowledge prescribed in competitive examinations. The idea that formal examinations could assess industry, virtue and character, was also prevalent among Whig groups in England at the time, and becoming rapidly institutionalized in competitive entrance examinations for the civil service.
The central purpose of all good school organization, as Keenan and Joyce saw it, was to ensure the perpetual and useful employment of "...every child ... at every moment during the entire day." Given that Irish national teachers supervised many classes simultaneously, but could only teach one class at a time, the 'principle of perpetual employment' required monitors. Joyce recommended the appointment of unpaid as well as paid monitors from the most senior pupils "...for the purpose of keeping children constantly working, who otherwise would be obliged to sit more than half the day idle." These monitors could teach 'drafts' of some twelve junior pupils, for two half-hour lessons each day, while the teacher taught other drafts. Drafts were organized into classes, and classes into divisions, with a teacher or paid monitor supervising each division. Joyce detailed the organization of subjects on the time-table for each draft; the distribution of divisions and drafts in the schoolroom, according to the subject being taught; and the orderly movement in and out of desks at every half-hour change of subject as some drafts moved into the desks and others to the wall. He also detailed the organization of the boundary between subjects:

The termination of each lesson ought to be announced by some signal ... One lesson should not encroach even one minute on the time of another; at the signal, all business should at once cease, and there should be perfect silence till the teacher issues his instructions...

and continued by specifying the precise instructions the teacher should give and how the pupils should respond.

Despite this super-organization - or perhaps because of it - children were assumed to be "...naturally heedless, and prone to forget what they are told." Given this, "Frequent interrogation and repetition" were seen as "...the best and surest means of imprinting permanently on their memories the subject matter of the lessons." The anxiety of pupils for promotion from class to class might also be
used as a stimulant to learning. Teachers should prepare for each lesson, distilling out the central themes of the text from which the lesson was to be taught, identifying the words and phrases to be explained and expanded upon (without straying too far from the context of the lesson), and deciding upon the questions which the teacher might put to the pupils to elicit their understanding of the lesson.

Joyce's emphasis on efficient organization and monitorial methods may be compared to a book by R. Robinson, district inspector, previously a national teacher and member of the Established church, entitled Manual on Methods and Organization. This was also placed on the board's list of sanctioned books in 1867, but it never became a standard and recommended text in school organization as did Joyce's book. Robinson suggested that the source of discipline lay not only in good organization, but in the internalization of well-ordered habits and in the formation of character. He suggested only "...the occasional use of monitors," and objected strongly to what he called "over drilling" or constant instructions controlling movement in the classroom, and stated that the latter mode of discipline did not teach habits of order but simply put pupils "in leading strings," bored them, and made them "disgusted with order."

Robinson and Joyce agreed, however, in criticizing the 'intellectual' mode of instruction introduced by McArthur in the 1830's, and which had contributed to an horizontally integrated curriculum. They suggested that each discrete subject ought to have a separate time on the time-table and that no other "irrelevant foreign matter" ought to intrude into the immediate subject on hand. For example, spelling, grammar, geography and science ought not to be introduced during a reading lesson, for 'common sense' taught that one ought to:
'Teach one thing at a time, and only one.' [The intellectual system] jumbles everything so thoroughly together, that it would be impossible for a child to tell what subject he had been learning, or for the master to say what he had been teaching. And how can teaching be called rational, where neither master nor child knows at what he aims? 126

Thus the pupils were to be taught discrete subjects and the boundaries between subjects institutionalized in time and space. What was interesting was 'within' each subject area, not in the boundaries or overlap between them. Pupils must learn to discriminate between the different subjects, to change from one subject to another at a signal from the teacher, and become competent and competitive in each.

These principles of 'rational' school organization had also to be taught to aspiring teachers - i.e. monitors. The emphasis placed by the senior inspectors on the efficient learning of these principles is evident from the questions they set for first class male monitors in 1869: 127

1. Write out the programme for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Classes in Arithmetic.
2. (a) Make a Time Table for a School containing four Classes (1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th), conducted by one Principal Teacher and one Paid Monitor; and
   (b) Make a Time Table showing how you would occupy yourself all day, supposing you were the teacher of that school.
3. Describe the "lazy way of teaching reading very prevalent among monitors," mentioned in Joyce's Handbook, and state what is result of that method.
4. Describe the means you would take to produce regularity of attendance; and say what is required besides regular daily attendance.
5. In giving lessons on Mensuration, what must you teach the boys besides the rules and their application?

From lesson books to reading books

During the 1850's only minor changes for copyright reasons or corrections of factual inaccuracies were made in Whately's lesson books. 128 The lesson books, however, became the target for criticism by both nationalists and Catholics. It was represented to the government that the absence of Catholic teaching and church history from the lesson books was not only inimical to the Catholic faith of the majority of the pupils, but taught indifference to religious discipline and authority; while the
absence of an approved version of Irish history left pupils open to every seditious interpretation of history and politics and thus fostered Fenianism.

In 1860 the Chief Secretary stated in the House of Commons that the text books would be revised. In accordance with this, it was proposed to the board by Catholic Commissioner J. J. Murphy:

...that the school books of the Board shall be revised so as to make them in accordance with the present state of knowledge, and still more acceptable than they now are to the People of Ireland; and that a committee be forthwith appointed for the purpose of enabling the Board to carry this resolution into effect.

Presbyterian commissioners were hostile to any change which would interfere with the general character of the existing texts or any departure from the fundamental principles of the national system - especially if they appeared to be dictated by the Catholic bishops.

A book sub-committee of eight commissioners was formed to supervise the revision, consisting of two members of the Established Church, two Presbyterians, one Unitarian and three Catholics.

It was members of the inspectorate, however, who undertook the revision. The two chief inspectors, Mr. McCreedy (Presbyterian) and Mr. Keenan drew up a joint report outlining the form the proposed revision should take. Mr. McCreedy, although not officially appointed to do so, began the revision and presented the board with a revised first and second book in April 1864. In August of that year, two district inspectors, described as having "...very considerable literary tastes and acquirements," were appointed to undertake the revisions with McCreedy. One, Mr. Gillic, was a Catholic, the second was Mr. Robinson, member of the Established church and author of the Manual on Methods and Organization. By 1867, the first four lesson books had been revised, sanctioned by the commissioners, printed and in circulation. McCreedy died in the same year. The Fifth Reading Book, a new book, Poetic Selections, and the Girls Reading Book were prepared.
by Gillic and Robinson and, in 1867, were under consideration by the board. The book committee meetings and board meetings at which the reading books were sanctioned were frequently poorly attended. This was not atypical, the average attendance at board meetings during the 1850's and 1860's, excluding Macdonnell, was five commissioners.

The new reading books were prepared by three inspectors of different religious creeds to meet conflicting interests among commissioners, nationalist, Catholic and Presbyterian groups and the central administration. The new reading books gave evidence of these conflicting interests, with no overall integrating theme, retaining some elements of the old books and rejecting others, and attempting to integrate new elements to please a divided audience. Four major trends, however, may be noted. Firstly, Whately's influence was to a great degree edited out of the new reading books - his two sequels to the second book with their moral biographies, zoology and geography were scrapped altogether, and his moral and didactic tales of the honest poor and benevolent rich were almost totally omitted. The only subject remaining completely intact, which gave evidence of his previous influence, were the lessons on economics. Secondly, Carlile's influence was retained, not only in the continued presence of the scripture lessons in books two through to four, but in the continuance of some of the religious lessons, moral tales and fables, which he had originally introduced, and which integrated industrious, prudent and God-fearing man with nature and with God in an ordered universe. Indeed, lessons with such an orientation were expanded, in particular by the inclusion of five new lessons on the relationship between man, nature and God, by Dr. Henry Newman in the new Fourth Reading Book. In these, God was supreme and eternal, he had created the world and:

...has stamped upon all things, in the hour of their creation, their respective natures, and has given them their work and mission, and their length of days, greater or less, in their appointed place. 140
All man's works - intellectual, moral, social and political, had their source from him:

Peace and civilization, commerce and adventure, wars when just, conquest when humane and necessary, have His cooperation, and His blessing upon them. 141

Yet, man may be spiritually blind and not perceive this nor know of God's redemption, he may live "...in the land of wretchedness and gloom, where there is shadow of death, and where order is not." Also continued were lessons on discrete animals, describing their external characteristics, uses to man, occasional scriptural references and, interestingly, including both Carlile's references to the threatening nature of wild animals and Whately's emphasis on the capacity of man to capture, tame and use them. 143

A third major trend was the exclusion of scientific subjects (geology, zoology, botany and natural philosophy) from the lesson books and their replacement by English literature. The new books were in fact re-named 'reading books' rather than lesson books and were conceived of as reading books in English prose and poetry. The new Second Book included not only scripture lessons, religious and moral prose, poetry and fables, and discrete lessons on animals, but new readings from, for example, Robinson Crusoe, John Gilpin and some of Wordsworth's simpler poems. The new Third Reading Book included poetry in praise of Ireland, while the new Fourth and Fifth reading books became advanced texts in English literature, with pieces by Addison, Dr. Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and Sir Walter Scott among others, as well as extracts from Shakespeare, Milton and Pope. The concentration on literature was reinforced by the publication of two new volumes of Poetic Selections. The first volume contained three Shakespearean plays and selections from his other plays, the second volume contained selections from Milton, Pope and other poets. 144
Inspectors McCreedy and Robinson, who were revising the lesson books, had previously stated in their annual reports that the teaching of English literature to senior pupils and teachers of national schools would remedy a supposed deficiency in their 'culture' and 'cultivation' which was due to their low social class origin. Robinson had stated in his 1863 report that:

A language is learned by mixing with those who already know it, and by a careful, judicious and extensive study of the best books that are written in it.
From the first means teachers are shut out by the very humble grade of society in which they move, and by the isolated lives they are compelled to live in country districts. From the second source they are cut off by a want of taste and inclination, consequent upon the few advantages in the way of education that their parents were able to afford them. This source of improvement is still open to them, but until the proper taste has been cultivated, it will be necessary to use compulsion... it will be necessary to place such works upon the programmes of their examinations and to make their promotion depend upon an acquaintance with them. This is done in England. Teachers there are examined upon Shakespeare, Milton, Young, etc. 145

Matthew Arnold would have concurred with these sentiments. In his 1852 report, he suggested that:

I am sure that the study of portions of the best English authors, and composition, might with advantage be made a part of (the teachers') regular course of instruction to a much greater degree than it is at present. Such a training would tend to elevate and humanise a number of young men, who at present, notwithstanding the vast amount of raw information which they have amassed, are wholly uncultivated; and it would have the great social advantage of tending to bring them into intellectual sympathy with the educated of the upper classes. 146

The first reading in the new Fourth Reading Book was a piece by Sir John Herschel entitled, 'Taste for Reading'. In this the process whereby one was 'humanized' through literature was described. Literature, it was stated placed the reader:

...in contact with the best society in every period of history: with the wisest, the Wittiest; with the tenderest, the bravest, and the purest characters who have adorned humanity... It is morally impossible but that the manners would take a tinge of good breeding and civilization, from having constantly before one's eyes the way in which the best bred and the best informed men have talked and conducted themselves in their intercourse with each other. 147
The literary texts in books four and five presented the cultivated gentleman as their ideal, a gentleman characterized, as Sheldon Rothblatt has described it, by "The Georgian ideal of sociability, liberality and civility."\textsuperscript{148} He was characterized by a sense of propriety, by calmness and moderation, by good taste and a genial cheerfulness, by an acknowledgement of the value of the traditional as well as a recognition of the advantages of the present. He was neither proud nor overbearing, neither argumentative, cantankerous nor over-critical. He was not extravagant in word or deed, but acted and spoke with a sense of propriety, and in a style and form adequate to the situation. According to the national school books he was also familiar with the "...maxims of theoretical knowledge [and]... rules of practical prudence,"\textsuperscript{149} with extracts from Shakespeare, with the nature poetry of the Romantics, as well as with some love poetry.

Literature questions for teachers' and monitors' examinations asked candidates not to analyse or criticize, but to repeat from memory the substance of a literary piece or reproduce a specified piece of poetry.\textsuperscript{150} It may also be noted that a commitment to the more extensive teaching of English literature was no doubt reinforced by the literature requirements of civil service examinations.\textsuperscript{151}

A fourth trend in the revised reading books was the introduction of poetry expressive of Irish cultural nationalism, particularly in the Third Reading Book, and the introduction of other informative pieces on Ireland. The poetry, especially that by Thomas Moore, described an emotional and imaginative identification with Ireland or places in Ireland. The place with which the poet identified was frequently presented as a small and bounded area, "My own green Isle," "My island home," a "fairy isle," "an enchanted land"; or as a "lovely vale" or again as "Mine was a lonely mountain place,/ Girt round with berried rowan trees."\textsuperscript{152} The emotions
roused by the poet's love for a place could best be expressed, some of the poems suggested, by the 'spirit' or 'fairy' music of the harp, for music, rather than language, was expressive of the emotions and hence of the truth. 153

While at least 15 such poems were included in the Third Reading Book, none was included in the First...Book, and only one in the Second...Book; three were included in the Fourth...Book and again only one in the Fifth...Book. However, the Fourth...Book presented a series of readings describing a tour around the coastal areas of Ireland, and a further series described the location, extent and mining of Ireland's industrial resources - turf, coal, iron and other metals, and of course agriculture. The Fifth...Book, for senior pupils and teachers in training, offered a descriptive series on the pagan and Christian antiquities of Ireland - the raths of ancient Irish kings, and in Christian times, its ancient churches, abbeys and round towers.

Pride in, and knowledge of, one's country was presented in the text books as not at all inconsistent with British patriotism. The Second...Book ended with the national anthem, 'God Save the Queen,' while, in the Third...Book, 'Ye Mariners of England' praised the unbounded control of Britain over the seas:

Britannia needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep;
Her march is o'er the mountain waves,
Her home is on the deep. 154

The Fifth...Book included a piece on 'Genius' by Cardinal Wiseman in which he suggested that:

On England ... the supreme power has lavished the choicest blessings of this worldly life; it has made it vast in dominion, matchless in strength; it has made it the arbiter of the world and the mistress of the sea; it has made it able to stretch its arm for war to the savage antipodes, and if it chose, its hands for peace to the civilized powers; ... 155

The political unity of Great Britain and Ireland was assumed in the fourth and fifth books, especially in three new lessons by Whately on
the British constitution, in lessons on the judicial system, and in
lessons on the Magna Carta, and on the liberty it afforded - a "...free
parliament, a free press, and trial by jury." Also included in the
Fifth...Book were three extracts from Edmund Burke's speeches, and one
from William Pitt's, as well as a biographical sketch of each, presenting
their idealized notion of 'British liberty' and their desire to see this
reflected in colonial administration and in the fight against French tyranny.

The new literary trend in the national school books did not escape
Presbyterian and indeed some Catholic criticism. Presbyterian
commissioner Mr. Gibson, complained of the nationalist poetry in the
Third Reading Book and succeeded in getting some of the less nationa-
listic of Moore's Melodies substituted. Supported by the General
Assembly of the Presbyterian church Mr. Gibson and the senior
Presbyterian commissioner, Dr. Henry, complained not only of 'unscriptural'
references to Catholic religious symbols in the Second Reading Book, but
of the inclusion of "profane exclamations" such as "by jove" in an extract
from Shakespeare in the Fourth...Book, and of Newman's 'Character of an
Educated Gentleman' which, they suggested, insinuated that one might be
a gentleman and religious without even being a christian. The
offending passages were excluded from the next edition of the reading
books, but criticism, in particular of the love poetry in the Fifth...
Book remained.

The reading books in the late 1860's thus embodied scriptural,
religious and moral lessons, economics, reading lessons on discrete
animals and other natural phenomena, and English prose and poetry.
Grammar, geography, history and the natural and physical sciences were
to be taught from separate texts. The great majority of the pupils at
national schools were 'in' the first two reading books: in 1867, 45
per cent were 'in' the First...Book, and 32 per cent in the Second...
The slow progress of the majority of children was assigned mainly to the very irregular attendance of pupils - the average daily attendance was but a third of the pupils on rolls - and to the fact that the average duration of the pupils' attendance at school was estimated to be but two to three years. The main cause attributed to irregularity in attendance was the poverty of the people.

While the irregularity and slowness of progress caused the inspectorate and subsequently the Powis commissioners some disquiet, the commissioners of national education stated in the 1860 report that "...the pupils attending our schools are receiving as fair a degree of literary, scientific, and industrial instruction as it is in the nature of primary education to ensure."

History, geography and geology

In the revised reading books history and geography were omitted. These were now to be taught from separate texts - in particular Sullivan's Introduction to Geography and Geography Generalized. The latter was updated in 1861 giving more detail on the physical features of Ireland and the British Colonies. London remained undoubtedly the centre of the world and Europe and the Caucasian race the centre of civilization.

The main mode of ordering geographical information remained classification by size and by nation. The programme of minimum proficiency set out what geographical knowledge was required of each class and this was fleshed out in 'instructions' and circulars to district inspectors. Thus an 1858 circular stated that classes required to know the 'Map of Europe' (second class and upwards) to achieve a pass mark must know "its area in square miles, its length, its breath, its great physical features, mountains, seas and rivers, its population and its several political divisions; its chief cities, great ports and so forth;" while those required to know the
'Map of Ireland' should know its position and boundaries, the provinces and their relative positions, the counties of each province and their chief towns; what countries are maritime and what inland; the chief rivers and their directions; the chief lakes and mountains; the population, area and extent of the Island.\(^{169}\)

With regard to history, the revised Geography Generalized added brief (usually one page or less) historical sketches of Greece and Rome, and of each of the countries of Europe, giving a chronological listing of the more important political events. It was suggested in the preface, that taken together, these sketches would give the student "... a clear and connected idea of the general history of Europe."\(^{170}\) The teachers sitting for first and second class examinations needed to memorize these details. In 1869 the first class teachers were asked:\(^{171}\)

1. The history of the Middle Ages may be divided into six periods; give the designation of each of these, and the year in which it commenced.
2. (a) In what year, and by whom were the petty States of Norway first united into one monarchy?
   (b) In what year was it annexed to Sweden?
3. (a) Who were the Saracens?
   (b) By what name was their empire known?
   (c) Name the countries which it included.
4. (a) In what year was Magna Charta granted?
   (b) Name in chronological order the English sovereigns of that century.

The one page history of Ireland included a statement regarding the racial origin of its people and a chronological listing of the introduction of Christianity; the Danish invasion; the Norman invasion, when "Ireland was annexed to the English Crown"; the colonization of James I when "... several colonies from England and Scotland were introduced into Ireland, and great improvements were made in the laws and the administration of justice"; the Cromwellian wars when "...Ireland, as well as England, was involved in a civil war which was terminated by Cromwell"; the Act of Union; Catholic Emancipation; introduction of national education; the
famine, and "...in 1849 Queen Victoria visited Ireland, to the great
delight of all classes of her Majesty's Irish subjects."  

The commissioners were conscious that the lack of a suitable history
text was a source of criticism and inspectors frequently informed them
during the 1850's and 60's that some teachers were using unauthorised
history texts in their schools - mainly English history texts and
occasionally Irish histories. In 1857 the commissioners stated that
they fully appreciated:

...the importance of instruction in History being given in
their schools but that the difficulties of preparing a
work suitable for such a purpose are of such magnitude that
they have not heretofore deemed it advisable to try the
experiment. Also, that they do not know of any Historical
Treatise at present published, which would be acceptable to
all parties in Ireland.

In 1858, they decided that it would be "expedient" to commission a
suitably qualified person to prepare a class book on chronological
history suitable for use in national schools during the hours of united
instruction. This plan, however, never reached fruition. The
one text which showed possibilities in 1866 was, when completed in
1869, rejected by the commissioners, and they expressed "...their dis-
satisfaction at the carelessness with which the work seems to have been
drawn up and with the inaccuracies and mistakes that it contains."

