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THE KILDARE PLACE SOCIETY
1811—1831:
An Irish Experiment in Popular Education

by
Harold John Hislop

Vol. I
The Kildare Place Society 1811-1831:
An Irish Experiment in Popular Education

by

Harold John Hislop
B.Ed. (Hons.), M.A.

A thesis submitted to the University of Dublin in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

April 1990
The Claires Place Society 1831-1834: An Irish Experiment in Popular Education

by

Herbert John Haste

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Harold John Hislop
Summary

This thesis is an examination of the origins and workings of the Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in Ireland (commonly called the Kildare Place Society) which during its active period from 1811-1831 attempted the creation of an efficiently run non-denominational school system and thereby laid the basis for Ireland's national school system in 1831.

Chapter One examines the religious, political and educational milieu of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. It is concluded that existing educational provision was largely under the control of two denominational systems. Pressures for wider state involvement in educational provision created a dilemma for the established church which theoretically controlled the education of all children. Successive official inquiries from 1788-1812 failed to provide a solution which would reconcile state aid and denominational control. The last of these reports, the fourteenth report of the 1806-12 board of education proposed a denominationally mixed state-aided system but the bishops of the established church had only agreed to its recommendations under protest and they strongly resented its implementation.

The influence of conservative evangelical ideas and of more enlightened utilitarian philosophies on those who founded the Kildare Place Society form the subject of Chapter Two. The success enjoyed by a Sunday school at School Street, Dublin from 1786 and the visit to Ireland of Joseph Lancaster in 1811 prompted the foundation of the Kildare Place Society. While the Society embarked on its work, the appearance of the fourteenth report of the board of education created great political pressure for educational reform. Faced with the resistance of the bench of bishops the chief secretary, Robert Peel, granted state aid to the Society and a non-denominational educational experiment was set in train.

The curricular and pedagogical policies of the Society are examined in Chapters Three and Four. The publication programme, the subject of Chapter Three emerges as notable achievement which was inspired not merely by theories of social control as heretofore suggested, but also by more liberal and
utilitarian notions of economic improvements. The monitorial teaching methods and the Society’s teacher training work was efficiently organized, but as Chapter Four demonstrates, the monitorial teaching style adopted from Lancaster proved largely unsuited to Irish school conditions and does not seem to have been generally adopted.

Chapters Five and Six describe the nature and control of the school system. The management and financing of the Society’s schools in eight sample counties provides the basis for an analysis of the reasons for the failure of the Society to create its intended non-denominational school system. Chapter Six, on the Society’s inspectorate, demonstrates the efficiency with which Kildare Place activities were organized and also illustrates the reluctance of the Society’s Committee to appreciate catholic objections to the protestant ethos of its scripture reading rules.

The remaining chapters examine the decline of the Society’s doomed ‘mixed education’ experiment. Chapter Seven describes the progress of the catholic campaign which culminated in the Irish education inquiry of 1824-7. The commissioners findings and their attempts to form an acceptable educational scheme exposed the failure of the Society’s non-denominational, scripture-reading policies and demonstrated that the realities of denominational control, which Kildare Place had ignored, would have to be accommodated in any new school system. Chapter Eight recounts how the granting of catholic emancipation and continued pressure from the catholic hierarchy eventually persuaded those in government that the realities of church control would have to be accommodated in the new national school system of 1831, a theoretically neutral system which was in practice denominationally controlled. Chapter Nine provides a reassessment of the contribution which the Kildare Place experiment made to the formation and structure of the national school system and to the wider religious and social development of nineteenth century Ireland.
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I wish to express my thanks to the many individuals and institutions who assisted me during the preparation of this thesis.

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I value greatly the co-operation and assistance which I received from Mrs. Muriel Rumball, principal of Whitechurch National School and an tUas Rísteard Giltrap, príomhoide Choláiste Moibhí, Rathmaonais. I am deeply indebted to two principals of the Church of Ireland College of Education: Dr. Kenneth Milne inspired my interest in the world of historical research, introduced me to the archives of the Kildare Place Society and maintained a keen interest in my work while his successor, Mr. Sydney Blain, has provided sound advice, active encouragement and practical help. The members of the staff of the college of education have helped in many ways; in particular I am most grateful to Miss Rosemary Bourne, secretary of the college, who typed early drafts of some chapters and was always ready to assist; to Mrs. Valerie Coughlan and the library staff for their friendly efficiency and to Mr. Robert Dunbar who assisted with the onerous task of proof reading. I am indebted to the board of management of Whitechurch National School and the board of governors of the Church of Ireland College of Education for facilitating my research work.

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I discussed aspects of my work with Miss M. Pollard, from whose...
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I am grateful for the courteous assistance which I received from the staffs of the following libraries: Trinity College Library, the National Library of Ireland, the Royal Irish Academy, the National Archives, the Representative Church Body Library, the Dublin Diocesan Archives, the Library of the Society of Friends, the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Cavan County Library, the British Library, the Public Record Office, Kew, the National Register of Archives, London, the British and Foreign Archives Centre, London, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Thanks are also due to the several proprietors who granted access to school buildings and permission for photographs to be taken. I wish to thank Mr. James Malseed who expertly developed the photographs for this thesis and his wife Kathryn who provided welcome hospitality while this work was in progress. I am also indebted to Mr and Mrs D. Oliver and Mr and Mrs P. Bonwick whose generous hospitality I enjoyed while working away from Dublin.

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NOTE

Following the practice adopted in the compilation of the catalogue of the surviving manuscripts in the Kildare Place collection housed at the Church of Ireland College of Education, no attempt has been made to standardise the spelling of place names throughout this work.
Preface

In the introduction to his 1904 history of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, H. Kingsmill Moore recounted how the work had begun when he came upon some of the records of the Society in a disused basement of the Society's headquarters at Kildare Place. Moore, the first principal of the Church of Ireland Training College, the successor of the Kildare Place institution, conducted a thorough search of the Kildare Place premises and the materials which he unearthed provided the basis for his Unwritten chapter in the history of education.

Moore sorted and classified part of the Society's correspondence and most of these documents were later numbered and listed by Dr. J.G. Simms, F.T.C.D. in the 1940s. The collection survived the removal of the Church of Ireland Training College to its present location at Rathmines in 1968 but it remained largely unsorted and inaccessible to historians. In 1977 the newly appointed principal of the college, Dr. Kenneth Milne invited Miss Susan Parkes of the School of Education, Trinity College, to organize the cataloguing of the archive. The governors of the Church of Ireland College of Education with assistance from the Trinity College Research Benefaction Fund employed two professional archivists, Dr. Thomas Power and Mr. David Sheehy, for periods to complete a calendar of the records under Miss Parkes' supervision. Two volumes of this calendar have been published by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts and a third volume is expected shortly. In 1982, the present writer was appointed as honorary keeper of the research area of the college to which the manuscripts and the associated printed collections were moved.

Thanks to the foresight of the college authorities, the dedicated professionalism of Miss Parkes, Dr. Power and Mr. Sheehy has revealed once more the rich Kildare Place archive which Moore discovered at the end of the last century. Their work has made possible this study of the first efficiently run,
state-aided agency for popular education in the British Isles and the contribution it made to the educational, social and political history of early nineteenth century Ireland.
SECTION I

BEGINNINGS
Introduction

In December 1811, a number of individuals describing themselves as 'Friends of Education', met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin and resolved to found a society which would spread the benefiting influence of education over all Ireland. The Society for the Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, as that body was called, was to prove one of the most vigorous and influential of Irish philanthropic organizations during the next twenty years.

The legacy which the Society left to Irish education concerned both the structure and control of elementary schooling. A vision of the structures needed for the operation of a successful national education programme had emerged in a succession of official educational inquiries over the previous quarter of a century. Many of the founding members of the Kildare Place Society (as the Society came to be known) had gained valuable experience in the practical management of a large day school for the poor in Dublin, and they were in close contact with leading British educationalists. The government funds which the Society received from 1815 enabled its Committee to embark on an ambitious programme of national education development in accordance with the proposals of the official inquiries and the ideas of contemporary educationalists. This programme included the publication of textbooks, the establishment of model schools for teacher training, the granting of funds to local schools and the organization of an efficient inspectorate. Previous work has pointed to the important role which these developments played in determining the structure adopted by the commissioners of national education following 1831. Parkes' work on the Society's contribution to teacher training and Ó Heideáin's description of the development of the commissioners' inspectorate from that of the Society, are two particularly successful studies in this tradition. Goldstrom's analysis of the Society's publications which sought to show that the religious milieu in which the Society operated forced it to create a more secular curriculum than was then normal, is less satisfactory. Goldstrom's work overestimates the role which religious considerations and social control theories
played in the Society's publication programme and thus many of the concerns of the Committee which are evident in the books are ignored. Lynch\textsuperscript{4} and Revington,\textsuperscript{5} who completed two full-scale modern examinations of the Society's work also described the structural legacy which the Kildare Place Society created, but in doing so they relied heavily on the work of the Society's first historian, H. Kingsmill Moore, who sought to rehabilitate the reputation of the Society in the early years of this century.\textsuperscript{6} To varying degrees all these studies describe and analyse the objectives behind each of the Society's initiatives and the steps it took to achieve these ends, but the suitability and actual effectiveness of the Society's efforts have received less attention. The painstaking examination of the Society's operations in Co. Kerry completed by de Brun is a notable exception to this trend.\textsuperscript{7}

The degree to which the Society's policies were successfully implemented is essential to a proper assessment of the Society's work. The present study attempts to arrive at such an assessment. The publication programme will emerge as an impressive achievement but the implementation of the pedagogical techniques advocated by the Society was less successful, despite the provision of dedicated textbooks and teacher training.

The Society's attempts to support a school system in which its fundamental principles of mixed education would be observed became the acid test of the Society's achievement in the 1820s and remain the single most important criterion by which Kildare Place may be judged. The present examination of the Society's school system and of the inspectorate, by which it was theoretically controlled, reveals that the mixed education principles of the Society proved largely unworkable and shows that the Society failed in its ultimate objective to create a genuinely mixed and scriptural school system.

The reasons for this failure are significant not only for the history of the Society but because of the implications they have for our understanding of denominational control of education throughout the nineteenth century. Previous studies have spoken of initial general acceptance of the Society by
Roman Catholics as a genuinely non-proselytising organisation. They have argued that the granting of money by the Society to other proselytising bodies, its hardline approach on bible reading and the increasingly sectarian political atmosphere of the 1820s provoked catholic hostility and thereby led to the foundation of the national school system in 1831. Akenson has argued, with some force, that catholic hostility to the Kildare Place Society and the findings of a succession of government reports on education from the end of eighteenth century generated a "cumulative educational consensus" which favoured "an undenominational system of state provided education." Akenson and Ó Cannáin have proposed that the foundation of the non-denominational national schools marked the end of protestant control as accepted in the era of the penal laws and the reluctant acceptance by the protestant state of the Roman Catholic church's power. Akenson has argued that despite the attempts of the national commissioners and the government the system which was non-denominational in 1831 was, by 1850, denominational and firmly in the control of the various churches.

These interpretations ignore three important aspects of the educational milieu of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Firstly they over-estimate the influence of the penal laws, they consequently under-estimate the extent of catholic schooling available in the eighteenth century and they are too accepting of the premise that the national system was initially non-denominational.

Bowen's interpretation that the early part of the nineteenth century was a period of relatively harmonious inter-denominational relations broken only by the onset of the 'second reformation' has remained, until recent years, virtually unchallenged. Subsequent work by Kelly has shown that the decline in interdenominational hostility in the last decade of the eighteenth century which was thought to have presaged the tranquility of the 1800-20 period may have been seriously overstated. Furthermore, a recent article in Archivium Hibernicum by Liechty has thrown some doubt on Bowen's analysis and has suggested that inter-church divisions in the opening decades of the nineteenth
century may have been much greater than has previously been supposed. The present work will suggest that the evidence, in the field of education at least, provides strong support for Liechty's theory. It will seek to show that two relatively stable and largely denominational educational systems existed in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ireland and that Roman Catholic hostility to the Kildare Place Society grew in proportion to its ability to threaten that stability. It will be argued that the Society was sincerely non-proselytising but because of its basically eighteenth century protestant philosophy it could never have been acceptable to the Roman Catholic mind and was not readily capable of change. Its organisational and pedagogical success posed a threat to Roman Catholicism and was a contributory factor to the denominational hostility of the 1820s.

In many ways, therefore, the Kildare Place Society was a genuine but doomed attempt to create a mixed system, an artificial experiment in a period of political and social change, which proved that the very principle it cherished was unworkable. The granting of state aid to the Kildare Place Society broke the established church's monopoly of state aid for education and therefore made it possible for catholics to demand aid on terms acceptable to them. This made the Kildare Place Society system - essentially protestant and theoretically mixed - an unstable and unworkable compromise which stimulated catholic demands it was unwilling and unable to fulfill. The break up of the established church's monopoly on education had also serious consequences for that church's relationship with the state as it was a tacit acknowledgement that the church of a minority could no longer be 'established' in the face of an overwhelming catholic majority. From this acknowledgement grew the concept of a 'neutral' state, but ironically the Kildare Place Society experience, while contributing to the creation of this concept, demonstrated that it was an unachievable ideal. The foundation of the national school system was an admission by government that the mixed system had failed and that state education was the preserve of the church, not the neutral state. The contribution of the Kildare Place Society, therefore, can be seen as the agent which brought the state to admit that it had to use the denominational church system, particularly that of the catholic church as
the vehicle of mass education and social legislation in Ireland.

...
Introduction Footnotes


2 Eustas Ó Héideáin, National school inspection in Ireland: the beginnings (Dublin, 1967), pp.11-34.


6 H. Kingsmill Moore, An unwritten chapter in the history of education being the history of the Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland, generally known as the Kildare Place Society 1811-1831 (London, 1904), passim.


10 Ibid., passim; and S. Ó Cannáin, "Relations between the catholic church and the state with regard to education in Ireland 1795-1825" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 1979), passim.


Chapter One

Church, State and Education 1788-1812

The State of the Churches in the Age of Reason

Anglicans occupied a privileged position in Irish society in the eighteenth century. In theory at least, the Church of Ireland was the sole legitimate church and it enjoyed all the privileges of its establishment as the state religion. Its position and rights were enshrined as part of the protestant settlement and constitutional arrangements which had resulted from the religious wars of the last decade of the seventeenth century. These wars had given the protestant colony in Ireland a severe jolt, and despite King William's ambivalence about, if not opposition to, religious persecution, his second Irish parliament passed anti-catholic laws by 1695. During the next twenty years these laws were extended to form what became known as the penal code. The end of the Williamite wars had, it seemed, subdued catholic Ireland and the protestant ascendancy was determined to secure its position and to eliminate catholicism. Measures against the catholic clergy and education sought to disable the church's organisation and were to have assisted in the great task of converting the catholic population to protestantism.

Yet eighteenth century Anglicanism was singularly inappropriate for the task of conversion. Partly this was a problem of the very nature of Anglican thought. Anglicans believed that their doctrine, which was catholic and reformed, was the natural compromise between illogical extremes. The spirit of the age was one of logic and reason. Men accepted that the laws of nature were the laws of reason and that those laws were unchanging and self-evident: they required "only to be presented in order to be acknowledged as just and right by all men". Religion, no less than any other sphere of human activity or thought was believed to be subject to these laws. As Willey has summarised:
During the Christian centuries religion had rested upon revelation; now it rested largely upon 'Nature', and even the orthodox, who retained the supernatural basis, felt that faith must be grounded firmly upon Nature before one had recourse to super-nature.  

For Anglicans, theirs was a religion which was rational and logical and at which any intelligent mind would naturally arrive, if open to the arguments of sound reason and scriptural proof. They valued its balance of order and liberty. They believed that the Church of Ireland was best fitted to bring true Christianity to Irishmen and that therefore Anglicanism was the natural religion of free men and of a state with a liberal enlightened constitution. These ideas were already settled by the 1750s and were to last throughout the century. Richard Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, argued as late as 1786 that the established church was an essential part of the political constitution, its members alone could be cordial friends to the constitution; and the preservation of the establishment was "interesting to the landed gentry, the protestant government and the British empire". This link between the established church and the state was, however, a chief reason for the inability of the church to attempt a mass conversion in Ireland. As the state church of a colony the Church of Ireland had to serve British political ends, rather than Irish, and many Englishmen of dubious quality were appointed to important Irish sees. This served only to reinforce the alien appearance of the church and political jobbery was bound to seriously weaken the church's administration. In 1801 William Stuart, archbishop of Armagh, for example, described three of the six bishops serving in his province as men of acceptable moral character but "inactive and useless", while two others were men "of acknowledged bad character".

The destruction or decay of churches and glebes in the seventeenth century meant that many clergy did not reside in their parishes, and even where they did so "the necessity of uniting a number of parishes in order to provide a modest income meant that the clergy of the established church were
thin on the ground". Clergy often employed "poorly paid and indifferently qualified curates", and bishops were no more zealous about residing in their sees. Connolly has noted a newly-appointed prelate casually informing a correspondent that he had taken advantage of a recent parliamentary recess to "run down" to his diocese "and see what sort of thing I had gotten". The extent to which pluralities and the ruinous state of church property were a product of the tiny protestant population, rather than the laxity of the clergy has yet to be established, and may alter the presently accepted view that these features are representative of an inefficient ecclesiastical structure. Whatever the future outcome of this argument may be, the fact remains that the manpower and buildings deployed by the church were not commensurate with the theoretical role of a national church seriously attempting to convert the mass of the Irish people to protestantism.

The inability of the church to embark on conversion was also limited by the sense of security which establishment gave to Anglicans. This was encouraged by the belief in the reason and logic of their creed. Anglicans who looked to Britain as their spiritual home, saw themselves as "members of a highly civilized society" in which the enlightenment had brought a belief in the power of "fundamental truths, sound general principles and a common morality". Anglicanism with its emphasis on reason was entirely in sympathy with this philosophy while catholicism was "out of touch with the progressive tendencies of the age".

The lax nature of discipline and the self-satisfied security of the established church were symptomatic of an age of growing religious indifference. Bishop Woodward wrote that lay protestants were not supportive of the clergy, and that many "discountenanced all religion by entirely neglecting public worship". Indeed the church often found that the interests of the protestant gentry and of the church were opposed, particularly in the enforcement of tithes and it can be argued that the penal code was more concerned with property and its attendant political power than with any serious attempt at mass conversion.
The penal laws were an anachronism in these conditions. By the time the code was complete, the spirit of the age had changed and the establishment felt secure in its rationale of sound reasoning and logical argument. Other than the laws which concerned property and political power the code was but rarely and spasmodically enforced, and despite some doubts which have been recently raised it would seem that Archbishop King's summary holds a great deal of truth:

It is plain to me by the methods which have been taken since the Reformation, and which are yet pursued by both the civil and ecclesiastical powers, that there never was or is any design that all should be protestants.

Country gentlemen, sheriffs and magistrates, on whose initiative the eighteenth century state relied for the enforcement of laws, were more concerned to stay on good terms with their neighbours than to carry out the letter of the law. Even as early as 1709 the procedures for the registration of catholic priests were ignored, and those who sought to expose Roman Catholic bishops or regular clergy found little sympathy or support among either section of the community. Catholics were undoubtedly placed in a subservient position and catholic landowners were under some pressure to conform in order to protect their inheritance but the catholic church survived the period remarkably well. By 1730 every diocese had a bishop, the parish system was "well on the way to being re-established" and the catholic church was functioning normally even in the early part of the century. Protestant fears and hostility were occasionally revived by the threats of invasion or local sectarian competition. The 1731 report into the state of popery was the protestant response to one such invasion scare but even its imperfect statistical survey showed a strong catholic church with 1,700 priests, 51 friaries and 892 mass houses.
The Denominational School System

The education available to the children of the Irish poor reflected the divisions and realities of the larger political and social context. From the time of the reformation the state had involved itself in educational matters in two distinctive ways: firstly, the state encouraged the established church to provide for the schooling of Irish youth through a series of parliamentary measures and secondly, the Irish parliament sought to limit or destroy any influence the catholic church might have in the education of the young.

In theory, therefore, all educational provision was in the hands of the established church which exercised and fulfilled its duties through a network of parish, diocesan and royal schools created in piecemeal fashion by successive parliamentary measures. But the problems which ensured the non-enforcement of the penal laws rendered much of the legislation on education ineffective also and, as in the case of religious practices, the situation on the ground was far from that envisaged in the legislation.

The established church was to have provided for the education of the masses by the foundation of parish schools which had a history stretching back to the introduction of the reformation in the time of Henry VIII. In an act of 1537 entitled "An act for the English Order, Habit and Language", clergy were required, on appointment to a benefice, to take a oath that they would "keepe or cause to be kept within the Place, Terratorie, or Paroch where he shall have Rule, Benefice or Promotion, a Schoole for to learne English". The conversion of the Irish population to protestantism as envisaged in the Tudor legislation never took place, and despite several other legislative attempts to force the clergy to comply with the requirements, the parish and other schools did not develop to any great extent before the reign of Queen Anne. Even by the end of the eighteenth century the parish school system was very patchy.
The commissioners of the 1788 Irish education inquiry found only 361 parish schools in the 838 benefices from which returns were received. As the commissioners reckoned that there were 1,100 benefices in Ireland, they concluded that parish schools were "not kept in very considerably more than half the benefices of this kingdom", and that approximately 11,000 children were educated in parish schools. The numbers of parish schools grew during the last years of the eighteenth century. By 1810 the board of education could report 549 schools and 736 benefices from which reports had been received, and it was estimated that pupil numbers in the whole system had risen to 23,000.

But the board of education report also demonstrated the failure of the parish schools to educate the whole nation. The report showed that parish clergy had been lax in the fulfilment of their duties and it may be safely assumed that general dissatisfaction with the parish school system had been at least a contributory factor in the setting up of the successive commissions and boards of inquiry from 1788 to 1806. The eleventh and fourteenth reports of the board of education demonstrated that the parish schools were totally inadequate to satisfy the educational demands of the Irish poor and that their place had been taken by over 3,700 pay schools in the dioceses making returns to the board.

The failure of the schools to jointly educate Roman Catholics and protestants was even more significant. The reports demonstrated the close link between protestantism and the parish school system: the parish schools were concentrated in areas with substantial protestant populations. The northern dioceses were found to be best supplied with parish schools and large concentrations were found in Dublin, the diocese of Meath and in the united dioceses of Leighlin and Ferns. Few schools were found in Munster or Connaught, the board estimating that not much more than half of the benefices had parish schools in these provinces and very few had proper school houses. Moreover the commissioners noted that clergy believed the number of parish schools in these provinces to be declining while the number was
racing for the country as a whole.\textsuperscript{36}

The avowed purpose of the parish schools was that of conversion and the school effectively became schools for the protestant population. Teachers had to be members of the established church and religious education was solely that of the Church of Ireland. The commissioners noted that while the schools were open to all religious persuasions, Roman Catholics were hostile to the schools, and preferred to send their children to schools opened by catholic masters. The commissioners recorded instances of the Roman Catholic clergy forbidding parents to send their children to the parish schools and of their efforts to set up rival catholic schools.\textsuperscript{37}

The second thrust of the state's educational programme was no more successful. The catholic church's activities in the field of education were not greatly injured by the penal laws other than during the early part of the eighteenth century. Even before the middle of the century the enforcement of the penal statutes had declined, and as early as 1730 the Roman Catholic diocesan statutes of Dublin required every priest to have a schoolmaster in his parish to teach catholic doctrine.\textsuperscript{38} The setting up of the charter schools in 1733 marks the last serious attempt by the protestant hierarchy at conversion but its limited effectiveness is a telling sign of the prevailing Anglican mood: the Incorporated Society never educated any significant number of children and the generous parliamentary grants which it received were little more than conscience money on the part of the Irish parliament.\textsuperscript{39} The foundation of the Society was significant, however, in that it spurred the catholic church to greater efforts in the educational field, and following consultation with Rome in 1743 and 1744 it was decided to found catholic schools in the main towns. Lay people were called on to assist these foundations and Rome also contributed. Regular clergy (i.e. those in religious orders) were also requested to set up schools and by 1750 an emissary to Rome for the Irish archbishops could report that there were 1,400 catholic children in the schools which had been set up, 400 of them in Dublin and 200 others had been educated and apprenticed to trades.\textsuperscript{40} Rome continued to evince an interest in elementary school
provision for catholics throughout the remaining years of the eighteenth century: in 1791, for example, Rome reminded the Irish bishops of "the great wish of the Holy See that such schools should be erected", parish priests were to be encouraged to found schools in their parishes and the bishops were asked to include educational provision as "a principal chapter in their reports to Rome". By the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries catholic denominational education was supported by the foundation of a growing number of religious teaching orders such as Nano Nangle's Presentation Nuns and Rice's Christian Brothers.

Summarizing the available evidence, Corish has written that by the late eighteenth century the catholic church had developed "at least in the more prosperous areas... an effective system of parish schools". The Roman Catholic church's resources were limited, however, and could not keep pace with the increase in population experienced in the early years of the nineteenth century. Most children, therefore, were not educated in either Roman Catholic or protestant church schools but in pay schools which grew up in response to the unfulfilled educational demands. Pay schools were, of course, run for the profit of the master but they too showed significant religious divisions.

The pay schools had their origins in the earliest days of the penal laws as a response to protestant attempts to suppress catholic education. They were, therefore, largely catholic or dissenter in character and remained as such for most of the century. Northern presbyterians relied on pay schools for the education of their young and in the rest of Ireland there continued to be a close affiliation between the Roman Catholic church and the pay schools. The priest's permission was not a pre-requisite for the establishment of a pay school but a priest's determined opposition could certainly reduce the master's salary significantly, or even close the school. The schools were generally conducted with the approval of the local catholic clergy and consequently the priest was usually able to ensure some catholic religious education in the school. Dowling amassed considerable evidence to show the ready co-operation
between priest and master in the religious education of catholics, and Sullivan, drawing on episcopal records in the archdiocese of Cashel from as early as 1752-60, conclusively demonstrated the control of the bishop and priests over the local pay school masters, particularly in regard to religious education.

The commissioners of the board of education (1806-12) also found that the attendance at hedgeschools was often along denominational lines. Their survey showed that in the south and west of Ireland pay schools were often rigidly denominational in character:

It appears that in some parts of Ireland, principally in the south and west, in parishes where there are both protestant and Roman Catholic masters, not a single catholic scholar is to be found under the tuition of a protestant, nor a protestant pupil under a Roman Catholic.

John Leslie Foster, one of the 1806-12 commissioners, drew the board's attention to this finding in his letter to the board published as an appendix to its fourteenth report. Foster, who was anxious that the board would recommend a system of united education, sought to lay the blame for such demarcations on the sensitivity of the Roman Catholic clergy to any possibility of proselytism and on the organizational strength of the Roman Catholic church. He pointed out that the returns to the board showed that the Roman Catholic clergy had actively intervened to prevent Roman Catholic children being taught by protestant masters in areas in which Roman Catholics were in a large majority (e.g. in the dioceses of Cloyne, Waterford, Ferns, Cashel and Ossory) and that little Roman catholic opposition to mixed education was encountered in Ulster where the population was more evenly divided.

Foster and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, another commissioner, agreed that the board's researches had proved that attendance at pay schools was greatly dependent on the ability of the master and that if no denominational friction existed, the better master would attract most of the scholars,
irrespective of religious affiliation. Foster went on to argue, rather unconvincingly, that schools in which pupils were of one denomination only were in a minority but he failed to discuss the relative proportions of Roman catholics, protestants and dissenters in such mixed schools. He concluded that, sensitively handled, the catholic church would accept a mixed system but Edgeworth significantly disagreed and argued for the setting up of separate school systems on the grounds of practicality. Edgeworth's assessment was probably the more accurate one because it recognised the sensitivity of the catholic church to attempts at proselytism. A piece of evidence contained in Dowling's work is important here. Dowling cited instances of Roman Catholic clergy contributing to the hedgeschools by privately paying for the education of poor children in order to allow their schooling to continue despite their inability to pay. The evidence has greater significance than Dowling imagined because it illustrated the problem facing a church whose resources were already over-stretched. Increasing numbers of poor children could not even afford the meagre fees of the payschool masters and many failed to receive any education at all. In these circumstances the catholic church was anxious to obtain state aid for education but was fearful of any scheme over which it did not exercise an acceptable level of control and was highly suspicious of any measure which might give opportunities to proselytism under the guise of charity. Writing to Sir Henry Parnell, Dr. Troy noted:

The spirit of proselytism may not prevail in your neighbourhood; but it is very active elsewhere, especially among the methodists, who frequently bribe catholic parents and children for the purpose.

It would seem, therefore, that schooling was denominationally split to a significant degree in both official and pay schools by the beginning of the nineteenth century. This conclusion has many implications for the examination of the numerous government inquiries and the subsequent foundation of the Kildare Place Society.
New Educational Philosophies and a Spirit of Enquiry

Given a relatively stable and denominationally influenced school system, it has to be asked why the Irish and later British parliaments spent so much time carrying out detailed investigations into Irish education from 1788 to 1812. The main reason would seem to lie in the close connection between British and Irish intellectual affairs. During the eighteenth century those in political power in Ireland and members of the gentry and aristocracy were part of the British cultural, social and intellectual world. Recreation, education and estate affairs brought many landowners from Ireland to Britain and even members of the peasantry regularly travelled to England for work at harvest time. Irish writing, publishing, theatre and fashion were consequently largely derivative:

Throughout the century Irish intellectual, cultural and fashionable life was dominated by England, or rather, it might be said, by London, and its outposts, which threw a long shadow over provincial England as well as over Ireland and the British colonies.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, education became a key issue for discussion in English society and the period saw a remarkable growth in educational provision in Britain. As in other areas of intellectual activity the growth of educational thought in Britain influenced Ireland and many of the ideas and programmes developed there were introduced to this country. These British developments find their roots in two rather contrasting strands in the social, religious, economic and political conditions of the day.

The first of these was essentially conservative as it attempted to use education as a means whereby the pre-industrial order of a stratified society was to be maintained in the face of rural decline and the growth of large industrial towns. Upper and middle classes feared the erosion of traditional patterns of control by the quickening pace of urbanization, particularly in view
of the spread of libertarian political doctrines in popular publications following American independence and the French revolution. Education of the poor presented itself as a possible controlling mechanism and its proponents set about the task of supplying a carefully defined and restricted education for the poor. Education was to preserve the social order by inculcating in the minds of the young poor a submissiveness to control, an acceptance of their situation in society and a code of morality acceptable to the upper classes.

The link which was believed to exist between social order and morality meant that the church was to be intimately involved in educational affairs. Movements within the church in England also contributed to the increasing importance which was to be attached to education. In the late eighteenth century English middle and upper classes were influenced by a new mood of religious zeal which emphasised the evangelical aspects of faith. This new mood affected Anglicans and dissenters alike.

Education was important for these evangelicals because it led men to a religious knowledge and hopefully a commitment to Christianity, a process which they saw as the single purpose of human existence. Evangelicals regarded the children of the poor as essentially corrupt and evil, a situation which only a strictly religious and moral education could change. Many middle class evangelicals believed that their wealth implied a duty to rescue the poor from depravity, misery and ignorance, to effect a moral regeneration of the poor, and to restore these lost souls to Christianity.

The great weapon of the evangelicals was the Sunday schools. Following the publication of an account of Robert Raikes' work with poor children in a Sunday school in 1783, Sunday schools became a major agency of mass education. Methodists, evangelicals and the wider church promoted the movement and its supporters included John Wesley, Hannah More and William Wilberforce. The Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday schools (the Sunday School Society) was founded in 1785. This Society,
which had Anglicans and dissenters as members, did not usually fund or run schools, but sought to publicise the idea of Sunday schools and supplied textbooks and sometimes money to locally operated schools. By 1800 it is estimated that 200,000 children were receiving education in such schools in Britain, and while they did not replace the earlier charity schools, Sunday schools were undoubtedly a much more widespread educational provision.

The curriculum of these schools was dominated by the catechism and the bible, supplemented by Sunday school tracts produced in great quantities by such writers as Sarah Trimmer and Hannah More. The schools aimed to teach the children to read the bible, as in evangelical eyes the word of God contained all that was necessary for human salvation, and "to train up the lower classes in habits of industry and piety."

While the desire of the middle and upper classes for social control and the work of the evangelicals formed one strand of the development of mass education, a second found its roots in the new liberal political ideals of the late eighteenth century and in the body of economic philosophy put forward by men such as Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham.

The writings of the revolutionary French philosophers, in particular the work of Rousseau and Helvetius, and the earlier writings of the English philosopher, Locke, had a great influence on political and social thought in Britain. Locke and these others saw man as a product of his environment and experience so for the radical English thinkers of the late eighteenth century educational advance became essential to the attainment of social ideals. Such a philosophy was a direct challenge to the structured, conservative view of society which was held by the supporters of charity and Sunday schools. Conservatives condemned these libertarian doctrines as sources of social discontent and anti-authoritarian behaviour and viewed, with horror, their popularisation in the writings of Godwin, Wollstonecraft, and above all in Paine's Rights of man.
Ironically, the spread of these doctrines gave conservatives yet another compelling reason for educating the poor so that they could be educationally inoculated against these false ideas. The liberal ideas had a much more positive effect in the influence they exerted on economic thinkers such as Adam Smith and on Bentham, Mill and Brougham and the group of thinkers known as the utilitarians. The economic and social theories proposed by these men argued for a society best regulated by an interplay of free forces, a new reliance was attached to a reasoned understanding of society, and education was demanded for all so that they could fully participate and contribute to their role in society.

Thus two contrasting strands of thought, on the one hand that of social control and evangelicalism and on the other that of liberalism and utilitarianism helped to develop a public awareness of the need for education in Britain. The Sunday schools promoted in particular by the former body of thinking and the development of associated daily schools helped to pave the way for the next step in educational provision, the monitorial schools popularised by Joseph Lancaster and Dr. Andrew Bell.

Britain had, therefore, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth century, in response to social and demographic problems, embraced education as a form of control, a means to generate social stability, a unique opportunity to evangelise the working classes and finally as a necessary condition of fitting the worker to his task so that economic progress could be achieved. Moreover, with the development of the Sunday school and later the monitorial school the means had been discovered whereby these aims could be achieved. The development of Irish educational thought was parallel to these British developments and the forces of conservatism and liberalism were also to be seen in the Irish context.

The ideas of the French Revolution and of the British liberal writers
were widely circulated in Ireland, and were peculiarly well-suited to the growing enlightened thought of the eighteenth century. Rousseau was perhaps the most fashionable of all eighteenth century writers on education, and his works were in sufficient demand in Anglo-Irish society for Dublin booksellers to stock translations of his work.80 Richard Lovell Edgeworth was his most ardent supporter in Ireland and went so far as to follow Rousseau's recommendations in the rearing of his son.81 Other writers such as Locke also had their adherents.82 Several pamphlet writers who also sought to awaken Irish interest in educational developments, drew heavily on enlightened thought in their writings and they reflected the central concern of the new philosophy with the nature of man. John Donovan wrote in 1795 of the need to break and cultivate "the soil of the human mind" in order to produce "the fruits of virtue or of happiness".83 An anonymous pamphleteer wrote in 1814 of the need to rescue the dignity of the human character "from the prostration of our animal condition".84 Education was an essential part of good government for all those writers, a means by which the wild and untamed could be raised to the level of full human dignity. They argued for a much more involved role for the state in educational affairs:

in short the paternal care and attention of a good government should, like the blessings of heaven, enter at the door of every poor man in the nation.85

Obviously drawing on English utilitarian arguments, Irish pamphleteers saw three major benefits to be gained by the state from an effective educational programme. Firstly, a sound school system would open the minds of the populace and prepare them for instruction. The dispersion of ignorance was the first step on the road to a reformed society. Donovan wrote; "the character of every ignorant and savage people is the same - dishonesty, low cunning, deceit and cruelty".86

Secondly, education would ensure that the talents of all would be discovered and developed rather than wasted as at present. These talents, both intellectual and practical, could not but contribute to the general wealth and
prosperity of society. Daniel Dewar, principal of Aberdeen University, while writing of Irish social conditions drew attention to Adam Smith's conclusions that "a general system of education has a tendency to promote national wealth and improvement". A Dublin pamphleteer of 1814 stated:

> to provide, therefore, available and efficient opportunities for giving sound opinions and useful habits (together with the more decorate parts of human knowledge) to this important portion of his majesty's subjects [squires, yeomen merchants and tradesmen] is a measure more forcibly called for, both by public policy and by duty.88

A third, and in the case of Ireland, probably an over-riding consideration, was the patriotism and attachment to government to be expected from a liberal education. The Dublin pamphleteer previously quoted was convinced of the role education could play in transforming Ireland:

> Let her people but walk abroad in the light of instruction, and not only will the disposition to mutiny and outrage be taken away; but by no very obscure association of operative causes, the occasions of provocation and revenge will likewise disappear.89

This consideration was particularly relevant in the French revolutionary era in which Donovan wrote:

> that we are conscious that the affections of the great mass of the people, the lower orders, are not with the government of the country, and that government could not, in the hour of danger, look to them for support but would rather fear them as enemies.90

Following the 1798 rebellion this argument gained even more weight and was still being re-stated as late as 1816:

> But lamentably, sir, as these unwilling references bring forth facts disclosing the most disgusting disorders, we shall find these disorders, I believe, more or less applicable to every sphere where intellectual improvement is but partially encouraged.91
But perhaps the most revolutionary educational idea which these radicals and utilitarians propounded was the removal of doctrinal teaching from the schools. Inspired by the ideals of individual freedoms some argued that denominational religion had no place in an education to be provided by the state:

What in fact, it may be asked, have either individuals or communities, as represented by their governments, to do with the faith of a man, who, in every respect with which they can possibly be concerned, is a loyal subject, peaceable neighbour, and a serviceable member of the state.\(^{92}\)

Few of these writers would have advocated the complete absence of religious education but most would have insisted that any system which was state supported had to be denominationally neutral:

nothing of religion must be introduced into the system of education, unless the heads of the different religions would consent to draw up certain articles of faith, which they all believe, and certain moral rules drawn from scripture which they all admit and agree. . . otherwise it must be left entirely to the parents to form the religious character of their child.\(^{93}\)

The more conservative English ideas of education as a social control also had their followers in Ireland. For the writer of *An account . . of the Sunday and daily schools, North Strand*, in 1794, education was to be the means of moral regeneration of social order:

It is equally certain that morals can no otherwise be regulated than by a right education - by impressing on the minds of youth principles and habits of piety and virtue.\(^{94}\)

The conservative thinkers differed most sharply from the radicals on the role of religion in education. Conservatives believed that society and social order was in danger of destruction, or had never existed because the mass of Irish people had not benefited from a sound religious training. This conservative approach was to become the dominant one in Irish education, largely because
of its close connection with the evangelical movement and the place which this movement had within Irish Anglicanism. From the last two decades of the eighteenth century the Church of Ireland witnessed a growing evangelical movement largely inspired by similar religious developments in Britain. Irish evangelicals tended to remain within the Church of Ireland, unlike the English situation, in which they tended to secede from the establishment. Acheson has proposed that the retention of evangelicals within the established church may be largely attributed to the committed churchmanship of some of the early leaders in the Irish evangelical revival. Bowen, on the other hand, has suggested that secession did not occur because of the psychological desire of Irish protestants to remain united in the face of a numerically dominant catholic population and because of the attractiveness, for some, of the evangelicals' denunciation of the 'errors of popery'. Whatever the reason, the existence of the evangelical movement within the established church strengthened the evangelical cause. The evangelicals came to attach much importance to British educational developments and sought to link the cause of education to that of protestantism.

They founded a sometimes bewildering array of school societies to carry out the missionary task. The supporter of one of these bodies, the London Hibernian Society, who wrote An address to the British public on the moral and religious state of Ireland was in no doubt as to the cause of Irish social ills:

From various causes ever to be deplored, the blessings of the glorious reformation have never yet flowed through our sister island.

He made an emotional and patriotic call to the duty of conversion, to promote; "the free use of the bible, and the blessings of the protestant reformation throughout your empire". The Association for Discountenacing Vice, another of these protestant societies, was founded in 1792. Following a school survey of several counties it proclaimed:
that a liberal and energetic exertion on the part of this Association to disseminate the holy scriptures, and other books of a religious and moral tendency, would be attended with the happiest effects throughout the northern dioceses; and would of itself contribute eminently to introduce civilization, remove ignorance and counteract the dangerous attempts which have recently been made to introduce scepticism and irreligion.\textsuperscript{100}

The Association for Discountenancing Vice, was composed exclusively of members of the Church of Ireland and granted aid to schools run on Established Church principles. Its existence and the readiness with which the state granted money to it was testimony to the power which evangelicals gained by remaining within the establishment.

It must be stressed, however, that the desire to convert the catholic masses was not a rejuvenation of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century thinking which inspired the penal code. Many writers and supporters of the evangelical movement were, in fact, deeply critical of the coercion which was implicit in those discredited laws. Robert Steven, who wrote a pamphlet severely critical of the charters schools declared of the penal laws that:

What was done by the government in the way of education was more from political motives than any wish for the moral improvement of the people.\textsuperscript{101}

The evangelicals were not untouched by the new belief in individual freedom which had come from the French philosophers and they saw themselves as true liberators of the catholic masses. An 1807 document of the London Hibernian Society declared that the eradication of popery would never be achieved by penal laws and that such coercion should only be the weapon of Roman Catholics, not enlightened protestants.\textsuperscript{102} Conversion was to be achieved, not by force, but by using education to open the minds of ignorant catholics to the revealed truths of the reformed religion:
Would you emancipate the catholics? You must unchain their minds, you must accustom them to think; you must convey to them the light of knowledge; they must be taught to read; the bible, the only real instrument of real information of rational emancipation, must be sent to them.  

Evangelists, like the rationalists of the earlier part of the eighteenth century, were convinced that if minds were opened in this way the acceptance of protestant truths would be the natural outcome.

British educational thinking of both liberal and conservative views had therefore a wide currency in Ireland and was very influential in shaping a dramatic change in Irish educational policy. It has been demonstrated that for most of the eighteenth century the country had a haphazard school system which was, if not church controlled, at least church linked. The new concern with educational affairs raised several questions which had grave implications for the existing situation and posed a serious threat to its survival.

Firstly, the new mood in educational thinking had as a central tenet that education was for all. The existence of numerous educational societies in Ireland in the last decade of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries was evidence of the growing awareness of the need for mass education. Educational pamphleteers were scornfully dismissive of the argument that education would create social instability and revolution by allowing the poor to rise above their station and argued forcibly for schemes to educate "all the children of the poor of Ireland". This implied the involvement of the state: educational writers of all shades of opinion were at least united in calling for an important role for the state in the provision of such a schooling. Dewar wrote that modern government depended on an intelligent and educated community. Donovan saw it as "the duty as well as the interest of the government not to suffer the children of the poor to run wild and be lost for want of education", and many, such as Cousins, pointed to the social benefits wrought by legislative involvement in the foundation of
Scottish parochial schools. 107

Ireland had already a long history of official involvement in education but it could hardly have been described as successfully educating the masses. In an era of increasing demands for active state involvement, the previous educational efforts and institutions of government were bound to come under close scrutiny and this must be one of the key reasons for the successive inquiries into Irish education from 1788 onwards. It is significant that all of the reports which these inquiries produced saw an active and direct role for the state in educational provision.

If the state was to become more deeply concerned in educational affairs, then the role of religion in any new system had to be determined. The state would have to choose between a conservative and religious school system or a more liberal non-religious one. Neither option was particularly attractive. The latter was much too radical for a state which had firmly believed that a tolerant and rational religion was an essential component of its enlightened constitution. The former, more conservative approach also had its difficulties, however.

The existing state involvement, for all its inefficiencies, had demonstrated that a state school system in which religious education was of the protestant variety alone would not succeed. The public scandal of the corrupt charter schools, in which such a protestant education had been offered, had been a significant catalyst in prompting the first official investigations of Irish educational facilities in the 1780s.108 The new schools, if they were to offer an education in which religion was to play an essential part, raised a central question, i.e. the role which the catholic church was to have in the new scheme. In the existing situation each denomination in Ireland had its own schools although in theory all education was in the hands of the established church. The mere discussion of the realities of school supply in Ireland threatened to expose the dichotomy between the established church's legal and
practical roles, and would have serious implications in a country which faced growing demands for catholic emancipation. Moreover, if a new scheme was to operate effectively the catholic church, or at least catholics, would have to have ready access to the system and this would involve a serious reappraisal of the established church's role. As Ó Cannáin has pointed out, the educational question would then become an examination of the extent to which the state and the Roman catholic church could co-operate and the willingness of the established church to relinquish its theoretical role.\textsuperscript{109}

Thus, neither the conservative nor liberal approaches to education were particularly attractive to government but inactivity was not a feasible option in the face of growing support for state involvement in education. The successive official investigations into Irish education which spanned nearly a quarter of a century from 1788 to 1812 were an attempt to answer the difficult questions which faced the state. All of the commissions recognised the failure of previous official schemes and were sharply critical of their characteristic inefficiency and corruption. The reports were also in general agreement on the structures which would be necessary for the setting up of a mass education programme. The reports failed, however, to answer the more basic questions of educational philosophy and religious involvement. The composition and recommendations of the various committees reflected the conservative/liberal divide in educational thinking and none of the reports succeeded in arriving at a realistically acceptable solution. The setting up of commission after commission and the failure to implement any of the findings or recommendations bear testimony to the determination of the established church to retain its privileged position and the unwillingness of government to interfere with the already existing school network.

The detailed findings and recommendations of each of these commissions have been described by other authorities and need not be repeated here.\textsuperscript{110} Of more immediate concern to the present work is the way in which the various inquiries attempted to reconcile the growing demands for state supplied mass education with the religious question.
The period of official investigation began with the work of chief secretary, Thomas Orde in 1786. Lord Shelbourne, Orde's enlightened political mentor, had drawn the attention of the newly appointed chief secretary to the need for educational reform in 1784 and proposals for the development of new schools submitted to Orde by John Hely-Hutchinson (secretary of state and provost of Trinity College) in 1785 prompted an investigation into existing educational establishments. The conversations and private reading in which Orde engaged during late 1785 and early 1786 led him to propose a complete reform of existing institutions and the creation of a coordinated, stratified educational system. Orde's scheme, though grandiose, was significant in that it viewed the educational system as a whole, it recommended a much more active role for the state in education supply and it also saw the need for an effective inspection system. He failed to tackle the denominational problem however, recommending only that catholics and protestants were to be indiscriminately admitted to a rejuvenated parish school system in which all schoolmasters would be protestant. Like many other eighteenth century protestants, he argued that the voluntary participation of catholics in such schools would disperse "the mists of ignorance" and encourage catholics to appreciate, "the superiority of our own [protestant] doctrines".

The reaction to the Orde scheme provides clear evidence of the already well-entrenched denominational interests in educational supply and control. Presbyterians were sorely disappointed by the proposal as it excluded any provision for a presbyterian college in Belfast. The catholic bishops did not publically condemn the scheme but were extremely hostile to it on the grounds that it removed the control of the education of catholics from catholic hands. Catholic pamphlets expressed this opposition openly. Kelly's work, however has shown that the most serious opposition came from the established church, partly because provisions in the scheme would have placed much of the cost involved on the church and, more importantly, because many clerics saw the scheme as an attack on the established church's rights in regard to educational
provision and control.\textsuperscript{114}

Implementation of the scheme fell to Orde's successor, Alleyne Fitzherbert who, faced with hostile church reaction on one side and the recorded support of the Irish parliament on the other, played for time and appointed a commission of inquiry to examine the various officially sponsored schools in greater detail.\textsuperscript{115} The report of this commission and of a third systematic inquiry at the end of the eighteenth century were clearly inspired by liberal and utilitarian thought on education and they presented two possible schemes by which the state could hope to supply mass education to the poor. The commissioners appointed by Fitzherbert in 1788 had completed their final report in 1791. This report was drawn up by John Hely-Hutchinson whose thinking on education had stimulated Orde's investigations. Hutchinson also drew on the opinions of John Forbes who was another member of the commission.\textsuperscript{116} Not surprisingly the report, like Orde's, recommended that the various educational institutions be viewed as a whole and administered by a central board of control made up of a number of commissioners. This board was to ensure the efficiency of the 1,100 parish schools to be created or improved, to direct "the plans of education to be pursued in schools" to obtain regular reports on their operation and to have the power to visit and inspect the schools.\textsuperscript{117}

These recommendations were to ensure an effective mass educational scheme, a result which had eluded all previous efforts. The crucial failing in those earlier efforts was the religious intention of the schools and here the commissioners made remarkably honest, realistic and radical proposals. It was recommended "that there should be no distinction made in any of the schools between scholars of different religious persuasions". The governing body of each school was to consist of the local incumbent, churchwardens and four laymen, two protestant and two Roman Catholic, all to be named by the select vestry. The established church clergyman was to visit the school and instruct
the protestant children in religion and the local Roman Catholic priest was to have similar rights in respect to the children of his flock. 118

The 1791 report was a remarkably radical and forseeing document for its day. It contained all the essential requirements of a mass-education scheme: a central governing body to regulate the system and assist with grants, committees to found and maintain schools in each parish, and a system of inspection. Moreover, the commissioners had also tackled the implications which these changes would demand. They recognised that, in a denominationally divided community, the indiscriminate entry of children to the schools was not sufficient to engender confidence in the Roman Catholic population. They recommended, therefore, that catholics be allowed hold managerial positions as members of local committees and that a mixed secular/separate religious education plan be adopted. This clearly implied the removal of religious education from the domain of the established church and the acknowledgement that Roman Catholics had a role in the religious education of their children.

This was too much for the established church to accept and despite the rather naive hopes of the commissioners' secretary, Robert Marshall, that he had "a very good reason to think the government will take up this business immediately", 119 the report was not published and nothing ever came of the scheme. 120

The findings of the next inquiry were also influenced by the radical and liberal school of educational theory, and produced a second solution to the religious problem. The inquiry was chaired by Richard L. Edgeworth who was, as we have seen, deeply influenced by the writings of the French philosophers, in particular Rousseau. The publication of his Practical education in 1798 and the earlier appearance of his daughter Maria's Parent's assistant in 1796 had brought education to the attention of the public. Edgeworth was largely responsible for the appointment of a parliamentary commission on education
in February 1799 and he introduced a bill to effect its recommendations on 28 March 1799.¹²¹ The bill added little to thinking on educational structures but it did seek to arrive at a workable scheme which would acknowledge the denominational nature of the existing educational facilities. Probably in deference to protestant feeling, Edgeworth proposed that in schools attended by protestants only or by protestants and catholics, the master would be protestant, but where schools consisted entirely of catholics a catholic master was to have been appointed. This would have amounted to the setting up of a state endowed denominational system. This would have preserved the interests of protestants but it would have been a grave attack on the Church of Ireland's claim to educate all the children of the nation. Moreover, it would have meant even more recognition by the state of catholic rights in educational matters as the scheme allowed for state grants for catholic schools and catholic religious education. This was even less likely to be acceptable to establishment figures than the 1791 report. The bill was given a first reading in the Irish house of commons but never proceeded any further, probably due to the politics of the forthcoming union.¹²²

Despite the failure of both radical/liberal schemes certain important developments had been achieved by the time of the Union. Parliament had amassed a great amount of statistical information about existing educational provision. Parliamentary commissioners had put on record the complete failure of previous educational policies and had committed the state to a much greater role in educational provision. The fate of the reports is no less revealing. The speed and ease with which they were buried had demonstrated that the Establishment was not prepared to accept the consequences of state supplied mass education and were not ready to admit to the dichotomy between the established church's legal and actual roles.
The Board of Education 1806-1812

The education question was, however, one which could not remain unresolved. The previous inquiries and the investigations of Wesley, Howard and Fitzpatrick had unearthed serious corruption and inefficiency. The growing pressure for educational reform and expansion may be seen in John Foster's proposal of 1805 to supress the charter schools and in the granting of parliamentary monies to the Association for Discountenancing Vice in 1801. The death of the prime minister William Pitt in 1806, led to the formation of a short-lived 'Ministry of All the Talents' under Lord Grenville. The Whig orientation of this administration and the appointment to the lord lieutenancy of the duke of Bedford, who had become one of Joseph Lancaster's most prominent aristocratic supporters boded well for Irish educational reform. Yet Bedford was quick to appreciate the sensitivity of the Irish Established church to any potentially damaging public scrutiny and within little over a month of his taking office he recommended to Grenville that private letters of inquiry on parishes, glebe lands, tithes, pluralities and absentee clergy be forwarded to the Irish archbishops rather than allow the setting up of a public enquiry into the state of the Irish church. In fact it was the prime minister who first suggested to Bedford in early May 1806 that the subject of education particularly the state of "the charter and other protestant schools" was also worthy of investigation.

Bedford took no immediate steps to launch the suggested inquiry, but he discussed the matter with the primate, William Stuart. Stuart was harshly critical of abuses within the established church and was genuinely concerned to promote ecclesiastical reform, while anxious that the church's constitutional position be preserved. Stuart's sincere commitment to reform had probably prompted Bedford's recommendation against the parliamentary investigation of the established church. Stuart's attitude to the education question followed this pattern. Privately, Stuart was critical of the achievements to date, confessing to Charles Broderick, archbishop of Cashel that he believed "the protestant charter schools were ill managed . . . [one word
illegible], not productive to the good intended, and were extremely expensive".\textsuperscript{131} He recommended that Bedford read the report of the 1788 commission which had made trenchant criticisms of the church's neglect and corruption in the field of education, and contained a scheme which would have largely undermined the position of the establishment.\textsuperscript{132} Yet Stuart also evinced "a laudable anxiety to connect protestant education with the morals, industry and happiness of the people".\textsuperscript{133}

If Bedford had hoped to conduct the suggested education inquiry away from the glare of parliamentary publicity, he was quickly disappointed. Within little more than a month of the prime minister's suggestion Bedford learned that Sir John Newport, the liberal, pro-emancipation M.P. for Waterford and chancellor of the Irish exchequer in Grenville's new administration, was about to bring a bill into parliament for the appointment of a new education commission.\textsuperscript{134} Future Irish administrations were to share in the sense of irritation experienced by Bedford in having his hand forced on the education issue by Newport's adept use of parliamentary questioning and procedure\textsuperscript{135} but in this case it seems certain that Newport had sought the prime minister's sanction for the proposed inquiry. Certainly when Bedford urged Grenville not to proceed with the matter until the primate was fully consulted, the prime minister could reply almost immediately that he and the home secretary had already had a full discussion with Stuart on the matter.\textsuperscript{136}

The co-operation which Stuart offered to the government probably ensured that established church interests would dominate the new board of education set up under Newport's act. Liberal and conservative thinking on education was represented on the board but the latter was dominant, thanks largely to the arrangement whereby five of the eleven commissioners were appointed by the church controlled commissioners of charitable donations and bequests.\textsuperscript{137} At least four of the five clerical nominees appointed in this way were conservative establishment figures. James Verschoyle was dean of St. Patrick's cathedral and was to become bishop of Killala during the lifetime of the board, George Hall was provost of Trinity College. Charles Agar, archbishop
of Dublin and the primate completed this group, though Agar had been a supporter of Orde's plans when they had appeared in 1786.138 The fifth nominee of commissioners of charitable donations was James Whitelaw, the rector of St. Catherine's parish in Dublin where a flourishing mixed denominational school for poor children had existed since 1786. It was out of this school that the Kildare Place Society was later to emerge and it seems probable that Whitelaw shared in the more liberal traditions of this establishment. On the other hand Whitelaw had been a member of the Incorporated Society's 'committee of fifteen' since 1799.139

All but one of the government's appointees to the board of education were noticeably more liberal than their clerical companions. William Parnell and Henry Grattan were both notable 'catholic' politicians. The liberal wing also represented a direct link between the board and the pre-union educational inquiries: Edgeworth became one of the most active laymen on the new board and was accompanied by Isaac Corry, the M.P. from Co. Armagh who had served on the 1798 commission,140 and Robert Stearne Tighe, author of a pamphlet on Irish education at the time of Orde's secretaryship.141 The remaining government appointee was William Disney, whose attitude to the education question is not entirely clear. His membership of the management committee of the Incorporated Society would suggest a rigid establishment background, but he was a prominent evangelical - a qualification which did not always endear itself to the established church hierarchy at this time.142 Like many other evangelicals, Disney was involved in social action: he was secretary of the Society for Promoting the Comforts of the Poor, he served on the Committee of the Kildare Place Society for a time and became one of its first life members.143 His commitment to protestantism may have redeemed him in the eyes of the primate and of the other establishment figures on the board of education, but whatever the cause he was rapidly absorbed into the core group of conservatives on the board, and by the time the board's work was completed he enjoyed the full confidence of the establishment.144
Numerically, liberals and conservatives were quite evenly balanced on the board, but the primate was suspicious of the government's liberal appointees and was determined to protect establishment interests. In practice, the board's proceedings were dominated by the clerical and conservative members. The primate chaired almost all its meetings, while Provost Hall, Dean Verschoyle, the Rev. James Whitelaw and William Disney (until his resignation in 1811) were the most regular participants in the work of the board. Grattan and Parnell took virtually no part in the board's proceedings, Tighe attended regularly for only fourteen months of the six years of the board's existence while Corry's participation was confined to the last fifteen months of the board's work. Changes in the membership of the board tended to reinforce this conservative domination. On Parnell's resignation in 1809 he was replaced by John Leslie Foster, nephew and political successor of the great ascendency politician and speaker of the Irish house of commons, John Foster. John Leslie believed strongly in the necessity of rejecting the proselytising policies of the past and of the need to involve the Roman Catholic clergy in any new educational scheme but he was keen to maintain the position of the established church. In February 1811 William Disney was replaced by Dr. Thomas Elrington who by November had become provost of Trinity College following Dr. Hall's death. Charles Broderick, archbishop of Cashel, attended the final meeting of the board, presumably to fill the vacancy Elrington's promotion had caused.

The effective control of the board by the establishment figures meant that serious criticism of the institutions examined was limited. The board had completed collecting and hearing evidence on the royal schools in June 1807 and the primate, Provost Hall, the dean of St. Patrick's, the Rev. James Whitelaw and William Disney were asked to draft the board's report on these schools. Once this subcommittee was established it was to retain control over the output of the board. Unusually large attendances of commissioners were recorded at the examination of John Adamson, secretary to the Incorporated Society, and at the meetings where the board's specially appointed inspectors reported on the state of the charter schools but the report drafted
by Stuart, Hall, Whitelaw and Disney completely exonerated the Society's work.\textsuperscript{154} Reports on the much less controversial diocesan and endowed schools and the foundling hospital were completed in 1808 and 1809.\textsuperscript{155} The state of the parish schools was potentially the most damaging of all to the established church cause, as an examination of their operation could reveal the dichotomy between the church's theoretical role as educator of all the nation's children and the reality of a rather limited and often neglected school system. However the core of establishment commissioners successfully ensured that damaging criticism was limited. A draft report on the parish schools was ready by September 1809 and in early November it was approved by a meeting at which Stuart, Hall, Verschoyle (now bishop of Killala) and Disney were joined by J.L. Foster and Isaac Corry.\textsuperscript{156} Like the other reports of the board it concentrated on the historical origins of the schools and removed any blame for the scheme's failure from the established clergy. The report admitted that the schools had failed to provide a general system of elementary education, but this had been caused by inadequate funding from government and the lack of suitably qualified masters and good schoolhouses.\textsuperscript{157}

The completion of the report on the parish schools in early November 1809 marked the virtual conclusion of the commissioners' investigations into existing educational institutions. Yet, the real question facing the board: that of widening educational provision in a manner acceptable to the majority catholic population, had not been faced. The draft report on the parish schools recommended only a state funded rejuvenation of the parish school system under established church control but this proposal was dropped, probably due to the opposition of commissioners who favoured a more liberal educational provision, and the text of the eleventh report announced that the board would refrain from making any recommendations as to the improvement of the parish schools until it would have examined proposals for the general education of the poor more fully.\textsuperscript{158} However the primate and other members were reluctant to tackle the thorny and potentially damaging questions implicit in shaping any acceptable educational plan and they successfully prevented the board from proceeding with any further
discussions. The board did not meet again for over a year, and then only at the request of the chief secretary, Wellesley-Pole. The primate later told the archbishop of Cashel:

I not only thought it unnecessary, but imprudent to form any such report [the fourteenth] and the board of education entertained the same sentiment; and it was not till the Irish government interfered (I suspect at the instigation of Mr. Corry) that these sentiments were changed.

The chief secretary's intervention forced the church representatives to consider the wider issues which they had so studiously avoided, and set in train a process in which they were reluctantly forced to make a number of important concessions. Pole had drafted a bill to implement the reforms suggested by the commissioners with respect to the Royal and other endowed schools, and his letter of 11 January 1811 inquired:

whether the commissioners had made any progress in digesting a general system of education for Ireland and wishing to know if the board were likely to prepare any report upon the subject in time to enable his Grace [the lord lieutenant] to give consideration for its being laid before parliament during this session.

William Eliot, chief secretary when the board was appointed, had forwarded "the report of the former commissioners [possibly that of 1788/91 or of 1788] and such of the papers therein refered to as have been found in the secretary's office". During their first year in operation the board had also acquired from the primate "A plan of education" drawn up by the late Rt. Hon John Hely Hutchinson – possibly a reference to the report of 1791. Copies had been made of this latter document for the board members. Following Wellesley-Pole's letter members of the board, especially those who could not attend the meetings, were invited to submit plans for general education. Grattan, Edgeworth, Tighe, Foster and the bishop of Killala did so, and as each document was submitted it was read and presumably discussed by the board. All these documents, including the earlier schemes were referred to a subcommittee of the primate, Provost Hall and Dr. Elrington in July 1811 and
in the following February the draft report which they had produced was debated at length at meetings attended by the conservative Stuart, Elrington and Verschoyle and the more liberal Corry, Edgeworth and Foster.166

The board’s report was not unnaturally a compromise between these two distinct groups among the commissioners. Previous plans for reform had envisaged existing schools and their funds subsumed into a coordinated educational system, but the conservative figures on the board of education succeeded in protecting these protestant establishments: many abuses and necessary reforms were pointed out but the report recommended that the institutions, including the charter and parish schools remain intact. Existing managerial control, in particular the management of the parish schools by the established clergy, was to be retained.167

While they succeeded in having the board recommend that existing facilities remain in the hands of the establishment, the conservatives had to admit that these schools could never offer a generally acceptable education to the lower classes. The creation of a new set of schools was unavoidable, if only to replace the unacceptable hedge-school master with a school system which would develop in the children of the poor "those habits of regularity and discipline which are yet more valuable than mere learning".168 The desire for education evinced by the Irish poor and the previous policies of the Irish parliament ensured that the majority of the poor received their limited education from masters "deficient in information, unacquainted with regular plans of education and unaccustomed to that discipline from the steady and temperate enforcement of which some of the best advantages of education are derived".169 Moreover, poverty and a dearth of suitable textbooks meant that:

instead of being improved by reading and moral instruction, their minds are corrupted by books calculated to incite lawlessness and profligate adventure, to cherish superstition or to lead to dissension or disloyalty.170

The potential of education to improve the discipline and morals of the poor
was being lost. J.L. Foster believed that the government had no choice but to ensure the systematic education of the young:

if we do not assist them [the Roman Catholic poor] instructed nevertheless they will be; and ... the limits of our choice are confined to the quality of the instruction; so that to such persons as think education unfitted for their stations, 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, fulfillers 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.

The administrative structures for the envisaged supplementary schools were those which had already been recommended by previous inquiries: a central board of commissioners would found schools, train teachers and supply texts. The report gives little space to the first task but lays a great emphasis on the second. It was envisaged that the new board would choose several existing efficient schools, both Roman Catholic and protestant, to be used as teacher training seminaries. From these would come a supply of teachers well versed in modern teaching methods (both Foster, who was aware of Lancaster's work and Edgeworth, who had written to Bell for his advice when the board was founded recommended that the advances pioneered by these educationalists be adopted). As these teachers became available they would "undertake the conduct of such supplementary schools as they [the commissioners] should from time to time proceed to endow". Their training would ensure that they would adopt:

a course of education manifestly superior in its mode and objects of instruction, and uniting a careful attention to moral and religious principles, with an evident purpose of respecting the peculiar tenets of different sects of Christians.

The third feature of the board's scheme was the determination of the curriculum of the schools. This was to be achieved by forbidding the use of any
textbook not approved by the board of commissioners, and it was envisaged that the board would prepare its own books.

None of these recommendations was particularly new: they had been discussed and proposed by previous commissions although they were here developed in greater detail than heretofore. The commissioners were also agreed that for any educational scheme to operate effectively it would necessarily have to eliminate proselytism:

We conceive this to be of essential importance in any new establishments for the education of the lower classes in Ireland, and we venture to express our unanimous opinion, that no such plan, however wisely and unexceptionally contrived in other respects, can be carried into effectual execution in this country, unless it be explicitly avowed, and clearly understood, as its leading principle, that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect of description of Christrians.177

Edgeworth, in a written submission to the board, made clear that this recommendation was made, not only because of the evident justice of the case, but also because of the political practicalities of the day.

There are persons who think that the allowing catholic bishops or catholic clergy to have any shares in the superintendence of schools is unsafe...; of this I am certain, however, that such an opinion can never in a political point of view be safe or prudent. It can never be good policy to degrade the ministers of the catholic religion in the eyes of the people, whose consciences they are to direct, and whose morals they are to form.178

Foster, writing to the board in April 1811, quoted many examples from the enquiry’s findings as evidence of the importance of the cooperation of the Roman Catholic prelates and clergy to the success or failure of the existing schools. His opinion was clear:

These circumstances have been adverted to, minute as they appear, because they prove the necessity of our sincerely renouncing any idea of interference with the religious opinions of Roman Catholics in any plan offered
Foster believed that the importance of the Roman Catholic church's approval was so vital that he recommended the board to seek the approval and advice of the prelates before the report's publication. The recommendation to eliminate proselytism was not particularly controversial and was significant only in that it marked the public acknowledgement by the established church hierarchy of what had been obvious for some time. This did not mean, however, that the established church was ready to accept that the Catholic Church had a role to play in the education of its adherents or that the state should assist the religious education of Catholics in any way.

The liberals unsuccessfully argued for schemes that went beyond the principle of 'non-interference'. Grattan, the archetypal liberal Irish Protestant, who submitted that the commissioners should recommend a system in which only a minimum of religious education should take place, envisaged a curriculum more humanist than Christian:

I should recommend that in those parish schools the Christian religion should be taught; but that no particular description of it should form a part of their education - in the place thereof, it might perhaps not be improper to devise some general instructions regarding the four great duties of man - duty to God, duty to one another, duty to the country, and duty to the government.

Edgeworth sought to have separate schools for the education of Catholics and Protestants as his pre-Union report had recommended, but the established church majority on the board ensured that the final report contained none of these suggestions.

The commissioners recommended that Catholics and Protestants be united in mixed schools but they rejected the separate religious education of children by their respective pastors in schoolhouses. The Protestant belief in the power of the enlightened knowledge of the scriptures became dominant in the commissioners' thinking and they were determined that all children
would have access to the scriptures in the new school system. An essential core of common religious education was to remain based on the joint reading of the scriptures.

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.  

Moreover the deliberations of the commissioners make it clear that the proposed extracts would have been from the protestant version of the scriptures: the primate refused to sign the copy of the completed fourteenth report presented to him in April 1812 because it permitted marginal notes containing the catholic translation of disputed verses to be inserted into the volume of scriptural extracts and this provision had to be expunged from the final report.

The publication of the fourteenth report of the board of education marked the end of a period of detailed examination of the Irish educational question in which state policy had changed in a number of important ways. Firstly, by 1812 it was accepted that education could no longer serve as a vehicle of proselytism and secondly it was acknowledged that it was the duty of government to seek to provide a comprehensive educational system for the lower classes, and to engage in all the ancilliary activities (e.g. teacher training and textbook publication) needed for such a scheme.

The earlier investigations had also produced schemes which recognised the existing divisions in Irish society and the powerful position of the catholic church. Perhaps Edgeworth's scheme more than any other acknowledged the sensitivity of the catholic church to the threat of proselytism and to the need to accept that state aid would have to be channelled through schools which were seen to be under church influence.

The 1791 report and Edgeworth's bill were both unacceptable to the conservative established church figures on the board of education. These men
were products of eighteenth century Anglicanism - the religion of reason and enlightenment, and for them, as for many protestants, catholicism was still synonymous with superstitious ignorance. They were determined to ensure that catholic education would not be supported by the state and that all children would have the opportunity to benefit from an enlightened knowledge of the scriptures. Proselytism was dead, but the bishops and many other protestants undoubtedly hoped the reading of the scriptures would be equally, if not more effective at winning converts to protestantism. In this way the reading of the scriptures by all children came to have an overwhelming importance for protestants:

It is, on the whole, manifest that no methods in the power of man to employ, except the diffusion of our confessedly excellent translation of the scriptures, particularly the new testament, will ever have due effect in removing the prejudices, civilising the manners and enlightening the minds of three million of our brethren and fellow subjects.186

Yet despite the obviously protestant ethos of the recommendations of the fourteenth report, the more conservative ecclesiastical figures on the board were unhappy with the concessions which had been wrung from them. Stuart's rejection of the notion that the volume of scriptural extracts could contain catholic marginal notes (a proposal which he alleged had been inserted in the report without the full consent of the board)187 and his correspondence with Edgeworth on this matter are indicative of a certain uneasiness with the compromises forced upon him. He told Edgeworth:

It appears to be of the last [i.e. greatest] importance that proper books should be placed in the hands of children, I therefore readily joined in recommending, for the use of all schools consisting of protestant and Roman Catholic children, a selection from the scriptures in which nothing should be inserted that could awaken religious controversy or shock the prejudices of either party. But I cannot agree to print the Rhomish translation in the margin of the protestant bible, which, in my opinion, would produce evils of great magnitude.188
Stuart's unease was not based solely on the question of the scriptural extracts (a difficulty which foreshadowed the almost identical problems to be faced by the commissioners of the Irish education inquiry in 1826). There was some justification in Stuart's complaints that the report had been altered subsequent to its approval at a board meeting on 28 February 1812. Further board meetings attended by Provost Elrington, Bishop Verschoyle, Whitelaw, Corry and (on two occasions) Foster, were held during March in order to draft a report on a number of miscellaneous endowed schools and complete a set of suggestions on Pole's proposed bill to regulate endowed schools. However the board did not confine itself to these issues. It agreed, much to the primate's later dismay, that an appendix containing the plans of education drawn up by the board members be added to the report. The original text had included a disavowal of proselytism but it would appear that passages were inserted which emphasised the principle of non-interference and suggested that the appointment of Roman Catholics to the new board be considered. The disputed provision on the scriptural extracts seems to have been inserted at this time and proposals to finance the parish schools by means of a two per cent tax on clergy incomes and a general vestry tax may also have arisen at this stage.

The primate was opposed to all these measures and his confidence in Provost Elrington severly shaken by the episode. Although the board quickly agreed to remove the passage on the use of catholic notes in the scriptural extracts the primate still refused to sign the report whose tenor had been, in his opinion, significantly altered. It was to be the following October before agreement was finally reached. The plans of Foster, Edgeworth and Grattan were retained in an appendix to which the proposals on funding the parish schools were also relegated.

The rather acrimonious ending to the work of the board is extremely important in understanding subsequent educational and political developments. The text of the final report was grossly misleading as an
indicator of the position to which thinking on educational provision had evolved. The mixed education scheme which the report contained was hailed by politicians and others as an outstanding liberal framework for the development of Irish education, but in fact the scheme ignored the realities of Irish educational provision. The reluctance of the establishment even to discuss a general education scheme and the dispute over the text of the final report indicate that the established Church was still not prepared to accept the implications of the sort of scheme outlined in the report. Unfortunately none of this was clear from the text of the report which suggested that liberal educationalists and the leading ecclesiastical figures of the Irish church were in agreement that an acceptable mixed education scheme was feasible. The mixed education experiment which was set in train in the aftermath of the report's publication would demonstrate just how unreal the proposal was.

The aftermath of the fourteenth report of the board of education

The implementation of the fourteenth report of the board of education fell to the newly appointed chief secretary, Robert Peel. Peel was only twenty-four when he arrived in Ireland to take up his new post on 1 September 1812 but he had distinguished himself as a scholar at Oxford and as a capable orator on the few occasions he had spoken in parliament. Within a month of his arrival in Ireland, he had to oversee a general election but by early November he was able to concentrate on the normal business of his office.196 The board of education had finally agreed on the text of its fourteenth report in October and Peel immediately set about resolving the issues it had examined, with an efficiency which was to characterize his secretaryship.

The need for educational reform had probably formed part of the briefing which Peel had received from his predecessor Wellesley-Pole in early August.197 Peel pressed for early printing of the fourteenth report198 and
even before its appearance he discussed its contents and the legislation which was to be founded on it with Isaac Corry. Peel also consulted J.L. Foster, whose political and religious opinions were akin to his own, and with whom the new chief secretary quickly developed an intimate working relationship.

Peel took up the education bill which Wellesley-Pole had framed following the publication of the commissioners’ eleventh report and upon which the board had forwarded detailed suggestions to Pole in March 1812. This bill had been designed to set up a permanent board of commissioners to administer the endowed, diocesan and royal schools but had excluded the charter and parish schools. The bill had been given a first reading but Pole had allowed it to lapse as the commissioners had not concluded their deliberations. Peel revived the bill late in 1812 and consulted with William Vesey-FitzGerald, the chancellor of the Irish exchequer and with the lord chief justice on its provisions. Surprisingly, however, Peel does not seem to have been immediately aware of the restricted nature of the measure. Sir John Newport, who had been instrumental in establishing the board of education in 1806, threatened to pre-empt Peel’s measure however. He gave notice in late January or early February that he would propose a motion in the house to appoint a parliamentary select committee to examine the Irish educational question. This committee, the nomination of whose members would have lain with Newport, would have ensured that the recommendations of the board could not have been quietly shelved, and it seems Newport also intended that the measure would prevent Peel continuing with the much more restricted Irish schools bill.

Peel only became fully aware of the limited nature of the bill he had in train when he commenced preparations for the debate on Newport’s motion. He wrote to Gregory seeking information on the origins and background to the bill. He questioned the exclusion of the Erasmus Smith, charter and parochial schools, surmising that the last group had been omitted simply because the commissioners had not reported on them when the bill had been drafted, and he suggested that the parish schools be included in the bill
which he was preparing:

Why should the parochial schools be expressly exempted from its operation? The answer may perhaps be that this draft of the bill was proposed before the final suggestions of the commissioners relative to the parochial schools were offered. If this be the answer would there be any objection to include them in the bill as the suggestions have been offered in the fourteenth report of the commissioners.207

Peel was resolutely committed to the cause of the established church, but he was to prove critical of the abuses he found within it and, like the primate, dedicated to its sensible reform. Two days after his letter to Gregory, Peel discussed the issue at length with the primate and it was agreed that Peel would oppose Newport's motion on condition that the government would "take the business into their own hands". 208 Gregory's reply to Peel's queries (which may have been based on advice from the provost) confirmed the church's sensitivity regarding the existing educational institutions. The parish schools had been excluded from the provisions of the bill because:

to have put 11,000 schools for reading and writing under the control of the commissioners in the new act appeared to be nugatory as well as improper interference with the clergy.209

Of the schools of Erasmus Smith and the charter schools Gregory wrote:

on referring to the lists of governors of those establishments it will appear that no persons of a more respectable description could be substituted.210

Discussion on Newport's motion was delayed until 23 March, partly to allow Peel time to come to London and partly because of Newport's ill health.211 Peel consulted with Foster, the provost and through him with the bishop of Killala on the provisions in the proposed bill. During this time the provost was keen to protect the interests of the established church and he advised Peel not to interfere in any way with the church's control of the parish schools:
but I have very little doubt that the the bishops would
object most strongly to any arrangement which would
have a tendency, however remote, to make them responsible
to the board of education.\textsuperscript{213}

By the time of the debate Peel was of the opinion that a limited educational
measure was advisable and he asked the house to reject Newport's motion on
the grounds that it would wreck the proposed schools bill. In a rather ironic
but politically astute move, Peel rejected Newport's criticism of the established
church's record in education, and pointed to the liberal recommendations of
the fourteenth report:

He could not let the opportunity now afforded him pass
without endeavouring to expose the injustice of the cry
which had been raised against the clergy of the established
church, and this, he conceived, would in a great measure
effect by his stating, that the fourteenth report, which
had received from the right hon. baronet so much and such
just eulogium, had been signed by many dignitaries of the
national church.\textsuperscript{214}

Peel had not abandoned the principles of the schemes in the
fourteenth report but he had concluded that two separate measures would be
necessary. Foster wrote Peel:

I most certainly agree with you that it is expedient to
keep the measures which are to be founded on the fourteenth
report distinct from the regulation of the parish and
classical schools.\textsuperscript{215}

Foster advised Peel to proceed with his bill for the endowed or classical schools
and to exclude the parish and supplementary schools suggested in the
fourteenth report from its provisions. He suggested that the board of
commissioners so created would be "selected principally from the heads of the
church"\textsuperscript{216} and he recommended that the parish schools ought to be left in the
hands of the established church:

The parish schools originally intended as you know for
no protestant purposes have however become a sort
of property to the established church which I should be very sorry to see destroyed.217

Foster was also keen to see the foundation of the supplementary schools under a separate board of commissioners and this, he felt, ought to be the object of a separate piece of legislation. Because of the balanced and liberal religious principles of the scheme, he suggested that only laymen be appointed to this board: the exclusion of protestant clergy would avoid the need to appoint Roman Catholic clerics to the board, a situation which would have been totally unacceptable to him and from which he believed "there is no person except Sir John Newport, who would expect any good results".218 He suggested the board would have a "majority of protestants but with a proper infusion of moderate catholics - three protestants, two catholics and the lord lieutenant's secretary (when he chose to attend)."219 Significantly, Foster pointed to the British and Foreign Bible Society as an example of the successful operation of such a scheme,220 but he was aware of the likely opposition of the catholic clergy, especially in regard to the use of a volume of extracts from the scriptures as had been suggested by the fourteenth report.221

I am surprised to see some members of the house of commons assuming so easily that the catholic bishops have friendly feelings towards the plan. I am more and more convinced that they wish to do their utmost to frustrate it.222

There was no need for the catholic prelates actively to oppose the suggested supplementary schools, for the bishops of the established church worked hard to ensure the abandonment of the scheme. The reactionary Bishop O'Beirne of Meath attacked the findings of the fourteenth report in a letter to Peel, blaming its "dangerous" recommendations on the lay members of the board:

But no person who reflected on the formation of the board, under what government it was established and the well known principles of some of the lay assessors [?] who were given to the archbishops and the provost, could have entertained a hope of any advantage being to be [sic] derived from their proceedings to the cause of religion.223
The bishop denounced the proposal that masters be appointed according to the religion of the majority of pupils as this would, he claimed, ensure:

that the master should be a catholic in every school throughout the kingdom, with the exception perhaps of two or three parishes in the north.224

Speaking with the zeal of the convert he complained that as all catholic teachers were under the control of catholic priests the proposals meant:

that the education of all the middling and lower classes, not only of Roman Catholics but of every religious persuasion should be exclusively committed to the popish priesthood.225

O'Beirne also claimed that the catholic church would never accept a school system in which the church did not control the religious education of the children and consequently that catholics would never participate in a scheme which required "respect for the peculiar tenets of the several sects of Christians" and the substitution of biblical extracts for "catholic books of instruction and devotion".226

The provost agreed that Roman Catholics had declined to attend parish schools and he continued to recommend that these schools be excluded from the provisions of Peel's education bill suggesting that the primate could introduce a separate bill to reform and increase the revenues to support these schools.227 The lord lieutenant was also sceptical of the likely support of the Roman Catholics for any official educational measure228 and by June 1813 Peel had obviously decided to proceed with his limited bill to set up commissioners to administer the endowed, classical and royal schools, and schools of public foundation.229 He consulted with the provost, the archbishop of Cashel, and Lord Sidmouth at the home office on the detail of the legislation during June and July 230 and the commissioners were appointed in the following October.231
While these developments proved satisfactory to the opponents of the fourteenth report they left Peel in an invidious position. The report had been signed by leading dignitaries of the church and the government was acutely aware that if it failed to proceed with legislation giving effect to the report's findings the parliamentary opposition could easily take up the issue. The Irish education issue acquired renewed publicity when Edgeworth was invited to speak to a London meeting ostensibly called to effect a union between the Bell and Lancastrian education societies. Edgeworth was subsequently invited to a Lancastrian dinner where the duke of Bedford praised the liberality of the fourteenth report especially "that excellent letter which it annexed to that report, a letter full of liberality and good sense on which indeed the best part of the report seems founded, I mean the letter of Mr. Edgeworth to whom this country as well as Ireland is so much indebted".

Peel felt that attempts would have to be made to grant a measure of educational provision to the Irish poor. By autumn 1813 he was considering the introduction of a second education bill which would amend the financing of the parish schools and set up some system of education for the poor, yet he was aware of the opposition to such a scheme among the bench of bishops. Unfortunately for Peel the opposition and doubts which had arisen following the publication of the report had only been voiced in private and so the primate, the archbishop of Cashel and the bishop of Killala were all publicly committed to the setting up of a supplementary school system. Peel approached the house of bishops through the primate some time before the end of October 1813 in order to obtain a definite decision on the legislation which he was proposing.

Some of the bishops met and considered his request on 29 October 1813 at a meeting of the board of first fruits. The bishop of Meath later claimed that he, assisted by the bishops of Cloyne and Clonfert had drafted the memorial agreed at the meeting. This memorial strongly objected to the imposition of a two per cent tax on clergy incomes to support the parish
schools, a suggestion which had originally been included in the appendix of the fourteenth report and which Peel had sought to include in his new bill. The bishops objected to the plan on the grounds that it tended:

\[
\text{to countenance the modern doctrine that the possessions of the church belong to the state and that they offer to the public a fund that may be applied to promote the objects to which every other species of property is too sacred to be applicable.}^{239}
\]

The memorial stressed that they had no objection to extra funds being raised for the parish schools, but suggested that this be done through levying a general vestry tax. They stated that their agreement was also conditional on the retention of "the sole control and direction over all such schoolmasters and schools" in the hands of "the several diocesans and their clergy, a control essentially necessary to the interest, the credit and the security of the established religion".\(^{240}\) Some of the bishops, according to Bishop O'Beirne, argued against the composition of a written reply to a question which had been posed informally and, according to the bishop, the primate and archbishop of Cashel had accepted that the memorial should not be formally sent to Peel. The document was, however, shown to him although it is not clear when this took place.\(^{241}\)

The reasons for the bishops' refusal to send their memorial to Peel and to make their objections public are not altogether clear but probably resulted from a measure of disagreement within the house of bishops. Primate Stuart and the bishop of Cork and Ross were ready to agree that parish clergymen should be compelled to make some contribution to the finances of parish schools.\(^{242}\)

The bishops had still not made their objections public by early March 1814 when the delicate situation in which both government and bishops were placed was discussed by the lord lieutenant, the archbishop of Cashel, the provost, Foster and Peel at two lengthy meetings.\(^{243}\) The primate and the
bishops of Killala and Meath among others were apprised of the dilemma in which the government found itself.244

After this the supplementary schools were discussed and the difficulties appeared very great. If government omit to proceed on the fourteenth report the opposition will take it up, or some independent member fortified by the authority of that report, will succeed in some plan not beneficial. If fearing this the government bring in a bill, the very first step, the naming of commissioners or describing them, will produce a dangerous discussion as to the proportion of Roman Catholics to be admitted; not to mention other difficulties attending the rest of the bill.245

The primate had little sympathy for the government's embarrassment as, in his view, the existence of the report could only be blamed on the government which had insisted on its compilation contrary to the wishes of the board of education.246 The bishop of Killala was somewhat more helpful: he had agreed to the plan for supplementary schools only "out of deference to the opinion of those members of the board who much approved of it" and he advised that "it would be exceedingly desirable to forebear at the present taking any steps to carry forward this measure."247 The bishop of Meath continued his campaign against the fourteenth report by writing of his opposition to the chancellor of the exchequer and enclosing a copy of the memorial drafted the previous October.248

Two days earlier, on March 17, Peel, who was becoming increasingly exasperated by the whole situation, wrote to the provost, explaining that the government had felt compelled to proceed with education reform because of the:

weight and authority, which opinions upon the subject of general education, entertained and supported officially by such men as the primate, the archbishop of Cashel, the bishop of Killala and yourself must carry with them.249

Peel explained that he now had reason to believe some of the commissioners, including the archbishop of Cashel and the bishop of Killala, had changed their
minds, and he therefore wished to know the exact nature of the opinions now held by the commissioners:

The simple question is does the primate, does the bishop of Killala now recommend to the government the appointment of commissioners, to be composed of protestant and catholic members for the purpose of superintending the general education of the lower orders in this country.250

The primate deferred to the opinions of his fellow bishops251 and Peel had his reply by the end of the month. The provost accepted the reform of the parish schools but he felt that an attempt to establish the comprehensive school scheme recommended by the fourteenth report was not advisable as it would "only serve to strengthen the hostile spirit which has lately manifested itself".252 Peel dropped the scheme and any hope that had remained of the implementation of the plans recommended in the report effectively died. Some extra powers were given to the permanent board of education but that body continued to preside over a wide ranging and haphazard system of schools which increasingly came to serve only the protestant community and educated a steadily decreasingly percentage of the nation's pupils.253

The experience also had a significant effect on Peel. By April 1814 he was convinced that catholic hostility to a non-denominational educational scheme and the jeaslsousy with which the established church guarded its educational role made the task of framing an acceptable general educational scheme impossible. He wrote to the bishop of Cork:

viewing the unfortunate jealousies and animosities in Ireland, I never can believe that the best mode of providing the catholic with the means of instruction will be found in the direct and avowed interference of the legislature.254

He said that he believed educational provision to be improving in the country because of the work of private individuals: "there is little doubt that education is making progress in Ireland - more rapidly because its course is silent and unobserved", and he was convinced that any legislative attempts to improve
its provision would destroy any progress being made. The germ of this idea may well have been planted in Peel's mind during the fruitless discussions of early March following which the archbishop of Cashel could write:

If there were any body already formed and in action to whom the arrangement of those schools could be committed as well as the distribution of the monies to be granted by parliament a material difficulty would be overcome in evading much of parliamentary discussion - and I doubt not an institution might be formed and conducted greatly to the ultimate advantage of Ireland, producing all the benefit which the commissioners of education proposed without the inconvenience with which this scheme in its present state seems to be fraught.

Peel's political need to improve Irish educational provision was accomplished as the archbishop's scenario had envisaged, when the Kildare Place Society obtained its first parliamentary grant little over a year later. In this respect, analyses of the Society's history which see its development as a direct consequence of the fourteenth report are correct. However suggestions that the findings of the fourteenth report and the foundation of the Society are products of a period of interdenominational harmony are entirely false. Despite the tone of its recommendations the history of the fourteenth report demonstrated that the established church was still not ready to relinquish its theoretical role or agree to the concessions necessarily involved in the creation of a generally acceptable, state-funded school system. The protestant bishops recognized only too well the realities of existing denominational control. Their opposition to the reform of the parish schools was motivated, not only by its financial implications for clergy incomes, but by the knowledge that any general expansion of the system would create irresistible catholic pressures for curricular change and managerial control. The compromise plan of the fourteenth report, whereby the church retained its protestant parish schools and a new class of supplementary schools was created, was not any more acceptable to the established church because it realised that the new schools would be subjected to the same curricular and control pressures from the catholic church, and that their non-denominational principles would be
impossible to implement.258

The publication of the fourteenth report had, however, fuelled political pressures for educational expansion and had suggested that the opposing denominational forces could be accommodated in a mixed educational system. The government grants to the Kildare Place Society solved Peel's political problem and allowed the established church to continue to ignore the dichotomy between its theoretical and actual roles. The basic problem which had existed from the last decade of the eighteenth century, that of reconciling educational provision, the realities of denominational control and the role of the established church remained, however, unsolved. The decision of 1814-15 had simply postponed the issue and had set in train an artificial experiment which ignored the nature of the problem. The story of the Kildare Place Society is, therefore, that of a doomed experiment in mixed education which ignored, and therefore threatened the realities of, denominational control. The manifest hostility which the experiment provoked proved that the principle on which the Society was founded was an unworkable compromise, and that the Irish education question could only be solved if the realities of denominational (and particularly catholic denominational) control were accepted.
Chapter One - Footnotes


4 Ibid., p.3.


6 Ibid., p.184.


10 McCracken, op.cit., p.88.

11 Connolly, op.cit., p.7.

12 Ibid., pp.7-8.

13 Sean Connolly has drawn attention to the need for such an evaluation in a hitherto unpublished paper on the historiography of the Church of Ireland in the early eighteenth century, delivered to a symposium on the history of the Church of Ireland held at Marsh's Library, Dublin on 30 September 1989.


15 Ibid., p.182.

16 Quoted by McCracken, "The ecclesiastical structure, 1714-1760", p.89.

17 Wall, *Penal laws*, pp.4-5; and E.M. Johnston, "Problems common to

18 Corish, *Irish catholic experience*, p.123.


23 Corish, op.cit., p.125.

24 Ibid., pp.125-6.


30 Quoted in *Reports from the commissioners of the board of education pursuant to Act. 43, Geo. 3, c.122 : eleventh, on parish schools*, p.270, H.C. 1813-14 (47.) v. [Hereafter cited as as *Eleventh report of the board of education*. The fourteen reports issued separately by the board of education from 1809 to 1812-13 were reprinted in one volume (with an accompanying index) in the sessional year 1813-14. The pagination and parliamentary paper citation above, and in all further references to the reports of the board, will be from this reprinted version].

31 Ibid., pp. 270-2.
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32 "Copy of report of commissioners appointed by his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland, in 1788, under the provision of an act, 28th Geo. 3, c. 15 (Irish), entitled 'An act to enable the lord lieutenant and other chief governors of this kingdom to appoint commissioners for inquiry into the several funds and revenues granted by public and private donations for the purpose of education in this kingdom, and into the state and conduct of all schools in this kingdom on public or charitable foundations, and of the funds appropriated for the maintenance and support thereof, and for other purposes herein mentioned’, in Evidence taken before her majesty’s commissioners of inquiry into the state of the endowed schools in Ireland, ii, pp.366-7, [2336-III], H.C. 1857-8, xxii, pt. iii. [Hereafter cited as Report of education commissioners, 1791].

33 Ibid., p. 367.

34 Eleventh report of the board of education, p.273.


36 Eleventh report of the board of education, p.273.

37 Ibid., pp.274-5.

38 McCracken, "The ecclesiastical structure, 1714-1760", p.95.

39 Wall, Penal laws, p.9.

40 McCracken, op.cit., p. 95.


42 Coolahan, Irish education, p.9.


44 Ibid.


47 Briain Ó Cuív, "Irish language and literature" in A new history of Ireland, iv, p.380.
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48 Corish, "The catholic community in the nineteenth century", p.28.


51 John Leslie Foster to Secretary of the board of education, 22 April 1811, reproduced in Appendix to fourteenth report of the board of education, p.342.

52 Ibid., p.343.


54 J.L. Foster to Secretary of board of education in Appendix to fourteenth report of the board of education, p.343.

55 Dowling, Hedge schools of Ireland, p.20.

56 Corish, "The catholic community in the nineteenth century", p.28.

57 Dr. Troy to Sir Henry Parnell, (draft), 19 Aug. 1816, D.D.A., Troy-Murray correspondence, 30/3 f. 8.

58 McDowell, Ireland in the age of imperialism and revolution, p.141.

59 Ibid., pp.142-3.

60 Ibid., p.141.

61 Ibid., p.145.


63 Goldstrom, Social content of education, p.8.


65 A.P. Donajgrodszki, "Social police' and the bureaucratic elite: a


67 Dick, "English conservatives and schools for the poor", p.21.


71 Ibid., p.xi.


75 Dick, "English conservatives and schools for the poor", p.11.

76 Ibid., p.12.

77 Silver, *The concept of popular education*, p.65.

78 Silver, *Education and the radicals*, p.17.


82 Logan, op.cit., p.6.
83 John Donovan, *Thoughts on the necessity and means of educating the poor of Ireland and attaching them to their country* (Dublin, 1795), p.20.

84 Suggestions relative to a system of national education, addressed to his excellency the lord lieutenant of Ireland (Dublin, 1814), p.6.

86 Donovan, op.cit., p.17.

87 Daniel Dewar, *Observations on the character, customs and superstitions of the Irish and on some of the causes which have retarded the moral and political improvement of Ireland* (London, 1812), p.74, and part ii.

88 Suggestions relative to a system of national education, p. 16.

89 Ibid., p.20.

90 Donovan, *Thoughts on the necessity of educating the poor*, p.5.


92 Suggestions relative to a system of national education, p.25.

93 Donovan, *Thoughts on the necessity of educating the poor*, p.35.

94 An account of the institution and regulations of the Sunday and daily school, North Strand, addressed more particularly to the inhabitants of the parishes of St. Mary, St. Thomas and St. George, with reflections on the importance of affording gratuitous education to the children of the poor (Dublin, 1794), p.4.


96 Ibid., p.77.


98 An address to the British public on the moral and religious state of Ireland (Shaklewell [London], 1805), p.4.

99 Ibid., p.15.

100 Two reports of the committee of education supported by the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting Religion and Virtue in the dioceses of Cloyne and Kilmore (Dublin, 1800), p.11.

102 *Report of a deputation from the Hibernian Society respecting the religious state of Ireland: to which is annexed a plan of the society, together with a list of its officers* (London, 1807), pp.25-26.

103 "Extract from the speech of the lord bishop of Durham in the house of lords, May 1, 1805" printed as appendix to *An address to the British public on the moral and religious state of Ireland*, p.21.


105 Dewar, op.cit., p.80.

106 Donovan, op. cit., p.16.


110 Akenson, *Irish education experiment*, pp.59-80 provides the most comprehensive description of the various commissions.

111 Kelly, "Context and course of Thomas Orde's plan of education", pp.9-10.

112 Ibid., pp.11-17.

113 John Giffard, *Mr. Orde's plan of an improved system of education: submitted to the house of commons, April 12, 1787, with the debate which arose thereon, reported by John Giffard* (Dublin, 1787), pp.28-9, cited in Kelly, op.cit., p.17.

114 Kelly, op.cit., pp.18-21.

115 Ibid., pp.22-3.

116 Robert Marshall to Isaac Corry [?], 19 Oct. 1799, enclosing copy of
the report, reproduced as footnote to Report of education commissioners, 1791, p.341 [see note 32 above].


118 Ibid., pp.343-4.


120 On the background to the non-publication of the report and its eventual appearance in 1857-8 see Akenson, Irish education experiment, notes 30 and 31, pp.70-1.


122 Ibid.

123 Kelly, "Context and course of Thomas Orde's plan of education", pp.5-6 and pp.11-12. For Fitzpatrick's findings and criticisms see Oliver MacDonagh, The inspector general: Sir Jeremiah Fitzpatrick and social reform 1783-1802 (London, 1981), pp.86-104.

124 William Stuart (archbishop of Armagh) to Charles Broderick (archbishop of Cashel), 8 Feb. 1805, Dublin, NLI, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(3).

125 A general report of the Association for Discountenancing Vice... to 5th January, 1820 (Dublin, 1820), p.xiv.


128 Lord Grenville to duke of Bedford, 6 May 1806, Report Fortescue collection, p.135.

129 Duke of Bedford to Lord Grenville, 18 June 1806, Report Fortescue
collection, p.192-3.


131 Archbishop Stuart to Archbishop Broderick, 8 Feb. 1805, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(3).


133 Ibid.

134 Ibid. For Newport's career see D.N.B.

135 See below, pp. 5-51.


137 Manuscript minutes of the commissioners of the board of education, 21 Oct. 1806, preserved in Dublin, NLI, Quane Papers, Ms 16927. [Hereafter cited as Minutes of board of education].


139 See below pp. 79-80 and The gentleman's and citizen's almanack (Dublin, 1799), p.120.

140 Corry had been a prominent volunteer in the 1780s and an opposition M.P. in the Irish house of commons from 1776. His defection to the ranks of government in 1788 and the promotion to office which he subsequently enjoyed brought him into conflict with his former colleagues Grattan and Sir John Parnell and allowed opponents to dub him "an adventurer in the field of politics". Nevertheless, Corry's advancement was not maintained in the post-Union parliament and by 1806 his parliamentary career was in decline. Corry remained sincerely committed to catholic emancipation throughout his career and there is some evidence to support Primate Stuart's allegation that Corry was at least partly responsible for the production of the liberal Fourteenth report of the board of education. For Corry's political career see Anthony Malcolmson, Isaac Corry 1755-1813: an adventurer in the field of politics (n.d., n.p. [Belfast, 1974]), passim. For Stuart's allegations see note 246 below.

141 Robert S. Tighe, A letter addressed to Mr. Orde upon the education of the people (Dublin, 1787).
Disney became a member of the Incorporated Society's committee of fifteen in 1802. [The gentleman's and citizen's almanack (Dublin, 1802), p.111]. For Disney's evangelical background see Acheson, "Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland", pp.41-2.

Disney is listed as secretary to the Society for Promoting the Comforts of the Poor as early as 1802 in The gentleman's and citizens almanack (Dublin, 1802), p.122 and is still listed in that office in 1809 [The treble almanack for the year 1809, (Dublin 1809), p.197. First report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland (Dublin, 1813), p.10; Second report of the Society, p.7; and Third report of the Society, p.4].

He was, for example, entrusted with the preparation of a schools bill in 1813 which the Irish bishops proposed as a response to the publication of the Fourteenth report. Cf. Archbishop Stuart to Archbishop Broderick, 16 Feb. 1813, and Same to Same, n.d. [late January/early February 1813], Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7) and (8).

Archbishop Stuart to Archbishop Broderick, 28 Nov. 1806, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869 (4).

Minutes of board of education, passim.

Grattan attended the board's first two meetings in 1806, and only two of the twelve meetings held in 1807. He took no further part on the board's work. Parnell attended nine of the thirty-one meeings which took place before his resignation on 19 July 1809. Tighe was present at all meetings from 15 Oct. 1807 to 8 Dec. 1808 (a total of eight meetings). Corry took virtually no part in the board's work until July 1811. He attended regularly from then until completion of the board's discussions in October 1812. Minutes of board of education, passim.

Minutes of board of education, 19 July 1809.

Cf. John Leslie Foster to Secretary of board of eduction in Appendix to fourteenth report of the board of education, pp.341-6.

Minutes of board of education, 22 Feb. 1811. See also D.N.B.

The minutes do not record the formalities of Broderick's appointment. The Primate may well have been anxious to have Broderick's support as he had lost confidence in Elrington's ability to resist the pressure of the liberal laymen on the board. Cf. Archbishop Stuart to Archbishop Broderick, 23 Apr. 1812. Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(6) and Minutes of board of education, 30 Oct. 1812.

Minutes of board of education, 17 June 1807.


155Ibid., 29 Dec. 1808, 21 Apr. 1809, 12 May 1809, 19 and 21 July 1809.

156Ibid., 20 Sept. 1809, 2 Nov. 1809.

157Eleventh report of the board of education, pp.269-76.

158Compare ms. draft of the eleventh report of the board of education, n.d. [c. 1809] in Quane Papers, Ms 16928(2) fos. 30-42 and *Eleventh report of the board of education*, p. 276.

159Archbishop Stuart to [Archbishop Broderick], [or 14] Mar. 1814. Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7).

160Minutes of board of education, 22 Feb. 1811.

161Archbishop Stuart to [Archbishop Broderick], 12 [or 14] Mar. 1814, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7).

162Minutes of board of education, 22 Feb. 1811.

163Ibid., 21 Oct. 1806.


165Ibid., 2 Apr. 1811, 4 Apr. 1811, 3 July 1811, 4 July 1811.


168Ibid., p.331.

169Ibid., pp. 330-1.

170Ibid., p. 331.

171J.L. Foster to Secretary of board of education, 22 Apr. 1811 in *Appendix to fourteenth report of the board of education*, p.342.

173 Lancaster had addressed an open letter on education to John Foster (uncle of John Leslie) in 1806 [J. Lancaster, *Printed description of the principles of Joseph Lancaster's new and mechanical system of education* (n.p., 1806). Copy in Belfast, PRONI, Foster Correspondence, D207/60/2]. Lancaster lectured on his educational system at the home of John Foster during his visit to Ireland in 1811-12. [Joseph Lancaster to William Allen, 19 Nov. 1811, London Archives BFSS Lancaster Correspondence]

174 R.L. Edgeworth to [Dr. Andrew Bell], 31 Oct. 1806, extract reproduced in Andrew Bell, *Elements of tuition Part ii: the English school, or the history, analysis and application of the Madras system of education to English schools* (London, 1814), p.423; Andrew Bell to R.L. Edgeworth, 20 Nov. 1806, Dublin, NLI, Edgeworth Correspondence, Ms 22471(2).

175 *Fourteenth report of the board of education*, pp.332.

176 Ibid.

177 Ibid., p.328.

178 Ibid., p.338.

179 Ibid., p.343.


182 *Fourteenth report of the board of education*, p.333.

183 Ibid.

184 Archbishop Stuart to J. Corneille (secretary of board of education), 3 Apr. 1812, Edgeworth Correspondence, Ms 22471(4).

185 Archbishop Stuart to archbishop of Cashel, 22(or 24) Apr. 1812, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(6).

186 An address to the British public on the moral and religious state of Ireland, p.21.

187 Archbishop Stuart to archbishop of Cashel, 22(or 24) Apr. 1812, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(6).
188 Archbishop Stuart to R.L. Edgeworth, 11 Apr. 1812, Edgeworth Correspondence, Ms 22471(4).

189 Minutes of board of education, 26, 27 and 28 Feb. 1812.

190 Ibid., 6 Mar. 1812.

191 Ms draft of the fourteenth report of the board of education, n.d. [1812] in Quane Papers, Ms 16928(3), see especially pp. 2, 15, 33-4; Archbishop Stuart to [R.L. Edgeworth], 11 Apr. 1812, Edgeworth Correspondence, Ms 22471(4); Archbishop Stuart to Archbishop Borderick, 22(or 24) Apr. 1812, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(6). The origins of the proposed funding of parish schools by a 2% tax on clergy incomes is not known but it eventually appeared as part of the disputed appendix.

192 Archbishop Stuart to Archbishop Broderick, 22(or 24) Apr. 1812.

193 Ibid., and R.L. Edgeworth to Archbishop Stuart, 6 Apr. 1812, (copy), Edgeworth Correspondence, Ms 22471(4).

194 Minutes of board of education, 30 Oct. 1812.

195 Appendix to fourteenth report of the board of education, pp.335-46.


197 Ibid., p.94. Gash does not describe the contents of the briefing but as Pole had asked the board to draw up plans for a general education scheme and had submitted his proposed schools' bill to the commissioners it seems probable that the education question would have formed part of his briefing to Peel.

198 R. Peel to Sir C. Flint, 30 Dec. 1812, London, BL. Peel Correspondence, Private and confidential letterbooks, Add. Ms 40280 f.140.

199 Isaac Corry to R. Peel, 10 Nov. 1812, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40223 f.3.

200 Peel wrote to Foster: "I should be very much obliged to you to give me an opportunity of speaking to you on the subject of the enclosed report," 14 Jan. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40280 f. 158. Unfortunately the report is not mentioned by its title but Peel's correspondence with Foster at this time was almost exclusively concerned with educational matters and the Fourteenth report.

210 Queries respecting a school for 12 Feb. 1813 Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40223 f. 28.
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201 The draft bill was submitted to the commissioners in February 1811 and their suggested amendments were communicated to Pole in April 1811. However the commissioners made a detailed examination of the bill which Pole subsequently introduced in parliament and forwarded further suggestions to him in March 1812. Minutes of the board of education. 22 Feb. 1811, 2 Mar. 1811, 4 Apr. 1811, 17 Mar. 1812, 18 Mar. 1812, and 23 Mar. 1812. Cf. also speech of Wellesley-Pole in house of commons debate on state of education in Ireland, Hansard, vol. xxv, 23 Mar. 1813, cols. 262-3. The text of the bill proposed is probably: A bill for the appointment of commissioners for the regulation of the several endowed schools of public and private foundation in Ireland, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40233 f. 261.


203 Isaac Corry to R. Peel, 10 Nov. 1812, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40223 f. 3; William Vesey-Fitzgerald (chancellor of Irish exchequer) to Sir John Newport, 5 Feb. 1813, Dublin, NLI, Vesey-FitzGerald Collection. Ms 7817, p.107; R. Peel to Lord chief justice, 1 Feb. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40281 fos. 38-9.

204 Notice of Newport's motion had reached the government prior to Vesey-FitzGerald's letter to Newport cited in note 203 above.

205 Archbishop Stuart to [Archbishop Broderick], n.d. [late January/early February 1813], Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(8).

206 Sir J. Newport to R. Peel [copy], 21 Feb. 1813, Vesey-FitzGerald Collection, Ms 7819, p.48.

207 R. Peel to W. Gregory, 11 Feb. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40281 fos. 44.

208 Archbishop Stuart to Archbishop Broderick, 16 Feb. 1813, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7).

209 'Queries respecting schools written when the education bill (53 of the king) was in contemplation, 12 Feb. 1813', Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40225 f. 28. This document, which outlines the background to some of the findings of the board of education and to the legislation recommended is almost certainly Gregory's reply to Peel's request for information in advance of the parliamentary debate. Peel had suggested to Gregory that "the Provost, or Mr. Corneille, or both if you could see them together and talk on the whole matter with them, would be best calculated to give the information I require". R. Peel to W. Gregory, 11 Feb. 1813, Peel Correspondence. Add. Ms 40281 f. 44.

210 'Queries respecting schools etc.' 12 Feb. 1813 Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40225 f. 28.
211 William Vesey-Fitzgerald to Sir John Newport, 5 Feb. 1813; and Same to Same, 7 Feb. 1813, Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7817, pp.107 and 116; Sir J. Newport to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 8 Feb. 1813, Ms 7817, pp.116-7; Sir J. Newport to R. Peel, 21 Feb. 1813, Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7819, p.48.

212 Cf. J.L. Foster to R. Peel, 29 Mar. 1813, and Provost to R. Peel, 18 Mar. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40225 fos. 308-16 and f. 257.

213 Provost to R. Peel, 18 Mar. 1814, Ibid.

214 *Hansard*, vol. xxv, 23 Mar. 1813, cols. 260-1.

215 J.L. Foster to R. Peel, 29 Mar. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40225 fos. 308-9.

216 Ibid., f. 309.

217 Ibid.

218 Ibid., f. 310.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid., f. 311.

221 Ibid., f. 313 and fos. 314-5.

222 Ibid. f. 313.

223 T.L. O'Beirne (bishop of Meath) to R. Peel, 6 Apr. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40226 f. 75.

224 Ibid.


226 Bishop of Meath to R. Peel, 6 Apr. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40226, f. 77.

227 Provost to R. Peel, 7 Apr. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40226 fos. 93-4. The bill which Provost Elrington advocated was probably that drafted by William Disney, cf. note 144 above.
Duke of Richmond to R. Peel, 2 May 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40186, box. 54-5. Richmond enclosed a copy of a letter attributed to the titular bishop of Killala which denounced the proselytizing schools in his diocese and commanded the withdrawal of catholic children by their parents "under pain of excommunication or even consoling or absolving them at the hour of their deaths". Foster was also aware of the existence of this letter and mentioned it to Peel although making it clear that its authenticity had not been established. J.L. Foster to R. Peel, 29 Mar. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40225 fos. 313-4.

Provost to R. Peel, 17 June 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40227 f. 356.

Ibid., and Archbishop Broderick to R. Peel, 22 June 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40228 f. 15. Cf. also R. Peel to Lord Sidmouth (home secretary), 30 June 1815, and R. Peel to Provost, 1 July 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40284 fos. 30 and 46 ff.

Cf. eg. R. Peel to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 29 Oct. 1813, Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7820 p. 181; Bishop of Ferns to R. Peel, 20 Oct. 1813, and J.L. Foster to R. Peel, 20 Oct. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40231 fos. 124 and 126.

Maria Edgeworth to Sophy Ruxton (Maria's cousin and intimate correspondent), 16 May 1813, reproduced in Christina Colvin (ed.), Maria Edgeworth: letters from England 1813-1844 (Oxford, 1971), pp.56-8. The real purpose of the meeting was to effect a separation between the profligate Lancaster and the emerging British and Foreign School Society, cf. Maria's letter and R.L. Edgeworth to Archbishop Stuart, Nov. 1813 (copy), Edgeworth Correspondence, Ms 22471 (4).

Maria Edgeworth to Sophy Ruxton, 16 May 1813, Maria Edgeworth: letters from England, p.58.

Bishop O'Beirne to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 19 Mar. 1814 (marked secret), Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7825, p.127.

Cf. eg. Ibid. and R. Peel to Bishop of Downe [sic], 22 Feb. 1814, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40285 fos. 228-9.

Bishop O'Beirne to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 19 Mar. 1814 (secret), Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7826, p.127.

Memorial of Church of Ireland bishops on Peel's education proposals, Oct. 1813, copy enclosed with Bishop O'Beirne to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 19 Mar. 1814, Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7826, p.133 (and pp. 133-9 generally).
238 Bishop O'Beirne to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 19 Mar. 1814, Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7826, p.127.

239 Memorial of Church of Ireland bishops, Oct. 1813, pp.135-6.

240 Ibid., p.135.


242 Archbishop Stuart to [Archbishop Broderick], 21 Mar. 1814, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7); Thomas St. Lawrence (bishop of Cork and Ross) to Archbishop Broderick, 18 March 1814, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8861(7).

243 Archbishop Broderick to unnamed [almost certainly Primate], n.d. [c. 9 Mar. 1813], (copy), Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8888.

244 Ibid., and Archbishop Stuart to [Archbishop Broderick], 12 Mar. 1814, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7); Provost to Bishop Verschoyle (of Killala), 11 Mar. 1814, extract contained in Provost to R. Peel, n.d. [mid-late March 1814], Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms. 40235 f. 152; Bishop O'Beirne to Archbishop Broderick, 13 Mar. 1814, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8873; Bishop Lawrence to Archbishop Broderick, 18 Mar. 1814, Broderick Correspondence, 18 Mar. 1814, Ms 8861(7).

245 Provost to Bishop Verschoyle, 11 Mar. 1814, extract contained in Provost to R. Peel, n.d. [mid-late March 1814], Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40235 f. 152.

246 Archbishop Stuart to [Archbishop Broderick], 12 Mar. 1814, and Same to Same, 21 Mar. 1814. Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7).

247 Bishop Verschoyle to Provost, 14 Mar. 1814, copy contained in Provost to R. Peel, n.d. [mid--late March 1814], Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40235 f. 150.

248 Bishop O'Beirne to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, 19 Mar. 1814, Vesey-Fitzgerald Correspondence, Ms 7826 fos. 127-139.

249 R. Peel to Provost, 17 Mar. 1814, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40286 f. 60-62

250 Ibid., fos. 61-2.

251 Archbishop Stuart to [Archbishop Broderick], 21 Mar. 1814, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8869(7).
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252 Provost to R. Peel, 31 Mar. 1814, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40235 f. 250.


255 R. Peel to Bishop of Cork, 28 Apr. 1814, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40286 f. 128.

256 Notes in Archbishop Broderick's papers, possibly part of draft letter to Primate, n.d. [from contents, immediately following meetings with Peel and lord lieutenant in early March 1814], Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8888. Broderick's notes are almost identical to the report made by the lord lieutenant to the home office in mid-march 1814. Cf. Earl Whitworth to [Lord Sidmouth], 14 Mar. 1814, H.O. 100/177 fos. 191-3.

257 The Rev. John Jebb with whom Archbishop Broderick consulted warned that the financing of a reformed parish school system could not be accomplished by means of a general vestry tax which many of the bishops advocated as an alternative to the 2% tax on clerical incomes. Jebb wrote that the imposition of general taxation or even the extension of the parish school system would create irresistible demands for a curriculum acceptable to Catholics and the sharing of managerial control. John Jebb to Archbishop of Cashel, 1 Dec. 1813, Broderick Correspondence, Ms 8866(2). Whitworth writing to Sidmouth following the meetings with Broderick, Elrington, Peel and Foster, stated that it had been concluded that:

- any direct interference on the part of the legislature [in the field of education] would attract the attention of the catholics, and consequently their suspicion. As catholics, and particularly Irish catholics, they cannot be real friends to education. It would be an act of suicide. But they would affect a concurrence, in the hope of acquiring a preponderating influence in the board without any [sic] the least disposition to act with cordiality upon the liberal, I may say too liberal principles of the fourteenth report.

Whitworth to Sidmouth, 14 Mar. 1814, H.O. 100/177 f. 192.

258 Bishop O'Beirne to R. Peel, 6 Apr. 1813, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40226 f. 75-6.
Chapter Two

From Voluntary Society To Official Funding
1786 - 1815

The origins of the Society which embarked on the mixed education experiment are already well known. The Dublin parish of St. Catherine, lying to the south and west of the inner city area was, at the end of the eighteenth century, suffering many of the social problems such as gross overcrowding and miserable poverty which afflicted English urban centres. In St. Catherine's parish, as in English cities, the traditional parish school education was unable to combat effectively the social problems of civil disorder and moral degradation which the contemporary upper and middle classes attributed to the breakdown of traditional social patterns. The Rev. Richard Powell, the hardworking curate of St. Catherine's, tackled these problems by founding Sunday schools as contemporary English educationalists advocated. Powell's zeal ensured the success of the project and within less than a year of their foundation in 1786 the schools had almost 600 pupils on their books. The project attracted the support of several members of the quaker community which was noted for its generous support of philanthropic causes in the Liberties area of Dublin and prominent businessmen such as members of the La Touche banking family and the Guinness brewing dynasty. These supporters successfully funded the construction of a new large schoolhouse designated the Dublin Free School house in what became known as School Street. The Sunday schools, renamed the Dublin Weekly Schools, occupied the newly completed building in summer 1799. The institution amended its title once again in 1808 to the Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools when a day school was opened, and by 1812 the successful venture had over 1,100 children on its books.

The School Street institution played an important role in the
development of the Kildare Place Society by helping to create a group of individuals whose diverse religious affiliations and educational concerns had been so successfully reconciled in a practical, working institution that they believed their solution could be replicated throughout Ireland so as to achieve the general education of the poor.

Joseph Lancaster’s Irish tour of 1811-12 provided the impetus for the foundation of the Society which was to promote the School Street principles. Lancaster had visited Ireland in 1806 and four years later the committee of his Royal Lancastrian Institution had suggested to the lord lieutenant that a monitory school for soldiers’ children might be profitably attached to the military barracks in Dublin. Lancaster arrived in Ireland in late October or early November 1811. Correspondence with the Castle authorities concerning a proposed Lancastrian school at the Dublin House of Industry ended in fruitless acrimony and the chief secretary refused to patronise Lancaster’s lectures. Visits to the Lancastrian school at Belfast and lectures at Moyallen, Newry and the house of John Foster at Collon were considerably more successful. Lecture tours throughout the midlands and south were completed in the early months of 1812.

Lancaster mentioned William Harding as “my brother and companion here” in one of his Dublin letters to London. This almost certainly refers to William Harding one of the trustees of the Dublin Free Schoolhouse, and it was probably through Harding that Lancaster came to visit the School Street schools in November and meet other members of its committee. Lancaster’s visit and lectures, which highlighted the inadequacies of existing Irish schools and at the same time offered a scheme by which educational improvement could be attempted, motivated the supporters of the School Street project to extend the horizons of their work. Samuel Bewley, William Harding and Peter La Touche (all of whom were associated with the School Street project), Luke Magrath (a Co. Cavan landowner and acquaintance of Lancaster) and Edward Haughton were chosen to organise a public meeting to launch the new society and on 7 December 1811 the Society
for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland was founded.\textsuperscript{19} Joseph Lancaster was present and at least ten of the remaining eighteen individuals who attended the meeting had been involved in the School Street schools.\textsuperscript{20} Lancaster's methods had a formative influence on those of the new Society and his visit to Dublin had inspired its foundation, but the philosophy and organizational style of the Kildare Place Society owed a much greater debt to the fusion of interests which had created the School Street schools.

Quakerism was one of the most important elements in the diversity of influences which contributed to the ethos and operational nature of both the School Street institution and the Kildare Place Society. Members of the Society of Friends had attached great importance to the education of quaker children from the earliest days of the denomination's existence, largely because of the need which they felt to maintain their religious tradition and distinctively puritan way of life in an often hostile environment. The education of quakers quickly became an important concern of the monthly, quarterly and yearly meetings of Friends through which the denomination was administered in both Britain and Ireland.\textsuperscript{21} This concern was not perfunctory: local committees regularly inspected quaker schools,\textsuperscript{22} meetings of masters were held to discuss appropriate teaching methods,\textsuperscript{23} textbooks were carefully scrutinized and arrangements were made whereby the education of poorer quakers was subsidised by contributions from the community at large. Thus, as O'Flynn noted, it can be argued that:

\begin{quote}
\textit{an efficient system of schooling had been initiated by the Society [of Friends] by the beginning of the eighteenth century, whereby an inspectorial scheme, centralized text distribution, control of teaching methods and financial assistance plans had been established.}\textsuperscript{24}
\end{quote}

Shortly after their foundation, the Sunday schools in St. Catherine's parish were described as "under the inspection of the vicar, curate and Arthur Guinness"\textsuperscript{25} but committee management, akin to that of the quaker community had been adopted by the time the new Dublin Free Schoolhouse
was under construction in 1798. The change was almost certainly a result of quaker involvement in the project: Friends contributed generously to the buildings costs and at least seven of the fifteen trustees elected to oversee the building funds were quakers or had quaker family names. Moreover several of the quaker trustees, such as Samuel Bewely, John Barrington, Robert Clibborn and later Edward Allen and William Harding were among those most intimately concerned with the work of the schools - a position which reflected the quaker tradition of active participation. Bewley, Allen and Harding all became founder members of the Kildare Place Society and members of its General Committee to which they brought their denominational tradition of committee government and educational organization. The hierarchy of committees through which the internal business of the Kildare Place Society was conducted, the activities of textbook production, teacher training and school inspection in which the Society was engaged and its preference for the management of local schools by locally elected committees all bear striking resemblance to the structures with which Friends such as Bewley, Allen and Harding would have been familiar.

Bewley more than anyone else, was the conduit through which quaker ideas permeated the work of the Kildare Place Society. Bewley is the outstanding Irish example of the socially concerned quaker philanthropist. He contributed generously to a number of charities and was actively involved in famine relief on a number of occasions. Bewley, like many contemporary quaker philanthropists of the last decade of the eighteenth century, became deeply concerned with the general education of the poor. He was one of the original trustees of the Dublin Free Schoolhouse and a generous contributor to its funds. He was intimately involved in its financial affairs, its day to day management and even its curricular policy and teaching methods. Bewley does not seem to have been responsible for Joseph Lancaster's first visit to the School Street school but the adoption of the great educator's monitorial system by the newly founded Kildare Place Society was due largely to Bewley's efforts. Bewley served on the Committee of the Society throughout its active period, he made generous donations to its work and the success of the Society's model
schools and publication programme owed much to his indefatigable labours.\(^{32}\)

The contribution which quaker ideas made to the curricular philosophies of the School Street schools and the Kildare Place Society are of even greater significance than the legacy of efficient organizational models. The non-denominational principles of both institutions owe much to quaker traditions of personal faith and religious toleration. A central tenet of quaker doctrine was that a valid religious faith could only exist when an individual developed a personal relationship with his God. The mediation of a formal ecclesiastical structure or organized rituals were considered unnecessary.\(^{33}\)

Respect for the religious beliefs of others was therefore deeply ingrained in quaker consciousness. Quakers had come to Ireland in the wake of the Cromwellian conquests and for a time hostility had existed between Friends and Roman Catholics but by the end of the seventeenth century catholics saw no threat in the quaker community.\(^{34}\) During most of the eighteenth century quakers were more concerned with preserving the integrity of their community rather than attempting to win converts, and quakers were recognized as "the most retiring and unproselytising of sects".\(^{35}\) These quaker traditions were largely responsible for the non-proselytising principles which were established at School Street. Bewley was later told by the commissioners of the Irish education inquiry that:

\[
\text{at that period [1786] although open for all denominations of children, there were some distinctions, but in the course of a few years there were several members of the Society I belong to became [sic] active managers of that school, and gradually all those peculiar attentions to one denomination over another were done away.}^{36}\]

This policy of religious toleration in the workings of the school was in place by the time the construction of new premises was considered in 1798 and was then incorporated into the constitution of the board of trustees established to oversee the building and use of the Dublin Free Schoolhouse. The terms in which the policy was described were to become a central principle of the Kildare Place Society:
That the absolute dominion thereof [of the schoolhouse] be invested in them in trust for the purpose of permitting schools to be held therein in which no distinction shall be made on account of religious profession either in managers, instructors or scholars.

In practice this principle was implemented in the School Street schools by excluding catechetical instruction and confining religious education to the reading of the scriptures without note or comment - an arrangement which originated in evangelical thought but which was compatible with the Quaker traditions of personal interpretation of scripture and religious experience. The successful operation of the rule in the School Street setting was at least partly responsible for its adoption by the Kildare Place Society, despite the reservations of some members as to its suitability throughout the country generally.

The Quaker contribution to the curricular policies of the Kildare Place Society was not simply that of religious toleration. The history of the Society's unsuccessful attempt to create a genuinely mixed and non-denominational school system and the Society's claims to have scrupulously excluded all controversial materials from its textbooks have led historians to examine the curriculum of Kildare Place schools as the product of negative denominational pressures. Goldstrom's analysis of the Society's publications pioneered this interpretation by suggesting that the incorporation of large amounts of secular material into the curriculum was a direct result of the Society's need to exclude the more traditional school course of catechism, prayerbook and the bible.

The examination of the Society's publications in Chapter Three below will show that neither negative denominational pressure nor motives of social control can fully explain the range of material which was intended for the pupils of Kildare Place schools. The existence of positive liberal motives in the work of the Society is frequently ignored although it played an important part in determining the substantially liberal and utilitarian curriculum of the Society's textbooks.

The origins of this curricular content lay in Quaker educational
traditions which distrusted intellectual learning and preferred an education in practical subjects and skills so as to prepare pupils for suitable occupations in society when they should leave school. Quaker schools stressed the development of an appreciation of the value of work and often included elements of science, natural history and vocational training in their curricula. These ideas had a close affinity to Benthamite and utilitarian educational philosophies and when the founders of the Kildare Place Society came to determine their own analysis of the Irish educational problem they drew on this liberal utilitarian tradition to an extent which can easily be underestimated. The committee members of the Kildare Place Society regarded Ireland as a country "possessing natural advantages, at least, equal to any other, and inhabited by a people eminently capable of moral and intellectual improvement", yet to them it was obvious this potential had not been developed because of the lack of any systematic educational system:

no candid man who has resided for any time in this country and who had paid attention to this subject can entertain a doubt that the want of a well ordered and well directed education is one at least of the principal causes whereby the intellectual energies of the people have been cramped, their moral character depressed, their individual happiness obstructed, and the welfare of the state materially injured.

A suitable educational scheme would therefore inculcate habits of order, decency and cleanliness, would encourage hard work, and would imbibe a respect for authority and discipline. It would:

accustom the poor to habits of decency and cleanliness, at the same time improving their morals and their health - which shall teach them to fix their attention, exclusively, on whatever business they are engaged in, and inure them to that kind of regular discipline and good order, which is of such essential value, to those who must earn their bread by their industry.

The reports of the School Street institution boasted of the numbers of past scholars who had successfully gained employment due to the discipline inculcated in the schools and the Kildare Place committee felt that
Lancaster's highly ordered, mechanical system was ideally suited for the extension of those benefits throughout the country because:

the mechanical part [of it] trains the youth in habits of diligence, order and obedience, amuses the young mind, keeps it employed and thereby prevents listlessness and sloth.47

The Kildare Place Society believed that education, industry and general prosperity went hand in hand. The Committee members saw themselves as members of a highly civilized British society in which progress had been achieved when intelligent men had accepted certain fundamental truths and the value of sound reasoning. They believed that education had been the necessary precursor to this reason and rationality, and therefore to social and economic prosperity. H.J.M. Mason, a founder member of the Society, wrote:

Considering education as productive of mere world advantages, no doubt of its useful effects can be entertained by any man, who looks to the improved state of wealth, of comfort and of peace, as well as of manners and of morals to which enlightened Great Britain has arrived.48

The introduction to The schoolmaster's manual of the Society pointed to the superior economic and social conditions of Holland and Scotland as proof of the links between education and general development.49 That same introduction poured scorn on conservative arguments that this prosperity and education would give the poor cause to be discontented with their situation in life. Drawing on obviously utilitarian opinions, the Kildare Place Society declared that education would allow the poor to "draw from it [their station in life] more completely, whatever advantages it is capable of affording".50

The role of education envisaged in this statement had important implications for the content and provision of general education. Firstly, a significant proportion of the secular content in the Society's library readers may
be more readily accounted for as a practical attempt to improve the life of the poor rather than as a reaction to denominational pressures. Secondly, the statement implies that education be viewed as a necessary investment if the prosperity, order and stability of society as a whole was to be maintained. The authors of *The schoolmaster's manual* stressed the importance which attached to a well-ordered and well-behaved poor:

> It is not, perhaps, sufficiently considered, how much the happiness and safety of the community depend on the character and habits of the poor; or to what an extent we must rely on the co-operation and fidelity of those in the humblest walks of life: . . . our lives and our properties, the minds and health of our children, are to an inconceivable degree dependent on their good or evil qualities.

This argument can easily be misinterpreted as the advocacy of education for the purposes of social control but in fact many of the publications of the Society are more concerned with the economic and social improvements a general educational provision could achieve and the Society was not slow to condemn those in authority who shirked their responsibility towards the poor:

> The highest individual in society, is thus directly and personally interested in the prosecution of such a system of education. . . . surely it must be felt, that an awful responsibility has devolved upon all who are capable of forwarding the great work of education; and that those who neglect to do so, thereby charge upon their own heads, a heavy portion of that guilt, which they do not endeavour to prevent.

Education, far from being a philanthropic activity, was a duty of the rich and inherent in such an argument is the necessity for all the rich to be involved in its provision. This notion had a powerful influence in the management of the Society's school system. The Society determined that it would not be the builder and controller of a system of schools; rather, it would facilitate the establishment of schools by those whose duty it was to educate the poor.
Utilitarian notions of the purpose and proper content of a general education provision and a liberal tradition of religious tolerance thus came to have an important influence on the School Street schools and on the Kildare Place Society through the quaker background of some of the most active supporters of those institutions. However, these liberal, utilitarian traditions never achieved the dominant position accorded to evangelical protestantism in the philosophy of the Kildare Place Society. Links between liberal quakerism and the evangelical movement are not as incongruous as they might at first appear. Many quakers responded enthusiastically to what they perceived as a call to socially concerned action in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and through this work they met many evangelicals whose commitment to social action was equally strong. Moreover, the stress evangelicals laid on a personal faith and private interpretation of the scriptures were notions entirely familiar to the quaker mind.

The growth of the Irish evangelical movement from the early years of the nineteenth century has already been noted. Clerical support for this cause was limited in Dublin but many prominent laymen were greatly influenced by evangelical ideas. 'Drawing room meetings' of evangelical Christians in the city were an important feature of the period and the new-found zeal of these laymen was channelled into numerous missionary, evangelical and social causes such as the Hibernian Bible Society (founded in 1806), the Hibernian Sunday School Society (1809), the Religious Tract and Book Society (1817), the Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish through the Medium of their own Language (1818), the Claremont Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb (1819) and the Church Missionary Society.

The Sunday school had been the creation of the English evangelical movement and it is not surprising to find men of evangelical opinions as supporters of the School Street schools. Arthur Guinness, the founder of the brewing firm and the schools' first lay supporter, held strong protestant opinions, but was noted for his generous support of several charities, rather
than any strong evangelical convictions. Arthur Guinness II, however, who succeeded his father at the James' Gate brewery and as patron of the School Street schools was a deeply committed evangelical, who drew inspiration from his reading of the Bible and the writings of Bunyan, the Wesleys and George Whitefield. He was related to the founder and first chaplain of the Bethesda Chapel which became the spiritual home of Dublin evangelicals. Arthur and other members of his family such as William Lunnell Guinness were prominent members of the Bethesda congregation, supporters of the School Street schools and founder members of the Kildare Place Society.

Members of the La Touche banking family were prominent participants in Dublin evangelical circles. James Digges La Touche, the founder member and long-serving secretary of the Sunday School Society was, perhaps, the best known of this family, but John David and Peter La Touche (Jnr.), who were involved in the School Street project also served on the committee of the Sunday School Society. Peter La Touche (Jnr.) was a founder member of the Kildare Place Society in 1811 and members of the family regularly served on the Society's committee. William Disney, whose evangelical background and membership of the 1806-12 board of education have already been described, became a trustee of the Dublin Free Schoolhouse in 1806 and a member of the first committee of the Kildare Place Society in 1811.

The success of the School Street schools was probably due to the way in which the evangelical zeal of important supporters such as the Guinness and La Touche families was balanced by the liberal tolerance and efficient organization of the schools' many Quaker supporters. The Kildare Place Society looked upon School Street as the birthplace of its educational work and often cited the continued success of the Dublin Weekly and Daily schools when defending the Kildare Place arrangements for religious instruction. Unfortunately the Society failed to realize the exceptional nature of the School Street experience and they genuinely believed that the experiment could be replicated throughout Ireland. This belief proved to be ill founded as the Society's school system developed but a hint of forthcoming difficulties may be
seen even in the composition of the Society itself.

Both the evangelical and liberal traditions of School Street were represented in the Kildare Place Society, but the delicate balance between the two was not replicated. The first eleven members of the committee to be elected in December 1811 included many figures from School Street: quakers such as S. Bewley, J. Barrington and Edward Allen, evangelicals such as Arthur Guinness and Peter La Touche, and others such as John Leland Maquay and William Todhunter whose backgrounds are less clear. However the evangelicals were boosted by the inclusion of Luke Magrath, Thomas Parnell (a founder member and guardian of the Sunday School Society and the “mainstay” of the Religious Tract and Book Society), the Rev. William Thorpe (a member of the first committee of the Sunday School Society), and Dr. Thomas H. Orpen (a relative of Dr. Charles Orpen, founder of the Claremont Deaf and Dumb Institute and keen supporter of the Irish Society).

The election or co-option of further members to the committee in early 1812 continued this trend. William Harding and Randall McDonnell (a Roman Catholic and trustee of the Dublin Free Schoolhouse) may be considered as liberals but the election of William Disney, James Digges La Touche and Peter La Touche (Jnr.) added to the evangelical bias of the committee. The co-option of Thomas Lefroy (secretary of the Scripture Readers' Society), Joseph Devonshire Jackson (an ambitious lawyer who was to become the Society's secretary) and John Schoales exacerbated the drift to protestant evangelicalism. Lefroy, Jackson and Schoales were on the management committee of the South Eastern District School Society which operated a school at St. Stephen's Green. This body, which included Henry J. Monk Mason (the long-serving secretary of the Irish Society) and Richard B. Warren (an evangelical barrister like Jackson) seems to have been noticeably more evangelical than the Kildare Place Society. Warren joined the Kildare Place Committee at the first annual general meeting in 1813 and Mason was elected a year later. Jackson, Mason and Warren all became influential members of the Kildare Place Committee.
The terms 'liberal' and 'evangelical' have to be used with some care in this context. There is no evidence of any fundamental disagreement on policy between the members of the committee nor is there any hint that quakers, such as Bewley, felt that the liberal traditions of School Street had been undermined in any way by the large evangelical presence on the Committee. Bewley would have understood the genuine social concern which motivated all these men and would have shared their ambivalent attitudes towards the authorities of the established church. But there were undeniable differences between the philosophical motivation of these men. Bewley's more liberal attitudes, reflected most graphically in the publication programme which he largely supervised, were overwhelmed by evangelical opinion.

The dominance of evangelical thought within the Society is to be clearly seen in its understanding of the nature of the task it faced. The Society's assessment of the human situation was enunciated by R. Burrowes, a supporter of the Society at the annual general meeting in 1814 in a speech later printed as an appendix to the second report. Burrowes' view was drawn almost directly from the contemporary evangelical assessment of man's situation which stressed the sinful nature of the human, the importance of a personal salvation by faith in Christ, and a commitment to moral reform. Man, for Burrowes and for the Kildare Place Society, had been a perfect creation of God who had fallen and been disfigured. This disfigurement, this "disease" as Burrowes described it, was caused by ignorance, a state which was synonymous with being poor, and it was this link which the Kildare Place Society had determined to end: "ignorance shall no longer be the necessary companion to poverty." Utilitarian thought had often seen poverty as the cause of ignorance but the Kildare Place evangelicals rejected this notion and denied that an improvement in the living conditions or station in life of the poor could relieve their ignorance. Man had fallen and was essentially weak and sinful and so his environment had little to do with the determination of his character and behaviour:

The despot may tell us, he will enact wise laws, and compel universal obedience to them. Is he aware of the weakness
and perversity of human nature? Vain and presumptuous man! to hope that he shall effectuate, what even the eternal sanctions, announced by the ALMIGHTY fail to effect.  

Burrowes poured scorn on the idea that wise laws, privileges and liberty for the poor would in any way make them more rational, industrious or happy. A sound moral education would rescue the degenerate poor by effecting the difference "between the savage and the man", and would be the basis upon which "the morals and true happiness" of the country were to be secured. Evangelical thought regarded the call to support such a cause as merely a call for men to perform their patriotic duty for education was the cause "every Irishman anxious for the welfare and happiness of his country ought to have in view".  

Evangelicals could not envisage an education which could achieve the moral renaissance of sinful man in the absence of a sound religious training. This indissoluble link between education and religion became an axiom of Kildare Place thought:

It cannot be supposed, that, in a Christian land, there should be any difference of opinion upon the vast importance of religious education to the welfare and happiness of the people. When we tended our views to futurity [sic], its paramount value must be at once obvious, and irresistible, and even those who would be disposed to measure its value by its effects on individuals in this world, cannot but feel that, without religious principle, the influence of the laws will be but transitory, and there will be but little security for moral conduct.  

Yet the Society was also aware that many previous attempts at a widespread educational provision had failed because of religious problems. The attitude that education was the natural preserve of the established church had not quite died - witness Bewley's surprise at the liberal recommendations of the fourteenth report of the board of education, and the bitter disputes in England between the National Society (essentially an established church body) and the Royal Lancastrian Society supported by dissenters. To add to these
difficulties Ireland had a large Roman Catholic population. A delicate balancing act was thus required between the need to guard "with the most scrupulous care and anxiety against all interference with the peculiar religious opinions of any description of Christians", and to supply the religious education necessary to control and reform the newly educated. The success of the School Street experiment and Lancaster's advocacy of a similar form of non-denominational scripture reading presented a solution by which the correct balance could be achieved:

These principles [of the Kildare Place Society] have been adopted after long deliberation - with an anxious wish to avoid the jealousies to which the rival systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, have given rise and to promote education in such a manner as shall be unobjectionable to every denomination of Christians.

These principles were adopted by the Committee on 6 January 1812, when it was also resolved that aid would only be granted to schools in which no distinctions were made between scholars, teachers or managers on account of religious beliefs. The requisite religious education was to be provided by the reading of the scriptures without note or comment through which the Society believed that:

a foundation for a sound religious and moral education will be unobjectionably laid, as all sects of Christians admit that it is by the criterion of the scriptures they are willing to have their peculiar religious opinions tried, and this will not prevent but rather prepare the way, for the youth to be instructed by their parents or friends in their several tenets out of school hours.

A 'scriptural education' was thus substituted in place of the religious education which evangelicals viewed as an integral part of any worthwhile educational system. The importance which the Society came to attach to bible reading was partly a product of this compromised position which the Society had felt compelled to accept. Jackson stated: "There can be no doubt, indeed that sound religious knowledge is beyond all comparison the most valuable branch of knowledge..." but he was satisfied that:
no other foundation can be laid for the general education of a people divided as my countrymen are on the subject of religion [other than that of Kildare Place Society one].91

and he expressed his surprise that "rational men can be found to recommend the adoption of any other [plan]".92

Arguments for the practicality of the compromise were based solely on the School Street experience. The Committee, while drawing up its laws, only once considered omitting compulsory scripture reading for catholics, but the suggestion was dismissed on the grounds that bible reading had proved acceptable to catholics attending School Street.93 The Society adopted the School Street practice as a matter of expediency and of necessity rather than for any reasons of liberal thought. It was a compromise, about which the Society's members might not be wholly happy but which they believed was absolutely necessary in the Irish context. The committee believed:

the failure of all former plans for this purpose may be safely attributed to ignorance or disregard of the peculiar circumstances of the people for whose benefit they were designed.94

Having, in its view, made this concession, the committee of the Society was unwilling to change its position. The compromise, through being a compromise, gained a significance far above its importance and the determination of the committee to maintain this rigid stance blinded it to the need for change. The Society cannot justly be accused of proselytism: its rejection of previous attempts to use education as a means of conversion was total and sincere. The members of the Kildare Place committee failed, however, to recognize the extent to which their predominantly evangelical outlook impaired their ability to make sound decisions on Irish educational policy. The attachment of the Society to bible reading is at once indicative of the evangelicalism of the committee and a signal of the problems this was to cause. Because of the importance evangelicals attached to personal faith and
salvation, they readily accepted the eighteenth century rationalist arguments that an intelligent reading of the scriptures would be sufficient to convince a person of religious truth. The committee of the Society could warmly recommend the scriptures without note or comment "as being the form of the divine will and the acknowledged basis of every form of Christianity...", and vow... to respect the right to every individual to judge for himself with regard to religion, as a matter not resting between one fallible being and another, but between God and his accountable creature man.95

This personal nature of faith and the overriding importance of the scriptures were foreign to catholic theological thinking and the failure of the Kildare Place Society to recognise this was its single most serious weakness. The Society genuinely believed that a desirable, but generally unacceptable religious education, could be replaced by Bible reading as an acceptable compromise. In a personal intimate letter to an old friend Magrath wrote:

You can best explain to the people of England the cause of excluding catechisms and books of religious controversy as a relation [sic] peculiarly necessary for the [state?] of Ireland. Our desire is to harmonise not to distract the young minds towards each other and we wish to pursue this plan in contra distinction to that which has been practised for so many ages, producing nothing but discord and strife.96

The committee was convinced that its system was genuinely free of proselytism and refuted, with some justice, the claims of catholics that the Society was attempting to convert and not solely to educate.97 It must also be admitted, however, that the growth in 'rational' reasoning and scriptural knowledge for which men such as Jackson hoped, was little removed from the eighteenth century rationalist idea of conversion by argument and reason. Catholics saw little difference between this subtle form of conversion and the more active proselytising of the protestant bible societies. Moreover, the evangelical connections of the Committee members suggested a close affinity, if not collusion, between the supposedly neutral Kildare Place Society and the
more avowedly proselytising bodies. The failure of the Society's managerial and financial structures to maintain an independent school system free of proselytising connections compounded catholic fears and the steady refusal of the committee to recognise the protestant nature of its scripture reading compromise destroyed any hope there might have been of replicating the School Street experiment throughout Ireland.

The impracticality of the arrangements which the Society advocated was not immediately obvious when the committee formulated its fundamental policies in 1812. The committee was content to rely on the School Street experience and financial constraints during the first four years of the Society's existence meant that its schemes were not tested in practice. Despite public appeals, the Society failed to attract a level of support which would have permitted it to fund the foundation of schools and it concentrated its activities in the areas of textbook production and teacher training. Impressive progress was achieved in both of these areas, thanks largely to the ideas of Lancaster and the industry of Bewley. A subcommittee, which included Harding, Parnell, Bewley and Jackson had been appointed in February 1812:

for the purpose of digesting and bringing in plans for the building of schools, suggesting the best mode of procuring qualified school masters and defining the best mode for conducting the interior arrangement of schools.

Lancaster arrived back in Dublin from his lecture tours in Cork and Limerick by March, and there would seem to be some substance in his claims that the advice he then gave the committee helped to translate its aspirations into a practical programme of work. The report of the 'subcommittee of arrangement', as it was called, was presented to the Committee on 6 June 1812. It was signed by Bewley who seems to have been largely responsible for its contents. The report amounted to the implementation of Lancaster's schemes, and on its adoption Bewley and Warren were authorized to negotiate with Lancaster for the copyright of his educational works and to seek his help in procuring a suitable superintendent for the Society's envisaged model
schools. Lancaster proved to be an unreliable and sometimes irascible correspondent but the protracted negotiations were eventually concluded.

The compilation of the Society’s first textbooks, *A spelling book* and *A reading book*, which were produced in the tablet (or chart) format popularized by Lancaster, was completed by November 1813, and a short pamphlet of advice to prospective school patrons (*Hints and directions for building, fitting-up and arranging school rooms*) was issued in the same year. Lancaster’s protegé John Veevers, arrived in Dublin to open the Society’s model school at the School Street premises in June 1813 and the training of masters began in February 1814.

The committee could therefore boast of a number of substantial achievements in its report to the annual general meeting of June 1814 but the future of the Society was far from secure. The arrangements which the Society had made with the School Street committee proved unsatisfactory, partly it seems, from the limitations imposed on Veevers’ authority and partly from difficulties with regard to the sharing of costs. A proposal to merge the Society and the School Street body so as to solve the difficulties of joint management was rejected as it would “rather tend to diminish the utility of this Society”.

A new model school was therefore necessary but total income in the year to 30 April 1814 had amounted to only £248-2-6 while Veevers’ salary alone was £200 per annum. A deficit of £69-15-8 had been incurred and the authors of the report felt that the Society would “fall to the ground” unless it was “able to awaken the serious attention of the wealthy and the liberal”. An offer of help from the Edinburgh Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland was enthusiastically welcomed but its contributions proved insignificant. It was suggested that public awareness of the Society could be heightened by the appointment of prominent personages as patrons or presidents of the Society. This proved to be a contentious issue, partly because of fears that the impartiality and independence of the Society would be
threatened\textsuperscript{112} and partly because of the antipathy of some committee members towards the establishment. Bewley, for example, told the London quaker philanthropist William Allen that he "had rather a prejudice against" patrons and presidents and "that good working men was what was wanted".\textsuperscript{113} The proposal was accepted, nevertheless, the Society's rules were amended accordingly at a special general meeting on Christmas Eve 1814, and by the time of the next annual general meeting the Society had acquired an impressive, if limited, group of aristocratic supporters.\textsuperscript{114} The adoption of patronage by the Society may have generated publicity for its work but it failed to raise subscriptions to a level where they could make a meaningful contribution to the financing of the Society's schemes.\textsuperscript{115}

The efforts which were made in late 1814 and 1815 to gain greater support for the Society were paralleled by a remarkable commitment to press ahead with the Society's schemes. Bewley submitted plans to publish \textit{A dictating spelling book} and \textit{Arithmetic lessons} in February 1815 and by mid-May he could report that the former would be shortly ready for the press.\textsuperscript{116} Training of masters continued at School Street under Veevers, on whose work a subcommittee enthusiastically reported in January 1815.\textsuperscript{117} The committee paid tribute to his work in its annual report of April 1815 and quoted at length the letters of thanks they had received from schools to which trained masters had been sent with great success.\textsuperscript{118}

The unsuitability of the School Street premises remained a pressing problem \textsuperscript{119} as did the inadequacy of the Society's means to obtain better. Undeterred, the committee pressed ahead and on 8 February, 1815, it resolved to construct its own purpose built model school:

\begin{quote}
After some conversation upon the subject of establishing a model school Mr. Peter La Touche Jnr. is requested to make enquiries respecting the ground at the rere of the houses in Kildare Place as a site for the proposed model school.\textsuperscript{120}
\end{quote}

Ten days later La Touche reported that Mr. White would be willing to lease the
ground for the erection of the model school. This site was distant from School Street, but in a part of the city in which the wealthier classes were more likely to visit the school and perhaps be enticed to support its work. The site was also in the catchment area of the South Eastern District School Society in which Jackson, Mason and Warren were involved. A merger of the societies was readily agreed in principle, its timing to be "regulated by circumstances", no doubt a reference to the complete inability of the Kildare Place Society to fund the venture at that time. Fortunately, a dramatic change in the Society's fortunes was at hand.

The Society's plans and constitution were broadly similar to the scheme for supplementary schools which Chief Secretary Peel had been forced to abandon in the face of establishment hostility in March 1814. Foster, Peel's political colleague, had been aware of the Society's work from as early as 1812. During the composition of the fourteenth report of the board of education he proposed the establishment of a seminary for the training of masters who would then teach in a new system of schools founded by a non-denominational board of commissioners - a scheme almost identical to that advocated by the Kildare Place Society. His proposal, submitted to Peel in mid-March 1814, that the permanent board of education engage in the distribution of cheap textbooks so as to "supplant the immoral and treasonable trash" then in use, bore an uncanny similarity to plans adopted two months later by the Cheap Book Society (a body in which several Kildare Place figures participated).

A proposal to entrust the foundation of new schools to a voluntary society almost certainly figured in the negotiations between Peel, Foster and the Irish bishops in early March 1814, though there is no evidence that the Kildare Place Society was mentioned. As has been discussed in Chapter One, Peel felt there was some virtue in this method of educational reform. He became a subscriber to the Cheap Book Society in October 1814 and the work of the Kildare Place Society was brought to his attention in educational schemes
submitted to him by W.J. Shaw-Mason, keeper of records, in February and March 1815. In the same month, the Society received a letter from the opposition M.P. Sir H. Parnell, suggesting that it petition parliament for aid and that Peel be asked to submit the petition. It seems almost certain that Peel approached the Society through Parnell, though no surviving evidence of this has been located.

The Kildare Place committee was well aware of its inadequate finances but reluctant to surrender its independence. Jackson opposed an application because if "it failed it would undoubtedly depress us [the Society] in public estimation and if it should succeed... it would bring us into direct and immediate contact with the government". Jackson was absent on circuit when the issue was discussed by the Committee but Mason could inform him of complete agreement with his reservations:

for once we become connected with a system or a party or a part of the constitution or do what may ever appear to be so, we run the chance of endangering our power of being useful and perhaps as you suggest may betray our independence; of this opinion were the two La Touches, Sam Bewley, W. English and myself who formed the Committee and this without hesitation.

The Committee resolved that Jackson should be asked to write to decline Parnell's offer but at a Committee meeting on 15 April the secretary reported that he had not done so. He presented further letters from Parnell and others to the Committee recommending the application to parliament and the Committee was sufficiently convinced that it immediately resolved to draw up the necessary petition. Parnell's second letter and the other letters mentioned have not survived, and the minutes do not record who the "others" were. However it is likely that one was from Foster and that he briefed a member or members of the committee on the approach to be adopted in pursuing the parliamentary aid. By April 21 the secretary produced a draft letter for presentation to the chancellor of the exchequer Vesey-Fitzgerald and to the chief secretary. This document outlined the objects and nature of the
Society, stressed its non-sectarian character and use of modern teaching methods, and pointed out the great need for properly trained masters and a suitable model school. The letter was drafted with a knowledge of the government's thinking on the education question which Foster could readily have supplied to the committee. Jackson wrote that the committee was aware that the government had had education under consideration for some time and that it possibly had some plan in mind to which the Committee would seek to supply properly trained masters. And in a paragraph which would have undoubtedly appealed to Peel, Jackson stated:

The Committee are of opinion that under the very peculiar circumstances of this country a Society constituted as that on behalf of which I have the honour to address you is probably better adapted to the general diffusion of education than if it were directly connected with or permanently supported by the government.

The letter was approved and copies were sent to Peel and to Vesey-Fitzgerald on 26th April. Foster also wrote to the chancellor and not surprisingly Peel replied on May 18 warmly approving of the Society's principles and promising to support the Society's application to parliament.

Five days later the chancellor wrote to the Society seeking estimates of the costs of the proposed model school, promising to further the Society's petition and stating that "Mr. Foster is in full possession of my sentiments." Jackson consulted with Foster as suggested by Vesey-Fitzgerald and by 23 May 1815 he presented a draft memorial for approval by the Committee. The Society's grant was discussed in a house of commons debate on the Irish budget on June 16. The chancellor presented the petition of the Society and proposed a vote to defray the cost of the model school. Peel's speech during this debate acknowledged the schemes of the fourteenth report but regretted that "the plan of education advised by the commissioners would not be advantageous" as "direct interference of executive government would tend to excite jealousies and would counteract the benefits that might otherwise be expected from the measure." Parnell and Newport spoke in
praise of the suggestion and the vote was approved.

Peel and Vesey-Fitzgerald were both impressed by the Kildare Place Society, in particular by its liberal principles and the broad composition of their patrons and supporters. Peel wrote to Lord Liverpool:

You will perceive that the Society is as liberal an establishment as one can wish for - the duke of Kent, patron, the duke of Leinster, vice-patron, two of the four vice-presidents, namely, Lord Fingall and Lord Southwell, Roman Catholics.144

Foster, aware of the positive attitude of the government to the Society, set about obtaining a permanent annual grant for it. He spoke to Fitzgerald on the subject and was sufficiently encouraged to submit to him "the outline of a plan for the further assistance of the education of the lower orders" in October 1815.145 Fitzgerald forwarded this to Peel with the hope that "we might not establish for them the precedent of a parliamentary grant".146 An ever-increasing number of schools was by now applying to the Society for aid and it was obvious that the parliamentary monies offered would make possible the national work which the Society had always envisaged. Despite some residual unease among Committee members, a petition was submitted to parliament to fund the publication of textbooks and grants to schools.147 The chancellor, who presented the petition during a debate on the state of Ireland in April 1816, praised the Society's interdenominational management and explained that he had encouraged its request for parliamentary aid.148 The Society was voted £6,000 and during the next fifteen years it received increasingly large sums of parliamentary money. The Society had achieved financial security and the foundations of its educational scheme which had been successfully laid could now be fully developed.