Geology appears to have been another subject which caused some
difficulty. It will be remembered that Carlile's edition of the Fifth
Book of Lessons had contained sections on the revolutionary changes the
earth had experienced, and which were evidenced in its strata forms.
This remained unchanged and in use until the late 1860's. Carlile, in
his Epitome of Geographical Knowledge had included a short piece on
geology similarly emphasising the changes wrought by the 'action of
internal fire' on the earth's surface: beds of rock had been:

...very generally forced out of their level position by some power acting from beneath; rocks formed of the same elements, but in the state of fusion by fire, have pushed up through them; immense cracks or rents have been made in them, and filled with materials entirely different from them chiefly metallic ores. 178

He also noted the more gradual changes wrought on the earth's surface by the action of running water and natural processes of decay. 179

Sullivan had introduced a section on geology into his 1854 edition of Geography Generalized, in which he classified and described different earths and rock strata, and suggested that changes in the earth's surface could be understood in terms of 'counteraction' and 'counterbalance': "...the war of elements', therefore, so far from being a destructive tendency, is upon the whole conservative in its effects." 180 Thus, the study of geology provided "...fresh proofs of the power, the wisdom, the goodness, and the increasing superintendence of the creator." 181 However, he also included two pages by Mr. Young (headmaster of the infant school) entitled 'Geological Summary' which discussed the world developing originally from a gas, revolutionary changes on the earth's surface, the formation of strata and volcanic changes. Examining fossil remains indicated, it suggested, that during the secondary period, "a great thermal and atmospheric revolution must have occurred to cause the sudden appearance of those abundant forms of vegetable and animal life, including gigantic reptiles of land, river and sea, whose fossil remains abound in these rocks"; 182 while in the tertiary period quadrupeds, birds, reptiles and fishes analogous to existing species had come into existence. This 'summary' was omitted for the 1861 edition of Geography Generalized, and the remainder of the geology section was omitted in the 1870's. By this time, Carlile's geology had also disappeared with his Epitome... falling into disuse and his Fifth Book of Lessons... revised. At the end of the new Fifth Reading Book there were three low key lessons describing the
mechanical and chemical forces influencing rock changes.\textsuperscript{183} It was also noted that Britain had once been beneath the sea. However:

At length, by degrees, land emerged from the sea ... eventually a warmer and more genial climate arose, plants and animals, such as those present amongst us were ere long introduced; and eventually, as lord of the whole, man took his place upon the scene. \textsuperscript{184}

The natural and physical sciences

Although the natural and physical sciences were major casualties of the 1860's revision, the effects of this were not to become apparent until the 1870's. From 1850 - 70, the commissioners continued to support the instruction of teachers and senior pupils in a wide range of physical sciences (including mechanics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, optics, heat, the steam engine, electricity and chemistry, as well as zoology and botany), to sanction the inclusion of these subjects in examinations for monitors, pupil teachers and first and second class teachers as first established in 1848, and to pay a £10 gratuity to teachers who taught science.\textsuperscript{185} However, their continuing support, especially in the 1860's, appears to have been due to an acceptance of the status quo rather than to enthusiasm. The course of instruction and the required text, McGauley's Lectures on Natural Philosophy remained unaltered and out of date by the 1860's, and despite repeated criticism no attempt was made to revise it.\textsuperscript{186} Professor McGauley had been replaced in 1856 by Professor Butler, a mathematician. Responsibility for physical science was placed in the hands of Dr. Clarke,\textsuperscript{187} previously district inspector, who had successfully organised the teaching of science in the model schools. On his death in 1866, nobody was appointed to replace him.\textsuperscript{188} In the meantime, no lectures were given in science to the teachers in training and the scientific equipment and specimens Mr. Clarke had organized were left idle and uncared for.\textsuperscript{189}

Teachers in model schools qualified to teach science, however, were not idle. On the contrary, without the overt sanction of the commissioners, they very successfully organised science classes for
senior pupils, followed the science programme of the Science and Art Department, and entered their students for the latter's examination, gaining thereby substantial payment by results. Teachers in some few ordinary national schools did likewise - a total of 44 national schools were connected with the Department of Science and Art in 1867. It may be noted that the Irish universities also showed an increased interest in science in mid century.

The commissioners and vocational training

While some of the inspectors, teachers and parents were attempting to extend the intermediate educational functions of the national system, the commissioners appear to have been more concerned that it should serve the agricultural, maritime and industrial needs of the country, and attempted to extend agricultural instruction, establish maritime schools, and to ensure that girls were taught household matters and needlework.

With regard to agriculture, a four tier system was established by the 1860's. At the top was Glasnevin model farm, near Dublin, with 180 acres and accommodation for 75 boarders. It trained full-time agriculturalists and, on one day each week, instructed teachers in training. At the next level there were, by 1857, twenty model agricultural schools under the direct management of the commissioners. Each offered accommodation to some 2 - 20 boarders varying according to the size of farm, and also gave agricultural instruction to third and fourth classes of boys attending the adjoining model or agricultural school. On the next rung were, by 1870, 100 'first class' agricultural schools and 100 'ordinary' agricultural national schools, each with a farm attached and under local management. For instruction in agriculture in these schools, the commissioners paid the teacher £10 in first-class schools, and £5 in 'ordinary' schools.
At the lowest rung was the encouragement to teach agriculture in the some 6,000 national schools throughout the country. The commissioners in the 1860's sought to encourage this by approving in 1867 a new Agricultural Class Book. Inspectors were instructed to:

...suggest to managers and teachers the propriety of making it a text-book for [senior] classes at least at one reading lesson each week. By this means, the Commissioners hope a large amount of useful knowledge will be diffused among the tenant farmers and peasantry of Ireland. 197

More particularly, in order to align the teachers' interest with their own, they decided that a knowledge of the Agricultural Class Book would form part of the examination of male teachers in training and increased the value of the marks given to agriculture in the classificatory examinations of male teachers. 198 By 1870, 350 schools were teaching 'book' agriculture to some 4,182 pupils. 199

The assumptions regarding Irish agriculture embodied in the 1867 Agricultural Class Book prepared by Mr. Balwin, superintendent of the board's agricultural department, differed from those of the 1848 Agricultural Class Book. Gone were the kindly landlord, slovenly tenant and bountiful Creator. In their stead, as sources of order and harmony, were agricultural science and the market economy. Science benefited the process of civilization and production through its analysis of soils, manures and crops, its investigations into the laws of animal husbandry, and its invention of farm machinery. The consequent growth in production was not for the tenant's immediate use - to ward off famine or emigration as in 1848 - but for a cash market. The Agricultural Class Book noted market factors particularly in relation to the breeding and rearing of live-stock in Ireland. It pointed to the growth in the demand for meat created "...by the increasing wealth of the Empire," 200 and stated that:

232
The small farmers of Ireland must adapt their system of management to this state of matters. Heretofore, their chief dependence was on grain crops. For the future (at all events as long as prices continue as at present) ... they must produce more meat and dairy produce. 201

The text suggested that, if scientific principles of breeding and care were adhered to, especially on small holdings, the value of Irish livestock could increase by 20 per cent in five years, and thus "...increased wealth would accrue to the small farmers of the country."202

The agricultural efforts of the commissioners - and in particular their model farms - came under severe criticism, both in parliament during the late 1850's and the 1860's, and to the Powis Commission. In parliament it was suggested that it was not part of the state's function, nor that of the commissioners of national education, to finance model agricultural schools.203 In response, the government pledged itself to reduce the commissioners' expenditure on agricultural instruction. This brought retrenchment - no new model farms were established after 1858 - and subsequent reorientation on the part of the commissioners, but it did not change their commitment to agricultural instruction - although some did query the amount it cost and their competence in this area.204

An attempt was made in the 1850's to promote instruction in navigation for the advantage of "...persons intended for sea-faring pursuits"205 by establishing maritime departments in some of the district model schools situated along the coast.206 Sir Lyon Playfair of the Department of Science and Art was consulted on the matter of training teachers of navigation, on the books and instruments necessary for instruction and on the programme of subjects in which masters of navigation schools should be examined prior to their obtaining certificates of competency.207

In 1860, it was reported that two navigation pupils from Waterford Marine School (associated with Waterford District Model School) had passed the examination of the Department of Science and Art qualifying them to teach navigation.208 Sir Lyon Playfair also suggested that the Irish navigation
These efforts to engratn navigation instruction onto the national system proved unfruitful. Keenan, when asked by the Powis Commissioners, "To what do you attribute the failure of such navigation schools?" replied:

They have not been established in the proper places. There is one in Limerick, an utter failure - and one in Waterford, also an utter failure. There is one in Dublin, a failure with respect to the attendance of nautical pupils, but pretty successful in the training of teachers in the science of navigation. The one in Derry is a failure and the one in Belfast is an utter failure. It is not at all in any of the large towns that, in my opinion, navigation schools should be established. It is in the small fishing villages along the coast.

The commissioners also attempted in 1858 to encourage the teaching of navigation as an extra subject in ordinary schools by those with certificates from the maritime schools, by offering a payment of £5 - £10 to the teacher according to the average attendance. By 1870, 16 national schools, including two model schools, taught navigation to 103 pupils.

It would appear that in order to get industrial subjects taught, given that there was little demand for them by parents, it was necessary to engratn them onto the ordinary curriculum and make it in the interest of teachers to be thoroughly conversant with and to teach them - in the case of agricultural instruction through making it a subject in classifying examinations. Likewise, in 1867 the commissioners mobilized those institutional supports already formulated by the inspectorate to enforce the teaching of needlework in girls' school. They now stringently required female teachers to execute specimens of plain sewing, knitting and fancy work at their classification examinations, and entitled this work to a tenth of the total marks. Furthermore, the ability of teachers to teach needlework was to be assessed by the proficiency their pupils
attained.\textsuperscript{213} The programme of proficiency specified that all girls in second class upwards in female schools be taught sewing, but it appears that this was not always adhered to.\textsuperscript{214}

The offering of gratuities to competent teachers to encourage the teaching of singing and drawing was initiated in 1860.\textsuperscript{215} For singing, a certified music teacher, according to his success and number under instruction could earn a yearly gratuity of from £2 - £5. A similar teacher of drawing could earn from £3 - £10.\textsuperscript{216} Between 1860 and 1870 the number of schools teaching singing had increased from 31 to 688, in which almost 45,000 pupils were taught, while the number of schools teaching drawing increased from six to 264, teaching almost 10,000 pupils.\textsuperscript{217}

\textbf{Conclusion}

The national school curriculum between 1850 and 1870 was influenced, by, on the one hand, the different and frequently conflicting vocational interests of various groups: the commissioners who sought to further what they saw as the agricultural and industrial needs of the country; the inspectorate who sought through a meritocratic structure to maintain and further their control; while the teachers and parents sought in the national system a mode of occupational and pecuniary advancement. On the other hand this meritocratic structure appeared under threat by Catholic denominational interests. The commissioners' attempt to direct the curriculum of national schools into channels thought appropriate to the occupational needs of the poor was perhaps the least effective of these interests. When teachers and parents had little interest in a subject, as for example in agricultural instruction, the commissioners had little hope of its successful introduction unless they brought it within the promotional interests of teachers. On the contrary, when teachers and parents perceived it to be in their occupational interests - the former for themselves, the latter for their children - to introduce subjects such as the classics, and the physical sciences, they did
so. Presumably they received the sanction of the school manager, but if the subject was taught outside school hours, neither the commissioners nor the inspectorate had any control over the matter.

The content of the combined 'moral and literary curriculum' as specified in the programmes of minimum proficiency, monitorial and classificatory examinations continued to be controlled from the centre, the detailed amount per class or per examination specified and its detailed content defined mainly through the board's own publications and those of Professor Sullivan. In 1863 the triennial 'free stock' scheme had been discontinued, but the board's and Sullivan's books were still heavily subsidised - the price to schools being only half cost price. Curriculum subjects were increasingly seen as discrete bodies of knowledge, whose divisions were symbolized, by changes in time and place in the classroom, by the increasing use of separate texts rather than an all-embracing lesson book, and by separate examination papers and marks for each. The division between denominational and 'moral and literary' instruction was also made more rigid during this period. This reflected both the government's desire in 1854 to contain the manifestly denominational character of national school at local level, and the increasing power of the Catholic hierarchy at the centre who desired the abolition of combined Christianity, the prescribed texts for which they saw as rationalist and Protestant.

The revision of the text books during the 1860's brought a change in the kind of knowledge now felt to be appropriate for pupils in national schools - and especially those in the senior classes. The educational knowledge offered was no longer ostensibly designed for the poor, but was more particularly oriented to those already in, or hoping to become members of, the middle class. It was for this group that literary knowledge was thought to be especially important. Literature was to be
the source whereby such an aspirant learned that style of proprietary behaviour which would socially legitimate his competitively achieved status. For competition was the other side of the 'cultivated' middle class. Those within the national system were well aware of this. The desirability of promoting competition was acknowledged not only in the extensive examination structure, but in the educational methods advocated by Keenan and Joyce. Well organized and hierarchically controlled industriousness was of primary value in the school room and beyond.

The revision of the lesson books broke the earlier vertically integrated curricula: an integration within a chain-of-being paradigm in Carlile's texts and an integration around 'scientific facts' and classifications as in Whately's texts. Science was now conceived of as a subject for senior classes. Separate from science, and from economics, geography, agriculture etc. was literary knowledge. Literary knowledge was itself offered early within the national system - 'literary extracts' were introduced as early as the second book, and even the first book was extended some 20 pages to include longer, connected moral tales and fables. Thus were children to be early introduced to, and the meritocratic few allowed to continue in, the 'humanizing' ways of English literature even if it was but to memorize rather than criticize it.
Footnotes to Chapter V

1 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, pp. 266-7. The figure 40,000 is seven per cent of those on rolls, 1 January 1868.

2 After Archbishop Murray died in 1852, the Rev. Cornelius Denvir, Bishop of Down and Connor was appointed commissioner, but resigned in 1858. The Rev. Dean Myler remained a member of the board until 1864, but after his death no further Catholic clerics agreed to be appointed. [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 1072]. It appears that they were unwilling to subscribe to an educational system described by the senior Catholic commissioner of the 1860s, Judge Thomas O'Hagan, as "a system of compromise. It requires some sacrifices of individual sentiment, that it may be more generally accepted and of wider usefulness." [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. viii, Miscellaneous Papers and Returns, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, p. 3.].


7 See Letter from James Gibson, Presbyterian commissioner of national education and member of the Powis Commission dissenting from the denominational recommendations of the Powis Commission, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt.i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, pp. 590-600. In 1867, 13 per cent of all national schools were managed by Presbyterians (mainly Presbyterian clergymen), 11 per cent of all children attending national schools were Presbyterians (n = 47,119) and 96 per cent (n = 45,733) of these were in Ulster. [Ibid, pp. 238 and 511].

8 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 900.

10 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 500.


16 Ibid, p. 67.

17 In 1867 only 10 per cent of the 9,475 pupils at the model schools had parents who were labourers or servants; 20 per cent had fathers who were tradesmen and 10 per cent fathers who were farmers. A further 10 per cent came from professional or semi professional families. The remaining 50 per cent had parents who were clerks, publicans, shopkeepers, policemen etc. [see Royal Commission of Inquiry in Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, pp. 94-95].


20 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 251.

21 Candidates had to be recommended by one of the commissioners before sitting the examination and had to be of the correct religious denomination to maintain the religious equilibrium between Catholic and Protestant inspectors.


| English (language, literature, composition and rhetoric) | 2,000 |
The obligatory course required:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History of Greece and Rome</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Science</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Economy</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book-keeping</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The optional course included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Marks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The classics</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A continental language</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History and philosophy of education</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Mathematics</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences (no more than three could be taken)</td>
<td>900 (max.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


23 Royal Commission of Inquiry in Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, pp. 168-70. The great majority of the remaining inspectors had been tutors or teachers in private or classical schools. Of the 60 district inspectors, 12 had graduated from Trinity College, 10 from the Queen's Colleges and 3 from other universities. [Ibid.].


27 Commissioners of National Education, Fifth Reading Book for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1859, p. 154.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Links between the administration of the Queen's colleges and the national commissioners were strong: half the members of the Queen's Colleges' first senate were at that time, or were to become, commissioners of national education [Moody, T.W. and Beckett, J.C. Queen's Belfast, 1845-1949, p. 75], while the president of Queen's College, Belfast, the Rev. S. Henry (Presbyterian) was one of the most influential members of the national board from 1839-1881. By 1868, 10 of the district inspectors had graduated from the Queen's Colleges. [See note 23 above].

31 M.B.N.E.I, 11 January 1861.
32 Royal Commission of Inquiry in Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, pp. 5-6.

33 Judge Thomas O'Hagan and John O'Hagan had been involved with the Young Ireland Movement of the 1840's.


38 M.R.N.E.I. 13 May 1859.

39 M.B.N.E.I. 21 March 1862.

40 M.B.N.E.I. 27 February, 1866, 11 February and 27 March 1868.

41 Evidence of Cardinal Cullen, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 1226.

42 Ibid.

43 Ibid, p. 1233.

44 Ibid, p. 1241.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid, p. 1234.


51 See note 42 above.

Criticism of the national system was augmented and co-ordinated by the appointment of Archbishop Cullen in 1850 to the See of Armagh and subsequently to Dublin on the death of Archbishop Murray in 1852. Cardinal Cullen had been rector of the Irish College in Rome for some 29 years. He believed in centralized church authority, uniformity and discipline, and was totally committed to denominational education. [MacSuibhne, P. Paul Cullen and his Contemporaries, Vol.I, Naas, 1961, p. 404].

The percentage of Catholics on model school rolls fell from 55 per cent in 1858 to 24 per cent in 1866. [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, p. 445]. Likewise the number of Catholic teachers in training fell from 237 in 1861 to 137 in 1866. [Ibid, p. 203]. This added greatly to the existing problem of untrained teachers: in 1867, 4307 out of a total of 7472 teachers were untrained, [Ibid, p. 197]. Even the classification of teachers was dismally low - two-thirds belonging to the third or probationary class. [Ibid, p. 244 and 372].

Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, p. 188.


Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 705.


Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 1242.

See note 18 above.

See for example Letter of Rev. Dr. Moriarity, Bishop of Kerry to the Powis Commission, 10 June 1868, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. viii, Miscellaneous Papers and Returns, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, p. 19.
Evidence Resident Commissioner Macdonnell to the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, pp. 501-502. He suggested however that the classical education of senior pupils, ought to "be so conducted as not in the slightest degree to interfere with the education of the really poor." Ibid, p. 502.

See for example, District Inspector Craig's annual report, 26th Report C.N.E.I. 1859, Appendix, H.C. 1860, xxvi, p. 149; also evidence of Chief Inspector Keenan, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, pp. 51 and 84. For requests to the commissioners to sanction the introduction of classics into district model schools and a limited number of other national schools, see M.B.N.E.I. 11 August 1854, 19 October and 9 November 1855.


M.B.N.E.I. 10 February 1860. It was January 1862 however before a teacher of classics was appointed, see M.B.N.E.I. 10 January 1862.

M.B.N.E.I. 18 December 1866.

Ibid.

M.B.N.E.I. 18 June 1867.

Ibid, also M.B.N.E.I. 25 May 1869.


Between 1858 - 67 the number of Established church clerical managers increased from 138 to 243. By 1867, 13 per cent of all national schools were under the management of members of the Established church. [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, p. 235]. Some of these, however, were schools for mainly Catholic children and Catholic teachers were appointed. Only seven per cent of the children on national school rolls and six per cent of all national school teachers were members of the Established church. [Ibid, p. 252 and 269].

82 Evidence of Archbishop Whately, Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Practical Working of the National System of Education in Ireland, H.C. 1854, xv, p. 154.

83 Ibid, p. 145.


85 M.B.N.E.I. 21 February 1850.


88 M.B.N.E.I. 17 June 1853. For a more detailed discussion of the conflict among commissioners regarding Whately's religious texts see Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 258-274.

89 M.B.N.E.I. 17 June, 1853.


91 M.B.N.E.I. 17 June 1853.

92 M.B.N.E.I. 15 July and 28 October 1853, and 12 May 1854.

93 M.B.N.E.I. 15 July 1853.


98 M.B.N.E.I. 11 August and 14 December 1853, 10 February 1854.


100 Ibid, pp. 150-153.

101 Resolutions Adopted at a Meeting of Irish Bishops held on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd October, 1867, on National Education, in McKeown, M. Catholic Reaction..., Appendix, p. 255.

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102 See letter from Rev. Dr. McCabe, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise to Powis Commissioners, 24 October 1868, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. viii, Miscellaneous Papers and Returns, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, p. 21, and evidence of Rev. Dr. Dorrian, Bishop of Down and Connor, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, pp. 363 and 358; also McKeown, M. Catholic Reaction..., p. 79.


105 M.B.N.E.I. 1866, also Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. i, p. 188.

106 Programme of Instruction for Pupils in National Schools, 26th Report C.N.E.I, 1859, Appendix, H.C. 1860, xxvi, pp. 373-376. On how inspectors were to assess pupils progress in this programme, see Instructions for the Guidance of District and Sub Inspectors (1854), Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, pp. 179-185, and Circular of 11 May 1858, ibid, pp. 187-188.