The mixed education experiment on which the Society embarked, however, had been shaped in an environment divorced from the realities of the denominational control of education. The established church had opposed the supplementary schools of the fourteenth report partly because of the
catholic managerial and curricular demands likely to arise from the breaking of the established church's monopoly of state-funded education. The parliamentary grants to the Kildare Place Society broke this monopoly and, as the bishops had correctly feared, unleashed demands for what catholics could now describe as their civil right to equitable educational control and funding.

Despite appearances to the contrary, the Kildare Place Society was ill-prepared to cope with the realities of denominational control. The tone of the Society was already noticeably more evangelical than the unique fusion of liberal and protestant forces which had created the successful School Street schools. The Protesant evangelical bias of the committee rendered it virtually incapable of understanding that the demands it had unleashed could not be satisfied within the fundamental principles of the Society. The experiment on which the Society embarked produced a number of pedagogical and organizational advances but as its school system developed the incompatibility of its mixed education principles and the realities of denominational control was to be cruelly exposed.
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1 Several visitors' accounts describe the miserable poverty of the area. One such account, made by a quaker who visited the area (and the School Street schools) in 1797 may be found in Jonathan Evans, (ed.), A journal of the life, travels and religious labours of William Savery, late of Philadelphia, a minister of the gospel of Christ in the Society of Friends (London, 1844), pp.258-9. The standard description of Dublin living conditions of the period is Constantia Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges 1714-1830 (London, 1936), pp.114-149, see especially pp.115-7.

2 A charity school had existed in the parish from as early as 1730 but was clearly unequal to the task of educating large numbers of the poor. In 1800 for example, it was reported that "20 boys could be boarded and educated" as well as female students, numbered in 1818 at 50. "An account of what money was disbursed in this parish of St. Catherine's in the year 1730, in Vestry minute book of the parish of St. Catherine 1730-1767, p.5; Vestry minute book, temporary (no.6) 1793-1800, p.155; and J. Warburton, J. Whitelaw and Robert Walsh, History of the city of Dublin from the earliest accounts to the present times etc. (London, 1818), ii, p.802.

3 The Public Register or Freeman's Journal, 18-21 Mar. 1786. Powell's key role in the foundation of the schools is attested to in the resolutions of the select vestry: Vestry minutes, 2 Nov. 1786 [incorrectly dated 2 Oct. 1786], Vestry book of St. Catherine's Parish, 1785-1815, p.58.

4 Vestry minutes, 2 Nov. 1786, Vestry book of St. Catherine's Parish 1785-1815, p.58.

5 Minutes of the Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, 9 Feb. 1798, KPS I/Ms 112. For quaker support of charities in the liberties of Dublin see Wartburton, Whitelaw and Walsh, History of the city of Dublin, ii, p.835.

6 Minutes of the Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, 5 July 1798 and 30 May 1799, KPS I/Ms 112; The Public Register or Freeman's Journal, 18-21 Mar. 1786; William Urwick, Biographic [sic] sketches of the late James Digges La Touche, Esq., banker, Dublin, honorary secretary to the Sunday School Society for Ireland during seventeen years from its commencement (Dublin, 1868), pp.58-64 and p.390.

7 Minutes of the Dublin Weekly and Daily schools.

8 Ibid., 17. Nov. 1808.

9 The committee reported 1,104 children on the books of the day
school at 29 Sept. 1812. Annual report of the Dublin Weekly and Daily schools for year ending 29 September 1812; together with the rules under which they are conducted (Dublin, 1813), p.5


11 Joseph Fox (secretary of Royal Lancastrian Institution) to Duke of Richmond (lord lieutenant), 3 July 1810, Dublin, SPOI, Official papers II, OP/303/14.


13 J. Lancaster to William Allen (London), 19 Nov. 1811 and Same to Same, 1 Feb. 1812 (no.3), London, BFSS Archives, Lancaster Correspondence 1810-12. Lancaster’s failure to attract official support for his schemes may have been partly caused by his public support for catholic emancipation while in Dublin. The Freeman’s Journal 23 Dec. 1811, gives an account of a speech which he made at a dinner "given by the catholics of Ireland to the friends of religious freedom on 19 Dec. 1811".

14 J. Lancaster to William Allen, 19 Nov. 1811, Lancaster Correspondence, 1810-12.

15 J. Lancaster to William Allen, 1 Feb. 1812 (no.1); Same to Same, 1 Feb. 1812 (no.2); Same to Same, 1 Feb. 1812, (no.3); Lancaster Correspondence, 1810-12. Extracts from these and other letters of Lancaster are reproduced in David Salmon "A retrospect: Lancaster in Ireland" in Educational Record, vol. xvii, (June 1906), pp.71-83. See also J. Lancaster, A brief report of a tour in Ireland in the winter of 1811-12 delivered at a meeting of the friends of the Lancastrian system held at the Freemason's tavern, on the 9th of 5th month (May) 1812 to which are added reasons for becoming a convert to the cause of catholic emancipation (Tooting, 1812), pp.4-5 and pp.10-13.

16 J. Lancaster to W. Allen, 19 Nov. 1811, Lancaster Correspondence, 1810-12.
17 Minutes of the Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, 9 Feb. 1798, KPS I/Ms 112.

18 Lancaster had visited the School Street school sometime before 7 Nov. 1811. J. Lancaster to W. Wellesley-Pole, 7 Nov. 1811, OP/1811/334/4.

19 Committee minutes and resolutions, 2 Dec. 1811 and 7 Dec. 1811, KPS I/Ms 100. Lancaster referred to "my friend Magrath" in a letter of 1810: J. Lancaster to John Foster, 1810, PRONI, Foster/Massereene Papers, D207/60/4.

20 Of those present the following had links with School Street: John Leland Maquay, Samuel Bewley, John Barrington, William Todhunter, Edward Allen, William English, Arthur Guinness, William L. Guinness, Randal McDonnell and William Harding. Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Dec. 1811, KPS I/Ms 100 and Minutes of the Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, KPS I/Ms 112.


23 M. Quane, "Quaker schools in Dublin" in *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries, Ireland*, vol. 94, (1964), p.50 cites an instance of one such meeting as early as 1681.

24 O'Flynn, "Aspects of concern... Friends... education", p.326.


26 Minutes of Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, 9 Feb. 1798, KPS I/Ms 112.

27 The following had quaker names: Samuel Bewley, John Barrington, Joshua Pim, Joseph Pim, Robert Gibborn, William Harding, Alex Barrington (jnr.). Minutes of Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, 9 Feb. 1798, KPS I/Ms 112. Warburton, Whitelaw and Walsh noted:

The several charities for the liberties of Dublin are principally indebted to quakers for their support.

The Meath Hospital, the Fever Hospital, the Sick Poor
Institution in Meath Street, and the extensive school
in School Street are much indebted to them and the two
last almost exclusively supported by their exertions.

28 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Dec. 1811 and 14 Dec. 1811,
KPS I/Ms 100.

29 Minutes of Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, 30 Dec. 1799 and 19
May 1800, KPS I/Ms 112; Minutes of Civil Department, 17 Aug. 1801, SPOI,
Abstracts of Outgoing Correspondence, C.S.O. Civil Office, Carton 1847, vol.1,
p.49-50; Timothy P. O'Neill, "Clare and Irish poverty 1815-1851" in *Studia

1798, KPS I/Ms 112.

31 Bewley's involvement in the schools' financial and managerial
affairs is immediately evident throughout Minutes of Dublin Weekly and Daily
Schools, KPS I/Ms 112. His knowledge of its curricular practice is implied in S.
Bewley to J. Lancaster, 10 Sept. 1812, on back of KPS II/1/42 and J. Lancaster to S.
Bewley, 29 Sept. 1812, KPS II/1/45. See also Address adopted at a meeting of
masters, monitors, former students etc., of the Dublin Weekly Schools, 1 Jan.

32 See Chapters 3 and 4.

33 O'Flynn, "Aspects of concern... Friends... education", pp.321-2;
Brannigan, "Quaker education in eighteenth and nineteenth century Ireland",
pp.56-7.

34 O'Flynn, op.cit., pp.325-6.

35 Ibid., p.322.

36 Evidence of S. Bewley, 3 Dec. 1824 in *Appendix to first report of the
commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, p.442, H.C. 1825, (400.), xii.

37 Minutes of Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools, 9 Feb. 1798,
KPS I/Ms 112.

38 Evidence of S. Bewley, 3 Dec. 1824, in *Appendix to first report of the
commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, pp.441-2.

39 Isaac Weld who was co-opted onto the Committee in February 1812,
claimed, some years later, that he had questioned the suitability of the scripture
reading rule for Irish rural conditions but that his objections were dismissed on the grounds that the rule had been acceptable to catholics at School Street. Isaac Weld, *Statistical survey of the county of Roscommon drawn up under the direction of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin, 1832), pp.701-2.

40 Goldstrom, *The social content of education*, pp.53-61.


42 Stewart, *Quakers and education*, pp.56-7.

43 Report of joint committee of the School Street Society and the Kildare Place Society on amalgamation of the two institutions in Committee minutes and resolutions, 5 Mar. 1814, KPS I/ Ms 100.

44 Secretary of Kildare Place Society to Secretary, Edinburgh Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, in Committee minutes and resolutions, 3. Dec. 1814, KPS I/ Ms 100.


46 Annual report of the Dublin Weekly and Daily Schools for the year ending 29 Sept. 1812, p.6.

47 Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 Jan 1812, KPS I/ Ms 100.

48 Henry J.M. Mason, *Address to the nobility and gentry upon the necessity of using every exertion at the present to promote the education of the poor in Ireland* (Dublin, 1815), p.18. [The author states in his introduction to his pamphlet that its contents had been collected to form a chapter in the Society's manual on the education of the poor (probably *The schoolmaster's manual*) but that the chapter had grown too large and so was printed as a pamphlet. Cf. pp 5-6].

49 [KPS] *The schoolmaster's manual: recommended for the regulation of schools. Compiled by the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland* (Dublin, 1825), p.3.

50 Ibid., p.2.

51 See chapter 3, passim.

52 *The schoolmaster's manual*, p.16.
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53Ibid.

54See chapter 5, passim.

55Stewart, *Quakers and education*, pp.50-7.


59Acheson, "Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland", p.29.

60Cf. eg., *Annual report of the Dublin Weekly and Daily schools for the year ending 29 Sept. 1812*, p.16; *Annual report etc. for the year ending 29 Sept. 1814*, p.12; *Annual report etc. for the year ending 30 Sept. 1820*, n.p.; Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Dec. 1811 and 14 Dec. 1811, KPS I/Ms 100.


62Committee Minutes and resolutions, 2 Dec. 1811, KPS I/Ms 100, cf. also annual reports of the Society.

63See Chapter I, p. 38

64Minutes of the Dublin Weekly and Daily schools, 31 July 1806, KPS I/Ms 112; Minutes of the Hibernian Sunday School Society, 16 Jan. 1810, Sunday School Collection, Minute book I, p.6; Committee minutes and resolutions, 1 Feb. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

66 Committee minutes and resolutions, 14 Dec. 1811, KPS I/Ms 100. Maquay was almost certainly a member of the established church: George Maquay with whom John Leland Maquay jointly contributed £100 to the erection of the School Street schools had been treasurer of St. Catherine's parish charity school from as early as 1779. Parish accounts for 1779, in Vestry book of St. Catherine's parish 1767-85, pp. 307-10; Minutes of Dublin Weekly and Daily schools, 9 Mar. 1798.


68 Acheson, "Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland", p.100; Minutes of the Hibernian Sunday School Society, 12 Dec. 1809, Sunday School Society Collection, Minute book I, p.3.

69 Minutes of the Hibernian Sunday School Society, 12 Dec. 1809.

70 See note 56 above.

71 Minutes Dublin Weekly and Daily schools, 7 Feb. 1798 KPS I/Ms 112.

72 Committee minutes and resolutions, 24 Jan. and 1 Feb. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

73 Acheson, "Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland", p.100.

74 Obituary of J.D. Jackson, KPS I/Ms 835(2); In 1835, Jackson was elected M.P. for Bandon, a constituency which a recent authority describes as one of the last locations of "the most uncompromising and trenchant protestant feeling", possessing "the most sectarian electorate in the county [of Cork]". Ian d'Alton, Protestant society and politics in Cork 1812-44 (Cork, 1980), p.171.

75 Acheson "Evangelicals in the Church of Ireland", p.100; H.J. M. Mason, History of the origin and progress of the Irish Society established for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish through the Medium of their own Language (Dublin, 1844), passim.

76 Cf. e.g. Warren's speech in reply to that of O'Connell at the annual general meeting of the Society, 24 Feb. 1820, reprinted in Report of the proceedings at a meeting of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland held in the model school of the Society, Kildare Place, Dublin, on the 24th of February, 1820 (2nd ed., Dublin, 1820), pp.13-23, see especially pp.13-14.

77 First report of the Society, 1813, p.10 and Second report of the
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Society, 1814, p.7.

78 Burrowes' speech, the opening chapters of The schoolmaster's manual, the annual reports and Mason's pamphlet (see note 48 above) are the main statements of the philosophy of the Kildare Place Society. The Committee prefaced the printed account of Burrowes' speech as follows:
the Committee conceive they cannot better consult the interests of the Society, or more effectively, promote the views of their predecessors, in the latter part of their report, than by publishing in this appendix, the most correct report they have been able to procure, of what fell from the distinguished and patriotic advocate, who moved the second resolution at the late general meeting.


80 First report of the Society, 1813, p.9.

81 Second report of the Society, 1814, p.41.

82 Ibid.

83 Ibid., p.10. The theme of moral improvement by education is treated at length in the introduction to The schoolmaster's manual, pp.3-16, much of which is illustrated by extracts from reports of the committees of the house of commons for inquiring into the police of the metropolis (1816) and into the education of the lower orders of the metropolis (1816).

84 Resolutions agreed for publication in newspapers, Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 Jan. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100. See also one of original resolutions of Society, Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Dec. 1811, KPS I/Ms 100.

85 Resolutions agreed for publication in newspapers, Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 Jan. 1812, KPS I/Ms. 100.

86 The schoolmaster's manual, p.17.

87 Bewley wrote of the report: "it exhibits an extension of liberality one would hardly expect from a board composed of such materials (dignitaries of the church, provost of Trinity College etc). . ." S. Bewley to W. Allen, 18 Feb. 1813 (Draft) KPS II/1/55.

88 Ninth report of the Society, 1821, p.32.
89 Luke Magrath to R.S. Tighe, 28 Apr. 1812, Committee minutes and resolutions, KPS I/Ms 100.

90 Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 Jan. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

91 J.D. Jackson to the Rev. H. Grey (Edinburgh Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland), 13 May 1815, Letterbook written, KPS I/Ms 131, pp.28-9.

92 Ibid.

93 See note 39 above.

94 J.D. Jackson to the Rev. C. Anderson (Edinburgh Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland), 22 Nov. 1814, Letterbook written, KPS I/Ms 131. Text of letter was agreed in Committee minutes and resolutions, 3 Dec. 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.

95 Report of joint committee of School Street Society and the Kildare Place Society on the amalgamation of both institutions, Committee minutes and resolutions, 5 Mar. 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.

96 Luke Magrath to G. Lane, 13 Jan 1812, KPS II/1/7.

97 Cf. eg. Eighth report of the Society, 1820, pp.17-18 and p.29; Ninth report of the Society, 1821, p.17 and pp.31-2; Tenth report of the Society, 1822, p.34.

98 See chapter 5, passim.

99 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Feb. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

100 Ibid., 14 Mar. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100 and J. Lancaster (at Edinburgh) to William Allen, 11 Apr. 1812, Lancaster Correspondence.

101 Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 June 1812, KPS I/Ms 100. Bewley and Parnell were the only members of the subcommittee present when the report was presented to the Committee. Bewley and Warren were charged with the implementation of the main recommendations of the report.

102 Committee minutes and resolutions, 25 June 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

103 The prolonged correspondence between Bewley, Lancaster and William Allen of the Royal Lancastrian Institution may be found in KPS
Committee minutes and resolutions, 13 Nov. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100; [KPS], *Hints and directions for building, fitting-up and arranging school rooms* (Dublin, 1813).

Ibid., 10 July 1813, KPS I/Ms 100; *Second report of the Society, 1814* pp.38-9.

Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Nov. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

Report of joint committee of School Street Society and the Kildare Place Society on the amalgamation of both institutions, Committee minutes and resolutions, 5 Mar. 1814, KPS I/Ms 100. The report's recommendations were rejected by the Kildare Place Committee. Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 May 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.

*Second report of the Society*, p.22.

Ibid., pp.22-3.

Committee minutes and resolutions, 19 Nov. 1814, KPS I/Ms 100; J.D. Jackson to the Rev. C. Anderson (Edinburgh Society), 22 Nov. 1814, Letterbook written, KPS I/Ms 131, pp.8-10 [requesting aid offered by the Edinburgh Society in notices in Irish newspapers]; J.D. Jackson to the Rev. H. Grey (Edinburgh Society), 13 May 1815, Letter book written, KPS I/Ms 131, pp.28-31. The Edinburgh Society had some difficulty in raising substantial funds which were divided between the London Hibernian Society, the Hibernian Sunday School Society and the Kildare Place Society. Cf. *The first report of the Edinburgh Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland with an appendix* (Edinburgh, 1815), pp.14-16. The Edinburgh Society subscribed £76-13-0 in 1816 and £77-1-9 in 1817 but donations then ceased, probably because of the parliamentary grants to the Kildare Place Society. *Fourth report of the Society, 1816*, p.55 and *Fifth report of the Society, 1817*, p.54.

*Second report of the Society*, 1814, p.4. Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 June 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.

S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 11 May 1813, KPS II/1/58 shows that the appointment of patrons was considered as a threat to the independence of the Society. The Society's sensitivity on this issue is also evident in its displeasure at the payment of a supplementary allowance to Veevers by the British and Foreign School Society and its determination to refute the claims of that body (and of its royal patrons) that the Kildare Place Society was a branch of the London institution. Committee minutes and resolutions, 19 Nov. 1814, 10 Dec. 1814, 18 Feb. 1815, 25 Feb. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100; J. Fox (secretary of BFSS) to J.D. Jackson, 25
Jan. 1815, KPS II/1/92; J.D. Jackson to Duke of Kent (draft), n.d. [22 Feb. 1815 from content of reply, KPS /II/98], KPS II/1/97; Captain Harvey (secretary to Duke of Kent) to J.D. Jackson, 2 Mar. 1815, KPS II/1/98; J.D. Jackson to S. Bewley, 16 Mar. 1815, KPS II/1/102 sending draft of letter to Duke of Kent in which need for keeping KPS distinct from BFSS is stressed; Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 March 1815, KPS I/Ms 100; Captain Harvey to J.D. Jackson, 15 Apr. 1815, KPS II/1/103; and Committee minutes and resolutions, 27 May 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

113 S. Bewley to W. Allen (draft), 17 Nov. 1813, on reverse of KPS II/1/55.

114 Committee minutes and resolutions, 24 Dec. 1814, KPS I/Ms 100; Third report of the Society, 1815, p.3. See also KPS II/1/81-8 and 90-6.

115 Total subscriptions/donations were £241-7-0 in the year ending 20 Apr. 1814 and £306-18-1 in the year ending 30 Apr. 1815. A year later they had risen to over £400, a significant increase over the level for 1814 but totally inadequate to finance the Society's schemes. Second report of the Society, 1814, p.16; Third report of the Society, 1815, p.34; Fourth report of the Society, 1816, p.28. See also table 9.1.

116 Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 Feb. 1815 and 13 May 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

117 Ibid., 7 Jan. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

118 Third report of the Society, 1815, pp.28-31 and pp.53-5.

119 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Jan 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

120 Ibid., 8 Feb. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

121 Ibid., 18 Feb. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

122 Third report of the Society, 1815, pp.27-8.

123 Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 Feb. 1815, 25 Feb. 1815 and 4 Mar. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

124 J.L. Foster to L. Magrath, 22 Jan 1812, KPS II/1/16 in which Foster declined to support the Society until the board of education had come to a decision on the education of the poor.

125 Appendix to the fourteenth report of the board of education, pp.343-6.
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126 J.L. Foster to R. Peel 15 Mar. 1814, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40235 fos. 156-7; Founding resolutions of the Cheap Book Society, 26 May 1814, printed as Appendix II to Second report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, 1814, pp.33-4; Minutes of Cheap Book Society, 1 July 1814, KPS I/Ms 119.

127 See Chapter 1, especially note 256.

128 R. Peel to James Bessonnet, 31 Oct. 1814, KPS II/1/77.

129 J. Shaw-Mason to T. Stuartfield [?], 30 Mar. 1815. The printed plans enclosed with this letter were to be shown to Peel and they have survived in Peel's correspondence, Add. Ms 40244 fos. 226-9. Shaw Mason had written to Peel in November 1814 [Add. Ms 40241 f. 70] and February 1815 [Add. Ms 40243 f.40] during the early stages of preparing the plans.

130 Sir H. Parnell to [J.D. Jackson], 6 Mar. 1815, KPS II/5/1.


132 H.J.M. Mason to J.D. Jackson, 19 Mar. 1815, KPS II/5/2.

133 Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 Mar. 1815 and 15 Apr. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

134 Ibid., 15 Apr. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

135 Ibid., 21 Apr. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

136 Ibid.

137 Ibid.

138 J.L. Foster to J.D. Jackson, 15 May 1815, KPS II/1/105.

139 R. Peel to J.D. Jackson, 18 May 1815, KPS II/5/2.

140 Committee minutes and resolutions, 23 May 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

141 Ibid., and 27 May 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

142 Hansard, xxxi, June 16 1816, col. 870 and cols. 876-881.

144 R. Peel to Earl of Liverpool, 1 Apr. 1816, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40290 f. 187. Peel's satisfaction with the religious balance of the Society may be seen in the appointment of several of the Kildare Place Committee to an 1817 famine relief committee which the chief secretary was anxious to have under interdenominational control. R. Peel to Whitworth, 13 June 1817, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40293 fos. 115-6 cited in Timothy P. O'Neill, "Clare and Irish poverty 1815-1851" in *Studia Hibernica* no.14, (1975), pp.11-12.

145 J.L. Foster to W. Vesey-Fitzgerald, n.d. [October 1815], Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms. 40209 f. 233.

146 W. Vesey-Fitzgerald to R. Peel, Oct. 1815, Peel Correspondence, Add. Ms 40209 fos. 231-2.

147 The proposal to apply for further parliamentary funding was "discussed at length" by the Committee on 11 Nov. 1815 and was not agreed until a further meeting on 13 Nov. 1815. Committee minutes and resolutions, 11 Nov. 1815 and 13 Nov. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

148 *Hansard*, xxxiv, 26 Apr. 1816, cols. 50-1.
SECTION II

CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY
Chapter Three

The Publications Of The Kildare Place Society

The pedagogical advances of the Kildare Place Society in particular the publications of the Society, have been seen as a pioneering effort in educational provision in Ireland which set a pattern for most of the nineteenth century. Contemporary writers, whatever their views on the principles which Kildare Place attempted to introduce, praised the range of textbooks and readers which the Society distributed. The educationalist Smith Goldie of Edinburgh wrote that he would not hesitate "to say that they are preferable to any books which we generally find in schools".\(^1\) Professor Pillans, professor of humanities at the University of Edinburgh, declared that the library readers deserved "the consideration of all persons interested in the improvement of our discipline".\(^2\) The commissioners of the Irish education inquiry heaped similar praise upon the publication work of the Society\(^3\) and when the chief secretary, Lord Stanley, came to set up the national school system he too recognized the extent to which it was appreciated. Writing of his plans to establish the new board he stated:

Much however of the machinery of the society is excellent, and the mode in which it has been conducted with regard to certain branches is unexceptionable. This includes the model school, the teachers' department and the children's book department. It is intended to retain these establishments and to support them by parliamentary grants.\(^4\)

Following the effective demise of the Society in 1831 writers continued to single out the methodological contribution which Kildare Place had made. The Central Society of Education, (a society chaired by Thomas Wyse, M.P.) in its Third publication in 1839 carried a review article on 'Education in Ireland' by William S. O'Brien. He was critical of the Society's attempts to offer "...education to a nation upon terms to which it is inconsistent with their religious convictions to accede",\(^5\) but admitted that:
it ought not, in justice to this society, to be concealed, that it introduced a very superior system of instruction to that which had previously existed; that it undertook the training of masters in an excellent model school; that it printed a large collection of interesting and useful publications, which were rendered accessible by purchase to the public upon easy terms; and that it encouraged the formation of lending libraries which have been the means of affording to the community much amusement and instruction.6

James Godkin was probably the first writer to attempt a dispassionate consideration of the role the society had played in the development of the Irish education system. Writing in the early 1860s, he was critical of the recurring attempts at proselytism by the established church through the parish and charter schools and acknowledged that the Kildare Place Society, by contrast, had genuinely attempted to form an acceptable system.7 He could praise the Society as "the first practical step towards a sound and useful education in Ireland" and he stated that "its school books alone should entitle it to the everlasting gratitude of the country."8

The first historian of the Society, Kingsmill Moore, was concerned to show the wide ranging contribution of the Society to Irish educational development and in his chapter on the Society's publications attempted to show the pioneering efforts which had been made. In particular he claimed that the teaching methods promoted by Kildare Place were superior to contemporary ideas in Britain.9 His assessment of the political and religious questions concerning the Society is no longer accepted but his analysis of the work of the Society's book department has remained largely unchallenged.10 The social concerns of more modern historians have expanded on Moore's work in their examination of the content of the reading and library material in particular. Goldstrom's pioneering work *The social content of education 1808-1870* argued that Kildare Place widened the scope of material presented in schoolbooks because of the Society's need to avoid controversial religious doctrines and an overdependence on biblical material.11 As recently as 1987, Adams, in his study of popular culture in eighteenth and nineteenth century Ulster, based his assessment of the influence of Kildare Place on Moore's work and went so far as to claim that the Society's literary assistant, the Rev. Charles Bardin probably had a greater effect on Irish reading habits, and was more widely read, than many a famous
mainstream literary author. The present study seeks to examine these two strands: firstly, that of methodological innovation (in particular with regard to the teaching of reading) and secondly, the content of the readers and library books.

The Textbooks and the Teaching of Reading

The teaching methods which determined the design of the reading textbooks of the Kildare Place Society developed from two main strands of methodology. The monitorial system which Lancaster and Bell advocated was one of these but the older source of the Society's thinking is to be found in developments which took place in eighteenth century England. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the acquisition of reading skills was a rather rigid exercise. Few concessions were made to the limited understanding of young children. The teaching of reading invariably started with the acquisition of the alphabet by means of the hornbook, a board bearing a cross in the top left hand corner followed by the alphabet, usually printed in roman, italic and black letter forms in both upper and lower case. The alphabet was taught by pointing to each letter in turn and asking the child to name it. A limited syllabarium, i.e. a collection of syllables formed by combining the vowels with some of the consonants followed (see fig. 3.1). These too were taught by naming each letter and then reading the syllable. This syllabrium was 'spelled' out in this manner by the learner, "backwards and forwards, down, up and across until every one of the meaningless syllables was lodged in his memory". The hornbook generally concluded with the words of the benediction and the Lord's prayer and the whole was covered in a sheet of transparent horn (hence the name) to protect it from years of use.

The tradition of protestantism and especially the legacy of puritan England meant that the acquisition of reading skills was essential for the reading of the bible which was seen as the key to salvation. Once the child had completed the work of the hornbook he was deemed to be ready to start spelling in the catechism and prayer
book, and these together with the bible formed the usual reading material of schools. This crude method had remained unchanged for centuries and was widely used not only in English but in other languages. The most serious limitation of the method was the confusion caused by the dichotomy between the names of the letters and the 'power' or phoneme each represented (i.e. the child who spelled the word ball as bee-ay-ell-ell, found that these sounds were not the constituent sounds of the word ball). The ability to name the letters of the alphabet and read a limited number of syllables would have given the learner some word attack skills but these would have been inadequate for coping with the reading material generally used.

The indifference to the capacities of children exemplified in this teaching approach began to recede from the beginning of the eighteenth century. During the previous century society had abandoned the notion that a child was "an integral part of adult society, sharing adult dress, work and leisure" and had come to see the existence of a new concept of childhood. The effect of these ideas on the educational experience of children in England became important from the beginning of the eighteenth century as the writings of the philosopher John Locke became more popularly known. Locke's An essay concerning human understanding (1689) and Some thoughts concerning education (1693) had argued for a systematic approach to the education of children based on an understanding of their developing thought processes. His work had a profound influence on educational thought and together with the writings of the French philosopher Rousseau during the second half of the eighteenth century, brought about a revolution in the presentation of reading material for children. In particular the dichotomy between the names of letters and the 'powers' (or sounds) of these letters when part of words was seen as a barrier to learning and a number of authors, (such as Markham, Dyche and Dixon) sought to produce spelling books to ease the path to confident reading. Their approach was still a synthetic one. This means that they believed it was essential for the learner to master the elements of words i.e. letters and syllables as the older hornbook method had done. When these elements were acquired they could then be combined, letters into syllables, syllables into words and
words in phrases. These authors retained the spelling method within the synthetic approach (the learner had to name the letters as he had done with the hornbook alphabet), but it was thought that sustained practice in the spelling and reading of an expanded syllabrium and word lists would give the child a knowledge of grapheme/phenome relationships and that thereby he would have acquired sufficient word attack skills to cope with the catechism and other reading material which he was to meet.

The spelling books did not replace the hornbook; indeed it continued to be used up to the middle of the eighteenth century and the battledore which replaced it in the second half of the century was essentially the same product in a less robust card form. The hornbook layout also influenced the opening pages of the early eighteenth century spelling books: the alphabet was presented in upper and lower case Roman, italic and black letter forms, and was followed by a greatly enlarged syllabrium. In the syllabrium all the vowels were combined with all the consonants with vowels first and then with consonants first (see fig.3.2). As the spelling book developed, authors added a growing number of syllables e.g. tables of syllables formed from a double consonant and vowel pattern were inserted after the syllabrium and tables of words or syllables involving diphthongs and final vowel sounds were included. The use of the syllablic system also led textbook authors to use it as a method of grading reading material for the learner. As early as 1707 Thomas Dyche’s Guide to the English tongue contained an appendix of reading lessons “first in words of one syllable only; and then mixed with words of two, three, four, five, six and seven syllables.”

As compilers grappled with the task of arranging such works they came to appreciate the intricacies of English spelling and pronunciation and attempted to reduce the syllablic and word lists in accordance with sound patterns. Thus by the middle of the eighteenth century a teaching course combining spelling, some simple phonic and largely syllabic methods had been built up and children’s books in many countries used a ‘split-word’ system (where words were printed split into their component syllables) in order to assist the learning process.
Thomas Dilworth's *A new guide to the English tongue in five parts* was one of the most successful of the early eighteenth century spelling books. Dilworth (who also produced a textbook on arithmetic) made clear in his preface that he followed the normal synthetic approach "as all learning gradually ascends from the first knowledge and [illegible] of letters, syllables and words". The textbook opened with the usual Roman, italic, and blackletter alphabets and syllabriums which comprised tables I and II. A third table consisted of three letter syllables having initial double consonants e.g. bla, ble, bli, blo, blu, bra, bre, bri, bro, bru etc. Thus far he was little advanced over the hornbook. However he laid most emphasis on the teaching of monosyllables; "as monosyllables not only make the greatest part of our tongue, but are the substantial parts of all words of more than one syllable". It is in Dilworth's ordering of these monosyllables that the advances in teaching method can be seen. The inconsistency of the phoneme/grapheme relationship in English can be disconcerting for a learner and it is therefore important, especially in the early stages of learning, that words are presented to him in which regular phoneme/grapheme relationships are maintained as far as possible. Dilworth had gone some way to achieve this end: the monosyllables were presented in a graduated format and within each table words of a similar spelling are presented together; e.g. bib, fib, nib, rib were listed in table II while table III included pea, sea, tea, yea, bee, fee, see. This eased the learning process by helping to reinforce a number (albeit a large number) of phoneme/grapheme relationships thus aiding the development of word attack skills.

Although splitting a word up into syllables is a useful word attack skill it is virtually impossible to read a series of syllables and to run these together unchanged into one word. Learning syllable sounds in isolation is futile as within words they have to be adapted and at times significantly changed. This was a problem inherent in the syllabic method and Dilworth demonstrated his awareness of it. Like other authors he used the split-word system of printing for words of more than one syllable in the spelling book but drew the tutor's attention to the difficulties of the method and to the technique he had adopted to overcome the problem:
For this purpose [of splitting compound words into syllables] I have consulted the method of spelling or dividing syllables in long words, both according to their sound, and to the rules of grammar: and therefore in the perusal of this essay towards spelling, you will find that whenever a word occurs that may be divided one way by sound, and another by grammar, the scholar is directed how to understand the doubtful division by this mark (') over the right side of the vowel, which according to the sound ought to be joined with the following consonant, which is nevertheless contrary to the rules of grammar, and therefore divided in such a manner as you find them printed.30

A supplement of proper sounds arranged according to syllabic length concluded Part I of the course. Part II listed homophones, the constant difficulty of the spelling method, and Part III consisted of a grammar in which the rules of spelling were elucidated in the form of a catechism. This careful yet practical grading of spelling material was one of the reasons for the success of this work. A second was the fact that the spelling tables in Part I were accompanied by a well graded set of reading lessons. Each table or set of tables of words for spelling was followed by a number of phrases or sentences "adapted in such a manner, that no lesson contains any one word which does not belong to a preceding table."31

Dilworth's textbook also provided 'extension' reading material beyond the basic spelling and reading lessons. Part III of the work consisted of five pages of short sentences (largely in the form of proverbs and moral advice), seven pages of poetic material (usually six-line verses) and twelve 'select fables' each consisting of a half-page of text accompanied by a suitable woodcut. Part V of the textbook was a supplement of prayers.

Dilworth's spelling book was very successful: it had reached its thirty-first London edition by 1769, its thirty-seventh by 1783 and it continued to be used in Britain, Ireland and America throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.32 The Kildare Place Society, for example, cited its popularity as a reason for their choice of it as a source book for their own reading lessons.33 Dilworth's work was not exceptional in its popularity: Chalmers in his study of the period lists a number of similar textbooks e.g. Dyche's English instructor, Markham's Introduction to
spelling and reading English, Fenning's *Universal spelling book* and *The royal primer* (published by Newbery and Collins) all of which originated in the early or mid-eighteenth century and were still in use in the following century. The combination of spelling and syllabic methods together with some awareness of phonic patterns remained largely unchanged throughout the period and was, to an extent, still in use in the twentieth century.

These spelling books also shared a similarity of reading content. Their reading lessons were generally didactic in tone and written in a rather biblical style of language. Almost all of the reading lessons in Dilworth's book, with the exception of the twelve fables, were written in the style of proverbs or moral recommendations and many were quotations from the bible. Even the fables, which were not religious, concluded with a heavily emphasized moral abstraction. Another of the popular spelling books entitled *Reading made perfectly easy* was described in its subtitle as being composed of "sentences from scripture and other books on moral and religious subjects". These, as Whalley has pointed out, were hardly topics to encourage the young learner.

Moreover, the language of these lessons would have contrasted with the learner's spoken language and the important contribution his knowledge of phoneme clusters and cluster positioning characteristic of spoken English could have made to the learning process was thereby excluded. Little attention was paid to the problems created by the indiscriminate use of upper and lower case letters and the cramped print faces used, even in books intended for the middle class market, must have created further difficulties for the learner.

The question of the content of the readers will be considered below, but it is noted here because it led to the next significant methodological development. Rousseau's influential educational work *Emile* which had been published in 1762, was critical of the books which were then available for children and the work brought a more 'child-centred' approach to education than had previously existed. The effect was soon seen in reading material for children: the hornbook was
superseded by the battledore which carried the same material of alphabet and syllabrium but this was now accompanied by easy reading lessons and small woodcuts. The author who is generally acknowledged to have first shown an appreciation of the needs of young learners is Anna Laetitia Barbauld. She was dissatisfied with the over-complex content and poor presentation of English primers and was inspired by the genre of the moral tale for children which had originated in France in the work of Berquin and had been translated into English. Barbauld published her *Lessons for children from two to three years old* to almost instant acclaim in 1778 and further titles extended the age-range of readers. Her contribution to textbook design for the young child is summarized in the requirements she laid down in the preface to her first edition:

> A grave remark, or a connected story, however simple, is above his capacity; and nonsense is always below it; for folly is worse than ignorance. Another great defect is the want of good paper, a clear and large type, and large spaces.

These requirements improved the lot of the learner considerably. Barbauld's reading lessons were largely conversations between a young learner named Charles and his mother. These lessons, written in what Mrs. Trimmer later termed "the language of the nursery", had sentence structures which were closer to those of the child and had the bonus of relevancy to his world. The style was to be copied or imitated by many textbook compilers (including as will be seen Kildare Place) though not always with the success of the original. Barbauld's imitators did not always take her advice on textbook design but a work which appeared from the same publishing house (Marshall) in 1783 demonstrates the changes which were occurring. Lady Eleanor Fenn's *Cobwebs to catch flies; or dialogues in short sentences* is similar in content to Barbauld's lessons but has "an air of spaciousness about the pages... aided by the large type, the illustrations, though simple, related clearly to the text to which they referred."

Barbauld's work also inspired one of the most prolific of English writers for children - Sarah Trimmer - and thereby helped to extend the reform of teaching
methods to schools for the poor. The spelling books which have been discussed so far were, in their original editions, intended for the use of children of middle and upper class families. Spelling books were used in charity and poor schools but once the alphabet and syllabrium of the hornbook or battledore had been mastered the normal reading material for poor children continued to be the catechism, the prayer book and bible, a diet which had been prescribed in Dr. Talbot's The Christian schoolmaster in 1707. In dame schools in Britain and pay schools in Ireland children tackled a variety of catechisms, religious histories and any available material which fell to hand. Commonly used spelling books such as The Sailibury spelling book (1786) and Fox's An introduction to spelling and reading consisted of the usual introductory tables, accompanied by poorly-graded lists of one-syllable words, a series of reading lessons based on old testament history, the catechism and a number of prayers; a scheme that had little in common with the teaching of Rousseau. Sarah Trimmer was a conservative writer who condemned what she believed to be the anti-Christian philosophy of Rousseau, but she campaigned to make educational practices more appropriate to children's capacities. She was critical of the inadequate methods used in the charity schools and in her Charity school spelling book she attempted to provide a more systematically-graded reading course, ranging from alphabet and syllabrium, through moral tales to lessons directed to the requirements of reading religious material. Though crude by the standards of the more expensive spelling books, Trimmer's work is significant in that it represents an attempt to make pedagogical advances available to all classes of children.

By the end of the eighteenth century the spelling book had become a well developed tool for the teaching of reading which usually contained graded reading lessons to practise the reading skills learned. A different type of textbook was the 'reader'. This was an anthology of prose extracts and poems which were to be read aloud. The extracts were usually from the 'great' English authors: (Addison, Johnson and Percival were popular) and other improving writers such as More and Barbauld. Poetic works of Milton, Gray and others were included. These readers were, therefore, abstract in content and could only have been used by accomplished
readers, and to progress from the average spelling book directly to a reader would have been well nigh impossible. The spanning of this gap was the next methodological development which took place and it was accomplished in the early years of the nineteenth century. In doing so the authors involved laid the basis for what would now be known as a progressive reading scheme.

The first publication to achieve a link between the levels of spelling book and reader was Mavor’s *The English spelling book* (1801) which became the most successful of all spelling books. William Fordyce Mavor was a Scottish clergyman and tutor who compiled an impressive range of educational works. He used the established spelling methods in his *English spelling book* but was aware of phonic considerations: attention was paid to the final 'e' sounds, words were listed according to diphthongs, and words which did not conform to spelling/pronunciation rules were listed separately. More importantly, however, the attached reading material was less religious than previous works and included fables and lessons on natural history, geography and other useful information. While still essentially a spelling book it "had elements of the reader and the primer" and this broader and more secular content was the key to the work's success. The popularity of the work (by 1823 two million copies had been sold and the 443rd edition appeared in 1838) also confirmed the dominance of the spelling method albeit with certain phonic refinements.

The first set of textbooks which could properly be called a 'scheme' were those of Lindley Murray, an American lawyer and quaker who had retired to York in England in 1784. Murray had been interested in literature from an early age and in his retirement his attention was drawn to the lack of suitable text books for a quaker school for girls in York. In 1795 he published *An English grammar* and two years later a complementary volume of *Exercises*. *An English reader* appeared in 1799 followed by *Sequel to the English reader* in 1800. *An English reader* and *Sequel* were in the mould of the typical 'reader' of the day: anthologies of prose and poetry from a number of approved writers. The usual range of authors is represented, but the author's quaker background is evident in the non-doctrinal, non-proselytising
religious material and in the concern with gentleness and social caring. Like Mavor, Murray also included ‘secular’ material, in particular geography and natural history. The Reader and Sequel enjoyed an enormous sale, as did the earlier Grammar and Exercises and all of them went through dozens of editions in the nineteenth century. Within a year of the appearance of the Sequel Murray had recognized the gap between the reading level of the Reader and that of spelling books, and had produced Introduction to the English reader in which he aimed “to form a compilation which would properly conduct the young learner from the spelling book to The English reader.” The items selected for the Introduction were of the same type as those in the reader: ‘narrative pieces’, extracts on abstract themes such as ‘tenderness to mothers’ and ‘benevolence’, ‘descriptive pieces’ including some natural history, and moral tales but were simpler than those of the Reader and preceded by a chapter of ‘select sentences and paragraphs’. Three years later, in 1804, Murray added two more books to complete the scheme: An English spelling book in three parts and A first book for children, the latter to serve as an introduction to the former. In fact A first book was to a large extent a separate reprint of the first part of the spelling book, but Murray had produced the first graded reading scheme for schools, a format which was to become the standard for all other educational publishers in the nineteenth century.

Murray’s A first book and An English spelling book are interesting in that they demonstrate the extent to which the teaching of reading was moving to the adoption of a phonic rather than a strict spelling method. Some authors had begun to question the necessity of requiring the learner to spell and read all the syllables of the syllabrium and in particular those beginning with double consonants (i.e. bla, ble, bli, blo, blu, bly etc). The adoption of pure phonic methods was rare, but some authors such as Lady Eleanor Fenn noted the difficulties which normal spelling methods entailed. She suggested that spelling work be curtailed and her arrangement of monosyllables was based on sound patterns “so as to make the acquisition as easy as possible by paying attention to the sound in the first word of that set.” Her method of word attack for larger words also shows this concern with sound, though it retains the spelling activity. To help a learner read the word
'cheat' she advised asking him to spell and read the following in turn:\(^62\)

- e, a, t
- h, e, a, t
- c, h, e, a, t

In this way the emphasis was placed on the sound of the central vowel or diphthong.

Murray was aware of these refinements when compiling *A first book* and *An English spelling book*. *A first book* commenced with a well spaced and clearly printed upper and lower case alphabet. These were repeated in random order so that the teacher could check the child's real progress in letter recognition by preventing chanting of the ordered alphabet (a method used in Fenn's *The infant's friend*).\(^63\) Vowels and consonants followed and Murray included a table "for the teacher's attention" listing examples of the long, short, intermediate and broad sounds of the vowels.\(^64\) His grading of syllables and words was based on these differing lengths.

At first glance his first table of syllables appeared to be no different to the usual ba, be, bi, bo, bu, by, etc. However it was headed as "syllables and words of two letters the vowel long" and had not been formed by the mechanical combination of all consonants with all vowels. Syllables which did not have a long vowel sound (e.g. ce, ci) or which involved changes in the initial sound of the consonants were omitted e.g. the line of the letter 'g' included only 'ga', 'go' and 'gu' as 'ge' 'gi' and 'gy' began with a different 'g' sound.\(^65\) Murray's next table "syllables and words of two letters, the vowel generally short" was the familiar ab, eb, ib, ob, ub and the table of double consonants and vowel was also present. His appreciation of grapheme/phoneme difficulties is best demonstrated in the organization of the monosyllables which constituted almost all of the remainder of the book.

The then standard form of word grading based on the number of syllables and the number of letters per word was quite crude: the physical length of a printed word was not a reliable guide to reading difficulty. Murray retained the number of
syllables in his grading scheme but abandoned the number of letters per word as the next criterion of difficulty and substituted in its place vowel length. He arranged his spelling lessons in chapters on the basis of short, long, middle length and broad vowels. Within each of these chapters words were sub-divided into sections according to length of word (three, four, five letters etc) and arranged in groups according to the vowel sounds. Thus Chapter II began as shown in fig. 3.3. Such groups of words were obviously much easier for the child to learn as identical graphemes (e.g. ma-) retained a consistent sound (e.g. mad, man, mat). In order to ensure that the teacher was aware of the vowel sound to be used each group was preceded by an example e.g. section I of Chapter III used "as a in ale" sound. Further chapters dealt with "words in which the vowels deviate from the sounds they have in the table [of pronunciation]", "words containing consonants not sounded" and "consonants single and double which have different sounds", (all examples in which the grapheme/phoneme relationship was irregular and therefore likely to cause difficulties).

Murray also ensured that the child would begin to read meaningful material almost from the beginning and reading lessons accompanied each section of each chapter. They were printed in a clear, spacious style not unlike that found in Fenn's Cobwebs to catch flies, and care had been taken to ensure that not only the vocabulary but the sentence length was controlled. Previous textbooks had often ignored this consideration: Murray limited most of his sentences to three, four or five words and did not print a sentence on two lines until page thirty-five (over halfway through the book). The "promiscuous reading lessons" which make up Chapter XI were inspired by Mrs. Barbauld's Lessons: the topics of a child's everyday life which she had used were repeated here though Murray's versions were more complex. A small number of two syllable words, divided as to the placing of the accent formed Chapter XII and Chapter XIII comprised further "promiscuous reading lessons" largely monosyllablic but with some two syllable words. These too seem to have been taken from Barbauld though one was written by Maria Edgeworth and some were from Trimmer.
This approach which graded words to be spelled and read on the basis of number of syllables, the placing of accent and the length of the vowel sounds was continued in Part II of An English spelling book (Part I was almost identical to A first book). Reading lessons were included to ensure sufficient practice at each stage:

The lessons of spelling, in every section are illustrated by short appropriate reading lessons which confirm the learner step by step, in the pronunciation and orthography of the words he has repeated. These appropriate [ie specific], as well as the promiscuous, reading lessons, through the book contain no words which the child has not previously spelled, and which are not, therefore familiar to him.69

Natural history from the child's environment in the form of Barbauld style mother/child conversations formed the entire content of the promiscuous reading lessons of Part II: in Part III the tone was more didactic with stories entitled "The good boy whose parents are rich", "The good boy whose parents are poor", "The attentive and industrious little girls", and sixteen lessons on "The duties of children". This material was less attractive than the lessons of Part I and II but was a improvement over the extracts found in the average 'reader'. Murray wrote:

To have given extracts from Addison, Blair or Johnson even at the end of the work, would have supposed that the child had, in the course of a few months, made a wonderful progress, both in his powers and experience.70

The textbooks of Mavor and in particular Murray have been examined at length here because they represent the state to which the teaching of reading had evolved at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The popularity of these spelling books confirmed the entrenched position of the spelling method despite its attendant difficulties for the learner, yet they also show an appreciation of these difficulties. Murray's work in particular demonstrated a sophisticated effort to alleviate the problem intrinsic to the spelling method: the lack of a regular phoneme/grapheme relationship in English. Moreover, both Murray and Mavor attempted to chose as reading material writing, which was more relevant to the learner and of a style more akin to his own language patterns. Finally, both authors managed to supply a graded scheme of such materials. These advances had been
achieved and the textbooks widely used within the first few years of the nineteenth century. In the light of the pedagogical developments which Murray's work embraced and of the previous twenty-five years of growth in children's publishing in general, it was perfectly natural for the 1806-12 commissioners of Irish education to propose that any new board of education would set about selecting a course of suitable books for its schools. Neither is it surprising, given Murray's quaker background, that it was to his textbooks that Samuel Bewley turned when he came to compile the Kildare Place Society's first spelling and reading books. Murray had a connection of sorts with the Irish quaker community as he had been the biographer of Sarah Grubb. Murray's name may thus have been known to Bewley. Bewley drew on other textbooks which were then in general use such as Dilworth's spelling book (which has been discussed above), The Pennsylvania spelling book and Reading made easy but the material from Murray far out-weighed that from any other source. Murray thus had a key influence on the development of Kildare Place textbooks firstly in that he had demonstrated the need for, and the potential success of a graded reading scheme for schools and secondly in that he had widened and simplified the content of such schemes.

The dominant methodological influence on the Kildare Place Society was, however, Joseph Lancaster. The apparent success of his low-cost monitorial methods had first held out a practical hope of education for the poor. It was natural therefore, that Bewley turned to Lancaster for advice on the practical workings of the system and in particular on the design of the textbooks. Lancaster's particular design of textbook, the monitorial reading chart or tablet was one of the distinctive elements of his method and was adopted by the Kildare Place Society. The use of the monitorial method was, however, to the detriment of sound textbook design. The monitorial system, for all the inflated claims Lancaster and others had made for it, was a method born out of a crisis of teacher scarcity. Its sine qua non was the use of unskilled teaching labour - older pupils - as substitutes for teachers which the poor could not afford to pay. The use of these monitors meant that teaching had to be reduced to its basic form and that the matter to be taught had to be broken up into
simple units of knowledge or skills which could be imparted and checked in a rigid mechanical drill.73

The spelling method in its crudest form seemed to be suited to such a method: the units of language had been reduced to syllables and letters and once these had been acquired the child was able to read anything. In Lancaster's schools the child began by learning the alphabet in sand: he copied the letter shape traced for him by a monitor and repeated the name of the letter.74 The emphasis on the physical shape of the letters as an aid to letter recognition was one refinement which monitorial schools did popularise. Lancaster, like Bell before him taught the alphabet in 'courses' of similarly shaped letters as had been pioneered by Dr. Briggs of Kendall in 1797.75 Three types of letters were distinguished by this method. Firstly letters consisting of vertical and horizontal strokes, secondly those having oblique lines and finally those based on a circle (see fig. 3.4). The letters were also taught following this sequence and then in alphabetical order using the tablet lessons, each pupil naming a letter in turn. Syllables and words of two, three, four and five letters were taught in the same way and the spelling of words by syllables was reinforced through writing exercises in which the monitor read words in syllabic form (e.g. ab-so-lu-ti-on) to be written on sand or slates by the pupils. When reading lessons commenced the method was equally mechanical, pupils of the reading circle reading a word (or perhaps a line or sentence) each in turn in which all long words were read in syllabic form.76

The methods of Bell's National Schools were even more mechanical in nature:

When reading began, it was conducted in exactly the same manner. The harder words were spelled out by the children in turn, the monitor spelling them out also after each child. Then each child read a word in turn until the whole passage had been read, the monitor repeating each word as it was read. Next, each child read a clause, the monitor repeating it again, and finally each sentence, great attention being paid to the stops. Little attention was paid to meaning, and since the only reading book in most schools was the bible, the language would have been incomprehensible to most children.77
These methods were contrary to the advances in teaching methods which authors, such as Mavor and Murray, had used. The most serious failing of the monitory method was that it ignored the difficulties of the inconsistent grapheme/phoneme relationship and worked on the basis that English could be broken down into, and reassembled from, unchanging units such as syllables and letters. The grading of words was carried out on the mechanical basis of number of syllables and number of letters per syllable. The monitory schools had little choice but to use such a system: it was easily explained to an untrained teacher and teaching success was defined as the ability of the pupils to "repeat a string of words at high speed". Such teachers could not easily have coped with a system which sought to teach the phonic value of each letter or letters. Moreover, as Chalmers points out, the method suited a child who could in his short school life, master the alphabet, syllabrium and a number of words and so be provided with a crude word attack skill for life.

In adopting the monitory system the Kildare Place Society was thus accepting the traditional spelling method of the teaching of reading without any of the refinements which the move to phonic methods was bringing about. Lancaster's influence was strongly felt in the design of the first textbooks published by Kildare Place. Like Lancaster's these were printed on tablets. The Society purchased the copyright of Lancaster's works in 1812 and by October of that year the subcommittee of arrangement had set about preparing works for publication. Less than a month later the subcommittee had prepared part of a spelling book for examination by the whole committee. Bewley seems to have been responsible for the compilation of the work. He conducted most of the correspondence with Lancaster on the purchase of the copyright and was an important member of the subcommittee of arrangement whose first major report to the committee laid down the plan of work for the Society.

Bewley's letters to Lancaster show that they had a deep understanding of the textbook and methodological requirements of the Lancastrian system. When writing to Lancaster he mentioned conversation he had with him on teaching methods and questioned Lancaster as to the need for tables, lessons on money, weights, and measures:
Dost thou not recollect the conversation thou and I had on the subject of teaching arithmetic and hast thou prepared reductions for thy plan of teaching? . . . Are there not other tables say of money, weights and measures adapted to the plan? 

It is also clear that Lancaster valued his opinions:

I shall be glad of any hints thou may have to give on the subject of arithmetic or any other subjects as during the present three months we hope to get off new editions of all my books.

Indeed such was Bewley's involvement in the design of the spelling lessons that Bardin, literary assistant to the Society could say that the work was looked upon as Bewley's alone. The first pages of the text of the Kildare Place *A spelling book* were approved on the 7 November 1812. Work continued on the spelling book in the early part of 1813, but it was in the press by the time of the annual general on 1 May 1813. The printing of a book in this format seems to have posed some problems for the printer because the spelling book was not ready for publication until 16 October 1813, when it was reported to the committee that John Jones, printer, had been paid £73.15.0 for printing 500 copies of the work. The final book, consisting of 60 sheets, was sold at 5 shillings per set, and its publication advertised in the *Correspondent Patriot and Evening Post* newspapers in early November 1813. Work on a complementary volume of reading lessons took place between November 1812 and July 1813. It was also produced on tablets and the first part of it was submitted on 10 July 1813. The whole work was approved on 31 July when 500 copies were ordered to be printed. A *reading book*, as it was known, was in the press in November 1813 and was on sale early in 1814 (see tables 3.1 and 3.2).

The first tablet in *A spelling book* is an indicator of the source of the work: the alphabet was presented in the form Lancaster recommended. The Society also approved the use of teaching the alphabet in sand. Further tablets consisted of the italic and cursive alphabets together with the numerals and vowels. The detrimental influence that the monitorial method had on the spelling book is seen in the treatment of syllables: the Society believed that reading could be reduced to the reading of letters which were then combined into syllables. Reading a piece of prose was, therefore, a matter of reading a series of syllabic groups with appropriate
pauses at the beginning and ends of words. *The schoolmaster’s manual* in which
the Society outlined its methods stated of the first lesson in *A spelling book*:

...in them the whole art of reading is reduced to its first
elements, namely letters and their combinations into
syllables; and that in teaching and learning those con-
stituent parts, all the labour of the master and the
difficulty of the scholar consists.95

This theory, suited to the mechanical monitorial method, was pushed to its logical
conclusion in *A spelling book* and an emphasis was placed on learning all manner
of monosyllables. The usual tables of all vowels combined with all consonants were
there, supplemented by six tablets of three letter syllables and three tablets of three
and four letter syllables/words.96 The importance the Society attached to these lists
is summarized by the *Manual*: once the learner had completed the work on
monosyllables he was deemed to have:

conquered every serious difficulty in the art of reading, and has
laid the foundation of his future instruction, for by means of
syllabic reading, all other works, however long are, as it were,
converted into monosyllables connected together.97

It must be acknowledged that some attempt was made to build up the
learner's knowledge of the phoneme/grapheme relationships by placing words of
similar endings or prefixes together, a refinement which was not considered
necessary for disyllabic and trisyllabic words. These printed in the split-system,
made up tablets XIV to XXVII and were subdivided as to the placing of the accent but
within such subdivisions were arranged in alphabetical order. Words of four, five,
six, seven and eight syllables were given a similar treatment. Some problems
inherent in the syllabic method were given a degree of treatment: tablets were
given of "words in which a single consonant is sounded as if it were double", [tablets
XXVIII to XXXIII] and of "words in which some letter is written and not
pronounced" [tablets XXXIV and XXXV] and nineteen tablets were given over to
long dictionary-like lists of "words alike in sounds but different in meaning and
spelling". By the time the pupil had laboured through all of these lists he had
spelled every word he was to meet in reading the accompanying *A reading book* or
in most other books in English, including much of the bible. Such a provision of spelling work was needlessly excessive.

Moreover, the teaching style which was to be used with the books tended to emphasize the mechanical nature of the text. When spelling monosyllables each letter had to be named and then the word pronounced while in the higher classes each syllable had to be distinctly sounded before the word was read. The monitor repeated the word after the pupil. Pupils spelled one word at a time around the spelling circle. The monitor checked the success of his work having the pupils turn away from the tablets and asking them to spell the words:

The children all turn their backs to the card and the monitor names a word as 'No'. One child repeats 'No', next says 'n', next 'o'. They learn in this way till monitress general orders a change of business.

This placed the learning emphasis on the component parts of the word rather than the flow of phonemes within it. The reading methods were similarly flawed as they paid no attention to the need to build up the child's word recognition and predictive skills.

**Second Class reading**

The children of this class stand to a line. The monitress holds a pointer in her right hand and points with her left to a sentence, the words of which do not exceed two letters, as for example, "do so to us". Each child in turn first spells a line thus: "d-o, do, s-o, so, t-o, to, u-s, us," and then re-reads it pausing between each word thus do - , so - , to - , us -. They continue reading in this way till ordered by the monitress general to stop.

The emphasis of the method was on the constituent components of letters and syllables rather than words and sentences. Bell, for example, had stressed that children had to be actively prevented from attempting to read a whole word or sentence at once:

the scholar proceeds as usual till he begins dissyllables, when he is never allowed to pronounce two syllables together till he has gone through the child's first and second books, and a spelling book. The advantage is manifest; for the moment you
allow the scholar, he will put the syllables together and
pro-nounce the word at once, to which, indeed, every learner of
himself is disposed. The only difficulty is, to teach them to read syllables
by themselves, and words by themselves, and not a whole sentence
at once...101

The content of the sentence was not to be used by the pupil as an aid to word
recognition, as according to the theory it eliminated the learner's need to reduce the
words to their component parts:

It is an error most common in reading, when the scholar meets
with a word to repeat over and over again the easy words which
stand before it, till he can stumble upon the difficult word. This
should never be allowed; but the eye of the scholar should be
confined to the single word which puzzles him, by being prevented
from reading any other till it be read.102

The Kildare Place methods were consistent with this theory. The schoolmaster's
manual advocated a "mode of reading" in which "each scholar [was] to read a word
in rotation".

Thus, the scholar who is desired to begin repeats the first word
of the lesson, after which the scholar next to him reads the
second word, the next in succession reads the third word, and
so on to the end of the lesson, each scholar of the class repeating
the word that falls to his turn, until the lesson is concluded.103

The Manual claimed that, in addition to improving the attention of all pupils, the
method:

by thus, breaking down the lesson into single words, and engaging
the attention of the class upon each word in succession, a most
effectual preparation is made for the remaining parts of the
lesson.104

This emphasis on single word recognition was taken to such extremes that the
Society even recommended that children could read the lesson backwards:

In those monosyllable lessons which are found to be most
difficult, the useful practice of reading backwards is
introduced - the scholar named by the monitor begins at
the bottom of the lesson, and reads the last line slowly
and distinctly, making a short pause between every word; the next scholar proceeds in the same way, with the line next above it, and in like manner the rest of the children, line after line up the beginning of the lesson.105

These technical flaws in the Society's methods were a result of the primitive spelling methods which the use of the monitorial system entailed, but they were not the only problems to come in the wake of the unquestioned adoption of Lancastrian methods. As the use of the spelling circle and tablet lessons were the essential elements of the monitorial method Kildare Place produced its lessons in this format but these were not an unqualified success. The long spelling lists of A spelling book covered 60 tablets each of which measured 44.5 cm by 28.5 cm. A reading book which had to take the learner from the monosyllabic lessons to the level of Murray's Introduction to the English reader consisted of 100 sheets. These numbers of tablets suited the large urban schools which Lancaster had founded in England but were unsuited to the cramped conditions of small rural schools in Ireland. Few of these schools were able to afford to have the sheets pasted on boards as the Society recommended and inevitably the sheets suffered the ravages of time and damp, a problem exacerbated by their size and the relatively poor quality of paper used. By February 1819 the members of the book subcommittee "directed a reprint of the spelling and reading lessons in a cheap and portable form: the tablets being solely adapted for large and commodious schools".106 The resulting volume was entitled The Dublin spelling book.107

The tablet lessons A spelling book and A reading book continued to be distributed. During the active years of the Society between 200 and 300 copies per annum of each of these titles were dispatched or sold by the Society (see table 3.2) but this distribution may have depended more on the fact that schools joining the system were given the tablet lessons than on any great desire on the part of the schools to obtain them. The use of the tablets was popular for the initial stages of teaching reading; in 1821 the model school subcommittee suggested to the book subcommittee that it print "an additional number of the first six lessons of the sheet spelling book which appeared to be more rapidly consumed than the remaining..."
ordered a reprint to be made of twenty four of the easier lessons, selected from both \textit{i.e. A spelling book and A reading book}, in order to form a short set of spelling and reading tablets for the use of small schools.\textsuperscript{109}

\textit{A spelling book (short set)} was available from 1822 (see tables 3.1 and 3.2) and it was more popular than the larger sets averaging a circulation of 300 - 500 per annum during the 1820s.\textsuperscript{110} The format of the tablet lessons had been meant to eliminate the need for each pupil to have his own book but the distribution figures for \textit{The Dublin spelling book} make it clear that the tablet lessons did not fulfil this role: in 1828 over 60,000 copies of \textit{The Dublin spelling book} (in whole or parts) were issued and by 1831 this figure had grown to over 89,000 copies (see table 3.2). This volume of copies could only be explained if each pupil in the Society's schools was given his own copy of \textit{The Dublin spelling book} and while the use of the spelling book and the lessons was not mutually exclusive,\textsuperscript{111} it would, together with the evidence above, suggest that the tablet format was only successful in large schools or for the teaching of beginners.

The contents of the tablet lessons did not make a satisfactory transfer to book form, largely because the long spelling lists were not suited to the three-part format used by the book subcommittee for \textit{The Dublin spelling book}. When using the tablet lessons the teacher could use the spelling tablet and the appropriate reading tablet, but in most spelling books, words for spelling were immediately followed by related reading lessons. In \textit{The Dublin spelling book}, however, most spelling and reading lessons were kept separate: part I of \textit{The Dublin spelling book} was made up of the content of spelling tablets I - XVIII followed by reading tablets I - XXII; part II and part III consisted of the remaining spelling lessons and reading lessons respectively. Occasional spelling lessons "of the more difficult words"\textsuperscript{112} were inserted into the pages of the reading lessons but in order to benefit from the grading of spelling and reading lessons it was necessary for the learner and teacher to move from one section of the book to another following the "key" (which is reproduced in fig. 5.5) At best this was an awkward marriage, at worst it produced a spelling book e.g part II, which consisted of nothing but interminably long lists of words for
spelling (all the parts were available separately, although parts II and III were also sold together, see table 3.2) The extended syllabic work which had been included in *A spelling book* was retained even though educationalists were increasingly coming to see the limitations of the method. This, together with the less than satisfactory layout meant *The Dublin spelling book* had more in common with the spelling books of the early eighteenth century (such as Dilworth's) than with those of the early nineteenth century (such as Murray's). Critics, even those who were well-disposed to the Society's publications, noted these limitations. Professor Pillans wrote of the spelling book, "there is perhaps a good deal of preparatory and syllabic reading that might be better dispensed with," and Mr. Smith Goldie stated; "the first book is for the most part very simple and level to the capacity of children, but in combining the letters there is a great deal of sound without sense". He drew attention to the detrimental effects this work would have on the pupil. It would inspire:

*a feeling of great disappointment in an intelligent boy, when all that he learned was 'ab - eb - ib, bla - ble - bli' for these combinations of letters are merely vox et.*[unclear] *nihil conveying no light whatsoever to the understanding; every combination of letters therefore should be an English word conveying some definite idea.*

He recommended:

*that the first book might be simplified considerably and that instead of so much of it being occupied with detached words a greater quantity of short easy reading lessons, might have been introduced which would be more instructive to the learner.*

These criticisms coming as they did from a contemporary educationalist, emphasised the degree to which modern methodological developments had been compromised in *The Dublin spelling book*:

*Instead therefore of the second and third books containing such a great quantity of abstract terms and unconnected words for the purpose of teaching the child to spell I conceive that the same object would be better attained by throwing these two books into one and making is consist entirely of reading lessons comprising short stories, extracts from scripture and descriptions*
of minerals and other objects in natural history.\textsuperscript{118}

The compilers of the Society's textbooks were not unaware of the limitations of the monitorial method which they had adopted. One of the serious failings of the method was the poor standard of teaching pupils would have received from monitors who were not far advanced beyond the level of the pupils they taught. Monitors would not, as has been discussed above, have been able to cope with a more sophisticated teaching method, and were unable to foresee learning difficulties which might arise in the course of a lesson. The publication in 1816 of \textit{A dictating spelling book} shows that the Society was aware of these problems.\textsuperscript{119} \textit{A dictating spelling book}, produced only in book form, was designed to be used by the monitor when teaching pupils spelling by writing as advocated by Lancaster and the Society. Compiled at least in part by Bewley,\textsuperscript{120} it consisted of lists of words which the monitor pronounced and the children then wrote on slates, or spelled orally. Polysyllabic words were written in split-word form so as to assist the monitor's pronunciation. The vocabulary to be learned in this way covered pages 3 to 16 of the work. It was of "difficult words selected from the reading book", the words being listed under the numbers of the tablets from which they came.\textsuperscript{121} This allowed the monitor to select suitable words for spelling exercises and pinpointed words likely to cause learning difficulties. As further assistance to the monitor a short dictionary of nouns, verbs and adjectives (listed separately) was added to the vocabulary lists together with a supplement of geographical information and terms.\textsuperscript{122}

\textit{A dictating spelling book} was, however, a short-lived phenomenon. An examination of table 3.2 will show that the circulation figures for it and for the tablet \textit{A reading book} mirror each other closely, i.e. a single copy of \textit{A dictating spelling book} was dispatched to each school with the tablet lessons until 1819 (year ending 5/1/1820). The appearance of \textit{The Dublin spelling book} killed the need for the work.\textsuperscript{123} The lists of difficult words were inserted into the reading lessons of \textit{The Dublin spelling book}, an expanded form of the dictionary was added to part II of the spelling book and an edited version of the geographical information became part of a supplement of "technical terms."\textsuperscript{124}
Despite its short-lived existence, a *dictating spelling book* was important in that it represented an attempt to alleviate some of the problems inherent in the monitorial method. The supplement of geographical information, while crude, was of some significance also, as it was evidence of the popularity which a broader, secular curriculum held. Moreover, it was a recognition by the Society that monitors, if they were to be effective, would have to experience a higher level of curricular content.

Kildare Place did bring some other pedagogical advances to Ireland. One of these was the impetus they gave to the development of graded reading schemes. Following the pattern of Murray's scheme the Society added a 'continuation reader' entitled *The Dublin reading book* to complete its range of textbooks. Unlike the spelling books this publication was drawn up by the model school subcommittee and may have been tested in the school before it was presented to the General Committee. The work, in preparation in April 1820, was also submitted to the Society's literary assistant who had been appointed to oversee the publication business of Kildare Place. Scrupulous editing of the volume so as to avoid any sectarian references and some production difficulties delayed publication until 1822. It proved to be a popular compilation with annual distribution figures rising to over 10,000 copies (see table 3.2) and it was favourably received by critics such as Pillans and Smith Goldie.

The compilation of *The Dublin spelling book* in three parts and *The Dublin reading book* was an attempt to produce a range of reading textbooks similar to Murray's reading scheme. The compilers of these works were clearly aware of the effort Murray had made to bridge the gap between the level of a spelling book and a reader, and when *The Dublin spelling book* reading lessons were compiled some stories from Murray's *Introduction* and *The English reader* were included in order to prepare the learner for the more difficult material. The same concern can be seen in the contents of *The Dublin reading book* which was largely based on *The English reader* and *Introduction*, but to which the compilers added some simpler material. Thus the compilers attempted to produce a graded reading scheme which would take the learner from the first steps in literacy acquisition to the reading of abstract
prose. In publishing such a range of textbooks the Society was helping to establish Murray's format as the accepted requirement of an efficient school system.

Educational Philosophy and the Reading Content of The Dublin Spelling Book and Dublin Reading Book

The reputation of the Society as an educational innovator has largely rested on the reading content of *The Dublin spelling book* and *The Dublin reading book*. The first serious study of their contents was Goldstrom's *The social content of education* which postulated that the Kildare Place Society was forced by the peculiar religious tensions in Ireland to develop a reading curriculum in which the traditional prayerbook and bible could no longer be used as the main reading texts. In Goldstrom's interpretation the Society was forced to abandon the bible and prayerbook and was therefore pushed towards developing a secular reading programme\(^{128}\) - a movement which was later taken up by the national commissioners and eventually by English educational publishers. This interpretation does less than full justice to the philosophy of the Kildare Place Society. The content of these readers was progressive in comparison with the narrow religious curriculum which had been prescribed for the poor in the eighteenth century, but its development owes at least as much to the philosophical background of the members of the Committee as it does to denominational expediencies.

The two contrasting strands in the philosophy of the committee, that of enlightened, rational utilitarianism and that of conservative evangelicalism, are reflected in the content of the reading scheme. Utilitarianism which had grown from the philosophical writings of Locke, Rousseau and Helvetius laid emphasis on the 'improving' role education could have in bettering the morals, habits, decency and cleanliness of the poor. It stressed the advantages of education in encouraging industry and economic development and its adherents
argued that education supplied by the rich for the poor, could allow the latter to enrich their lives and so promote the order and stability of society. Quaker educational traditions were akin to these ideas and the adoption of a restricted curriculum by a Society in which Quakers were intimately involved would have been incongruous. Moreover, the philosophical writings which had given birth to these utilitarian ideas were the same works which had brought methodological reform to children's publishing and textbook design. The books of Mrs. Barbauld and Maria Edgeworth were the practical working out of Rousseau's enlightened theories and it would have been inconceivable for any practical education scheme to refuse to adopt the innovations they had pioneered in curriculum content.

The influence which these ideas had on Bewley when he compiled *A reading book* is seen in his choice of Murray's progressive scheme as the basis of the Society's lessons. The Dublin publication not only contained a number of lessons from *A first book for children* and *An English spelling book* but four out of five recognizable classes of material which *The Dublin spelling book* contained originated in Murray's works. Mrs. Barbauld's lessons, which had been inspired by the educational theories of Rousseau, had influenced Murray's *An English spelling book* and Murray's version was lifted virtually *in toto* for Kildare Place's *A reading book*. This did give some of the Kildare Place tablets a rather inappropriate middle class aura, e.g. the child in one story has a choice of "a top, or a ball, or a kite to play with" and the following extracts must have described a meal which few Kildare Place pupils would have experienced:

The clock strikes, it is time to go in, and dine.
Is the cloth laid? Where are the knives and forks, and plates?
Call Ann. Are your hands clean? Sit down.
Do not take the broth yet; it is too hot: wait till it is cool.
Will you have some lamb, and some pease?
Do not smack your lips, or make a noise, when you eat.
Take some bread. Break the bread: do not bite it.
I do not put the knife in my mouth, for fear I should hurt my lips. Knives are sharp; they
are to cut with, and not to put in one's mouth,
or to play with.
Jane must shake the cloth out of doors.
The birds will pick up the crumbs.
Now let us go and play with George.130

Nevertheless the stories were centred on the everyday experiences of a
child: his breakfast, reading a book, going for a walk, seeing the rain and sun and
meeting a variety of animals including Puss the cat, a dog, ducks, geese, bees, wasps
and a number of wild birds. The lessons contained adult admonitions against
wasting food, cruelty to animals and general disobedience and because they were
written in the form of mother/child conversations (or in direct speech monologues)
their sentence structure was quite simple.131

A second type of lesson taken from Murray was the moral tale. A number
of these concentrated on attributes of kindness and charity. In "The little boy who
was lost on his way home" the hero helped an old man and was later rewarded
because on his way home he himself was rescued by a traveller from a deep hole
into which he fell.132 Charity to those in need is extolled as a virtue which has its
intrinsic reward of self-satisfaction: "The little gardner's gift" told of a young boy
who decides to give the produce of his work - some gooseberries and peas - together
with some money to a poor old man who lived alone. The story had obvious
middle class overtones and the satisfaction to be gained by such actions was stressed:

The little boy seemed very happy. His sister was pleased
to see him so good to the poor old man, and loved him
dearly. I dare say when the old man ate his pease, and
his gooseberries, and looked at his money, he thought of
the little boy, and said "I hope God will bless that young
gentleman, who is so good to me."133

A similar theme was contained in the story of "The charitable little girl"
who gave her only muffin to a poor old woman, even though she knew her mother
would be unable to buy another.134 This was "the pleasing little narrative" which
Murray claimed he had received from Edgeworth: whatever its source it was
considerably more subtle than "The little gardener's gift".135 These tales had an
underlying gentleness of spirit which was characteristically quaker in origin, a trait which was also seen in "The boy and the looking glass". The glass was broken when the boy disobeyed his father by playing ball indoors but he confessed to his father on the latter's return home and because of his honesty he was praised rather than punished:

His father looked kindly at him, and said "I would rather that all the looking-glasses in my house should be broken than that one of my children should tell an untruth". The little boy hearing his father say this, and seeing that he was not angry, felt comforted; though I suppose, he wished very much he had not broken the looking glass.136

Moral tales against cruelty to animals were particularly popular with early children's writers; indeed it can often seem that these writers (or perhaps their audiences) were obsessed with the raiding of birds' nests and cruelty to insects.137 Three tales in The Dublin spelling book which were taken from Murray's works dealt with the former concern. The characters in "Boys looking for birds' nests" were taught to appreciate the cruelty which they inflicted on the young chicks,138 a theme which was expanded in "The robins" and "The little prisoners".139 These latter lessons had been extracted by Murray from the then famous History of the robins by Mrs. Trimmer.

Education was another concern of the moral tales copied from Murray. In "The boy of Dundee" a poor widow insisted on sending her son to school despite being illiterate herself. The value of his schooling is soon demonstrated: he was able to get a good job and so look after her when she fell ill. The final paragraph left the reader in no doubt of the value of reading:

This good boy thought if his mother could read, she could amuse and employ herself, when he was not with her; so he took a good deal of pains, and taught her to read. And when she had learned, she was highly delighted: "Now," said she, "I am very happy".140

Three reading lessons, which Murray included in An English spelling book and which the Kildare Place Society used, provided a description of the attributes
which the authors were most concerned to develop in the young. "The good boy" loved and respected his parents and teachers, he was kind to his siblings, his friends and all animals, he never stole or told lies and each night he prayed God’s forgiveness for the wrongs he had done and resolved to do better. "The good boy whose parents are poor" and "The attentive and industrious little girl" described a vision of an industrious, contented poor which utilitarians believed their enlightened improving policies could create. The poor boy worked hard to help his parents. He attended school and learned as fast as possible so that he would be able to read his bible and perhaps teach his parents to read also. A good education would also be the means of self improvement: it would enable him to get a job in a shop. He avoided bad company in the street after school and ran home to care for the baby, mend his clothes or work in the garden. The industrious little girl was equally concerned to do well at school and could now read and spell so well that "her father has given her several little books, which she reads in, by herself, whenever she has time". She, too, was a paragon of industry and thrift, who helped her parents, made and repaired her own clothes and never wasted anything. Both of these characters were "completely contented". the poor boy was satisfied with the humble fare he lived on and was never envious of "little boys and girls riding on pretty horses, or in coaches". He knew:

that it is God who makes some to be poor, and some rich;
that the rich have many troubles which we know nothing of; and that the poor if they are but good, may be very happy...[142]

The term 'moral tale' to describe the category of reading material discussed above must be used with some care. "The good boy", "The good boy whose parents are poor" and "The attentive and industrious little girl" were unashamedly 'improving' in tone and the traits of character which the author seeks to encourage are obvious to the reader. The same cannot be said of the other 'moral tales' which Murray (and therefore the Kildare Place Society) used: the story was usually told without the addition of a concluding statement of the moral to be learned à la Hannah More or Mrs. Trimmer. The reader was left to draw his own conclusions; this lightened the tone of the text considerably and was more in keeping with the style of Mrs. Barbauld or Maria Edgeworth.
A third genre of reading material which Murray had successfully included in *An English spelling book* was that of natural history. The topics of some of the lessons, e.g. "Sheepshearing", "The harvest", "Haymaking", "The seasons", and "Thunder and lightning" had been used in Barbauld's *Lessons* though the text was Murray's. The lessons on "The swan" and "The hare" were copied unchanged by Murray while others such as "The sun" and "The moon" were more complex pieces in which these elements of nature were personified as a powerful king and a beautiful woman. All of these reading lessons were used in *A reading book*, as well as one item on "The ass" from Murray's *A first book*. These lessons emphasised the extent to which the Kildare Place textbook had moved away from the books of the charity schools.

A final type of lesson which found its way into the Kildare Place publication was more didactic in tone. The final chapter of Murray's spelling book contained approximately fifteen pages of "Duties of children" in which the learner was advised of the behaviour expected of him to his parents, siblings, teachers and fellow creatures. He was reminded of the importance of truth, honesty, cleanliness and obedience, warned against waste, greed and bad company and encouraged above all to perform his religious duties and read the bible. All this was included unchanged in *A reading book*.

In fact the Kildare Place Society included almost all the promiscuous reading lessons of *A first book* and *An English spelling book* in *The Dublin spelling book* and added to them a number of short items of a similar style including a page of advice on the benefits of early rising, hard work, cleanliness and literacy and a page of short sentences describing a number of animals and discouraging cruelty to insects.

A concluding section of *A reading book* contained a number of items from Murray's *Introduction to the English reader* in an attempt to prepare the learner for the type of material he was likely to find in a 'reader'. One of these was a metaphorical account of the four seasons as a virgin, a woman from the south, an ageing man and a old man of the north. Murray credited Barbauld as the author but
it was quite different to her writing for young children. Other extracts were from authors who were frequently used in 'readers' such as Blair ("Charity"), Addison ("Gratitude") and Chesterfield ("Love between brothers and sisters"). Most of these extracts were to be repeated in *The Dublin reading book* as were the small number of hymns (mainly by Joseph Addison and Isaac Watts) which made up the last eight tablets of *A reading book*.

Two facts are essential to our understanding of the significance of Murray's work to the Kildare Place Society. Firstly, as has been discussed above, Murray's reading scheme was the product of an educational development grounded in Rousseauism and its concerns that educational work be suited to the mental capacities of the child. These concerns gave rise to the second important attribute of Murray's lessons: the 'secular' nature of their content. It must be admitted that Murray was not as advanced in this respect as Mavor's *Spelling book*, the reading lessons of which were nearly all 'secular' in content, but Murray's books were the only reading scheme then available which had this wider variety of subject material. Thus by copying virtually all the promiscuous reading lessons of Murray's *A first book* and *An English spelling book* the Kildare Place Society had acquired a considerable corpus of 'secular' material which was a product of an enlightened and utilitarian educational philosophy. The adoption of this material as the basis of their reading scheme in 1812/13 (when the Society was not experiencing Catholic opposition) is important evidence of the degree to which the members of the Kildare Place committee, and especially Bewley, were influenced by such philosophies. A curriculum based solely on the prayerbook and bible would have been at odds with this philosophy. Therefore the use of 'secular' material in *The Dublin spelling book* was, at least in part, a development positively chosen by the Kildare Place Society and not an expediency forced on the Society by denominational considerations.

Quaker utilitarianism was however, somewhat overshadowed by committed evangelical thought among the members of the Kildare Place committee, and this influenced the text of *The Dublin spelling book* to the detriment of good textbook design. Despite adopting Murray's texts in their entirety Bewley destroyed much of the potential lightness of tone of *The Dublin spelling book* by inserting a
large amount of religious material and biblical extracts. Thirty-five of the one hundred tablets which made up *A reading book*, were devoted to religious prose material and a further eight contained hymns. Most of this material was in the form of a series of short biblical extracts (sometimes no longer than a sentence or verse) randomly organized to fill a tablet. Religious exhortations or advice were included usually written in a formal language similar to that of the authorized version of the bible (and what will for the purposes of this study be termed 'biblical language'). This style of language bore no relationship to the speech patterns which learners would have used and must have provided intractable learning difficulties. This material was distributed throughout *A reading book* and its order of presentation was unaltered in *The Dublin spelling book*. The extracts were graded solely on the basis of number of syllables per word, and may have come from Dilworth's *A new guide to the English tongue*. No attempt was made to scrutinize the extracts for their difficulty of language or of the abstractness of their themes. Religious themes were introduced almost as soon as the reading vocabulary of the learner had acquired the requisite words. The fifth reading tablet of *A reading book* which was of "lessons in words not exceeding three letters" contained this extract:

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My son, do no ill, pay to God his due:
We do not act but he can see it:
If we go in or out, his eye is on us.
My son, pay all men; do no ill to any.
Bad men are in the way of sin.
Let thy eye be to God, not to men.152
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Religious language was more obvious in the subsequent tablet of "lessons not exceeding four letters" and the religious imagery of 'casting out' and 'calling on the Lord' more abstract:

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I will call on the Lord, all the day long,
To the Lord will I lift up my-self.
O cast me not out with bad men.
God is kind to me, and doth help me.
Mark the man that doth well, and do so too.
Help such men as want help, and do not sin.153
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An examination of the themes within this religious material shows that it
was evangelical protestantism that was responsible for its insertion among the items which had been inherited from Murray. The God of this material is a God of strength and power, the God of the old rather than the new testament.\textsuperscript{154} The existence of sacred laws and of a powerful God who watched man's failure to live to these standards were elements of evangelical thinking. They were concerned with the creation of a sense of guilt in the mind of the potential convert and this obsession with sin and impending judgement permeated many of the biblical extracts. On the first table to contain sentences other than the highly contrived "A fly on an egg; an ape on his leg" the following was to be found:

\begin{verbatim}
The eye of God is on us all the day:
Do not let me sin: let me not go to the pit.
All of us my son are to die:
If we do no ill, we go to joy:
If our way be bad, we go to woe;
Woe is to be on all who do ill.\textsuperscript{155}
\end{verbatim}

The biblical extracts reflected the evangelical belief in the 'fallen' nature of man, the urgency of personal reform and the punishment which faced the unrepentant sinner.\textsuperscript{156}

The reading lessons which Murray had collected under the title "Duties of children" had also dealt with religious duties and with the punishment which awaited those who disobeyed but its milder tone demonstrated the strident evangelism of the Kildare Place religious material above:

\begin{verbatim}
We must love God. Good people love him more than they love anything, or any person in the world. They never rise in the morning, or lie down at night without thinking of him, and of the good he has done them.\textsuperscript{157}

The things that God requires of us will make us good and happy. If we do them not, he will be displeased with us, and punish us.\textsuperscript{158}
\end{verbatim}

The only release from the guilt of sin, for the evangelical, was through a
personal commitment to the Christ who had died to be the saviour of all. Exhortations to such a commitment were eschewed in The Dublin spelling book, probably because of denominational sensitivities, but Christ's role as redeemer was illustrated and the cycle of creation, fall, redemption and judgement was summarized.

The Lord made man first in a state of bliss, but by sin he fell from that good state. Christ our Lord came down from on high, to save man from sin, and to give true life to his soul; a life that will never end.

... It is by, and through him, we hope to live in bliss and joy, when this life ends.

... We must watch and pray, for we know not in what hour the Lord will come; when he will set the sheep on his right hand, and the goats on the left: the sheep in joy, the goats in woe.160

The selection of these themes was in line with the theology of an evangelical mind for whom the bible would have been the revelation of God's salvation for sinful man and therefore essential reading. The reader of The Dublin spelling book was encouraged to read the bible. Summaries of the creation, fall and flood narratives, the historical accounts from Genesis down to Israel's slavery in Egypt and of the death and resurrection of Christ, were included, probably in order to serve as an introduction to reading the bible as the Society required.161

A similar set of contents was published in the Society's Irish books publications which demonstrated the extent to which some members of the Kildare Place Committee were sympathetic to evangelical causes. Henry J. Monk Mason, a member of both the Kildare Place and Irish Society committees, was involved in proposing that Kildare Place publish an Irish spelling book with parallel columns of Irish and English text.162 The plight of monoglot Irish speakers was worthy of serious educational thought. Population analysis and contemporary accounts suggested that in the opening years of the nineteenth century Irish was spoken by about one half of the population and its use was dominant among the poorer
A substantial number of the children who might have attended Kildare Place schools could therefore have been monoglot Irish speakers who would have needed assistance in acquiring English. When the matter was brought to the attention of the Kildare Place Society a subcommittee of which Mason was a member was set up to examine the question further. Drawing on the available statistical material the Society concluded that the monoglot Irish population was between 1.5 million and 2.0 million. Over 300 schools taught Irish as well as English and consequently the subcommittee recommended that a book be compiled, using parallel columns of Irish and English text in Celtic and Roman type, to help monoglot speakers to acquire English. The Irish-English primer appeared in two parts in 1820.

Methodologically, The Irish-English primer was quite crude, though showing some sensitivity to the phonemes and graphemes peculiar to each language. The pages of syllablic work from The Dublin spelling book were replicated in English and Irish even though the sound values would have been different. Pages of "combinations peculiar to Irish, which cannot be explained by similar letter in English" (those involving aspiration) and of syllables 'peculiar to the English' (mainly those involving a final 'e' sound) were, included.

The contents of the primer are more significant than its methodology. The first reading lessons of part I were simple sentences some of which were similar to those of the Barbauld Lessons but almost all the remainder were biblical extracts, mainly proverbs of Solomon. The lessons of Part II are entirely biblical and the work has a more religious tone than The Dublin spelling book. The other bi-lingual publications of the Society were in the same vein: Selections from the palms of David and The history of Joseph. to which is prefixed the history of . . . creation. . . . and the patriarchs. This overwhelmingly religious content was brought about because of the requirement of the Irish Society. Mason's involvement in both societies indicates that The Irish-English primer was intended for use by the Irish Society, although the report of the subcommittee which recommended its publication argued that the
Kildare Place Society, being funded by parliament had a duty to supply Irish texts for the substantial monoglot Irish population. Kildare Place did not distribute large numbers of the books but made a grant of most of the copies to the Irish Society, which came to have a notorious reputation for proselytism. The Irish *Psalms* and *History of Joseph* also arose from approaches made by the Irish Society and the three publications would have provided a graded introduction to the reading of bilingual versions of the bible and prayer book - the aim of the Irish Society.

In subsidising the Irish Society in this way Kildare Place came closer to proselytism than was perhaps advisable. Certainly there was some desire on the part of the Irish Society to distance itself from Kildare Place: Mason resigned from the Kildare Place Committee due to pressure of work in 1820, though he was involved in the subsequent preparation of the Irish version of *Psalms* and *Joseph*. The secretary of the Irish Society, the Rev. J.D. Sirr, wrote to Jackson in 1821 to "beg that the proposition may not be brought forward respecting the Irish spelling book, in the form of an application from the Irish Society". The involvement of the Kildare Place Society with the Irish Society is indicative of the intimacy between members of the Kildare Place Committee and the societies of the evangelical movement. The Irish books never had a large circulation but their existence is testament to the depth of evangelical feeling among members of the committee, a feeling which gained a wider audience in the pages of *The Dublin spelling book*. This same evangelical disposition prompted the insertion of religious material among the items which had been inherited from Murray's readers and negated the benefits Murray's lessons had brought to the Society's spelling book.

Conversely, the adoption of Murray's promiscuous reading lessons for inclusion in *The Dublin spelling book*, despite the strength of evangelical feeling among some of the Committee members, can only be explained by a commitment to an enlightened improving education. The tone of the Murray material was too secular to have been adopted simply as a substitute for bible reading and the contents of the Society's second English textbook confirmed this.
The lessons of *The Dublin reading book* demonstrated that the textbooks of the Society were not simply shaped by a protestantism which was forced to secularize its reading books because of denominational sensitivities, but by an interplay of two differing educational philosophies, in which enlightened utilitarianism played a significant part. The style of contents and organization of lessons in *The Dublin reading book* were copied from Murray's *An English reader* and the greater part of the reading lessons in the Dublin publication were taken from Murray's *Reader* and its accompanying *Introduction*. This copied material was substantially secular in content and covered a broader range of topics than the normal 'readers' of the period.

Ten pages of "select sentences" similar to those used by Murray in both of his publications opened *The Dublin reading book* and were followed by a selection of "narrative pieces" which were mainly moral tales designed to inculcate a variety of virtues. Material from sources other than Murray's texts was also included in this section: approximately half of the narrative pieces were from Murray's publications. Most of the tales from other sources, at least some of which had come from W. Putsey's *The juvenile class-book*, were concerned with themes similar to those of Murray's tales but were simpler to read or more closely related to the world of the child. It would seem that this points to an appreciation of the point which Murray had outlined in 1804: the difficulty for the learner of spanning the gap from the level of spelling book to reader. The inclusion of a number of simpler tales of similar theme probably represented an attempt to bridge this gap. This was an ambitious aim to have when editing a single 'reading' volume but the attempt is important in showing the appreciation of learning difficulties among the members of the model school subcommittee who compiled the work.

Truthfulness was one of the virtues which the narrative pieces sought to develop. The simple story entitled "With a good conscience we sleep soundly" told of a boy who could not sleep because he knew that his victory at marbles during the day had been achieved by cheating. In an ending which may cloy to modern ears but which demonstrated a lightness not found in the evangelical
extracts on sin in *The Dublin spelling book* the boy’s mind was set at ease by his mother:

"My child", says the mother, "God is ever ready to forgive those who are truly sorry for their faults, and who resolve to do what is right. He hears our prayers; and he will teach us what we should do. Pray to him to forgive your faults; and endeavour never to commit the like again, lest you should displease more by a second, than by the first offence".175

The theme of honesty being rewarded was examined in "Truth commended", the tale from George Washington’s childhood in which the young George admitted to the destruction of his father’s cherry tree and was rewarded with parental praise:

"Run to my arms, my boy!" exclaimed his father, 
"I forgive you for destroying my tree, since you have had the honesty and manliness thus to tell the truth respecting it".176

A more difficult rendering of the same theme inherited from Murray was Dodd’s "Virtue in humble life" a narrative concerning a poor man who was generously rewarded for his honesty in handing up a lost bag of gold which he found at the side of the road.177 The opposite side of the equation was included in a tale under the title "Dishonesty punished".178

A number of other virtues was included in the lessons. A theme as old as children’s literature - the importance of obedience to parents - was treated in two salutary tales in which naughty children were accidentally shot ("Danger of playing with firearms")179 and drowned ("The danger of disobedience").180 In a third story "The spoiled boy" the hero came to realise his selfishness when his tempers and misconduct had reduced his mother to a serious illness.181 Despite their melodramatic aspects these three tales do show an attempt to set the narrative and language in the world of the child as Barbauld’s followers had advocated. "The pious sons" which had been taken from Murray, was concerned with the same theme, but was written more in the style of a ‘reader’ than a child’s book.182 Stories were also included condemning greed (e.g. "The two bees" from Murray’s
Introduction, praising kindness (e.g. "Androceles and the Lion" from Aesop), and two stories from Murray "The ungrateful guest" and "Beneloveonce its own reward". Cruelty to animals, the perennial theme of children's books of the period, was denounced in "The boys and the frogs" (a non-Murray extract) and "Cruelty to insects condemned" which had come from Murray's Introduction.

Two further themes received attention. Firstly, the importance of self reliance and hard work as valuable personal characteristics was stressed using tales from Aesop's fables (e.g. "The lark and her young ones", and "The farmer and his sons") and a story of "Ingenuity and industry rewarded" in which a hard working brother prospered while his lazy sibling failed. A second important theme was that of the relative roles of rich and poor. Most of the moral tales in The Dublin reading book were less overtly didactic than the tracts of Hannah More or the stories of Mrs. Trimmer, but this theme received a quite conservative treatment. More's "The Salisbury shepherd" described a poor family who in spite of their poverty were thankful for the benefits they had received. An extract from Murray entitled "The secret of being always satisfied" had a broadly similiar theme but a noticeably less didactic tone.

Three stories were included in The Dublin spelling book which warned that appearances could be deceptive: Aesop's "The stag" which described the discovery that drab legs are more useful than glorious antlers when escaping the hounds; "Appearances often deceive" from Murray's books which compared the relative value to man of the useful, but ugly, camel and the beautiful, but destructive tiger; and "We destroy pleasure by pursuing it too eagerly" wherein a boy who destroyed a butterfly in the act of trying to capture it learned "that pleasure is but a painted butterfly; which is temperately pursued, may serve to amuse, but when embraced with too much ardour, will perish in the grasp". This was a set of tales intended to remind the poor that the life of the rich might not be all it seemed: a theme expounded in "No rank or possessions can make the guilty mind happy". Murray's retelling of Cicero's classical Greek story of Damocles. Three
extracts from the writings of Dr. Johnson were quoted in order to prove to the poor that their humble lifestyles had many advantages over the life of the idle rich. One of these three passages had been included in Murray's *An English reader* and the remaining two in the *Sequel* but they were abstract allegorical writings which must have been extremely difficult for pupils to read.196

The new and secular tone which *The Dublin reading book* gained by being based on Murray's textbooks was most evident in part III of the work which was titled "Descriptive pieces", (as Murray's corresponding sections of *An English reader* and *Introduction* had been). These sections of Murray's book had included a number of items on natural history (e.g. "The eagle", "The humming bird"), geographical descriptions of "The cataract of Niagra" and "Earthquake at Catanea", "The grotto of Antiparos" and historical accounts such as the "Character of Alfred, king of England" and a "Description of the preparations made by Xerxes the Persian monarch for invading Greece".197 The account of King Alfred had been taken by Murray from Hume the eighteenth-century philosopher but he had taken all the others from the works of Oliver Goldsmith, possibly *An history of the earth, and animated nature* which had been posthumously published in 1774 (in eight vols.). Goldsmith is better known for his dramatic works such as *The vicar of Wakefield* (1766), *The traveller* (1764) and *She stoops to conquer* (1773) but from 1759 he had had a close connection with the firm of John Newbery, the publisher whose *A pretty pocket book* is usually considered to be the first book written and published for the sole amusement of children. Goldsmith's *An history of the earth* was not published by Newbery but he edited or revised a number of Newbery's children's books, including *A new and accurate system of natural history* (1763-4).198 The language of the extracts which Murray used was quite complex, (Goldsmith's *An history of the earth* had not been intended exclusively for children), but Goldsmith's inclusion is a mark of Murray's insight into the interest which this type of material could excite and a sign of the influence children's literature was exerting on the design of the school textbooks.

The Kildare Place Society did not limit their lessons of this type to Murray's selection. As will become evident in the examination of the library readers
they were as aware as any other publisher of the interest this type of material held for a population who had heard of the wonders of other lands yet were unlikely ever to view them. The *Dublin reading book* expanded on each of the areas Murray had included: the ox, goat, ass, hare, sloth, horse, ouran-outang [sic] and chamois were added to the animals described; additional geographical information on snowstorms in Scotland, the scenery of Apure (a branch of the River Orinoco), a visit to a coal pit in Newcastle, and the Great Kentucky Cavern were included; an account of William Penn's treaty with the American Indians supplemented the historical section and the Dublin compilers even included "Easy and instructive experiments" which detailed tests to compare the relative absorption of heat by bodies of dark and light colour. The broader range of topics which Mavor and Murray had included in their spelling books is said to have been a contributory factor in their popularity. Certainly, the library readers of the Society which dealt with similar natural history topics enjoyed a considerable commercial success and it is possible to argue that the popularity of this type of material may have contributed to the success of *The Dublin reading book* which continued to remain in print until the 1850s.

A series of metaphorical descriptions of human virtues formed a less successful inheritance from Murray's *English reader* and *Introduction*. The passage entitled "Mortality" used in Murray's *Introduction* began with the following paragraph:

Child of mortality, whence comest thou? why is they countenance sad, and why are thy eyes red with weeping? - I have seen the rose in its beauty; it spread its leaves to the morning sun. I returned: it was dying upon its stalk; the grace of the form of it was gone: its loveliness scattered on the ground, and so one gathered them again.

The passage continued with a number of examples of mortality in nature and attempted to link the mortality of man to these images. This required a level of abstract thinking which must have been beyond the comprehension of most learners. Nevertheless all of these passages on human virtues were given a similar
treatment. "Health" (which Murray had extracted from Chesterfield's *The economy of human life*) is described as a youthful maiden "the daughter of exercise and temperance" who "with graceful steps, and with a lively air, trips over yonder plain".203 The Kildare Place compilers substituted simpler texts for those on "Charity" and "Gratitude" which Murray had extracted from the sermons of the eighteenth century divines Blair and Addison, but the Kildare Place versions were not a significant improvement204 and the addition of further lessons on "Immortality" and "Heaven" worsened an already indigestible collection of abstract writing.205

The three "public speeches" (those of "Fabricus a Roman ambassador to King Phyrhus", of "The Scythian ambassador to King Alexander" and "The apostle Paul's noble defence before Festus and Agrippa") which made up the fourth and shortest section of *The Dublin reading book* were no more accessible to the younger reader.206 It is, however, easy to be too critical of the inclusion of such work in *The Dublin reading book*. It must be remembered that this type of extract was the normal content of 'readers' designed to be read aloud. Murray compiled his *English reader* and *Sequel* with oral reading in mind207 and the final prose sections of *The Dublin reading book* (parts IV and V) based on his work, were meant to fulfil a similar function. However the fact that the Kildare Place compilers curtailed these sections while expanding earlier ones demonstrates a degree of concern with reading difficulty.

The final prose section of *The Dublin reading book* "Part V Didactic pieces" is most interesting. Four of the items used, "Rank and riches afford no ground for envy", "On the importance of order in the distribution of time", "Patience under provocation our interest as well as duty" and "Motives to the practice of gentleness" were from the writings of Blair, a Scottish dissenting cleric of the eighteenth century.208 They examined in detail ideas which occurred in the earlier moral tales: the fortune of the poor to be born into poverty, the work ethic and the importance of a calm, kind attitude to all. Of greater significance are the remaining pieces which Murray had taken from the writings of a number of other eighteenth century theological writers. The religious beliefs which these extracts described were
different to the evangelical concerns of *The Dublin spelling book*. Instead of the emphasis on sin, guilt and salvation the extracts contain the theology of the eighteenth century enlightenment which approached religious matters with the same rational mind that had been applied to nature and science. This theology sought to prove the existence of God by arguing from the wonders of nature.\textsuperscript{209} The extracts included in *The Dublin reading book* provided classic expositions of these theories. An extract entitled "The beauties of the creation" for example, claims that a study of the works of the creator is "one of the most useful employments of the mind of man" as "every object brings a proof of his God".\textsuperscript{210}

In natural theology a rational study of creation could do more than prove the existence of God - it could provide a means whereby the value of Christian virtues and the benefits of a religious belief could be arrived at by logical argument. "The dependence of beings upon each other" examined the total interdependence of plants and animals in nature as cogent evidence of dependency among humans and the need for the Christian ideal of sharing:

> Thus we do not live for ourselves only; for the wise author of Nature has so ordained that all things should be useful to one another.\textsuperscript{211}

Similarly, man would be made gentle and kind, according to Blair's "Motives to the practice of gentleness", if exposed to a rational examination of his place in the ordered creation:

> Let us survey the natural equality on which Providence has placed man with man, and reflect on the infirmities common to all. If the reflection on natural equality and mutual offences, be insufficient to prompt humanity, let us at least remember what we are in the sight of our Creator. Have we none of that forbearance to give one another, which we all so earnestly entreat from heaven? Can we look for clemency or gentleness from our judge, when we are so backward to show it to our own brethren?\textsuperscript{212}

The religion of these lessons could be described as deist and was also to be found in the "Pieces of poetry" which constituted part V of *The Dublin reading book*. Two hymns by Addison, "The goodness of providence" (The Lord my pasture
shall prepare) and "The creator's works attest his greatness" (The spacious firmament on high) were of this tradition as was Thompson's "Reflections on a future state, from a review of winter". The anthology of poetry included in *The Dublin reading book* in many ways paralleled the contents of the whole reader. Most of the poems had been taken from Murray's *English reader* or its *Sequel* and ranged over a number of secular and religious themes while including the notable poets of the English language.

As with the moral tales the Dublin compilers made an attempt to introduce simpler material to Murray's selection. The main source for this additional material was Isaac Watts' *Divine songs*, a collection of children's hymns and moral verses originally published in 1715. Watts was a dissenting minister in the puritan tradition but he had, through teaching, been led to an awareness of the limitations of children's minds, and his poems were quite different from the puritanical religious verse which had been the staple diet of godly protestant families of the seventeenth century. The themes of eternal fire and punishment, so loved of the puritans, were represented but many of the hymns of *Divine songs* portrayed a God whose nature was evident in the wonders of his creation. Like the theological writings of the deists these hymns were more concerned with praise and thanksgiving than the sinful nature of man:

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I sing the Almighty power of God,  
That made the mountains rise,  
That spreads the flowing seas abroad,  
And built the lofty skies.  

...  
His hand is my perpetual guard;  
He keeps me with his eye;  
Why should I then forget the Lord,  
Who is for ever nigh.
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Watts' comprehension of the juvenile mind was most evident in the songs which dealt with the morals of children rather than religious teaching. Vices such as lying, quarrelling, bad language, idleness and pride in clothes, which eighteenth (and nineteenth) century authors were anxious to banish from children were treated in a series of poems which shows "a sympathetic acquaintance with children's failings
and the gentlest advice as to how to meet their temptations.\textsuperscript{217} This gentleness of tone and the care taken by the author to use only an 'easy language' suited to the capacities of children were further innovatory features of the work which contributed to its success throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.\textsuperscript{218} Six of the \textit{Divine songs} appear in \textit{The Dublin reading book} as additions to the poetry taken from Murray.\textsuperscript{219}

The publication of the \textit{Dublin spelling book} and the \textit{Dublin reading book} represent the first Irish attempt to make an organized reading scheme available for the children of the poor. The contents of these works drew heavily on eighteenth century approaches but reflect a genuine attempt on the part of the compilers to base their work on more modern educational thinking. Yet despite the care which was taken in the compilation of \textit{The Dublin spelling book} and \textit{The Dublin reading book} they did not prove to be a satisfactory reading scheme. Much of the blame for this must be laid on the Society's adoption of the monitorial system. The emphasis on repetitive mechanical drills and the use of unskilled teaching labour led to many pupils developing a reading ability without any understanding of the material which they were reading. Criticism of the monitorial method was often centred on this lack of understanding and in Britain the National Society had responded by advocating the use of the catechetical method in an effort to ensure that the children were aware of meaning.\textsuperscript{220}

The preponderance of religious/biblical material graded solely on word length in \textit{A reading book} must have meant that many of the Dublin reading lessons would have been difficult for a learner to understand. Other criteria such as sentence length, number of sub-clauses per sentence and abstractness of theme were not considered for example. The experience gained from the use of \textit{A reading book} together with the examples of the National Society may have prompted consideration of this problem in Dublin. Experience of the use of \textit{A reading book} certainly played some part, as it was the model school subcommittee which first suggested the publication of a question book based on the tablet reading lessons. In July 1819 the model school subcommittee reported to the General Committee that they:
frequently had under consideration the propriety of preparing a work for the purpose of exercising the children in the schools of the Society in the reading lessons, and of ascertaining their progress as well as to ensure their understanding of what they read.\textsuperscript{221}

The subcommittee had compiled a specimen of the proposed work and it was discussed at this meeting of the General Committee. The biblical material in the reading lessons, which would have caused many of the comprehension problems, made the compilation of a question book extremely difficult. Questioning on the meaning of the scriptural passages could have broken the Society's own 'without note or comment' rule and following much consideration the proposal was rejected by the committee as they doubted:

the possibility of preparing such a work wherein extracts from the scriptures formed part of the exercises, without incurring risk of its being objectionable to different denominations of Christians.\textsuperscript{222}

But the idea of a question book was not totally abandoned as the Committee resolved to prepare such a work on a reading book without biblical passages, i.e. the forthcoming \textit{Dublin reading book}.\textsuperscript{223} A year later when the model school subcommittee reported that this publication "was in a state of forwardness" they promised that on its completion they would "proceed to prepare an exercise book founded upon it, pursuant to the order of the General Committee of 17 July 1819".\textsuperscript{224}

Work began on the project as promised and the model school subcommittee could report in September 1820 that "the exercise book to accompany it [\textit{The Dublin reading book}] is also very nearly finished."\textsuperscript{225} The subcommittee failed to keep its promise, however, probably because of the pressure of work on Veevers on whom the subcommittee depended for such compilations. During the period 1819-1822 he had transferred the model schools to Kildare Place while his normal workload expanded. He was organizing the training of a growing number of teachers and inspectors, travelling on his own tours of inspection and supervising the work of the increasing number of inspectors which the Society employed.
During 1820 and the early months of 1821 the model school subcommittee had first compiled and then revised the contents of *The Dublin reading book* and it is probable that Veevers was at least consulted, if not directly involved in this work.\(^{226}\) These activities probably accounted for the loss of impetus suffered by the question book; the completion of *The schoolmaster's manual "so anxiously desired by your subcommittee"* was reported in July 1822 but no further reference was made to the question book in the reports of the model school subcommittee.\(^ {227}\) It seems therefore that the project was allowed to lapse, although the problem from which it had arisen did not disappear.

The attention of Lewis Mills, one of the Society's inspectors, was drawn to the problem when he visited the Edinburgh Sessional School in 1826. Mills met the manager of the school, Mr. Woods, who had developed an improved method of teaching reading.\(^ {228}\) Woods dispensed with the normal alphabetic sequence and arranged the letters to be taught in "brotherhoods, according to the organs of voice used in pronouncing them, and to teach the child the knowledge of his letters, at first, and for a long time, in this way only."\(^ {229}\) The syllabrium which Murray and others had begun to simplify was not used other than when the syllables so formed were meaningful words, and as the child spelled and read he was required to explain each item in his own words. Woods' system, dubbed 'the intellectual method' was later promoted by Professor Pillans who claimed that "besides its other admitted advantages, [it] is also a far shorter road to the mechanical process of reading fluently."\(^ {230}\)

Mills, who had been a gifted teacher trained under Veevers in Kildare Place,\(^ {231}\) was sufficiently impressed by the superiority of the method to inform several of the other Kildare Place inspectors of it.\(^ {232}\) He used, and recommended it to teachers in the country schools and it may have been his descriptions of the Edinburgh school which prompted W.V. Griffith, another Kildare Place inspector to include the question of reading comprehension in his annual report dated 6 February 1827.\(^ {233}\) Griffith had completed a tour of inspection in a predominantly presbyterian part of the north of Ireland in 1826 and in his report he noted that in some schools the use of the bible as the *sole* reading text for the upper classes was
Griffith describes that on:

the commencement of my tour I resolved to ascertain as well as the restrictive rule of the Society would permit, how far the minds of the children in the different schools had been engaged.  

To gauge the comprehension of pupils he asked them to read from the new testament and *The Dublin reading book*. The results were not very satisfactory:

In the great majority of cases the result of this investigation was that those who had been confined to the use of the testament and could read it fluently, were unable to proceed through a sentence in the reading book without hesitation and mistake and displayed the most lamentable ignorance of the subject.

Griffith concluded that the system encouraged by the Society in which the testament was not the sole reading text was thus proved to be superior. He also acknowledged that the rules of the Society restricted the ability of the teachers to explain the scriptures but he had been sufficiently aroused by his examinations to state that it was:

desirable that the children should be taught to think, and be not only qualified to read whatever it is well they should understand, but to understand everything they read.

He reported that he had, as a result of his findings impressed upon teachers:

the necessity of instructing the children under their care to read both in the testament and *Dublin Reading book* and of exercising their minds by questions out of the latter.

Griffiths investigations in Co. Down during the following year (1827) revealed 2,204 "good readers in the testament" in 128 schools. Of these only 1,119 (or 50.7%) could read in *The Dublin reading book*. William Fitzgerald, a third Kildare Place inspector, reported similar, though unquantified, findings from his inspections in 1827. These figures cannot be blamed entirely on poor teaching
methods. The contents of The Dublin reading book were abstract and, despite the efforts of the Society, many of the lessons were beyond the level of comprehension to be expected of a learner. Fitzgerald observed that the Society had failed in its attempt to bridge the gap between the level of spelling book and reader, and advocated the compilation of an intermediate level textbook.²⁴⁰ Nevertheless poor teaching methods were to some degree, responsible for the lack of comprehension in reading. This was not entirely the result of the use of the monitorial method: travellers to Ireland often noted that oral reading skill was valued in pay schools rather than any comprehension of reading material. The practice known as 'rehearsing' was widespread²⁴¹ and was not unknown in Kildare Place schools. Griffith, for example, noted that in schools staffed by teachers who had attended the Belfast Academical Institution, a great emphasis was placed on learning, particularly mathematics and reading, but he regretted that:

this reading is declamation and I have been surprised at the exact uniformity with which an inflated tone of voice and an affected gesticulation pervaded all the classes.²⁴²

When questioning did take place it was at a simple level which did not demand critical thinking or even understanding. Professor Pillans, who visited the schools in north east Ulster, described how teachers questioned pupils on passages from The Dublin reading book in such a way as to enable them to repeat sentences or phrases from the book as answers. Pillans who then questioned the pupils as to the meanings of the phrases they had just repeated invariably found a total lack of comprehension of the words and phrases used.²⁴³ Griffith who accompanied Pillans on his visits to the schools kept the question before the Committee and by the time he wrote his annual report for 1827 he was able to record that he believed a series of questions adapted to The Dublin reading book was in preparation.²⁴⁴ In January 1829 Mills again stated to the committee that teachers required "a book explanatory of the mode of examining in the lessons in The Dublin reading book".²⁴⁵ The literary assistant had completed a draft question book by November 1829 and the final text was approved in September 1831.²⁴⁶ However the work was
not in print until 1834, probably because of the severe financial crisis in which the Society found itself in its last years as a publicly funded body.  

The publication of *Questions on the Dublin reading book* may be taken as evidence of an awareness among the members of the Kildare Place Society of the limitations which existed in the Society's methods but its protracted history must throw this interpretation in some doubt. This is not, however, to belittle the importance of *Questions* itself. Educationalists had become dissatisfied with the monitorial system and its attendant spelling method of literacy acquisition during the 1820s. Pillans' writings were just one example of the criticisms which began to be made of the superficial, mechanical education of these schools. The introduction to *Questions* was the first publication of the Society which responded to this criticism and it represented a retreat from the pure monitorial methods which Kildare Place had adopted in 1811 and which were advocated as late as 1825 in *The schoolmaster's manual*. In *Questions* the Society did not claim a monitor could teach a class to read: learning, the introduction asserted, could only really take place when the child's understanding was aroused and so:

> Assisted by the monitors, the schoolmaster should teach his pupils the meanings of words, of sentences, and of paragraphs, he ought then familiarly to *illustrate* and copiously to *exemplify* the principle, no less than to hear his scholar *repeat* the words of a rule.  

In order to satisfy these demands the reading material must be carefully suited to the understanding of the learner, the child must "be fed with milk, not with meat, until he be able to bear it." The writer was critical of past practices in which children could "learn to read sufficiently well without attaching one single idea to the words they pronounce." The 'interrogatory system' described by Pillans by which pupils were required to explain the contents of the reading lessons (from the simple lessons of no more than one or two words, through sentences, and paragraphs to whole passages) in their own words was recommended. In addition to testing the child's comprehension the teacher was to use the occasion of each reading lesson as an opportunity to extend the learner's general knowledge. In *Questions* two sets of questions were supplied for each lesson in *The Dublin
reading book; the first was to test recall of the facts of the lesson, the second to extend the child's knowledge of the topic of the lesson and related subjects.

Several major conclusions may therefore be drawn from a study of the Society's spelling and reading textbooks. Firstly, The Dublin spelling book did not draw on some of the recent advances in children's books because of the Society's adoption of the monitorial method. As a result the pupil's first steps on the road to literacy were unnecessarily complex and probably very confusing. This situation was aggravated when the evangelical tenets of the committee over-ruled the requirements of good textbook design and biblical style extracts were inserted into the reading lessons of the Dublin spelling book.

Secondly, the content of the textbook proves that the committee were not entirely lacking in a knowledge of methodological requirements. The choice of Murray's scheme as the basis of the Dublin books and the additional simpler material which was judiciously introduced into The Dublin reading book point to this conclusion. The publication of A dictating spelling book and Questions on the Dublin reading book are also indicative of a sensitivity to pedagogical requirements and in particular to the need to alleviate the failings of the monitorial system. That the model school subcommittee, rather than the book subcommittee, was involved in the compilation of two of these works (The Dublin reading book and Questions) probably accounts, at least in part, for the awareness of learning difficulties they display.

Thirdly, Questions is both a condemnation and a vindication of the Society's pedagogical work. The tone of its introduction is markedly different to that of The schoolmaster's manual and in this respect it may be seen as an admission that the crude spelling methods which had been adopted by Kildare Place as part of the monitorial system had been a mistake. On the other hand, it illustrates the degree to which the Society had changed educational thinking. The style of teaching described in Questions could only have been undertaken by a well educated teacher and the fact that the Society could recommend it, without questioning the ability of teachers to implement it, is a measure of the Society's
success in the training of teachers: it could now be assumed that a better class of person would accept teaching as an occupation and that he would at some stage receive a degree of training.

Fourthly, it must be accepted that the contents of *The Dublin spelling book* and *The Dublin reading book* taken together represent a major advance in the 'secularization' of the curriculum as Goldstrom argued. At the same time Goldstrom's analysis of the reasons for this development must be considered over simplistic. The contents of the books illustrate that two competing philosophies existed among the members of the Kildare Place committee. The influence of the evangelicals is seen in the biblical extracts of *The Dublin spelling book* but the choice of Murray's reading scheme, the inclusion of moral tales, natural history, geography and in particular a set of religious lessons based on the theology of the eighteenth century enlightenment are conclusive evidence that 'evangelical moral rescue' was not the sole philosophy of Kildare Place. These items are the product of an enlightened utilitarian philosophy which saw for education a broader and more positive improving role in the life of the nation.

**The Textbook and Curricular Development**

The Society must be credited with its recognition of the role the textbook could have in controlling the curriculum and effecting methodological change. The tablet lesson, for example, was unique to the monitorial system. Its adoption by Kildare Place brought an implicit recognition of the role a textbook could have in curriculum control and change, a potential which the Society was not slow to exploit. The organization of children into classes of pupils of similar learning levels was a key feature of the monitorial system. Lancaster envisaged eight reading classes in his scheme, the lowest learning the alphabet and succeeding classes reading words of two, three, four, five and six letters. His sixth class read from the testament, the seventh from the bible and the eighth class was 'a selection of the best readers'. Bell used a similar class division. Both
he and Lancaster had produced spelling and reading lessons for the lower classes in their schools, but for the higher classes they had drawn on a random collection of religious works, improving books and hymn collections. The generous financing of Kildare Place by the government meant that the Society was able to substitute a graded and comprehensive reading scheme, similar to that of Murray, for the previous unsatisfactory arrangements. The Society hoped it could ensure the use of the monitorial method and the introduction of class teaching by providing graded schemes in reading writing and arithmetic and the other paraphernalia of the system, including merit tickets and monitorial badges. The Society wrote of its books; "for without them, it would have been vain, to attempt introducing the improved system of teaching into the schools of Ireland".

The pupils were divided into eight classes for reading using the grading scheme already in use within the spelling and reading books of the Society. The availability of the books meant that children could now have identical texts to read, rather than whatever was readily available at home, and the organization of classes became a practical proposition. The power of textbook design and provision can be overemphasized of course, and Kildare Place provides an example of the failure of a textbook to alter teaching styles: the availability of the monitorial lesson sheets did not guarantee adoption of the monitorial method. However, the widespread availability of the reading texts was the sign of a school system which was designed for mass education not the education of a few, and was a significant contributor to the achievement of that ideal.

The Society sought to ensure that the graded approach it had adopted in reading was sustained in the teaching of writing. The early stages of reading and writing were, in accordance with Lancaster's plan, taught simultaneously, by means of sand trays and slates. Following this stage children were grouped into eight classes according to the level of penmanship expected of them (see fig. 3.6). Copperplate headlines of increasing difficulty were to be placed before the pupils to be copied onto ruled slates. The preparation of these headlines was a great
drudgery for teachers in a large school. When "a new system of writing for the use of schools" which promised to alleviate this work was proposed to the model school subcommittee it was accepted and "referred to the book subcommittee, with a request to forward its publication with as much expedition [sic] as possible". A variety of copperplate headlines was printed on sheets which the teacher cut up and then pasted to metal strips (see fig.3.7 and 3.8). These strips were held in a small frame before the child, and changed when necessary. The contents of the printed headlines corresponded to the graded system the society recommended and so ensured its adoption. Moreover the system acted as a guarantee of accuracy and standardized presentation where unskilled teaching labour was in use. Once the child had gained a high level of proficiency he graduated to the use of paper and writing from dictation. The printed copperplate sheets were first made available in 1821 and became very popular with annual distribution figures rising to over 33,000 by 1831 (see table 3.2).

The Society's approach to the teaching of mathematics was identical to that which had been used for reading. The teaching of arithmetic had, in most schools, been carried on on an individual basis, children opting for the subject only when their parents were able to pay for it and progressing at their own pace. This method could only work when few children studied the subject and it led to an inefficiency of which Lancaster had been extremely critical:

Again, when sums are brought up to the master for inspection, each boy's must be individually attended to; here is another great loss of invaluable time. Perhaps, twenty boys have sums ready for inspection at once, and nineteen wait, sit idle, or talk while the twentieth is at his master's desk with his sums. Nor is this all: if an incorrigible dunce happens to show up his sums first, and, as is often the case, adds new blunders to mistakes, he may easily delay his master, and the boys who are waiting to follow him in succession, for some time; and a few instances of this sort, arising from carelessness, inattention, or incapacity on the part of the scholars, will completely derange the business of a morning, and keep a number of their school-fellows unemployed.

Following Lancaster's example Kildare Place recommended that arithmetic be taught in a progressive way on a class basis (see fig. 3.9). To ensure the use of this
system the arithmetic lessons were compiled in a corresponding fashion and charts supplied by which the progress of pupils through the separate stages could be recorded. Samples of these record charts (one for each of the 'divisions' of arithmetic) were included as plates in *The schoolmaster's manual* and full size printed versions were sent to schools.256

The arithmetic lessons appeared in tablet form for use in spelling circles, and as in the case of the spelling book the contents of the arithmetic lessons were influenced by the need to use unskilled monitors as teachers. While *The schoolmaster's manual* warned teachers not to allow pupils to progress from one stage unless the work of that stage was properly understood,257 little cognizance was taken of the development of understanding in the arithmetic lessons. The first twelve tablets consisted of addition, multiplication, subtraction and division tables for each of the numbers one to twelve258 (see fig. 3.10) These were taught "in class by dictation, and in seats by individual study", by which the monitors dictated each line of each table e.g. 4 and 3 are 7, 4 and 4 are 8, 4 and 5 are 9, etc. while the pupils wrote it on slates or rehearsed it in the circles.259 Following constant repetition the pupils were then asked to repeat the facts, initially in order, later at random.260 The use of these drills was suited to the monitorial method as it required no understanding of the mathematical processes involved (either on the part of the pupil or monitor) and was easily and accurately corrected by the monitor.

*The schoolmaster's manual* advised that a study of numeration (ie place value) follow the work on the tables but it seems to have been included as the first tablet in the arithmetic lessons.261 Next came each of the number operations: addition, multiplication, subtraction and division. The arithmetic lessons included two or three sheets on which fully worked algorithms for each of these operations were displayed together with a commentary describing the process (see fig. 3.11). In completing an addition sum the monitor read out the numbers to be added and then the commentary describing the addition of each column, and the recording of the answer including the 'carrying' of tens, hundreds etc. The commentary enabled a monitor who could do no more than read proficiently to teach basic number operations. Sheets with further examples (usually with increasingly large numbers)
followed so that the pupils could practice the skills learned. The success of the method was dependent on a strict adherence to the commentary on the tablet lesson as *The schoolmaster's manual* made clear:

It is of considerable consequence to have for every operation in the elementary rules a prescribed form of words, from which the scholars, without express permission should on no account be allowed to depart.

Mastery of the four number operations was followed by 'reduction' i.e. the operation to convert a mixed sum such as pounds, shillings and pence (£sd) or hundredweights, quarters and pounds (cwt. - qrt. - lbs) to basic units i.e. pence or pounds. The reverse process (basic units to mixed quantities) was also studied, both skills being taught in a drill fashion similar to that used for the number operations. Compound number operations (i.e. the application of number operations to mixed quantities) which drew upon the skills of reduction followed. Once again a fully worked sample of each operation was given and was taught in the drill method. Sheets of further examples to be worked by the pupils followed.

The final five sheets of the 100 tablets of arithmetic lessons involved the application of all the skills learned to practical problems such as the cost of items and the totals of bills of parcels.

The arithmetic lessons therefore sacrificed the development of mathematical understanding in order to make monitorial teaching possible. The reliance on the drill method is probably the clearest evidence of this but it can also be seen in the minimal attempts which were made to grade the numbers used in the teaching of the number operations. Because the drill gave the pupil an infallible method with which to tackle the number operation the size of the numbers involved was considered to be of little importance, e.g. the tablet entitled 'Subtraction No.1' describes the subtraction of two 8 digit numbers. Occasionally in choosing the drill to be used, the compiler sought a method which was more mechanical than one which depended on comprehension: when subtraction with borrowing had to take place (e.g. on tablet XLVI, see fig. 3.12) the removal of a ten was not recorded in the tens column by substituting 7 in place of 8, but by adding the ten to the 4 tens to
be subtracted. The result of either method is the same but the substitution method is a clearer reflection of the arithmetical process which takes place, and is to be preferred if an understanding of the process is to be developed. The predominance of method over comprehension is also seen in the teaching of the short division algorithm which becomes possible when the divisor is a multiple of ten: clear drill instructions were given but no attempt was made to explain their basis (see table LXII, fig. 3.13).

The apparent indifference to the development of mathematical understanding which is to be found in the arithmetic lessons can, however, lead one to be over-critical of the Society's methods. The drill approach had its advantages, particularly if pupils were not going to attend school for a long period. Just as primitive spelling methods of literacy acquisition managed to give pupils a basic word attack skill for life, the drill method gave the learner a system by which he could cope with most arithmetical problems he was likely to encounter in adulthood. Moreover the arithmetic lessons (like the spelling lessons) demonstrate a degree of pedagogical understanding. The Society changed the conventional order in which some of the operations were taught for sound teaching reasons based on the mathematical understanding demanded by the processes involved. In place of the usual addition, subtraction, multiplication and division order the Society substituted addition, multiplication, subtraction and division. Multiplication had been moved because the compilers recognized the connection between addition and multiplication as repeated addition: "In the arithmetic tables... multiplication has been placed next after addition, it being really addition in a shorter form". The Society also abandoned Lancaster's order in which each compound number operation was studied immediately after the corresponding operation but before the skills of reduction had been acquired. 

The schoolmaster's manual noted that this change had been made to ensure a sound progressive scheme of work:

We have always placed reduction before the compound rules of addition, although we are aware that it is not usually taught until afterwards, and we have adopted this plan, because it is evident that when the sum to be added up is one of the different denominations, suppose cwt. quarters and pounds, it will be necessary to reduce the total of pounds
in the first column into quarters, and the total of quarters in the second column into cwts before the addition can be completed.\textsuperscript{269}

The inclusion of reduction and the application of compound operations to practical problems which was covered in tablets XCVI to C represented a certain widening of the curriculum. Lancaster had included compound operations in his schema but reduction and the other problems had not been included in the arithmetic lessons he had sent to Dublin, an omission noted by Bewley.\textsuperscript{270}

The Dublin compilers also sought to make the monitorial method as efficient as possible. To help develop pupil accuracy a system of self checking was taught for the operations of multiplication and subtraction.\textsuperscript{271} This would have helped in the correction of work, and would have given the learner a fail-safe method by which he could check his calculations (an important additional skill for those relying on a drill method rather than on understanding). The improvement of monitors was also attempted by the publication of \textit{A dictating arithmetic} which served a similar role to \textit{A dictating spelling book}. In \textit{A dictating arithmetic} the monitor had copies of the tables or combination of figures which formed the first twelve sheets of the tablet lessons and all the possible permutations of number facts which could be extracted from them including those which demonstrated the commutativity of addition and multiplication\textsuperscript{272} (see fig. 3.14) A series of tables to help develop extended addition was also included.\textsuperscript{273} By the use of these tables (see fig. 3.15) the learner was encouraged to gain maximum advantage from his knowledge of the basic addition facts. Pages of fully worked examples of the number operations followed, each sample accompanied by a full commentary for the monitor to read. Further pages of increasingly difficult worked examples without commentary but including the running total figure and/or carrying figures to be used in the commentary were also provided.\textsuperscript{274} The monitor could thus teach the operations with a degree of confidence and unfailing accuracy (see figs. 3.15 to 3.19 inclusive). While making these efforts to improve the efficiency of the monitor, the Society was ready to acknowledge that the teaching of certain topics was beyond his competency. The long multiplication and long division algorithms are included in the arithmetic lessons but the compilers intended them to be taught by teachers only as no printed
The greatest indication of the Society's openness to pedagogical development was their adoption of the Pestalozzian system of arithmetic in the 1820s. Pestalozzi, a Swiss educationalist, had been inspired by the writings of Rousseau, particularly the idea of 'the natural man'. Pestalozzi developed a child-centred educational system which he described in the form of a novel, *Leonard and Gertrude*, and which he implemented in his school at Yverdun in Switzerland. Pestalozzi's methods were not a specific teaching technique but rather "a new spirit in education which should guide the child to act rationally and independently". The notion that the child had to learn from experience was central to these ideas. Pestalozzian methods "sought to lead the child from initial confusion, through classification and description to definite comprehension". Pestalozzi applied this philosophy to all areas of the child's education but the teaching of arithmetic benefited most of all. Pestalozzi dispensed with drill and sought to allow the child to develop an understanding of number value through the handling of concrete objects such as pebbles and beans. To help the child to understand number operations he devised a series of charts in which the operations were illustrated by means of the amalgamation or division of strips. Pestalozzi's work became well known internationally and his school attracted many visitors, one of whom was John Synge of Glanmore, Co. Wicklow. Synge returned to Wicklow, inspired by Pestalozzi's charismatic personality and sought to introduce the system to Ireland. He wrote and published *A biographical sketch of the struggles of Pestalozzi to establish his system* and set up a printing press at Roundwood to print the charts and tablet lessons for the system and a number of works describing the method. Through a personal friendship with John, second viscount de Vesci of Abbeyleix, the Pestalozzian system was introduced to the Abbeyleix school, where the Viscount employed a student of Pestalozzi, L. du Puget, as teacher. De Vesci had been one of the first vice-presidents and guardians of the Kildare Place Society and it was through his school that Pestalozzian methods were introduced to the Society's model school. Veevers visited the Abbeyleix school during his summer inspection tour of 1819 and reported enthusiastically on the new methods.
And I cannot conclude this report without expressing the great satisfaction I received in witnessing the recent improvements in arithmetic so successfully adopted in the Abbeyleix school, a satisfaction which was increased by a conviction of its superiority to any system, I have hitherto met with, and which I am of opinion may be easily introduced into schools without any detriment to their existing arrangements.

At the first committee meeting following the 1820 annual general meeting it was agreed that:

- the model school subcommittee be authorized to bring up a young man from Lord de Vesci's school at Abbeyleix in order to ascertain how far any improvements may be made in the system of education adopted by the Society.

The effect of the new methods which Joseph Dobbs brought from Abbeyleix was felt in the teaching of mathematics as the September report of the model school subcommittee explained:

- the progress made by the scholars in arithmetic since the introduction of Pestalozzi's system of instruction has been beyond the most sanguine expectations of your committee.

The subcommittee could state in January 1821 that "the male school appears to have derived considerable advantage in this branch of education [arithmetic] from the introduction of the improved mode of teaching upon the system of Pestalozzi" though the subcommittee refused to introduce it into the female model school as suggested by the visiting ladies committee.

Dobbs remained at Kildare Place for nearly 10 years, leaving in January 1822 when the General Committee praised him "for his excellent conduct in the model school, and his services in communicating information respecting the system of Pestalozzi, and in assisting Veevers in instructing the masters."

To claim that Kildare Place adopted Pestalozzi's system is an exaggeration: his educational philosophy was contrary to the mechanical monitorial system, but the Society did insert significant parts of his teaching methods into its style of teaching arithmetic. Number values began to be taught using concrete objects: the use of a
bead frame for this purpose is recorded.\textsuperscript{285} There is no recorded use of Pestalozzian charts but copies of Pestalozzi's works (probably Pestalozzi's intuitive relations of numbers and The relations and descriptions of forms, according to the principles of Pestalozzi) were purchased from Timm's of Grafton Street in 1820, shortly after Dobbs' arrival in Kildare Place. These works detailed the teaching of number operations and fractions by means of the charts.\textsuperscript{286} Du Puget's Mental arithmetic on the system of Pestalozzi, which also contained copies of the charts was purchased "for the model school" in 1821 (see fig.3.20) and a purchase of Pestalozzian tables "for the model school" is recorded in 1823.\textsuperscript{287} Surprisingly for a Society which provided almost all the requirements of its schools, the Society does not seem to have distributed any of the tables to the schools until 1831.\textsuperscript{288} The book subcommittee reported in May 1823 that they had decided to provide a supply of Pestalozzian tables to the schools and that they hoped to have them on sale shortly, but there is no evidence that this resolution was put into effect.\textsuperscript{289} However from the purchases made and the committee's enthusiasm for the new methods it seems fair to assume the use of the tables in the model school. Certainly the principles on which the tables operated were incorporated into the teaching method recommended in The schoolmaster's manual (as may be seen in the extract from fig. 3.21). Moreover the style of mathematical education was sufficiently distinctive at Kildare Place for Alexander Mayne, a newly trained teacher, to advertise that following three months study at the "Education Society's house in Dublin" he intended to use "Pestalozzi's much approved system of arithmetic" in the newly opened Moneydig Day School.\textsuperscript{290} Official recognition of the improvements came too: four boys from the Hibemian school in the Phoenix Park were admitted to the model school "for the purpose of being made acquainted with Pestalozzi's system of arithmetic with the view of introducing it into that establishment."\textsuperscript{291} The education commissioners also noted the improved methods as a particularly praiseworthy development.\textsuperscript{292}

The new Pestalozzian method was incorporated into the Kildare Place teaching style but it failed to have any impact on the content of the arithmetic lessons. The second printing of the lessons took place in 1828 and while a copy of this edition has not been identified, there is no evidence in the records of the book
or model school subcommittees that any revision of content took place. The failure to revise the lessons can be explained by a number of issues: the Society was under great financial pressure in the final years of the 1820s and stocks of some of the textbooks had fallen to low levels in the bookstore. The committee was anxious to replenish stocks whenever possible and any delay caused by a revision would have been unacceptable. A second reason concerned the nature of the ideas the Society had adopted from Pestalozzi: they were elements of a teaching style by which arithmetical skills could be more efficiently acquired rather than a fundamental change in course content. But a third reason must lie in the lack lustre success of the arithmetic lessons themselves. An examination of table 3.2 will show that the circulation figures for the arithmetic lessons were considerably lower than those of the spelling lessons. This can be partly explained by the smaller numbers of pupils who studied mathematics: there is evidence to suggest that few pupils remained for a sufficiently long period at school to master arithmetic. It is also clear that the problems of unwieldy size from which the spelling lessons had suffered applied equally to the arithmetic tablets, and this inspired the production of a short set of arithmetic lessons in 1824 (see table 3.1). Table 3.2 shows that the short set became more widely distributed than the full set, but a copy of this work has not survived and the extent of editing which was undertaken is impossible to determine. However if the distribution figures for full length and shortened editions of both spelling lessons and arithmetic lessons are compared (see table 3.2) the relative weakness of the arithmetic lessons can be seen. When a school joined the system it was automatically given a set of spelling lessons (and reading lessons) and a set of arithmetic lessons of the appropriate size, so the excess of spelling tablets over arithmetic tablets can only be explained as the result of a genuinely higher demand for the spelling lessons. A copy of a further arithmetical work entitled The extempore arithmetic, which Kingsmill Moore described as the tablet lessons in book form, has not yet been located but if Moore's description is accurate it would imply that the Society had felt the need to publish the arithmetic tablets in book form (see table 3.1). Yet only a tiny number of The extempore arithmetic were distributed (see table 3.2) and they made no effective contribution to the circulation of the Society's arithmetical scheme.
In contrast to this lack of demand there was some pressure on the Society to produce an advanced manual of arithmetic. As will be seen from fig 3.9 the arithmetic lessons of the Society brought the pupil to the end of the 'second division'. The pupils who advanced to the 'third division' met topics such as proportion (ratio), fractions, decimals and percentages. It was recommended that teachers would procure a mathematical treatise of their choice for such pupils.297 Gough's Arithmetic, one of the more popular of these treatises, was used in the model school.298 A number of similar works was included in the presentation set of books awarded to the most distinguished trainee teachers on their leaving Kildare Place.299 These volumes were however expensive, and by 1828 one of the Society's inspectors included "some mathematical treatise" among the list of textbooks which he felt Kildare Place needed to provide to its schools.300

Coincidentally, in the month following the receipt of the inspector's recommendations Major William Reid of the Survey Office in the Phoenix Park, forwarded a copy of Pasley's Practical geometry to the Society suggesting that they might find it useful in their schools.301 Pasley, a military officer, had been in command of a company of military artificers in 1811 when he visited a Lancastrian school. Impressed by the order of the monitorial system he composed a treatise "to enable the non-commissioned officers to teach themselves and their men without the assistance of mathematical masters".302 Practical geometry was the first of three volumes entitled Course of instruction originally composed for the use of the Royal Engineer Department (1814). The Kildare Place general committee referred the work to Veevers. He considered it "to be the best practical work of the kind" he had met with and introduced its use into the model school. Following this commendation it was agreed that the book subcommittee would prepare an abridgement of the work together with "A geography, arithmetic and grammar", as inspector Fitzgerald had suggested.303 Pasley's permission was secured304 and A familiar treatise on practical mechanics comprehending the laws and qualities of bodies, simple and compound machinery, hydrostatics, hydraulics and pneumatics illustrated with diagrams and figures explanatory of the several powers appeared in 1830. Neither the treatise on arithmetic nor the geography were in print before the Society lost its parliamentary grant, A system of geography appeared in 1834 but
although Veevers submitted the manuscript of 'a work on arithmetic' to the book subcommittee in the same year the Society was unable to fund its publication.305

Some interesting, yet tentative, conclusions can be drawn from the circulation figures of the Society's various arithmetical publications (see table 3.2). The geometry sold in the expected small numbers and it is probable that the projected treatise on arithmetic would also have had a small circulation. There had been, however, a demand for the work so a small percentage of pupils was studying to quite an advanced level in the schools. The interpretation of the circulation of the simpler arithmetical works is more problematical. The use of unskilled monitors to teach arithmetic would seem to have been rare as *A dictating arithmetic* had a low circulation rarely exceeding 100 copies per annum. The lack of success of the tablet lessons when compared to the reading lessons in similar format can be partly accounted for by the small numbers of pupils who studied arithmetic, but it may also be an indication of the unsuitability of the work as a teaching medium. To teach arithmetic solely from the arithmetic lessons would have been impossible and given the relatively small numbers of pupils per school who would have studied the subject, individual teaching may have proved more effective. More serious still is the failure of the Society to distribute the lessons in book form as had been done with *The Dublin spelling book*. If the content of the lessons had been successful, one would have expected the change of format to bring about a great increase in circulation numbers but this never took place. Experience may have taught the Committee that the early stages of arithmetic were best taught by the teacher using Pestalozzian or other methods with only limited recourse to the textbook.

Two important trends are reflected in the development of the Society's textbooks. The earliest publications of the Society had their origins in the crude methods of the monitorial system which had depended on unskilled teaching labour. The format and content of the books were largely determined by these difficult teaching conditions. Yet when the national education commissioners followed the example of Kildare Place and set up their own publishing department less than twenty years later the textbooks produced were, in the early stages of
literacy and numeracy work, considerably more sophisticated. That change was brought about by Kildare Place. The Society never used the monitorial system at its crudest: even the earliest of the Society's publications demonstrate a certain sensitivity to pedagogical concerns, and efforts were made to ensure that monitors were as efficient as possible. The main contribution the Society made, however, was that it stimulated the process of retreat from the monitorial system and encouraged the development of a more sophisticated methodology. *A dictating spelling book* and *A dictating arithmetic* although unsuccessful, were the first manifestations of the perceived need to develop a better approach. Their failure and the lack of success which the tablet lessons experienced were signs that pure monitory methods would not work. The adoption of Pestalozzian methods in arithmetic and the repeated concern with the development of pupil understanding during the 1820s are further signs that Kildare Place was developing an education system which was not simply confined to the acquisition, by pauper children, of basic literacy and numeracy skills solely by drill and rote methods.

The second trend in the Society's publication is closely related to the first. Writers have commented on the way in which the Society developed a complete range of texts as an example of the use of the textbook as a method of curricular and social control. To an extent there is much truth in this theory and there are certainly many reading lessons in the Society's publications which were intended to inculcate appropriate social habits. However this argument tends to ignore the heights to which the textbooks aspired. The reading content of *The Dublin reading book* (whatever its methodological failings) represents a broadening of the curriculum and assumes a reading ability of a high order. The provision of a higher level arithmetic, a geometry, a geography and accompanying maps points to an assumption on the part of the Society that these higher branches of the curriculum should be available to the poor. This growing sophistication in curricular content and methods cannot be wholly explained as a reaction to catholic hostility - a belief that education could play a role in the individual's development and in the general improvement of society must also have contributed. Indeed if the Society had had a more generous level of funding in the late 1820s and had not been so concerned with catholic opposition further methodological developments may have taken place and
the sort of intelligent and comprehensive educational style described in the introduction to *Questions on the Dublin reading book* might have made its appearance sooner.

**The Library Readers: Background**

The books of the Kildare Place Society which have been discussed so far were for school use, but the reputation of the Society's publications rests to a large degree on its attempts to change the reading habits of the population in general. The only widely available cheaply produced material available to the poor throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a class of books known as chapbooks.

Chapbooks were small poorly produced works, often of 16, 32 or occasionally 64 pages. They were often illustrated with crudely executed woodcuts and sold for between 1d. and 6d. a copy. The chapbook came into an embryonic existence in the seventeenth century in Britain and in content, style of production and methods of distribution the chapbooks of Britain and Ireland were similar. The contents of the chapbooks were rarely original. Neuburg, discussing the 'penny histories' or chapbooks of Britain, described a number of distinct sources from which the printers (who were often booksellers) drew their material. Some of the most popular of the chapbooks were medieval tales of chivalry and romance which had been appreciated by all social classes in medieval times. Cultivated readers had abandoned these stories by the sixteenth century but the tales proved to be enduringly attractive to the poor, for whom printers produced retellings in a 'crude and occasionally vigorous prose'. *Guy of Warick*, *Bevis of Southampton*, *The four sons of Ayman* and *The seven wise masters* were among the most popular of these titles. A related source was the medieval tales of the continent some of which had been collected in *Gesta Romanorum; or tales of the Romans* an anthology of tales originally in Latin which used secular lore and allegories to preach the truths of religion. *Reynard the fox*, a medieval animal
fable which was a thinly disguised satire on tyranny, remained popular with young and old. Other tales from the continent which remained popular over a long period were *Fortunatus* (from Germany) *The wandering Jew* (probably also from Germany) and *The famous history of Valentine and Orson* (from France). English legend and folklore were equally important. A fourth source of the chapbook supplier was the work of contemporary authors such as Defoe and Swift. Chapbook editions of the work of these authors and others were often available soon after the appearance of the standard edition of the work. It was in chapbook form that the writings of political philosophers came to have a wide readership: chapbook circulation of Paine's *Rights of Man* was one of the important means by which this author's theories gained popular support. Religious material was a final distinct genre which was produced and distributed on the chapbook market. Catechisms and devotional works were popular in puritan England and continued to be widely distributed throughout the eighteenth century. Although they are sometimes considered as a class of material distinct from chapbook literature because of their essentially catechical role, they were virtually indistinguishable from other chapbooks and may be considered as part of the chapbook market.

The distribution of the works took place in a number of ways: in cities and large towns, particularly London and York, printers sold their publications in their own bookshops. Other towns would have had some booksellers, though these were often involved in the sale of a range of different articles. Books sometimes formed a minor part of the stock of general retailers in smaller towns. One of the most important methods of distribution was, however, the travelling pedlar or chapman who journeyed from village to village selling a variety of articles including chapbooks. His importance as a method of book distribution was such that in the seventeenth century large London printers/booksellers located in areas of the city at the termini of the main routes from the country so as to capture the substantial market which the chapmen represented. In advertising their publications booksellers often made specific reference to stock suitable for sale by pedlars and to the special rates available to such purchasers.
Popular literature and its readership in Ireland was similar to this English pattern and the markets of the two kingdoms were closely related. The first Irish produced chapbooks appeared at the end of the seventeenth century, not long after the British market had become well established.319 There is evidence that even before this date English chapbooks were finding their way into the Irish market: Spufford has found evidence of London booksellers specifically mentioning the availability of stock to Irish pedlars in their advertisements.320 Chapbook production was well established in Ireland by the beginning of the eighteenth century and it continued to be an important source of cheap printed material for the poor throughout the eighteenth century. The only modern study of the production and distribution of chapbook material in Ireland is that of Adams which concentrates on the Ulster counties. The methods of distribution which he describes are identical to those which existed in Britain including the heavy reliance the trade placed on the chapman.321 The sources from which chapbook material was drawn are akin to the categories which Neuburg described for Britain. Phillips, in his pioneering study of the eighteenth century Dublin printing and bookselling trade, cites titles from booksellers lists which are almost identical to those in Britain.322 In 1719, for example, the stock of James Malone, a Roman Catholic bookseller was listed as: "Valentines, Mantelions, Reynards, Troyes, Parsimus, Fortunatus, Gesta Romanorum, Wise Masters etc. . . . also most sorts of prayerbooks, books of piety, devotion and scholarbooks".323 Adams describes a similar range of material as being supplied from the Belfast printers and booksellers to the Ulster counties: medieval romances, religious material directories and almanacks, histories and some political works.324 Adams' evidence has to be treated with caution as his work concentrates on the output of Belfast printers and ignores the dominant position of the Dublin bookselling market: for most of the period of Adams' study many of the Ulster counties were in the commercial hinterland of Dublin.325 Nevertheless, his work tends to confirm the picture established in Phillips' study. Phillips also drew attention to the interesting monopoly which catholic booksellers enjoyed in the production of chapbook material in Dublin.
One of the earliest specializations which developed in the Dublin booktrade was catering for the country market and while all booksellers carried some stock to satisfy the demands of the chapmen, the Roman Catholic booksellers gradually came to dominate this market. Phillips attributed this to the fact that as most of the books published for the country trade before 1750 "were pietistic or devotional in nature" and that as the largest available market was among Roman Catholics it became profitable for Roman Catholic booksellers to take advantage of this opportunity. Phillips also outlined the circumstances by which the selling of elementary schoolbooks developed out of the country trade because of the use of the chapbooks and catechisms as reading material in the pay schools.

The use of chapbooks as reading material by children is well documented in Britain and Ireland. In an age when the only material available for children was moralistic and religious it was not surprising that young readers turned to the more entertaining chapbooks for their reading material. Moreover, the chapbooks were the only form of printed material which was readily available to the poor and thus the only opportunity for a poor child to equip himself with a book for school use. The connection between the chapbook market and the sale of primers was so close by the end of the eighteenth century that one Dublin bookseller who served both markets was styling his business as Jackson's children's book warehouse. Moreover catechisms, pirated editions of spelling books and other chapbooks were among the most common printed books produced by small jobbing printers as printing spread to rural centres.

Although used by children only a few of these chapbooks were written specifically for a juvenile audience. Of the chapbooks available in Ulster in the middle of the eighteenth century only Isaac Watts' Divine songs and the puritan A token for children by James Janeway had been written for children. To these could be added titles such as Gulliver's travels, Robinson Crusoe and Pilgrim's progress which, had become the preserve of younger readers though not originally intended for children. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the chapbook was to begin a slow decline as the sole reading material of children.
its place arose a body of material which may be classed as children's literature.

The emergence of this new corpus of material was partly caused by new commercial developments in England and by changes in educational philosophy. The creation of a recognizable class of material to which one could apply the term children's literature was the achievement of one London publisher John Newbery. Newbery, of farming stock, had set up as a printer and bookseller in St. Paul's Church Yard in late 1743. His first publication *A little pretty pocket book* is often incorrectly seen as the first children's book but it certainly represented the first attempt to make amusing and instructive reading material available to children. A series of children's books followed over the next twenty years including his most famous work of all, *The history of goody-two-shoes*.

Newbery's contribution to the development of children's publishing was enormous. He was the first to realize the potential demand for children's books suitable for home rather than school use. He saw and took advantage of older material such as fables and works on nature which he adopted for his publications and he greatly widened the range of material to be found in children's books. He also demanded improved printing and binding standards and went so far as to use copper plate engravings for some of his illustrations. Newbery was a salesman who understood his market perfectly. He was aware of the moral climate in which he worked and his books were carefully titled to assure the child of amusement and his parent of instruction. Many of his books carried advertisements for his other publications, not only on their covers but inserted within the text of the stories. Moreover he realized that for commercial success a constant stream of new titles was vital and this he, and his successors in the firm of Newbery, supplied.

Other printers were quick to follow the lead Newbery had set and by the end of the eighteenth century a number of London firms such as John Marshall, Stockdale of Piccadilly, Joseph Johnson and Darton were well established in the newly emerged children's book trade. In general the titles produced by these firms appealed only to the middle and upper classes, but some of the titles at least, appeared in chapbook form and even spread to Ireland: Adams
for example, lists *The Lilliputian Magazine* (a Newbery title) among the chapbooks of the Ulster booktrade. More importantly, a recognizable children's literature had emerged as a profitable business and authors were now being commissioned to write for children.

Serious thought was also being given to educational philosophy. The contribution which Rousseau's educational writings made to the development of pedagogy have already been noted, his influence on books for children was even more widely felt. Rousseau saw mankind and childhood corrupted by the artificial nature of society and he recommended that a child could only be reared in rural seclusion, away from the corrupt influences of urban life. Rousseau argued that men were the product of their environment and he saw mankind and childhood corrupted by the artificial nature of society. An education, close to nature and in which the freedom and happiness of the child were given due regard, was to be preferred to the insensitive contemporary system. These ideas, popularized in *Emile* impressed many educationalists. In France, Arnaud Berquin wrote a periodical work entitled *L'Ami des enfants* which contained a series of pleasant moral tales. Thwaite has described these tales as showing "an instinct for the dramatic and a sincere love of nature" and containing "charming" scenes of "virtue and truth amid rural simplicity". Berquin was quickly translated into English, the most popular version entitled *The looking glass for the mind* which was compiled by Richard Johnson under his pseudonym "The Rev. W.D. Cooper".

A second French author, Madame La Contesse de Genlis, was also indebted to Rousseau and translations of her tales also found a ready market in England. These authors inspired Mrs. Barbauld, Lady Eleanor Fenn and several others to write books for very young children along Rousseau-esque principles. Thomas Day was one of the most active of Rousseau's followers in England: indeed he was so committed to the educational ideal of *Emile* that he attempted to rear two orphan girls on its principles. Day also wrote a children's book entitled *Sandford and Merton* in which the lives of two boys are contrasted:
Tommy Merton was the archetypal spoiled child who had been reared in a wealthy urban home while Henry Sandford, the son of a farmer, had the ideal rural upbringing and was consequently good natured, courageous and benevolent. Day was for a time a close friend of Richard Lovell Edgeworth in whom he inspired an interest in education. Edgeworth, with his daughter Maria, did much to popularize Rousseauist doctrines in their *Practical education* and Maria's fiction for children, in particular *The parent's assistant* and *Harry and Lucy*, contained some of the best writing for children then available. Maria's work was influential and inspired numerous authors, mainly women, to produce volumes dedicated to the cause of education and the promotion of virtue.