109 Ibid.

110 The organizers emphasized (1) the need to improve the physical facilities of the school, its lighting, ventilation and play-ground, (2) the profitable use of teaching aids such as charts, tablets, blackboards, (3) the need for a proper arrangement of desks if a monitory system was to be orderly and effective, and for teaching drill,discipline,cleanliness and punctuality, (4) the need for proper supervision of monitors and parental cognisance of this, (5) the absolute necessity for the proper classification of pupils, for a suitable time-table, and for adequate preparation by the teacher of the lessons he was about to teach. It was hoped thereby to "give a distinctive stamp and uniform character to the schools conducted on the National System." [Circular Letter Explanatory of the Nature of School Organization and the Duties of Organizers and Inspectors in relation to it, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, pp. 1288-1290].

111 Evidence of Chief Inspector Keenan and Secretary Newell, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt.iii, pp. 72 and 127 respectively.
Patrick Joyce had initially been a teacher in a rural national school and in a mechanics institute. He had hence progressed to headmastership of the West Dublin model school on the recommendation of the local Catholic national school inspector.


In 1859 a stringent rule was enforced requiring that teachers seeking promotion be certified as to the adequacy of their school-keeping by their district inspectors. In the inspectors' constant search for uniformity, this proficiency was given numerical value in 1866. Thus, for both male and female teachers, 350 marks were assigned to the state of the teacher's school with regard to discipline and cleanliness and 650 to his pupils' proficiency in school subjects, totalling 1,000 for this part of the examination. This constituted a half of the total marks for female teachers and more than a third of the total marks for male teachers, male teachers having more obligatory subjects than females. [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns Furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, pp. 292-298].


Ibid, p. 66.

Ibid, p. 79.

Ibid, p. 91.

Joyce described in a written submission to the Powis Commission, and thus it must be assumed in praise, of the central model school where "Such in general is their anxiety to succeed at the examination [for class promotion], that you may sometimes see a boy, who from any cause has failed to pass, return to his class crying bitterly at the disappointment." [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. ii, Appendix to the Report..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. ii, p. 819].

Ibid, p. 66.


128 M.B.N.E.I. 19 September 1856, 24 April, 23 September and 7 October 1857, 9 and 26 March 1858.

129 Kavanagh, J. Catholic Case Stated, pp. 206-209; also his evidence, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 524; also evidence of Cardinal Cullen, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, pp. 1228-1231. See also O'Brien, B. Fifty Years of Concession to Ireland, pp. 191-196.

130 M.B.N.E.I. 27 June 1861.

131 M.B.N.E.I. 27 September and 10 October, 1861.

132 Evidence of Secretary Newell, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 125.

133 Mr. McCreedy had been appointed inspector in 1838, head inspector in 1847, chief of inspection in 1856, and secretary to the board in 1863.


135 M.B.N.E.I. 22 April and 27 May 1864.


137 Evidence of Secretary Newell, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 125.


139 Return Showing Cost of Last Revision of the School Books Published by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland etc. H.C. 1867-8, ili, p. 795 seq. Also see M.B.N.E.I. 16 April and 10 September 1867.

140 Commissioners of National Education, Fourth Reading Book for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1867, p. 401.

141 Ibid, 403.

142 Ibid, p. 84.

143 Commissioners of National Education, Third Reading Book for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1868, Lesson on 'The Tiger', pp. 30-33.
Chief Inspector Keenan explained to the Powis Commission that the Poetic Selections were "Quite of a new class [of national school book] intended for supplemental reading for the [senior pupils] either at home or in school." [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence... H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 59]. He also noted the omission of "extracts of a purely technical description, or of an uninviting or unimportant character... to give place to lessons of a higher class on subjects of general interest." [Ibid, p. 65].


Fourth Reading Book..., 1867, p. 7.


Fifth Reading Book..., 1869, p.292.


See Roach, J. Public Examinations in England, 1850-1900, also Joyce, P.W. How to Prepare for Civil Service Competition, pp. 12 and 77. English literature had also been given a prominent place in the Civil Service examination for appointment as national school inspector, inaugurated in 1860. [See Note 26 above].

Third Reading Book..., 1868, pp.103-4, 115-6, 191-2, 137-8, 29-30, 139-140 respectively.


Ibid, p. 216.

Fifth Reading Book..., 1869, p. 301.

Ibid, p. 129.

M.B.N.E.I. 8 August 1865.

Return Showing the Cost of Last Revision of the School Books Published by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland etc. H.C. 1867-8, liii, p. 796. For Presbyterian criticism of the new books, also see evidence of Rev. James Porter, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pp. 813-817.

Return Showing the Cost of Last Revision of the School Books Published by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland etc. H.C. 1867-8, liii, pp. 796-803. Also M.B.N.E.I. 15 February and 18 November 1868.
The distribution of pupils by reading book had changed with the introduction of the new reading books in 1865-7. The new books had increased the size of the First Book by adding 20 pages of fables and moral tales to the end of it; and increased the size of the Second Book by over a 100 pages, incorporating some of the pupils previously 'in' the sequels to the second book. The distribution in 1860 as compared to 1867 is set out below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>First Book</th>
<th>Second Book</th>
<th>Sequels</th>
<th>Third Book</th>
<th>Fourth &amp; Fifth Books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The highest turnover among national school pupils was in the junior classes. In 1867, of the total pupils struck off the rolls, 46 per cent were 'in' the First Book, 29 per cent in the Second Book, 17 per cent in the third and eight per cent in the fourth and fifth books. [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, p. 376].

Some few travellers tales in the third and fourth books which had been originally included by Carlile but omitted by Whately, reappeared. [see Third Reading Book..., 1868, pp. 193-8, 206-211 and 252-5, Fourth Reading Book..., 1867, pp. 385-390 and 397-399].

Although, offers were made to update the Epitome of Geographical Knowledge, the commissioners did little to implement this, apparently content to let it fall into disuse. In the three years 1865-7, the board sold 1,800 copies of the Epitome... at reduced prices, while during the same period they sold 715,194 copies of Introduction to Geography... and 23,327 copies of Geography Generalized. [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, H.C. xxviii, pt. v, pp. 568-569].
See Instructions for the Guidance of District and Sub-Inspectors (1854) and subsequent circulars in Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, pp. 549 seq.


Criticism of the history texts came from inspectors in their annual reports, and from nationalist groups, see Kavanagh, J. Catholic Case Stated, pp. 301-303, as well as from Catholic leaders, see evidence of Cardinal Cullen, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 1226. On the reported use of unauthorized texts see, for example M.B.N.E.I 1 October 1852, 18 May and 25 November 1853, 10 August 1858, 27 July 1860. The most usual texts found were Goldsmith's History of England and his History of Rome, and in Irish history, O'Neill Daunt's Abridgement of Irish History, see Return relating to National Education (Ireland), (School Books), H.C. 1894, lxxviii.

M.B.N.E.I. 4 September 1857.

M.B.N.E.I. 10 September 1858.

M.B.N.E.I. 23 October 1866, and 18 June and 13 August 1867.

M.B.N.E.I. 23 March 1869.

Epitome of Geographical Knowledge, p. 68.

Ibid

Sullivan, R. Geography Generalized, Dublin 1854, pp. 311-312.


Ibid, p. 315.

Fifth Reading Book..., 1869, pp. 363-478.


Evidence Secretary Newell, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 1107.

It would appear, however, that the commissioners intended, in their re-organisation of the training department in accordance with the suggestion of the government, to appoint a professor of science. [M.B.N.E.I. 27 November 1866].

Evidence of Prof. Butler, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, pp. 256, 264-6, also evidence of Secretary Newell, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iv, Minutes of Evidence, H.C. 1870, xxvii, pt.iii, pp. 1125-6.

Evidence of Secretary Newell, ibid, pp. 1108-9.

Ibid, p. 1108.

During the 1840's new professorships in a wide range of sciences were established at Trinity College and in the new Queen's Colleges. [Moody, T.W. and Beckett, J.C. Queen's Belfast, 1845-1949, p. 41 seq. and Maxwell, C. A History of Trinity College Dublin, 1591-1892, pp. 194-5].


Ibid, also M.B.N.E.I. 5 November 1867.


Commissioners of National Education, Agricultural Class Book, Dublin, 1867, p. 205.


Ibid. This question also came up in the 'Agriculture' paper for teachers in 1869 when they were asked to "Explain the several ways in which the farmers of this country could increase their wealth by improving modes of managing cattle, horses and sheep." [36th Report C.N.E.I. 1869, Appendix, H.C. 1870, xxiii, p. 675].


See evidence of Maurice Cross and Dr. Henry, Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords Appointed to Inquire into the Practical Working of the System of National Education in Ireland, H.C. 1854, xv, pp. 236 and 1177 respectively.
207 M.B.N.E.I. 5 September and 28 December 1855, 25 April and 6 June 1856.
208 M.B.N.E.I. 2 March 1860.
210 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 70.
212 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vii, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, p. 293.
213 Ibid.
214 Evidence of Secretary Newell, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 116.
 CHAPTER VI

AWAY FROM MERITOCRACY : 1870 - 1900

In the 30 years to the end of the century the meritocratic structure of the national system which had been built up over the previous 40 years was largely dismantled. The national system was converted from being an educational system which had legitimated itself in terms of the meritocratic ladder it offered to the few, to one whose raison d'être was to offer a terminal, and by the late 1890's increasingly compulsory, elementary education to the majority. And the majority in Ireland were identified, for example, by the Powis Commission, as belonging to the "manual-labour classes."  

These developments could hardly have been foreseen in the early 1870's when the centralized control of the inspectorate and its commitment to a meritocratic structure appeared to have been reinforced by Keenan's appointment as resident commissioner, a post which he held from 1871 to his death in 1894. Centralized control also received perhaps its most complete institutionalization in the inauguration of an Irish system of payment by results in 1872. This system initially attempted both to ensure an adequate education for the majority, as well as offering an intermediate education for the meritocratic few.

The one indication perhaps that the national system's meritocracy was under threat lay in the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy during the 1860's to the extension of the national system into intermediate education. It linked its criticism of this extension to its criticism of non-denominational education, especially as evidenced in the model schools and teacher training college. It was able to effectively apply sanctions through its local managerial power base, and to get its voice
reinforced at the centre through its links with Catholic and home rule politicians and through a convenient use of the Tory's fear of fenianism.

The national system's meritocracy was fundamentally undermined by the passing of the Intermediate Education Act in 1878. The Act established a new and separate board of intermediate education, appointed by the government to administer an endowment of £1 million for the support of intermediate education - as given in intermediate schools. Such intermediate schools as complied with a conscience clause received a capitation grant for each student who succeeded in the elaborate series of intermediate examinations designed and controlled by the intermediate board. Pupils who were successful in these examinations not only earned capitation grants for their schools - if it was an intermediate school - but scholarships, exhibitions and prizes for themselves. The details of this scheme were formulated by Mr. Keenan. After the scheme had been drawn up and shown to Dr. Conway, Catholic Bishop of Ardagh, the latter requested that national and model school be excluded from its benefits and this was accepted by the government. Senior pupils from national schools could take the intermediate board's examination and earn scholarships to finance further study, but their success did not earn a capitation grant for either their national teacher or national school. Gradually the national system came to be identified as a primary system of education, intermediate education being offered, in the main, in denominational intermediate schools.

During the 30 years 1870 to 1900, the meritocratic curriculum structure, which had integrated the national system, gave way to a three tier educational structure, differentiating curricula according to social class: crudely, national schools, into which the commissioners attempted to introduce increased manual instruction, was to provide a terminal education for the great majority of manual workers; denominational intermediate schools were to provide a mainly literary education
for the white collar clerk, with denominational teacher training (from 1884) beginning to simulate the upper levels of its first-class teachers' programme to university requirements.

The commissioners attempted to introduce manual training into the national school curriculum in the late 1880's and early 1890's. They were vehemently, and for a time successfully, opposed by national teachers, parents and some Protestant school managers. In occupational terms, the commissioners represented, in 1895, (1) members of the judiciary: four judges sat on the board; (2) members of the clergy: two Archbishops of Dublin, Dr. Walsh and Dr. Plunkett, as well as three other clergymen; and (3) senior educational administrators. Of the latter, three had previously been inspectors and secretaries to the national board; Professor Fitzgerald was professor of natural philosophy at Trinity College, Dublin, and registrar of its school of engineering; Rowland Blennerhasset was to be appointed president of Queen's College, Cork, in 1897; and Christopher Redington was vice-chancellor of the Royal University. On Keenan's death, Redington was appointed resident commissioner, a position which he held between 1894 and 1899, when he died. The contrast between the social background of Keenan and Redington is perhaps indicative of the retrenchment of class privilege, which also became evident in the educational concerns of the commissioners: he was a landlord, his family being of old Catholic landed gentry. He had been educated at Oscott College in Birmingham and Christ Church in Oxford. His interests and aptitudes were literary and academic. 3

The inspectors lost certain aspects of their power during these 30 years. The introduction of denominational training colleges in 1884, and the increased influence of managers in the appointment of monitors from 1872, moved control of the teacher mobility system out of their hands and into those of the clergy of different denominations. Also, at the level of the local school their sphere of
discretionary influence was limited by the introduction of payment by results. Their work now consisted in the annual examinations of each individual pupil for results fees, rather than the inspection of teaching methods. In the late 1890's Dr. Walsh, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin and appointed a commissioner of national education in 1895, began to query the senior inspectors' work, for example regarding their inspection of the denominational training colleges, further undermining their previous influential position.

Appointment to inspectorships continued to be by competitive examination, but university graduates rather than national teachers became increasingly more successful in the 1880's and 90's. The Irish Teachers' Journal complained that changes in the inspectors' examination, especially those of 1896, increasingly favoured university graduates because of its language and classical requirements. In the 1890's, 15 of the 60 inspectors had previously been national teachers, which was the same number as in the 1860's, but they tended to be older and in more senior positions. In 1896, four of the six head inspectors and one of the two chiefs of inspection had been national teachers.

The decline in the power of the inspectorate by no means allowed the commissioners a free hand. From the 1870's the Treasury allowed itself to increasingly interfere with work of the national board in such matters as the cost of the inspectorate and the model schools, and the 'inefficiency' of small schools. They continuously preached the greater economy and efficiency of English education. No doubt the fact that the cost to the exchequer per pupil in Irish national schools was almost twice that of pupils in elementary schools in England contributed to this preaching. In England, the local rates, school fees and voluntary subscriptions contributed a far greater amount than in Ireland. With regard to curricular matters, payment by results placed a price tag on each curriculum subject, and any curriculum change involving a change in that price tag required the commissioners of national education going
cap-in-hand via the Chief Secretary and Lord Lieutenant, to the Treasury to finance this change. This was particularly evident between 1886 and 1891, when the Treasury, over a five year period, repeatedly refused the commissioners' request to change the programme in some extra subjects which would entail an extra cost to the Treasury. The commissioners protested and sought the aid of both the Lord Lieutenant in 1886 and the Chief Secretary in 1889 to sustain, in the face of Treasury usurpation:

...their educational functions and to enable them to make such modifications or developments of their programmes of instruction as experience may suggest or the exigencies of the times require - subject of course to every scrutiny and control on financial consideration on the part of the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury.

It was not, however, until 1891 that the proposed programme changes were finally sanctioned for inclusion in the 1892-3 programme.

**Denominationalism**

The Powis Commission, appointed by a Conservative government favourable to denominational education, had 14 members, equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. The majority were Irish, but the two English school inspectors who were appointed members - Messrs. Cowie and Stokes - appear to have been particularly influential in drawing up the final report, which recommended both a denominational and a more formally class structured educational system. The two Presbyterian commissioners, James Gibson and David Wilson dissented from this report.

With regard to denominational teacher training, the majority report recommended that (1) separate denominational training colleges be allowed and state-aided through payment on results, and (2) in connection with the existing central training establishment at Marlboro' Street, denominational boarding houses be established. Due to Presbyterian hostility and initial Church of Ireland wavering, the government did not sanction the implementation of these proposals until 1883.

The commissioners decided to retain Marlboro' Street Training College under their direct control. But students at Marlboro' Street might in
future lodge in denominational boarding houses for which they would receive an allowance. 20 Completely separate denominational training colleges were to be permitted and financed by a capitation grant. 21 The commissioners retained the right to sanction the appointment of professors in the denominational colleges, to specify the curriculum, to inspect and to examine.

Two Catholic training colleges were established in Dublin in the same year - one supervised by the Sisters of Mercy for female students, the other under Vincentian Fathers for male students. Each offered facilities for 150 students. The manager of both was the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. 22 In the following year, the Kildare Place Training College also became a denominational college, offering training facilities for 125 students. 23 In 1891, the De la Salle Brothers opened a training college in Waterford. 24 The Catholic hierarchy continued to forbid the appointment to Catholic schools of teachers trained in Marlborough Street. 25

A second Powis recommendation which the Catholic hierarchy desired implemented was that model schools should either become elementary schools or be granted on lease to denominations desiring to use them as training colleges. 26 Three times the Treasury suggested to the commissioners of national education that these recommendations be implemented: in 1883, 1885 and again in 1894. 27 On each occasion, the commissioners refused to disband the model schools, recognizing Presbyterian hostility to such a venture, and replied curtly in 1894 that "...the question raised by their Lordships is one of educational policy upon which they think it is inopportune to enter at present." 28 In 1896, Archbishop Walsh sought the establishment of a committee of the whole board to examine the condition of the model schools. 29 This was done, 30 but no changes occurred before the end of the century.

Thus, the model schools continued, with 9,000 average number on
rolls and 6,500 average attendance. A quarter of the pupils were Catholic, mainly in the Dublin, Cork and Trim model schools.\textsuperscript{31} The average cost per pupil to the government in 1890 was over £3 in model schools, £1.50 in ordinary national schools and £1.30 in convent schools.\textsuperscript{32} The model schools continued to have a higher percentage of pupils in the senior classes than did ordinary national schools.\textsuperscript{33} They also continued to train monitors and pupil teachers.\textsuperscript{34} In 1899 a fifth of the students accepted for teacher training had been pupil teachers in model schools.\textsuperscript{35} No doubt the great majority of these went to Marlboro' Street Training College.

The model schools continued, but they were not only a religious anomaly, but also, increasingly, an educational anomaly by bridging both primary and secondary education. The meritocratic ladder, of which they were to have been a central part, had by 1900 given way to distinct cleavages between ordinary national schools, denominational intermediate schools, and denominational training colleges.

At the level of the ordinary national school, denominational local control remained. By 1899, 98 per cent of Catholic children were taught exclusively by Catholic teachers, while 92 per cent of Protestant children were taught exclusively by Protestant teachers.\textsuperscript{36} The sprinkling of very small numbers of pupils in schools where the denomination of the majority of their fellow pupils and teachers was different to their own, gave 37 per cent of the schools a token mixed attendance.\textsuperscript{37}

Likewise, the management of schools remained solidly in denominational, and usually clerical, hands. Of the total of some 8,500 national schools in 1899, 70 per cent ($n = 5924$) were managed by Catholics, and 97 per cent of these were clergymen. Of the 30 per cent ($n = 2497$) managed by Protestants, 74 per cent had clerical managers.\textsuperscript{38} The number of convent schools also increased. The Powis Commission had recommended that the penal clauses, introduced in 1855 on the recommendation of the
government, limiting the development of convent and monastic national schools, should be repealed. The commissioners of national education did so in the early 1880's, with Dr. Jellett, Provost of Trinity College, and Rev. Hanna, Presbyterian clergyman, dissenting. By 1899 the number of convent schools had increased to 301, educating a quarter of all the girls at national schools.

The Powis Commission had recommended that the desire of both the Church of Ireland and the Catholic Church for the integration of denominational with literary instruction could be fulfilled by the national board differentiating between two types of national schools: in places where there was only one school available, religious instruction might continue to be confined to fixed hours; but in places where there were at least two schools, one under Catholic management and the other under Protestant management, the board should recognize these as denominational schools and place no restriction upon religious instruction, except that pupils of different denominations be excluded from it, i.e. a conscience clause. The commissioners did not implement this recommendation. However, during the 1870's, they began to be rather more lenient regarding the use of what they now saw as undenominational religious symbols - for example, the use of crosses on national schools and the use of certain scriptural texts and pictures in the school room, and by 1899 began to turn a blind eye to the making of the sign of the cross each hour in convent schools.

Despite this apparent drift over the thirty years, in the main, denominational religious instruction remained separate from the remainder of the curriculum, with Presbyterian commissioners and some Church of Ireland members being particularly vigilant in shoring up the walls. This became particularly evident between 1892 - 1895 when the board attempted to redraft its rules to facilitate the incorporation of denominational schools - mainly Christian Brothers' schools and Church Education Schools - into the national system and so allow for the successful operation of the
Compulsory Education Act (1892).

Over these four years at the request of the Liberal Chief Secretary, the commissioners formulated three different sets of amendments to their rules to facilitate this incorporation. Each of these was rejected by the Chief Secretary, no doubt confirming the hierarchy's long-felt suspicion of the nondenominational - if not secularist - commitments of the Liberal party.