Enlightened Rousseauists did not have the world of juvenile fiction to themselves. Hannah More, a leading evangelical and promoter of Sunday schools, condemned the usual reading material of the young which she considered to be unsuitable and highly dangerous. She argued that the work of the Sunday schools in rescuing the poor from moral degradation would be ineffective if 'safe' reading material was not provided and she attempted to supplant the trashy chapbooks which appealed to the public. More helped to launch a venture entitled *The Cheap Repository Tracts*. These tracts contained tales calculated to exemplify approved morals and conduct but were produced in a format identical to chapbooks so that the poor would be encouraged to purchase them. The project, launched in 1795, was initially quite successful. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been involved in similar attempts throughout the eighteenth century but it was More's success that demonstrated the potential possibilities which such a publishing venture held. By 1799 the London Missionary Society formulated plans for a Religious Tract Society to carry on the work. The contents of these tracts were didactic and religious, and readers cannot have failed to notice More's lambs in wolves' clothing for the lambs they undoubtedly were. By 1805 the Religious Tract Society was aware that children did not find its tracts amusing and it set about producing a new series "to capture the hawker's market and counteract the profane and vicious tracts profusely circulated by them."
One of the most vociferous critics of the chapbooks as reading material for children was Mrs. Sarah Trimmer. Like More, Mrs. Trimmer was a crusading evangelical who became involved with the Sunday school movement. *The Oecomony of charity* expounded the virtues of that movement and her *Charity school spelling book* and its related *Teacher's assistant* were to help to improve the education of the poor in these schools. She also produced a series of prints illustrating sacred and profane history, an accompanying set of lessons, and a volume of scriptural extracts. Her most famous and enduring work for children was *Fabulous histories* (later retitled *The history of the robins*). These works were written to replace the unsatisfactory children's books which were then in circulation.  

Like other evangelicals Mrs. Trimmer found the fairy tales of the chapbooks to be dangerous, so much so that when she used the 'fable' style of writing in her own *Charity school spelling book* the teacher was to read the following warning to the children:

> By a fable is meant a fictitious story, intended to show by similitudes, how amiable goodness is, and how hateful vice. In fables good and bad people are sometimes represented under the similitudes of beasts, birds etc... Therefore when you read fables, do not suppose you are reading of real foxes, etc. but of fox-like men or lion-like men etc.

Mrs. Trimmer condemned the popular works for children then available as works "expressly designed to sow the seeds of infidelity and of very bad principle in the minds of the rising generation". Mrs. Trimmer was concerned not only for the moral standards of the poor but for the cohesion of society in general. The circulation of political works such as Paine's *Rights of man* and the libertarian doctrines of revolutionary France in the chapbook literature alarmed her greatly and her importance in the development of children's literature depends as much on her efforts to defeat what she believed to be the insidious enemies of British society - Jacobitism and Rousseauism - as on her own children's books. Her campaign was conducted in a periodical *The Family Magazine* which she produced from 1778 to 1789 and in her *Guardian of Education* from 1802-6. This latter work contained notices and reviews of the numerous children's books and works on educational...
theory which by this time were beginning to appear, and from the first number of *Guardian* her policy was made clear:

Many people, who for want of observation and reading are ignorant of what is going on in the world, will be apt to consider us in the light of ALARMISTS, if we talk of a conspiracy against CHRISTIANITY and all SOCIAL ORDER, which is at this time carrying on in the world by various means; one of which is endeavouring to infect the minds of the rising generation, through the medium of *Books of Education* and *Children's Books*; but that such a conspiracy does actually exist has been proved by undeniable authority (as we shall show in the course of our work).345

If the contents of popular chapbooks were unsatisfactory in England, they were even less acceptable to the ruling classes in Ireland. The popular histories and political writings which Dublin catholic printers supplied to the country trade often took an anti-establishment line in order to appeal to the majority of the population.346 Ulster chapmen had circulated a number of undesirable ballad sheets and other works inspired by political crises, in particular the liberal tenets of the United Irishmen.347 The exciting exploits of the outlaws in works such as *Irish rogues and raparees* and *The life and adventures of James Freeney* may have ensured the popularity of the works among the poor but did little to reassure their social superiors. The widespread use of such publications in schools was more serious and served only to convince the upper classes of the truth of Mrs Trimmer's claims. As early as 1804 a report on Irish education from the Society for Promoting the Comforts of the Poor could quote the results of a survey of Irish schools carried out by the Irish clergy as follows:

The want of proper books is another difficulty, prevailing to a degree, which we can form very little conception in this country; whole parishes being stated to be without a bible, or any other religious book, in the houses or in the schools of the poor; their place being supplied by "such romances and histories of profligate and daring adventures, as have been handed down from generation to generation, and must contribute to cherish an unsettled and irregular spirit, irreconcilable with the habits of order and industry."348
When the Irish education commissioners came to draft their fourteenth report in 1814 they reflected these concerns which had been first raised by Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer in Britain, and in recommending that any future educational system be charged with the compilation of reputable textbooks the commissioners (who included Edgeworth among their number) were doing no more than reflecting currently held opinions and concerns.  

The Kildare Place Library Readers and the Cheap Book Society

The Kildare Place Committee did not at first envisage that its publishing activities would extend beyond pedagogical works, but the attention of the Committee was soon drawn to the possibilities of a more substantial attempt to reform the reading habits of the poor. Moses Dawson, the superintendent of the Belfast Lancastrian school in a letter to the Committee in December 1815 praised the proposals of the Society to publish textbooks but declared that textbooks, in themselves, would not achieve the desired aim. Echoing the philosophy of More and Trimmer he stated:

To merely capacitate the children of the poor, to read, is stopping far short of enabling them to derive all the advantages which flow from education. If they are not afterwards supplied with books, their being able to read, must be entirely nugatory, and they might as well have been left entirely in their original darkness.

Dawson outlined how a library of approved works attached to his school went some way to solving the problem but he complained that suitable works were hard to obtain. Most books were too expensive, some were more akin to toys than books because of the overuse of illustrations and most works were "calculated for the instruction of the higher ranks in society" rather than the poor who attended his school. He recommended that Kildare Place "should hold out to literary persons encouragement to write for the lower order, such as Mrs.
Leadbeater's productions" and that an application be made to government to reduce the duty on paper for the printing of these books. The finances of the Kildare Place Society at this time were dependent on voluntary contributions and were inadequate to sustain the publishing effort Dawson proposed but his ideas made a significant impact on the thinking of the Committee. Members of the Committee and supporters of the Society were the dominant force at a meeting held on 1 July 1814 to initiate the work of the recently established Cheap Book Society. This society, resolved to attempt to improve the general reading material of the poor, and following the precedent of the Kildare Place organization, it determined that any publication which the society would publish would be acceptable to all religious denominations. Kildare Place acknowledged the contribution Dawson had made by publishing his letter and the founding resolutions of the Cheap Book Society in their next annual report. The Cheap Book Society had acted upon many of the proposals Dawson had made by April 1815. The Committee had agreed to publish An account of the wreck of the Antelope Packet on the Pelew Islands, it was making inquiries as to purchasing the copyright of a volume of "Cottage Dialogues" from Mrs. Mary Leadbeater and it had determined that in future it would attempt to intervene in the book market so as to make the sale of suitable works financially attractive to the cheap book trade. It hoped to agree with booksellers in the trade that if they printed a given number (possibly 5000) copies of approved works the Society would guarantee to purchase a proportion of such an edition at a stipulated price.

A subcommittee was set up to draw up a catalogue of works which the Society could purchase and offer for sale at reduced rates and in June 1815 H.J. Monk Mason was instructed to look for suitable titles to be included on the list during his forthcoming visit to London. Mason's trip did not take place until the following year, but the results of the excursion were of importance to the future success of the embryonic Cheap Book Society. Mason reported to the committee on his visit in May 1816. He had visited the principal sellers of tracts in London, but had found them to be connected with religious institutions, and so their publications were unsuitable for the Cheap Book Society. His visit to the
firm of Darton, Harvey, and Darton at 55 Grace Church Street was more productive. Mason reported that:

he had much conversation with one of the partners, a Friend, who entered immediately and with much warmth into the views of our Society and promised it every assistance - at this house all the books are to be had which are to be purchased at any of the others and the commands of the Society will be punctually attended to.356

Darton, Harvey and Darton were the successors of the original Darton firm which had followed Newbery into the children's book market he had created in the previous century and by the time of Mason's visit they were one of the most successful of the London publishing houses involved in children's publishing. Like other companies in this field they had learned the techniques which Newbery had pioneered and their list of publications would have reflected the much wider range of material which had become the norm in children's literature. Mason had obtained a list of the firm's publications on which Mr. Harvey marked off:

such books at or under the price of half a crown as he [Mr. Harvey] conceived to be suited to the plans of the Society - being at once amusing and instructive and not touching upon religion.357

This list of publications and the advice which Mason brought back to Dublin were to be of importance in the subsequent efforts to improve the popular reading material of the Irish poor. With this list the Cheap Book Society had, for the first time, acquired a positive direction for its publication work and a set of titles which would satisfy its non-denominational criteria and appeal to the mass market. Most of the categories of material which are represented on the list (eg. poetry, natural history, fables and moral tales) and some of the titles mentioned were to be published by the Committee in the following years. In a sense the acquisition of the list represents the fusion of the two developments which had helped to develop children's literature: the founding principles of the Society were inspired by the ideas of Trimmer and More and the accumulated business acumen of the
London children's booktrade which Newbery had founded was inherited through Darton, Harvey and Darton.

Before these developments took place the Kildare Place Society had received a parliamentary grant towards the cost of its new buildings and during 1815 they had been encouraged to seek further sums for its educational work. Correspondence from Lancastrian schools at Youghal and Newtownards had confirmed the view that a reform of the reading habits of the poor could be attempted by the provision of library readers. A special subcommittee of the Society had examined the findings of the fourteenth report of the board of education in particular those concerning the dearth of suitable textbooks in the schools. The subcommittee, whose members included individuals from the Cheap Book Society, was satisfied that the popularity of the cheap books was dependent upon price rather than genuine demand.

The trade of providing these books forms the principal occupation of certain booksellers and printers, who by employing the worst materials are able to supply them on terms far cheaper than any others that can be obtained. It is probably owing to this circumstance rather than to any positive attractions in the subjects that their prevalence is so general.

The subcommittee reported that if the Society could print and distribute textbooks and "a variety of moral tracts calculated to interest the minds of children while they should implant the seeds of virtue and good conduct" at prices low enough to "drive the present dealers from the market than a great improvement would take place in the reading habits of the poor:

in a very little time the vile trash which at present corrupts and poisons the minds of the children, training them up systematically to robbery and murder and the most bigotted intolerance and rooted hostility to everything British must at once disappear; the preference for better books would be universal if they were offered in sufficient abundance and on cheap terms.
The Kildare Place Committee included this vision in its second application for parliamentary aid in November 1815. Kildare Place had been promised its parliamentary funding by the time Mason reported on his London trip to the committee of the Cheap Book Society in May 1816 and within less than a week negotiations on a merger were in train. The take-over of the Cheap Book Society was speedily agreed and even before a general meeting of the Cheap Book Society had approved the decision Kildare Place had reorganized its internal workings to set up a book subcommittee. In setting up this department the Society was developing the first juvenile publishing house in Ireland and introducing a range of material which had not previously been seen in this country.

The Development of the Library Books

When the stock and outstanding debts of the Cheap Book Society transferred to Kildare Place in November 1816, the book subcommittee of the Society was in possession of a completed edition of An account of the Antelope Packet on the Pelew Islands, an edition of A description of animals which had just been printed by Daniel Graisberry, and a list of further possible titles. Newbery and other publishers had learned that commercial success depended on offering a regularly updated range of books to the market. It is impossible to tell whether Harvey had advised Mason of this but the new book subcommittee adopted the practice. They determined not to begin sales until they would have a range of eight to twelve titles to offer to the public and they set about preparing these works. The Cheap Book Society had found that the task of compiling a book and overseeing its printing was too onerous to be completed by voluntary labour and had employed an assistant secretary. The scale of activity which Kildare Place envisaged for its book department implied a heavy workload and one of the first actions of the book subcommittee was to recommend the appointment of a literary assistant. This officer was to receive and check paper ordered by the Society,
to deliver paper and manuscripts to the printer, to correct proofs, receive the completed sheets from the printer and supervise binding. The book subcommittee envisaged that the person would be "one acquainted with the printing business" and expressed a belief that the appointment would ensure that the work of the subcommittee would be "vigilantly and expeditiously and effectually executed". The post, which was approved by the Committee, involved more than supervising the printing of the Society's books: the directions given to Bewley make it clear that from the outset the literary assistant was to have a major role in the drafting of the texts to be published. Bewley was charged with finding a person:

who shall be possessed of sufficient literary attainments to act as assistant to the book subcommittee for the purpose of digesting and arranging matter for publication.

Mr. William Orr Hamilton was appointed literary assistant at a salary of £150 p.a. on 26 October 1816. Compilation of new works then began in earnest, but was not without its difficulties. The book subcommittee explained that the delays experienced had not been due to any lack of zeal on the part of the literary assistant but because of the difficulty in obtaining suitable titles. Goldstrom's thesis that the choice of material published by the Society was determined by religious sensitivities is given weight by this problem. The book subcommittee reported that the shortage of titles was caused by:

the difficulty of preparing books suited to the taste of the lower orders in his country, and at the same time purified from any expressions at variance with their peculiar tenets, or objectionable because of the wrong principles they might be construed to inculcate.

The constraints on the Society were twofold: the religious considerations were important but the issue of copyright was equally influential. Until the act of Union Ireland had remained outside the control of English copyright law and Irish printing houses had capitalised on this legal loophole, producing Dublin editions of English publications in substantial numbers and at lower prices than the originals. These works were sold not only in Ireland but
were exported to Britain and to America much to the dismay of English printing firms.\textsuperscript{372} This legal anomaly disappeared after the act of Union and with it much of the business of Irish printing firms, so much so that the post-Union printing business in Dublin suffered a deep depresssion during which many printers emigrated to the United States.\textsuperscript{373} The Kildare Place book subcommittee only considered reprinting existing works at first and so found themselves trapped by the copyright legislation. The initial dozen titles of the Society were chosen with these considerations in mind. The first book to go to the press was \textit{The history of Joseph}, a 115 page extract from Genesis and Exodus of the popular old testament story.\textsuperscript{374} Mrs. Trimmer had already issued a similiar volume and an abridged version had been included in \textit{The Dublin spelling book}.\textsuperscript{375} Two of the early titles were established children's classics. \textit{Aesop's fables} had been popular reading ever since its appearance in Caxton's edition of 1484 and had become a children's classic following Locke's recommendation of it in 1705, so much so that by 1761 it could be considered an important commodity on the book market.\textsuperscript{376} The Kildare Place edition followed the pattern established in the popular edition by the Rev. Samuel Croxall in which the moral of each fable was emphasised. Although planned for publication in 1817 technical delays meant the volume did not appear until 1818. The Society's confidence in the work's popularity is emphasised in the size of the initial print run: 15,000 copies of \textit{Aesop} were ordered whereas only 10,000 of each of the other titles published in 1818 were printed.\textsuperscript{377} Daniel Defoe's \textit{Robinson Crusoe} like \textit{Gulliver's travels}, had not been intended for a young audience when it was first issued in three parts in 1719 and 1720. Within weeks of its appearance, however, pirated abridged versions were on sale and the book immediately became a successful children's book.\textsuperscript{378} The Kildare Place edition of 1817 was long at 197 pages but very successful: a second edition had gone to press within a year.\textsuperscript{379} Interestingly, \textit{Gulliver's travels} which had had a history akin to \textit{Crusoe} was never considered for publication by the Society, possibly because of the political satire which it contained.

Three other titles form a distinct group within the first range of Kildare Place titles. These were accounts of the voyages of Anson, Byron and Bligh, and
like *Aesop* and *Crusoe* were already well established in numerous abridged versions before they appeared as Kildare Place titles. *A voyage round the world in the years 1740-4 by George Anson* was written by Richard Walker who had been chaplain to Commodore Anson during the voyage. Published in 1748, the book was immediately popular and is a well written story told by a man who was obviously familiar with life at sea. Four editions of the work were sold in its first year of publication and it continued to appear in full and abridged forms throughout the eighteenth century. A related work was the account of the voyage of Lord Byron whose ship "The Wager" had formed part of Commodore Anson's fleet. Byron and his crew were shipwrecked on the coast of Patagonia and the work details their hardships and eventual return to England. Captain William Bligh's account of his voyage aboard "The Bounty" was a later publication but in the same tradition of explorer's accounts. Such works were very popular in the second half of the eighteenth century as voyages of discovery opened up new worlds to Europeans and numerous editions of these works continued to appear either singly or in compilations of explorers' tales. The titles were as popular with younger readers as they were with adults and the belief that these volumes formed sound reading material for the young was supported by none other than the Scottish educationalist and textbook writer William F. Mavor who produced *A general collection of voyages and travels from the discovery of America to the commencement of the nineteenth century*, in twenty-eight volumes from 1809-10. The success of the works had thus been established by the time of the Kildare Place editions, and the laws of copyright did not apply to the works either because of the length of time the books had been in print or because of the numerous abridged versions which had already appeared.

More recent works which seemed to have suffered similar fates were Thomas Beddoes' *Isaac Jenkins* and Thomas Day's *Little Jack*. Beddoes was famous at the time as a brilliant if rather eccentric English scientist who was the author of over thirty scientific works. His tale of *Isaac Jenkins* in which the hero is rescued from drunkenness had appeared in 1792 in a small, neat forty-two page book and had gone through numerous editions before the author's death in
The Kildare Place edition had an appendix *The friendly gift for servants and apprentices* a manual of good conduct for those in service which may have been extracted from Mrs. Taylor’s *Present of a mistress to a young servant*. Thomas Day was better known for *Sandford and Merton* than for *Little Jack*, published by Kildare Place, a story of the ‘noble savage tradition’ of which Day had been such a committed advocate. Beddoes like Day was connected to the Edgeworth family: he had married Maria’s sister, Anna.

The copyright act protected an author’s work for a period of fourteen years or up to twenty-five years if he remained alive. The death of the author thus brought the book into the public domain unless the rights had been sold to a publisher when they survived for a maximum of twenty-one years. It would seem that these works by Day and Beddoes were not under copyright as the purchase of rights was never considered by Kildare Place.

The number of books acceptable to the Society which was free of copyright restrictions was however limited and the book subcommittee was forced to seek permission from English publishers to use their material. An application was made to Baldwin and Co. in January 1817 to republish *The natural history of the year* by Lucy Aikin sister of Mrs. Barbauld. This work was an idealised month by month description of the appearance of the countryside and the work of the farmer which Kildare Place proposed to publish with a new title and some changes in the text. Baldwin’s reply has not survived but it seems that it was positive as the work had appeared under the title *Picture of the seasons* by August 1817. The Society also applied to Darton, Harvey & Co. for permission to reprint Priscilla Wakefield’s *Instinct displayed* a work which had appeared in the Darton catalogue Mason had obtained in London. Wakefield was a quaker authoress. The work was written in a rather formal series of letters between "Caroline and Emily" in which the former answers the latter’s questions on natural history and in so doing attempts to demonstrate the wonder and order in God’s creation. Darton and Harvey replied that they had paid a large sum for the copyright but that they had "an inclination to forward your benevolent views as
far as we can with propriety”. They allowed Kildare Place to select half of the stories in the book to be published with “considerable alterations in them and of course entirely omitting the author’s name in the title page”. A further condition was that printing would be confined to the “course kind” and that the alterations would be adopted “entirely to the use of poor people”.\textsuperscript{393} Further correspondence may have taken place regarding these conditions but if so, it has not survived. Nevertheless, the Kildare Place edition which appeared in 1817 and 1818 did carry Wakefield’s name though subsequent editions did not.\textsuperscript{394} The Society also negotiated for permission to reprint Madame de Cottin’s \textit{Elisabeth, or the exiles of Siberia} which had been originally written in French. An English edition had first appeared in 1808 in Edinburgh. The story’s romantic plot and well told narrative made it an instant success. It remained a hugely popular classic throughout the first half of the nineteenth century and was even produced in bilingual editions to enable it to be used as an aid to the learning of French.\textsuperscript{395}

Yet permission to use copyright material was not always readily obtained. The dubious reputation which Irish printers enjoyed in Britain because of their disregard for British copyright law in pre-Union days cannot have helped the Society’s cause, but from the few surviving refusals it would seem that hard commercial realities were of greater importance. John Harris, the successor to John Newbery refused the Society permission to reprint Mrs. Holland’s \textit{Officer’s widow} and \textit{Son of a genius} in 1818, as he had “to live on the profits” and offered instead to print 500 or 1000 of each for the Society at the cost of one shilling each.\textsuperscript{396} Darton and Harvey refused to allow a Dublin reprint of \textit{Little Davy’s hat} as the author had “an interest in the sale” and was “by no means opulent”. In a post script they added that they had paid £20 for a half share of the copyright.\textsuperscript{397} Undeterred, Kildare Place made a third application to Darton and Harvey in which permission to reprint \textit{Deaf and dumb} was sought but in a rather pained reply the company made its position clear:

\begin{quote}
When we gave our assent to your benelovent institution’s application to reprint a work published by us, we by no means apprehended anything like a repetition would have been made: or we certainly should have given a
decided negative to the first request - for copyright is a kind of exclusive privilege for which we frequently pay very dear.398

The company offered to print cheap copies for the Dublin society but this was not accepted. No other correspondence between Darton and Harvey and the Society survives but extracts from one other work which had appeared on the company's list (Franklin's morals ) came to be included in Kildare Place publications.399 Two further early Kildare Place works may have a Darton connection. Darton's list had included The bee : a selection of poems, an anthology which may have at least inspired the Society to produce its Poems, selected from the works of approved authors:400 Darton also published all the works of Mary Mister a minor children's author whose best book Mungo the little traveller appeared in 1814.401 The text of the 1817 Kildare Place edition is identical to the 1814 Darton edition and the subject of the only plate in both editions is the same: in the London printing it is entitled 'Father Francis and his solitary abode in the valley of St. Gothard' while the Kildare Place Society plate is entitled 'The hermit of St. Gothard'.402 No evidence exists as to any arrangement having been made with Darton and Harvey for these works, indeed the letters cited above would suggest copyright had not been cleared. If the Society was willing to breach the law in this way, it would seem that the book subcommittee lacked ideas for new works and that its literary assistant was unable to supply new copy to them. All the works chosen for publication had already appeared in juvenile versions or had been written as children's works. In this way no great editorial work or substantial redrafting was necessary.

The Society's cautious use of well proven titles was understandable but the number of readily available works of this type had been exhausted by 1817 and Hamilton the literary assistant, failed to offer suggestions for new directions in which the book subcommittee could develop its range of titles. Hamilton may not have been in perfect health: in April 1817 less than six months following his appointment a book store keeper was employed to help him supervise the receipt and warehousing of the finished editions and by June he had died. While he may
have lacked creative instincts Hamilton had left the Society in May 1817 with a range of fourteen titles at various states of preparation: four new titles had been printed (History of Joseph, Dangerous voyage [Bligh], Robinson Crusoe and Isaac Jenkins with a friendly gift for servants); four more were in the press (Little Jack with William, Anson’s voyage, Animal instinct [Wakefield], and The brothers); three other manuscripts lay before the committee for approval (The loss of the Wager [Byron], Elizabeth and Mungo); a fourth manuscript had been completed (Seasons) and two more were in a very advanced stage of preparation (Aesop’s fables and Poems) together with shorter pieces on savings banks and extracts from Franklin’s works which were intended as supplements to The brothers.

These first few months had also seen the establishment of the Society’s modus operandi. Firstly, the Society established a method by which publications were drafted and the denominational objectivity of the publications was guaranteed. Titles were suggested by members of the book subcommittee and then drafted by the literary assistant. The completed manuscript then circulated among members of the subcommittee and corrections were made. At least two members had to propose the completed text for publication to the General Committee on whose table the work would lie for a month in order to permit members to examine the book carefully. Only then did the work go to press. Secondly, the book subcommittee had to determine the most efficient way in which it could have its printing work executed. At an early stage some members of the book subcommittee considered that it would be best to agree with the printer for each separate work and to have him supply his own paper and be responsible for the binding of an agreed amount of the edition. The simplicity of such a transaction was attractive, especially as it removed the need for the society to purchase, store and deliver its own paper to the printer. A subcommittee of three of the most active members of the book committee (Bewley, Mason and Hamilton) reported in November 1816 on the relative economics of the separate purchase of paper by the Society in comparison to the cost of allowing the printer to supply the paper as part of the printing contract. The additional cost of allowing the printer to supply the paper was estimated at three shillings per ream on paper costing 16 - 18
shillings per ream and as 55 reams were required for the then envisaged print runs of 5000 copies the additional cost per edition would have been about £8-5-0. The subcommittee, estimating that the total annual output of the Society would be in the order of twenty editions the cost would amount for £165 p.a. This, the subcommittee felt, would be considerably greater than the expense of warehousing paper and the wages of a warehouseman. The recommendations that the Society appoint such a warehouseman and purchase paper for printing in bulk was adopted. Printers contracted only for the setting up of the type and the printing of the work, the necessary paper being supplied by the Society.

The pricing policy and the methods of sale had also been fixed by the summer of 1817. When Hamilton had been appointed as literary assistant it had been acknowledged that the book subcommittee would eventually need two full-time employees: that of a literary assistant to compile works and check proofs and that of bookstore keeper to receive paper deliveries, to issue paper to printers, to oversee the printers work, to receive and store finished sheets and issue them for binding as necessary. The book storekeeper was also to supervise wholesale and retail sales. Completed editions had begun to arrive from the printers by April 1817 and the General Committee agreed to appoint a book store keeper to assist Hamilton (though, as noted above the actual appointment may have been precipitated by the state of Hamilton's health). Bewley was charged with finding a suitable candidate for the post which was filled in May, and it was Bewley who reported to the General Committee on the principles by which the price of the books was to be fixed.

Bewley recommended that the Society should attempt to infiltrate the wholesale bookmarket so as to ensure a widespread distribution of its works. He recognized that the Society would have to entice wholesalers and retailers to co-operate with the Society and so price levels would have to be set so as to allow these traders a reasonable profit. Books in quantities greater than 100 would sell at the cheapest rate, sales in dozens at a higher price and individual copies still higher. In this way wholesalers and retailers could be guaranteed a reasonable
level of profit. Bewley also pointed out that the prices should not be so low as to allow the purchase of the books for waste paper.\textsuperscript{410} Sales were to begin when the book department was able to transfer its stock to the completed Kildare Place buildings in November 1817 and in late October Bewley presented a recommended scale of charges for the cheap books, which is reproduced in table 3.3. The prices follow the policy which Bewley had outlined in May with the addition of further discounts if dealers purchased unbound quantities in thousands. The addition of this category was a further attempt to encourage wholesale bookdealers to purchase from the Society and thereby to assist in undermining the chapbook market. The Society was prepared to sustain a considerable loss on the sales to ensure control of the market. Table 3.3 shows that the price of the works in quires (i.e. unbound) represented only 60-70\% of production costs.

By autumn 1817 the Society had a number of publications ready for sale and others in train and had established a sales policy designed to achieve the Society's reforming aims. The book subcommittee lacked, however, a positive policy for the acquisition of new titles, and the production of its books, while competently executed, was not efficient. All this was to change with the appointment of the Rev. Charles Bardin as the Society's new literary assistant in July 1817.

**The Rev. Charles Bardin: The New Literary Assistant**

Bardin, a curate in the Dublin parish of St. Mary's, was interested in education and was an active member of the Association for Discountenancing Vice. He worked as an annual examiner for the Association's Dublin schools and his farewell sermon to his parishioners was on the importance of a proper religious education for children.\textsuperscript{411} While his ecclesiastical career is well known - he eventually became one of the senior clergy in the diocese of Armagh - little is known of his background.\textsuperscript{412} His work for the Kildare Place Society shows that he
must have been much more a product of eighteenth century liberal protestantism than of the nineteenth century evangelical movement. He was either well travelled or had an insatiable appetite for books on travel and although his farewell sermon is his only recorded published work he had a sure grasp of the workings of the printing industry. His knowledge of book production was put to good use following his appointment in July 1817 and for the next ten years the activities of the book subcommittee depended on Bardin's ideas, drive and hard work.

Bardin first set about tackling the physical size and appearance of the volumes. Hamilton, like the Cheap Book Society committee, had adopted a policy of producing the books in a format similar to the chapbooks or "burtons" which the Kildare Place publications were designed to replace. The Kildare Place Society went so far as to acquire a representative range of the common chapbooks. In order to allow the Society's publications to become widely acceptable on the chapbook market the title pages and bindings were of a similar style and format to the less desirable publications. The physical size was also imitated and the Kildare Place volumes appeared as octodecimo works (i.e. works printed on sheets in which each sheet was folded to produce 18 leaves or 36 pages). However, the Society did not determine a regular size for its volumes: an examination of the volume sizes given in table 3.3 will show that the first titles of the Society varied in length from three and a half sheets (Little Jack) to seven and one-third sheets (Dangerous voyage). Consequently the cost of printing and binding varied from work to work, necessitating the setting of an individual scale of prices for each volume. Moreover the cost of setting the type for the large number of sheets in works such as Dangerous voyage made the printing costs quite high. Bardin immediately began rationalizing the production of the books. He set the standard size of the books at five sheets (i.e 180 pages) and attempted to change the volumes so as to achieve this standard. A second edition of Dangerous voyage was ordered in August 1817, even before the books had gone on sale, and in this edition, for which Bardin was responsible, the work had been reduced (largely through use of a smaller type face) to the standard five sheets. The incident also serves as a
useful indication of his business sense: it was a risk to reprint a work before it went on sale but Bardin was sufficiently confident of the work's potential success to predict correctly its popularity. The policy of standardization was applied to the other works. *Mungo* had been printed as an eighty-three page book; by November *Seven wonders of the world* was in the press so that it could be bound with *Mungo* to produce 180 pages.\(^415\)

The success of initial sales demonstrated that the print runs of 5000 copies had been too small and during 1818 thirteen of the original fourteen titles had to be reprinted including a third edition of *Dangerous voyage* (see table 3.4). Bardin was thus enabled to set a standard size of print run of 10,000 or 11,000 copies and from the surviving copies of 1819 editions it would seem he also took the opportunity to standardize the size of more of the titles. *Wonderful escapes* (the account of the wreck of the Antelope Packet on the Pelew Islands) which the Cheap Book Society had printed was extended to 162 pages by the addition of *The loss of the Hercules*.\(^416\) *The history of Tom and his dog and the canary bird* was appended to *Little Jack* so as to produce the requisite 180 pages.\(^417\) An edition which contained only a few pages more than 180 pages was prohibitively expensive as a sixth sheet had to be added and yet was not fully used. The 1817 edition of *Elizabeth*, for example, contained 186 pages: in the 1818 edition Bardin cut the text to 174 pages which was comfortably within the five sheet limit.\(^418\) From 1818 onwards each reprint or new title was limited to a determined number of sheets: the majority of the works issued were five sheet books but Bardin was also responsible for the introduction of a range of two sheet works in 1819. This range included some titles which had already formed part of the five sheet volumes eg. *Little Jack*, *Brothers* and *William* appeared in the series without their accompanying supplements or complementary titles. A volume of *Amusing stories* and *Gleanings* (a selection from *Poems*) were the other two works in this series which the book committee believed would appeal to "many persons in the lower class whose means are inadequate or who are otherwise disinclined to purchase a five sheet burton".\(^419\)
The Committee had believed that the market teemed "with works of an improper description that are of a smaller size than those which we have compiled" (ie five sheet books) and that the range of two sheet books would fulfill this demand. The initiative proved to be quite successful at first. The first printing of 5000 copies of each title was completed in 1819 but the works were sufficiently popular for a second edition of each to be ordered within a year. (see table 5.4). This second edition was of 10,000 copies each (except *Amusing stories* of which only 5,000 were printed). Following this initial interest sales waned somewhat, though two of the titles *William* and *Amusing stories* went to a third edition in 1824, the fourth edition of *Gleanings* was printed in the same year and a new title *James Talbot* was added in 1825. Nevertheless, because of the restricted number of titles two sheet works never proved to be a substantial part of the Society's output.

Bardin brought a much needed positive direction to the Society's acquisition of new titles. The Society had done no more than to reprint lightly edited versions of already existing titles during Hamilton's period as literary assistant and Bardin continued to do this: eg *New Crusoe* (a version of Robinson Crusoe which had first appeared in Germany) and *The history of the robins* by Mrs. Trimmer which appeared under Bardin's supervision, were established children's books. Bardin went further than this however, and fundamentally changed the role of the literary assistant. Originally the literary assistant had been exactly that - an assistant to the book subcommittee who, at the subcommittee's suggestion would edit particular works and oversee proof reading and printing. Bardin continued to carry out these functions but the committee increasingly looked to him to suggest titles and write the works himself.

At first Bardin simply used the material which the Society had acquired more efficiently: *An account of the Wreck of the Antelope Packet on the Pelew Islands* was expanded into a full volume on *Prince Lee Boo*, the son of the islanders' king. The volume on animals which the Cheap Book Society had prepared seems to have mainly concentrated on fish and sea mammals. Bardin
developed the material into two separate volumes on fish and on animals and eventually expanded this into a range of books on the animal and plant kingdoms. Sections of Murray's *English reader* and its *Sequel* which had not been used in the compilation of *The Dublin reading book* were issued as a volume of *Moral essays* and parts of *The Dublin reading book* were printed as *Miscellany or an evening's occupation for the youthful peasantry of Ireland*. Finally Bardin wrote a large number of new works for the Society, principally those on travel. He drew on a number of authorities when compiling these works and wove a continuous narrative from a variety of travellers' accounts, (a technique which circumvented copyright law to the displeasure of at least one English publisher). Bardin's development of new titles was not haphazard: he identified a number of themes and projected a number of volumes for each which the book subcommittee approved. It is largely through this planning that the library readers of the Society came to have their characteristic unity of design and philosophy which will be explored further below.

Table 3.5 demonstrates the phenomenal workload which Bardin carried virtually single handed. He supervised the printing of slightly less than half of the fourteen volumes which went to print in 1817 and from mid 1817 to early 1827 he edited or wrote all of the Society's cheap books, supervised their printing, and the printing of new editions. During 1818-1820 he was responsible for twenty-six new titles and supervised the reprinting of forty-four other editions. From then on he contributed roughly five new titles a year and proof read literally dozens of other works. The book subcommittee continued to be in overall control of the publishing programme but most of its work was completed by Bardin who worked closely with Samuel Bewley. Bewley wrote detailed criticisms of Bardin's work and his opinion was highly valued by Bardin. Bardin even wrote the quarterly reports of the book subcommittee and passed them to Bewley for approval.

The close co-operation between Bewley and Bardin and the latter's importance to the Society's book publishing programme is best seen in the effect
Bardin's resignation had on the work of the book subcommittee. In January 1827 Bardin wrote to Bewley telling him that he was to move to Dundalk and had therefore written to Jackson, the secretary of the Society, of this fact. Bardin explained to Bewley that he had felt it incumbent upon him to inform the Committee of his move so that, if they felt their literary assistant had to be resident in Dublin they could proceed to seek a new holder for the post. Bardin hoped, however, that he might be allowed to retain the post and told Bewley that he had made arrangements to come to Dublin every alternate Wednesday so as to attend the meetings of the book subcommittee on the following Thursdays and to check on the work of the Society's printers. Bardin also took pain to apprise Bewley of all the titles currently in preparation and those which were projected in the future. Bardin's letter to Jackson was discussed by the Committee on January 13 and despite Bardin's lobbying of Bewley it was decided that it was "indispensibly necessary that the literary assistant of the book subcommittee should reside in Dublin". Jackson conveyed this to Bardin in a letter full of praise for Bardin's work. Bardin was disappointed and wrote to Bewley that Jackson's letter was a "virtual dismissal" as his own letter had been "a virtual resignation". He told Bewley that he had resigned and had left it to the Committee "to point out any way in which I can still be useful". In its report of February 1827 the book subcommittee recommended that Bardin be engaged to complete the volumes he had on hands and that he be paid his salary to December 1827. Continued ill health (which may have prompted his move to the country) prevented Bardin from attending to the business of the Committee in Dublin as he had envisaged and by December 1827 the General Committee asked the book subcommittee to report on the arrangements to be made following December 31 (the date on which Bardin's resignation became effective).

The book subcommittee reported that the supply of new titles by Bardin during 1827 had been satisfactory and they recommended that the Society seek to retain his services as a writer because of his unique ability as an author for the young. They recommended that the duties of literary assistant be divided into authorship (for which Bardin could be employed) and supervising works through
the press (for which a second employee could be found). Bardin was written to
terminating his appointment as literary assistant but asking him to supply four or
five scripts per year for £100. A superintendent of the press, Mr. de Butts, was
appointed in February, but the arrangement was not successful. Only three
works (two of which had been completed in 1827) appeared in 1828 and De Butts
resigned in early February 1829. The drive which Bardin had contributed, and
which the Society now lacked was only too clearly visible to the members of the
book subcommittee who reported that:

for the last two years their operations have been much
impeded in consequence of the removal of their late
excellent officer from Dublin, and during the first
year the necessary interruption, and during the last
the total suspension of personal communication with
him.

The book subcommittee pressed for the appointment of a new literary
assistant but the subcommittee's recommendation that four or five scripts be
ordered from Bardin each year was testimony to the esteem in which he was held.
The new literary assistant was John James McGregor who had been the author of a
twelve volume History of the French revolution, Sketches of the history of Ireland
and a description of the city of Dublin. He seems to have been more efficient
that De Butts and together with Bardin, who produced some new scripts, he restored
the publication work of the Society. In 1830 the Society could publish six new titles,
in 1831 one, and four in 1832. Even if he was no longer directing the work of the
book subcommittee, Bardin remained influential as most of the new works had
either been suggested by him or were developments of themes he had successfully
introduced to the Society's publications in the early 1820s (see table 3.4 and 3.5).
The Contents of the Library Readers

The collection of library books which Bardin and the book subcommittee produced has been recognized as an important means by which the educational ideals of the Society can be examined. It was largely on the basis of an analysis of these works that Goldstrom claimed that the Society had initiated a secular curriculum for its schools as a reaction to the fears of proselytism held by Roman Catholics. The present study accepts that the works represent an acceptable source of the Society's philosophy and re-examines the books for this purpose. It seeks to show however, that a division of the works into religious and non-religious categories is over simplistic - and that publication of many of the titles was inspired by a range of considerations. An examination of the Society's library readers will show that Bardin developed the range of books in a number of thematic areas which corresponded to established sectors of the book market. In ignoring these commercial considerations previous studies have tended to credit the Society with a degree of innovation which can be seen as a reaction to the religious question. The books were indeed compiled with painstaking care so that they could be acceptable to all Christians but if one views the concurrent developments within the book trade, and in particular the English children's book trade, the Kildare Place collection will be seen to be at least partly inspired by commercial realities and less innovative than it might at first appear.

An argument may be made that the Society's library readers were pioneering in the sense that they supplied a range of reading materials to the poor which had previously been available only to the richer classes: that the search for non-controversial reading material meant that the secular books of the middle and upper classes were placed in the hands of the poor and that as a result the curriculum of working class education was broadened. The scale of the publication programme which Kildare Place developed and the contents of many of the books makes it hard to accept this argument. If the Society's sole motivation in compiling its library readers was to provide reading matter to replace the bibles and prayer books which other societies used, then another volume (or at most two) to accompany the Dublin spelling book and the Dublin reading book would
have been perfectly adequate. However, as will be clear from an examination of the works the Society hoped that the effect of its systematic invasion of the cheapbook market (a more accurate phrase to describe the provision of the library readers) would amount to a fundamental reform of Irish society. The work was in fact an attempt at social planning through propaganda and was inspired by what were essentially eighteenth century philosophies of enlightened improvement.

The Society's attachment to the ideas of the eighteenth century enlightenment is obvious from some of the earliest books which it published. A key element in the writings of Rousseau and his followers was the idealisation of nature and of man's original primitive status. The 'noble savage' came to be seen as man's ideal condition and it was argued that the ills of European society arose because of its remoteness from primitive nature. Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, the tale of an Englishman shipwrecked on a desert island, had been based on the true adventures of Alexander Selkirk who had survived for some years on the islands off the western coast of South America, probably the Islands of Juan Fernandez. The happiness which Crusoe enjoyed on the island was attributed to his return to the primitive 'noble savage' state and for this reason the work endeared itself to Rousseau who prescribed it as the only suitable reading material for his pupil, Emile. The island on which Crusoe lived was portrayed as a natural garden of Eden which the shipwrecked sailor came to appreciate:

> At the end of this valley I came to an opening where the country seemed to descend to the west; here I found a spring of fresh water, proceeding out of the side of a hill, with its crystal streams running directly east. And indeed here my senses were charmed with the most beautiful landscape nature could afford; for the country appeared so flourishing, green and delightful, that to me it seemed like a planted garden.

The work emphasised the purity of Crusoe's solitary life and contrasted it sharply with the wicked pleasures of civilization:

> For now my hopes being frustrated I looked upon this world as a thing I had nothing to do with... indeed I was separated from its wickedness too, having neither the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, nor the pride of life...
Crusoe found that all his needs were satisfied on the island and that material possessions for which he had once hankered now seemed irrelevant. His apparent poverty was now a blessing, a theme which was thought to be perfectly applicable to the poor of Ireland:

\[
\text{in a word the nature and experience of these things dictated to me this just reflection: that the good things of this world are no further good to us, than they are for our use; and that whatever we may heap up to give others, we can but enjoy as much as we use and no more.}^{441}
\]

The existence to which Crusoe had returned was "less sinful than that of human society" and because of its closeness the natural state of the created man it was more holy.\(^{442}\) Crusoe came to regret the disobedience of his younger life and became a reformed bible-reading Christian:

\[
\text{I next compared my station to that which I deserved: how undutiful I had been to my parents, how destitute of the fear of God; how void of everything that was good; and how ungrateful of those abundant mercies I have received from heaven. . . in short, making God's tender mercies matter of great consolation, I relinquished all sadness and gave way to contentment.}^{443}
\]

The connection between the 'noble savage' and religion may appear somewhat forced but for the eighteenth century mind, which relied on an almost deist theology, it was perfectly acceptable. Indeed it was with the deist arguments of the wonders of nature being evidence for the existence of God that Crusoe taught Friday of the true Creator's existence:

\[
\text{I found it easy enough to imprint the right notions in his mind of God: for nature assisted me in all my arguments, to show him plainly the necessity of a great first cause, an over-ruling, governing power, of a secret directing providence, and of the equity and reasonableness of paying adoration to our creator.}^{444}
\]

The publication of Robinson Crusoe by Kildare Place cannot alone establish the Society's adoption of Rousseau-esque ideals. Its appearance as a Kildare Place chapbook can be considered more as the result of commercial reality than of any
strong commitment to the ideals it portrays. However, the publication of other volumes which continue the same theme must represent a certain belief in its philosophy. One of the works published by the Kildare Place Society which continued the theme of the 'noble savage' was *New Crusoe*.445 A German adaptation of the *Robinson Crusoe* story appeared under the title of *Robinson der Jüngere* in 1779. Its author, Joachim Heinrich Campe, was a theologian and educationalist and a devotee of Rousseau's philosophies. Campe attempted to put Rousseau's theories into practice in his own school for which he wrote a number of books. His adaptation of *Robinson Crusoe* which in English became *New Crusoe* represented an attempt to render the story more suitable for children and to make it conform even closer to the Rousseauist model of the 'noble savage'.446

In *Robinson Crusoe* the hero salvaged articles from the wreck of his ship to make his existence on the island more comfortable but in *New Crusoe* he was not given this opportunity. He obtained his clothes and all his other requirements from nature, including fire which was given to him by a fortuitous strike of lightning. Like Emile, Crusoe learned from his experiences and made many startling deductions by which he managed to manufacture lamps, nets and even pottery. Like *Robinson Crusoe* the hero came to regret his wayward past and found a new, deeper religious faith. Though it was written for children, *New Crusoe* was less satisfactory as a tale of adventure, partly because its scenario was less credible and partly because a greater quantity of moral teaching was incorporated within it. There was, for example, a puritan stress on the value of work. When Friday joined him on the island, Crusoe considered giving up all work but reasoned that this would be a dangerous option:

"If you were to renounce labour and temperance, you would soon forget both the adversity which you surmounted and the friendly hand which assisted you. Very soon you would become ungrateful, presumptuous, and perhaps impious!". Horrid idea! and falling on his face to the ground, he prayed to be preserved from so dreadful a state of deprivation.447

The book is used to condemn drinking: when Friday was offered a draft from a bottle of wine which had been washed onto the shore of the island he refused to drink any of it "accustomed as he was to spring water, his palate could not bear the
fiery strength of a fermented liquor." When Europeans eventually came to share the island with Crusoe and Friday, Crusoe drew up a constitution for their government which was given in full in the Kildare Place version of the text (unlike the Society's text of Robinson Cursoe). The laws which encouraged hard work, sobriety, and peaceful co-operation were thinly veiled recommendations for the ordering of the readers' lives, and the clear implication of the text was that those who followed this advice would experience the idyllic life Crusoe and Friday enjoyed:

Therefore the blessing of heaven visibly crowned all their endeavours. Being always actively employed about something useful they reached a very advanced age in health and peace; and the remotest posterity will respect the memory of two men, who by their example have shown to the world in which manner we best work out our temporal welfare in this life and our external happiness in the next.

A third title published by Kildare Place provides a further exposition of the 'noble savage' theme. The virtues of the natural life as portrayed in Robinson Crusoe were to inspire other authors and the ideal was not confined to fictional works. George Keate's An account of the Pelew Islands composed from the journals and communications of Captain H. Wilson and some of his officers who in August 1783 were there shipwrecked in the Antelope, a packet belonging to the East India Company was published in 1788. The work told of the natives on the Pelew Islands and of the return to Britain of Prince Lee Boo, the eldest son of the Pelew Islander's king. The life of the islanders was portrayed as one of simple, natural innocence, almost as if it were a working example of the perfect society which the fictional Robinson Crusoe had described. The work was instantly popular, was pirated in Dublin during its first year of publication and by the following year the London firm of E. Newbery (successor to J. Newbery) had produced a children's version under the title of The interesting and affecting history of Prince Lee Boo. The children's version was a shrewd investment for the Newbery firm to make. Rousseau's recommendation of Robinson Crusoe and the popularity which his educational theories enjoyed meant that Prince Lee Boo was acceptable as reading material for the youth of the upper and middle classes. Mrs. Trimmer carried on a passionate war against all Rousseauist ideas, declaring that she was not:
among the number of people who are fond of introducing children to scenes of savage life, which in books for their use, are too often represented in false colours for the purpose of deprecating civilised society, and the benefit of divine revelation.453

But even she could find little fault in History of Prince Lee Boo. The story was based on a true account of the islands unlike the fairy tales to which she objected because of their untruthfulness.

we believe the account given of the inhabitants of the Pelew Islands to be authentic, and we are glad of an opportunity of showing that human nature is not destitute of common humanity, when preserved from the greater corruptions of idolatrous worship.454

The Newbery edition was a major commercial success with numerous editions being produced as Roscoe has noted.455 J. Harris, Newbery's successor had produced his thirteenth edition of the work by 1814.456

The Cheap Book Society had published a shortened version of the tale which concentrated on the shipwreck,457 but soon after Bardin's arrival as literary assistant The history of Prince Lee Boo appeared as a Kildare Place edition.458 There is no record of copyright for the work having been bought from Harris, but the Dublin version closely followed the Newbery/Harris editions. Like the Crusoe stories Lee Boo idealised the simple natural life of the islanders, and the implication is that it is only in a setting close to nature that man could fulfil his potential. The islanders were:

found to be a people simple in their manners, delicate in their sentiments and friendly in their dispositions - a people, in short, who do honour to the human race.459

The lifestyle of these islanders had a two-fold function: it set out the ideal which the Society held up for the poor of Ireland and at the same time condemned those aspects of civilized society which improving philanthropists sought most to change. The government of the island was an image of that which English upper and middle
classes believed to exist within the British legal and legislative systems:

Every day in the afternoon... he [the king] sat in public, for the purpose of hearing requests, or of settling differences which might have arisen among his subjects; and having heard whatever they had to say to him, by his affability and condescension he never suffered them to depart dissatisfied. He reigned over them more as the father than the sovereign. His commands appeared to be absolute, yet he never undertook anything of importance without advising with his rupachs [nobles] in council. 460

All the members of the Pelew Island society engaged in work and it was emphasised, for the benefit of the more relaxed of the Irish and English gentry, that:

no idle or indolent people were seen, not even among those whom superior rank might have exempted from labour; on the contrary, these excited their inferiors to toil and activity by their own example. 461

The prince's voyage to England with Captain Wilson permitted telling comparisons between the two societies to be made. The prince observed the over-indulgence of western gentlemen at the headquarters of the East India Company, he was horrified by the drunkenness of a sailor (which he believed to be an illness) and resolved never to taste alcoholic liquors. He appreciated the value of schools and resolved to learn to read himself. His manners were acknowledged to be of the most refined kind and like man Friday he had has an instinctive appreciation of the religious, attending church services regularly. 462

One further Kildare Place title belongs to this Rousseauist group. Thomas Day's, The history of little Jack, had a much closer affinity to the 'noble savage' theme than his Sandford and Merton. Jack was a foundling, reared by an old man who suckles him on a nanny-goat. Jack and the old man lived a humble, frugal life, which was idealised in books of the period. Jack grew up to have many of the attributes of the noble savage - honesty, industry, gentleness, kindness and a respect for religion - virtues which were appreciated by a succession of employers. However, he suffered from one serious fault - an ungovernable temper - which led him into numerous scrapes. Nevertheless, he persevered through a series of
misfortunes, many caused by his temper, and was eventually cured of his weakness. By the end of the tale the healthy, natural attributes which his simple upbringing gave to him had triumphed and Jack was a successful hardworking craftsman.\textsuperscript{463}

The four titles which have been examined in this group were published within the first two years of the Society's expanded publication programme, and provide an excellent illustration of the variety of considerations which prompted Kildare Place to publish certain titles. The two versions of the Crusoe story and \textit{Prince Lee Boo} were already well established as children's books and as chapbooks before they were considered for publication by the Society and it could be said their appearance in the library readers series was a sign of the book subcommittee's commercial pragmatism. The philosophical tradition from which they spring is also of significance. The works are Rousseauist in doctrine and viewed in the light of similar material, which had been included in the \textit{Dublin spelling book} and the \textit{Dublin reading book} this can only imply that the Society was inspired by ideas of the eighteenth century liberal tradition.

A second thematic group within the earliest publications of the Society was that of the voyages. The accounts of Commodore Anson's voyage around the world and of Byron's adventures following shipwreck on the coasts of Patagonia contain no moral teaching of any kind. The tales are told as factual chronological accounts and the only concern for moral improvement which can be discerned in the work of the compiler is the removal of a number of improper episodes from the text.\textsuperscript{464} Two additional titles which were published in 1820, \textit{The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus} and \textit{The life of Captain James Cook}, were in the same tradition although the prefaces and conclusions of these works emphasised the examples which these explorers held up for future generations.\textsuperscript{465} Both men were lauded as proof of the success of the puritan work ethic, by which God-fearing men of humble origins could, through perseverance and hard work rise to positions of leadership. Bardin, the compiler of the Kildare Place editions, was quick to add that this did not imply that all the poor could expect a similar elevation to the higher strata of society but that the virtues Cook and Columbus had shown would bring their rewards in the "good opinion and protection of our superiors and the respect
Captain Bligh's adventures in *Dangerous voyage* provided a fertile ground for moral teaching, giving the compiler an opportunity to see the hand of God in the safe return of the captain and his loyal crew to England and in the punishment which the mutineers eventually suffered. The book also drew on much of the imagery of the 'noble savage' concept in its closing chapters, and provided yet more evidence of the influence of Rousseauist doctrines on the Society. The descendants of some of the mutineers were found living on a Pacific island in an idyllic society like that of the Pelew Islanders. They were found to be a religious people, living in a neat settlement where crime was unknown. This was attributed to their leader, who unlike others of the mutineers, was determined to atone for his crime and see that his followers and children were raised morally and religiously.

The enormous number of books on travel which the society published are related to the accounts of these voyages. These are the best known of the Society's library readers, partly because of the huge range of titles which was produced, and the works are cited as important contributions to the secularization of the school curriculum. In a country where education was a potential matter for conflict there were advantages in reading material which described every part of the globe other than Ireland. Few religious objections could be raised to descriptions of the interior of Asia, but to see the works solely in these terms is misleading. The appearance of the volumes would seem to have more to do with Bardin's working knowledge of the book trade than any other reason. The voyages of Cook, Anson, Byron and Bligh which had been popular reading material during the eighteenth century were joined by a new range of books on travel in the years following the Napoleonic wars. The continent was reopened to English travellers following the battle of Waterloo in 1815 and among the privileged classes there was a renewed interest in seeing other lands. There was also a great thirst for knowledge about the known world which was constantly enlarged by voyages of discovery. The British writer, the Rev. Isaac Taylor (1759-1829) and his publisher John Harris, found that this provided a lucrative market for a new range of titles for children. Taylor, assisted by other members of his family, began with *Scenes in Europe for the amusement and*
instruction of little tarry-at-home travellers in 1818 and the series was extended to include among other areas Scenes in America for the amusement and instruction of little tarry-at-home travellers in 1821 and Northern regions by 1825. His 'tarry-at-home travellers' designation became the name for a new genre of children's literature which promised the benefits of travel without the expense.469

The introduction of one of the Kildare Place volumes shows that the Dublin work owed much to Taylor's 'tarry-at-home' style:

It may not be amiss, in conclusion, to add, that these travels are compiled to give the reader a knowledge of foreign lands, without the fatigue or expense of travelling to see them.470

The first volume of travels for which Bardin was solely responsible was Travels in the interior of Africa by Mungo Park. This work is more in the tradition of the voyages of exploration than the 'travels' series proper. It is the account of the exploration of the River Niger under the patronage of the African Association which had been edited by Bryan Edwards for the Association in 1799. Like Cook it proved a popular work and was in chapbook form by 1810.471 The Kildare Place version appeared by 1819 and was sufficiently popular to require new editions to be printed in 1820 and 1821.472 The development of the series of travels which began with Park's travels demonstrates the change which Bardin brought to the acquisition of new titles for the cheap book department. In 1821 the book subcommittee presented the text of Travels in Africa a work in which various travellers' accounts of the continent were woven into one continuous narrative. The report which accompanied the book subcommittee's recommendation of the work is more significant than the work itself. It was noted that this was "the first in a series of travels in the four quarters of the world".473 Bardin had identified a theme which was established as a commercial success and from which the Society could develop a series of titles. From 1821 to 1832 the Society published at least twenty four books covering all parts of the world.474

The range of areas covered and the method of compilation make it clear that Bardin must have travelled extensively himself or have had an insatiable appetite
for books on this subject. For each of the Society's volumes he would read as many adult works on the area in question which he could acquire and then blend elements of each of the accounts into a continuous descriptive narrative. The book was usually in the form of the narrative of a single traveller's experiences, often that of a promising youth or young officer who was employed by a gentleman to accompany him on the grand tour. The books covered all aspects of a country that would normally be found in an academic geographical textbook including physical features, population, agriculture and industry. Few overt attempts were made in the books of travel to inculcate moral habits or attitudes but they were written in the hope that they would help blend the Irish poor into a contented and loyal population within the United Kingdom. The underlying assumption of the writer was that the accounts would demonstrate to the reader the undeniable superiority of British society (of which Ireland was an integral part). Bardin emerges as an eighteenth century liberal cleric of the established church who was convinced that any rational examination of the British constitution, and by implication its protestantism, would demonstrate the justice of his claims. Like established church members in much of the eighteenth century he was not evangelical and the books were scrupulously neutral on denominational questions but his conviction that British government and its religion were perfectly in tune with enlightened rationalism is stressed again and again. In Travels in Africa the barbarity of the Moors was explained as "the vices of human nature, when unacquainted with true religion". A tribal chief was condemned in the same work for his tyrannical rule over his subjects and was unfavourably compared with the British sovereign who was "always ready to make those laws which are for our good". Travels in North America emphasised Britain's role in the abolition of slavery and the assumption in the books was that equality of justice for rich and poor could only be found under the British constitution. Tom, the traveller in Travels in Africa told his father:

'Tis only in England or Ireland, of all the places I ever was in, that the laws are made equally for both poor and rich.

There was too, an implicit bias to protestant values in the works. When Dr. Collins and Mr. Harding, the characters of Travels in Sweden, Denmark and
Norway arranged their tour of Europe they decided to begin with the nordic regions because of their puritanical virtues:

they [the peoples of the nordic countries] might not indeed afford so much interest as the more refined inhabitants of the middle and southern parts of Europe; but their manner being more simple - their habits of living less luxurious, and their opinions more nearly allied to virtue, they offered fewer dangers to young men.480

The peoples of Germany were portrayed in less flattering terms but were praised for their commitment to hard work and honest sincerity:

The national characteristics, however, are slowness and reserve; but they are honest, sincere and hospitable. They are not distinguished by enterprise or activity, but they are steady, and capable of great industry and perseverance.481

In Mary Mister's Mungo, the little traveller the hero Mungo was a dog who visited several countries with his owner. The dogs he met were stereotypes of the nationals of each state. When Mungo visited Switzerland he met a breed of dog who epitomized hard working puritan values:

To gain the friendship of this mountain race it was necessary to be useful and amiable. Rank was entirely disregarded and even looked on with contempt, if unattended by virtue.482

'Catholic' countries and regions received a less favourable press. Mungo resided for some time in a monastery and gave a very unflattering description of the inmates' dogs:

I found here several dogs, who, notwithstanding the supposed abstinence of their masters, were fat and well looking. Such kind of acquaintance I had never wished, not expecting to find liberal notions among those whose existence was rendered so useless by seclusion from society. My ideas were verified, for petty jealousies and disputes marked the whole tenor of their lazy lives.483

This work gave rise to the only serious objection by catholics to the library
readers. The dogs of Rome were described as a race "weak and trifling, intriguing and revengeful" and Mungo disapproved of the practice he saw there of the churches being used as sanctuaries to escape justice:

It seemed there existed a weak and wicked law, that every murderer who could take refuge in a church was safe from his pursuers; no one daring to seize him in so sacred an asylum.484

The contrast between these descriptions and those Bardin wrote when he came to describe England itself could not have been greater:

Perhaps there is no country in the world which deserves so full a description as England whether we consider the amazing power it possesses, its industry, its trade and manufactures; or its wealth, and above all, its morality and its laws, giving equal protection to poor and rich, and affording the assurance, that what we honestly earn shall be our own, no one having authority to deprive us of the fruits of our honest industry.485

The implication of Bardin's assumptions was that the reader should be grateful that he lived in a society of such superiority and that he should identify with its government and laws, (and perhaps even its religion). This was frequently enunciated in the preface or at the end of the books of travel as in *Travels in northern Asia* where it was hoped the work would enable the reader:

by a comparison of his own with other countries, duly to appreciate the advantages we enjoy in climate, in soil, in equal laws, and in that light of Christianity which confers blessing here and happiness hereafter, on all who walk according to its guidance.486

This is a teaching style closer to propaganda than to the strident didactic tones of moralists such as Trimmer and its implicit belief in the power of its own arguments, is an important measure of the degree to which the Kildare Place publications were products of eighteenth century protestantism rather than early nineteenth century evangelism or indeed of secularism.
A third theme which may be identified in the library readers is that of natural history. The inclusion of works on this theme arose partly from the business pragmatism which had inspired the publication of *Crusoe* and accounts of voyages, but the introduction of the Kildare Place volumes on animals represented a genuine innovation in the cheapbook market. Animal books had been an important and long established part of the book trade. They were compiled rather than written, each generation of authors amassing descriptions and illustrations (many of which were wildly inaccurate) from earlier publications. From medieval times exaggerated tales of animals had been an accepted component of European culture both oral and literary. The contents of Thomas Boreman's *A description of three hundred animals* which appeared in 1730, had been drawn largely from seventeenth century writers. The contents were very inaccurate - Thomas Bewick, for whom the work was one of his earliest readings in natural history, described it as "a wretched composition". However the work was popular, so much so that J. Newbery could publish the fifteenth London edition in 1786 and the eighteenth in 1791. Newbery recognized the attractions which had been inherent in the medieval bestiaries and collected the remnants of the legends into *The natural history of birds* by T. Telltruth (later Telltruth). A second volume, *The natural history of four footed beasts*, appeared under the same coy pseudonym about 1789. Other series were to follow from the Newbery firm. In 1793 Newbery published three volumes entitled *The natural history of beasts*, *The natural history of birds*, and *A natural history of fishes and of reptiles, insects etc.* all of which were attributed to Stephen Jones. By the end of the decade Lady Eleanor Fenn's *A short history of insects* and *A short history of quadrupeds* appeared from Newbery, but it was perhaps the work of Thomas Bewick as a master-engraver that helped produce some of the finest children's (and adults') books on natural history. Bewick produced a number of superb wood engravings to illustrate a series of books on birds, fishes, foreign birds, foreign quadrupeds and reptiles in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Although these works were a well established part of the booksellers' trade they do not seem to have penetrated the chapbook market to the same extent. An examination of the eighteenth century chapman's lists in Adams' work will show
that the stock of the hawker included works such as Crusoe and books of voyages but that works on natural history are completely absent. Even lists of earlier English chapbooks compiled by Spufford from surviving collections of chapbooks show an absence of works on this theme. If these surveys present an accurate picture of the readership of cheap literature then the decision of the Kildare Place Society to publish a series of titles describing birds, beasts, fishes and insects represents a genuine innovation in the cheap book market. The genre of natural history for children had been well established for the middle class market but the Society's intervention would seem to have introduced a subject to working class readers which had, until then, been the preserve of their wealthier betters.

The compilation of the Kildare Place series on natural history is a further example of the planning which Bardin brought to the work of the book subcommittee. The Kildare Place Society acquired a volume on animals which had been in preparation by the Cheap Book Society in 1816 and a reprint of this work marked 'second edition' was published in 1818. However Bardin recognized the potential for development which the topic held as in 1818 the book subcommittee could announce its plans to publish a series of books, one each on beasts, birds, fishes and insects. Beasts and Fishes appeared in 1818, and Reptiles in 1821 (see table 3.4). A number of species was described in each volume and the texts are well illustrated with fine wood engravings.

Although these works had not been part of the cheap book market the reasons for their publication by Kildare Place would seem to come partly from the practices of the English book trade. The detailed descriptions of animals and plants which they contained and the high standards of wood engravings with which some of the earlier titles were illustrated parallel the publications of Newbery, Harris and others too closely to be unconnected. Two other works which may be included here had equally strong connections with the English children's book trade. By the time of its publication in a Kildare Place edition in 1819 Mrs. Trimmer's History of the robins was a classic for children. The book's original title Fabulous histories. . . designed for the instruction of children respecting their treatment of animals gave a clear impression of Mrs. Trimmer's
theme. The family of robins were watched over by Fredrick and Harriet Benson whose mother is at pains to encourage the children's interest while guarding against thoughtless cruelty to the birds. Much heavy moral teaching is inserted along the way as the family of robins was to represent the ideal of family life, but the work's main thrust was against the cruelty to animals which so concerned writers for children. A more refreshing treatment of the same theme was to be found in Edward Augustus Kendall's *Keeper's travels in search of his master*, which originally appeared in 1799 and which Kildare Place published in 1824.  

Keeper, a dog, was separated from his master and has to make his own way home. The cruel treatment which he experienced in making his journey was condemned. Kendall's work was not as popular as that of Mrs. Trimmer, but the Newbery firm published a number of juvenile books by him and in 1819 he started *The Literary Chronicle and Weekly Review* with the object of providing cheap and good literature for the poor, an aim which was virtually identical to that of the Kildare Place Society.

Although the circumstances of the English book trade can explain the inspiration for Kildare Place's natural history series they cannot solely account for the decision of the Society to include these titles among the library readers. Neither can their inclusion be explained by any desire to inculcate certain moral attitudes as their contents, including Priscilla Wakefield's *Animal instinct* and Louisa Aikin's *Seasons*, are almost entirely descriptive. The suitability of the subject for a series of books which aimed to be genuinely non-controversial is evident and it must be accepted that this played some role in their choice by the book subcommittee. Bewley's quaker background may also have been significant: natural history had traditionally been accorded an important role in the broad curriculum of quaker schools.  

The only parts of the volumes to have any didactic purpose were the prefaces. In a number of the volumes an introductory paragraph often justified the study of natural history on the grounds that the reader would become:

better acquainted with the various inhabitants of this world, and observe the wisdom, power and benevolence of the Almighty... it cannot fail to call forth our adoration of that
power by whom all things are formed.\textsuperscript{503}

This view is that of the early eighteenth century theological writers who argued that God's existence could be proved from the wonders of his creation. The religious sections of \textit{The Dublin reading book} had included extracts on this theme but in the volumes on natural history the argument is confined to the preface and the remainder of each volume contains only descriptive material.

The elements of a natural theology were more fully developed in some of the small number of religious works which were published as part of the Kildare Place library series. A popular version of this theology was that supplied by Christopher Christian Sturm in his \textit{Reflections on the wisdom, power and goodness of God}, in which a variety of animals, plants and natural phenomena are interpreted as examples of God's all-encompassing design and his care for man's welfare. An English translation of the work had appeared within two years of the author's death in 1786, a new translation by the Wesleyian theologian Adam Clarke was published in 1804, and before the end of the eighteenth century the work had been adapted for children in a version by Eliza Andrews.\textsuperscript{504} Kildare Place published its version in 1820 and during the next decade at least two other works were added which shared the theological stance of \textit{Reflections}:\textsuperscript{505} \textit{Views of Creation} (1822) and an edited version of \textit{The catechism of nature} (1828) which had been written by the Dutchman Johannes Florentius Martinet in the eighteenth century and translated by an English presbyterian minister John Hall by 1790. The Society's version of the latter entitled \textit{Nature displayed} preserved the father/son conversational style in which the original had been written.\textsuperscript{506}

The religious publications of the Society were dominated by the theology of the eighteenth century. The books which expoused a theology of 'nature' were the only Kildare Place library books to contain any religious teaching other than \textit{Moral essays in praise of virtue}. This volume was compiled from the 'Didactic pieces' together with some of the 'Argumentative pieces' and 'Descriptive pieces' of Murray's \textit{English reader} and its \textit{Sequel}, and many of them had been used in \textit{The Dublin reading book}. All of these extracts came from eighteenth century theologians
and writers most commonly Blair and Addison. The only other titles which may be termed 'religious' were scriptural extracts (History of Joseph, Psalms and proverbs) or works which described the physical and historical setting of biblical times (The history of the seige and destruction of Jerusalem, An historical geography of the Holy Land, Scripture zoology and The manners and customs of the Israelites).

It is misleading to assign a single reason for the particular religious themes (or the lack of them) in the Society's library readers. It would be wrong, for example, to claim that the innocuous deist doctrines which the religious library readers contain accurately represent the religious beliefs of the members of the Kildare Place Society. Their speeches and reports and even the pages of The Dublin spelling book present compelling evidence that the Committee was in tune with the evangelical opinions of the period. The religious books were, like all the groupings within the Society's library readers, the product of many interacting forces. The predominance of eighteenth century theological ideas in the books must imply that at least some members of the Committee held these opinions; there is, for example, some similarity between the theology of reason and quaker notions of 'inner light'. It is also possible that the inclusion of these ideas was due to Bardin's background in the Established Church. It is worthy of note, for example, than The Dublin spelling book with which he was not associated is more evangelical in tone that The Dublin reading book and the library books for which he was responsible. The fundamental principles of the Society which dictated a non-denominational stance made the inclusion of overtly evangelical material impossible. In addition, the realities of the market place may also have played a role. As will be seen below the religious titles were among the least popular of the Society's publications and if the library readers were to control the chapbook market the provision of titles that combined popularity with acceptable morals was essential. Most of the religious titles published failed to acquire the necessary popularity. The content of the 'religious' library readers emerged from this matrix of influences rather than from any single particular cause.

Market forces were of minimal importance in one remaining group of titles
within the library readers. This group, which may be termed 'improving works' drew its inspiration from the social reforms which the Society wished to bring about rather than the proven demands of the book trade. In any analysis which attempts to distil from the books the aims of the Society these works are of great importance. The rhetoric of those who were concerned with promoting voluntary and later legislative attempts to educate the poor in the early nineteenth century often depended on arguments that cast the illiterate poor as morally degraded and as a threat to the stability of the state. Evangelical educationalists, in particular, were inspired by notions of sin, vice and the moral rescue of the increasingly large numbers of poor children who populated growing industrial centres in Britain. For writers such as More and Trimmer the religious dimension to their work was all-important and they argued for an education which would preserve the existing social strata at a time of social upheaval. The power of the evangelical revival of the period was such that these notions were adopted by society at large and there are apparently few differences between the acknowledged aims of the Sunday school and monitorial school movements.

Modern social historians of the English educational system have tended therefore to interpret the provision of education by the middle and upper classes as an attempt to control the poor, by rendering them loyal, sober and god-fearing members of society, a class satisfied with their station at the bottom of the social structure. Analyses of the curriculum of the schools as represented in their textbooks, from the work of Valerie Chancellor onwards, have worked from this basic premise and have concentrated on the means whereby certain social attitudes of passive obedience were inculcated. Studies of Irish textbooks have proceeded along similar lines: the only full scale examination of Irish textbooks so far completed and the only extensive published work on the topic have adopted what may be termed the 'social control' model.

There is undoubtedly much value in this interpretation and it is undeniable that much of the content of the textbooks published was aimed at securing an obedient, morally reformed and religious poor. This interpretation can, however, result in an over-emphasis on the importance of conservative educational
thinking. As a consequence the more liberal Rousseauist tradition is relegated to a less important role, and its main contribution is usually seen to be the importance which it placed on individual pupil development. Education as supplied to the poor in the early nineteenth century is thus seen to be didactic and religious, and only secular when forced to be so by denominational pressures.

In theory at least the Rousseauist tradition had much more to offer than an early version of child psychology. The notion of this rather restricted contribution to educational practice stems largely from the Emile-style experiments which Rousseau's two most ardent British supporters, Edgeworth and Day, conducted. Edgeworth's writings, and those of his daughter were for middle class families where once more the emphasis was on the education of individuals. Yet this picture does less than justice to Edgeworth whose education bill of 1799 and his membership of the 1806-12 board of education did much to obtain a wider school provision for the Irish poor.512 The attitude of men of the liberal enlightened tradition to which Edgeworth belonged was quite different from that of the evangelical conservatives. When he took over the direct management of his Co. Longford estates, Edgeworth sought to bring about a fundamental reform of the landlord/tenant relationship. He attempted to encourage his peasantry to improve their own economic well-being through a carefully planned reform of tenant leases and a series of incentives. His policy was remarkably successful, so much so that the rural violence against landlord interests which was endemic in much of rural Ireland of the period was absent from the Edgeworthstown estates for many years.513

The paternalism implicit in the ideas of Edgeworth and others of the liberal enlightened tradition can easily be mistaken by the modern reader as the conservatism of the evangelicals. To some extent they shared the goal of a contented peasantry but in fact their aims were quite different. Trimmer and More sought to preserve an idyllic stratified society and effect moral reform and religious salvation. The primary aim of liberals was economic well-being: education could bring about a reform of the state of the poor through sound advice on housing, health, savings and agriculture. These 'improving themes' which liberals advocated are often dismissed as elements of political economy within the 'social control' model but in
fact the origins of these two strands of thought are quite different: indeed it could be said that they represent the differences between eighteenth and nineteenth century educational thought.

The contents of some of the Kildare Place Society textbooks and cheap books fall into the conservative pattern and have been described as such by previous authors. Some of the commonest themes in the library readers, however, concern economic improvement and many of the books involved have close ties to enlightened educationalists of the Rousseauist school. The works often contain elements of both conservative and progressive philosophies. The balance between conservative and more enlightened philosophies in the publications must influence the interpretation of the role which the books were intended to play and the conclusions which may be drawn from them concerning the nature of the society itself.

One of the primary concerns of the more conservative books was the notion of the stratified society. The aim of this writing was to inculcate the notion that class divisions were preordained to the benefit of all within the structure. In *Mungo, or the little traveller* the group of dogs which gathered round to hear the traveller's tale represented an idealised cross section of this contented society. Mungo, a King Charles spaniel, was the dog of a gentleman, who together with Bob "the spotted terrier celebrated for his virtues and his genius" and Caesar "the true old English mastiff" represented the aristocracy of wealth and education; the obedient spaniel, hound, pointer and British terrier occupied an intermediate level, and the bull dog was "of coarse, unsocial manners" but his "well known courage and fighting disposition" gave him an *entrée* to this upper class gathering. The lower levels of society were represented by the shepherd dog, "a plebeian visitor" whose "meagre countenance and rough coat showed him an unfit companion for the present company". Lowest of all were Mopsey, "the turnspit" who was cook to the gathering and "little Snap, the tinker's cur" who was the servant. Once this cross section of society had been introduced the author was concerned to remind the reader that although the poor had a lowly station it was not one without advantages as the sheep dog told his host:
The labour and cold to which he was exposed had made him hardy, and rendered the course fare of his master palatable. His life of toil was not without its comforts. True, he had no leisure for amusement, like the hound, the pointer and the spaniel; but his master feeling the value of his service was much attached to him; and he had also a family, hardy and useful as himself. 515

The intention was to convince the poor of the benefits which they enjoyed in their poverty and thereby to make them happy with their lot. The sufferings which the poor experienced were viewed in the religious terms of the Sermon on the Mount. Those in poverty might well be unhappy but this condition had its blessings as "the poor are spared many temptations and trials which await the rich". 516 By contrast the life of the poor provided opportunities for moral development. The scarcities from which the poor suffered were part of God's plan to prevent them from ever becoming so attached to material possessions as to forget the spiritual dimensions to life:

Now here again I see the merciful design in making us feel want; it takes away this too great relish for the world - it says to us, that we are but travellers going homewards, where we are to dwell for ever; and unless we be sadly blind to our true interests, make us strive, by a holy life, that we may be received into the house which is not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. 517

There was an attempt in the texts to develop a fatalism in the mind of the reader so that he might come to accept the trials which he would face with perseverance as Tom, the hero of Travels in Africa was told:

"Thomas", said his father, "the captain ought to have borne misfortune better; in this world it is often our lot to suffer; and happy is the man whose sorrows are not caused by his own misconduct: but we should always be resigned, and say 'the will of God be done'. 518

Such perseverance would be rewarded, perhaps not in this world, but certainly in the next:
Let those therefore, whose poverty is not produced by extravagance or vice, look forward with hope to its relief: and although their patient virtue may not be rewarded here, let them remember, that the afflictions of this world are light, and endure but for a season; and that there is another life, into which sorrow cannot enter; and where happiness is unchangeable.519

Conservatives were inspired to ensure that the poor were enabled to partake of these heavenly rewards. The childhood of James Talbot in the book of that name was punctuated by a series of experiences in which temptation was resisted with the aid of conscience, so that James became an honest, hardworking citizen while his less disciplined school-days' friend Stephen ended up in prison.520 In Tim Higgins a conversation on a disastrous fire prompted the characters to reflect on whether they would be ready to face their maker if catastrophe overcame them. The succeeding chapter was on the importance of bible reading and a further one praised the Sunday school movement for its work in spreading the knowledge of the scriptures.521 The writers' aims could not have been too difficult to discern.

These were not, however, the dominant themes of the library readers however. Many of the books expounded a view which was more critical of society though sharing the image of a contented peasantry. While books such as Tim Higgins sought to demonstrate the moral superiority of poverty, other more enlightened titles idealised the rugged life of the rural poor as the condition of the noble savage had been idealised in Prince Lee Boo. The life of the Polish prince and his family who were exiled in Russian Siberia in Elizabeth was a typical example of this portrayal:

Having resided in this remote spot from the age of four years, the young Elizabeth had no recollection of her native country; and in this desolate spot she discovered beauties which nature bestows even in the most inhospitable climes. . . . it never occurred to her, during the happy days of her childhood, that there could be a lot more fortunate than her own. Her limbs were braced, and her health was fortified by the keen air she breathed; and her figure was improved as well as her growth by continual exercise, while her countenance always beaming with innocence and peace seemed each day to acquire fresh charms.522
The library readers which may be described as of the Rousseauist tradition drew on this image of rustic happiness, but they did not seek only to indoctrinate the poor into a docile state of fatalism. Writers of this tradition believed that society could not be improved by the preservation of the status quo or by a return to structures of the past, but by the efforts of an enlightened reforming landlord class. Writers of both conservative and enlightened traditions accorded the landlord class with the role of wise counsellor to the poor particularly in times of trouble, but many of the Kildare Place books were deeply critical of what they portrayed to be an inactive upper class more concerned with self gratification than with its duty to its tenants. The grandmother who dispensed advice in The cottage fireside wished that:

our superiors would look into our little habitations oftener than they do; for though I think the poor, in our part of the country, are in general cleanly, yet such visits would encourage them to be more and more so, and might have a good effect in other respects.

Unfortunately, as the writer saw it, this did not always happen. The example set by the gentry in respect of whiskey drinking was not always a good one and their moral standards were open to some criticism. When Robert, the stubborn, foolish son of a poor widow, Mrs. Jennings, in The brothers boasted that his girl Fanny loved him more than any other suitors, even gentlemen, his mother warned him that "...the admiration of gentlemen for girls in Fanny's situation can do them nothing but mischief". The squire in History of William had "a most benignant countenance" but his wife was a haughty, capricious woman and their son needed to be constantly reminded "that merit is independent of poverty and wealth". But the greatest failing among the gentry was the dereliction of their duty to the poor. The grandmother in The cottage fireside was made to utter a harsh condemnation of her superiors:

Oh! if the gentry knew what good they might do without putting a farthing out of their pockets, only looking in on the poor now and then, giving them a little advice, and letting them see they were thoughtful, about them, it would alter the world for the better.
The books gave numerous examples of the beneficial effects which the distribution of this advice could have. Mr. Alford, the landlord in *Richard MacReady the farmer lad* was the model of his class dispensing advice and assistance to all his tenants with the most successful results.\(^5\) When the recklessness of Robert and his new bride Fanny, brought serious debt and an unhappy marriage in *The brothers* it was to the lady of the manor that Mrs. Jennings turned for help.\(^5\) James Talbot's father and elder sister Lucy turned to Mrs. Mansfield, Lucy's employer for counsel when Mrs. Talbot died.\(^5\) In both cases the sensible help which they received was shown to be correct: when accepted in James' case it was successful but when Robert and Fanny chose to ignore it disaster duly followed.

It would appear that the library readers were intended to offer the advice to the poor which the gentry often failed to supply. They contained the information and encouragement which improving landlords such as Edgeworth would have given to his tenants. Several of the books recommended improvements which the poor could undertake to better their homes, principally whitewashing the interior and exterior (which was thought to have a sterilising effect), the installation of one or two windows to increase ventilation and the filling of puddles in the area around the cottage so as to prevent the accumulation of stagnant water. The use of shelves and pegs to improve the tidiness of homes was encouraged and the traditional 'hole in the roof' chimney of Irish cottages condemned. These changes were considered the minimum necessary to improve the health of the poor, and were included in works such as *Isaac Jenkins* where the health of Isaac's family had deteriorated because of their neglected home. If funds were available for the construction of a new house the Society could recommend more fundamental changes. The cottage built by the landlord for the disabled *Tim Higgins* was the model of which the Society approved. A detailed description of its construction was given in the story, accompanied by architectural drawings. The floor level was raised above the level of the surrounding ground (rather than sunk below it as the Irish peasant was wont to do), the cottage had two bedrooms so that males and females could be separated, and a chimney was built into one of the internal dividing walls so as to minimize heat loss.\(^\)
The works also suggested many ways in which the living standards of the poor could be raised. Tim Higgins, for example, supplemented his diet by making full use of his garden (a month-by-month description of his gardening work was included in the text) and by keeping a pig. Advice for farmers was also included in the books. Richard MacReady, the son of a lazy tenant was patronized by his landlord, learned sound agricultural practice when in the landlord's service and helped to improve his own family's small holding. Later he was employed as a steward by a widowed woman who needed help to run her farm and once more he received advice from the landlord on the use of fertilizers and drainage. The harsh realities of the tenant farmer in Ireland were not ignored: when Richard became a tenant in his own right he was attacked and beaten along the road because the previous tenant had been evicted for non-payment of rent. Richard recovered and gave evidence in court against his attackers because he knew it to be his duty to others in the community to do so. The farm which he rented was transformed by his improved methods and the landlord assisted in the building of a new cottage on the plan of Tim Higgins' home. Further agricultural advice was included in *Hints for the small farmers of Ireland* which was offered to the Society for publication by its author.532

It is easy to conclude that the underlying implication of this advice was that the poor had only themselves to blame for their condition because of their laziness and lack of foresight. Some of the books presented this interpretation:

What a blessing it would be for Ireland did such characters as Tom Boulger abound in every county. There was Billy Rogers, who lived but three fields from Boulger, and yet to look at himself, his wife, his children, his cabin, you would have supposed he had never seen the effects of prudence, industry, and good conduct. He was not a drunkard nor an idler - *these faults bring with them inevitable ruin*, but he had the fault, the common fault of the Irish, of never looking beyond the present - no forethought. . . 533

Yet these books were slow to condemn these families. In a delightfully humorous scene, which Bardin may well have based on his own experiences in Co. Louth, the visit of the local clergyman to the Rogers family mentioned above was described.
Mr. and Mrs. Rogers were kind and well-intentioned but lacked the direction to improve their own lives. The gentry who should have encouraged the development of such families were more harshly judged. The blame for much of the misery of the peasantry was firmly laid at the door of the landlords who failed to fulfil their duty in society:

What a blessing is an intelligent and humane landlord to a country. He checks the vicious, encourages industry, rewards the deserving and even when he can be of no other service, he benefits all by his good example; like the apostles, says the holy scriptures, he is as a city upon a hill which cannot be hid.

The implied criticism of the gentry may have been made in the light of the difficulty which the Society had experienced in getting landlord support for its schools. The provision of schooling on the Kildare Place model is shown to be the most effective way in which the rich can improve the lot of the poor. In The school mistress Mrs. Moloney, a widow was helped to open a school for girls by the landlord's wife. Mrs. Moloney was advised to use the new improved methods which the master had learned at the Society's headquarters in Dublin, and the school was shown to be the means by which the poor were taught not only to read and write but a series of lessons of the themes of moral and economic improvement.

Schools were shown to bring benefits to parents as well as children: in Richard MacReady, for example, the hero's parents adopted many of the practices which he was taught in school so that their lives were transformed. Mary Leadbeater's The pedlars, the only work of the Society which was commissioned from an author, dismissed any educational system which failed to bring about these social improvements. Darby, one of the pedlars in the tale was sent to the school set up by the landlord rather than:

one of those hedge schools, where the poor then received instruction, they [his parents] had objections to the associates to whom it [the hedgeschool] might introduce him, nor could they, even unlettered as they were, approve of that mode of teaching.

The Kildare Place books became the vehicle of their own publicity using a
marketing technique pioneered by John Newbery. Newbery had made many of the characters in his book praise his publications and even advertise the address of his shop. In the Kildare Place books every opportunity was taken to ensure that the skills which had been acquired in the school were used to read the Society's improving works rather than common chapbooks. The pupils in Mrs. Moloney's school were told to spend their spare pence on cheap books of natural history from the Society's lists. Many characters were seen to derive much benefit from the advice which they obtained from the books. Tim Higgins quoted from the Society's A friendly gift to servants and apprentices when he spoke to a neighbour's daughter who was about to enter service. Richard MacReady used the plans of the model cottage in Tim Higgins to build his own home and he enjoyed "reading little books on natural history and also the travels which are published in Dublin and sold so cheaply through the country." In Widow Reilly the life of a drowning boy was saved because the widow had read the instructions for first aid distributed by the Humane Society and these were reprinted in the text for the benefit of others. Some of this inbred publicity was even directed at the chapmen who distributed chapbooks. Tim Higgins met a pedlar who was selling the Society's works and they discussed the titles available. Their conversation became one long advertisement for the Society's work:

Tim: "I recollect the time when such as you, had a different kind of book in your basket: - the history of noted thieves, and fairy tales and song books; why don't you sell them still?"

Pedlar: The reason is very plain, because the people won't buy them; they find it a great deal more useful, and certainly not less entertaining, to read accounts of what really happened, than of such things as were only in the brain of those who wrote those fairy tales: and to tell you the truth, over and above this, the books I now sell are much cheaper, and as I heard once from a gentleman who bought them for his children, and appeared to know them very well, they have nothing in them which can do harm to the youngest child that reads them.

Excessive drinking was condemned in the books, but the work in which the fullest treatment of the theme was to be found (Isaac Jenkins) was firmly in the tradition of the enlightened moral tale style of Barbauld and Edgeworth which had been derived from the French Rousseauist tradition. Its author Thomas Beddoes, the
brother-in-law of Maria Edgeworth, wrote of the reform of a drunken labourer. Isaac was not morally condemned in the tale, his attachment to drink only came about when he was distraught following the accidental death of his son, and through the intervention of the local doctor he was persuaded to give up his drunkenness. Other books within the series discouraged attendance at the social occasions such as fairs, wakes and new year celebrations when excessive drinking tended to occur.

The lack of foresight which was described as the peculiar trait of the Irish was tackled in repeated references to the benefits of savings. Many of the Kildare Place Committee members had been instrumental in founding a savings bank for the poor in School Street. The benefits of these institutions especially security and growth of capital through interest were described in the library books. The failure of the marriage of Robert and Fanny in Brothers was largely attributed to their lack of savings and both Tim Higgins and Richard MacReady extolled the saving habit. In fact advice of this nature was inserted into some of the books to the detriment of their storylines. The first Kildare Place version of Isaac Jenkins was identical to Beddoes' original 1792 version and contained no detailed references to savings banks. However a description of the savings banks was crudely inserted into the 1820 edition and the story line suffered as a result.

Most of the advice which was offered in the books was directed at a rural readership, but a few titles contain similar material written for an urban setting. The honest widow Riley who ran a successful vegetable stall in a town was prudent in spending money, avoided borrowing, ate plain food and took particular care with cleanliness. Directions for improving health were adapted for the urban environment in which fever could be so prevalent. Paddy, the son of widow Riley [sic] 'doctors away the fever' by whitewashing the interior of their tenement home, cleaning the court of garbage and ensuring plenty of fresh air and ventilation.

Economic advice was offered to small traders as well as the very poor. The father of William Phillips, the explorer in Travels in South America was a Dublin shop owner. The rules by which Mr and Mrs Phillips regulated their business affairs were held up as an example for others wishing to start up in trade:
never run into debt for anything, however small, without a sure prospect of paying it, and that speedily... never to ask more for their goods than the just value... never make up bad work, even with the design of selling it proportionately cheap... always to have the work punctually ready at the time promised...  

Bardin who wrote the book could also describe what he believed to be the temptations to which traders could fall. The Phillips always rose and started work early and were particularly careful of Sabbath day observance:  

You could not see, as is the case with so many even of the most respectable trades-people, a car or carriage at the door, on the Sunday morning, to take him out to Bray, or the Dargle or to Howth, in order to spend the day in pleasure, and also without attending any place of worship.  

Moreover, when trade expanded at his Cornmarket shop Phillips bought a bigger premises in the same area, rather than foolishly spend money on an expensive shop in a fashionable street or on a grand country house and car.  

Some time before June 1825 J. L. Foster, who had been a member of the Kildare Place committee until his appointment as a member of the Irish education enquiry told Bardin that:  

the attention of several distinguished and influential persons in England had been lately drawn to the cheap publications of this Society and that these individuals had communicated to him that these subjects in political economy which bear upon the condition of the lower orders and in which it is most desireable their erroneous opinions should be corrected, should be made level to the comprehension of the poor by a familiar explanation.  

Although the book subcommittee approved the proposal Bardin had not compiled the work by 1825, but elements of the themes which it was to contain were incorporated into *Travels in England and Wales* which Bardin was compiling as Foster's communication was received. Combination, or early trade unionism was one target attacked in the work. Everyday items of the worker's homes and dress were shown to be the products of thousands of interdependent workers without
whose co-operation and assistance:

the very meanest person in a civilised country could not be provided even according to what we falsely consider, the easy and simple manner in which he is commonly accommodated.549

This fact, the work argued, proved the interdependence of all classes in society and showed "how criminal those are, who strive to raise the price of their labour above its fair value".550 Strikes and the intimidation of fellow workers were especially reprehensible. The inflationary effect of the increased wages which were demanded were shown to be damaging to the interests of the working classes, bringing higher prices and unemployment. An attempt was made to demonstrate that the resistance of workers to mechanization was short sighted as it prevented decreased costs, higher sales and more employment. The riots of workers were much lamented:

Had they asked advice, before they listened to wicked men, they would have been told, that, as their employers made more money, they would build larger factories; they would want workmen to make more cloth; they would build cottages for their tenants; set up schools for teaching little children to read and write, and let their lands at a low rate, and make the loaf sell cheaper.551

The view of market forces and industrial development which Bardin propounded is one derived from the economics of Adam Smith and Benthamite philosophies. It provided the urban equivalent of the enlightened 'improving' theories which the Society's books had propounded as suitable for the rural community.

To summarize, at least ten titles on the Society's list of library books were exclusively (or nearly so) dedicated to bringing about fundamental reforms in the life of the Irish poor. While conservative opinions were present the overwhelming concern of these books was the economic well being of the poor. The Society genuinely believed that an inspired gentry could do much to improve the lot of tenants and that the Society's schools, by assisting this gentry/tenant relationship could help to foster an improvement in the fabric of society. The results which the
Society hoped to achieve were illustrated in many of the works by descriptions of two individuals or families in stark juxtaposition: one thrifty, hard-working, sober, religious, well-educated, comfortable and successful, the other foolhardy, lazy, hard-drinking, illiterate and living in miserable poverty. The aim of the books was educational in the broadest meaning of the term: these were not books for the classroom alone but were to effect socio-economic reform in Irish society. The books were to have a wider readership than the pupils of the Society's school: the Society gave grants of them to any association or responsible individual who would set up a lending library and the books were marketed in such a manner that they would completely dominate the reading material of the poor.

The underlying aim of enlightened socio-economic improvement was quite distinct from ideas of moral and religious rescue or social control theories. Previous analyses have paid scant attention to the implications which this approach had for the contents of the books. Moreover they have almost completely ignored the circumstances of the existing book trade and their influence on the development of several of the genres represented in the Society's lists. These considerations dictated a secular content for the books though of course religious sensitivities would have helped to encourage this development. The Irish religious question, to which the secular contents of the works have been attributed was only one factor among many. Thus an analysis which argues that the publications of the Society as a whole illustrate the shift from a religious education to a secular one ignores the origins and purpose of the materials on which the arguments are based. It would be nearer the truth to describe the Kildare Place Society books as the publications of eighteenth century liberals into which evangelicals inserted more overtly religious and moralistic materials.

**The Readership of the Books**

The publication programme of the Society had a two-fold purpose:
firstly to supply graded textbooks so as to allow the introduction of systematic teaching and secondly to reform the reading habits of the poor by eliminating chapbooks from the market and replacing them with what the Society considered to be worthwhile publications. Both the textbooks and the library readers were distributed as grants to schools and sold on the wholesale and retail book markets.

The relative success and failure of the various textbooks which the Society published have already been examined, and it is clear from table 3.2 that titles such as The Dublin spelling book and The Dublin reading book were widely distributed. The balance between those textbooks which were given to schools in grants and those which were sold is not available for all of the period under study: initially most of the small number distributed were sold but as the system of schools expanded grants soon outstripped sales (see table 3.6). It will be noted that when the Society lost parliamentary grants after 1831 the circulation of its books declined rapidly, largely because it had been inflated by the large number of grants which the Society had made when funded by government (see table 3.2).

The case of the library readers is a more important barometer of the Society's success or failure to achieve its reforming aims. The books had been designed to destroy an existing market and to replace it with the Society's own improving works. The number and size of editions of the various books is impressive and Bardin's evidence to the Irish education inquiry in 1824 contained the claim that the Society had distributed over one million printed works and had printed about one and a half millions. To date these have been the only statistics used by historians when assessing the impact of the Kildare Place books. The present study draws upon the monthly accounts of the Society to compile accurate distribution figures including the relative statistics for sales and grants. The relative importance of grants and sales is of significance in the distribution of the cheap books. It may be assumed that works which were sold through the book market had a significantly greater chance of being read as the act of purchase must have been prompted by a certain level of interest.
Books which were distributed as grants, however, are a less reliable guide to readership.

The Society gave grants of complete sets of its publications to every school with which it was connected and recommended that they be used as a lending library. Forms were drawn up and sent with the books by which a record of books borrowed could be maintained. It was suggested that borrowing of books be regarded as a privilege, granted as a reward to meritorious pupils. The extent to which borrowing and reading of the books took place is impossible to gauge but a report of Griffiths, one of the Society's inspectors, provides some evidence of readership. Griffiths in his report on schools in the north-east area in 1827 complained that he feared the pupils did not always read the books they borrowed. He stated that the examination of the borrower by the teacher when the book was returned did not often take place as the teacher had rarely read all the books and was therefore ignorant as to their contents. Griffith suggested that a 'key' containing questions on each of the books be compiled so as to enable the teacher to check on the reading of the pupils, but this recommendation was never acted upon. In the same report Griffith stated that the books were widely read by the parents of those to whom they were lent and that farmers had told him that their servants had read the books "with avidity" and were now spending "their evenings within since they have had access to them".

The servants of the farmers were, in fact, one of the groups which the Society hoped would gain most benefit from the books. The reading level of most of the books was far more suited to the competent adolescent reader than to the beginner and from 1822 the Society was willing to grant full sets of its publications to any society, committee or individual who would guarantee that they would form a lending library. Middle class lending libraries had been in existence from the eighteenth century but during the early years of the nineteenth century a growing number of schools, congregations and Sunday schools came to have libraries attached to them. Adams has claimed that the Kildare Place Society made a significant contribution to this development by making book grants available. Certainly the number of such grants is
impressive: from April 1822 to 13th September 1831, 1117 lending libraries were assisted in this way by the Society, many of which received more than one grant. However it should be noted that most of these institutions were in Ulster and many, though not all, were applied for by a landlord or clergyman, and there is therefore no evidence that the applications represented a genuine demand for the books among the poorer classes or that the books were read.

Those books distributed through sales would seem to present a more accurate gauge of the library readers' success. On Bewley's recommendations the Society chose to circulate its works in a number of forms: five sheet and two sheet books were sold in unbound quires to wholesale bookdealers, while retail sales and grants were made using bound editions in either sheep or grain. Table 3.7 shows the total quantities of each format which were distributed (by grant or sale) in the period under study, and if available the quantities of these total amounts which are known to have been sold. An examination of this table will show that the single most important method of distribution during the early years of the Society's publication programme was the wholesale book market. Books sold in quires represented a large proportion of the total number of works distributed during the period 1817 to 1822. Grants must have made up most of the remainder though distribution through sales constituted just less than 50% of total circulation from 1829 to 1831. Nevertheless these statistics would suggest that a large proportion (at least 50%) of the total circulation of the Society's works was achieved through sales, rather than grants, during the period 1817 to 1831. This would seem to imply that the books were popular and were readily accepted into the book market.

This does not mean, however, that the works were reaching the Society's target audience. The Society determined that it would offer the works at extremely low prices in order to encourage wholesalers to purchase its works. To produce 10,000 unbound copies of the Society's standard five sheet book cost just over £100 (made up of £35 approximately for printing and £70 approximately for paper (see Appendix A). The Society offered these to the wholesale market at £4 per 1000: thus the entire edition if sold in this manner, would realise £40 and
the Society would sustain a loss of over 50%. The Society determined that in
bound form the work would sell for 8d bound in sheep, and 6d bound in grain.
This was an aggressive policy to adopt and one which the Society felt confident
would entice wholesalers to trade with the Society. The booksellers responded
enthusiastically and purchased large quantities of the books which they had
bound for sale. However, the Society had produced works of a high standard and
could not control the price or destination of the works which the book dealers
purchased. During one week in early 1818 wholesale dealers purchased 19,000
copies from the Society's depository and ordered 5,000 more. It was found that
they had printed new title pages for several of the books, so removing the price
laid down by the Society and replacing it with their own charge which in some
cases was as high as 18d - over double the price recommended by the Society.559

The immediate reaction of the book subcommittee was to withdraw
the unbound books from the wholesale market. They believed that extensive
publication of lists of the Society's publications and the recommended low prices
throughout the country would make it difficult for traders to charge higher
prices. Furthermore they determined that the recommended retail price would
be printed on the title page and on the last printed page of each book so that its
removal would require the wholesaler to reprint two complete sheets from the
book. Reporting on the matter to the General Committee, the book subcommittee stated that the episode had been of value in that it demonstrated
that the range of books sold by the Society was a good one and that the
wholesalers had been brought into contact with the Society much more readily
than had been envisaged.560

The stock in the Society's warehouse had been replenished by August
of that year and sales in quires were again commenced.561 Almost immediately
the same problem recurred. By February 1819 the book subcommittee reported
that the booksellers were selling the books with new titles and to a higher sector
of the market than the Society had intended. Quantities of the books were also
going for export. The subcommittee had considered how it might stop
exportation and redirect the books to the cheap end of the market but decided
that further interference with the market would be fruitless and it hoped that the problem would not be a permanent one. Once the books were well known throughout the country the problem would disappear.\textsuperscript{562}

The problem was, however, to remain and for a number of years the book subcommittee tried unsuccessfully to find a solution. In December 1820 the subcommittee believed that its policy of low prices had secured for it control over the market and that it was no longer necessary to offer such a generous profit margin to the book sellers. The price per 1000 copies was raised from £4 to £6. The fragility of the Society's hold on the market was quickly demonstrated: sales immediately fell by two thirds and though they recovered during the remainder of 1821 the total sales for the year were 10\% lower than those for 1820 (99,625 in 1821; 110,375 in 1820).\textsuperscript{563}

J. L. Foster presented the results of a searching study of the performance of the Society's book publication programme in November 1822. He concluded that the trading methods of the Society had failed to ensure the widespread distribution of its works in the country shops. The books were not, according to Foster, to be generally found in the shops of country booksellers and were unknown in smaller towns. In large centres such as Belfast, Derry, Armagh and Strabane booksellers' shops carried the publications of other societies but only comparatively few of those of Kildare Place. Foster attributed the problem to the reluctance of the country bookseller to purchase the minimum quantity of 125 copies of a work to qualify for the large wholesale discount and that these dealers did not always have binding facilities readily available. Foster calculated that each 100,000 volumes sold unbound cost the Society £1230, of which £600 was recovered by sale leaving a net cost of the Society of £630. He demonstrated that the sale of bound copies of the works to the country booksellers would result in a slightly smaller net loss to Kildare Place and would entice a class of shop keeper to deal with the Society who was unable to do so at that time.\textsuperscript{564} Foster's recommendations were adopted and table 3.7 shows the resultant growth in the circulation of bound volumes and a corresponding decline in the circulation of unbound books. By November 1823
the book subcommittee reported that it had captured the market everywhere except in the north of Ireland which was still supplied with objectional chapbooks from Belfast.\footnote{565} It is impossible to verify the accuracy of the subcommittee's claim however. The problem of exportation of the books certainly continued (as late as August 1825 the price of the books was raised from £6 per 1000 to £12 per 1000 to prevent this practice)\footnote{566} and the subcommittee's self-congratulatory report may have more to do with the looming prospect of the education inquiry in 1824. From 1828 onwards and probably somewhat earlier the proportion of the total circulation generated by sales fell to under 50%, possibly because of the smaller numbers of new works which were being produced.

As to the individual titles, the Society could perhaps be more hopeful. Following the loss of its parliamentary grant the Society re-examined its stock which it now found to be much too large for its requirements. It was decided that part of the book stock be disposed of to raise cash. The accounting exercise produced the lists in Appendix B of books which sold well [List A] those which sold indifferently [List B] and those which did not sell at all [List C].\footnote{567} It will be noted that most religious works (e.g. *Moral Essays*, *Sturm*, *Views of creation, Nature displayed*, *Joseph* and *Psalms*) are confined to Lists B and C. Some of the more didactic books of advice (e.g. *Cottage fireside* and *Tim Higgins*) sold only moderately but a number of those books which offered the improving advice so loved of the Society (e.g. *Isaac Jenkins*, *Richard MacReady*, *The schoolmistress* and *Hints to farmers*) are to be found among the best selling books. The classics such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Aesop* and *Voyage of Captain Cook* are also to be found in List A as might well be expected together with a number of the works on travel and all the volumes on natural history. To a certain extent, therefore, the choice of titles made by the Society, which paid heed to market forces and the need to give sound economic advice was successful, but because of the problems experienced in getting the books to the target audience their effectiveness must remain in question. It is extremely difficult to establish accurately the reading habits of the poor of the period and therefore it is virtually impossible to determine whether the works of the Society exerted any great influence on them.
The lists of printed works in schools which the Irish education commissioners compiled in 1824 shows that an extensive range of the popular chapbooks which Kildare Place had sought to eliminate were still in circulation, but Adams work has demonstrated that many of the Society's books were being reprinted by Belfast booksellers long after the most active period of the Society had passed. However Adam's claim that Bardin "probably had a greater effect on Irish reading habits, and was more widely read, than many a famous mainstream literary author" must be questioned and is likely to remain, at best, unproven.

The library publications of the Society therefore prompt a number of important conclusions. Firstly, analyses which describe the library readers solely (or even largely) in terms of the secularization of the school curriculum misrepresent the scale and nature of the Society's cheap book publishing programme. The approach cannot adequately account for the development which can only be explained in the context of the juvenile book market which had developed in Britain from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Kildare Place book subcommittee became the Irish equivalent of the British Newbery or Harris, producing a regularly up-dated range of titles to sell in already well established sectors of the book market.

Secondly, any examination of the cheap books using the social control model is likely to obscure the ambitious aims which the Society hoped to achieve by means of the publications. Social concerns prompted the artificial creation of the Kildare Place publishing house but these concerns encompassed much more than the inculcation of acceptable morals and docile obedience. The titles in which social themes are fully developed demonstrate that the Society was equally, if not more interested in improving the economic condition of the poor. The inclusion of such themes in the library readers is an important indicator of the utilitarian educational traditions which the Society had inherited from quakerism and of the genuine commitment of at least some of the Society's members to liberal educational philosophies.

Thirdly, the library readers represent an unprecedented attempt by a
state funded body to manipulate the cheap book market for ideological purposes. The publication programme is therefore consistent with Akenson's thesis that British administrations were prepared to use Ireland as a social laboratory. The success of the experiment is rather less clear. The Society may certainly be credited with supporting high standards of book production in Dublin: the discussion in Appendix A demonstrates that the Society's orders played some part in the development of printing and illustrative skills which a depressed Irish market was unable to sustain. The influence exerted by the Society on the Irish cheap book market is much less certain. No accurate estimation of the size of this market is yet available but it is clear that previous notions of the influence which the Kildare Place books might have exerted because of their numerical superiority must be questioned. The proportion of books which were exported is unknown but it was sufficiently large to repeatedly worry the book subcommittee. Moreover, the increased prices at which the works were sold by traders would have excluded them from the very market which Kildare Place had hoped to capture.
Sources: Surviving copies of textbooks in the Research Area CICE and other collections. Quarterly reports of the Book Sub-Committee 1815-Nov. 1830 KPS II/13/1-60. Committee Minutes and Resolutions 1813-1832 KPS I/Ms 100-105. Monthly account of items of expenditure July 1816 - Sept. 1823, KPS I/Ms 197 and Oct. 1823 to April 1833 KPS I/Ms 298.

Notes:
[1] Committee Minutes and Resolutions.
[3] A reprint of the spelling and reading lessons was reported to be in progress in the Quarterly report of the book subcommittee of Nov. 1821, [KPS II/13/21], but its completion was not subsequently reported. However a payment for 'Tablets' was made to Jones in the month ending 5/9/1922, KPS I/ Ms 297.
[5] It is not clear from the records whether the payment made to Jones during the month ending 5/6/1827 [KPS I/ Ms 297] was for full or short sets of the tablets. However given the larger circulation of the shorter set and the cost of printing £30-5-3 it is probably that an edition of the short set is involved.
[7] Two payments were made to Hardy for spelling tablets during 1832: a payment of £36-17-6 was made in the month ending 5/3/1832 and of £61-8-4 in the month ending 5/6/1832. Given that it has been assumed that the short set was reprinted in 1831 it has been further assumed that the two payments in 1832 are for full sets of the spelling and reading tablets.
[8] This edition which was almost certainly the only one issued was undated but was on sale in 1816. (See table 3.2).
[9] The sizes of print runs for *The Dublin spelling book* for the years 1824-1826 are recorded (in contemporary handwriting) inside the cover of an 1819 edition of the work in the Research Area CICE. The dates given in the manuscript note correspond exactly with payments recorded as made to Christopher Bentham [KPS I/MS 297] for printing "books for schools" and may therefore be taken as accurate. The note is somewhat unclear as to the allocation of editions between 1825
and 1826: the figures in the table being the present writer's assessment of the document.

The Society sold the work either whole, or in parts as follows:

First Part, Second and third parts and (from 1833) Second Part. It should be noted that Bentham in 1823 and Bentham and Hardy in 1829 were paid for the printing of "titles for the spelling books" [KPS I/ Ms 297 5/7/23 and KPS I/ Ms 298 5/7/29] presumably for binding as required, so in bibliographical terms some copies from editions actually printed in the period 1823-28 and 1829-32(?) may appear dated as 1823 and 1829 respectively. All the editions of *The Dublin spelling book* were printed by Christopher Bentham and his successor firms. In 1823 the firm was trading as Bentham and Gardiner although payments in the KPS accounts were still recorded under Bentham's name alone and other non-KPS work was issued under Bentham's imprint in 1824 and 1825 (cf Bradshaw, p.555). Between July and October 1825 the name of the firm as recorded in the KPS accounts changed from Bentham to Bentham and Hardy. All 1825 editions of *The Dublin spelling book Part 1* were completed by Bentham but most of *Part II* (32,500 copies out of 42,500) and *Part III* (30,000 copies out of 40,000) were printed subsequent to the change of imprint to Bentham and Hardy.

[10] The sizes of print runs for *The Dublin spelling book* from 1827 to 1833 are recorded inside the cover of an 1827 edition of the work in the Research Area CICE. The number of printings correlate with payments for "books for schools" made to Bentham and Hardy 1827-1831 and P. Dixon Hardy from 1829. There is an overlap in the accounts of the use of these two imprints with the latter [P.D.Hardy] being dominant from 1830.

[11] A copy of this edition survives in the research Area CICE bearing a manuscript note that 10,000 copies had been printed.

[12] From a manuscript note on a surviving copy of this edition in the Research Area CICE

[13] From a manuscript note on a surviving copy of this edition in the Research Area CICE

[14] From a manuscript note on a surviving copy of the 1828 edition in the Research Area CICE

[15] Monthly sales of books include the short set of Arithmetic lessons for the first time in the month ending 5/1/1825, KPS I/ Ms104.

[16] The edition was undated but available in 1817 (see table 3.2).
[17] Bradshaw records the following (as item 3372) *A collection of arithmetical tables, rules, abbreviations, literary and scientific terms etc. compiled for the use of schools*, Dublin, printed by P.D. Hardy... 1831. This work certainly coincides with the issue of the first edition of the Kildare Place table book and its contents appears to be similar to that included in *The Dublin spelling book* and in *The dictating arithmetic*, but there is no further evidence that this is a copy of the Kildare Place publication. A further entry in Bradshaw, item 3374 is as follows: *The Dublin table book... for the use of schools*, Dublin, P.D. Hardy... 1834. The title would tend suggest that this was a copy of the Kildare Place work.

[18] The *Scripture lessons* printed by Blenkinsop for the Society in 1818 was the second edition, the Society having bought up the remaining part of the first edition from the printer.

[19] During the controversy over the second edition of *Scripture lessons* Blenkinsop refused to complete the work if changes suggested by Dr. Troy were not included. The Society reacted by giving the order to M. Goodwin who had produced 25,000 copies of a half-sheet of the work before the Society determined to restore the order to Blenkinsop. Goodwin's work was never issued. Blenkinsop proved to be an extremely expensive contractor: in all the total cost of purchasing the first edition and of printing 25,000 copies of the second amounted to £428-8-6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1710</th>
<th>1720</th>
<th>1730</th>
<th>1740</th>
<th>1750</th>
<th>1760</th>
<th>1770</th>
<th>1780</th>
<th>1790</th>
<th>1800</th>
<th>1810</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3718</td>
<td>3727</td>
<td>3736</td>
<td>3745</td>
<td>3754</td>
<td>3763</td>
<td>3772</td>
<td>3781</td>
<td>3790</td>
<td>3800</td>
<td>3810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3719</td>
<td>3728</td>
<td>3737</td>
<td>3746</td>
<td>3755</td>
<td>3764</td>
<td>3773</td>
<td>3782</td>
<td>3791</td>
<td>3801</td>
<td>3811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3720</td>
<td>3729</td>
<td>3738</td>
<td>3747</td>
<td>3756</td>
<td>3765</td>
<td>3774</td>
<td>3783</td>
<td>3792</td>
<td>3802</td>
<td>3812</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3721</td>
<td>3730</td>
<td>3739</td>
<td>3748</td>
<td>3757</td>
<td>3766</td>
<td>3775</td>
<td>3784</td>
<td>3793</td>
<td>3803</td>
<td>3813</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3722</td>
<td>3731</td>
<td>3740</td>
<td>3749</td>
<td>3758</td>
<td>3767</td>
<td>3776</td>
<td>3785</td>
<td>3794</td>
<td>3804</td>
<td>3814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.2 Number of Textbooks Distributed 1816-1832**

- 1816
- 1827
- 1838
- 1849
- 1860
- 1871
- 1882
- 1893
- 1904
- 1915

Note: The table above represents the number of textbooks distributed from 1816 to 1832. Each year shows the number of textbooks distributed.
Table 3.2 continued.

Sources: Monthly return of sales by book subcommittee to the General Committee as recorded in Committee minutes and resolutions, KPS I/Ms 101-104, for years ending 5/1/17 to 5/1/18. Monthly account of sales of cheap books and school requisites, KPS 1/Ms 194, for years 5/1/29 to 5/1/33.

Notes:
[1] The relevant statistics for two months (March and September) of 1817 have not survived.

[2] The accounts do not show the breakdown of this figure between Part I and Parts II and III of The Dublin spelling book, but simply state that the parts sold would have amounted to 909 complete copies.

[3] For the months January to July 1820 the figures for The Dublin spelling book are given as explained in note 2 above, and have been included in the figure for ‘whole editions’. The accounts give the following breakdown of copies sold in the period August to December 1820:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>5/9/20</th>
<th>5/10/20</th>
<th>5/11/20</th>
<th>5/12/20</th>
<th>5/1/21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whole copies</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part I</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parts II &amp; III</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>963</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[4] This figure includes 5000 copies sold in quires on the wholesale market: this was the only occasion on which a quantity of unbound testaments were sold in this way.

[5] Note that the Society ceased to make grants of textbooks on 1 January 1832. Following this textbooks had to be purchased (at cheap rates) from the Society and the dramatic fall in numbers issued demonstrates the extent to which circulation had depended on the grants. This is all the more clearly seen when the monthly returns for 1832 are examined. It shows that exceptionally large numbers of textbooks were issued in January 1832 (for some titles over one-third of the volume issued in that year) and that during the remainder of the year small monthly issues were recorded. This was caused by a back-log of grants (made prior to 1 January 1832 but not issued) which were dispatched in the month of January; the small numbers recorded in the remaining months of the year (which were sold) demonstrates the degree to which the circulation of the Society’s textbooks depended on grants.
Table 3.3  Cost of editions of cheap books (including paper) and proposed scale of prices for same 1817

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cost of edition</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>No of sheets</th>
<th>Proposed Prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>per 1000 in quires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Wonderful escapes</td>
<td>41/2 &amp; 1/3</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>Wonderful fishes</td>
<td>41/3 &amp; 1/10</td>
<td>9.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£107.0.3</td>
<td>Dangerous voyage</td>
<td>71/3</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£50.9.7</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>32/3</td>
<td>7.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£69.10.11</td>
<td>Isaac Jenkins</td>
<td>43/4</td>
<td>9.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£88.3.5</td>
<td>Robinson Crusoe</td>
<td>55/6</td>
<td>12.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£47.10.10</td>
<td>Little Jack</td>
<td>31/2</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£96.10.6</td>
<td>Anson’s voyage</td>
<td>61/2</td>
<td>13.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£ 66.10.0</td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£65.16.9</td>
<td>Animal instinct</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth</td>
<td>51/4</td>
<td>10.100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£71.15.8</td>
<td>Byron’s Narrative</td>
<td>42/3</td>
<td>9.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£56.1.5</td>
<td>Seasons</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Proposed scale of prices for sale of cheap books, 26 October 1817, KPS II/23/19
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIM HIGGINS</th>
<th>SEASONS</th>
<th>SCRAPBOOK</th>
<th>SCHOOL MISTRESSES</th>
<th>ROBINS</th>
<th>MESAS</th>
<th>REDLAGS</th>
<th>NATURE DISPLAYED</th>
<th>TREES</th>
<th>INSECTS</th>
<th>REPTILES</th>
<th>FISHES</th>
<th>DOMESTIC ANIMALS</th>
<th>ART. MRT. ANIMALS</th>
<th>MILK AND SUGAR</th>
<th>MILK AND WATER</th>
<th>MILK AND MEATS</th>
<th>MILK AND MILK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Table 3.4 continued.

Sources: Surviving copies of textbooks in the Research Area CICE and other collections. Quarterly reports of the book subcommittee 1815 - Nov 1830, KPS II/13/1-60. Committee minutes and resolutions 1813-1832, KPS I/Ms 100-105. Monthly account of items of expenditure July 1816-Sept. 1823, KPS I/Ms 297, and Oct 1823 to April 1833, KPS I/Ms 298.

Notes:

[1] A copy of this edition is to be found in the collections of the British Library but the work may not have been completed until 1825 as its issue is not recorded until the Quarterly report of the book subcommittee, May 1825, KPS II/13/34.


[3] The 1822 edition of Alceste is recorded in Bradshaw and in British Library collection though manuscript records show that the work was not completed until 1823.


[5] Although dated 1826, this edition does not seem to have been completed until 1827, cf. Monthly account of items of expenditure, for month ending 5 April 1827, KPS I/Ms 298.

[6] 'L. Tute' appears on the title page, but accounts show that payment was made to 'E. Tute' successor to L Tute.

[7] A payment for 10,000 copies of 'Crusoe' to J. Jones is recorded in 1819. This must refer to New Crusoe as the 1822 edition of Robinson Crusoe bears 'third edition' on its title page.

[8] Although dated 1819 the work does not seem to have been completed until 1820, cf. Monthly account of items of expenditure, for month ending 5 Aug. 1820, KPS I/Ms 297.

[9] An edition of 1819 is listed in the printed catalogue of the British Library but the work was not available for consultation while research was in progress. There is no record of this edition in the accounts of the Society.

[10] Although dated 1822 the work does not seem to have been issued until 1823, cf. Quarterly report of book subcommittee, Aug. 1823, KPS II/13/28.


[12] Three sheets of this edition including the title page were printed by M. Goodwin, two sheets were printed by E. Scott.
[13] *Mungo* was printed by Goodwin as an 83 page book in 1817. Later that year a supplement, *Seven wonders of the world*, was compiled and printed separately. When the Society sold the bound volumes the two were stitched together as one volume. Hence only *Mungo with Wonders of the World* is included for the purpose of calculating total output of editions.

[14] It is possible that there were two editions of *Mungo* in 1822. Payment records show that J. Jones was paid £13-16-0 (the usual cost of a two-sheet edition) in the month ending 5/5/1822 for an edition of *Mungo* and £34-10-0 (the usual cost of a five sheet edition) in the month ending 5/8/1822 also for an edition of *Mungo*. A copy of the five sheet edition of this year survives in the British Library.

[15] The two editions had print runs of 11,000 each.

[16] The two editions had print runs of 11,000 each.

[17] The edition of *Insects* printed by A. O'Neill is dated 1822 on the title page but manuscript records [Ms 297] show that this edition was completed by Sept. 1821. There is no evidence to suggest that two separate editions (of 1821 and 1822) ever existed.


[19] Although dated 1821 the edition does not seem to have been issued until 1822.

[20] This edition is in CICE (KPS collection/compilations). However no payments were made to Graisberry & Campbell for it while payments were made in the month ending 5 May 1820 to D. Graisberry for an edition of *Select story teller*. No other record of an edition by D. Graisberry exists while the 1820 edition of the work printed by A. O'Neill is well documented. It would appear that the printing of the 1819 edition was sub-contracted by Graisberry & Campbell to D. Graisberry, perhaps due to pressure of work: Graisberry & Campbell were already printing at least five other two-sheet books for Kildare Place in 1819.

[21] It is not clear whether this edition recorded in KPS I/Ms 298 refers to *Pacific Ocean* or *Pacific Ocean second part*. (See note [22])

[22] The full title of this volume was: *Voyages through the northern Pacific Ocean, Indian Ocean and Chinese Sea*. It is a companion volume to the previous entry and recounts the second half of the voyage.
[23] This edition was undated on the title page. Printing records and the arrangement of a copy of the work in the printed collection of the Society at CICE allow it to be identified as 1819. The edition printed by Bentham in 1820 was dated.

[24] This was the only work completed by the Cheap Book Society before it was taken over by the Kildare Place Society.

[25] *The history of William an orphan* first appeared as a supplement to *History of Little Jack* in 1817. An extended version entitled *History of William an orphan to which are added the history of Tom and his dog and the canary bird* appeared as a supplement to *Little Jack* in 1818. It was this extended version which appeared as a two-sheet book in 1819.

[26] 1825 or late 1824.

[27] 1826 or late 1825.

[28] Sometime between August 1828 and November 1829.
Table 3.5  Summary of number of editions of cheap books [1]
published 1817-1833.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>New titles printed</th>
<th>New editions or reprintings of existing titles</th>
<th>Total number of editions printed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>14 [2]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>21</td>
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<td>1819</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>1821</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>1822</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>1823</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
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<td>1825</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
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<td>1830</td>
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<td>1833</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: See table 3.4
Notes:
[1] Including cheap library books only. Excluding all textbooks, manuals and printed reports.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount given in grants</th>
<th>Amount sold at low prices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1817</td>
<td>£93- 1- 61/2</td>
<td>£146- 6- 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1818</td>
<td>£215- 3- 81/2</td>
<td>£343- 0- 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>£327- 8- 0</td>
<td>£399- 11- 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>£588- 12- 81/2</td>
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<td>1824</td>
<td>£3395- 0- 11</td>
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</table>

*Source:* Statement of the amount of spelling books, stationery and other school requisites issued from the depository of the SPEPI in each year from 1817 to 1824, KPS II/23/68.
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</table>

Table 3.7 Number of cheap books distributed 1876-1882
Table 3.7 continued.

Sources: Monthly return of sales by book subcommittee to the General Committee as recorded in Committee minutes and resolutions, KPS I/Ms 101-104, for years ending 5/1/18 to 5/1/28.
Monthly account of sales of cheap books and school requisites, KPS I/Ms 194, for years ending 5/1/29 to 5/1/33.

Notes:

[1] Cheap books went on sale in November of this year (1817) but records of numbers of books sold exist for December only.

[2] This figure is the total number of two-sheet books issued in the year ending 5 Jan 1821: the proportion of bound to unbound (in quires) is available for the following months only:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Two-sheet books</th>
<th>Month ending</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5/6/20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bound</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In quires</td>
<td>4375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that in these months bound copies constitute less than 10% of the total (with the exception of the month ending 5/8/20) and therefore it can be assumed that most of the 15,929 books distributed in this year were sold rather than given in grants.

[3] This figure includes 24,650 copies sold in quires to wholesalers. These books, which were printed on a higher quality paper, proved a poor seller and were sold at a discount to clear the stock.
Fig. 3.2 The syllabrium formed by the combination of vowel and consonant sounds. This remained the standard introductory exercise for learners throughout the eighteenth and during much of the early part of the nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER 2 The short sounds of the vowels and dipthongs
Section 1 words of three letters

a
bad can had fat mad rag
bag cap has lad man wag
bat cat hat sad mat wax
e
bed den get met peg red
beg hen leg net pen vex
fed men let set pet wet


[Note that this extract has been typewritten for the purposes of the present work, though the layout has been preserved.]
A SPELLING BOOK
COMPILED
FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.

First Course.
IHTLEF. il.

Second Course.
AVWMNZKXYX
vwkvzx.

Third Course.
OUCJGDPMB
QRS
aobdpqgenh
etursfj.

Sold at the Depository of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland, 4, Kildare-place, Dublin.

PRINTED BY PATTISON JOLLY, 22, ESSEX STREET, WEST, DUBLIN.

Fig. 3.4 The first tablet from the Society's A spelling book compiled for the use of schools. [Reduced; actual size 44.5cm x 28.5cm]. A copy of the original tablet has not survived, this copy is taken from the short set of tablet lessons which was issued in 1821.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Spelling Lesson</th>
<th>Reading Lesson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>First Part 8 and 9</td>
<td>First Part 23 and 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>First Part 10 to 15</td>
<td>First Part 25 to 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>First Part 16 and 17</td>
<td>First Part 27 to 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>First Part 18 to 23</td>
<td>Third Part 145 to 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second Part 59 to 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>Second Part 72 to 83</td>
<td>Third Part 166 to 184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second Part 84 to 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>Second Part 95 to 111</td>
<td>Third Part 193 to 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Second Part 112 to 121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>Second Part 121 to 133</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 3.5 Key to the spelling and reading tablets contained in A spelling book and A reading book. From Descriptions and observations written in the model school, Dublin, by Martha Donaldson. KPS I/Ms 688, p.25. Note that this key was not generally available to teachers who had not attended the model school of the society.
Writing Classes

The Scholars are arranged in Eight Writing Classes.

The first is formed of those learning to write from signs consisting of single letters, Top, and Double signs.

The second comprises those learning to join simple letters.

The third is composed of scholars learning to join words of Two Letters.

The fourth comprises those learning to join words consisting of Three, Fourth, and Five letters.

The fifth includes all who are employed at Half-line copies without capitals.

The sixth comprises those writing Half-line copies with capitals.

The seventh consists of those writing whole line copies.

The Eighth is formed of a selection of the best copies.

Fig. 3. 6 Table of writing skills according to the Society's classification. From Descriptions and observations written in the model school, Dublin, by Martha Donaldson. KPS I/Ms 688, p.26.
| Apply thine heart unto instruction. | None righteouso, no not one! None |
| Be not weary in well doing. | Overcome evil with good! Ever |
| Commit thy way unto the Lord. | Praise goeth before destruction. |
| Do good to them which hate you. | Quench not the spirit. Quench |
| Every word of God is pure. Every | Recompense to no man evil for evil. |
| Forgive and ye shall be forgiven. | Sin is a reproach to any people. |
| Grievous words stir up anger. G | The wages of sin is death. The |
| Hate the evil and love the good. | Unlearned questions avoid.宁 |
| In all thy ways acknowledge God. | Visit me with thy salvation. Vis |
| Keep thy heart with all diligence | Walk as children of light. Walk |
| Let us not be weary in well doing. | Ye must be born again. Ye must |
| Mine eyes are ever toward the Lord. | Zealous towards God. Zealous |

Fig. 3.7 Sheet of uncut printed headlines as dispatched to school c. 1820s. [KPS Collection, unlisted]. [Reduced].
Fig. 3.8 Printed headlines posted unto metal strips and accompanying metal holder. [KPS Collection, unlisted].
The elementary rules of arithmetic form the first division of that science, which together with the succeeding rules are arranged according to the following scale.

The Society for promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland have published arithmetical tables, together with arithmetical lists, corresponding with this arrangement; the latter are calculated to keep correctly an account of the proficiency of each scholar, with comparatively little trouble, and will not require renewing for at least twelve months.

**FIRST DIVISION—Combination of Figures.**

Numeration,  
Addition,  
Multiplication,  
Subtraction,  
Division.

**Second Division.**

Reduction, ascending and descending,  
Reduction of Weights and Measures,  
Compound Addition,  
Do. Multiplication,  
Do. Subtraction,  
Do. Division.

Questions for exercises in the preceding rules,  
Bills of Parcels.

**Third Division.**

Proportion, three parts,  
Vulgar Fractions, six parts,  
Decimals, five parts,  
Practice, three parts,  
Imports and Exports,  
Tare and Trett,  
Rates per cent,  
Interest,  
Annuities,  
Discount, &c.

**Fourth Division**

Consists of the succeeding rules, the head lines in the printed list are left blank, so that the teacher may insert the rule in the order in which he may be in the practice of teaching.

Fig. 3.9 Structure of arithmetical skills according to the Society's classification. From The schoolmaster's manual recommended for the regulation of schools, (Dublin, 1825), pp.30-1.
**VI**

**ARITHMETIC.**

**Combination of Figures, No. 6.**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Six</th>
<th>and</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>are</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Take 6 from 7</th>
<th>remains</th>
<th>1</th>
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<td>6 — 8</td>
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<td>6 — 18</td>
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6 times 1 are 6  
6 — 2 — 12  
6 — 3 — 18  
6 — 4 — 24  
6 — 5 — 30  
6 — 6 — 36  
6 — 7 — 42  
6 — 8 — 48  
6 — 9 — 54  
6 — 10 — 60  
6 — 11 — 66  
6 — 12 — 72  

6 in 6 — once  
6 — 12 — twice  
6 — 18 — 3 times  
6 — 24 — 4  
6 — 30 — 5  
6 — 36 — 6  
6 — 42 — 7  
6 — 48 — 8  
6 — 54 — 9  
6 — 60 — 10  
6 — 66 — 11  
6 — 72 — 12

Printed for the Society for promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland,

BY JOHN JOHES, 40, SOUTH GREAT GEORGE'S-STREET, DUBLIN:

**Fig. 3.10** Sixth tablet from the Society's arithmetic tablets. The first tablet which bore the title, has not survived but the work was referred to in the accounts as 'Arithmetic Lessons' and this title will be used in the present work. [Reduced; actual size 44.5cm x 27cm].
Addition, No. 4.

First Column.

2 and 1 are 3—3 and 4 are 7—7 and 3 are 10; set down 0 under the column I am adding up, and carry 1 to the next.

Second Column.

1—I carry and 3 are 4—4 and 2 are 6—6 and 4 are 10—10 and 2 are 12; set down 2 under the column I am adding up, and carry 1 to the next.

Third Column.

1—I carry and 2 are 3—3 and 3 are 6—6 and 1 are 7—7 and 4 are 11; set down 1 under the column I am adding up, and carry 1 to the next.

Fourth Column.

1—I carry and 3 are 4—4 and 4 are 8—8 and 2 are 10—10 and 3 are 13; set down 3 under the column I am adding up, and carry 1 to the next.

Fifth Column.

1—I carry and 2 are 3—3 and 3 are 6—6 and 3 are 9—9 and 4 are 13; set down 3 under the column I am adding up, and the 1 to the left.

Total 133,120. One hundred and thirty three thousand, one hundred and twenty.

---

Fig. 3.11 Arithmetic lessons, (Dublin, nd.), tablet XVI.
[Reduced, actual size 44.5cm x 27cm].
Take 8 from 2—1 cannot; borrow 10 from the next and say, 8 from 12 remain 4; set down 4, and carry 1.  
1—1 carried to 4 are 5—5 from 8 remain 3; set down 3.  
9 from 5—1 cannot; borrow 10 from the next and say, 9 from 15 remain 6; set down 6, and carry 1.  
1—1 carried to 9 are 10—10 from 5—1 cannot; borrow 10 from the next and say, 10 from 15 remain 5; set down 5, and carry 1.  
1 I carried to 6 are 7—7 from 2—1 cannot; borrow 10 from the next and say, 7 from 12 remain 5; set down 5, and carry 1.  
1—I carried to 2 are 3—3 from 7 remain 4; set down 4.  
7 from 9 remain 2; set down 2.  
4 from 3—1 cannot; borrow 10 from the next and say, 4 from 13 remain 9; set down 9, and carry 1.  
1—I carried to 3 are 4—4 from 1—I cannot; borrow 10 from the next and say, 4 from 11 remain 7; set down 7, and carry 1.  
1—I carried to 9 are 10—10 from 7—I cannot; borrow 10 from the next and say, 10 from 17 remain 7; set down 7, and carry 1.  
1—I carried to 1 are 2—2 from 4 remain 2; set down 2.  
Remainder 27,792,455,634. Twenty seven thousand, seven hundred and ninety two million; four hundred and fifty five thousand, six hundred and thirty four.
To divide any number by a given divisor consisting of any number from 2 to 12 and one or more ciphers, for example, by 300: first cut off the two ciphers in the divisor, then cut off the two last figures in the dividend, and divide the other figures by 3; to the remainder (if any) add the figures cut off.

3 in 7—twice and 1 over; set down 2 under the 7, and carry 1 to the next.

The 1—1 carried is 10—10 and 3 are 13; 3 in 13—4 times and 1 over; set down 4 under the 3, and carry 1 to the next.

The 1—1 carried is 10—10 and 2 are 12; 3 in 12—4 times; set down 4 under the 2.

3 in 8—twice and 2 over; set down 2 under the 8, and carry 2 to the next.

The 2—I carried is 20—20 and 9 are 29; 3 in 29—9 times and 2 over; set down 9 under the 9, and carry 2 to the next.

The 2—I carried is 20—20 and 6 are 26; 3 in 26—8 times and 2 over; set down 8 under the 6, and carry 2 to the next.

The 2—I carried is 20—20 and 5 are 25; 3 in 25—8 times and 1 over; set down 8 under the 5, and carry 1 to the next.

The 1—I carried is 10—10 and 4 are 14; 3 in 14—4 times and 2 over; set down 4 under the 4, and 2 the remainder with 28 (the two figures cut off) to the right, making a remainder of 228.

Quotient 24;429,884,---228. Twenty four million; four hundred and twenty nine thousand, eight hundred and eighty four,---and 228 over, or remainder.
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<th>Result</th>
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Fig. 3.14 A dictating arithmetic prepared for the Society for promoting the education of the poor of Ireland. (Dublin, nd.), p. 2.
<table>
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<td>4 and 8 are 12</td>
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Fig. 3.15 A dictating arithmetic, (Dublin, nd.), pp. 16-17.
Fig. 3. 16 A dictating arithmetic, (Dublin, nd.), pp. 24-5.
Fig. 3. 17 A dictating arithmetic, (Dublin, nd.), p. 35 and 36.
Subtraction, No. 4.

From 5 4 7 6 3 2
Take 4 8 3 9 7 1
Remainder 6 3 6 6 1

Take 1 from 2 remains 1; set down 1.
7 from 3—I cannot; borrow 10 from the next and
say, 7 from 13 remain 6; set down 6, and carry 1.
1—I carried to 9 are 10—10 from 6—I cannot; bor-
row 10 from the next and say, 10 from 10 remain 0;
set down 6, and carry 1.
1—I carried to 3 are 4—4 from 7 remain 3; set
down 3.
8 from 4—I cannot; borrow 10 from the next and
say, 8 from 14 remain 6; set down 6, and carry 1.
1—I carried to 4 are 5—5 from 5 remains 0; set
down a dot.

Remainder 63,661. Sixty three thousand, six hund-
red and sixty six.

From 6 6 3 4 0 5
Take 2 5 8 0 3 9
Remainder 4 0 5 3 6 6

Take 9 from 5—I cannot; borrow 10 from the next
and say, 9 from 13 remain 6; set down 6, and carry 1.
1—I carried to 3 are 4—4 from 0—I cannot; borrow
10 from the next and say, 4 from 10 remain 6; set
down 6 and carry 1.
1—I carried to 0 is 1—1 from 4 remain 3; set down 3.
8 from 4—I cannot; borrow 10 from the next and
say, 8 from 13 remain 5; set down 5, and carry 1.
1—I carried to 5 are 6—6 from 6, remains 0; set
down 0.
2 from 6 remain 4; set down 4.

Remainder 405,366. Four hundred and five thou-
sand, and, three hundred and sixty six.

Subtraction, No. 5.

From 3 7 4 3 7 9
Take 1 3 3 1 6 4
Remainder 2 4 1 2 1 5

From 4 5 3 7 9 8
Take 3 2 1 4 3 5
Remainder 1 3 2 3 6 3

From 5 6 3 7 8 9
Take 2 1 3 2 5 3
Remainder 3 5 0 5 3 6

From 8 3 2 4 7 3
Take 1 9 7 2 8 4
Remainder 6 3 5 1 8 9

Carried figs. 1 1 1 1 1

From 3 7 0 6 4 2
Take 1 8 2 7 9 3
Remainder 1 8 7 8 4 9

Carried figs. 1 1 1 1 1 1

From 7 0 3 0 0 0
Take 2 8 0 0 5 3
Remainder 4 2 2 9 4 7

Carried figs. 1 1 1

Printed for the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland,
By John Jones, 10, South Great George's-street, Dublin.
Divisor 4) 2 6 1 7 2 8 4 Dividend.
             6 5 4 3 2 1 Quotient.

4 in 26—6 times, and 2 over; set down 6 under the 6, and carry 2 to the next.
The 2—1 carried is 20—20 and 1 are 21; 4 in 21—5 times, and 1 over; set down 5 under the 1, and carry 1 to the next.
The 1—1 carried is 10—10 and 7 are 17; 4 in 17—4 times, and 1 over; set down 4 under the 7, and carry 1 to the next.
The 1—1 carried is 10—10 and 2 are 12; 4 in 12—3 times; set down 3 under the 2.
The 1—1 carried is 10—10 and 4 are 14; 4 in 14—twice; set down 2 under the 8.
The 1—1 carried is 10—10 and 1 are 11; 5 in 11—once, and 1 over; set down 1 under the 6.

Fig. 3. 19 A dictating arithmetic, (Dublin, nd.), p. 51 and 52.
Fig. 3.20 [This page and two following]. Tables for use in the Pestalozzian method of teaching arithmetic. From L. Du Puget, Intuitive mental arithmetic, theoretical and practical, on the principles of H. Pestalozzi etc., (Dublin, 1821).

Above Fig. 3.20A. Table of simple unity, plate I.
Fig. 3.20B  Table of simple fractions and table of compound fractions plates II and III.
Fig. 3.20C Table for use in the Pestalozzian method, plate IV.
When the slates are full, the monitor examines them, and at the same time proposes any of the questions that have been written, to such scholars as he may think fit. When the inspection is concluded, they clean their slates, and proceed in the same manner with another lesson. There is another exercise, which, by way of distinction, has been termed the "new exercise," in which this class are frequently exercised. It is as follows:—The monitor gives out, for instance, "three times four;" the scholars are taught to write it thus, \(3 \times 4\) rather above the centre of the slate. They are then asked by the monitor, "In three times four how many times one." The scholars then write underneath the figures a certain number of right lines corresponding with the number of units in three times four, dividing them thus,—

\[
\begin{align*}
3 \times 4 & \\
\text{III-III-III} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

and answer "12," each scholar making similar figures and right lines on their slates. The monitor then proceeds to put several questions, which the scholars mark off as they answer, thus—Question, In 3 times 4 how many times 2? The scholars then reckon the number of twos contained in 3 times 4, and having marked them off thus, \(\text{II,II,II,II,II,II,II} \), answer "6 times 2." The monitor then proceeds to further questions, such as, In 3 times 4 how many times 3? &c. how many times 5, 6, 7? &c. the scholars marking off in like manner, to enable them to reply to the question as before.

When this class are engaged at semicircles, they read from lessons on which are arranged figures somewhat similar to those used for dictation: after rehearsing the lesson, the scholars are ordered to change their position, by forming a semicircle, with their backs to the lesson. The monitor then proceeds to put such questions as the following, which

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Fig. 3.21 Extract from the chapter on the teaching of arithmetic from The schoolmaster's manual, p.5
Note the similarity to the Pestalozzian table in Fig. 3.20A.
Chapter Three - Footnotes

1 Letter from Mr. Smith Goldie, Edinburgh to [W.V. Griffith inspector of the Society]. Included in General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399 Appendix C, p.ix.


3 *First report of the commissioners of Irish Education inquiry*, p.58

4 'Minute respecting the Kildare Street Society for the cabinet' signed by E.G. Stanley [1831], Public Record Office, Kew, H0 100/239 f.51.


6 Ibid., pp.144-5.


8 Ibid., p.47.


11 Goldstrom *The social content of education* pp.58-61.


13 G.S. Chalmers, *Reading easy 1800-50: a study of the teaching of reading with a list of books which were used and a selection of facsimile pages* (London, 1976), pp.4-5. Chalmers work is the most comprehensive study of the history of the teaching of reading and criteria of methods outlined in his foreword have been adopted for the present study.

15 Chalmers, op. cit. p.5.

16 Richards, op. cit., pp.7-8.


20 Ibid., p.6-7. Shavit in an introductory chapter entitled "The notion of childhood" cites and defends the work of Phillippe Aries whose pioneering book *Centuries of childhood* (London, 1962) first proposed the idea of a distinctive concept of childhood emerging in the seventeenth century.


22 Chalmers, *Reading essay*, p.4.

23 Ibid., p.5.

24 Richards, *Happiest days of your life*, pp.8-9.

25 Quoted in Chalmers, op. cit., pp. 5 - 6.


28 Ibid., p.vi.

29 Ibid., tables of monosyllables I-X, pp.3 -23.

30 Ibid., p.vii. The following examples from p.45 of the textbook will help to illustrate his method.

re " so lute
   ta " pe " stry.

31 Ibid., p.vi.
32 From examination of copies in the British Library.

33 Preface to A reading book (the tablet version of the Society's reading lessons) agreed at Committee, 11 Dec.1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

34 Chalmers, Reading easy, pp.5-6 and pp.10-11.


36 Dilworth, A new guide to the English tongue, pp.3-23.

37 Ibid., pp.139-150.

38 T. Dyke, Reading made perfectly easy, or an introduction to reading the holy bible; consisting of lessons so disposed that the learner is led on with pleasure from easy to more hard words. . . being sentences from scripture and other books on moral and religious subjects. . . very pleasant and advantageous to youth etc (29th edition, 1785) cited in Whalley, Cobwebs to catch flies, p.40.


40 Whalley, op.cit., p.39.

41 Richards, Happiest days of your life, pp.8-9 and Chalmers, Reading easy, pp.8-9.


43 [Anna Laetitia Barbauld], Lessons for children Part I for children from two to three years old (London, 1803), p.(i).


45 Whalley, Cobwebs to catch flies, pp.42-3.

46 Trimmer makes this clear in the review article cited above in note 44.
47 Jones, Charity school movement, pp.76-7.

48 The Salisbury spelling book (Easton, 1786) is described in Chalmers, Reading easy, p.14; Francis Fox (the Rev.), An introduction to spelling and reading containing lessons for children, historical and practical; adorned with sculptures together with the chief rules for spelling and dividing words into syllables, designed to teach them to read well and distinctly in a shorter time than is usual to which is added prayers, collects etc (London, 1799).


50 For a contemporary discussion of the usual contents of 'readers' see Pillans, Principles of elementary teaching pp.76-7.

51 Chalmers, Reading easy, p.19.

52 D.N.B.

53 Chalmers, op.cit., p.20.

54 D.N.B.

55 Lindley Murray, The English reader: or, pieces in prose and poetry. Selected from the best writers designed to assist young persons to read with propriety and effect; to improve their language and sentiments; and to inculcate some of the most important principles of piety and virtue. With a few preliminary observations on the principles of good reading, (York, 1799) and Lindley Murray, Sequel to the English reader: or, elegant selections in prose and poetry. Designed to improve the highest class of learners in reading; to establish a taste for just and accurate composition; and to promote the interests of piety and virtue, (Dublin, 1801) (also 7th edition, York 1829) [original edition, 1800].

[In the present work citation of The English reader will refer to the Dublin edition of 1799 printed by John gough at No. 20 Meath Street and citation of Sequel to the English reader will refer to the second York edition of 1805 printed by T. Wilson and R. Spence, High-Ousegate for various book dealers in London, York and Edinburgh].
56 D.N.B.

57 Lindley Murray, Introduction to the English reader or a selection of pieces in prose and poetry; calculated to improve the younger classes of learners in reading and to inbue their minds with the love of virtue. With rules and observations for assisting children to read with propriety (York, 1801), p.(iii)

58 Ibid., pp.1-12.

59 Lindley Murray, A first book for children (York, 1825) and Lindley Murray, An English spelling book; with reading lessons adopted to the capacities of children: in three parts calculated to advance the learners by natural and easy graduations; and to teach orthography and pronunciation together (York, 1804).

60 Chalmers states that he could find only one textbook of the period (Kay's The new preceptor, (1801)) which may be properly called 'phonic'. Chalmers, Reading easy, p.33. Richard and Maria Edgeworth proposed a characteristically radical but impractical solution to the problems posed by the inconsistency of English spelling and pronunciation. Their Rational primer advocated the use of a special print face in which each sound would have a single printed representation eg. the four possible sounds of the letter 'a' were to be represented by a a a a. [Richard L and Maria Edgeworth], A rational primer by the authors of 'Practical Education' (Bristol, 1799 for Johnston, London). See also Christina Edgeworth Colvin and Charles Morgenstern, "The Edgeworth: some early educational books" in The Book Collector, vol. 26, (1977), pp.39-43 on the authorship of A rational primer.


62 Ibid., pp.x-xi.


64 Murray, A first book, p.11.


66 Ibid., p.24

67 Ibid., pp.33-41.
Murray acknowledged his debt to these writers in the introduction to _An English spelling book_: "It is proper to observe that some of the reading lessons are taken either wholly or partly, from the writings of Barbauld; and a few, from those of Trimmer and Edgeworth. For the remainder, (by far the greater part) the author himself must be accountable," _An English spelling book_ , p.vii. The story taken from Edgeworth is entitled "The charitable little girl" and is marked with the following footnote: "This pleasing little narrative was obligingly communicated to the editor by a celebrated writer on Practical Education" [ _A first book_ pp.62-3]. Even though Murray acknowledged the sources of his materials Mrs. Trimmer was certainly less than pleased and in reviewing the book she condemned his attempts to select words for spelling on the basis of "set rules" as too complex for "a first book", and contrary to Mrs. Barbauld’s method of using only "the language of the nursery". The real reason for the adverse review may have had more to do with self-interest: the article began by declaring that "the only one of the kind professedly designed as an appendage to Mrs. Barbauld’s _Lessons_ is Mrs. Trimmer’s _Little spelling book for younger children_ " and she concluded with the following rhetorical question: "Having given the above short analysis of Mr. Murray’s _First book_ we leave it to those who have experience in the education of young children to decide, whether he has or has not improved upon the books so amply provided, and which have long been considered as sufficiently comprehensive for the purpose of _Infantine instruction_" [Sarah Trimmer] "Review of _A first book for children_ by Lindley Murray" in _The Guardian of Education_ , vol.iv, no.22, (April 1805), pp.189-190, especially p.190.


Ibid., p.vi.

Lindley Murray, _Some account of the life of Sarah Grubb_ , (Dublin, 1792).

Preface for _A reading book_ which was approved by the Committee on 11 Dec.1813, KPS I/Ms 100, p.116. When the preface appeared in book form as part of _The Dublin spelling book_ , the references to Dilworth and _The Pennsylvania spelling book_ were omitted.

Chalmers, _Reading easy_ , pp.21-3.

Joseph Lancaster, _Improvements in education as it respects the industrious classes of the community_ ; containing among other important particulars, an account of the institution for the education of one thousand poor children, Borough Road, Southwark; and of the new system of education on which it is conducted_ (London, 1806), pp.42-4.

Andrew Bell, _Elements of tuition Part II_ , pp.275-6. cf also Thomas Barnard, "Extracts from an account of the Schools of Industry at Kendall" in
Extracts from the reports of the London and Dublin Societies for Bettering the Condition of the Poor relating to schools for the education of children of the lowest class (Dublin, 1802), p.61.

76 Lancaster, op.cit., pp.42-60.

77 Chalmers, Reading easy, pp.21-2.

78 Ibid., p.22.

79 Ibid., p.23.

80 J. Lancaster to S. Bewley 11 Aug. 1812, KPS II/1/39 and Committee minutes and resolutions, 15 Aug. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

81 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Nov.1812, KPS I/Ms 100

82 See Chapter 2, pp. 96-98

83 S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 10 Sept. 1812 on back of KPS II/1/42.

84 J. Lancaster to S. Bewley, 29 Sept. 1812, KPS II/1/45


86 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Nov. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100; Second report of the Society, 1814, p.15.

87 Committee minutes and resolutions, 16 Oct.1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

There is no evidence as to the reasons for the delay at this time but when a similar delay occurred in 1827 the following explanation was given to the Committee: "Your subcommittee have also to report that the edition of spelling tablets which was ordered some months ago and which it was difficult to get executed on account of the peculiar type which is required, is at length nearly completed". (Quarterly report of book subcommittee, May 1827, KPS II/13/42.

88 Committee minutes and resolutions, 13 Nov.1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

89 Bewley wrote on 26 Nov. 1812 that "nothing is yet done for a reading book" [S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 26 Nov. 1812, KPS I/Letterbook written, M.131]
but a draft of its contents was presented to the Committee on 10 July 1813, [KPS I/Ms 100].

90 Committee minutes and resolutions 10 July, 17 July [1813], and 31 July 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

91 Ibid., 13 Nov. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100 and Second report of the Society, 1814, p.15.

92 The only extant copy of A spelling book compiled for the use of schools which has been located is that at the Research Area of the Church of Ireland College of Education. Unfortunately this lacks tablets I and II. However the contents of these tablets is known from the opening pages of The Dublin spelling book and also from A spelling book (Short set) of which a perfect copy exists at the Research Area. Lancaster's influence on the Society's introduction of the alphabet may be seen by comparing the Dublin publications with [J. Lancaster] Lancaster's new invented spelling book (Borough Road, [London] n.d.). A copy of this work is extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Special Collections, Shelf mark Vet A6.a.14.


94 [KPS] A spelling book (Dublin, n.d) tablet III.

95 The schoolmaster's manual, pp.41-2.

96 A spelling book, tablets IV-XIII.

97 The schoolmaster's manual, p.42.

98 Cf. Descriptions and observations written in the model school, Dublin, by Martha Donaldson, 9 May - 15 July 1836, KPS I/Ms 688 pp.4-17, and The schoolmaster's manual, pp.38-43.

99 Descriptions and observations etc., KPS I/Ms 688, p.8.

100 Ibid., pp.8-9.

101 Bell, Elements of tuition, part I, p.27.

102 Ibid., part II, p.300.

103 The schoolmaster's manual, p.45.
Chapter Three - Footnotes

104Ibid., p.46.

105Ibid., p.44.

106Quarterly report of book subcommittee, Feb. 1819, KPS II /13/12.

107Note that the lessons on tablets *A spelling book* (60 tablets) and *A reading book* (100 tablets) were joined to form the contents of *The Dublin spelling book*. Goldstrom incorrectly states that the tablet reading lessons were published as *The Dublin reading book*, (cf. J.M. Goldstrom, *The social content of education*, p.56). *The Dublin reading book* had no connection with the tablet lessons.


109Ibid.

110The printed title *A spelling book* compiled for the use of schools seems to have been used on both the full and short sets of the spelling tablets. The full set of reading tablets was entitled *A reading book compiled for the use of schools*. This title was also used in the short set of lessons but as the short set of tablets was enumerated in one continuous pagination the heading "A reading book compiled for the use of schools" appeared on tablet XX and need not be considered as a title of the work. For the purposes of the present work the following will be used: *A spelling book compiled for the use of schools* (or simply *A spelling book*) will refer to the full set of 60 spelling tablets. *A reading book compiled for the use of schools* (or simply *A reading book*) will refer to the full set of 100 reading tablets. *A spelling book (short set)* will refer to the short set of spelling and reading tablets.

111The preface to *The Dublin spelling book* stated that the existence of the lessons in book form would enable the child to practice his lessons at home as a preparation for school work. *The Dublin spelling book* (Dublin,1819), p.3.


113Chalmers, *Reading easy*, p.33 outlines the successful publication of Helen Maria William's *Summary method of teaching children to read* in 1817. Even authors who compiled spelling books for monitorial schools had come to question the need for long lists of meaningless syllables. All such syllabic work was, for example, excluded from Hannah Kilham's *First lessons in spelling* which was produced in tablet form. [The original date and place of publication of Kilham's work have not been established, but copies of the first 12 tablets of the work are located in the Archives of the British and Foreign School Society, London. This edition can be dated (from a watermark in the paper) as post 1816].
114[Ms] "Extracts from the lectures of Professor Pillans descriptive of the schools of the Society", Appendix B of General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827 by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399.

115Mr. Smith Goldie to [W.V. Griffith], Appendix C of General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, KPS I/Ms 399.

116Ibid., pp. vii-viii.

117Ibid., p. viii.

118Ibid., p.ix


120Bewley was able to describe in detail the considerations which guided the compilers:"the design we have is that the dictating spelling book shall after the few first pages be composed entirely of different words and so the tediousness of sameness avoided and more instruction afforded". S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 26 Nov. 1812, Letterbook written, KPS I/Ms 131.

121A dictating spelling book, pp.3-16.

122Ibid., pp.17-80.

123Veevers recommended to the book subcommittee that a reprinting of A dictating spelling book was unnecessary because of the appearance of The Dublin spelling book. J. Veevers to D. Litton, 1 Aug. 1820, KPS II/23/36.

124Cf. The Dublin spelling book pp.91-144. The inclusion of these items from A dictating spelling book was proposed by Veevers. J. Veevers to D. Litton, 1 Aug. 1820, KPS II/23/36.

125Quarterly reports of model school subcommittee, April and July 1820, KPS 1/Ms 122(a) 13 and 14.