A rapprochement appeared nearest in 1895. By then, the Compulsory Education Act had proved a failure in most of the 118 urban areas in which it had been scheduled to operate. One of the reasons for its failure was the refusal of about 20 municipal corporations to put the Act into operation as long as Christian Brothers' schools were excluded from participation in state grants, as there was no way for state payment in lieu of fees. Chief Secretary Morley wrote to the commissioners stating the urgent necessity of resolving the issue, otherwise "...the declared policy of parliament in respect of compulsory school attendance in Ireland is to be frustrated." He suggested a capitation grant to denominational schools in those localities affected by the Act. The commissioners stated that they could not accept a capitation grant which would be financially discriminatory against denominational schools. Rather, they desired equal payment made on the basis of similar criteria for all schools. However, while the majority of the commissioners, both Catholic and Church of Ireland favoured equal payment to denominational schools, i.e. schools which placed no limits on denominational religious instruction apart from a conscience clause and vetting by the commissioners of all books used, they were willing, in order to meet Whig distaste for denominationalism readily shorn up by Presbyterian groups, to limit recognition of 'denominational schools' to those areas covered by the Compulsory Education Act. However, the government
again changed and the new Tory Chief Secretary, Gerald Balfour, refused to sanction the proposed changes. The anti-Catholicism of the Tories and Unionists on the one hand and the anti-denominationalism of the non-conformist wing of the Whigs on the other, was to maintain a division between religious and secular instruction in Irish schools until the end of the century.

The primary school curriculum: payment by results

As the national school system split into a tripartite structure, the curriculum for junior classes became increasingly differentiated from that of the senior classes. Junior classes were first to fourth class with pupils mainly below twelve years of age. Senior pupils were in fifth and sixth classes, which offered, until a new programme was inaugurated in 1900, an intermediate education in 'extra subjects' as shall be discussed below.

With the introduction of payment by results in 1872 junior classes were to be offered a more limited curriculum, in order, as inspectors explained, to allow pupils to concentrate on learning to read as early as possible: "Proficiency in reading should be attained at the earliest possible age, as it is the first and most important instrument of knowledge." Head Inspector Fitzgerald recommended that:

...as no boy can be said to know anything till he is able to read with tolerable fluency and intelligence, I would remove from the early part of his course every impediment to the acquisition of this essential art, and since a large portion of our pupils, daily increasing in number, will inevitably leave school without completing their course, I would take care that what they do learn, while at school, should be that most likely to prove useful to them in after-life, and that they should learn it in the best manner possible, within the limited period they remain under our care.

He considered that it would be better both "...for the individual and the nation" that the majority of pupils who left school at an early age "...should be able to read and write fairly, to work ordinary sums, and to write correctly from dictation; rather than to be deficient in these
but to have a 'mechanical smattering' of grammar and geography.\textsuperscript{58}

The new curriculum for junior classes proposed that infants, first and second classes, were to concentrate on the three r's with the introduction of grammar and geography postponed to third class.\textsuperscript{59}
Sewing was to be taught to girls from second class upwards, with agriculture beginning in fourth class for boys. The optional subjects of singing and drawing were initially to be postponed until fourth class, but were soon reintroduced into lower classes - singing could earn results fees from second class upwards and drawing from third class upwards. The great majority of the pupils in national schools followed this curriculum - in 1878, 86 per cent of pupils undertaking results examinations took the fourth class or lower test, in 1899 77 per cent did so.\textsuperscript{60}

The adequate teaching of these subjects to junior classes was to be enforced through payment by results, as advocated by the Powis Commission and supported by the inspectorate.\textsuperscript{61} This reinforced the already strong institutionalization of central control by placing a price tag on the adequate teaching of each subject. It was thus to act as a centrally controlled incentive scheme, as the Powis Commission stated:

\begin{quote}
We hope that the payment by results in the modified form in which we have advised its adoption will make the teachers more keenly anxious for the progress of the children, and that the wholesome rivalry of the schools in the same district will produce, both in managers and teachers, active exertion to secure more regular and more beneficial attendance. \textsuperscript{62}
\end{quote}

Children it was hoped would be encouraged to attend school regularly and this 'encouragement' was to be stimulated by only allowing pupils who had attended school for a minimum number of days to be examined for payment by results.\textsuperscript{63} Likewise, teachers were to be 'encouraged' to move students systematically through the successive grades by only allowing a pupil to earn payment for examination in the same grade once.\textsuperscript{64} What teachers received as payment for results was to be supplemental to their class salaries.
Payment by results was unanimously favoured by the inspectorate. Chief Inspector Keenan and Dr. Newell, secretary to the board of national education, each offered to the Powis Commission an outline plan of payment by results tailored to the needs of the national system. Newell recommended class rather than individual examinations. The former he suggested would encourage the intellectual and moral education of all pupils and guard against discrimination - indeed hostility - between the weaker pupil and his teacher. However, when the commissioners of national education examined the issue in 1871, they decided to implement Keenan's plan based on individual examinations, as already practiced in England and as recommended by Powis. Despite hesitation and initial refusal by the Treasury, in 1872 payment by results was in operation. The Irish system of payment by results was not simply a replication of the English system. It was an attempt to offer through its curriculum structure an adequate level of literacy and vocational training to those in junior classes, many of whom were expected to be irregular in attendance and early school leavers, while at the same time to offer to senior classes a more extensive curriculum of extra subjects, including languages, science and mathematics. It represented the educational and social ideals of the inspectorate.

Each year inspectors examined an increasing number of children for results fees - in 1872, they examined 354,000 children; in 1899, 590,000 - as the trend towards increased attendance and increased regularity continued. These trends, however, had been established before payment by results had been introduced. The 1901 census noted that, during the census school week of 1851, 25 per cent of children aged five and under 16 years were in attendance at school, in 1871 this percentage had increased to 42 per cent, in 1881 to 47 per cent, in 1891 to 54 per cent and in 1901 to 60 per cent. Likewise in 1901 60 per cent of children at national schools had attended school for 100 days or more, compared
The great majority of the pupils who sat the results examinations passed and were moved systematically through each grade. In reading the percentage of passes was around 94 per cent, in writing 96 per cent, in spelling 84 per cent, in arithmetic 82 per cent, and in needlework 94 per cent. The percentage of passes decreased in the required extra subjects: geography achieving around 74 per cent passes, grammar 67 per cent, book-keeping 65 per cent, and with agriculture, consistently at the bottom, around 62 per cent.

Throughout the almost 30 years of its existence, the inspectorate continued to support the results system. In the administrative terms of centralized control, uniformity and systematization, payment by results was judged by them to be an educational success. In 1896 when the commissioners of national education invited the inspectors "...to furnish their views at length and unreservedly as to the working of the present results system," only one of the six head inspectors, Head Inspector Strange, condemned it. The remainder of the inspectors simply recommended minor adjustments.

The Catholic hierarchy also supported the introduction, and to the 1890's, the continuance, of payment by results. They were cognizant of the fact that the high visibility of the results system was a means of control over both teachers' and pupils' performance, as well as a stimulus to the manager. In 1885, they presented a memorial both to the commissioners of national education and to the Lord Lieutenant requesting the maintenance and extension of payment by results which "...in the opinion of the Bishops and of the clerical managers of schools subject to their jurisdiction ... has contributed largely to the improvement of primary education in Ireland." It has accomplished this, the memorial stated, by providing a "powerful stimulus" to the industry of teachers, by increasing the attendance and motivation of pupils, and
by giving managers "...a livelier interest in the success of teachers and of pupils and led them to look more closely at the everyday working of their schools." 77

By the late 1880's, however, national teachers, organized within the Irish National Teachers Organization and informed by The Irish Teachers Journal, were becoming increasingly hostile to payment by results, drawing support from the growing criticism of educationalists, teachers and inspectors in Britain - in particular, Mathew Arnold. 78 The teachers pointed out that the rigid uniformity of the programme dominated and controlled the relationship between the teacher and his pupils by its detailed specification and demands. This relationship was no longer based on the professional judgement of the teacher regarding the educational capacities of his pupils but one assessed, quantified and paid for by a 'pass result'. What other profession, a teacher asked at the INTO Congress in 1888, were paid by piece work? 79 Furthermore, teachers were dominated by the demands of the programme, not only because it was in their pecuniary interest, but because the number of passes a teacher gained had become the criterion by which the inspector and manager judged his efficiency, without any inquiry into:

...how the passes have been obtained, or how far the education [thus given to pupils] is effective in forming character and stimulating a healthy regard for learning and mental improvement. 80

The teachers claimed that payment by results was educationally harmful, especially for the brighter pupil, for in order to gain a high percentage of passes most of the teacher's time was spent on the mechanical grinding of weaker pupils, while the brighter ones "...are intellectually starved for something like six months in each year." 81 The INTO passed the following resolution unanimously in 1888:
"Payment by Results" is unsound in principle, pernicious in practice, and detrimental to the best interests of education; and, apart from its injustice as a mode of payment, we unhesitatingly declare our conviction that by fostering "cram" and encouraging mechanical and artificial methods of instruction, the system is calculated to work irreparable injury to the intellectual life of our pupils. 82

Payment by results was not abolished, however, until 1900.

Payment by results not only reinforced the centre's control over the content of the curriculum, but extended its control over the framing of the curriculum by defining the appropriate time-span within which each pupil had to learn a given quantum of knowledge. Curriculum contents were now 'annual amounts,' and it was in the teacher's interest - in terms of results payments - to ensure that this amount was learnt within the year and the pupil moved up to the next grade. The teachers well recognised these controls. A leading article in the Irish Teachers' Journal in 1873 stated that the new results examinations:

...take away in a greater or lesser degree the discretionary powers heretofore vested in teachers and inspectors, and all pupils are subjected by their operation to the one programme and the one process. [The results programme] professes to regularize the teacher's work, to make the pupil's progress more regular and systematic, and to extend its influence over the greatest number possible by enlisting in its aid the self-interests of the master or the mistress. It defines the amount of work which should be done in a given time, and it enforces its regulations by a system of fines. 83

The rigidity of payment by results was reinforced by the continued influence of Joyce's Hand-Book of School Management as the required reading on teaching methods. Joyce himself became professor in Marlboro' Street Training College in 1874, a position he held until 1893. His emphasis on monitory methods and efficiently organized time and space in the class-room remained for the next thirty years as Keenan had originally taught it in the 1850's. Joyce added to, or revised, sections in his hand-book on the teaching of specific subjects as the school programme changed. He also attempted incorporation of the new interest in the psychological development of the individual child but this sat rather
uneasily beside his previous emphasis on the pupils' assimilation of specified subjects, by their diligent application and the teacher's well-organized efforts. Examination questions on teaching methods reflected the changes in Joyce's texts—developing to include questions on motivating and disciplining the pupil as well as how to teach specific subjects, how to efficiently organize the classroom, and knowledge of the board's rules.

The lengths to which teachers were willing to go to ensure their pupils passed the results examination can be assessed to some degree from the 'task books' and 'home lesson books' prepared in the 1870's. One set of home lessons was prepared by Mr. Harbison, headmaster of Belfast district model school, Mr. Murphy, headmaster of Clonmel district model school, and Mr. W. J. Browne, district inspector, and was put on the board's list in 1873. They were intended:

...to assist teachers in the distributing over the year the various subjects included in the school programme. They also included a list of lessons for every day in the school year (and) ... Home exercises in composition, letter-writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, book-keeping, etc.

Another set of task books was prepared by P. M. Egan, headmaster of St. Canice's, Kilkenny. For senior classes he set out notes on each of the lessons in the reading books explaining and expanding upon the meaning of words and phrases within the context of each lesson. For these classes, he also prepared the Agricultural Home Lessons giving the board's Introduction to Practical Farming in catechetical form. For the third and fourth classes, he prepared task books each embracing the whole results course in geography, grammar, arithmetic, music, etc., for that class in catechetical form. They also included:

...a series of tasks for the entire year, and a neat judgement card for the same period. The latter if properly filled and brought to the notice of parents, must prove a great stimulus to the pupils.

Egan's task books were declared unsuitable for use in national schools by the commissioners in 1878, as were other catechisms. Sanction was withdrawn from Harbison's et al home lessons in 1883. Task books and catechisms appear to have continued in use however.
Until the 1890's, the commissioners retained their close control over text books, by linking the results and classification programmes to specified texts and by supplying them at cost price and carriage paid. Although the Powis Commission had recommended that teachers and managers should be free to choose their own text books, a Treasury Committee in 1873-4, of which Keenan was an ex-officio member, decided not to advise its implementation. They recommended that the commissioners should continue to supply books to schools, but at cost price rather than half cost price as previously, and carriage paid. In 1889, the Treasury, however, queried this charge on the exchequer. The commissioners replied protesting respectfully, but decidedly, against any proposals to disturb their system of supplying books and requisites to the national schools. They pointed out the cheapness of books from their stores to the pupil, at only a small cost to the Treasury - £7,000 per annum - and the facility given to inspection and curriculum design by having one set of texts.

The monopoly of the commissioners was also raised by the Nationalist party in the House of Commons in 1883, 1889 and 1893, and it was complained of at an INTO congress by the principal of St. Patrick's Training College in 1891. In 1893, Chief Secretary Morley stated in the House of Commons:

...that it would be better if in Ireland, as in England, there was free competition in the provision of school reading books. But the power of the government and the Chief Secretary over the commissioners was obscure, ambiguous and doubtful, but he would do all he could to make his views prevail.

In 1894 the commissioners began to sanction readers other than their own, if managers so requested and if the reader was found to be unobjectionable by the professors at Marlboro' Street and the commissioners. By 1898, there were 37 sets of readers, comprising 266 books on their sanctioned list and they stipulated that no books other than those on their sanctioned list could be used.
However, for most of the period with which this chapter is concerned the board's books still held a central place, especially for junior classes. Here the board's reading books, Sullivan's introductory geography, an English grammar, and for fourth class boys an agricultural text, were the only books they were likely to have - besides 'task books.'

In the 1870's the numeration of the board's reading books was adjusted to allow for a separate reading book for each of the six classes as set out in the new results programme. The First Reading Book remained as before; but the Second Reading Book was divided, the first half becoming the new second book, while the latter half combined with the easiest lessons from the third book, became the new Third Reading Book. The remainder of the old third book became the new Fourth Reading Book, while the old fourth and fifth books became respectively the new Fifth... and Sixth Reading Book.

The first to fourth books constituted the reading books for elementary classes. During the 1870's and early 1880's, teachers and some inspectors were united in their criticism of these readers: of the inadequate graduation of the lessons, their length, and their lack of 'stimulating' and 'interesting' material. The first and third books were revised in 1885, and the fourth book in 1892. The latter was revised by a committee of commissioners, as were the fifth and sixth books, in which those who had been senior educational administrators and inspectors played a predominant role.

The overall tendency of these revisions was to greatly simplify the first four books, not only by reducing the number of lessons and shortening the length of the books, but by simplifying the language to a more colloquial idiom, increasing the size of the type and including more pictures. Indeed by the late 1890's the fourth book was 100 pages shorter than the 1860's second book and arguably as simple as the latter section of that book.
The revision of the First Reading Book was perhaps the most interesting. Almost 40 per cent of national school pupils were 'in' the First...Book, and tended to be 'in' it, on average, up to eight or nine years of age, and then passed through the second, third and fourth books each in a year. In the revision of the First...Book the unconnected sentences which had constituted almost three-quarters of previous books were abandoned and instead short, simple, connected pieces of a few sentences were introduced. The subjects were mainly concerned with domestic animals: the cat, dog, pig and hen; as well as an entirely new subject for the national school readers: children's play. Short pieces were introduced on a child playing a drum, playing with a kite, a doll, a cart; going to the seaside, for a drive, going sailing. The child's rather than the adult's point of view was presented:

Pat is a bad boy. He is not kind to my doll. She has fair hair and he said it was too long. So he put her on a chair to chop it off. He did chip off a bit of her chin. I chid him for it, but he is a good child; and he did not mean to make me cry. Now she is ill, but the air will do her good.

Kindness between children and between children and animals was emphasised, but there was no mention of either God or of sin. The last section of the book reproduced the moral tales and fables which had been included in the 1860 revision, introducing the child to such moral concepts as foresight and truthfulness. It also includedWhately's admonition to go to school clean and tidy, and Carlile's religious piece regarding dependance on God, the need to avoid "the paths of sin" and thus avoid his wrath.

The second, third and fourth class children were aged 9 - 12 years. Since the 1860's their reading books included scripture lessons, religious pieces and moral tales, lessons on discrete animals and vegetables, poetry - some of which was concerned with Ireland, and 'literary' pieces, such as extracts from Robinson Crusoe.
books were 'revised' in 1885 and 1892 respectively, they showed little
dramatic change in terms of content. They still carried a large number
of lessons from the past, with almost half the lessons in the second
through to fourth books having been originally introduced by Carlile or
Whately in their second and third books.\textsuperscript{108} The overall size of the
books was decreased by a reduction in the number of scripture lessons,\textsuperscript{109}
and a reduction in the number of 'literary' pieces of the 1860's -
Robinson Crusoe, John Gilpin, and the Babes in the Wood and two poems
by Wordsworth, for example, were all excluded. A consequence of this
reduction and of the inclusion of a few new pieces, was an increase in
the percentage of lessons on Ireland; on such virtues as industriousness,
and good order; lessons giving 'useful' and 'instructive' information
on selected animals, plants, metals, and geographical areas; and, in the
Fourth Reading Book lessons on the need for cleanliness and temperance
which will be discussed further below.

The discrete pieces on animals, on the cat, dog, fox and tiger, as
initially introduced by Carlile and Whately, identifying them as 'dog
kind' or 'cat kind,' discussing their uses to man and concluding with
scriptural and theological references, remained. Also included were
stories of the friendship of dogs and in the Third... Book the killing
of a lion, as well as animal fables teaching industry, contentment and
foresight. The first, second and third books all contained these lessons,
even similar animals - the dog in particular, were discussed in each.
The Fourth... Book contained pieces on such 'useful' vegetables as the
date palm and cocoa-nut tree, tea and coffee, flax, hemp and cotton,
describing the production and harvesting of these. Perhaps indicative
of the lack of originality and imagination in the revision was the re-
surrecting, for inclusion in the Third... Book of four descriptive pieces
from Whately's 1840 sequels to the second book, pieces on a lighthouse,
a desert and a tour through the major countries of Europe (two lessons).
The latter two lessons displayed the ethnocentricism so typical of Whately's geography lessons: it began in London, crossed to Paris, whose only noted characteristic was its milliners and flower markets, over the Pyrenees on mules to see the grapes, melons and ladies with mantles and fans. By-passing Portugal, for "There is not much to be seen there," the tour continued on to Gibraltar and its monkeys, passed Vesuvius, but not Rome, and on to Constantinople, where "The people are unlike any we have yet seen." Then in succession, the mountains of Switzerland, Germany, tidy Holland, the Baltic countries, and the Laplanders: "How short they are! What odd little figures!" 110

Pieces on Ireland were increased in books three and four - in contrast the First...Book contained no references to Ireland, and there was but one poem on Ireland in the Second...Book. Readings on Ireland in the third and fourth books constituted roughly a fifth of the total number of pieces. In the Third...Book four new readings on Ireland were included, two describing the Shannon area, one Mitchelstown Caves and one on the Book of Kells, while in the Fourth...Book descriptive pieces on the Rock of Cashel and Lough Neagh were included, as well as two pieces first introduced by Carlile on the Lakes of Killarney and the Giant's Causeway.

Poetry on Ireland or Irish themes played a predominant role, especially in the Fourth...Book. Much of this poetry had been introduced in the 1860 revision, was continued in 1870, and augmented in 1892. The poetry included the longings of the exile and emigrant, pieces in praise of places in Ireland and the expression of these feelings in music and on the harp - five of Thomas Moore's poems on Irish themes were included, as was Thomas Davis's poem 'My Land'. 111 Two new descriptive pieces on 'Old Irish books' were introduced, which described the old Ireland so dear to the Gaelic League of the 1890's: the island of saints and scholars of

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"...some eleven or twelve hundred years ago" when monasteries and scholarship flourished. The lessons described the Book of Leinster and other beautiful and famous books of this period, all of which were written in the Irish language. The lessons ended:

Many people are now studying these books; and men often come to Ireland from France, Germany and other countries in order to learn the Irish language and to read them.

In many National Schools the Irish language is taught, and no doubt some of the pupils who attend the Irish classes will continue their studies after they leave school, till they come to be able to read our old books.

A great many old Irish tales and histories have been printed and translated, and some of them are very beautiful and instructive. 112

A pure and sacred Ireland was becoming a central integrating theme in the readers.