126Ibid., 30 Sept. 1820, Jan. 1821, and April 1821, KPS I/Ms 122(a) 15, 17 and 18; Committee minutes and resolutions, 14 Oct. 1820, 18 Nov. 1820, 3 Feb. 1821, and 15 Sept. 1821, KPS I/Ms 102.

127For opinions of Pillans and Smith Goldie cf Appendices B and C of General report on schools in the north-east area for the year, 1827, KPS I/Ms 399.
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129 Lancaster's influence on the Society's reading textbooks was confined to the methodology of initial literacy acquisition as Lancaster's own tablet lessons seem to have been confined to alphabet and syllabic spelling lessons. Reading lessons were virtually non existent in [J. Lancaster] *Lancaster's new invented spelling book*. Bewley told Lancaster that the Society's spelling book was "considerably more enlarged than thine." S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 26 Nov. 1812, Letterbook written, KPS I/Ms 131, p.4.


135 See note 68 above.


137 Darton, *Children's books in England*, p.156.


143 Compare Murray, An English spelling book, pp.68-70, and pp.74-8 with Barbauld, Lessons for children from two to four years old, (Dublin, 1814).


148 Cf. eg. A reading book, tablets IX, XIV-XVI [or The Dublin spelling book, pp.33, 40-42]. It is worth noting that these pages contain one of the very few instances where differences occur between A reading book and The Dublin spelling book. The material which appears as tablets XIV and XV was reversed for the spelling book, appearing as pages 41 and 40 respectively.


152 A reading book, tablet V, [or The Dublin spelling book, p.27].

153 Ibid., tablet VI [p.29].

154 Cf. eg. Ibid., tablets VII, XLI and XLII (or The Dublin spelling book, pp.30 and 169-70).

155 Ibid., tablet V [p.27].

156 Cf. eg. Ibid., tablets VII-VIII and LXII [pp.30-31 and p.194].
157Ibid., tablet LXXX [p.212].

158Ibid., tablet LXXXI [p.213].

159Ibid., tablets VIII and X [p.31 and 34].

160Ibid., tablet XXIII [p.146].

161Ibid., tablet XL-LII [pp.174-183].


164Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

165The report of the subcommittee gave a detailed account of the reasons for the adoption of Celtic rather than Roman print for the Irish passages, the main one being the suspicion in which Irish peasants held Irish text in Roman letters. Other considerations were the suitability of the Celtic print for aspiration and the use of the accent. Ms. report of subcommittee on question of publishing books in Irish, 1819, KPS II/8/11, discussed by General Committee on 13 Feb. 1819, Committee minutes and resolutions 13 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.


Sdair lóiseph: a na Gaidhilge agus Sags-Bhéarla. Ag a bhfuil reamh-churtha sdair chruthughaidh an domhain agus de na bpíomhathair air na tharrainng as na scriptuir noafa. The history of Joseph in Irish and English to which is prefixed the history of the creation, and of the patriarchs extracted from the holy scriptures. (Dublin, 1823).

169Report of subcommittee, KPS II/8/II.
170 See table 5.1. The large numbers of Irish textbooks distributed in the years ending 5/1/1821, 5/1/1822 and 5/1/1824 correspond to the publishing dates of each of the Irish books and there is evidence that at least one of these figures was caused by a grant of primers to the Irish Society; cf E. Hoare (of the Irish Society) to [Kildare Place Society], 14 July 1821, KPS II/23/43

171 The Kildare Place Committee noted on 2 Mar. 1822 that a meeting was to take place between the Committee and Mr. Mason and Dr. Charles Orpen "on the subject of the Irish Society" (KPS I/Ms 102). In the following month the book subcommittee was authorized to discuss with the Irish Society the printing of any books in Irish they thought suitable. Committee minutes and resolutions, 13 April 1822, KPS I/Ms 102.

172 H.M.Mason to Committee, 21 April 1820, KPS II/2/14. The book subcommittee reported "that agreeably to the arrangement recommended by the General Committee they have directed the same selection of psalms, which has already been printed in the burton [ie. chapbook] form, to be printed in English and Irish in ten sheets, ... and that the book so arranged under the direction of Mr. Mason is in an advanced state towards publication." Quarterly report of the book subcommittee, Aug. 1822. KPS II/13/24.

173 Rev. J.D. Sirr, to J.D. Jackson, 1821, KPS II/23/47.

174 [KPS] The Dublin reading book, pp.11-19. [All citations of The Dublin reading book will be from the 1823 edition]. The same style of opening is used in Murray, Introduction to the English reader, pp.1-12 and The English reader; Chapter 1. The extracts from Putsey's The juvenile class-book may be identified from a copy of this work preserved in the records of the Society in which passages have been marked and edited. W. Putsey, The juvenile clas-book; or sequel to the "child's companion", (in four parts), methodically arranged, and adapted to the capacities of children who have made some progress in reading (London, 1818).

175 The Dublin reading book, p.22.

176 Ibid., p.23.


178 Ibid., pp.43-4.

179 Ibid., pp.32-3, from Putsey, Juvenile class-book pp.57-8.

180 Ibid., pp.40-3.
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181 Ibid., pp.23-6.


184 Ibid., pp.36-9.

185 Ibid., pp.53-5, from Murray, *Introduction to the English reader*, pp.22-4 and 42-3. "The ungrateful guest" had been written by Oliver Goldsmith and "Benevolence its own reward" by Chesterfield, in *The economy of human life*.


188 Ibid., pp.27-8 and p. 19 from *Aesop*. The text of "The lark and her young ones" was extracted from Putsey, *Juvenile class-book*, pp.49-51 where it had been entitled "The old lark".


192 Ibid., pp.28-9, from Aesop.


194 Ibid., p.67.


199 See below, pp.222-6.


201 Chalmers, op. cit., p.20.


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214 Cowper's "Cruelty to brutes censored" (I would not enter on my list of friends) is yet another treatment of this favourite topic while his more serious "Verses supposed to be written by Alexander Selkirk during his solitary abode on the island of Juan Fernandez" had achieved a certain popularity because of its association with the outstandingly successful *Robinson Crusoe*. [*The Dublin reading book*, pp.205-6 and pp.208-9, from Murray, *The English reader*, pp.283-4 and pp.314-6]. "An monody on the death of Lady Lyttleton" and the better known "Elegy written in a country churchyard" are two philosophical reflections on the theme of death. [*The Dublin reading book*, pp.218-26, from Murray, *Sequel to the English reader*, pp.275-81 and pp.284-9]. A considerably more interesting poem on a related theme is the almost ballad style "The three warnings" by Mrs. Thrale [*The Dublin reading book*, pp.211-4, from Murray, *Sequel to the English reader*, pp.219-22]. Two hymns came from Mrs. Barbauld: "In every condition of life, praise is due to the creator" (Praise to God immortal praise) and "An address to the diety (God of my life and author of my days). [*The Dublin reading book*, pp.214-8 from Murray, *Sequel to the English reader*, pp.269-70 and pp.272-5]. Murray had also included Goldsmith's "A picture of village life" (Sweet Auburn) and Merrick's "The cameleon or pertinacity exposed". [*The Dublin reading book*, pp.227-33 from Murray, *Sequel to the English reader*, pp.289-301 and pp.215-7].


216 *The Dublin reading book*, pp.198-9, from Watts, *Divine songs* song II. Watts' book was published in innumerable editions, but the numbering of the songs was constant. For the purposes of this study the following modern edition has been used: Isaac Watts, *Divine songs attempted in easy language for the use of children: facsimile reproductions of the first edition of 1715 and an illustrated edition of circa 1840 with an introduction and bibliography* by J.H.P. Pafford (London, 1971).
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217 Meig, op. cit., p.144.


219 "Peace and love recommended" (Let dogs delight to bark and bite), "Creation and providence" (I sing the almighty power of God), "The advantages of early religion" (Happy the child whose tender years), "Acknowledgement of divine favours" (Whenever I take my walks abroad), "A morning hymn" (My God who makes the sun to know), and "An evening hymn" (And now another day is done), The Dublin reading book pp.196-7, pp.198-9, p.196 and pp.201-3 from Watts, Divine songs songs XVI, II, XII, IV, XXV and XXVI.

220 Chalmers, Reading easy, p.22. The recommended manual was Sarah Trimmer, The teacher's assistant consisting of lectures in the catechetical form, being part of a plan of appropriated instruction for the children of the poor (4th ed., Dublin, n.d.)

221 Committee minutes and resolutions, 17 July 1819, KPS I/Ms 102.

222 Ibid.

223 Ibid.

224 Quarterly report of the model school subcommittee, July 1820, KPS I/Ms 122A (14).

225 Quarterly report of model school subcommittee, 30 Sept. 1820, KPS I/Ms 122A (15).

226 See notes 125-6 above.

227 Quarterly reports of model school subcommittee July 1820, Jan. 1821, April 1821, and July 1822, KPS I/Ms 122A (14), (17), (18) and (23).

228 Copy of general report of tour (no.2) for the year 1828 by L. Mills, 26 Jan. 1829 enclosed with L. Mills to I. Topham, 26 Jan. 1829, KPS II/18/16.

229 Appendix describing Edinburgh Sessional School included in James Pillans, Principles of elementary teaching p.113.

230 Ibid., p.119, cf. also pp.111-128.

231 Cf. Chapter 6, pp. 628-9
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232 Copy of general report of tour (no.2) for the year 1828, by L Mills, 26 Jan. 1829, with KPS, II/18/6.

233 General report on schools in the northern (no.2) area for the year 1826, by W. V. Griffith, 6 Feb. 1827, KPS I/Ms 398, pp.9-13.

234 Ibid., pp.9-10.

235 Ibid., p.10.

236 Ibid., p.11.

237 Ibid.

238 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W. V. Griffith 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p.35.

240 William Fitzgerald to J.D. Jackson (General report, 1827) 28 Jan 1828, KPS II/17/114.

241 See Chapter 4, pp. 343.

242 General report on schools in the northern (no.2) area for the year 1826, by W.V. Griffith, 6 Feb. 1827, KPS I/Ms 398. p.12.

243 Extracts from the lectures of Professor Pillans descriptive of the schools of the Society, included as Appendix B to General report on schools in the north east area for the year 1827 by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p.iii-v.

244 Ibid., p.35.

245 General report on tour no.2 for the year 1828, by L Mills, 26 Jan. 1829, with KPS II/18/6.

246 Quarterly report of the book subcommittee, Nov. 1829, KPS II/13/54 and Committee minutes and resolutions, 3 Sept. 1831, KPS I/Ms 105.


248 Ibid., pp.v-vi.

249 Ibid., p.vi.
250bid., p.vii.


252*Second report of the Society, 1814*, p.15.

253Quarterly report of the model school subcommittee, April 1820, KPS I/ Ms 122A (13).

254*The schoolmaster’s manual*, p.53


256*The schoolmaster’s manual*, plates 6-9 cf. also table 5.1. Copies of the charts survive in the Research Area CICE.

257*The schoolmaster’s manual*, p.61.

258[KPS]*Arithmetic lessons*, tablets II-XII [The only set of these tablet lessons so far discovered is at the Research Area, CICE. Unfortunately the first tablet of the set, which carried the title of the work is missing so for the purposes of this study *Arithmetic lessons* will be used. The missing tablet was probably identical to the first page of *A dictating arithmetic* which displayed a numeration table (place-value table) and the addition and subtraction of 1 tables].

259*The schoolmaster’s manual*, pp.55-6.

260bid., pp.56-7.

261See note 258 above.

262*Arithmetic lessons*, tablets XVI-LXIX. [Tablets XIII to XV are missing from CICE set. From the sequence of work it can be assumed they were examples of addition without carrying).

263*The schoolmaster’s manual*, pp.60-1.

264*Arithmetic lessons* tablets LXX-LXXIX.

265bid., tablets LXXXVI - XCV.

266bid., XCVI-C.
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267 Ibid., XLIV.

268 The schoolmaster's manual, p.61.


270 S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 10 Oct 1812 on back of KPS II/1/42

271 Arithmetic lessons, tablets XXXVIII and XLIV.


274 Ibid., pp.19-80. Lancaster proposed to publish a key to his monitorial tablets, and this may have inspired the Dublin publication. cf Lancaster, Improvements in education, p.75.


277 Ibid., p.34.

278 [John Synge], A biographical sketch of the struggles of Pestalozzi to establish his system; compiled and translated chiefly from his own works by an Irish traveller (Dublin, 1815). The various educational items which issued from the Roundwood Press (never under Synge's name) are described in R.S. Maffett, 'The Roundwood press', in The Irish booklover, vol.1. no.4, (Nov. 1909); E.R. McC. Dix, 'The Roundwood Press' in The Irish booklover, vol.1. no.5. (Dec. 1909) and R.S. Maffett, 'Additional Roundwood printing' in The Irish booklover, vol. III. no. (12 July 1912). A collection of Synge's tablet lessons may be viewed in the Older Printed Books Department of Trinity College, Library, Dublin.

279 Williams, op. cit., pp.104-7. cf. also L. Du Puget, Intuitive mental
arithmetiq, theoretical and practical on the principles of H. Pestalozzi (Dublin, 1821). The title page describes Du Puget as "late a student at his [Pestalozzi's] institute at Yverdon in Switzerland and, at present, a master in the establishment at Abbeyleix in Ireland."

280 Veever's report on schools visited in 1819, presented to Committee, 18 Mar. 1820, in Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 Mar. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.

281 Committee minutes and resolutions, 26 Feb. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.

282 Quarterly report of the model school subcommittee, 30 Sept. 1820, KPS I/Ms 122A(15).

283 Ibid., Jan 1821, KPS I/Ms 122A(17).

284 Committee minutes and resolutions, 5 Jan 1822, KPS I/Ms 102.

285 Descriptions and observations written in the model school, Dublin, by Martha Donaldson, 9 May 1836-15 July 1836, KPS I/Ms 688, p.39

286 Monthly account of items of expenditure, for month ending 5 May 1820, KPS I/Ms 297 records the purchase of 'Pestalozzi's tables'. Several copies of the above mentioned works existed in the Kildare Place archive.

287 Ibid., months 5 Dec. 1821 and 5 Jan. 1823. KPS I/Ms 297.

288 The Pestalozzian charts are not included in 'Scale of grants to school in use up to 10 June 1830; KPS III/MS 426(A)39 but are included in Scale of grants to schools adopted 10 June 1830, KPS III/Ms 426(a)/39.

289 Quarterly report of book subcommittee, May 1823, KPS II/13/27.

290 [Printed notice of] Moneydig Day School, [Feb 1824], KPS I/Ms 777.

291 Quarterly report of model school subcommittee, July 1826 KPS I/Ms122A(38).

292 First report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, p. 58.

293 Monthly account of items of expenditure, for month ending 5 Jan 1828 KPS I/Ms 298.

294 See Chapter 8, pp. 816-8 and passim.
295 See Appendix C.


297 *The schoolmaster's manual*, p.62.

298 A copy of Gough was acquired 'for the model school' in 1822, cf. Monthly account of items of expenditure for month ending 5 Feb. 1822, KPS I/Ms 197.

299 Quarterly report of model school subcommittee, July 1820, KPS I/Ms 122A(14).

300 William Fitzgerald to J.D. Jackson, 28 Jan 1828, (General report for 1827) KPS II/17/114.

301 Committee minutes and resolutions, 24 Feb 1827, KPS I/Ms 104.

302 *D.N.B.*

303 Committee minutes and resolutions, 24 Feb.1827 and 4 August 1827, KPS I/Ms 104.

304 T.W. Pasley to Major Reid, 22 Aug 1827, KPS II/24/12.

305 The printing of *A system of geography for the use of schools* (Dublin, 1834) was reported as complete by February 1834 and it was on sale before May of that year. Veevers' manuscript of the work on arithmetic was received by February 1834 but the increased subscriptions for which the book subcommittee hoped never materialized and the work was not published. Quarterly reports of the book subcommittee, 5 Feb. 1834 and 5 May 1834, KPS II/13/62 and 63. See also Monthly return of sales of books as reported to the General Committee in Committee minutes and resolutions, 1833-41, KPS I/Ms 106.

For the sake of completeness it should also be noted that the Society published a series of maps which were to form an atlas to accompany its series of cheap books on travels to other lands (see Appendix A) and a table book which seems to have been first published in late 1829 or early 1830, and was reprinted in 1834 (Quarterly reports of book subcommittee, 5 Nov. 1829 and 5 Feb. 1834, KPS II/13/55 and 62).

306 Darton, op. cit. p.71.

307 Ibid., p.29.


310 Ibid., p.9.


312 Ibid., p.16.


315 This is the approach taken by Neuburg, *The penny histories*, p.5.


318 Ibid.


320 Spufford, op. cit., p.74 and p.111.

321 J.R.R. Adams, *The printed word and the common man: popular culture in Ulster 1700-1900* (Belfast, 1987), pp.23-34. This chapter was in final proof form before the appearance in February 1990 of M. Pollard *Dublin's trade in books 1550-1800* (Oxford, 1989) and it has not therefore benefitted from what is undoubtedly the definitive work on seventeenth and eighteenth century printing and bookselling in Dublin. Pollard's study confirms Adams' descriptions of the titles available on the chapbook market and of the distribution methods used (see especially pp. 218-23).


324 Adams, op. cit., p. 43-92.


326 Phillip's, op. cit., pp. 47-8 and pp. 124-128.

327 Ibid., p. 128-133. Further evidence of the importance of the country trade and textbooks to the catholic printers can be found in Thomas Wall, The sign of Dr. Hay's head: being some account of the hazards and fortunes of catholic printers and publishers in Dublin from the late penal times to the present day (Dublin, 1958), p. 46 and pp. 89-90. See also Pollard, Dublin trade in books, pp. 190-1 and p. 120.

328 Phillip's, op. cit., pp. 131-2.

329 W.G. Wheeler, "The spread of provincial printing in Ireland up to 1850" in Irish Booklore vol. 4., no. 1 (1978), p. 13. The following articles all by E.R. McC. Dix in The Irish Booklover demonstrate that the earliest books to be printed in rural centres were often catechisms, religious tracts and educational works: "Printing in Clonmel 1801-25" in vol. iv, no. 3, (October 1912); "Printing in Strabane 1801-1825" in vol. iv, no. 7, (Feb. 1913); "Printing in Monaghan 1801-1825 Part I" in vol. ix, no. 12, (July 1913); "Printing and printers in Fermoy in vol. xiii, no. 5 (Dec. 1921).


331 This summary of Newbery's work is based on Darton, Children's books in England pp. 120-138; S. Roscoe, John Newbery and his successors 1740-1814: a bibliography (Wormley, 1973), pp. 7-13; Whalley, Cobwebs to catch flies, pp. 13-14.


333 Adam, op. cit., Appendix III, p. 186.

335 Thwaite, *From primer to pleasure*, p.67.

336 Ibid.

337 Ibid., p.68.

338 Ibid., pp.69-71.


340 Thwaite, op. cit., pp.74-5.


344 Sarah Trimmer, "Observations on the changes which have taken place in books for children and young persons" in *Guardian of Education*, vol.1., p.63.

345 Sarah Trimmer, "Observations on the instruction of children and youth from the time of the reformation and a short account of the present work" in *Guardian of Education*, vol.1. no.1 (May 1802), p.2.

346 Thomas Wall, *Sign of Dr. Hay's head*, p.44.

347 Adams, op. cit., pp.85-6 and p.76.

348 'Education of the poor in Ireland', 4 June 1804, in *Of the education of the poor; being the first part of a digest of the reports of the Society for Bettering the Comforts of the Poor: and containing a selection of those articles which have reference to education* (London, 1809), p.252.

349 Fourteenth report of the board of education, p.331 and p.333.


351 Ibid.

352 Minutes of the Cheap Book Society, 1 July 1814, KPS I/Ms 119.
There is some confusion regarding the date on which the Cheap Book Society was founded. The founding resolutions of the Society as printed in the report of the Kildare Place Society are dated 26 May 1814 but the manuscript minutes of the inaugural meeting of the Cheap Book Society are dated 1 July 1814 (KPS I/Ms 119).

353 Minutes of the Cheap Book Society, 30 Dec. 1814, 15 Feb. 1815, and 19 April 1815. KPS I/Ms 119.

354 Ibid., 15 Feb. 1815, KPS I/Ms 119.

355 Ibid., 19 April 1815 and 16 June 1815. KPS I/Ms 119.

356 Ibid., 20 May 1816, KPS I/Ms 119.

357 Ibid.

358 James Sloane (Master of Newtownards school) to J.D. Jackson, 5 Sept. 1814, reprinted in Appendix VII to Third report of the Society, 1815, pp. 51-3, and Adam Newman (Youghal General Free school) to J.D. Jackson, 23 Dec. 1815, KPS II/23/7.

359 Report on the distribution of books, 1815, KPS II/13/1.

360 Ibid.

361 Committee minutes and resolutions, 30 Nov. 1815, KPS I/Ms 101.

362 Ibid, 25 May 1816.

363 Minutes of Cheap Book Society, 9 Nov. 1816, KPS I/Ms 119 and Committee minutes and resolutions, 29 July 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.

364 Committee minutes and resolutions 16 Nov. and 30 Nov. 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.


366 Minutes of Cheap Book Society, 30 Dec. 1814, KPS I/Ms 119.

367 Committee minutes and resolutions, 19 Oct. 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.

368 Ibid.
369 Ibid., 26 Oct. 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.


371 Ibid.


373 Ibid.

374 *The history of Joseph, and the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt; extracted from the holy scriptures, and edited as a reading book for schools* (Dublin, 1817).

375 A volume of scriptural extracts by Trimmer also formed the basis of the Kildare Place Society's *Scripture lessons*, a volume which became a subject of controversy between the Society and Roman Catholics. This is fully discussed in Chapter 7, pp. 682-6. *The Dublin spelling book*, p.79.


379 Quarterly reports of book subcommittee, May 1817 and May 1818, KPS II/13/4 and 9.

380 Richard Walter, *A voyage round the world in the years 1740-1-2-3-4 by George Anson Esq., now Lord Anson... compiled from his papers and materials by Richard Walter, Chaplain of His Majesty's ship the Centurian in that expedition* (London, 1748) cf. also *D.N.B.*. The printing history of this work (and of others used by the Society to compile the library readers) has been established using the following works:


(b) *Nineteenth-century short title catalogue Series I Phase I 1801-1815 6 vols.* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1984-88) [Hereafter cited as *Nineteenth century STC I*].
(c) Nineteenth-century short title catalogue Series II Phase I 1816-1870 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1986-88) volumes I-XI available at time of study. [Hereafter cited as Nineteenth century STC II]. In these bibliographies entries are referred to by code number which will be included here rather than pagination. The Kildare Place Society edition of Anson’s voyage was entitled: The voyage of Commodore Anson round the world (Dublin, 1817).

381[KPS] Byron's narrative, containing an account of the great distress suffered by himself and his companions on the coasts of Patagonia; from the year 1740, till their arrival in England, 1746. With a description of St. Lago de Chili, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Also a relation of the loss of the Wager Man of War, one of Admiral Anson's squadron (Dublin, 1817).

382[KPS] Dangerous voyage. Containing an account of the wonderful and truly providential escape of Captain Bligh and a part of the crew of his majesty's ship Bounty: and of their safe arrival at Timor, in the year 1789; after having sailed over twelve hundred leagues of the ocean, in a open boat, surrounded by perils of various kinds. To which is added, an account of the sufferings and fate of the remainder of the crew of said ship. With an appendix; in which is contained an account of the island of Otaheite and some of the productions of the countries which they visited (Dublin, 1817).

383Cf. Eighteenth century AUG, Nineteenth century STC I.

384DNB.

385[Thomas Beddoes] The history of Isaac Jenkins and the sickness of Sarah his wife and their three children (Madley, 1792), cf. also DNB.

386[KPS] The history of Isaac Jenkins, and Sarah his wife, and their three children; to which is added a friendly gift for servants and apprentices (Dublin 1817). A list of books in the possession of the Society dated 1826 contains "Mrs. Taylor's Present of a mistress to a young servant", (KPS II/24/3) A similar list dated 15 April 1819, two years later than the publication of the Society's edition of Isaac Jenkins (KPS II/23/31) does not include Mrs. Taylor's work and hence there is some doubt as to whether the work mentioned in the 1826 list was the Society's source. It is worth noting, however, that other works which are known to have been under consideration for publication by the Society before the 1819 edition was drawn up e.g. (Little Davy's Hat) are not on the 1819 list but are on the 1826 list. (cf Darton Harvey & Co to Joseph Humphrey, 19 June 1818, KPS II/23/23).


390 [KPS] A picture of the seasons; with anecdotes and remarks on every month in the year. *Embellished with cuts* (Dublin, 1817).

391 Darton Harvey & Co. to Joseph Humphreys, 2 May 1817, KPS II/23/16.


393 Darton, Harvey & Co. to Joseph Humphreys, 2 May 1817, KPS II/23/16.

394 Compare [KPS] *Instinct displayed in a collection of well authenticated facts exemplifying the extraordinary sagacity of various species of the animal creation*. By Priscilla Wakefield (Dublin, 1817); [KPS] *Instinct displayed in a collection of well authenticated facts, exemplifying the extraordinary sagacity of various species of the animal creation*. By Priscilla Wakefield (Dublin, 1818); and [KPS] *Animal sagacity, exemplified by the facts: shewing [sic] the force of instinct in various beasts, birds, &c.* (Dublin, 1819). See also edition of 1824.

395 Cf. *Nineteenth century STC I* C3815, E640 and M1947 and *Nineteenth Century STC II* 2C39252, 2C39203 and 2C39205. There is no surviving record of the copyright negotiations but the Quarterly report of the book subcommittee, May 1818 states that the reprint then ordered of *Elizabeth* would have to be 10,000 copies (not 11,000) due to copyright restrictions. These restrictions probably concerned the quality of production: the extra 1,000 copies of the other works going to press at this time were to be printed on a high quality paper. [KPS II/13/9].

396 John Harris to J. Humphreys, 13 Jan 1818, KPS II/23/20.

397 Darton, Harvey & Co. to J. Humphreys, 19 June 1818, KPS II/23/23.

398 Darton, Harvey & Co. to J. Humphreys, 14 Nov. 1818, KPS II/23/27.

399 The list is to be found in Minutes of Cheap Book Society, 20 May 1816 KPS I/Ms 119. Extracts from *Franklin’s morals* were included in [KPS] *The brothers; or consequences. A story of what happens every day. With a short account of savings banks, and other essays, upon various subjects*
329

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(Dublin, 1817), pp.111-53.

400[KPS] Poems, selected from the works of approved authors (Dublin, 1818).

401[Mary Mister], Mungo, the little traveller, a work compiled for the instruction and amusement of youth (2nd edition, London, Darton Harvey and Darton, 1814).

402[KPS] Mungo; or the little traveller. To which is annexed, the seven wonders of the world (Dublin, 1817).

A document entitled "Outline of proceedings for book subcommittee" describes this arrangement but is unfortunately undated. (KPS II/13/88). However it would seem to predate the arrival of the Society's second literary assistant, Charles Bardin, as it places the emphasis on the control exercised by the Subcommittee. Bardin also described the compilation process to the Education commissioners in 1824 cf. Appendix to first report of the commissioners of the Irish education inquiry, pp.464-5.

404Notes as to printing and sales, KPS II/13/89 (undated, but from contents obviously early).

405Report on the purchases of paper [draft], Nov. 1816, KPS II/13/2. This document is signed as follows: H.J.M.M. [Henry J. Monk Mason, S.B. [Samuel Bewley] and H.H. [Henry Hamilton].

406Committee minutes and resolutions, 16 Nov. 1816 KPS I/Ms 101.


408Ibid, 12 April 1817, KPS I/Ms 101.

409Ibid., 31 May 1817, KPS I/Ms 101.

410Ibid. 5 July 1817, KPS I/Ms 101.


The 1819 list of books owned by the Society, includes many chapbook titles, KPS II/23/31.

[KPS] An account of the dangerous voyage performed by Captain Bligh with a part of the crew of his majesty's ship Bounty, etc. (Dublin, 1817).

Quarterly report of the book subcommittee, Nov. 1817 KPS II/13/6. In the 1817 edition The seven wonders of the world had its own title page, and a separate pagination. This disappeared in subsequent editions.

Wonderful escapes! containing the interesting narrative of the shipwreck of the Antelope Packet upon the coast of an unknown island: with an account of the dangers and sufferings of the crew. The distressing account of the loss of the Lady Hobart Packet, on an island of ice. The narrative of the shipwreck of Hercules on the coast of Africa. And an extraordinary escape from the effects of a storm in a journey over the frozen sea in North America (Dublin, 1818).

Compare the following: The history of little Jack, a foundling; together with the history of William an orphan (Dublin, 1817) and The history of little Jack a foundling; together with the history of William an orphan. To which are added, the history of Tom and his dog and the canary bird (Dublin, 1818).

Compare the following Elizabeth; or, the exiles of Siberia. A tale founded on truth. From the French of Madame de Cottin (Dublin, 1818) and Elizabeth; or the exiles of Siberia. A tale founded on truth. From the French of Madame de Cottin (Second edition, Dublin, 1818)).

Quarterly report of book subcommittee, Feb. 1819, KPS II/13/12.

Ibid.

See tables 3.4 and 3.7.


William Alexander, a bookseller in York complained that copies of Kildare Place's Alceste had been returned to him by "a very respectable house [i.e. bookseller] in London... considering it a direct piracy from one or more of Murray's publications". Alexander told Christopher Bentham, the
Society's printer from whom he had purchased the books, that he would not accept further deliveries of the work or of *Useful arts* until the doubts over copyright had been cleared, and suggested that if the books breached the law he could help Bentham dispose of them in America. Bentham passed on the complaint to the Kildare Place book subcommittee but Bardin defended the text on the grounds that it had been drawn from a number of different works. The outcome of the investigation which the General Committee launched is unknown but subsequent editions of both books were published. Cf. William Alexander (York) to C. Bentham, 29 Nov. 1820, KPS II/23/37; Charles Bardin to [General Committee], 21 Dec. 1820, KPS II/23/37; Committee minutes and resolutions, 23 Dec. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.

424 See the close working relationship of the two men in the following letters: Bardin to Bewley, Jan 1827, KPS II/24/7; Bardin to Bewley, Jan 1827, KPS II/24/8; Observations [by Bewley] on *Travels in Spain*, KPS II/24/18 and 19; Bardin to [Secy] commenting on Bewley's proposals and criticisms re *Arctic seas* and *Arctic voyages*, 10 Sept. 1829, KPS II/24/50.

425 See Charles Bardin to Isaac Topham, Feb. 1827, sending draft copy of quarterly report of book subcommittee, Feb. 1827 and recommending this be shown to Mr. Bewley for his judgement on it. KPS II/13/41.

426 C. Bardin to S. Bewley, Jan 1827, KPS II/24/7. The letter to Jackson is at KPS II/24/4.

427 Committee minutes and resolutions, 13 Jan. 1827, KPS I/Ms 104.

428 J. D. Jackson to C. Bardin, 13 Jan. 1827, KPS II/24/5.

429 C. Bardin to S. Bewley, Jan. 1827, KPS II/24/8

430 Committee minutes and resolutions, 3 Mar. 1827 KPS I/Ms 104 and Quarterly report of book subcommittee, Feb. 1827, KPS II/13/41.

431 Re Bardin's ill health during 1827 see C. Bardin to I. Topham 18 Sept. 1827, KPS II/24/14; and Same to Same, 1 Oct. 1827, II/24/16. During 1825 Bardin had gone to live in the country "for a period due to ill health", (see Committee minutes and resolutions, 9 July 1825, KPS I/Ms 102). See also Committee minutes and resolutions, 29 Dec. 1827, KPS I/Ms 104.

432 Committee minutes and resolutions, 19 Jan. 1828 KPS I/Ms 104.

433 I. Topham to C. Bardin, 26 Jan. 1828, KPS II/24/21.
Committee minutes and resolutions, 9 Feb. 1828, KPS I/Ms 104.


Quarterly report of book subcommittee, May 1829, KPS II/13/53, and Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 April 1829, KPS I/Ms 105.


[KPS] The *life and most surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, mariner, who lived twenty-eight years on an uninhabited island on the coast of America, near the mouth of the great river Oronoque, with an account of his deliverance thence* (Dublin, 1817), p.60

Ibid., pp.81-2.

Ibid., p.82.

Ibid., p.71.

Ibid., p.83.

Ibid., p.150.

[KPS] The *new Robinson Crusoe; an instructive and entertaining history for the use of children* (Dublin, 1818).


Ibid., p.143.

Ibid., pp.165-6.

Ibid., p.180.


The first Dublin edition *An account of the Pelew Island*...
composed from the journals of Captain Henry Wilson, and some of his officers. . . by G. Keate (with plates and a map), (Dublin, 1788) was printed by Luke White. A copy is extant in the British Library. The interesting and affecting history of Prince Lee Boo, a native of the Pelew Islands, brought to England by Captain Wilson to which is prefixed, a short account of those islands is described by Roscoe as "probably (though not certainly) the first [edition]." [S. Roscoe, John Newbery and his successors 1740-1814: a bibliography (Wormley, 1973), J 170(l). [This bibliography also uses code numbers for each entry].


454Ibid.

455Roscoe, op. cit., J 170(l).


457The minutes of the Cheap Book Society record the printing of The shipwreck of the Antelope Packet on the Pelew Islands by Graisberry and Campbell in Nov. 1815. [Minutes of Cheap Book Society, 10 Nov. 1815, KPS I/Ms119]. No copy of this work has been traced but the text is probably similar to the opening chapter of [KPS] Wonderful escapes! containing the interesting narrative of the shipwreck of the Antelope Packet upon the coast of an unknown island: with an account of the dangers and sufferings of the crew. The distressing account of the loss of the Lady Hobart Packet on an island of ice. The narrative of the shipwreck of the Hercules on the coast of Africa. And an extraordinary escape from the effects of a storm in a journey over the frozen sea in North America (Dublin, 1818).

458[KPS] The history of Prince Lee Boo. To which is added the life of Paul Cuffee, a man of colour (Dublin, 1818).

459Ibid., p.5.

4760Ibid., pp.30-1.

461Ibid., p.40.

462Ibid., pp.84-5, p.95, p.124.
The history of little Jack, a foundling: together with the history of William an orphan, (Dublin, 1817).

E.g. References to women being seduced in Byron's narrative are omitted from the second edition as are references to the narrator having slept with an Indian woman. Compare [KPS] Byron's narrative (1817), p.34 and p.85 with [KPS] Byron's narrative of the loss of the Wager Man of War, one of Admiral Anson's squadron (Dublin, 1819), p.33 and p.91.

The discovery of America by Christopher Columbus (Dublin, 1820) and [KPS] The life of Captain James Cook (Dublin 1820).

The life of Captain James Cook, p.6. Abridged versions of this biography had appeared throughout the eighteenth century and were well established as part of the children's book market, e.g. Captain Cook's voyage to the Pacific Ocean was one of the tiny illustrated books which John Marshall of London issued in the Juvenile or Child's Library in 1800 and John Harris published An historical account of the voyages of Captain James Cook to the southern and northern hemispheres by William Mavor LLD in 2 volumes in 1805. (cf. Whalley, Cobwebs to catch flies, p.87 and Trimmer, The Guardian of Education, vol. 5, no.25, (Dec. 1805).

Dangerous voyage (Bligh), pp.134-8.

Whalley, Cobwebs to catch flies p.87.

Ibid.

Travels in Northern Asia; compiled from authentic sources (Dublin, 1823), p.vii.

The earliest edition listed in Eighteenth Century AUC (item 485 PI) is Travels in the interior districts of Africa performed under the direction of the African Association etc ... (Ed. Bryan Edwards ed.). [London, 1799]. Further London editions were produced in 1807, 1810 and 1814 [cf. Nineteenth Century STC I, P.353]. One further London edition Park's travels in Africa, is described in the British Library catalogue as "a chapbook" and is dated to c.1810. [cf. Nineteenth Century STC I, P.355].

Travels in the interior of Africa, by Mungo Park (Dublin, 1819). For further editions see table 3.4.


Cf. table 3.4
Cf. Bardin to Topham, 13 Nov. 1830, KPS II/24/69; Same to same, 9 Dec. 1830, KPS II/24/75; and Same to Same, 20 Dec. 1830, KPS II/24/76.


Ibid., p.73-4


Travels in Africa p.108.


[KPS] Travels in Germany, and the Illyrian provinces. Compiled from the most recent authorities (Dublin, 1828), p.10.

[KPS] Mungo, the little traveller to which is annexed, the seven wonders of the world (Dublin, 1817), pp.17-18.

Ibid., pp.18-19.

Ibid, p.31 and 32.

[KPS] Travels in England and Wales, compiled from the most authentic and recent authorities (Dublin, 1825), pp.5-6.


Whalley, Cobwebs to catch flies, pp.114-5.


Cf. Roscoe, Newbery, J41(3).

Ibid., J41(3).

Ibid., J349 and J350.

Ibid., J192, J193 and J194.

Ibid, J125 and J126.

Chapter Three - Footnotes

495 Adams, The printed word and the common man, pp.182-190.

496 Spufford, Small books and pleasant histories, pp.136-7.

497 The Cheap Book Society's volume on animals is referred to as "a book entitled 'A description of animals" in the minutes of the Kildare Place Committee but a copy of this edition has not been traced. Committee minutes and resolutions, 30 Nov. 1816, KPS I/Ms 101. The second edition, i.e. the first Kildare Place edition of this work was entitled, A history of wonderful animals; containing an account of the most remarkable fishes, beasts and birds (2nd edition, Dublin 1818).

498 An outline of the series was included in the preface to [KPS] Natural history of animals. Containing an account of remarkable beasts. With many interesting particulars concerning them (Dublin, 1818), p.7.


501 For a list of Kendall's works published by Newbery cf. Roscoe, Newbery, J203-J210 inclusive; cf. also DNB.


504 The earliest edition of the work listed in Eighteenth century AUC is dated 1788 (item 48OS1). For Clarke's work cf. DNB. The version for children by Eliza Andrews was entitled Beauties of Sturm, in lessons on the works of God and of his providence rendered familiar to the capacities of youth, (Dublin, 1799)

505 [KPS] Reflections on the wisdom power, and goodness of God Selected from Sturm's reflections (Dublin, 1820).
506[KPS] Views of creation (Dublin, 1822) and [KPS] Nature displayed: designed to excite the youthful mind to piety and virtue (Dublin, 1828). Hall’s translation had appeared as early as 1790: Johannes Florentius Martinet, The catechism of nature translated from the Dutch by John Hall (London, 1790) and was published in Dublin in the same year. Cf. Eighteenth century AUC1358M1 and 1358M2.


508[KPS] The history of Joseph and the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt; extracted from the holy scriptures (Dublin, 1817); [KPS] Selections from the psalms of David, the proverbs of Solomon and the book of Ecclesiasticus. For the use of schools (Dublin, 1820).

509[KPS] The history of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem: collected from the works of Josephus and other historians Dublin, 1820). [KPS] An historical geography of the Holy Land. With some notices of other countries mentioned in the old and new testament compiled from the sacred volume, and illustrated by the researches of modern travellers (Dublin, 1832) [sometimes referred to as "Scripture geography"]; [KPS] Scripture zoology. Intended to illustrate those passages in the bible in which allusions are made to objects in animated nature (Dublin, 1832); [KPS] The manners and customs of the Israelites: intended to illustrate many passages in the sacred writings (Dublin, 1833).


512See Chapter 1, pp. 34-5 and pp. 41-9.

513Butler, Maria Edgeworth, pp. 84-7.

514[KPS] Mungo, the little traveller, pp.5-6.

515Ibid., p.8.


517Ibid., p.108.

519"The brazier or mutual gratitude, translated from the French" printed as supplement to [KPS] The history of Isaac Jenkins (Dublin, 1820), pp.170-1.

520[KPS] James Talbot; or, the importance of recollecting "God sees me at all times" (Dublin, 1825).

521[KPS] The history of Tim Higgins, cf. chapters XV, XVI and XVIII.

522[KPS] Elizabeth; or the exiles of Siberia. A tale founded on truth. From the French of Madame de Cottin (Dublin, 1817), p.17 and 18.


524Ibid., p.71.


526[KPS] The history of little Jack, a foundling; together with the history of William an orphan (Dublin, 1817), pp.24-5 and pp.45-6. (Note this pagination refers to History of William which was printed separately to Little Jack in this edition).

527[KPS] The cottage fireside p.79.

528[KPS] The history of Richard MacReady, the farmer lad (Dublin, 1824).

529[KPS] The brothers, scene VII.


531[KPS] Tim Higgins, pp.31-41


533[KPS] Travels in Sweden, Denmark and Norway (Dublin, 1826), pp.7-8.
533aIbid., p.8-10.


535[KPS] The schoolmistress; or instructive and entertaining conversations between a teacher and her scholars (Dublin, 1824).


537[KPS] [Mary Leadbetter], The pedlars, (Dublin, 1826), p.13.

538Whalley, Cobwebs to catch flies, p.13.


542[KPS] The history of the honest widow Riley, with an account of Mrs. Buckley, the huxter's wife (Dublin, 1820), part III, pp.58-62.


544Compare Thomas Beddoes, The history of Isaac Jenkins, and of the sickness of Sarah his wife, and their three children (Madley, 1792) [the first edition]; [KPS] The history of Isaac Jenkins and Sarah his wife, and their three children; to which is added, a friendly gift for servants and apprentices (Dublin, 1817) [the first KPS edition]; and [KPS] The history of Isaac Jenkins, to which are added a friendly gift to servants and apprentices, and the brazier or mutual gratitude (Dublin, 1820).


546Ibid., p.10.

547C. Bardin to Book subcommittee, 9 June 1825, KPS II/23/70

548This is clear from Bardin's correspondence with Bewley upon the former's resignation as literary assistant. (KPS II/24/7).

549[KPS] Travels in England and Wales, compiled from the most authentic and recent authorities (Dublin, 1825), p.74.

550Ibid.
551 Ibid., p.170.

552 Appendix to first report of Irish education inquiry, pp.464-5.

553 Cf. The schoolmaster's manual, attached plate 12.

554 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 39, pp.37-41.

555 Quarterly report of book subcommittee, May 1822, KPS II/13/23.


558 Volume giving details of grants of cheap books to schools with other supplementary information, 1822-1831, KPS I/Ms 364.


560 Ibid.

561 Ibid., Nov. 1818, KPS II/13/11.

562 Ibid., Feb. 1819, KPS II/13/12.

563 Committee minutes and resolutions, 23 Dec. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102, and Quarterly report of book subcommittee, Feb. 1821, KPS II/13/18. Cf. also table 3.7.


566 Ibid., Aug. 1825, KPS II/13/35.

567 Report of the book subcommittee on the special matters referred to them by the General Committee on 12 April [1834], KPS II/13/91.
568 Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, pp. 553-60.


Chapter Four

The vision of a well-intentioned, improving education which the Middle Place Society propagated in its publications must not have been sorely removed from the realities of the Irish educational system. In particular, the teaching which was carried on in schools in Ireland was on respect as the students of the vernacular chapbooks which were to be found in the hands of the inebriate. The seventeenth report of the board of education had drawn attention to the low academic standards which prevailed among the majority of teachers in pay, charity and parish schools and had noted that the political, religious and moral opinions of pay school masters left much to be desired.

We have already adverted to the deplorable want of such qualification in a great majority of those who now teach in the common schools, and to the pernicious consequences arising from it, their negligence, we have reason to believe, is not seldom their least disqualification, and the sort of proper books often combines with their own opinions and propensities, in introducing into their schools such as are of the worst tenancy.

The pedagogical style of the pay schools was unacceptable to the educational reformer, who attributed as much importance to the development of moral character through the learning experience as to the curriculum content itself. Nominally, the curriculum of the Society's monitonal system shared the same three core subjects with the pay schools. Reading, writing and arithmetic constituted the course of study in most pay schools except in Meath, where many pay schools had included a deeper study of mathematical, classical subjects and mensuration. The use of classics of instruction in the Lancasterian system, however, was foreign to the pay school system. The pupils of a pay school scholar were thought to have made a private contract with the teacher, for the tuition of their child, and therefore expected, for some part of the day at least, individual attention. Each child progressed at his own rate, and with his own
Chapter Four

Classroom Practice

The vision of a well-ordered, improving education which the Kildare Place Society promulgated in its publications could not have been more removed from the realities of the Irish educational system. In particular, the teaching which was carried on in schools in Ireland was as suspect as the contents of the immoral chapbooks which were to be found in the hands of the scholars. The fourteenth report of the board of education had drawn attention to the low academic standards which prevailed among the majority of teachers in pay, charity and parish schools and had hinted that the political, religious and moral opinions of pay school masters left much to be desired:

We have already adverted to the deplorable want of such qualification in a great majority of those who now teach in the common schools, and to the pernicious consequences arising from it; their ignorance, we have reason to believe, is not seldom their least disqualification; and the want of proper books often combines with their own opinions and propensities, in introducing into their schools such as are of the worst tendency.¹

The pedagogical style of the pay schools was unacceptable to the educational reformer, who attributed as much importance to the development of moral character through the learning experience as to the curricular content itself. Nominally, the curriculum of the Society's monitoral system shared the same three core subjects with the pay schools. Reading, writing and arithmetic constituted the course of study in most pay schools except in Munster, where many pay schools had included a deeper study of mathematics, classical subjects and mensuration.² The use of classes of monitors as in the Lancastrian system, however, was foreign to the pay school system. The parents of a pay school scholar were thought to have made a private contract with the teacher for the tuition of their child, and therefore expected, for some part of the day at least, individual attention. Each child progressed at his own rate, and with his own
reading materials. His progress was determined as much by the ability of his parents to pay, as by his own learning capacity. Charges were imposed on the basis of the child's advancement: the lowest charges were paid for spelling (i.e. alphabet work) and reading, higher charges were imposed for writing and still higher charges for arithmetic and other subjects. Charges varied from master to master. Corcoran's compilation of school fees in the diocese of Cloyne and Ross, Co. Cork, shows that charges for reading ranged from 2s.2d. to 3s. 9d per quarter, writing cost from 2s.2d. to 6s.6d. per quarter, and arithmetic fees varied from 3s. 3d. to 8s. 1d. The teaching of additional subjects was more expensive still. A Kilkenny school, for example, charged 11s. 4d. per quarter for the teaching of bookkeeping and mathematics in 1802 and John Dubourdieu noted similar charges for the teaching of Latin and mathematics in Co. Antrim in 1812. The only classification of pupils in pay schools was on the basis of charges paid and consequently the advancement of a pupil was closely linked to the relative wealth of his family.

Travellers were often critical of aspects of the hedge school or pay school system, pointing in particular to the waste of time involved in the individual teaching of pupils and the crude emphasis on reading skills and speed, rather than the development of understanding. Wakefield, for example, who praised the teaching of arithmetic and writing in Irish pay schools, criticised the simultaneous reading of different books by the children- an activity called 'rehearsing':

In many of them [i.e. pay schools] the mode of instruction is altogether ludicrous. All the boys gabble their lessons together, as loud and as fast as they can speak, which is called rehearsing. The preceptor, when he perceives any one approaching to shew his diligence, enfaces this confusion of tongues and seems to rate the progress of improvement by the scale of vociferation.

Isaac Weld, author of A statistical survey of Co. Roscommon, noted the lack of understanding of reading materials and blamed it on the indiscriminate use of any available printed material as a textbook.
The founders of the Kildare Place Society were determined to replace this chaotic system with the order, progression and discipline of the Lancastrian schools. As had been examined in Chapter Three the textbooks of the Society were designed and supplied free to the schools in order to eliminate one of the features of the payschool system, and to allow the introduction of classification of scholars. From the foundation of the Society, however, it was realised that more than this was necessary. The monitorial system had been born out of a similar situation in Britain. Lancaster and Bell, when unable to supply the required number of well-educated masters, attempted to dispense with the master to a great extent, and introduced unskilled instructors or monitors in his place. Teachers had therefore only to master the skill of using these monitors to instruct the pupils in the rigidly defined curriculum of the tablet lessons and textbooks produced by the education societies.

One of the most important effects of the monitorial system was the creation of the notion of 'the method' or 'the system'. Given the poor educational qualifications of teachers and especially of monitors, it became essential that classroom practitioners adhered rigidly to the methods Lancaster and Bell had described at laborious length in their publications. This notion of a single approved 'method' or 'improved plan' led to the beginnings of teacher training and ironically demeaned the teacher at the same time. If the teacher was to run his school on the Lancastrian or Madras systems he had to be instructed in the minutiae of the method. Lancaster's singleminded dedication to 'the method' was such that he planned that only those who had been educated in his school to the level of monitor would be suitable as future teachers in his schools. This led to the creation of a 'family' of senior monitors in Lancaster's Borough Road institution. The members of this 'family' were to become experts in the method and later to found monitorial schools in other parts of the country. It quickly became apparent that the Borough Road school could not provide enough trained teachers from within its own pupils and others came to be trained in Lancaster's 'method'. These were trained in the same manner as the monitors: they acted as monitors in the
model school for a period sufficiently long for them to become familiar with the practical workings of the system.\textsuperscript{8}

While a form of training had thereby been instituted the role of the teacher had, to some extent been undermined: no attempt was made to develop his understanding of the nature of the learning process or the theory of learning which was meant to underpin the educational system. The training courses which the monitorial societies developed stressed instruction rather than education, an emphasis which was to remain a characteristic of British and Irish teacher education throughout the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless the Lancastrian system had initiated the development of a form of teacher training, however restricted, and the adoption of the monitorial system by the Kildare Place Society demanded the provision of a course of teacher instruction. The founding resolutions of the Society committed it to assist in the provision of qualified teachers.\textsuperscript{9} When the subcommittee of arrangement presented its 'plan of action' report to the Committee in June 1812, it recommended the establishment of a model school as a means to display the operation of the Society's scheme and to train masters in the workings of the 'new plan'. The report envisaged that the School Street school would be the ideal location for this work.\textsuperscript{10} The choice was a natural one, not only because of its links with the foundation of the Kildare Place Society but because it had used many of the ideas Lancaster had later popularized. Moreover, the curriculum taught in the school was wider than would have been envisaged for most charity or monitorial schools and thus suitable for the education of masters.\textsuperscript{11} Indeed a surviving minute of the Royal Lancastrian Institution in London would suggest that some training of masters was already taking place at School Street:

A letter was read from Samuel Elly of Ross in Ireland to William Allen stating that... they are very much in want of a well qualified person to conduct their school, he being a protestant or one of the Society of Friends - they have incurred considerable expenditure by having a young man from the Free School at Dublin but find him defective in the Plan...\textsuperscript{12}
The proposal to site the Society's model school at School Street was adopted\textsuperscript{13} and an arrangement speedily agreed with the School Street committee.\textsuperscript{14}

The Committee had also decided by 6 June 1812 that a master to run the model school would have to be obtained from Joseph Lancaster. Accordingly R.B. Warren and S. Bewley were directed to write to Lancaster of this request (and also of the Committee's desire to purchase the copyright of his publications).\textsuperscript{15} Warren wrote to Lancaster on 23 June 1812\textsuperscript{16} and Bewley wrote to him on 4 July 1812 when no reply had been received to the earlier letter.\textsuperscript{17} As in the publication programme, Bewley was central to the decisions which the Society took. It was he who conducted the correspondence with Lancaster and with William Allen of the Royal Lancastrian Institution in order to secure a qualified master and it is clear from his letters that he recognised the key role which the head of the model school would play in the successful introduction of the Society's methods and plans.

In his letter to Lancaster on 4 July 1812 Bewley explained that the Committee required a master of some ability as the curriculum at School Street was quite advanced and the master would be responsible for the training of teachers. Lancaster's reply,\textsuperscript{18} suggesting one Joseph Dunn, was rejected by Bewley as the Committee felt Dunn was too inexperienced to hold such a vitally important post:

\begin{quote}
We were willing to hope that thou would see the matter of so much importance as that some young man of tried and proved steadiness as well of abilities for communicating to others thy plan of education would be sought for, possibly taken from some other institution for the advantage, not of a local school, but for the advantage of all Ireland.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

Despite writing the above letter to Lancaster in August, a reply was not received from Lancaster until 29 October, largely because he was busy with the setting up of a private boarding school at Tooting, near London. Indeed during 1812 the Committee of his own Royal Lancastrian Institution had much trouble in getting Lancaster to attend its meetings and to remedy the grave financial crisis which he had caused.\textsuperscript{20} Even when he did write to Bewley, Lancaster had still not got a
master for the Dublin school. Bewley had grown impatient by September 14 and wrote to William Allen of the London Committee. Lancaster, Bewley believed, was wasting his time on his boarding school project and had not attended to getting a master for the Kildare Place Society. Bewley asked Allen to attempt to secure a master for Dublin, stressing once again that an accomplished man was required, and suggesting that one of the London Society's experienced masters could be removed and replaced by a less able man. Allen seems to have brought the matter to the attention of the Committee in London, and at a meeting in early October they directed J. Lancaster to write to John Veevers, a master in Birmingham, offering him the Dublin post. The London committee shared Bewley's belief in the importance of the post and they were also keen to forge a close connection between the Dublin and London societies. They offered Veevers an allowance of £100 per annum, in addition to whatever salary he would receive from the Dublin Society on condition that he correspond regularly with the London committee. This financial arrangement was not communicated to the Dublin Committee, who later became aware of it only through the reports of the Royal Lancastrian Institution. The matter was the cause of bitter correspondence between the two bodies as the Dublin Committee had felt its independence, so necessary to its acceptance in Ireland, had been compromised.

John Veevers, a Londoner, had entered the Borough Road school founded by Lancaster in 1804. He seems to have been an exceptionally gifted teacher, and a close friend of Lancaster. In 1808 the Royal Lancastrian Committee voted him five guineas for the services he had rendered to it and Lancaster described him as "the senior officer and field-marshall among all my young generals." Veevers was involved in the preparation of some of Lancaster's textbooks and on leaving Borough Road he taught in Bishop Auckland and in a large school of 400 children in Birmingham. Here he was also involved in the training of masters. He was, therefore, an appropriate figure for the London committee to send to Dublin. Lancaster did not write to Veevers in early October as directed by the committee, but a month later he went to visit Veevers in Birmingham. From there he wrote to Bewley, recommending Veevers for the post. His letter to Bewley praised Veevers' organizational abilities:
he will gladly traverse all Ireland in establishing and organising schools in which work he has been thoroughly tried and for which I can give him the most unqualified recommendation.31

The letter also mentioned his training of masters:

He is not only fitted to organise schools but to train masters which he has already done in a way equal to my highest expectations. He is about twenty-three years of age - of a mild disposition - and an accomplished mind very superior to any young man now engaged in the plan.32

Lancaster stated that Veevers was currently earning a salary of £150 per annum and suggested that he receive £200 per annum plus travelling expenses from the Kildare Place Society.33 Bewley reported back to the Dublin Committee on 21 November. The Committee were keen to have a person of Veevers' ability but the resources of the Society were limited and the Committee decided to consult further on the large salary.34 Bewley wrote again to Lancaster:

it seems proper to acknowledge the receipt of thy letter and to mention the impression it made - which was that the salary of £200 p.a. and travelling expenses appeared very high and to militate against the propagation of the system the characteristics of which along with being expeditious was that of greater economy.35

Bewley also wrote in similar vein to Allen:

[The suggested salary] alarms us as it appears to militate against the propagation of the system whose conspicuous trait is economy - Dost thou think we cannot get a competent person at less expense.36

Lancaster reacted angrily to Bewley's letter stating that Veevers was worth twice the salary and commenting:

For my part I am sick and tired of the business. I have done all I can to serve you and can give no other advice than what I have already done.37
He was also angry at Bewley because of the latter's correspondence with Allen. Lancaster claimed that:

the utmost discretion will be needful in removing him [i.e. Veevers] from his present quarters - and I wished nothing to have been done without my knowledge on this subject as I know he has so endeared himself at Birmingham.38

Lancaster added, in a bitter postscript:

I understood that correspondence was to be maintained with me on the subject. I understand it has been opened with others and perhaps I am now better out of the question wholly.39

Bewley was taken aback at this reaction, but would not advise the Committee to accept Veevers at the proposed salary until he heard from Allen, to whom he wrote again on 19 December 1812.40 Allen replied to Bewley on 28 December explaining that the London Committee had had many difficulties with Lancaster and advising him to ignore Lancaster's jealousy. Allen also told Bewley that the London Committee had concluded that Veevers was the best man available for Dublin and that the suggested salary "though it may seem high we think considering all things is not unreasonable".41 Following this advice the Kildare Place Committee decided to appoint Veevers to the post42 and on 5 January 1813 Bewley wrote to Lancaster informing him of this.43 As before a reply was slow in coming and Bewley had to write to Allen once more.44 Lancaster wrote to Bewley a few days later and said Veevers would arrive in early May.45 In fact it was to be early July before Veevers came to Dublin.46

The delay experienced in the protracted negotiations over Veevers' appointment and in his transfer to Dublin in early 1813 clearly exasperated the members of the Dublin Committee. While some of the fault lay in Dublin, because of the initial refusal to pay a high salary, the Dublin Committee was the victim of an on-going struggle between Lancaster and the Committee of the Royal Lancastrian Institution over financial control. Thus Lancaster, in a burst of typical self-importance, saw Bewley's correspondence with Allen in a hostile light. Moreover, there is some doubt as to whether Lancaster really wanted Veevers to
go to Ireland. He was fulsome in his praise of Veevers to the Dublin Committee, but he envisaged Veevers would remain in Ireland for only two years and much of the delay in Veevers' journey to Ireland was caused by Lancaster. Veevers spent some time with him at Tooting before leaving for Ireland, despite having been despatched to Ireland by the London committee on 19 May 1813. Lancaster was fond of Veevers and his personal feeling for him may well have been partly to blame for Lancaster's reluctance to see him depart. Lancaster may have seen the payments to be made by the London committee to Veevers as further evidence of his diminishing control over the institution which he had founded and of a growing direct connection between it and the Kildare Place Society. Interestingly, Bewley, who had maintained close contact with Allen, a fellow Quaker, wanted such a formal link to grow, but the Dublin Committee in general preferred to remain independent.

Having secured the best possible master, the Society set about preparing a suitable schoolroom for him. They determined to revive the arrangement they had previously made with the School Street committee and by March 1813 the latter body had agreed to provide a separate schoolroom and a set of scholars for Veevers. The School Street institution was also prepared to allow a selection to be made from the school's senior pupils for training as masters, an arrangement which paralleled Lancaster's family. A month later a letter was received from the School Street committee proposing the union of the two bodies but the Kildare Place Committee declined, preferring to await the arrival of Veevers. Nevertheless, the Society did move its depository, which had been located, under contract at the premises of Charles Archer, to School Street, and determined that future committee meetings would be held in the board room there.

Veevers had arrived by 10 July 1813 and Samuel Bewley, Edward Allen and William English were ordered, "to make such arrangements as shall be found necessary to enable him to carry into effect the objects of this Committee." Veevers was allowed to organize a model classroom as he saw fit. Two hundred and fifty pupils were placed in his charge and by the end of July he had attempted to introduce the features of the pure Lancastrian plan, for the
Committee ordered Bewley and Dr. Thorpe, "to procure such class lists, tickets, labels etc. as they shall think necessary to enable John Veevers to carry the plans for the model school at School Street into execution". Initially, no training of masters was undertaken by Veevers, and when the Committee of the Royal Lancastrian Institution wrote to Dublin, on 29 September 1813, seeking to have an Irish lad James Hart trained there, the Dublin Committee regretfully had to refuse. Nevertheless the Committee seems to have been roused by the request and agreed to meet to "take into consideration in what manner that very important object of the society, namely the training of school masters can best be carried into effect". The proposal to train some of the senior pupils as teachers, to which the School Street committee had agreed was never acted upon. Instead the Society chose to encourage masters to come to the model school for a period of observation and 'on-the-job' training in a manner identical to that carried on at Borough Road. The Committee decided that in view of its limited resources the Society could not board the trainee masters but would instruct them free gratis. It would seek out and recommend; "proper places where they may be dieted and lodged and where their morals shall not be injured". Notices were placed in several papers to this effect, and several applications were received. James Maze, the first trainee, was admitted on 2 February 1814 and left just over three weeks later. More followed and by the time the second report of the Society was written a little over two months later, in April 1814, four teachers (three protestants and one catholic) had completed their training.

Despite this successful if modest start, two problems emerged which hampered further progress. Firstly, the building at School Street proved unsuitable for the setting up and working of a schoolroom on Lancastrian lines. Within two months of his arrival Veevers wrote to Joseph Fox, the Secretary of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, complaining of the school's inadequacies:

Joseph Fox read a letter from J. Veevers dated Dublin, 24 August stating that he had been engaged in organising a school, but that the situation of the school was unfavourable and the building itself very unfit for a proper exhibition of the plan.
This problem, however, was but an indication of a deeper difficulty. The arrangements which the Kildare Place Society had made with the School Street committee proved unsatisfactory, partly from the limitations imposed on Veevers' authority and partly from difficulties with regard to the sharing of costs between the societies. By November 1813 the Kildare Place Committee resolved to set up a subcommittee which would meet with the School Street committee to discuss these problems.

The subcommittee of Peter La Touche, William L. Guinness, Edward Allen and J.D. Jackson reported in March 1814. They had found the object and non-denominational principles of the School Street and Kildare Place societies identical and they therefore recommended that the societies be amalgamated. This, they believed, would solve the difficulties of joint management of the School Street schools which they found not to be working. The proposals for amalgamation were "much discussed and considered" at a committee meeting on 7 May 1814 but rejected as they would "rather tend to diminish the utility of this Society". This decision implied that the School Street premises could only be looked upon as a temporary location for the model school and that the Society would have to erect its own buildings. At a further meeting this was recognized and a commitment made to construct a new model school.

During the time in which the discussions with the School Street committee had taken place the Committee's attention had been drawn to the need to commence teacher training, and the first candidates for training had been admitted. In February 1814 a subcommittee had been set up to examine the way in which Veevers had conducted the model school. This subcommittee did not present its report until almost a year later but even by May 1814 when the second report of the Society went to print the crucial role which the model school was to play was vindicated. The admission of masters to the school had demonstrated the demand which existed for teacher training and the Society's limited ability to provide that service:
Some measure of this kind was absolutely necessary. ... and
your Committee (to use the strong language of the commissioners
of education) being "persuaded, that a more essential service
could not be rendered to the state, than by carrying into effect,
a practicable mode of supplying a succession of well qualified
instructors, for the children of the lower classes" - determined
to adopt the expedient just mentioned, as being the best
calculated of any within its power, to relieve a want so urgent
in its nature, and so generally felt in every part of the country.67

Although the School Street premises had restricted the full
implementation of the Lancastrian scheme, Veevers rose admirably to the
challenge. The results of the internal inquiry into the work of the model school
vindicated the high hopes which Lancaster, Allen and Bewley had had for
Veevers. He had organized the school on monitorial lines and his personal
success as a teacher and as a trainer of teachers was readily admitted by the
subcommittee of inquiry.68 This success was important for the adoption of the
Lancastrian system by the Kildare Place Society as it came at a time when the mind
of the Committee was turning to the creation of its own model school in purpose
built premises. It is evident from the report of the subcommittee that its members,
like many visitors to Lancastrian schools, were impressed by the regularity and
efficiency which 'the improved method' brought to the classroom. Indeed the
subcommittee of inquiry was so pleased that they recommended that a detailed
description of it be published for the use of teachers and prospective patrons.69

The findings of the subcommittee were an important personal triumph for
Veevers. His teaching skills and efficiency delighted the members, and they
readily recommended that the refinements which he had brought to the system be
implemented: a special subcommittee was almost immediately formed to compile
a dictating spelling book and an arithmetic book on the lines he proposed.70
Furthermore, the members' satisfaction with his conduct was evident from the
role which they envisaged he would fulfil in the institution. They recommended
that in any future model school operated by the Society two persons would have to
be employed: a master to teach the pupils and a superintendent to train masters,
deal with public inquiries and travel throughout the country visiting and
organizing schools. It is measure of the regard in which Veevers was already held that the subcommittee unhesitatingly recommended Veevers for the latter crucial post.71

Moreover, Veevers' work was to shape the way in which the Society envisaged its training course. Veevers successful use of the monitorial system not only ensured its adoption as the teaching method of the Society but laid the basis for the approach to teacher training which Kildare Place adopted. Impressed by the effectiveness of his methods the Committee adopted the classical monitorial approach to teacher training: teachers should be trained in the system and this could only be achieved in a building in which the system was operated in its full complexity. The subcommittee of inquiry recommended the construction of a new model school as a matter of urgency,72 and sometime later the General Committee postponed the publication of the proposed manual until such time as they:

- had an opportunity of judging by experience of its practical effects, when the whole should be carried into operation, under circumstances which might enable your committee to decide on the efficacy [sic] of every particular recommended by them.73

The School Street premises which dated from the last decade of the eighteenth century had been built and operated on the lines of a monitorial school, but it was Veevers successful operation of the monitorial system which confirmed that the new model school would remain within the Lancastrian tradition. The dedication of Committee members to the efficiency of the pure system led them to determine that their new model school would have to be constructed on Lancastrian lines because it was only in such large scale schools that the mechanical efficiency of the system could be shown to best effect.

When the internal review of Veevers work was completed the financial situation of the Society was such that donations and subscriptions did not even exceed Veevers' salary, and were inadequate to pay for the erection of the model school.74 The committee began, however, the search for a suitable premises and entered into negotiations for the lease of the Kildare Place site. Government
monies had been received for the building of a model school by 1815. The wording of the grant dictated the purchase of the site, rather than a lease, which delayed the acquisition of the proper title, but by 1816 the Committee could report that construction work on its new premises was about to begin. The area of the city in which the new school was to be situated was already served by the school of the South Eastern District School Society, but during 1815 and 1816 a merger of the two bodies was successfully negotiated. The Kildare Place Society became responsible for the S.E.D.S.S. school on St. Stephen's Green which it continued to operate until the new model school was completed. This school was smaller than the School Street premises, but was also designed to accommodate the large number of urban children living in the surrounding areas. The school was badly overcrowded and so teacher training was not carried on at this site. Training continued at the School Street premises, with a growing number of masters coming to spend on average 3 - 4 weeks in the temporary model school. Masters were admitted throughout the year, a few each month, and it would seem that they acted as monitors under Veevers and his assistant Egan following the pattern of the Borough Road institution. These masters suffered a loss of income during training while the cost of travelling to Dublin and living expenses in the city were prohibitive. This prompted the correspondence and model school subcommittees to recommend that the Society should grant travelling expenses to teachers and in February 1817 it was agreed that a maximum grant of five guineas would be payable to a master on completion of his training. Masters resided in lodgings, recommended by the Society, to be paid for by the patron of the school in which the master was to be employed.

The Society hoped its new premises would relieve patrons of the cost of supporting masters in training. At first it was intended that three buildings would be constructed on the Kildare Place site: a model school to be built at the eastern end of the site on an east-west axis, a central building for the accommodation of masters in training and a third building to front Kildare Street in which the offices and book stores of the Society would be located. By autumn 1816 it was evident that the resources of the Society could not fund buildings on this scale. It was decided to concentrate resources on the completion of the model school and the
building facing Kildare Street, the specifications of which were curtailed. The construction of the 'central' building, intended for the masters was postponed. As a consequence of this decision the Society was forced to continue the arrangements by which masters were boarded in lodgings. In anticipation of the move to the Kildare Street premises, the model school subcommittee was requested to locate suitable lodgings and by December 1817 they had made arrangements with a landlady Sarah Humphries for the diet, laundry and lodging of masters at 10s 10d per week each, (later increased to 12 shillings). This cost was now to be borne by the Society thus offering a free training course to aspiring masters. It was to be early 1821 before masters were accommodated on the Kildare Place site - an arrangement achieved by a reorganization of rooms within the building fronting Kildare Street.

Meanwhile work proceeded on the model school and the building fronting Kildare Street. Veevers was despatched to Britain to study the design and construction of modern British schools for the poor. He made a detailed report on classroom size, ventilation, heating, lighting and general school construction on his return. All of the schools which he visited were in large urban centres, the areas in which Lancastrian schools had developed to the greatest extent and where conditions were similar to the city of Dublin. This visit was yet further proof of the Society's desire to provide a perfect working model of the Lancastrian system. The model school at Kildare Place was ready for occupation by the boys school in November 1818 but due to Veevers' absence on tour the transfer of boys and masters in training did not take place until the following January. The model school subcommittee was delighted to report that in these new premises the full workings of the Lancastrian plan could now be displayed:

As the minor arrangements of that school [Stephen's Green] were in some respects different from those proposed for adoption in the new school (particularly in the number and order of the classes, the numbers, ranks, and duties of monitors) your committee caused an examination to be made and a classification to take place under the immediate superintendence of Mr. Veevers preparatory to the intended removal. On Monday the 4th January the boys were introduced into the new school house where (notwithstanding the alteration in
their classes and the novelty of those mechanical parts of the system which they had not room to practice in the old school they acquitted themselves with much steadiness and regularity of discipline as to gain the approbation of those who witnessed it, for themselves and for their master Mr. McGuinness who had effected so much under so many disadvantages.91

Admissions to the school were restricted for a period in order to allow the existing pupils to settle in their new classroom.92 Shortly afterwards the female school was moved to this site,93 and the Society administered a school of sufficient size to accommodate almost 1000 scholars in which all the features of the Lancastrian system were followed.94

The question of publishing a description of the arrangements at Kildare Place was raised once again in March 181995 and it was reported that Veevers had the task in hand in July 1820.96 The model school subcommittee expected the volume, entitled The schoolmaster's manual, to be ready within a month of its September 1820 report,97 but because of the heavy workload on Veevers the book was not completed until 1824 and was not in print until 1825. 98 Nevertheless The schoolmaster's manual provides a detailed description of the organization of the model school and together with Veever's evidence to the commissioners of the Irish education inquiry may be used to recreate the practice of the model school.

The school consisted of about 500 boys and 400 girls, mainly the children of labourers, servants, shop assistants and some paupers' children. Both Roman Catholics and protestants attended and each child, with few exceptions, paid a penny a week for his instruction - an arrangement which the Society believed to enhance in the minds of the parents the value placed on the education offered. Few children remained at the school beyond the age of fourteen.99

One of the distinctive characteristics of the monitorial system was the classification of scholars into groups of like ability. In Kildare Place the numbers in attendance permitted the division of the pupils into eight reading classes ranging from those learning the alphabet to those reading from the bible. A similar
classification was arranged for writing exercises and children who had entered the second division or fifth class of reading (i.e., reading monosyllables) studied arithmetic. For this subject the pupils were also classified according to ability. As has been described earlier, the textbooks of the Society were designed with these classifications in mind, and a description of the various stages which composed each subject were described in The schoolmaster's manual. Religious instruction was limited to the reading of the scriptures as the Society recommended.

A second distinctive feature of the Lancastrian system was the use of unskilled teaching labour, or monitors, as instructors. The scale of the Kildare Place school made the use of monitors essential. The descriptions of teaching methods in The schoolmaster's manual and surviving manuscript accounts of the Kildare Place school show that monitors were placed in charge of each of the drafts (or classes) for each of the subjects. The monitors were directly under the control of a monitor-general (or monitress-general) who in turn was controlled by the master. Supplementary classes were organized for the monitors before the normal school hours which began at 10 am. The monitor-general and monitress-general were paid a small allowance.

The monitors taught the various subjects in a manner which was identical to that which Lancaster had advocated in Improvements in education and, as has been shown in Chapter Three this involved a regressive step in the adoption of the pure syllablic methods in the teaching of reading. Surviving accounts show that writing was taught using Lancaster's methods, and in the teaching of arithmetic Lancastrian tablet lessons were also used, in a manner which laid emphasis on rote memory. Following the adoption of Pestalozzian methods in 1820, more emphasis was laid on the development of understanding in the arithmetical process and the pupils' progress was sufficiently noteworthy for the matter to be raised by the commissioners in their examination of Veevers. Other than the study of the higher branches of mathematics, the curriculum of the boys' school was restricted to these three core subjects. The school timetable (fig. 4.1) which was reproduced in The schoolmaster's manual demonstrated that the programme of instruction was composed of alternate hour-long periods of seated
work (either writing on slates or, for the older pupils, paper) and drill-work in drafts around the walls, learning to read or committing the arithmetical tables of the lessons to memory. The curriculum and methods of the female school were, according to Veevers, similar to that for the boys, but less emphasis was placed on the teaching of arithmetic in the female school, the time being taken up with the teaching of needlework. The female school developed a high reputation for the standard of its needlework. Employers made frequent applications for girls, on leaving the school, to act as servants and a manual of the needlework methods used was published by the Society.

A third feature, which had been inspired by Lancaster's quaker background, was the exclusion of corporal punishment. Lancaster believed that many problems of pupil control had been caused by the wasteful individual pupil/teacher instruction style. He argued that this system meant that other pupils were left idle and therefore prone to disruption. Class teaching was to provide the solution to this problem and an inbuilt spirit of competition in each of the drafts was to act as a further spur to good concentration. Lancaster believed that in this manner the need for punishment would never arise. Moreover, good behaviour was to be further encouraged by a system of rewards: achievement or exemplary conduct earned the pupil a merit ticket, a number of which could later be exchanged for books, combs, pens or other useful objects. The Society used this method and printed its own merit tickets in sheets which were supplied uncut to the best monitorial schools (see fig. 4.2) Good behaviour could also be rewarded by the granting of borrowing rights to the school's library which was stocked with the cheap books published by the Society.

The organisation and methods of the schools at Kildare Place were to function as models for imitation by the Society's trainee teachers. When a patron decided to seek aid for his school from the Society he was encouraged to have his teacher trained in the model school. Initially, it was envisaged that, following an application to join the Society's system, the patron would construct a new school building or carry out repairs on an existing structure so as to make it suitable for the 'improved methods'. A copy of *Hints and directions* was sent to the patron to
ensure that the interior arrangements would suit the use of spelling drafts.\textsuperscript{111} The existing or prospective master could come to the model school while this work was in progress. He was boarded at the Society's expense, or from 1821 he resided in the Society's own buildings fronting Kildare Street. His training would be carried on in the model school and then he would return to the country to take up his post in the new school premises built with the Society's assistance.

As the work of the training school became widely known and the number of schools attached to the Society grew, the model school could not provide a pre-teaching training course, as originally envisaged. Gradually those who came to the school were more likely to have been teaching for a period under the Society prior to their training. In all cases the Society preferred that trainees had some prior teaching experience and, partly because of the pressure on training places, it insisted that trainees be appointed to a specific school as a condition of entry.\textsuperscript{112} Many patrons applied to the Society 'for a good master acquainted with the improved method', but the usual reply they received was to the effect that the Society did not recommend masters to the schools but would train a master nominated by the patron. Masters frequently applied for training in their first letters of inquiry to the Society, perhaps believing that on completion of the course they would earn a salary from the Society. These applications, with their accompanying solicitations for aid, were often the means whereby schools came into connection with the Society, but the usual reply was to advise the master to seek the support of local patrons. When training was granted, notice was sent to the patrons to send the master to Dublin, and the record of the teacher's training appeared in the Society's printed reports as a grant to the patron's school.