Even Sullivan's Introduction to Geography and History, although still committed to the teaching of geography through definitions and lists, with Britain and the British colonies holding pride of place, in its history section on Ireland included the expulsion of the Danes by "King Brian Boru, who is said to have defeated them in twenty-five battles, the last of which was fought at Clontarf, near Dublin, in 1014, A.D."113 It also omitted that the 1801 "Legislative Union" between Ireland and Great Britain was now entitled "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."114

Intermediate education and teacher training

By 1900 the national system was rapidly losing its intermediate educational functions, but that this was to be, was not apparent in the results programme as designed by the inspectorate in 1872. The Irish system of payment by results was different to the Revised Code as introduced in Britain in the 1860's. The Revised Code had initially limited results payments to the three r's - a limitation criticized by Irish
On the contrary, the Irish inspectorate were committed to an education system in which the upwardly mobile poor would have access to the 'higher branches' of education. As Head Inspector stated to the Powis Commission:

My opinion is that any National system of popular instruction will be defective if it does not supply to talented children of the poorer classes an opportunity of acquiring such an education as will enable them to rise to a higher level than that in which they were born. If you confine the instruction in National schools to mere reading, writing, and arithmetic, it will be impossible for talented children, children of real genius and they are very numerous, ever to acquire such an education as will enable them to rise up to a higher level than that in which their parents lived.

This was institutionalized in the Irish system of payment by results not only by payments for the obligatory teaching of geography, grammar, agriculture and needlework to junior classes, and the optional teaching of drawing and singing; but by payments for an extensive range of 'extra subjects' including languages, sciences and mathematics for senior pupils. It was also implemented through a graduated scale of fees: while a pupil in first class could earn a maximum fee of 5 shillings, a pupil in sixth class could earn a fee of 13 shillings for passes in obligatory subjects and more for passes in extra subjects. Keenan had recommended this, stating:

The English Revised Code provides for an equal payment for the proficiency of a junior and a senior pupil. The labour employed in teaching a child of six years of age the alphabet is no doubt as great, certainly it is as irksome, as in teaching a lad of fourteen a quadratic. To pay, however, as highly for the one as for the other, is offering little or no encouragement to the promotion of scholarship, to the retention at school of the advancing pupils, or to the qualification of young persons for monitorships.
Other élite groups, however, held contrary ideas regarding the meritocratic structure of the national system. The Powis Commission had declared in their final report:

The national system is sustained by the State for the benefit of the manual-labour classes ... But instruction in modern and ancient languages would, speaking generally, confer no benefit upon the manual-labour classes, but rather render the national schools unsuitable for them. 118

They supported this declaration with Cardinal Cullen's statement regarding educating the poor too highly, quoted in the last chapter. More bluntly they stated that "...the course of education in Primary Schools ought not to be extended into secondary or intermediate subjects." 119 If masters of primary schools were qualified to teach extra subjects, they might give private tuition, paid for by parents, outside school hours. 120

The results programme of 1872 incorporated some of these recommendations: firstly, extra subjects could only be taught to fifth and sixth classes; secondly, the obligatory subjects for these classes must be adequately taught and passed before results fees could be earned for extra subjects; thirdly, extra subjects must only be taught outside school hours; fourthly, pupils could not earn results fees for more than two extra subjects (excepting the classics) in any one year; and fifthly, parents or guardians must pay the teacher a fee for the teaching of extra subjects. 121 This latter restriction was insisted upon by the Treasury, who wrote in 1877 to the commissioners, that,

Instead of the matter being left to the discretion of managers and teachers, my Lords must insist upon the uniform charge of an extra fee in all schools; without such a provision they believe that the time of teachers and pupils is likely to be wasted in trifling with subjects of which the rudiments are never mastered. 122

The Treasury also attempted to reinforce the division between primary and intermediate education after the passing of the Intermediate Education
Act, writing to the commissioners of national education:

Parliament having granted a liberal scheme of Intermediate Education for Ireland, perhaps the Commissioners will consider that it is no longer necessary for them to make an effort to have many of the extra subjects now set out in their school programme, and not perhaps properly appertaining to the instruction given in elementary schools for the independent poor, taught and paid for by the State. 123

The commissioners made conciliatory noises but in fact did little at this point in time to curtail the teaching of extra subjects.124 Their list of 32 extra subjects in 1885 included three higher branches of mathematics; eight separate science subjects; physical geography; hygiene; five languages, including Latin, Greek, Irish, French and German; singing and drawing, and eleven manual or technical subjects. Each of these were separate units in which teachers had to be qualified to teach; each had its own curriculum and its own examination paper for both pupils and qualifying teachers. Teacher training colleges began to expand their number of staff - especially part-time professors - to teach these subjects.125

Extra subjects could only be taught to senior pupils in fifth and sixth classes who were usually between twelve and sixteen years of age. It will be remembered from the last chapter that in the 1860's some 7 per cent of national school students were classed as being 'in' the senior class fourth and fifth classes. The percentage in senior classes increased as the century moved to a close: the percentage of pupils taking results examinations in these classes increase from 15 per cent in 1878, to 17 per cent in 1885, and to 23 per cent in 1899.126 The obligatory programme for these classes included, the 3 r's; grammar, geography and political economy; English literature; agriculture or book-keeping for males and needlework for females.

English literature continued to be specified by the revised fifth and sixth reading books until the mid-1890's. The broad literary base from which the 1860 revision had been made was soon, however, questioned by the senior administrators and commissioners of national education. During the 1870's, lessons began to be excluded which "...experience has
proved are not adapted to the pupils in Primary Schools." By 1880, a sixth of the 1860 lessons had been excluded from each of these senior readers. The major category of omitted lessons were those concerned with the strange or unusual, with a fantasy or enchanted world, with threatening or deeply emotional experiences such as death, imprisonment, war or love. Pieces expressing the superiority of nature over man and of nature as educator of the emotions were also excluded. These exclusions shortened the reading books, but did not change their general character, nor their literary nature. The Sixth Book still retained all its Shakespearean extracts and its poetry by, for example, Byron, Campbell and Goldsmith. It retained most of its pieces on the appropriate behaviour of the educated gentleman, all of its biographical sketches and most of its pieces on history and government, but excluding two speeches by Burke. It also retained the description of pagan and christian antiquities in Ireland. The revised edition of this book, undertaken in the late 1890’s, did not come into use until after the turn of the century, and thus a detailed analysis of these last changes are not discussed in this thesis.

An overview of the Fifth Book as used from the 1870’s to 1893 shows a fifth of the lessons to be from Whately’s Money Matters, which had been transferred from earlier books, and his lessons on the British Constitution; while roughly a seventh were on scriptural or religious themes; a seventh on that knowledge appropriate to the literary gentleman – including pieces by Newman, Shakespeare and translations from Greek; a seventh giving ‘useful information’ on the eagle, elephant and whale, on trees and metals, and geographical descriptions, and a further seventh were prose pieces on the coastal scenery and industrial resources of Ireland, and poetry on Irish themes. This latter poetry included three extracts from the Irish saga ‘Deirdre’.

Inspectors continued to criticize the readings in the Fifth Book.
as being too difficult for twelve year olds. It was revised in 1893 by a committee of commissioners. This revision omitted four prose pieces by Newman - no doubt the inspectors' complaints as to their metaphysical and advanced character contributed to this. The scripture lessons were reduced from nine to three, omitting the historical lessons from the settlement in Palestine to the birth of Christ. Whately's economics were also excluded, perhaps in response to queries in the House of Commons regarding their antiquated and anti-trade union character. The Trades Union Congress in 1892 also passed a unanimous resolution protesting against these lessons. They were completely omitted from the 1893 revision as were Whately's lessons on the British Constitution. This latter omission was queried by Unionists in the House of Commons, as was the reduction in the number of scripture lessons and the increasing number of lessons by Catholic clergymen.

Many of the pieces giving useful information were retained. Lessons in this area were indeed increased so that they constituted a fifth of all the lessons in the 1890's. This was mainly due to the inclusion of five lessons by Rev. Monsignor Molloy, professor of physics in the Catholic training colleges in Dublin, on the chemistry of candles, on electric light and glaciers in the Alps. Another professor in the Catholic training colleges - Professor Campbell - also had two new lessons on hygiene in the new Fifth...Book. Indeed the growing interest in hygiene, in bodily care, in protection from illness, accident and in particular from alcohol, was well in evidence in the revised fourth and fifth books, as well as in the new extra subject of hygiene discussed below. It was at the request of temperance groups that one lesson on temperance was included in both the fourth and fifth books. These told of the seductiveness of drink - how it tempted "...the lower instincts of our nature," how it must be fought against and avoided, for "...the odious vice of drink" devoured those virtues of "cleverness, industry, honesty,
kind-heartedness, family love," which God had planted in man. It brutalized and destroyed both body and soul.\textsuperscript{134}

Lessons with Irish themes also increased and now constituted a quarter of all the lessons. The tour of the sea coast remained, but the 'Industrial resources of Ireland', excepting agriculture, were omitted, and new lessons on 'Sea fisheries in the south and west of Ireland' included. New pieces on the ancient remains on the Aran Islands, on Mellifont Abbey and Clonmacnoise were introduced, and Rev. Dr. Healy's 'St. Patrick's treatment of the bards' wrote of the integration of the Irish bardic traditions into christianity. The first lesson in the book was Thomas Moore's 'Song of Innisfail', in which a fleet from Spain sailing for Ireland sighted it and hailed it as "That home of the brave and the free."	extsuperscript{135}

A third theme developed in the Fifth Book was that appropriate behaviour consisted in a concern to serve others, to be gentle, polite and pleasing, to control one's actions and particularly one's tongue in order to avoid strife, and to be industrious and well ordered in one's actions. Seven lessons from the Girls' Reading Book on these themes were newly introduced. They had all been used by either Carlile or Whately in the 1830's and 1840's, and recall some of the Kildare Place texts - not least in the piece entitled 'Good Management and Frugality'.\textsuperscript{136}

Home rulers may have substituted nationalistic texts for the evangelical fervour of the 1830's or for a delight in classifications of the 1840's, but they retained the desire to control the boundaries of the body, in particular through lessons on hygiene and temperance, and the desire to maintain an ordered universe, both in the home and at work, by instilling the virtues of good order and industry in the classroom. The questions which teachers and monitors were asked on the lesson books required, as before, detailed memorization of the content of the texts: for example, "Give the particulars regarding two of the Round Towers of Ireland and give the names and situations of four others mentioned in the Sixth Book," and "Give in your own words the substance of the lesson 'The Danger of Strong Drink'."\textsuperscript{137}
Geography was still taught mainly from Sullivan's texts, *Geography Generalized and An Introduction to Geography and History, Ancient and Modern*, with their detailed lists and classifications, and the supposed superiority of the European races. Examination questions also continued to require the detailed knowledge of these books. They were revised only slightly by Rev. S. Haughton, Professor of Geology, Trinity College, Dublin in the 1870's. In this revision the geography of the 'British Islands' and the British Empire gained even greater precedence than before - both in terms of space and language.

'Physical geography' - the distribution of heat and moisture over the earth's surface, the climate, winds, atmosphere and tides, their causes, and their consequences for animal and vegetable distribution — was constituted an 'extra subject' in 1872. It was one of the most popular extra subjects in the mid-1880's, it being taught to senior classes in some 750 schools to some 5-6,000 pupils. This had decreased to half this number in the 1890's. It's original popularity was perhaps due to it being an obligatory subject on the programme for second and first class teachers and thus they were automatically qualified to teach it.

'Geology' was also constituted an 'extra subject' in the 1870's. However, it was no longer a part of either the board's or Sullivan's texts. The number of schools teaching it in the 1880's and 90's fluctuated between 0 - 2.

The 21 'intermediate', as opposed to manual, extra subjects offered in 1885, included:

1. For males: geometry, algebra and trigonometry. The former two were the most extensively taught intermediate subjects: in 1885 algebra was taught in some 1,800 schools to 10,000 pupils, increasing to 12,000 pupils in 1893; geometry was taught in 1,700 schools to 7,000 pupils in 1885 and in 1,000 schools to 5,000 pupils in 1893. Their popularity was no doubt due to they being required on the monitor's programme, and on the programme for teachers.
2. Seven science subjects, including mechanics; light and sound; magnetism and electricity; botany; heat and steam engine; chemistry; and hydrostatics and pneumatics. Science subjects, however, were no longer part of the required reading books, or on the required programme for monitors, and in 1872 the commissioners decreed that pupils earning results fees in science, could not receive grants from the Department of Science and Art. Until 1896 mechanics remained a requirement for second class teachers and natural philosophy for first class teachers, but only constituted, respectively, four per cent and eight per cent of the total marks. Teachers had to take special qualifying examinations if they wished to teach any of the sciences as extra subjects. In the 1870's the number of national school pupils annually examined in these subjects was around 1,500, but by 1885 this had fallen to just over 300, and remained around this point to the end of the century. Factors contributing to this decline may have included: the non-emphasis on science in the civil service examinations for clerks, and in the examination structure of the intermediate board; the linking of science with 'technical instruction' and the needs of British manufacturing, thereby lowering its status, and leading to a questioning of its capacity to 'humanize,' 'cultivate' and educate the gentleman. Furthermore, the scientific world view which could satisfactorily integrate man - nature - and God into a moral and safe universe was threaterningly breaking down.

3. Hygiene. Hygiene was introduced as an extra subject in the mid-1880's. The commissioners had repeatedly been requested to introduce a programme on hygiene by such groups as the Dublin Sanitary Association, the Sanitary Committee of Ennis Town Commissioners and the Dublin Ladies Sanitary Association. The programme for pupils as designed in 1886 required a knowledge of the necessity for clean air and water;
the dangers of alcoholic liquors and tobacco smoking; the food, clothing and sleep requirements of the body; how to treat slight illnesses and injuries; and how to clean, heat and light the home.\textsuperscript{153} The recommended text was by Dr. John Campbell,\textsuperscript{154} who was professor of hygiene in the two Catholic training colleges in Dublin and who also had lessons on hygiene in the revised reading books. While an average number of 46 teachers annually qualified to teach hygiene, it was taught in only 24 schools in 1893, to 500 pupils.\textsuperscript{155}

4. Five languages: Latin, Greek, Irish, German and French. Irish was introduced as an extra subject by the commissioners of national education in 1878. This was in response to a memorial from the Society for the Preservation of the Irish language,\textsuperscript{156} which, as the commissioners later explained to the Chief Secretary, was "...signed by a great number of the most influential public persons."\textsuperscript{157} A fee of 10 shillings was to be paid to each successful pupil in fifth and sixth classes who took the Irish results examination, thus placing Irish on a par with Latin and Greek. In response to almost annual petitions and resolutions of this society, from the Gaelic Union and later the Gaelic League, and from the INTO, the commissioners removed, in 1881, the requirement that pupils learning Irish pay a fee of 2 shillings per quarter as was usual for all extra subjects;\textsuperscript{158} in 1884 they recommended teachers in Irish-speaking areas to use Irish in junior classes, to facilitate their acquisition of English;\textsuperscript{159} and in 1897 they stated that "Inspectors are at liberty to employ the vernacular in the conduct of their examinations, if they think it is desirable to do so."\textsuperscript{160} They also placed Irish as an optional subject on the examination course for first-class teachers and for inspectors.\textsuperscript{161}

What they refused to do until the 1900's, despite numerous petitions, was to make Irish a subject for junior classes or to authorize a bilingual programme.\textsuperscript{162} In reply to a memorial from the Gaelic Union to the Chief
Secretary in 1884, the commissioners replied that their object was "...to advance the cultivation of the Irish language as a philological subject of national interest," as was consistent "...with their primary obligation of educating the people in the English language."\textsuperscript{163} They pointed out that since Irish had become a national school subject five years previously, only 33 teachers had qualified themselves to teach it, and that in 1882 only 35 pupils had been presented for results examinations in Irish. They declared that the success or failure of Irish teaching depended not on their regulations but on "...the wishes of the parents, the tastes of the children, the capacities and industry of the teachers, and the views of the managers..."\textsuperscript{164}

The commissioners also refused to appoint a professor of Irish to teach in their training college in Marlboro Street, again despite requests to do so.\textsuperscript{165} The Catholic training college, St. Patrick's, also did not appoint a professor of Irish until 1898.\textsuperscript{166} Teachers had to learn Irish by their own efforts - which was not unusual in the case of optional subjects - and pass a qualifying examination in it before they could teach it. The standard of this qualifying examination was similar to that of the senior intermediate programme in Irish.\textsuperscript{167} The average annual number qualifying to teach it between 1885 and 1895 was 15. The teaching of Irish in national schools was slow to develop, despite continued favourable resolutions on its behalf at INTO annual congresses.\textsuperscript{168} However, it did gather momentum: in 1885 it was taught in 12 national schools, by 1893 this had grown to 50 schools, and in 1899, 105 schools presented 1,825 pupils for results examinations in Irish.\textsuperscript{169}

The teaching of classics and French as extra subjects was introduced in 1873.\textsuperscript{170} French was taught in some 100 schools in the 1880's, and this remained relatively constant to 1899.\textsuperscript{171} The teaching of classics was to be encouraged by the payment of 10/- for each student who passed the results examinations in these subjects. This favouring of the classics
was also apparent in the programmes of the Intermediate Education Board.\textsuperscript{172} The teaching of classics appears to have been seriously disrupted by the passing of the Intermediate Education Act. While the numbers of pupils taking classics in national schools had increased to over 500 taking the results examination in Latin and over 110 taking Greek in 1879, the numbers had decreased to 84 and 32 respectively by 1882, and did not greatly recover thereafter.\textsuperscript{173}

In the late 1890's it appears that the intermediate functions of the national system began to decline, as intermediate schools rapidly expanded.\textsuperscript{174} While the percentage of national school pupils taking the fifth and sixth class examinations remained at around 22 per cent during the 1890's,\textsuperscript{175} the percentage of national school pupils over fourteen years of age began to fall from a fairly constant ten per cent in the late 1860's, 70's and 80's to eight per cent in 1896 and to six per cent in 1901.\textsuperscript{176} Likewise, the number of paid monitors, which had been increased by the commissions in 1876,\textsuperscript{177} increased from 4,000 in 1871 to over 6,000 in the 1880's, but by 1901 the number had fallen to some 3,600.\textsuperscript{178} In 1903, the commissioners proposed that in future monitors and candidates for the training colleges might be selected from intermediate schools stating that "...such candidates will have a more liberal education than can be obtained in the ordinary national school."\textsuperscript{179}

National teachers in the INTO were bitterly critical of the separation of primary from intermediate education - both as institutionalized in the Intermediate Education Board and in the controls surrounding the teaching of extra subjects in national schools. The teachers identified themselves with the meritocratic role which they felt the national system had played in "...lending assistance to the talented sons of the industrious poor"\textsuperscript{180} to rise in the world - a tradition within which they themselves had been socialized. They noted that the Intermediate Education Board "...lavished the support of the state upon
those who can very well take care of themselves." They felt that the state endowment of the class privileges of those in intermediate schools indicated "...a disposition to keep a line of demarcation between the wealthy class and what we will, for convenience, call the industrial classes." Further, they suggested that the niggardly attitude of the commissioners of national education to the teaching of extra subjects in national schools indicated a similar disposition. They requested that the commissioners withdraw the requirement that pupils pay for tuition in extra subjects, as this prohibited the teacher from giving tuition to those too poor to pay and they requested that extra subjects might be taught inside school hours. Neither of these requests were granted.

In the new educational structure different kinds of educational knowledge were to be offered at primary as distinct from intermediate and teacher education. And as the national schools became primary schools with an emphasis on manual instruction as shall be seen below, the course for teachers became progressively more different from that of the majority of their pupils. The curriculum of pupils and teachers was no longer to be integrated by a centrally controlled graduated series of lesson books, and by an integrated mobility system. The curriculum was rather to provide that knowledge which was assumed to be most suitable to one's social class. And as teachers were now assumed to be members of the middle class and the majority of their pupils working class, it was no longer seen to be appropriate that teachers be simply one step ahead of their pupils. It was now appropriate that teachers be gradually given that education which taught 'culture' and 'good taste'.

The course of studies in the training college was reorganized with the inauguration of denominational training colleges. The short five months' course of training was abolished and its place was taken by
either a one-year course (usually taken by untrained teachers already holding teaching appointments), and a two-year course for the young aspiring teacher, who usually had been a monitor or pupil teacher. 185

By the 1890's, the five training colleges were training some 160 annually in their one-year courses, and 600 in their two-year courses. 186 The percentage of trained teachers slowly increased from a third in 1867 to over a half in 1899. 187 The percentage of highly qualified first class teachers also increased from 12 per cent in 1886 to almost 25 per cent in 1898. 188

In 1882, on the recommendation of senior inspectors, selected English literature texts (e.g. Hamlet, Paradise Lost or Twelfth Night) were substituted for the reading books on the literary programme for first class teachers. 189 Head Inspector Newell stated in his annual report for 1891 that this:

"...has proved so successful as a means of culture, and tends to powerfully give a taste for a critical study of the standard works of the language, that I trust the commissioners may soon see their way towards making the study of some English classic part of the programme for second and third class teachers. 190

This change did come in 1896, when the board's reading books were finally omitted from the programme for all teachers' examinations, from the programme for entrance to the training college and from the senior monitors' programme. English literature and composition were substituted. 191

The other obligatory subjects on the new 1896 teachers' programme were mostly familiar: the 3 r's; grammar and geography; algebra and geometry; book-keeping and agriculture; drawing (new in the obligatory programme); the theory and practice of teaching; and needlework for girls. Scientific subjects had disappeared from the obligatory curriculum. An extensive list of optional subjects was offered: men must choose one optional subject for each of their three examinations; women must choose two, of which singing, domestic economy or hygiene must be one. Besides these, and manual subjects, the list included: Latin, French and Irish
(Greek was dropped); Trigonometry; and six science subjects. For the highest classification of teachers, the first division of first class, the programme in the optional subjects was that of the Royal University Bachelor of Arts course.  

History had been almost wholly neglected since the 1870's, disappearing from the senior lesson books, and from the examination of second class teachers. It now appeared only in the examination for first class teachers. Sullivan's short historical sketches of European countries had been gathered together at the end of Introduction to Geography and History. They filled some 13 pages, which when added to the 18 pages of ancient history constituted a truly mini-potted history!

Requests to use Irish history texts had been frequently refused by the commission during the previous 30 years. On Keenan's death in 1894, Christopher Redington, described by the Irish Teacher's Journal as "...a strong liberal, and ardent advocate of Home Rule," was appointed by a liberal government who had succeeded in 1893 in passing a Home Rule Act in the Commons, but failed to get it through the House of Lords. Redington and the commissioners sanctioned, in the 1896 revised programme for teachers, a new optional course on the history of Great Britain and Ireland. Patrick Joyce, retired from Marlboro' Street Training College since 1893, prepared a Concise History of Ireland for this course, and in 1898 the commissioners sanctioned the use of Joyce's A Child's History of Ireland for use, as a reader, in fifth and sixth classes.

While the role of the national teacher was to be legitimated by his academic scholarship, the commissioners still wished to maintain central control over his activities, now all the more difficult with centralized control over reading books and teacher mobility disappearing, as well as the abolition of payment by results. In 1899 the commissioners
abolished salaries based on the classificatory standard of the teacher. In future, teachers were to be divided into three grades with payment and promotion depending on (a) training; (b) position in school; (c) ability and general attainments; (d) good service; and (e) seniority. Ability and good service were to be assessed by the inspectorate, who, with the introduction of the revised programme in 1900, were not only to assess the standard attained by each class of pupils, but to assess and report on the acquirements, character, methods and appearance of the teacher.

**Manual instruction**

During the 30 years 1870 to 1900 attendance at national schools greatly increased, bringing, it might reasonably be assumed, many more of the 'manual-labour classes' into the schools. The commissioners of national education became increasingly concerned with the appropriate education of these classes and desired the introduction of more extensive manual training into the curriculum. This concern was compounded by the fact that the 1880's was a time of acute agricultural and industrial depression, bringing not only emigration but a desire, particularly among Home Rule groups, to foster national industries. A prevalent explanation for industrial malaise in Ireland as well as Britain at the time was the inappropriate education of the labouring man. The argument suggested that if the primary school would teach the labouring man minimal literacy, respect for manual work and its morally uplifting qualities, the Empire - or the nation, as the case might be - would be saved. The integration of manual subjects into the primary school curriculum and the substitution of manual for literary instruction in the higher classes was thus of utmost importance.

On the request of Dublin Municipal Council to the government in 1882, the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction in Britain extended their investigation to Ireland. Representatives of the Municipal Council in both their written and oral evidence to the commission claimed that:
...in the present state of primary education in Ireland ... there is a total absence of all technical instruction, a total want of a system and order in regard to the education both of boys and girls. They acquire nothing but a purely literary education, and they go into the world having to begin their way at whatever trade they have to follow or whatever occupation they are placed at, as if they had no education at all. 205

They declared that: "...for girls who have to go out into the world as domestic servants or tradesmen's wives, there might be some better preparation than a smattering of French or the ability to play a few tunes on the piano."206 They claimed that this was not only an injustice to the children, but "...an injustice to the country, which suffers from the absence of the sound education of its people, and from the presence in our midst of all the evil consequences of ignorance and idleness."207

Among the Royal Commission's recommendations for Irish primary schools were (1) that instruction in drawing and elementary science - particularly through the use of object lessons - be increased,208 (2) that agricultural instruction and agricultural schools should be increased and extended, and (3) "...that systematic instruction be given to primary school teachers, qualifying them to teach the use of tools for working in wood and iron, in the primary schools."209 This latter type of instruction was known as manual instruction.210

The commissioners of national education in their report for 1884, published a programme entitled 'Industrial and Technical Education,' by Patrick Joyce and the other professors in the board's training college. It included kindergarten, drawing and singing; for girls, domestic economy, cookery and needlework; and for boys, agriculture and handicrafts.211

The teaching of handicraft (mainly dexterity in the use of carpentry tools) was introduced by the commissioners into their teacher training institution in Marlboro Street in 1883 and then extended as an optional extra subject for senior male pupils in 1885. Results fees were given if the subject was adequately taught, but Keenan noted that it was only
after "... an immense amount of correspondence and great difficulty with the Treasury" that this was accomplished.212

The reasons for introducing handicraft, as explained by the superintendents at Marlboro' Street, were threefold. Firstly, to make teachers and pupils 'handy', i.e. "...to be able to turn their hands to those innumerable jobs and repairs that are perpetually necessary in and around every homestead."213 Secondly, "...to direct their minds and their taste toward manual pursuits,"214 and to make national schools "centres for diffusing a taste for manual occupations in the surrounding districts."215 And thirdly, it was assumed that "Handicraft is a stimulus to industry, and every branch tending to the advancement of the industrial occupations of our people deserve special encouragement."216 In the preface to the text book which Patrick Joyce prepared for use of teachers and pupils undertaking the handicraft course, Handicraft for Handy People, he noted not only a relationship between manual instruction and industrial progress, but also the efforts being made "...by the government and by associations of the great employers and others, to diffuse sound information on technical and industrial subjects."217

The experiment in teaching handicrafts was an almost complete failure. Between 1891 and 1897 an average of 14 national schools opted to teach it each year, although almost 250 teachers had qualified to teach it between 1885 and 1895.218 It was the subject of continuous derision in the Irish Teachers' Journal, as "a craze" and "a fad," as:

...the dreams of those who propose to develop the languishing industries of Ireland by getting the village school masters to initiate young hopefuls into the mysteries of the use of the 'soldering iron,' and mending common articles of household furniture... 219

This point was reiterated to the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction, which was established in 1896 at the instigation of the commissioners of national education: the president of the INTO, Mr. Terence Clarke stated:
I question that the introduction of manual teaching in schools will ever do anything to revive or re-establish manufactures in Ireland. I cannot see any points of contact between the teaching of a child to whittle a stick and the setting up of manufactures.

The teachers pointed out that boys in the senior classes of national schools were "...more intent on passing the next Civil Service examination than in 'hacking out an old pane of glass and inserting a new one,'" and furthermore, that parents objected to the introduction of manual subjects. The Irish Teachers' Journal wondered,

"...if practical information is of such paramount importance, why confine it to the schools for the poor? If we are deficient in industry, why not press the importance of the work upon others than those attending national schools."

They equated teaching of manual subjects with the politics of class containment, while of the teaching of literary subjects, mathematics, science and drawing they stated: "Let our Literary and Scientific instruction be largely increased, so as to place within the reach of all the opportunity for intellectual advancement."

For younger pupils kindergarten was to be "...the most initiatory stage, the basis and ground work" of industrial and technical education, training not only the senses and the hands but teaching morality and industry. 'Kindergarten,' including such activities as cutting out paper shapes, moulding clay, needlework, knitting and drawing, was introduced as an optional, fee paying subject in 1886 for all pupils up to third class.

By 1895, kindergarten was taught in 322 of the 8,600 national schools. It was introduced chiefly in large convent schools where a separate room and the special equipment necessary was provided - facilities which proved difficult to supply in smaller schools. The extension of kindergarten instruction was also inhibited by the refusal of the Treasury, over six years, to finance kindergarten in ordinary national schools as distinct from organized infants' departments, stating that "...they were not
satisfied that the advantages anticipated from the extension ... would justify the very considerable additional expenditure involved." 227

A third and continuing concern of the commissioners was the teaching of agriculture. The Powis Commission had recommended the closure of uneconomical district model farms, but recommended the continuance of agricultural instruction for teachers and pupils. 228 In 1876 "...under instructions from the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury," 229 the number of model agricultural schools under the exclusive control of the commissioners was reduced from 22 to 7, and by 1881 only two remained - the model farms in Dublin and Cork. 230 Ordinary agricultural schools also declined: from a maximum number of 175 in 1875 their number declined to less than 50 in the 1890's. 231

Text book agriculture continued to have a central place in the board's classification exams for male teachers and in the results programme for senior male pupils. In 1881, agriculture was made a compulsory subject for all fourth, fifth and sixth classes in rural schools - in town schools book-keeping might be substituted - and the results fee was substantially increased. 232 Indeed the results fee was made higher than that for any other obligatory subject on the curriculum. 233 The numbers learning agriculture substantially increased: while in 1870 only 4,000 pupils learned agriculture, in 1896 86,000 were examined for results fees in it. 234 However, the failure rate in agriculture remained higher than in any other subjects - around 40 per cent of the pupils who sat an agricultural examination each year failed it. 235

The Irish Teachers' Journal claimed that the teaching of text book agriculture was of no advantage to the great majority of their fourth class and senior pupils, who tended not to enter farming, but either to enter white collar work or to emigrate, while teachers knew little about agriculture and inspectors less. 236 They also complained that the required text book was uninteresting and unsuitable for school children. 237
The required book was a simplified version of Balwin's Agricultural Class Book, (1867), which remained the text for teachers' classification examinations. It was entitled Introduction to Practical Farming and was placed on the senior pupils' agricultural programme in 1881. In it many of the technical and chemical explanations of the Agricultural Class Book were omitted, as was the section on agricultural machinery. It was divided into three parts: (1) soils, manures and crops, including new chapters on drainage and cottage gardening; (2) livestock, with a new chapter on poultry, and (3) suggestions for the better management of the several classes of holdings in Ireland. This latter section, which was entirely new, was particularly concerned with the ignorance of small farmers: their ignorance of the proper grasses to grow on given soils; their lack of skill, care and attention to grass lands; their slovenly tillage habits; their bad management in the treatment of farm crops; their lack of knowledge of the correct modes of rearing and feeding livestock; the want of proper drainage and fences, etc. The way to correct these was knowledge, industry and thrift.

However, the assumption that Irish farmers were more ignorant than others was not necessarily accepted by teachers, many of whom would have come from this background. For example, Mr. Clarke, President of the INTO, when asked by the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction, (1896), "Is it not a fact that our people, in the agricultural districts especially, are far behind other countries in their knowledge of how to till the ground and so on?" replied, "Well, I really cannot say it is a fact." And when questioned again, "Don't you know it is a fact?" replied, "No; I think there are a great many places where they are still further behind."

The commissioners of national education were likewise concerned to promote the manual education of national school girls. In the 1872 results programme, needlework was an obligatory subject for girls from
second to sixth class in all schools where there was either a female teacher or workmistress. The programme consisted of a graduated course in knitting, plain sewing and cutting out simple articles. The emphasis was placed on 'practical' and 'useful' needlework rather than ornamental or artistic work. This was also the case with optional extra courses open to senior girls. These are set out below:

Table 5  Optional extra manual subjects for senior girls

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1885</th>
<th>1896</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of schools</td>
<td>Number of girls taught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing machine and advanced dress making</td>
<td>682</td>
<td>7825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls' Reading Book and domestic economy</td>
<td>599</td>
<td>5876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cookery</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management of poultry</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy management</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weaving (1891)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shorthand and typing (1893)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Girls' Reading Book had been revised along with the other readers in the 1860's. The majority of the pieces in it were directly related to the role of the woman in the home as wife, mother or servant; lessons on cookery and the duties of a cook; on being mistress of the house as well as the duties of a servant; on rearing children and being a nursery maid; on laundry and on cleaning the house; on managing the sick, the dairy and the poultry. Pervading all was an emphasis on cleanliness, prudent frugality, thrift and industrious regularity, with women presented as having the 'natural' characteristics of gentleness, goodness and warmth.

In 1888 the commissioners decided to make industrial instruction compulsory for girls in sixth class in those schools where there was a female teacher or workmistress. They circulated a memorandum to all managers and teachers stating that:

In view of the social status of the girls who attend the National Schools, it is considered that the literary and scientific instruction of this course of education to the end of 5th class ... is substantially adequate to satisfy all their wants, whilst the industrial or practical part of their education, although fairly advanced so far, is yet manifestly susceptible of large and important extension.

To promote such an extension, the Commissioners have resolved that every girl who passes the 5th class shall devote the remainder of her school life mainly to industrial instruction.

The new industrial scheme was to include (a) a literary element: English reading, especially of textbooks on domestic economy and industrial subjects, and English composition, especially letter writing; and (b) an industrial element: plain needlework, the making of clothes and a choice of two industrial crafts such as lace making, embroidery, glove making, etc. Girls in sixth class were to spend three of the four-and-a-half school hours each day at industrial subjects. Furthermore, the commissioners decreed that in all schools in which a female teacher or workmistress was employed, female pupils in all other classes were to be occupied for at least one hour every day doing plain needlework.

The commissioners' directress of needlework, Miss Prendergast,
reported on the progress of industrial instruction for girls in the board's annual reports. In 1888, she reported, as she was to continue to do for the next decade, that industrial instruction would tend "...to check the vicious prevailing repugnance to manual labour." Through industrial instruction, girls would be:

...formed to habits of industry; their hands trained to deftness and usefulness, they became neat and tidy in person, and - a most important result - in many cases the information and skill acquired by them are of greatest use in enabling them to earn their bread in after-life.

The industrial scheme for girls was to be compulsory from 1890, "...unless on application from any manager, the Board may for special reasons dispense with the rule in his school." From Belfast the commissioners received a "numerously signed memorial" earnestly praying "...that girls attending the national schools of Ireland shall not be placed and kept at so low a level, both intellectual and social, as the new rule would certainly place them." It would appear that many parents agreed and the commissioners received requests, particularly from Protestant managers, that their schools be exempt from the sixth class industrial programme.

Managers began to fear that their sixth class pupils would leave to go to other schools if the industrial programme was made compulsory. The girls model school in Belfast was exempt on these grounds. Head Inspector Purser reported to the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction that:

...a large number of sixth class children did leave the schools as soon as [the industrial scheme] was introduced ... Some schools were exempt, and in cities girls went from schools that were not exempt to schools that were exempt.

The hostility of parents to the programme was widespread, for, as it was explained to the same commission:

The children for whom the alternative scheme was framed do not remain in school [until sixth class] and the children who do ... want a literary education, as they intend to be teachers or civil servants.
Female teachers in letters to the *Irish Teachers' Journal* complained that they were not qualified to teach industrial subjects, that it was impossible in many one-teacher schools to teach industrial subjects as well as teach all the other classes, that parents refused to supply children with the required materials and that the teacher could not afford to do so, and that the suggestion that the girls' industrial work be sold was preposterous as the pupils were only learners.256

By 1891, a half of the schools in which the alternative scheme could have been implemented (i.e. having at least one female teacher) were exempted "...for various reasons."257 In 1895 it had been implemented in 1,500 schools, i.e. in 30 per cent of the total number of schools with female teachers. The commissioners then decided that in future sixth class girls might be divided, on the recommendation of the inspector, into two classes - those taking the old literary programme and those taking the new industrial programme.258 In 1899, on the recommendation of the chiefs of inspection, the industrial programme for sixth class girls was made optional in all cases.259

Under the general rubric of 'Technical and Industrial Instruction' the commissioners included drawing and singing. Since the 1870's singing had been an optional extra subject from second class and drawing from third class. Drawing was assumed to teach the accurate co-ordination of eye and hand, so that "...whatever may be the opinion respecting drawing as a means of intellectual culture, there can be no second opinion of its importance in connection with trades and industries."260 Pupils were taught from drawing copy books, copying the figures from one margin onto the other. From first to third class, children concentrated on the accurate reproduction of straight lines, and it was not until fourth class that the reproduction of simply curved lines in such shapes as a
bell, a vase, a lamp, etc., was introduced. In the senior classes, and teacher training, freehand drawing and drawing from models was taught. 261

The teaching of vocal music was assumed to be "...a most effective means for instilling into the minds of youth noble and generous sentiments" as well as "...precepts of truth, honour and virtue." 262 The teaching of both singing and drawing appear to have been popular with teachers. Between 1885 - 1895 about 300 teachers qualified annually to teach drawing and singing. Singing was taught in some 1,200 schools to 76,000 pupils and drawing in some 1,500 schools to 74,000 pupils in 1896. 263

The commissions in 1896, recognizing that manual instruction was by no means being successfully introduced into national schools, 264 decided, on a motion by Archbishop Walsh, to send a deputation of the board to the Lord Lieutenant to seek the establishment of a special commission to enquire into the matter. Archbishop Walsh as a member of the deputation stated (and the Lord Lieutenant concurred):

The Commissioners of National Education in Ireland were charged mainly with the education of the children of the industrial classes of their country. It was by means of industrial pursuits that these children were to make their way in the world, and their success or failure in life must largely depend upon how they had been fitted for those pursuits when they came to enter upon them. 265

He reminded his listeners of the:

...widespread feeling in Ireland that in [the national system] too much prominence was given to the merely literary education of the children, their education was mere book knowledge, and to matters that were in no way directly related to the work that lay before them in the world. 266

He pointed out to the writers in the Irish Teachers' Journal who had called the commissioners' concern with manual training "a fad," that national schools educated:

...children who in nine cases out of ten would have to earn their bread by industrial pursuits. Why should it be suggested that such children should be deprived of the special instruction and the special training that would most directly tend to fit them for their work in life. 267
It might be noted that Archbishop Walsh was perhaps somewhat inconsistent in his advocacy of manual instruction for boys: although a programme of handiwork for teachers in training existed since 1884, it had never been taught in St. Patrick's Training College of which Archbishop Walsh was manager. An explanation may be that Archbishop Walsh was more concerned to use the issue of manual instruction to ensure the identification of the education given in national schools with a primary education: if national school pupils wished to receive an intermediate education, they would have to move elsewhere - i.e. to denominational intermediate schools.

All but two of the members of the Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction (1896-8) were commissioners of national education, and as might be expected, it pronounced strongly in favour of extending manual instruction in national schools. Its recommendations were incorporated into the revised curriculum for 1900. The new obligatory programme included:

(a) Kindergarten, and its development, Educational Handiwork...
(b) Drawing...
(c) Elementary Experimental Science; viz. Object lessons for the junior classes, and in the more advanced classes the elements of Science, including those bearing on Agriculture for boys, and on Domestic Science for girls,
(d) Cookery and Laundry-work,
(e) Needlework,
(f) Singing,
(g) School Discipline and Drill.

The primary school curriculum in national schools from 1900 was to include all the above subjects as well as the 3 r's, and in third class, grammar; while geography and history were to be learned from school history and geography readers. Optional extra subjects were reduced to Irish, French, Latin, the higher levels of mathematics and instrumental music.
Conclusion

The last thirty years of the 19th century brought a restructuring of the national education system: the meritocratic structure disintegrated, to be replaced by a three tier, class related educational structure. The level of education was to identify and legitimate membership of a social class. Educational terminal points thus became of central importance, as did the difference between primary and intermediate education.

The upper middle classes in Ireland - the professional and economically dominant groups - concurred, as did the Catholic hierarchy, home rule groups, and English inspectors and commissioners involved in examining the national system in Ireland. The national school inspectorate, having established their own centralized position around an institutionalized meritocratic structure, appear to have lost their initiative when this structure was undermined. The main group to question and to attempt to disrupt the process of educational differentiation was national teachers, organized within the INTO. They identified the process in explicitly social class terms, in particular as detrimental to the interests of the rural poorer classes to whom the local national school offered the only available education. No doubt national teachers also feared the loss of status gained from their meritocratic functions: success of pupils in civil service and intermediate examinations were public knowledge, and indeed the names of successful pupils were frequently published in the *Irish Teachers' Journal*, with the names of their national teachers. This status and gratitude was now transferred to the local denominational intermediate school.

National teachers, however, had little power - except in terms of certain delaying tactics - to halt the differentiation process. The introduction of separate intermediate education was a government decision and the particular form it took was designed to facilitate denominational interests and pressures. The reorientation of the national school curriculum...
was the commissioners' decision, aided and abetted by Archbishop Walsh.

The primary school curriculum which evolved over this period was integrated around three poles: (1) denominational religious instruction, still to a degree separate from 'moral and literary' instruction due to English party politics; (2) moral induction into an Irish home-rule nationalism which recognized not only the ancient glories of the island of saints and scholars in its reading books, but also the glories of the British empire in its geography texts. It also emphasised the need for discipline, industriousness and sobriety among the labouring classes - for the lack of these virtues was seen as a major cause of Ireland's industrial decline; (3) manual instruction - a mode of containing the labouring classes which would not only habituate them to their future occupations, but would also ensure that these were the only occupations open to them on terminating primary education. Manual instruction was further legitimated as being for the good of the nation as a whole.

The intermediate functions of the national system initially expanded in the 1870's, but with the establishment of state-support for intermediate schools, fell away. The intermediate education offered was literary rather than scientific, and progressively different from that education given in primary schools. Thus, while the commissioners of national education were attempting to promote the manual instruction of girls for whose 'social status' this was appropriate, they were also greatly expanding the literary, mathematical and scientific opportunities open to their female teachers. In the 1872 classificatory examination programme, the higher branches of mathematics, book-keeping, agriculture and the sciences were limited to male teachers only. In the 1896 programme, most of these subjects were required of male teachers, but it was also open to female teachers to take them if they wished. Furthermore, since the 1870's, Latin, French and Irish might be studied by senior male and female pupils alike.
Footnotes to Chapter VI


4 M.B.N.E.I., 3 December 1895 and 29 June 1897.

5 I.T.J., 25 April 1891, Vol. 25, p.5; 8 February 1896, Vol. 30, p. 4, and 14 March 1896, p. 3. This increasing emphasis on foreign and classical languages and on English history in the inspectors' examination was advised by the Powis and Civil Service Commissions' recommendations. [Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. i, pt. i, Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt.i, p. 305; M.B.N.E.I. 7 March and 26 July 1870, and 20 July 1875].


7 Ibid.

8 See for example, M.B.N.E.I. 3 October 1876, 19 December 1876, 8 May 1877, 15 January 1884, 10 February 1885, 30 November 1886. This Treasury interference in educational matters was not peculiar to Ireland, for the Treasury also interfered in the interdependent areas of educational policy, administration and curriculum change in England: see Wright, M. 'Treasury Control 1854-1914,' pp. 213-215, in Sutherland, G. (ed), Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government, London, 1972, pp. 195-226, and Sutherland, G. Policy Making in Elementary Education, London, 1971, pp. 192-266. In Ireland this interference changed the previous discretion which the commissioners had enjoyed regarding expenditure. This discretion had been agreed to by the Lord Lieutenant [M.B.N.E.I. 1 May 1834] and acknowledged by the treasury [M.B.N.E.I. 12 September 1838], but was broken by the latter in 1869. [see Commissioners of National Education, The History of the Vote, Dublin, 1896, p. 6.]

9 Chief Secretary Trevelyan's speech in the House of Commons, reported in I.T.J., 9 August 1884, Vol. 18, 389-90.

10 M.B.N.E.I. 30 November 1886, 3 January and 20 November 1888.

11 Letter from Commissioners of National Education to the Chief Secretary, M.B.N.E.I. 12 March 1889; also see 14 January 1890.

12 M.B.N.E.I. 27 October 1891.

13 In occupational terms, the commissioners represented the landed gentry, higher clergy and members of the professions -- lawyers, scientists and two school inspectors.

14 Akenson, D.H. The Irish Educational Experiment, pp. 311-313.
15 Ibid.


17 See M.B.N.E.I. 24 November, 1 December and 5 December 1874 and 30 March 1883, also Memorial from the Elementary Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 28 December 1874, printed in Memorials from the Council of the National Education League for Ireland..., H.C. 1875, lix, pp. 511-514; and also Memorial from the Elementary Education Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland on Training Schools, H.C. 1883, liii, pp. 465-468.

18 M.B.N.E.I. 24 November, 1 December and 5 December 1874. Letter from General Synod of the Church of Ireland to the Commissioners of National Education, 30 December 1882, Copy of Correspondence between the Irish Government and the Commissioners of National Education on the subject of Training Schools in Ireland, H.C. 1883, liii, p. 472.

19 M.B.N.E.I. 24 July 1884 and 6 January 1886.


21 Inequalities in financial support between Marlboro' Street and the denominational training colleges were equalized in 1890. M.B.N.E.I. 2 February 1886, and 16 December 1890. Also 57th Report C.N.E.I. 1890, H.C. 1890-91, xxix, p. 23.

22 M.B.N.E.I. 24 December 1890, and 12 May 1891.

23 M.B.N.E.I. 10 February 1885 and 30 January 1894. Also Copies of all Communications between the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland as to the Future of that Portion of the Vote in Supply of National Education hitherto used in Support of Model Schools..., H.C. 1883, liii, p. 455.

From the boards annual reports it may be noted that in model schools, 50 per cent of pupils were in the fourth or higher classes compared to 30 per cent in ordinary national schools.

In 1896 there were 195 pupil teachers in model schools: 117 boys and 78 girls. [63rd Report C.N.E.I. 1896, H.C. 1897 xxviii, p. 20]


Ibid, pp. 197-199.


Ibid, p. 201.


M.B.N.E.I. 20 July and 21 December 1875; 14 August 1877; 2 November and 7 December 1880; 22 August and 19 September 1882; 27 November 1883 and 1 November 1887.


M.B.N.E.I. 18 March 1884.


M.B.N.E.I. 25 October, 1 and 15 November 1892; 16 and 31 January 1893; 25 February, 5 March, 17 April, 20 May, 18 and 25 June, 1 August 1895; 18 February 1896.


Letter from John Morley, Chief Secretary, to the Commissioners of National Education, 5 February 1895, M.B.N.E.I. 25 February 1895.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

M.B.N.E.I. 20 May and 18 June 1895; also Akenson, D.H. The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 360-370.


Programme of Examination, M.B.N.E.I. 30 July, 1872. In the 1872 curriculum grammar was not to be introduced until fourth class, but in 1873 it was brought back into third class, see I.T.J., 31 May 1873, Vol. 6, p. 183, and 187-189.

Percentage Distribution by School Class of total Pupils undertaking Results Examinations in Various Years

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Infants %</th>
<th>First Class %</th>
<th>Second Class %</th>
<th>Third Class %</th>
<th>Fourth Class %</th>
<th>Fifth Class %</th>
<th>Sixth Class %</th>
<th>Total %</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>1878</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>101</td>
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<td>1885</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
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Ibid, p. 325.

Ibid, p. 524.

Ibid, p. 525.


Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence..., H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, pp. 89-96.


M.B.N.E.I., 14 February 1871.

70 M.B.N.E.I. 27 June, 4 July and 4 October 1871 and 21 March 1872.


73 Ibid, p. 70.


76 Copy of a Memorial presented to the Lord Lieutenant by certain Catholic Bishops upon the Subject of Elementary Education, H.C. 1884-5, lxi, pp. 449-450.

77 Ibid.


80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 I.T.J., 23 August 1873, Vol. 6, p. 327.


86 I.T.J. 16 August 1873, Vol. 6, p. 313.

87 Egan, P.M. Notes on Lessons, Fifth and Sixth Reading Book, Kilkenny, n.d.


89 I.T.J. 27 November 1875, Vol. 8, p. 608.
90 Return Relating to National Education (Ireland) (School Books), H.C. 1894, lxvii, p. 23 seq.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid, p. 34. The frequency with which task books and catechisms were reported as being used in schools in the 1880's may be noted.


94 Return Relating to National Education (Ireland) (School Books), H.C. 1894, lxvii, p. 5.

95 Ibid, pp. 2-7.


97 Reported in I.T.J. 23 September 1893, Vol. 27, pp. 11-12.

98 M.B.N.E.I. 22 April and 20 May 1890; 9 and 23 January and 1 May 1894; 5 May 1896 and 7 December 1897.


101 See M.B.N.E.I. 19 January, 9 and 23 February 1892; 31 January and 25 April 1893; 2 February 1897 and 6 June, 1899.

102 Number of pages in the first to fourth reading books in the 1860's, 1870's, 1880's and 1890's

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<td>First Book</td>
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<td>(8 year olds)</td>
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<td>Second Book</td>
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<td>Third Book</td>
<td>320</td>
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<td>(10 year olds)</td>
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<td>Fourth Book</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>268</td>
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<td>(11 year olds)</td>
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103 Because of the changes in the reading books it is incorrect to make absolute comparisons between percentages 'in' books in the 1860's and in the 1890's. The decreasing percentage of pupils undertaking results examinations in the lower grades - a decrease from 86 per cent in the 1870's to 77 per cent in the 1890's, see note 60 above, - may be indicative of the decreasing difficulty of the required texts rather than a genuinely higher standard.

105 Commissioners of National Education, First Reading Book for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1885, p. 21.


107 Whately's economics had been moved to the Fifth Reading Book in the 1870 readjustment.

108 Fifty-three per cent of the lessons in the Second Reading Book... 43 per cent of those in the Third Reading Book... and 40 per cent of those in the Fourth... had originally been introduced by Carlyle or Whately, in particular the former. [See Commissioners of National Education, Second Reading Book for the Use of Schools, Dublin, n.d. (circa 1890); Commissioners of National Education, Third Reading Book for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1892; and Commissioners of National Education, Fourth Reading Book for the Use of Schools, Dublin, 1892].

109 Inspector Newell in his report for 1880 stated that the style of the scripture lessons "abounds in pseudo-classicism, and bristles with sins against clearness and simplicity." [47th Report C.N.E.I., 1880, Appendix, H.C. 1881, xxxiv, p. 186] The scripture lessons may also have been reduced due to the fact that they were not read in at least some convent schools, and the commissioners took no action when this was reported to them. [M.B.N.E.I. 21 July 1885].

110 Third Reading Book... 1892, pp. 69-70 and 76-82.

111 However, T. Moore's 'Poet to his Country' in which he wished Ireland to be "... great, glorious and free / First flower of the earth and first gem of the sea" was omitted in the 1870's.

112 Third Reading Book... 1892, p. 132.

113 Sullivan, R. Introduction to Geography and History, Dublin, 1883, p. 175.

114 Ibid.


116 Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. iii, Minutes of Evidence... H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. iii, p. 225.


120 Ibid. It might also be noted that some of the English inspectors of schools who inspected Irish schools on behalf of the Powis Commissioners were critical of the amount of time national teachers spent with the senior classes, to the detriment they felt of the junior classes. [See, report of H.M. I. W. Scott Coward, Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. ii, Report of Commissioners, H.C. 1870, xxvii, pt. ii, p. 139].

121 M.B.N.E.I. 30 July 1872, and 24 February 1875, also see Programme of Instruction and Examination for National Schools, and Scale of Results Fees, 41st Report C.N.E.I. 1874, H.C. 1875, xxv, pp. 35-42.

122 Correspondence between the Irish Executive and the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, with Respect to the Teaching of Irish in Irish National Schools, H.C. 1884, lxi, p. 627.

123 M.B.N.E.I. 12 November 1878.

124 Ibid. and 2 April 1879.

125 For professors and lecturers in Marlboro St. see M.B.N.E.I. 28 April 1891 and 12 June, 1894. For professors and lecturers in St. Patrick's Training College and Our Lady of Mercy Training College, see Return Relating to Schools (Ireland), H.C. 1892, lxi, p. 238.

126 See note 60 above.

127 M.B.N.E.I. 24 September 1872, also 23 September 1878 and 16 June and 21 October 1879.


129 This committee consisted of ex-inspectors Keenan, Newell, Morell and Sheridan, each of whom had risen through the ranks of district, head and chief inspector. Also on this committee were Professor Fitzgerald from Trinity and Rev. Dr. Evans, Presbyterian clergyman. Each of the three major denominations were equally represented. [M.B.N.E.I. 19 January 1892, 31 January 1893].


132 Ibid. Also Parliamentary Debates, 4th Ser. xvi, 1893, pp. 956-959.

133 M.B.N.E.I. 28 April 1891. See also M.B.N.E.I. 8 October and 26 November 1895.


135 Fifth Reading Book..., 1898, p. 8.

136 Ibid, p. 249.


139 Commissioners of National Education, History of the Vote, p. 97.

140 Teachers Classification Programmes, M.B.N.E.I. 30 July 1872.

141 Commissioners of National Education, History of the Vote, p. 97.

142 Ibid.

143 Classification of Paid Monitors and Programmes of Examination (1872), M.B.N.E.I. 30 July 1872, also M.B.N.E.I. 12 February, 1884.

For pupil teachers' programme see Returns Relating to National Education (Ireland), H.C. 1883, liii, pp. 457-459.

For teachers' programme, see M.B.N.E.I. 30 July, 1872.

144 The textbooks which replaced the board's natural history and philosophy texts in the 1870's were by the Rev. Prof. Samuel Haughton, professor of geology in Trinity and Rev. Prof. Joseph Galbraith, professor of natural and experimental philosophy in Trinity College, for example, Haughton, S. The Three Kingdoms of Nature briefly Described, London, 1869, and, Galbraith, J.A. and Haughton, S. Manual of Mechanics, London, 1862. (See M.B.N.E.I. 3 November 1868 and 14 February 1871).


146 Ibid.

147 Commissioners of National Education, History of the Vote, p. 97; also 43rd Report C.N.E.I. 1876, H.C. 1877, xxxi, p. 28.


152 M.B.N.E.I. 15 December 1874, 12 March 1867, and 18 April 1882 respectively.

153 M.B.N.E.I. 6 July 1886.

154 Campbell, J. Elements of Hygiene and Sanitation for Schools and Colleges, Dublin, 1887.
Commissioners of National Education, History of the Vote, p. 97.

Memorial by the Council of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language and others, in favour of placing the Teaching of the Irish Language on the Results Programme of National Schools, H.C. 1878, lx, 495-503.

Correspondence ... with Respect to the Teaching of Irish in Irish National Schools, H.C. 1884, lxi, p. 627. It was signed by 14 Catholic and one Protestant bishop, by M.P.'s, by members of Trinity College, the Catholic University, Maynooth and many other educational and learned institutions.

The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language claimed that in the poor Irish speaking districts of the West this fee proved an obstacle to the teaching of Irish, in the very area where learning Irish would be of most advantage. [I.T.J. September 13, Vol. 13, 1879, p. 450; I.T.J., June 18, Vol. 15, 1881, p. 305; also, M.B.N.E.I. 27 January 1880 and 26 April 1881].


M.B.N.E.I. 12 October and 21 December 1897.

Correspondence with Respect to the Teaching of Irish in Irish National Schools, H.C. 1884, lxi, p. 629, also M.B.N.E.I. 8 February 1887 and 10 January 1888.

M.B.N.E.I. 27 September and 12 October 1897, and 22 May 1900. Also, Correspondence ... with Respect to the Teaching of Irish in Irish National Schools, H.C. 1884, lxi, pp. 617-34.

Ibid, p. 629.

Ibid, p. 630. They declared that "the parents have never manifested any disposition that their children should cultivate the Irish language. On the other hand, at all times since the establishment of the National System, and under all circumstances, they have energetically demonstrated an anxiety that their children learn English." [Ibid, p. 626].


Correspondence ... with Respect to the Teaching of Irish in Irish National Schools, H.C. 1884, xi, p. 625.

For example, I.T.J. 15 April 1893, Vol. 27, p. 15.


M.B.N.E.I. 18 November 1873.


Census of Ireland, 1901, General Report, 1902, cxxix, p. 63.

See note 60 above.


M.B.N.E.I. 13 June 1876 and 30 June 1877.


Ibid.

Ibid.


M.B.N.E.I. 2 March 1880, and 20 January 1885.


M.B.N.E.I. 1 March 1881.


For senior monitors in their fifth year, for pupil teachers and for entrance to training college an outline knowledge of the history of
English literature was required, as well as a detailed knowledge of Milton's L'Allegro and Il Perserooso and Goldsmith's Deserted Village. At training college, a more detailed knowledge of the history of English literature was required, with some of the works of Pope, Addison, Shakespeare and Bacon.

192 Ibid.

193 Teachers' Classification Programme, M.B.N.E.I. 30 July 1872.

194 M.B.N.E.I. 10 January 1871, 23 September and 2 December 1884, 4 May 1886, 27 December 1892, 14 August and 23 October 1894. Also Return Relating to National Education (Ireland) (School Books), H.C. 1894, lxvii, p. 21 seq. The most frequently requested or reported texts were H. M. Sullivan's, Story of Ireland, and Colliers' History of Ireland.


197 M.B.N.E.I. 14 March 1893.


199 M.B.N.E.I. 24 May 1898 It is perhaps of interest to note that the teaching of history in senior classes in English elementary schools between 1870 and 1890 was not at all extensive - in 1890 it was taught in only 2 per cent of senior classes. During the 1890's with the introduction of 'history readers' it became more extensively taught. See Batho, G.R. 'Sources for the History of History Teaching in Elementary Schools, 1833-1914,' in Cook, T.G. (ed), Local Studies in the History of Education, London, 1972, pp. 137-156.

200 M.B.N.E.I. 14 November 1899.


202 On the 1880 economic depression, see Cullen, L.M. An Economic History of Ireland Since 1660, pp. 141-147. On concern among home rule groups to foster national industries, see ibid, p. 149 and Lee, J. The Modernization of Irish Society, p. 97.


Their claim was supported by a memorandum to the Royal Commission from the Irish Home Manufacturing Association, in which they stated:

"The need of technical training being perhaps, nowhere more apparent, than in Ireland, for in no other country in Europe are the natural resources so little developed, owing in a great measure to the absence of skilled labour, which is the great preventative of advantage being taken of many of the resources which would yield employment and profit." [Ibid, p. 387].


The terms manual and technical were clarified in the 1889 Technical Instruction Act for England, Wales and Ireland in which technical instruction was defined as 'instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries ... it shall not include the practice of any trade... Manual instruction was defined as instruction in the use of tools, processes of agriculture and modelling in clay, wood or other material.' [Balfour, G. The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland, p. 166]


Ibid.


Joyce, P. Handicraft for Handy People, Dublin, 1886, p. iii.

Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, First Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1897, xliii, p. 23.


Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, Third Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1897, xliii, p. 506.

222 Evidence of John Coffey, Secretary INTO, Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, Third Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1897, xliii, pp. 509 and 514.


226 Evidence of Head Inspector Downing, Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, First Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1897, xliii, p. 10.


231 Ibid.

232 M.B.N.E.I. 1 March 1881.


238 M.B.N.E.I. 1 March 1881.


240 Ibid, especially pp. 131 and 139.

241 Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction in Primary Schools under the Board of National Education in Ireland, Third Report of the Commissioners, H.C. 1897, xliii, p. 505.

243  51st Report C.N.E.I. 1884, Appendix, H.C. 1884-5, xxiv, pp. 526-828. In some sixty convent schools in the 1890's there were industrial departments for senior girls in art needlework-embroidery, lace-making etc. The teachers of these departments were paid special salaries by the commissioners. [63rd Report C.N.E.I. 1896, H.C. 1897, xxviii, p. 33].

244  Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), Vol. vi, Returns furnished by the National Board, H.C. 1870, xxviii, pt. v, p. 579. As there is no indication in the minutes or elsewhere that it was revised again, I have used an 1887 edition in this analysis - the only edition available.


247  Ibid.


250  M.B.N.E.I. 28 August and 6 May 1888.

251  M.B.N.E.I. 5 November 1889.

252  M.B.N.E.I. 30 July and 27 August 1899; 15 July, 21 October and 18 November 1890.

253  M.B.N.E.I. 23 December 1890. The model school in Dublin was also exempt on these grounds, M.B.N.E.I. 12 October 1897.


255  Evidence of Miss Kenny (Organizing Teachers), ibid, p. 80.


257  58th Report C.N.E.I. 1891, H.C. 1892, xxx, p. 26: of the 5,114 eligible schools, 2058 had been exempted.

258  M.B.N.E.I. 18 June 1895.

259  M.B.N.E.I. 6 June 1899.


Reported in *I.T.J.* 22 August 1896, Vol. 30, p. 5. For Archbishop Walsh’s support of manual instruction, see also Walsh, P.J. *William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin*, Dublin, 1928, pp. 506-509: "...we have to provide for the education of a population the great bulk of whom must live by the labour of their hands, and that while the children of that population have a right to be provided with all the literary instruction that can possibly be useful to them, an education that is purely literary, and in no sense industrial, is not only useless but positively unfits them for the work of their lives." [p. 506].
CHAPTER VII

VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL SELECTION
AND TRANSMISSION PROCESSES

This research was concerned to investigate and analyse the social structural factors which contribute to the shaping of educational selection and transmission processes. In Chapter I it was proposed that the three most relevant social factors were (a) the mode in which educational systems articulate with access to elite positions and the structure of relations between élites; (b) the demand by parents for education and (c) the structure of the educational institution itself. It was suggested that the first two were particularly influential in defining the degree of vertical integration or classification of educational selection and transmission processes, while horizontal integration was related to the degree of conflict between groups both within and outside the educational institution.

Vertically integrated selection and transmission processes

The concept of vertical integration needs to be specified according to whether it refers to (a) the degree of integration within a given educational system, or (b) the degree of integration within or between the educational system(s) of a society as a whole. In terms of (a), for most of the 19th century the national system offered its pupils vertically integrated selection and transmission processes, early introducing students to a 'common curriculum' and offering a ladder of mobility to the meritorious. In terms of (b) above, the national system offered only limited vertical integration, as it was conceived
of by the state which introduced and financially supported it, and by most of the members of those professional and religious élites incorporated into its administration by being appointed commissioners of national education, as 'education for the poor,' different to, and distinct from, intermediate and university education for the élite. However, the élite structure in Ireland was different to England, and 'education for the poor' could allow for 'a modicum of social mobility' as Karl Kaestle has characterized educational selection in the United States in the 19th century. As early as 1812 Richard Lovell Edgeworth was recommending limited and controlled upward mobility in the interests of the state, while the Rev. James Carlile, drawing on the Scottish educational tradition of integrated vertical selection and transmission processes, institutionalized a degree of mobility within the national system in the 1830's. This was further secured and legitimated by the 'need' to promote a better class of national teachers, and by this promotion at the expense of the state, to identify the interests of teachers with the interests of the state - in particular the latter's interest in establishing and maintaining political, religious and social stability.

The élite structure in Ireland was characterized by (a) a weak gentry and Established church - a weakness which increasingly even Tory governments were unwilling to shore up in educational matters; (b) a powerful upper middle class, especially members of the legal and clerical professions; and (c) a growing administrative group in centralized government offices. In the 1830's access to this latter group was only beginning to be opened up to Catholics and Presbyterians, while after the 1850's access was formalized by a meritocratic examination system. It was a more open and accessible élite structure than in England, where assumptions regarding 'natural' superiority, and formalized modes of access to élite positions through university education, were
accepted. The very different social backgrounds of the English and Irish school inspectors are indicative of this difference. Middle class Irish parents desired that form of education which could offer at least the possibility of access to an expanding white collar job market with its security and status. Parents had early shown their ability to provide locally some form of education for their children, and the existence of an extensive network of hedge or pay schools outside the control of either church or state gave evidence of this. With like initiative, they used the meritocratic national school structure, originally designed to promote national school teachers, to get that education necessary for entry into white collar work. In this expansion of the national school's meritocratic structure, parents were aided and abetted by the meritocratic policies of national teachers and inspectors who had frequently themselves used this meritocratic ladder. By 1870 some 10 per cent of all national school pupils were over 14 years of age, and 7 per cent were in the senior fourth and fifth classes.

The moral and literary curriculum in national schools in the first thirty years of its existence offered limited vertical integration. This limited integration was informed by a rationalistic conception of an appropriate, well-ordered and factual curriculum for the poor. Agreement among religious, political, business and professional élites regarding the need to educate the poor into good order, discipline and 'safe' factual knowledge existed as early as the first decade of the 19th century and had been institutionalized by business and professional élites in the educational selection and transmission processes of the Kildare Place Society. Working within this élite consensus, and consensus regarding the imperative need to control the curriculum from the centre, the commissioners sanctioned a series of lesson books, first by Rev. Carlile and then as revised and extended by Archbishop Whately, both of which emphasized the importance of
factual knowledge in the physical and social sciences. The utilitarian emphasis on the rationality of these sciences was perhaps most evident in Whately's lessons on political economy, incorporated into the first set of texts and remaining there until the 1890's. These lessons would rationally show the God-given identity of upper middle class and working class interests; while the extensive, 'useful' scientific facts regarding the physical world would show the divinely ordered hierarchical structure and classification of all things, not only in the physical world, but also in the natural, geographical and social worlds. Knowledge of the 'right ordering' of the world was assumed to contribute to the right ordering of the self in the ways of duty, obedience and industry, each within his own social position within a hierarchy. This was a world which men could classify and dominate - particularly in Whately's and Sullivan's texts of the 1840's through to 60's. In particular, the 'superior nations' could legitimately dominate the inferior.

The 'moral and literary' curriculum offered by national schools was sufficiently extensive to allow the development of meritocratic advancement within it. Social advancement was also achieved by adding 'extra subjects' taught outside school hours, so that, as the commissioners of national education stated 'the ordinary branches of an English education' might not be interferred with. By the 1860's the education in some of the better national schools, as well as in the model schools, was beginning to dissolve the boundary between 'education for the poor' in national schools, and education for the élite in intermediate schools and colleges. However, the consequence of this for national schools was a certain split between the 'ordinary' national school curriculum for the majority, and special instruction outside school hours and paid for by parents, for the meritorious - and one might suggest predominantly middle and lower middle classes. The inspectors and commissioners appear to have recognized the split between that national school education
which was being offered to the majority who were expected to be irregular in attendance, early school leavers and to gain few long term occupational benefits from their schooling except a willingness to conform and be subordinate, and that education which was being offered to the minority who attended well, made good educational progress, entered the senior classes and hopefully white collar jobs.

The conception of the national school system offering an education appropriate to the middle classes informed the inspectorate's reorientation of the lesson books to become reading books in English literature in the 1860's. This revision excluded science in favour of literary texts, which offered that 'style' and 'taste' necessary for the preparatory socialization of national teachers - and others divorced from intercourse with polite society - into the middle class. In this revision the inspectors drew on the 'literary humanism' already avowed by educationalists in Britain, on Irish 'literary nationalism' of the Young Ireland variety, and on British patriotism - a compatible integration to the end of the century. The 'selections' they chose were more literary, secular and imaginative than the previous emphasis on the interesting and useful facts of science. The intermediate education offered within national schools was reinforced in the 1870's by payment for an extensive range of 'extra subjects' for senior pupils; these included the higher branches of mathematics, sciences, the classics, foreign languages and Irish, as well as manual subjects.

The 'need' for such a 'middle class' curriculum was lessened by the 1880's with the establishment of state-supported intermediate education in denominational intermediate schools. In the long term this was to draw that parental support for 'middle class' education and the mobility it offered away from the national system and into the denominational intermediate schools. The alignment of interest between middle class parents, national teachers and the national school inspectorate was
thus broken. This allowed greater interference by the commissioners of national education, who again equated national education with education for the poor. It was to be increasingly oriented to the teaching of literacy and numeracy; history and geography; and 'hand and eye,' or manual training in kindergarten, handiwork and drawing classes, with cookery, laundry work and needlework for girls, and 'school discipline and drill' for all. In contrast, the curriculum prescribed for teacher training colleges included literature, foreign and classical languages, geography and history, mathematics and, to a decreasing extent, science. Transmission processes had become vertically classified, with the vital link between 'education for the poor' and 'élite education,' controlled by denominational intermediate schools.

Two social structural factors other than the mode in which education articulates with access to élite positions and parental demand, contributed to the form which the vertical integration and classification of selection and transmission processes within the Irish national system took. These were, the interests of groups within the educational system itself, in particular national teachers and inspectors, and denominational interests.

Regarding national teachers, it has been noted above that the chief reason for introducing a meritocratic structure and a limited form of intermediate education within the national system was to attempt to ensure an identity of interest between national teachers and the state, which had provided them with the opportunity for mobility. The introduction of a limited form of intermediate education in fact allowed national teachers to reinforce their ties of interest with middle class parents. This alignment of interest was historically based in the hedge schools, when parents paid per subject taught - a tradition which continued with extra subjects. More immediately, it was based in the shared middle class aspirations of both groups and it became
articulated in the rejection of Lancasterian monitorial methods, and the rejection of the teaching of agricultural and manual subjects. A close identity of interest between teachers and senior pupils might also be suggested. Some of these pupils would undertake monitorial duties for the teacher, both would work, or have worked, through a similar course of studies for monitorial or classificatory examinations, and both would be subject to the examining control of the centre. One of the reasons why payment by results was recommended by the Powis Commission was to break this identity of interest, and ensure more concentration by teachers on teaching the great majority of pupils in the junior classes.

The inspectorate also contributed to the formalizing and administration of a meritocratic system which the Irish elite structure and parental demands facilitated. Indeed it was in this formalization and administration that their power lay, and when this system was undermined in the last quarter of the century, so was their power.

Denominational interests, especially those of the Catholic hierarchy after 1860, were particularly influential in specifying who was to control social mobility through education. The gaining of denominational control of that social mobility which education in Ireland offered and which was so important to middle class parents, provided a major thrust in the Catholic hierarchy's undermining of the national system's intermediate educational functions. The boomeranging of the state's control of this meritocracy with the identification of some national teachers with the Fenian rebellion rather than with the state's interest, facilitated the Catholic hierarchy's claim that only mobility offered in, and associated with, the 'discipline of religion' offered in denominational intermediate schools could protect and assure the interest of the state. It would appear that the Catholic hierarchy desired to gain control over mobility through education without
ostensibly offending, or interfering with, middle class parental interests at the local level. Thus local Catholic clerical patrons appear to have done nothing to stop the expansion of the national school curriculum to an intermediate level - although it was within their discretion to do so; nor is there any evidence of their encouragement of the teaching of agriculture or manual subjects. At the centre, however, Archbishop Walsh worked with the commissioners of national education to ensure that, in justice, the national system would not deprive the majority who had to "...earn their bread by industrial pursuits" of that "...special instruction and training that would directly tend to fit them for their work in life." ²

Previous research on the Irish national system in the 19th century has suggested that the development of the national system may best be explained in terms of the colonial context within which it developed. The perspective of the research in hand, and its results, point to the importance of examining the relationship between elite groups, parents and the educational institution within Ireland itself in order to understand this development. These relationships, however, were undoubtedly influenced by the colonial relationship between England and Ireland. This research, however, would suggest that the united government of Great Britain and Ireland had little power to impose its will without resistance, but could negotiate for the introduction and development of an educational system which would advance its own interests, if it was also seen to advance the interests of at least some native elites, and indeed it was seen to be in the interest of the state to advance those interests. Thus Lord Stanley was clearly aware of the advantage of the national system incorporating Catholic interests and influence "... into an amicable and friendly relationship with the Government," ³ while the Catholic hierarchy was equally aware of what it gained by this involvement: it became a legitimate educational authority at the centre - a power which it put to particularly good use in gaining
state-support for denominational intermediate education, and, locally, it became the owner and manager of the great majority of Catholic schools. The incorporation of native religious élites had a high cost in curricular terms, significantly undermining the original non denominational ideals of the Whig government, as each religious élite carved out and shaped the national system in its own interest.

The government was prepared to finance, and give relative autonomy to, an educational system which might contribute to social stability in Ireland, and about which a sufficient consensus had been formulated among Irish élites - as long as it did not interfere with party political interests in England. In the whole area of moral, literary and scientific instruction, about which an adequate degree of consensus existed among Irish élites, the national system enjoyed relative autonomy - unlike the area of religious instruction and, for a time, agricultural instruction.

While the government tread carefully, the Treasury, from the 1870's, acted with all the presuppositions of the superiority of the metropole and its right to dictate to the periphery. However, while its activities certainly irritated the commissioners of national education and no doubt contributed to the increasing commitment among Irish élites to Home Rule policies, they did not fundamentally influence either the vertical or horizontal structure of the national system's selection and transmission processes. It is perhaps of interest to note the cross-purposes at which British élites worked in their recommendations for the national system - the Treasury had hardly finished insisting on the dismantling of the agricultural model school system in the 1870's, than the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction (1832-4) was recommending the extension of agricultural schools.

It may be concluded that an understanding of the colonial context within which the Irish national system developed is necessary. It is
not, however, sufficient for an adequate analysis of how vertical selection and transmission processes developed within it. This analysis requires going beyond the colonial context and examining Irish élite structures, demand for access to these, the structure of the education institution and how it interrelates with the status and élite structures, as well as examining the interests of particular élite groups who wish to control mobility through education.

**Horizontally integrated selection and transmission processes**

It was suggested in Chapter I that horizontally integrated selection and transmission processes were related to the interests of groups within the educational institution as well as to the particularist interests of élite groups outside. It was proposed that horizontal integration tended to occur when there was agreement, or at least shared interests, among controlling groups, while disagreement tended to produce horizontally classified structures - the highlighting and maintenance of boundaries expressing the conflict of interests between groups.

Religious instruction in national schools was a subject around which boundary maintaining conflicts were endemic, especially before 1870, by which time the denominational character of national schools was assured in practice, if not recognized by the government for party political reasons. The first commissioners of national education, being mainly religious leaders, desired to integrate as much non denominational religious instruction as possible within the 'literary' curriculum. They integrated religious and particularly scriptural instruction into their lesson books, as well as preparing a series of texts to be used during combined instruction if parents did not object. This latter form of integration, pushed too hard by Archbishop Whately in 1852, at a time of growing Catholic denomination demands, led to its more rigid confinement and its final falling into disuse in the 1860's.
Denominational religious instruction was originally to be offered in all national schools, a different day being allocated to each denomination. Presbyterian hostility to the use of their school houses for Catholic instruction, changed this in the 1830's by excluding from the school house all denominational instruction excepting that of the denomination of the manager. This denominational instruction might be given during school hours, and furthermore, the manager was not responsible for excluding pupils of a different denomination from this instruction. This was the parents' responsibility. Growing Catholic power was able, by 1866, to change this and ensure more rigid controls over who attended denominational religious instruction - the parent or guardian now having to sign a certificate of compliance before a child could attend the instruction of a different denomination.

In the 'moral and literary' curriculum horizontal integration in the classroom was assessed not only by pedagogic practices integrating one subject with another, but by the degree to which the content of the curriculum was integrated by similar themes or forms of presentation. The first curriculum as designed by the Rev. Carlile was integrated in both ways. In content it was integrated by an infused evangelical and scriptural orientation and a chain-of-being paradigm, while integrating pedagogic practices were recommended by the 'intellectual' mode. Thereafter differentiation processes began as different interests began to become established in the central training college, and among authors of school texts bringing diversification to the content of school knowledge, while inspectors began to specify boundary-maintaining pedagogic practices to increase their centralized control.

The curriculum of the 1840's was horizontally integrated by its emphasis throughout on 'rational' and classified facts, but became progressively less so, as subjects began to coalesce around three poles -
an English language and literary pole as specified by Sullivan's, Cross's, and Whately's texts; a scientific pole, within which McGauley worked; and an agricultural pole, established as a separate department with its own inspectorate, model schools and mobility structure. As the century advanced the differentiation between the 'literary' and 'scientific' curriculum increased and became institutionalized in the new 1860's reading books which excluded science. Furthermore, the commissioners began to insist in the 1870's that the sciences were extra subjects and must only be taught outside school hours and paid for by parents. In effect, science was progressively excluded. Agriculture was in a different position with the commissioners seeking to have it taught and the national teachers and parents rejecting it. The commissioners attempted to integrate it into the ordinary school curriculum after most of the agricultural model schools had closed in the 1870's. They increased the marks given to agriculture in the teacher's classifying examination, increased the payment given for 'a pass result' for agriculture in the era of payment by results, and made it a compulsory subject from fourth class up. They simplified the Agricultural Class Book and 'task-book' authors recast it in catechetical style. Yet, the percentage of passes were still lower than in any other subject. In the 1900 curriculum, agriculture was to be integrated under the label "Elementary Experimental Science." It would be interesting to know how it fared.

The curriculum and text books of the latter quarter of the century lacked an overall integrating theme: conflicting groups within the educational administration at the centre revised the texts to please conflicting nationalist, unionist, Catholic and Presbyterian groups outside, as well as retaining piecemeal educational traditions from the past. The commissioners attempted to introduce more extensive
manual instruction, but this was rejected by teachers and parents alike. Again it would be interesting to investigate if the demise of this latter alliance allowed the commissioners to successfully integrate manual instruction as proposed in the 1900 curriculum.

Pedagogic practices specifying horizontal boundaries between subjects began to be introduced by the inspectorate in the 1840's and progressively increased. Through the establishment of the monitorial and classificatory examination systems in the 1840's, the programme of minimum proficiency in the 1850's, and payment by results in the 1870's, the inspectorate attempted to unify and systematize the national systems pedagogic practices - so that they, rather than either parents or teachers would specify the sequencing, pacing, timing and assessment of school knowledge. The intellectual method became their bogey-man. Their systematization meant clear differentiation between subjects, ritualized in space and time, and visualized on the time-table. The content of different subjects was increasingly specified by different text books and examined separately; by the 1870's the original all-embracing lesson books were converted to 'reading books' mainly in English literature and moral exhortation, with separate texts for grammar, geography, and the physical and natural sciences - as well as for mathematics and agriculture as previously. The inspectorate's control over pedagogic practices gave them control not only over when subjects were taught, but over the selection and classification of pupils in each class. These classificatory tendencies were reinforced by Patrick Keenan and Patrick Joyce, resident commissioner and professor of teaching methods respectively, who insisted on 'well organized' and 'efficient' class-room practices, in particular, controlled and ritualized boundaries between subjects, and between classes.

Basil Bernstein has suggested that a collection code (a horizontally classified curriculum and pedagogy) is characterized by (a) explicit and
ritualized sequencing rules regarding the school day (the class timetable), the school year (the class curriculum) and the school programme as a whole (graduated school programme); (b) didactic teaching methods and a hierarchical relationship between teacher and pupil; (c) standardized evaluative criteria; (d) esoteric rather than 'everyday' or 'commonsense' knowledge and (f) required school texts. In general these were found to be pertinent characteristics of the horizontally classified transmission process in Irish national schools as this classification increased and reached its peak with payment by results in the 1870's. However, two of these characteristics - the hierarchical relationship between teacher and taught or (b) above, and the differentiation of school knowledge by whether it is 'esoteric' or 'commonsense knowledge,' or (d) above, were found to be more related to vertical rather than horizontal selection and transmission processes. Thus, even within a highly horizontally classified curriculum, the relationship between senior pupils and their teachers, it was suggested, was characterized by an identity of interest rather than a hierarchical relationship; while the content of 'national school knowledge' did become less esoteric towards the end of the century, but this was related to the identification of the national system with elementary education, rather than related to horizontal boundary maintaining factors. Horizontal and vertical classificatory processes are related to different constellations of social factors at any one time and thus vary independently of each other.

With regard to an integrated horizontal code, Bernstein has suggested that sequencing and evaluative rules are implicit; that teachers and pupils have higher status; text book knowledge does not have such a central place; and the content of school knowledge allows the intrusion of the everyday and emphasizes ways of knowing rather than states of knowledge. Certainly the 'intellectual method' which
Carlile's vertically integrated curriculum and pedagogy recommended allowed the teacher greater discretion in sequencing, pacing, timing and evaluation of pupils, allowed pupils to raise questions and emphasized that inspectors recommended improvements rather than imposed them. However, the knowledge the pupils were offered was still the 'received wisdom' of scriptural and scientific knowledge, rather than the everyday, and the centre's control of text books defined this knowledge. This again indicates that control over the content of knowledge is related more to vertical classificatory processes, rather than to horizontal processes.

Conclusion

The results of this research would suggest that educational selection and transmission processes may be appropriately and usefully examined in terms of vertical and horizontal boundary maintaining practices. The three social structural factors proposed as being most relevant to an explanation of how these processes are established and changed over time - elite structures and access to these, parental aspirations, and the interests of groups within the educational institution - were confirmed. These three social structural factors were found to be closely interwoven, with, for example, groups within the educational institution themselves interrelated with elite structures, as well as being differently related to, and influenced by, parents and pupils from various social classes. It is this interwoven and delicately negotiated social structure which enters into and shapes educational selection and transmission processes.

With regard to Bernstein's work, it may be concluded that it is not sufficient to examine curricular and pedagogic practices in terms of horizontal boundary maintaining procedures alone, as Bernstein does, but that one must add a vertical dimension to this analysis. It is this vertical dimension which allows for the more adequate analysis of the relationship between educational practices and the maintenance of social class and prestige structures.
Footnotes to Chapter VII

1 On the social background of the English inspectorate see Sutherland, G. Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895, p. 74 seq.


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