These arrangements were inspired by the Society's total commitment to a policy of\textit{laissez-faire} management. The Society was convinced that a school would only be efficient if under the direct control of a group of patrons who took an active interest in their day-to-day management. In order to preserve the interest of local patrons in their schools, the Society determined to intervene in the running of the schools only so far as was absolutely necessary. Consequently the General Committee refused to become involved in the appointment of
teachers and by extension in the selection of masters for training. The Society limited itself to giving general advice on the personal characteristics desirable in trainees:

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

While prior teaching experience was preferable, the Society was also keen to train only those who were relatively young, as the restrictions on age show. The average age of the male trainees was twenty-six years, although men as old as thirty-five years were admitted. From March 1819 the Society refused to pay the travelling and lodging expenses of trainees over this age, and a month later it was decided to refuse to admit candidates over this age. Veevers later told the commissioners that ideally trainee masters would be between eighteen and twenty-four years of age, and that within this age range he preferred them to be as young as possible.

During the early years at School Street admissions had taken place throughout the year, but from 1820 Veevers' summer months were devoted to his tours of inspection and later to the supervision of the work of the Society's growing team of full-time inspectors. To facilitate Veevers' work it was decided to close the training schools in the summer months and gradually admissions became concentrated with large numbers of trainees entering at the beginning of November, December, January, February, March, April and May.

The aim of the training course was to permit the students to become acquainted with the operation of the Lancastrian system as used in the model
schools. A major part of their course was, therefore, observing the workings of the school. Each day was spent in the model classroom, learning the mechanical workings of the system and as part of their course the trainees were required to write a detailed description of the classroom layout, the teaching of each subject, the duties of monitors and the records to be kept of pupil attendance and progress. Observation was combined with practice: each of the aspiring masters was put in charge of a class and required to assist in teaching. The trainees remained in the classroom until the school was dismissed at three o’clock.

The teacher-training course of the model school was, therefore a form of apprenticeship which was concerned with perfecting the teacher in the imitation of a skill. This approach to teacher-training was a consequence of the paramount place given to 'the method' in the monitorial system: Lancaster and his followers believed that they had reduced not only reading, writing and arithmetic but the teaching function itself to a series of simple units. These units were little more than a series of regimented drills and teaching tricks which, once perfected, allowed a relatively untutored master to teach virtually anything. The system had the merit of speed - courses of training usually lasted no more than two months - but the disadvantage was that no attempt was made to study the nature of the learning process, and this was to have a detrimental effect on the style of teaching practised and even the successful implementation of the monitorial system itself.

The trainee masters were engaged in a course of studies outside the model classroom, but from the limited evidence which we have of its contents, it would seem that it was directed at improving the educational standards of the masters. The commissioners of the board of education had criticized the low educational standards among teachers in Ireland in 1814 and the problem was to remain a serious one throughout the active period of the Society and for some time thereafter. Although the Society warned patrons to ensure that the masters whom they employed had a "competent knowledge" of reading, writing and arithmetic, many were poorly educated. Most had been educated in hedge schools and some in "respectable schools" in towns but Veevers told the education commissioners that the majority were "but indifferent readers and indifferent writers" though
possessing a high standard of arithmetic. Following each day of practice in the model school, the masters were free until 4.30 pm when they dined. They were then engaged in evening exercises from 6.00 pm to 8.00 pm under Veevers' personal supervision. The evening concluded with individual study. Veevers did not outline the content of the studies he supervised but in 1818 books on mathematics, book-keeping, algebra, Euclidean geometry and natural history were purchased for the use of the masters. Works on the Pestalozzian system of arithmetic and the accompanying tables were acquired from Timms of Grafton Street following the introduction of these methods in the model school and Veevers mentioned that the study of this system engaged much of the attention of the masters.

The only break in the routine of practice in the school and evening study came on Sundays when the masters were expected to attend their respective places of worship. Some masters spent Sunday evenings reading the scriptures, but this was optional and Veevers was careful to ensure that theological discussions were avoided.

The training course concluded with an examination by Veevers to assess the master's capabilities in the improved methods, and if successful he was awarded one of three possible certificates: "fully competent", "competent" or "having had an opportunity of being made acquainted with [the system]" (a range which was later simplified to first, second or third class). Exemplary trainees were rewarded with a set of specially inscribed books.

The numbers of masters trained in the model school rose steadily from year to year (see table 4.1) but following the expansion in the number of schools in connection with the Society, the demand for teaching places easily outstripped supply. Moreover the existing output of the school began to seem inadequate when viewed in the light of the ever growing number of teachers in the Society's schools. Catholic opposition grew during the early years of the 1820s, and one of O'Connell's main arguments in the debate was the practical failure of the Society's system. It was probably the Society's determination to disprove this argument that
prompted the Committee to undertake a significant expansion of its teacher training facilities. Discussions on the extent and nature of the expansion began in April 1823, and by July it had been decided to increase the number of masters in training and commence the training of mistresses.  

Changes were made to the allocation of rooms within the main buildings so as to allow a greater number of masters to reside there. The expansion allowed by these changes, however, was minimal and the maximum number of masters was limited to thirty-two. As each master resided, on average, for one to two months in the institution, the capacity of the training school was still inadequate. J.L. Foster was aware of the mounting pressures within parliament to examine the work of the Society and he urged the Committee to use every effort to extend its activities, including the training of teachers. Some of the residential members of staff, such as Mr. McGuinness who was head of the male model school, were required to vacate the premises and these immediate changes allowed sixteen extra masters to be admitted.

The creation of a female training school boosted the number of teachers trained further. A female training department had been founded at Borough Road in London as early as 1812 and the correspondence subcommittee of the Society had received requests for the training of mistresses at least by 1818. The matter was then referred to the model school subcommittee but its members reported that Mrs. Conroy, (then mistress of the South Eastern District School Society School) was competent to teach but not to train teachers. A replacement was needed if training was to begin and in January 1819, (before the transfer of the female school to the Kildare Place site) the post of mistress was advertised. The successful candidate was required to teach spelling, reading, arithmetic, needlework, knitting and spinning at a salary of £50 per annum, rising in annual increments of £10 to a maximum of £80 per annum. Sarah Armstrong was elected to the post on 27 February. By April 1819 the model school subcommittee was proposing the employment of a work mistress to organise the course of needlework and the completion of garments ordered by subscribers to the school. Some discussion ensued as to whether a second teacher was required as one had been found.
sufficient in Borough Road, but the post was agreed in May and filled by Mary Ann McLoughlin in June.\textsuperscript{146}

Although the new mistresses had been appointed so as to allow training to take place, the female training school did not admit mistresses for a number of years. It would seem that this was due to the inadequacies of the teaching staff and the resulting poor order in the work of the school, features which led to a falling attendance in the female school.\textsuperscript{147} The committee of ladies who visited the school attributed the fall to the restricted nature of the arithmetic course in the female school, and recommended the introduction of "one of the more advanced boys into the female school for the purpose of teaching arithmetic as a branch of instruction which they conceived it would be at all times most difficult to find a female, possessing the other more important qualifications equally competent to teach".\textsuperscript{148} The recommendation was not adopted as the model school subcommittee felt that the fall in attendance was caused by a more serious problem.\textsuperscript{149} The review of the school conducted by the General Committee in June noted the lack of "a good system" in the school and the resignations of the mistress and work mistress were accepted.\textsuperscript{150}

Bewley wrote to Borough Road to obtain a replacement, but was not immediately successful and in October 1821 Mrs. Julia Campbell, a widow, was employed as mistress in a temporary capacity.\textsuperscript{151} Training of mistresses had still not commenced in 1823 when the need to expand the number of teachers trained became a pressing issue. As a complementary measure to the moves to increase the number of masters in training, the Committee renewed its efforts to open a female training school and a house which adjoined the Society's premises was leased to provide accommodation for the mistresses.\textsuperscript{152} A qualified female superintendent was less readily found, and in February 1824, Foster had written to the Ladies Committee for the Improvement of the Female Peasantry of Ireland in London.\textsuperscript{153} The society recommended Miss Jane Edkins to the Committee, and a communication was received from Edkins in March 1824.\textsuperscript{154} Foster continued to be the driving force behind the policy of expansion, urging the Committee to
increase the accommodation for trainee teachers and proposing that grants of working materials be made by the Society to encourage the foundation of female schools. Foster's advice was accepted and, in April 1824, Edkins was appointed superintendent of the female training department at a salary of £100 pa. Edkins was to act in the female school as Veevers did in the male, and Mrs. Campbell was retained as schoolmistress in the girls' school as Mr. McGuinness had been in the boys' school. Veevers was to have overall responsibility for the whole training establishment, and two assistants were appointed to help him in the work of training the increased number of masters.

The Committee were anxious that Edkins, who had been a private governess, became au fait with the practice of the best Lancastrian schools in Britain and in early May ordered her to visit the schools at Borough Road, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Ipswich before returning to Dublin to open the new female training institution on 1 June 1824. By mid-May it became obvious that the timetable proposed by the Society was too short: Edkins wrote to Dublin seeking permission to extend the tour and her application was supported by James Millar of the British Foreign School Society. Edkins left London when the Borough Road school closed on 21 June. She was back in Dublin in early July, carrying with her a letter which expressed the "entire satisfaction" of the committee of ladies of the Central School [i.e. Borough Road] with "the assiduous attention of Miss Edkins to the study of the British system".

A house at 37 St. Stephen's Green North was leased to provide further accommodation and the additional leased building at Kildare Place became the female training department. Two servants were engaged and an apartment set aside for Edkins. The first students were admitted in the first week of November.

The course of training which the female teachers experienced was identical to that for the male students with the exception that the female students were also trained in handcrafts, laundry skills and domestic duties. The girls' school, in
which the mistresses were trained, was operated by Mrs. Campbell, on strict Lancastrian lines, and thanks to Miss Edkins' period of preparation in British monitory schools and Veevers' supervision, the training course was directed to the perfection of the Lancastrian system.

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The team of instructors which was in place in the Society's model school in 1824 remained unchanged until the loss of the parliamentary grants following 1831. McGuinness remained as head of the boys' school until his death in 1832. Julia Campbell was forced to resign when she found her curtailed salary was insufficient to support her family, and she accepted the post as head of the female school established by the national board in 1833. Jane Edkins remained for some years in Kildare Place but Veevers resigned in 1833, and his departure effectively ended an era of teacher training which had begun on his arrival in School Street twenty years earlier.

The achievements of these first twenty years had been considerable: the school had trained nearly 2000 masters and almost 500 mistresses by 1831. These were small numbers when viewed as a proportion of the number of teachers in the Society's schools, and they appeared even less significant when compared with the total teaching population of the country at that time. Nevertheless the work of the Kildare Place model school had an importance far beyond its numerical output.

Firstly, the Society's training scheme demonstrated that a practical solution to the problems of poor teaching standards, which the board of education
had outlined in 1814, was possible. The available evidence would suggest that the training course had a beneficial effect on many of the teachers trained, despite initially discouraging results. Following his 1818 tour of inspection, Veevers noted that only eleven of the thirty-three masters trained for schools on his circuit seemed to have benefited by their visit to the model school. The effectiveness of the course does seem to have improved over time, however. Veevers was satisfied to report in 1819 that "most of the schools conducted by teachers who have been trained in the model school of the Society are evidently superior to neighbouring seminaries whose masters have not had this advantage." The general reports which inspectors returned to the Society annually from 1826 provide further testimony to the work of the model school. Griffith wrote as follows in a report on schools in the north east of the country:

Scarcely a day has passed since I entered into the service of the Society that I have not met proofs of the beneficial tendency of the training school - Of the change wrought in teachers who have attended it, and consequently in their schools, is too obvious to require any notice from me.

Robert Daly, another of the inspectors attributed the prosperity of the schools on his tour in 1827 partly to "the superior instruction communicated by the teachers particularly those who have attended the training school". Sources other than the Society's inspectorate confirmed these impressions. The commissioners of the Irish education inquiry praised the work which the model schools had carried on and contrasted its efficiency with the exorbitant costs incurred by the Incorporated Society in the training of its masters. Parkes has cited a number of independent authorities of similar views including patrons of the schools, independent education societies and Dr. Doyle (J.K.L.) who was one of the Society's most ardent catholic opponents.

While it seems certain, therefore, that the model schools improved the standard of those trained, the ultimate success of the teaching methods which Kildare Place sought to introduce is less certain. The course of instruction at the model schools was primarily aimed at inculcating the Lancastrian methods of
teaching, and from the reports of the inspectors, it would seem that this was successfully achieved in many cases. The extent to which these methods were widely used will be discussed further below, but it is certain that many of the teachers trained were sufficiently skilled on completion of their course to conduct their schools on the approved plan. Inspectors noted the advance of the new methods in the schools. Lewis Mills, who had himself been a teacher trained at Kildare Place, wrote in his 1827 report that there was:

at present a more strict and a more genuine observance of the laws of the Society, joined to a greater attention to the system which you [i.e. the Committee] recommend to be pursued in your schools.172

Although many of the reports contain similar statements it cannot be assumed that this indicates a wholesale adoption of the monitorial system by those trained. The adoption of completely new methods by teachers who had already taught for a number of years was a difficult feat to achieve, and the tone of at least some of the inspectors' reports is one of satisfaction with progress to date, rather than complete success. Griffith's report for 1827 notes the widespread adoption of the monitorial method, but his statement is qualified as follows:

Those who have bestowed any attention upon the history of the Society must have been struck by the rapid progress of the improved system under schoolmasters differently instructed and consequently, for the most part averse to it at the outset.173

Lewis Mills' report for 1829 contains a similar equivocal statement:

The improvement which has also taken place in the mode of conducting the schools must afford you satisfaction. This is manifestly the case unless when counteracted in some remarkable way. If it were not so, considering the means employed, it ought to cause no little astonishment, for where the machinery of the Society is perfectly applied a completely beneficial change is the unerring consequence.174

It may also be significant that, when Veevers reported on his "Desultory tour of
inspection" in 1829, he noted "a manifest improvement in the manner of conducting and in the general appearance of the schools" but did not comment on the implementation of the monitorial methods. The course of training helped to improve the teachers' performance, but it did not always lead to the complete adoption of the monitorial methods.

Pedagogical inefficiency was but one of the problems which the board of education had found among Irish teachers. The poor educational standards of the teachers and their suspect moral and political views were equally serious failings, and those who came to organise the Society's teacher training scheme looked to the model school to bring about improvement in these areas too. The available evidence suggests that this aim was, to a certain extent, successfully achieved. Both Veevers and Jackson told the commissioners in 1824 that the "class of person" who taught in the Society's schools was improving. A number of factors was responsible for this change. The bonus (or gratuity) which connection with the Society made available to deserving teachers was one such influence. Elementary teaching was a poorly paid occupation and thus few people who could obtain other employment were attracted to it. The gratuity offered a means by which income could be boosted and so it encouraged a wider range of people to engage in teaching. The availability of training, and the hope that this might help the teacher to achieve his gratuity more frequently were further inducements, and it was claimed that the overall effect was to bring into teaching a class of individual which was, in the eyes of the Society, much to be preferred. The Society attempted whenever possible to encourage this development.

The recommendations which it circulated for the advice of patrons laid a particular emphasis on the moral character of those who were to be nominated to posts in schools and places in the training school. The concern for moral improvement also influenced the way in which the training establishment was run. From the earliest days at School Street the Committee was concerned that its masters would only board in 'respectable' houses, and the move of the school to Kildare Place enabled the superintendent to exercise a closer control on the activities of the masters. The Committee came to consider itself in loco parentis
with regard to the masters and as soon as it was possible, moved them into the Kildare Place buildings. Here they lived in a tightly controlled, closed institution which allowed them limited free time, insisted that they attend their respective places of worship each Sunday and dealt harshly with any breach of the rules.\textsuperscript{178}

This matrix of influences, to which the nature of the training course contributed, had a noticeable effect on the character of the teachers in the Society's system. William Fitzgerald reported from his inspection tour in 1829 that he had noticed:

\begin{quote}
a material change for the better in the manners and conduct of the teachers and the majority of them appeared to be more strongly impressed with the importance of their situation.\textsuperscript{179}
\end{quote}

Griffith reported a similar finding in the north-east:

\begin{quote}
There can be no doubt that the Society has raised the profession of teaching and induced young men of good character and respectable acquirements to embrace it. It is not long since the office of school master was commonly reserved for the maimed, but the inhumanity of providing for such objects at the expense of the youth of a district is now universally acknowledged.\textsuperscript{180}
\end{quote}

According to a report from another inspector, Matthew Donelan, the changes which the Society brought to the teaching profession were not simply due to better methods, but to an improvement in the intellectual calibre and general background of those who became teachers:

\begin{quote}
the teachers being more intelligent, better informed and more orderly in their department are better qualified for the duties of their situation.\textsuperscript{181}
\end{quote}

The demand for the training of masters from the patrons of schools in connection with the Society also suggests that the course which the Society offered was of benefit in its efforts to improve the calibre of Irish teachers.
A second effect wrought by the teacher training programme was of greater benefit to the Society itself rather than the teaching profession as a whole. Most of the masters who came to Dublin for training would probably not have travelled far from their own homes and consequently "their attendance at the model school... [was]... an epoch in their lives". Many of them became deeply committed to the ideals of the Society and they often developed a personal loyalty to the individuals they met in the Society’s headquarters. Veevers, in particular, was a charismatic personality, because many of his former students wrote to him and to the Committee, praising the course which he organized, and the personal kindness which he had shown to them. Jackson told the commissioners that the experience of living together as protestants and catholics "like the members of one family" in the Society’s house had a most beneficial effect on the masters but the loyalty which the Kildare Place experience engendered was to be of even greater significance when the school encountered catholic opposition. Griffith wrote of the teachers:

the Committee may not be aware that notwithstanding the strict discipline to which they are subject, they leave the institution with feelings towards it of great respect and attachment.

Had they remained at home, the vague and virulent attacks that have been made upon it, might have disturbed the confidence of many of them, but after a residence of months in the very habitation of the Society (if I may so speak) they are not to be persuaded that a stream from so pure a source can be foul or poisonous.

They are allowed to form an unbiased judgement and become steadfast adherents, nor does the good effect of this rest here. It is natural to suppose they would endeavour to impress their own opinions and feelings upon their associates, in other words, upon the people whose children are to be educated.

Lewis Mills wrote in less florid language than Griffith but the phenomenon which he described was identical:
Speaking of them in general the teachers have also imbibed the same feelings, and in various instances of a most interesting nature, have indicated a fearlessness in the advocacy of your cause which could only spring from a conviction of its goodness.\textsuperscript{186}

Griffith and Mills may have been keen to report on the Society's success in spite of Catholic opposition, but there is evidence to support their assertion that the training of masters helped to make schools more resilient to opposition by improving the intellectual and teaching abilities of the masters. Veevers reported that where opposition was strongest to the Society's schools only teachers of outstanding ability could hope to keep their schools in operation:

The schools in the southern and western counties, with few exceptions, have had to contend with strenuous opposition from the Roman Catholic clergy. The teachers have, in consequence encountered many difficulties and are only able, to keep their schools together by ability in teaching and indefatigable attention to the exertions of the opposing party.\textsuperscript{187}

A third, and perhaps the single greatest influence wrought by the Society's training programme was that it set the pattern for teacher training in Ireland, a pattern which Parkes has shown to have remained largely unchanged throughout the nineteenth century. Parkes has convincingly argued that the adoption of the Lancastrian model by the Society defined much of the \textit{modus operandi} of the training system: teachers were recruited from the pupils of the schools through the monitorial system, teacher training became the acquisition of specific skills and methods, and the training schools became closed residential seminaries directed towards the single purpose of producing instructors skilled in a limited range of teaching methods.\textsuperscript{188}

These features were taken over unchanged by the national commissioners when they opened their model schools. The commissioners appointed a Scotsman, Dr. Alexander McArthur to be the superintendent of their model schools and head of the training department, a role which was identical to that which Veevers had occupied in Kildare Place. McArthur was later to tell a
select committee of parliament that he had visited the Kildare Place schools in 1830 and again in 1833 when he had been appointed as superintendent. His evidence shows that in content and duration the Kildare Place and national board courses were quite similar. Moreover, when Julia Campbell came to be head of the board's female school she put into practice the system she had used in Kildare Place. Differences existed between the training courses of the two institutions but the type of master recruited, his level of education and the training he received were broadly similar to the pattern Veevers had brought to School Street in 1813. Ireland thus became committed to the English model of teacher training rather than that of the continent, and consequently the training colleges which grew out of the training schools were dedicated solely to the training of elementary teachers who were of limited educational standing and low social status.

The adoption of the Lancastrian model of teacher training had serious implications for the aims and content of the training course. The essence of the Lancastrian model was that the monitorial method as described by Lancaster or Bell was the definitive teaching style. Teacher training became, therefore, the perfection of the method and little attention was paid to the rationale behind the method or an understanding of the learning process. A.R. Blake, who served as a commissioner of the Irish education inquiry in 1824-6 and as a member of the national board from 1831, noted this weakness in the training course of the Society. He described the training received in Kildare Place as a course which was almost entirely devoted to the perfection of a mechanical system designed to ease the teaching of large numbers of pupils. He believed that the Society had, therefore, ignored a study of the art of teaching (ie the scientific study of the learning and teaching processes) and consequently it had failed to develop the faculties of its teachers.

There was much truth in Blake's assessment, but it is perhaps a measure of the influence that the Society's emphasis on an apprenticeship training exerted, that Blake himself stated that he would prefer, as national school teachers, those educated in the board's own model schools, rather than those who had attended lectures on the art of teaching in a university or college. Moreover
the way in which the national board improved the intellectual qualities of its own trainees was but a development of a process already begun in Kildare Place. It would seem that the purpose of the evening exercises completed by the teachers in Kildare Place was to improve their own limited knowledge of the subjects which they were to teach. Dr. Alexander's trainee masters engaged in a similar though greatly extended course of work:

We take them through the books published by the board, and see that they fully understand them, and that they understand all the words, and can point out in the map the different places mentioned; and that they understand the different productions, and where they come from; and they go as far as they can in mathematics and English grammar; there is a mathematical master and a master for English, and they go through with myself all the English books, including the five reading books and the extracts.193

Nevertheless, Blake had a valid criticism of the Society's training course when he pointed to the absence of a course in the art of teaching. It has already been noted that educationalists had become increasingly dissatisfied with the monitorial system as the decade of the 1820s drew to a close, largely because it produced mechanical rote learning rather than an understanding of the subject taught. This was as true for the trainee teacher as it was for the pupil learning to read: by confining the teacher training course to the imitation of skills the Kildare Place model schools failed to develop in the teacher an understanding of the process in which he was engaged. Professor Pillans of Edinburgh has already been noted as an admirer of much of the Society's work but he expressed the same concern regarding its limitations as Blake was to mention seven years later. He wrote of the Society's model school:

It is by no means, however, so perfect an institution, that I should wish to see it introduced here [in Scotland] simply and without improvement, even supposing we had model schools like our neighbours... it is not enough, I conceive, to bring the future instructor of the parochial youth into a school were he may see the practical details of teaching going on, after the most improved method. An opportunity should be afforded him of hearing the principles and theory of the art of teaching laid down and expounded, before he sees, or rather while he is employed in observing,
the theory illustrated by example.\textsuperscript{194}

The detrimental effects which the restricted monitorial methods had on the pupils of the Society's schools was well documented. Mills, Griffith and Fitzgerald all drew the attention of the Committee to the failure of many teachers to ensure that children understood what they learned in the schools, particularly the contents of the readers.\textsuperscript{195} A number of educationalists contributed to the growing realisation that monitorial methods which failed to develop this understanding were seriously flawed. John Wood's 'intellectual method' of teaching, which Pillans did much to publicize, and David Stow's 'simultaneous method' sounded the death knell of the monitorial system in the 1830s.\textsuperscript{196} These new approaches emphasised the development of the child's understanding and their use demanded that the teacher have an understanding of the learning process. The institution of lectures on the art of teaching by the national board is entirely natural in this context, though it emphasised the crude nature of the training Kildare Place had offered: in 1837 T.J. Robertson, an inspector of the national board could describe the Kildare Place schools as follows:

\begin{quote}
They were better than were country schools, but I did not find that the improvement of the masters in point of cultivation of intellect was very great. I do not mean to bring a charge against the Society, which has been of the greatest possible benefit, but the system of training was directed more to the mechanical arrangements of the classes, and coming in and out from the desks, rather than an intellectual style of teaching.\textsuperscript{197}
\end{quote}

In a sense, the development of the intellectual and simultaneous methods was a tribute to the work of the monitorial teacher-training institutions: the use of the new methods could only have been contemplated where the means existed to ensure that teachers were adequately educated and successfully trained in the practice of teaching. Kildare Place had developed a system by which these criteria could be ensured and its success is probably best demonstrated in the fact that by 1831 teacher training had come to be recognized as an essential element in any effective school system.
The primary purpose of the teacher training course of the Kildare Place Society was to replace the haphazard system of the hedge schools with the order, progression and discipline of the Lancastrian schools. It would therefore seem appropriate to attempt an analysis of the extent to which the monitorial methods of the model school became common in the schools of the Society. Such an analysis cannot hope to give a precise computation of the use of the monitorial system as the necessary primary evidence has not survived and may never have existed. A picture of the classroom practice of Kildare Place schools has to be recreated from the surviving correspondence of patrons, managers and teachers, the extant reports of inspectors and occasional descriptions from travellers. This evidence can be seriously subjective: it was often in the interest of managers and teachers to exaggerate their 'tales of woe' in order to attract higher grants; some teachers were encouraged to report the use of monitorial methods in the hope of earning the Society's favour (and thereby a higher gratuity); and inspectors, too, had their axes to grind at particular times. Nevertheless, the volume of evidence which survives is sufficiently large to ensure a wide range of opinions and from it a number of themes arise, which would seem to give an accurate picture of the everyday life of most Kildare Place schools.

The single most effective step the Kildare Place Committee took to the elimination of the disordered pay school methods was the production and distribution of textbooks. It has already been noted that these books were expressly written for the monitorial system and in accordance with the progressive, structured course which the Society laid down. The tablet lessons were, perhaps, the epitome of the way in which the textbook of the monitorial system came to dictate not only content but the method itself. As has already been noted, however, the tablets were not wholly successful, largely because the display of the 260 sheets which made up *A spelling book*, *A reading book*, and *Arithmetic lessons* was an impractical proposition in small Irish schools, and because of the substantial cost of boards on which to mount the sheets. Even some large monitorial schools such as Carrickfergus Lancastrian school refused to use the tablets. As Veevers was to
discovered on his first tours of inspection:

Better than two-thirds of the schools that received grants of the large lessons have abandoned all intention of using them, owing to the expense of boards and the trouble attending them. These circumstances render them unfit for small schools, and accounts for the tattered state I found them in...

The change to book format which has been described in the previous chapter was an admission that the tablet lessons had largely failed. The textbooks were more successful and they were circulated in large quantities throughout the active period of the Society and for some time following 1831. The widespread availability of the textbooks brought about an immediate change in the curriculum and teaching methods of the schools. The textbooks were made available, free, to all schools in connection with the Society. The surviving correspondence shows that masters were eager to obtain grants of the books and that children were attracted to schools in which the books were available because parents could thus avoid the cost of providing reading materials for their offspring to use in school. These facts, and the large circulation figures for the textbooks, in particular, *The Dublin spelling book* and *The Dublin reading book,* provide sound evidence of the widespread use of the textbooks as the basis of the literary curriculum of the schools.

The supply of multiple copies of the books to the schools also brought about the demise of 'rehearsing' as it enabled the master to place readers on a common book. Classification of pupils was thus a practical proposition and its introduction is noted by a number of sources. The Rev. John McCurdy of Glenna, near Glasough, wrote "I think the masters are improving; in place of calling up six or eight at a time to say their lessons in different books at the same time, they in general classify them." Pupils could be classified according to the books which they used. John Whitfield, master of Finnelly School, Co. Tyrone, described the division of children in his school made possible by the receipt of Kildare Place books:
I would like to have different kinds of books to distinguish the different classes in the school and I am happy to state, that with the books now granted to the school by the Society, when I receive them I shall be able to accommodate them to this effect.

The *Scripture Lessons* will serve the sixth class. I have got as many testaments as will accommodate the fifth class - and the third part of the *Dublin spelling book* (now granted) will supply the fourth class. I have as many spelling books published by the Sunday School Society as will supply the third class - and the first and second parts of the *Dublin spelling book* will just answer the first and second classes.²⁰²

By making the textbooks available to the schools the Society had gone some way to achieving a reform in the practice of the schools. The introduction of the monitorial system was to complement this, but the extent to which it was widely adopted is less certain than the success of the textbooks.

Many schools did adopt the full monitorial scheme. Some of the schools which were most committed to its use, such as those at Belfast and Cork, had been founded during Lancaster's visits to Ireland. These schools were sited in large urban areas, which suffered from many of the problems which had inspired Lancaster's work in Britain, and therefore they would have found his approach ideally suited to their conditions. Moreover, these urban areas were likely to have a middle class of sufficient wealth and extent to become involved in setting up schools for the poor. The committees of a few of these schools, e.g. Ross [New Ross], Dundalk, Belfast and Newry maintained direct links with the Borough Road training institution for a period, applying to it for trained masters.²⁰³

Conditions favourable to the foundation of Lancastrian schools existed in anumber of other urban areas in the country, and several towns came to have their own poor schools. These schools were more likely to have some form of committee management than any other type of school within the Society's system, and many adopted the full paraphernalia of annual general meetings, elections for committees and officers, and a printed report.²⁰⁴ Quite a few of these local committees came into connection with the Kildare Place Society because of the
support it offered. The urban-based schools form a recognizable group within the schools of the Society and because they had often been inspired by Lancaster's rhetoric, they were committed to the use of his methods. A letter from a correspondent in Sligo is typical:

I allude to the education of the poor upon the plan of Lancaster, which has for some time excited the attention of a few individuals in this place who would most anxiously co-operate in the extension of the system if they can find support among those capable of affording it...

The commitment to Lancastrian ideals was often carried into practice and the surviving evidence would suggest that these schools used all the features of the monitorial system within their classrooms. A certificate of expenditure for Westport School details the fitting of lesson boards and sandtables, while the new master of Waterford wrote Veevers that on arrival he had "instantly set about reforming it by recommending to the regulating committee that the school should be organized on Lancaster's plan, which was immediately approved of."

Robert Webb, the secretary/correspondent of Castletownroche school, told the Society that his committee had arranged to have a master trained in 'Bell's system' at Kildimo in Co. Limerick so that the monitorial system could be used in Castletownroche. The surviving minute book of the Friends of Education at New Ross shows that the monitorial system was in use and this school, like those at Youghal and Drogheda were early applicants to the Society for masters trained in the improved methods. Schools within this category may often be recognized by the inclusion of 'Lancastrian' in their title: examples at Banbridge, Lisburn, Carrickfergus and Limerick are known to have used the monitorial system.

The use of monitorial methods was not, however, restricted to urban areas. Many individual patrons were infected with the enthusiasm for educational reform which was evident among supporters of monitorial schools. Many of these patrons were sufficiently convinced by the benefits which the improved methods would bring to education, that they set about establishing schools on the Lancastrian model. Thomas Phelps, of Graignoe near Thurles, for example, wrote
the Society that he had opened a school for labourers' children and that he had equipped it with sand-desks and tablets -two characteristically Lancastrian pieces of equipment.212 Another correspondent wrote of a similar example of individual effort:

In passing through Dingle about six weeks ago I visited an establishment which would I think interest you very much and certainly deserves encouragement. The Roman Catholic clergyman, Mr. Kennedy from hearing of the Lancaster [sic] system established a school which is conducted on nearly that principle and which is conducted with the best effect for the poor children of the town in regard to their morals and instruction.213

Like the committees of urban-based Lancastrian school these individuals, who were attracted by Lancastrian ideals, were anxious to have the full monitorial system in operation in their schools. They approached patrons of neighbouring monitorial schools for advice on fitting-out their own schools for the improved system214 and attempted to obtain a senior monitor from an existing monitorial school as a teacher. Their desire to obtain a master, qualified in the Lancastrian system, often led them to make their initial application to the Kildare Place Society. Some correspondents, such as Samuel McMinn of Kilnaslee, Dungannon or J. Martin of Ballybay, Co. Monaghan, wrote that they (and perhaps a few other individuals) had fitted up a school building on the Lancastrian plan and that they wished to employ qualified masters215 Even where the monitorial system seems to have been already partially in use patrons could occasionally seek the training of a teacher so that the system could be perfected. The Rev. W.B. Stoney told the Society that the Balnacargy school in Co. Westmeath had, for the previous six months been "conducted on Bell's system, but having lately procured the tablets used by the Education Society the conductors are desirous of having the master instructed in the method of teaching by them".216 Some managers were so committed to the introduction of the monitorial system that they were prepared to remove teachers who resisted its use. The master of Killiclare school, Co. Cavan, was dismissed by the manager, the Rev. George Kirkpatrick in August 1827 because he was unable to introduce the new methods to the school.217
The favourable reaction of these patrons when their newly trained masters returned to the country provides sound evidence of the success of the Society's training course and of the adoption of the monitorial methods in the schools. Numerous letters, such as that from the Rev. Richard Carolan of Ratoath school, arrived from patrons thanking the Society for the improvement which the course of training had effected in the teachers. Carolan told of the gratitude which the inhabitants of Ratoath felt:

for the kindness shown to their school master
who has been received and instructed at your
model school and now returns to us so much
improved.²¹⁸

Many correspondents paid tribute to the change which the training of the teachers had brought to their schools. The Rev. W. Gorman of Kilmore, Co. Kildare, and John Bonham, correspondent of Ballintaggart school, are just two examples of individuals who reported that the pupils in their schools had made rapid progress under newly trained masters.²¹⁹ The female training course seems to have been equally successful: Owen Malanfy of Fairwood Park school, near Enniskillen, told the Society that the newly trained mistress had improved the school greatly and that this initial contact with the Society had prompted him to abandon the London Hibernian Society in favour of Kildare Place.²²⁰ Patrons who had viewed the prospect of supporting a monitorial school with enthusiasm were often spurred to even greater efforts when their first attempts were successful. Henry Hamilton of Tullylish, Co. Down was an outstanding example of an individual patron who made a major individual contribution to the development of schools within the Society's system. Hamilton was so delighted with the work of John Moneypenny whom he had trained at Kildare Place for his school at Ballyagarrick that he wrote to the Society seeking to have masters trained for two further schools which he had founded at Bleary and Knocknagor.²²¹

The available evidence from schools such as these is not restricted to general statements of thanks for an improvement in the masters' abilities: several surviving letters either directly state or imply that the monitorial methods were in use. Lord de Vesci, who was patron of Abbeyleix school was assisted by the Society
as early as 1814, when the son (of the schoolmaster at the School Street school) was sent to the Abbeyleix school to introduce the monitorial method. De Vesci wrote that the lad was: "a very clever, quick little boy and has brought on the boys wonderfully in spite of all disadvantages." A letter from Michael Lewis, secretary and treasurer of the Drogheda Sunday school, complimenting Veevers on the training given to Thomas Fitzpatrick, the Sunday school's master, shows that it was Fitzpatrick's understanding of the detail of the monitorial method which impressed most:

The committee of the Drogheda Sunday [school] has examined Thomas Fitzpatrick on the progress he has made in your school and they find it almost unexampled for the short time he was under your care. The tables you have given him are excellent, and his observations for the regulation of an establishment like ours are very applicable to the subject for which the committee have instrusted me to return you their most unfeigned thanks.

Correspondence from some other managers confirms that the monitorial method was used. Both the Rev. John McDavett, of Ardstraw in Co. Tyrone, and the Rev. John Gahan of Rathvilly, Co. Kildare, for example, supported a number of schools and each confirmed that the masters they had had trained in Kildare Place were implementing the complete system.

Letters from masters in which they describe the work of their schools form a much less reliable source of evidence for the practice in the classrooms. Masters were keen to convince the committee that they had implemented the full monitorial system, as they hoped this would boost the gratuity awarded each year. Nevertheless, letters survive in which masters claim to have implemented the monitorial system which they had learned at Kildare Place and some informed the Society that acquaintenances had been impressed by the efficiency of the improved methods when visiting their schools. Many, but not all, of the schools in which these masters taught were under the control of an interested manager such as those mentioned above. These schools can, therefore, be considered as a third class of school in which the monitorial methods were used, though one which is limited in extent and difficult to define reliably.
It has already been noted that Veevers left a strong impression on many of the teachers trained at Kildare Place, and some letters reflect the loyalty which he inspired. William Allen of Youghal, wrote that his school had been much improved by "the many useful hints" he had learned at the model school.227 When returning a receipt for their 1821 gratuity, Robert and Elizabeth McElwee, teachers in Lady O'Brien's school at Dromoland, Co. Clare, told the Committee that the good order of their schoolrooms was due to what they had learned at Kildare Place.228 Eugene O'Cavanagh claimed that although he had had sixteen years of teaching experience prior to his training, the monitorial method he had been taught enabled him to teach far more pupils.229 His claims, unlike many of those made by teachers can be checked: comments in the visitors' book of the school substantiate his statement that the monitorial system was in use.230 At least two independent descriptions exist for Hillsborough school: both the manager and master described the workings of the Lancastrian methods in the school231 and the latter's correspondence demonstrates the extent to which the commitment of many trained teachers was due to the work of Veevers:

Since my return from the model school I assure your Committee that the good order, singularity and progress of the children are entirely owing to the instructions I received when under your superintendent Mr. Veevers whose care and attention to the masters when on instruction cannot be surpassed and every exertion in my power will be made to act upon that invaluable system as is practised in the model school.232

The reports of the Society's inspectors provide further evidence for the implementation of the Lancastrian system, but, as has been noted above, the reports tend to imply only a partial adoption of the methods. In many of the reports the section dealing with the use of the improved system is qualified to some extent. Perhaps the only exception to this is Griffiths report on schools in the north-east:

The schools in this district are well conducted. In most of them the improved system is in operation and the objections of the people to it, are neither frequent nor decided.233
Griffiths was accompanied by Professor Pillans while visiting some of these schools and when the professor came to describe the schools, he too noted the near universal adoption of the monitorial method:

Let us attend to the organization and practical teaching of these schools. Not to weary you with minute details on the former suffice it to say that there is a uniform and universally prevailing arrangement into a certain number of divisions, and sections of these called drafts, that each of these have a monitor, and that his provision is made for that ground desideratum in school discipline - the employment of every pupil at all times.234

The region to which these descriptions apply must, however, be considered as an exception to the situation in the rest of the country: Griffith admitted as much in his report:

Supposing a line be drawn from Carlingford to Strabane, I should be disposed to think that the district between that line and the sea is better provided with good schools than any other part of Ireland.235

The area thus provided propitious circumstances for the adoption of the monitorial system: widespread schooling implied an interested populace and a sound managerial base, the economic prosperity of the area provided the resources needed for good buildings and teachers' salaries, and a strong educational tradition provided a third essential requirement - a stable school system in which new methods could be given time to develop. The proper use of monitors could only develop in a school over a period of time, during which a group of advanced pupils gradually emerged to become senior monitors. This process was eased where education was already well supplied, and strong managerial support for teachers was essential when the introduction of the new methods was resisted by parents.

Indeed it may be fairly claimed that committed, stable management was the key to the successful introduction of the Lancastrian system to the schools. The training course at Kildare Place was a prerequisite of the use of the improved system, but the two classes of schools in which the new methods were used, were
created by interested managers: the committee management of the large urban Lancastrian schools and the enthusiasm of other individual patrons created the stable supportive structures which allowed the monitorial system to take hold.

The enthusiasm of individual patrons could flag, however, particularly when schools were opposed by the Roman Catholic church, and committee management was to be preferred because of the continuity of support which it guaranteed. Unfortunately effective committee management was rare within the Kildare Place system and was mostly confined to urban Lancastrian schools. The implementation of monitorial methods in other schools encountered a series of problems and it must therefore be concluded that the use of "the improved methods" was restricted to a minority of the Society's schools.

One of the main reasons for the failure of the Kildare Place Society to extend its methods to country schools was to be found in the nature of the training at Kildare Place. The Committee of the Society had never administered a small school and Veevers had only worked in large Lancastrian institutions. The schools he and Jane Edkins had visited in Britain were of a similar scale; consequently, the appropriateness of the methods adopted in Kildare Place for implementation in country schools was not assessed. The interior arrangement and activities of the model school could not have been more different to those of the pay schools. When masters left the model school and returned to their schools in the country they had to deal with a different situation. In some cases the teachers found that the Lancastrian methods were only partly applicable. Thomas Godson wrote from Cove:

I have found it impracticable to introduce the entire of your system in my school on account of the smallness of the room for the number of boys but have divided them up into classes, and taught by monitors chosen out of the first class who are able to spell and read well.\(^ {236} \)

The correspondents of the Castletownroche school and of Fortstewart school told the Society that the few numbers attending their schools did not warrant the appointment of monitors.\(^ {237} \) These schools at least attempted to introduce the
new methods, other masters were either incapable or unwilling to refine the new
ideas to a form suitable for their schools. The content of the training course at
Kildare Place may have been responsible for this failure as it was designed to train
the teacher in a set formula rather than develop his understanding of 'the art of
teaching'. Masters who found that the mechanical methods of the model school
were of limited use in a small school had no understanding of first principles in
education and consequently they would have found it difficult to adapt the system
to the needs of their school and pupils.

The problem was a serious one, whatever its cause. On his tour in 1818,
Veevers had been sufficiently impressed by the failure of masters trained in the
model school to implement the new methods to recommend the compilation of a
manual of school design and management suitable for country schools:

This defect constantly impressed me with the
necessity of publishing the essential arrangements for a
country school, in a concise form; with observations on
the duties of a teacher, the order of a day's business, etc.,
this would probably remedy the present waste of time
so common in schools of this class.238

Veevers' report of his 1818 tour was not discussed by the General
Committee until February 1819 but his findings influenced the deliberations of the
correspondence subcommittee in December 1818. In their quarterly report the
members of the subcommittee noted an application from a correspondent for
information on the methods recommended by the Society and they recommended
to the General Committee:

the expediency of having such a work published as soon
as possible, and of the beneficial effects which it would
produce in the formulation and management of schools
throughout Ireland.239

The compilation of the manual was approved by the General
Committee on 12 December 1818, and when Veevers' tour report was discussed in
February 1819.240 By July 1819 Bewley was able to present the manuscript of a
suggested manual of the Society's System of education, and of Hints for building
Neither went to press, however. It was to be 1825 before *The schoolmaster's manual* appeared. Even then, the manual did not address the problem of adapting the methods to small schools. The school organization and class divisions described in it are those of the model school and the only concession to smaller schools was the suggestion that the number of classes could be halved from eight to four.

The difficulties caused by the dichotomy of scale between Kildare Place and country schools was compounded by irregular attendance. Pupil attendance will be discussed in detail in another section, but it is important to note here that less than half the children on rolls could be expected to be present on any one day. The class teaching recommended by the Society depended on regular attendance, however, and was hampered by the conditions in the country schools. Lewis Mills reported that "the irregular attendance of the scholars deprives them of the benefits which accrue from being innured to discipline." The point illustrates the conflict between the nature of the pay school and the Society's ideals. The individual attention methods of the pay schools, while uneconomical in the use of teacher time, were more suited to the Irish rural situation from which they had grown than the Lancastrian models which the Society sought to impose. A variety of economic factors, which will be discussed in Chapter Five, resulted in many of the Society's schools being closely related to the pay school system and this would have led to an even greater pressure on teachers to retain the older individual methods rather than the new improved system.

The effectiveness of the training course at the model school must also be questioned. Teachers came to Dublin following some teaching experience in their own school. The Committee informed correspondents that four to six weeks was sufficient time to train a master in the new methods while some teachers with considerable experience would require a shorter training. Masters remained for up to two months in the model school, and most had taught for a considerable time prior to entering training. This had been the practice of Lancastrian schools in Britain, and while many letters testify to the improvements wrought by the training course, evidence exists to show that the training received
was too short to be effective. The only other training institution for teachers in Ireland was that of the Association for the Discountenancing Vice at Kildimo, in Co. Limerick. In contrast to the Kildare Place Society, its normal training course lasted from a year to eighteen months, and sometimes up to three years. This included terms of school experience in various schools in the area. Such a course would have been impractical for the Kildare Place Society to implement as the numbers seeking training could not have been accommodated and the cost of the course would have been too high for the Society to fund. Few masters would have been able to survive the loss of earnings involved and during a prolonged absence from their schools masters would have lost their pupils to rival pay schools. The two month course which the Society adopted was the practical response to the need for a large number of adequately qualified teachers. Moreover, the Committee believed that a longer course would not be appropriate as it could have made the teacher socially superior to his pupils. When Bewley appeared before the education commissioners in 1825 he was asked his opinion as to the possible benefits of a four or five year training course:

I think masters so trained would not have the same effect and influence upon the population of the country where they go to teach, as those whose habits and manners be in unison with the habits and manners of the country... I mean that they might be made too great gentlemen and not have the same agreeable influence as those with whom the population were acquainted, they would be looked upon as a different race of beings, as foreigners.

Parkes has drawn attention to this attitude as an important determinant of teacher training policy in the Kildare Place system and in the model schools of the national board throughout the nineteenth century. Its immediate effect was to create a short training course which was not always lasting in its effect. Inspectors noted cases in which masters, despite training, had not used the improved methods and occasionally the Society would write to the teachers involved regretting this neglect of the monitorial system.

A further weakness in the training course lay in the method of trainee selection. The Society advised patrons as to the qualities required in those
to be selected as teachers, but left the selection to the local manager. Inexperienced patrons did not always select advisedly and some of those who arrived for training were not suited for teacher training. Those who were totally incompetent were refused entry to the school, though this was rare. Others were admitted for training, but as Veevers told the commissioners in 1824 it was sometimes:

impossible for us to make anything of them... After the usual routine, they leave the establishment; it is not merely the understanding the system of instruction, that enables a teacher to carry it forward in the country; there is a considerable difference between the understanding the system, and the capability of reducing it to practice.253

As one of the Society's inspectors was to note the employment of such teachers served only to hinder the general progress of the Society's work and the acceptance of monitorial methods:

So much depends upon the principles, propriety and conduct of the masters and their being properly instructed in elementary knowledge, that I think a well ordered system of national education cannot be attained without it, and I am sorry to say that too often your Society suffers from this defect. I have known teachers so perfectly deficient as totally to prevent their usefulness. The Irish people although ignorant themselves can with much acuteness calculate upon the deficiencies of others and particularly where they find a person has been deputed by a society for the purpose of imparting education to their families these defects appear more glaring and decidedly injure the cause. I would be glad to find a better instructed number of teachers and that care should be taken in their education and appointment as being highly useful means of insuring success.254

A final weakness in the Society's training course was its limited output. Although the number of teachers trained at the model school was expanded in 1823 and 1824, the training course did not produce enough trained teachers to ensure that all of the Society's schools had qualified staff. Table 4.2 shows the numbers and percentages of trained teachers employed in the Society's schools in eight sample counties. In the initial years of the school system some
counties had high percentages of trained teachers (e.g. Clare and Cavan). This was caused by the enthusiasm of the first patrons to join the system who insisted on having trained teachers for their schools. However as the number of schools joining the system grew, the model school became unable to train a teacher for each school and the percentage of trained teachers in the schools fell, in some cases to less than 30%. Trained teachers remained at between 30% and 40% of the total sample until 1825 (other than in 1821 when it rose to 42%, and in 1824 when it fell as low as 29%). The Society introduced a 'single connection' rule on 1 January 1826 following the publication of the first report of the Irish education enquiry which criticized the practice of allowing schools to become connected with more than one educational body. Some schools withdrew from the Society, but those that remained were more likely to have trained teachers, and so in 1826 the percentage of trained teachers in the Society's schools rose, most dramatically in counties Kildare, Donegal and Clare. Despite a consolidation of the percentage of trained teachers in the remaining years of the Society's work, the figure rose little above 50%. Trained teachers can only be identified using the lists published in the Society's annual reports, so these figures exclude, by default all those who received a training elsewhere. Some teacher training was carried out at large Lancastrian schools (e.g. Belfast Lancastrian school provided an opportunity for some schools in Ulster to obtain trained teachers),255 patrons wishing to introduce the new methods occasionally employed a senior monitor from a neighbouring monitory school256 and some schools had links with Borough Road for a period at least.257 Nevertheless, the Kildare Place model schools remained the only large scale institution in Ireland in which lay teachers could be trained until the foundation of the national board's schools in 1833.258 In assessing the extent to which the Society's methods were used, therefore, it may be assumed that for most of the Society's active period half, or less than half, of its teachers were trained.

The implementation of the new methods by a recently trained teacher sometimes created interest in the system among his teaching peers. A few instances are known in which a trained master instructed another in the method.259 Occasionally other masters claimed to have been sufficiently
impressed by the new system to attempt the use of the new methods themselves and to come into connection with the Society. Many of these seem to have been more attracted by the prospect of grants and gratuities than the monitorial system, and it seem safe to assume that few masters, other than those trained at the model school, used the new methods. Thus, even if all trained teachers had implemented the Lancastrian methods, schools using the monitorial system would have remained a minority within the schools of the Society.

Other problems also contributed to the limited use of the new teaching methods even when trained masters were employed in schools. Despite the fitting up grants available many schools were not adequately furnished to allow the mechanical class system to be used. The Society had hoped that correspondents would have masters trained while fitting-up was carried out, but this did not always take place. The Rev. William Browne wrote from Tobermore, Co. Londonderry, to say that his master, McBelham, had returned from the model school but that the new system could not be used as the school was not suitably furnished. Michael Hartney, master of Corahan school, wrote to the correspondence subcommittee that the lack of books and seats meant that he had had to resort to "the ordinary methods practised in this part of the country." Correspondence detailing numerous other examples of this problem survives in the archives of the Society.

The condition of school buildings caused similar difficulties. Patrons of a number of schools told the Society that their existing buildings were either unsuited or too small for the introduction of the Lancastrian system. Often this correspondence was received when a teacher returned to the country following his training at the model school, and the writer, either manager or teacher, usually regretted that the old methods had to be used despite the training received. In at least one case a teacher taught his pupils in a church during the summer months in which he implemented the monitorial system in full, but at the on-set of winter he was forced to use an unsuitable cabin as a schoolroom, and therefore had to abandon the improved system.
It must be recognized that these letters of complaint were often written to accompany applications for aid, and that therefore the picture they describe may be somewhat worse than the actual situation. Nevertheless they are too numerous to be dismissed as irrelevant and they point to serious problems with the implementation of the improved system. Fitting-up grants and the supplies of books, slates and other items sent to schools could relieve these problems but school development was hampered by the lack of patron support. Sometimes gentry and clergy were too disinterested to see the school properly run; Hugh McNamee of Drumquin, Co. Tyrone, told the Society that he had taught on the new plan as best he could for nearly six months following his training but that he failed to gain the interest of the different clergymen to whom he applied for aid. Edward Smith of Rakeeven near Bailieborough complained of the impossibility of raising money to repair or fit up his school and he lamented: "It is three years now nearly since I learned the new system and got no practice since which leaves me very uneasy that I'll soon forget it all".

John Kane of Bailieborough school, who had been very keen to introduce the newly learned system to his school, described to the Society how his patron refused to fit up the school until he saw evidence of it growing and prospering. The master claimed improvement was impossible due to the lack of furniture and eventually Kane gave up the school.

The cost of supplying desks and even boards on which to paste the tablet lessons was considerable. The certificate of expenditure of Westport school, which was run on Lancastrian lines, included the sum of £5-2-11 for the mounting of the tablet lessons. Even this sort of cost was beyond most masters. Lawrence Guerin, a master in one of Sir John Read's schools in Co. Clare, wrote his patron that he could not use the tablet lessons until they were put on boards at an estimated cost of £6. Michael Hartney of Corahan, Co. Clare, wrote to his patron in similar terms, and Veevers noted the extent to which the use of tablet boards was prohibitively expensive for masters.

Occasionally patrons were more guilty of ignorance than apathy: John McCarroll, a Co. Cavan master wrote Jackson in 1819 that Lord Gosford had built
a school but had not fitted it in a way suitable for the Lancastrian plan he had learned in Dublin. Following one of his tours Veevers noted:

The schools in good order, were supported by individuals or receiving assistance from the Society- the latter were not so complete as they might have been, had the benevolent individuals who undertook the expenditure of the grant, been better acquainted with the requisites of a school.

Patrons sometimes asked the Society for information on the details of the system and the furniture required. It was the receipt of such queries from W. Crofton of Derry which spurred the correspondence subcommittee to take up Veever's recommendation of publishing a manual of the system. In support of his recommendation Veevers cited the ignorance of managers as one of the chief reasons for the failure of masters to implement new methods. The schoolmaster's manual which appeared in 1825 was meant to answer the needs of patrons as well as masters, but the problem was to remain. In 1827 Griffith was still reporting that patrons who were keen to implement the new methods did not always understand the system or its requirements. He suggested that a standard school design and specification be published on a single sheet for the use of patrons but this was not acted upon.

The building of a school could only be attempted by managers of considerable wealth or those who could raise substantial local contributions. The Society insisted that it aided rather than funded the building of schools, and refused to make building grants available unless the greater part of the costs was covered by locally raised monies. Teachers were therefore dependent on the commitment of their managers/patrons and while some were enthusiastic supporters of the education cause, others were less active. This became particularly acute as catholic opposition remained high in the last years of the 1820s. Due to parliamentary pressures, the grants which the Society was able to make available for building fell, while the commitment of patrons to the Society flagged seriously. Inevitably this undermined the stability which was necessary for the monitorial system to develop properly.
A further serious impediment to methodological change was parental attitudes. The close affinity of the Society's schools to the pay school system led parents to expect a similar teaching arrangement. Parents who paid charges for their children's education expected individual teaching from the master for their children and resisted the use of their children's time for monitorial duties. J.C. Curwen, in his Observations on the state of Ireland published in 1818, wrote of the failure of the Lancastrian plan at Baron's Court because of parental objections:

they objected also to their children being made monitors, erroneously conceiving that their own time and learning were sacrificed to the teaching of others.279

He discovered similar feeling among parents at Armagh where the monitorial system of Dr. Bell was introduced:

The parents objected to their children becoming monitors, nor could they be persuaded that in the teaching of others they mutually forwarded their own acquirements.280

Parents also objected as they were alarmed by the strict order of the schools believing that "it partook of military discipline, and was a scheme to entice or entrap them [their children] into the army".281 Teachers in the Kildare Place schools experienced similar opposition. Andrew Clokey of Magherahamlet school told the Society that he had introduced nearly all of the new system in his school despite initial opposition by parents.282 Samuel Hammond of Drumhory school found opposition to the new methods so strong that two-thirds of his pupils were withdrawn by their parents when he introduced the methods he had learned in the model school.283

Parents knew that when a school came into connection with the Society the master became entitled to a gratuity. Frequently, they regarded this as adequate remuneration and refused to pay the pupil charges on which most masters depended for their salaries. Parents were especially quick to make this
assumption when they saw their children being used as monitors in the schools and when masters attempted to collect the charges due to them parents resisted either the payments or the new methods. Francis McLorinan who taught in Tannybrake school found that when parents' expectations of a free education for their children were disappointed "they began to rail against the system, and extol the old mode". McLorinan refused to abandon the monitorial system and was eventually forced to leave the school to seek work elsewhere. Even where a competent, successful master introduced the new methods, under the patronage of a supportive manager, unfavourable comparisons were made with the pay school system, partly because of a conservative resistance, and partly because the need to levy charges made the school appear as part of the pay school system. The Rev. Robert Cassidy reported that the newly trained master employed in Monasterevan school paid "judicious and regular attention" to the school but had, nevertheless, experienced considerable parental opposition:

> the daily attendance averages from eighty to ninety scholars notwithstanding a great prejudice against the system in the minds of the poor who could not at first believe that a scholar could attend to their children as well as the master. This school was, however, the first school of mutual instruction established in the neighbourhood; a very reduced rate of admission and the subsequent improvements made by the children has in some degree obviated this prejudice, but until such schools became general the old schoolmasters will naturally exert their influence against the improved system of instruction which they have not the means or inclination to adopt.

When the patron had been tardy in fitting up the school on Lancastrian lines the master could have even greater difficulty in persuading parents to allow their children to attend:

> I need not mention [wrote John Kane of Bailieborough] the many objections the people had to our mode of instruction, nor could I, by argument, persuade them of the utility resulting from so well conducted a plan, as the want of furniture created much disorder and confirmed them in their opinion.
The introduction of the Lancastrian methods by a poor teacher could make it difficult for his successor to use the new methods. William Emerson of Whitehouse school, Belfast, found that parents had been dissatisfied with the monitorial system before he arrived to take up his new post. He wisely re-introduced the system piecemeal and avoided using the normal terminology of the plan. He wrote Jackson that he never used the word "monitor" but disguised them as "leaders of desks" and never allowed them to teach.287

Perhaps the most graphic account of opposition to the new methods came from Frances Barber, patroness of Tullyquilly school. She had spent a considerable sum on the setting up of the school and the employment of a master whom she occasionally assisted in teaching the boys. She persevered for some time in the use of the monitorial system despite parental objections and falling attendance. She found it increasingly difficult to get pupils to act as monitors and eventually only succeeded in doing so when a visiting gentleman offered a prize of 10 pennies to the best monitor. Her long, despairing, letter described the situation she and her friend found on their next visit to the school:

The master said all was at a stand, he could not go on, and either he or they must give up - such as were fit to understand said their parents had desired them neither to act as or be taught by monitors - in this perplexity my friend and I walked to the door, to consult what was but to be done and as she went, she said, I would advise to expel the ringleaders - Well, said Mitchel [a pupil] standing to his feet, let every one stand up who refused to be monitors: the poor master whose patience was by this time worn out said do and leave the house and let us have done with it. I was standing outside the door, and quite alarmed turned in, shut it and ordered them to take their seats. All obeyed save Mitchel who pushed past me at the head of twelve or thirteen declaring they were all cowards who would suffer themselves to be coaxed back.

Just at this junction the catholic clergyman arrived to visit the school. He did what he could to advise them to return. Those of his own flock obliged but the others ran off without allowing him to speak to them - under these circumstances I have desired John Magenis [teacher] to keep the school open, teaching on the old plan till the gentlemen of the [Kildare Place] Committee forward their comments to me and direct how I am to proceed.288
The Society sent a bland letter to Miss Barber encouraging her to persevere but by June 1821 she reported that the school had dwindled away to nothing because of the steady opposition of parents to the new methods.  

The traditional importance which northern presbyterians attached to education meant that many Ulster counties had a strong educational base which was necessary for new methods to develop properly. Inspectors also noted that schools in these counties, and in particular those in which there was a large presbyterian interest, served pupils from a wider range of socio-economic groups than in other areas. Griffith noticed than in Co. Down (and, he claimed, in other areas too), that Kildare Place schools were attended by the children of 'the yeomanry' as well as those of the poor. Consequently 'the yeomanry' contributed generously to the funds of the school, and because they demanded a higher standard of education for their children the schools were generally well run and in good buildings.

Unfortunately this did not always mean that newer teaching methods were readily accepted. Griffith remarked that the traditional involvement of the laity in church control led parents to participate in the management of schools which they usually considered to be one of the most important functions of the church. According to Griffith the control exercised by the parents was a very real one, often exceeding that of the minister. The management committees were responsible for the appointment of the master and his conduct of the school. Annual public examinations of the school were held each year under the auspices of the kirk, following the practice of the presbyterian church's schools in Scotland.

These lay committees were keen supporters of the Society's work but their existence had a number of disadvantages. Griffith told the General Committee that the circumscribed position of the presbyterian clergymen was often to the detriment of the impartial application of the Society's rules:

This is an evil to be deplored. The presbyterian clergymen are warm and judicious friends of
education, neither supine nor over zealous and willing to act in a liberal spirit towards those with whom they differ, so long as they may do so without the surrender of any principle.\textsuperscript{293}

This statement would imply that the lay members of the committees lacked the qualities of toleration which the clergy possessed, and a general report from Malachy Daly on northern schools tends to confirm this.\textsuperscript{294} Lay committees were also reluctant to accept monitorial teaching methods. The clergy, Griffith wrote, "in almost every case prefer that which has grown out of modern experience, whilst the people at first regard it as an unnecessary and pernicious innovation".\textsuperscript{295} Because of the power structure within the church the minister could only effect change slowly and with some circumspection:

He finds it better to introduce the improved system by degrees and although this is a slow process the people begin to see the advantages of the plan they had opposed which is consequently gaining ground.\textsuperscript{296}

The involvement of the presbyterian church in the schools created further barriers to the introduction of new methods. Teachers employed in the schools were often candidates studying for admission to the presbyterian ministry and were attached to Belfast Academical Institution. Such teachers proved to be unsuited to the needs of Kildare Place schools. Inevitably, many of them devoted more time to their own studies than to teaching in the schools, a problem which was endemic in many Scottish schools at the same period.\textsuperscript{297} Teaching was a temporary occupation for these masters, who consequently had no long term commitment to the schools. There was, therefore, no incentive for such teachers to train in the model school or attempt to introduce new teaching methods to the schools. The frequent staff changes which pupils experienced prevented the development of a continuity of practice - an essential requirement of the improved system.\textsuperscript{298} Furthermore, the curriculum which developed in these schools was not directed towards the provision of basic literacy and numeracy for the poor. Robert Daly, one of the Society's inspectors noted that the wealthy farmers who became involved in the management and funding of these schools, were keen to have their children taught by these students as they
could offer a schooling in the classics. Daly reported that: "in almost every instance they have a few boys learning the classics, who paying more than the other children are of course more attended to".299

The extent to which parental opposition to the monitorial system persisted is not entirely clear. Inspectors reported its decline in the second half of the 1820s as the system became widely known. Griffith noted an instance where parents dismissed a teacher because he failed to introduce the new methods.300 Nevertheless Griffith's report on the conservative influence of presbyterian lay management was made in 1827 and Daly's report on the detrimental effects of the use of candidates for the presbyterian ministry was returned in December 1830.301 It would seem, therefore, that parental opposition remained an important obstacle to the adoption of the Society's methods for most of the active period of the Society's existence.

Parental opposition to the Society's methods was an effective barrier to change primarily because of the extent to which the master depended on pupil charges. The inspectors of the Society were quick to notice the link, and the damage it caused to the Society's school system. Lewis Mills criticised the curricular restrictions placed on pupils who were unable to pay the higher charges levied for writing and arithmetic.302 Veevers on his 1818 tour, became conscious of the reluctance of many masters to introduce the new methods learned at the model school in the face of parental opposition, and a likely fall in income:

In many of these schools the whole attention of the master appears to be directed to one object, viz teaching to read; on suggesting the advantages that would attend the introduction of order, cleanliness, etc. they have constantly replied "What will it benefit to me? If I attempt to change I encounter a certain risk without an equal chance of gain". This is universally the state of all schools not patronized by a resident individual, or Committee, and must continue so, while the income of the master is solely derived from the payment of scholars.303

Gratuities for masters had been discussed by the General Committee
in July 1818 but were not paid until Veevers had completed his tour of inspection in November of that year. Veevers recommended the introduction of these payments as a matter of urgency in order to counteract the dependency of the masters on parental payments. Veevers repeated his arguments to the Committee in the report of his 1819 tour. He noted that "the masters of the present day are superior to those of some years past" and attributed this to "the gratuitous aid conferred upon the masters by the Society". He stated his belief that these payments were the most important method at the disposal of the Committee in their efforts to promote the education of the lower orders as it induced "well qualified and intelligent masters to undertake an employment the emoluments of which are seldom adequate to a respectable maintenance".

The gratuity system suffered from a number of weaknesses which will be discussed in detail in a further chapter. One feature of the system is, however, worthy of note here. The gratuity was designed as a means by which the teacher would be rewarded for good conduct, but as a result, it was a bonus rather than a salary. Consequently teachers could not rely on receiving it, and even if they were successful its low level was insufficient to make the teacher independent of parental contributions. The system perpetuated the influence of parents over the masters and thus failed to tackle one of the important obstacles to the introduction of the improved method.

Following the enforcement of the 'single connection' rule in 1826 the Society was forced to introduce bi-annual payments of the gratuities to teachers. The gratuity system was reviewed in September 1829. All the inspectors were agreed that the revised system had brought benefits to the Society's schools, and had, with the training course, brought important improvements in the standard of those willing to teach in the schools. Matthew Donelon noted that the payments had increased the control of the inspector (as the gratuity was dependent on his report) and had given teachers an incentive to conform to the rules of the Society. Griffith recognized that the gratuities had given the teachers a certain measure of independence which allowed them persevere in
their use of the monitorial system:

Before the improved system has had a fair trial amongst them, the poor evince a partiality for the old one, so that when there were no gratuities teachers were without any inducement whatsoever, to leave the beaten track; but through the gratuity system, the Society has put into action a powerful propelling principle, and in every quarter, the schoolmasters are moving onward and contributing to the universal adoption of a plan - the best that has been devised for general instruction since the beginning of the world.310

Assessments by others were not so uncritical as that of Griffith. Veevers agreed that the gratuity system had made an important contribution to improving the status of the teacher and the class of person who opted for a teaching post, but he believed that the low level of gratuities awarded damaged the Society's cause as it rendered teachers "indifferent, both as to their connection with the Society and prosperity of their schools".311 The Society did not have the resources to increase the level of the gratuities in its final years as a publically funded body, and the teachers remained dependent on the charges they imposed on parents or other local contributions. The gratuity system, therefore, never made teachers independent of local control and conservative parental influence - a situation which militated against the introduction of improved methods, even where teachers had been trained in the model school.

Inspection was a second mechanism set up by the Society to ensure the use of approved methods. Veevers believed that "an extensive and permanent plan of inspection" was needed as "nothing short of it will be found to be an efficient check on the carelessness and inattention of masters whose exertions will be found to relax, where not upheld by a sense of duty or dread of reprehension, or by a hope of reward".312 It was an idea which had been considered by the Committee since the earliest days of the Society but it was not implemented until Veevers returned from his tour in November 1819. Before the end of the month the Committee had agreed the appointment of one permanent inspector and by the following January Lewis Mills, master of Street
school, Co. Westmeath, had been given the position. \[313\] Mills had been trained at School Street and had impressed Veevers who secured the position for him. \[314\]

The development of an efficient inspectorate is rightly seen as one of the major contributions of the Kildare Place Society to Irish educational development, but its effectiveness in enforcing the use of approved methods was limited by a number of factors. Perhaps one of the most important of these was the infrequency of school visits. Schools were not visited regularly: Veevers' first tours in 1818 and 1819 covered a great number, but not all of the schools in connection, so that by the end of 1819 most of the Society's schools had been visited once only. Even with the appointment of a full-time inspectorate the Society's representatives were unable to make an annual visit to all schools as Jackson admitted to the 1825 inquiry. A rapid expansion of the inspectorate made annual inspection possible but the inspectors themselves constantly argued the need for more frequent visits. This, and a number of other features of the inspectorate which will be discussed in Chapter Six, meant that inspectors had only a minimal influence over the day-to-day practice of the schools. \[315\]

In conclusion, it would appear that the attempts at pedagogical reform initiated by the Society were only partially successful. Classification of pupils and a change in the content of the curriculum was achieved by the widespread availability of free textbooks, a feature which was to be adopted by the national commissioners after 1831. However the monitorial teaching methods which the Society attempted to introduce were less successful. Weaknesses in the Society's managerial model were partly to blame for this failure: the introduction of the new methods could only be successfully achieved where there was strong managerial support for their use. Large urban-based Lancastrian schools and those patronized by enthusiastic managers provided these conditions, and it was in these schools that the methods took root and developed. The style of management which operated in these schools did not, however, develop throughout the Society's school system. Managerial inactivity often left teachers in unsuitable, poorly equipped buildings and dependent upon parental
contributions for their salary. The monitorial system was bound to have only a limited success in these circumstances.

Most blame for the failure of the new methods must, however, be laid on the decision of the Society to centralize its teacher training course at Kildare Place. The determination of the Society to establish a large Lancastrian model school meant that the masters were trained in an environment which differed greatly from the realities of their schools and the absence of theoretical studies from the course meant that few were equipped to tailor the system to their own situations. The design of the Society's teacher-training model is understandable in view of the School Street experience of the Committee members and their links with Lancaster and the Borough Road institution. However the Lancastrian model may have been adopted too readily. A decentralized system carried on in approved rural schools might have provided a training more relevant to the needs of the teachers. If a sufficient number of these schools had been established the Society would have produced at least as many qualified teachers without having to resort to the use of an untypically large-scale model school. Robert Steven, a supporter of the London Hibernian Society, drew the attention of the Committee to the inappropriateness of its model school for the training of masters at a very early stage, and at least one school proposed that it become a local centre for the supply of teachers to local schools. The Committee was therefore aware of other possible models for its teacher-training system but these were not seriously considered, probably because of the decentralization of control which the policy would have required. The Society chose to retain training at Kildare Place and few concessions were made to the needs of small schools in the Society's training course; indeed the expansion of training at Kildare Place in advance of the 1825 inquiry probably made the course even less relevant. This was of importance, not only for the schools of the Society but for those of the national commissioners who based their training course on that of Kildare Place. The same criticisms of irrelevance were to be made against the board's model schools and it was to take until the mid 1840s before the commissioners attempted to remedy the problem by the establishment of local model schools.
Table 4.1 Number of teachers who entered the model school in each year ending 5 January and who successfully completed the training course.

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Sources: Appendices of teachers trained published in the annual reports of the Society.
Note:[1] The annual report of the Society for the year ending 5 January 1825 has no mention of these two teachers trained for schools not in connection with the Society but the sequential numbering of this class of teachers in the next annual report begins at '3' implying the existence of two previous candidates.
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Table 4.2 Table showing the number and percentage of trained and untrained teachers serving in schools in these counties, 1816-1832.
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<td>3</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>11</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
**Fig. 4.1 School timetable from [KPS] The Schoolmaster's Manual (Dublin, 1825), p. 34.**

### Occupation of School Hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Junior Division</th>
<th>Senior Division</th>
<th>First Division</th>
<th>Second Division</th>
<th>Third Division</th>
<th>Fourth Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10 to 11</td>
<td>At Circles, repeating the Alphabet from Table.</td>
<td>At Circles, repeating the Alphabet from Table.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 to 12</td>
<td>Tracing Letters in sand or on slates.</td>
<td>Writing Letters from copied on slates.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 to 1</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 2</td>
<td>Tracing Letters in sand or on slates.</td>
<td>Writing Letters from copied on slates.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
<td>Writing from Copies on slates, according to their proficiency.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 3</td>
<td>At Circles, repeating the Alphabet from Table, and learning to Count.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
<td>At Circles, at Spelling or Reading Lessons.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- At Circles, Third Class: 1st Division.
- At Circles, 2nd Division.
- At Circles, 3rd Division.

*Under the term Writing Exercises are included, all lessons by dictation, and those supplied by the Scholars themselves.*

† Under the Accounts are comprehended, all the branches of learning of which Calculation forms the basis.
Fig. 4.2 Uncut sheet of merit tickets, value one unit each, for arithmetic, writing and reading [KPS I/Ms 701/37]

[Reduced; actual size of each ticket 5.4 cm x 3.5 cm approximately].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>He who would live without sin, should shun of courses of vice.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
<td>They who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>He who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The blind, but patient and meek.</td>
<td>Those who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>They who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cease to ask, and ye shall receive.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>They who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>They who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
<td>Consider well who you are, what you do, and whether you are going.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>They who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
<td>For here the better part of wisdom lies.</td>
<td>Be good in your presence, that your religion be known by your good works.</td>
<td>They who would live at peace with men, should shun of ways of strife.</td>
<td>Be a good example to others.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
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<th>MERIT</th>
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<th>MERIT</th>
<th>MERIT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vision is the mind's handmaid, look at your advantage and future, and the first step to great greatness is be known.</td>
<td>Do not be afraid of small beginnings, for while a sugar cane grows, it will be a tree.</td>
<td>Keep up your courage, for we know not what new opportunities may open.</td>
<td>You shall be in the midst of the world, but not of the world.</td>
<td>Keep up your courage, for we know not what new opportunities may open.</td>
<td>Keep up your courage, for we know not what new opportunities may open.</td>
<td>Keep up your courage, for we know not what new opportunities may open.</td>
<td>Keep up your courage, for we know not what new opportunities may open.</td>
<td>Keep up your courage, for we know not what new opportunities may open.</td>
<td>Keep up your courage, for we know not what new opportunities may open.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
<td>The earth and good are liable to many new calamities which never reach the cheek and humble.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Fig. 4.3 Uncut sheet of merit tickets, value one hundred units.**

[Reduced; actual size of each ticket 5.4 cm x 3.5 cm approximately]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MERIT.</th>
<th>MERIT.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Happy are they who can learn prudence from the danger of others.</td>
<td>Erasure and lying are first cousins, often brother and sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERIT.</td>
<td>MERIT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is better to be always on our guard than to suffer care.</td>
<td>All that time is lost which might be better employed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERIT.</td>
<td>MERIT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intemperance destroys the strength of body and mind.</td>
<td>Modesty is one of the chief ornaments of youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERIT.</td>
<td>MERIT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plain honest truth needs no artificial dressing.</td>
<td>Curiosity, like other desires, produces pain as well as pleasure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MERIT.</td>
<td>MERIT.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the offer of a great penny's worth, pause awhile.</td>
<td>Danger is next door neighbour to carelessness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Twenty.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 4.4 Section from sheet of metit tickets, value twenty units [KPS I/Ms 701/40] sheets usually contained 35, 36 or 42 tickets.

[Full size].
Fig. 4.5 Section from sheet of merit tickets, value five or ten units.

[KPS I/Ms 701/39].

[Full size].
1 Fourteenth report of the board of education, p.332.

2 Cf. eg. J.C. Curwen, Observations on the state of Ireland, principally directed to its agriculture and rural population in a series of letters written on a tour through that country (London, 1818) voli, pp.197-8; Isaac Weld, Statistical survey of the county of Roscommon drawn up under the directions of the Royal Dublin Society (Dublin, 1832), pp.699-670; Edward Wakefield An account of Ireland statistical and political (London, 1812), p.399; Thomas James Rawson, Statistical survey of the county of Kildare with observations on the means of improvement, drawn up for the consideration, and by direction of the Dublin Society (Dublin 1807), pp.51-2; James Dubourdieu, Statistical survey of the county of Antrim with observations on the means of improvement; drawn up for the consideration and by direction of the Dublin Society (Dublin, 1812), p.496. For schools in Munster see T. Crofton Croker, Researches in the South of Ireland illustrative of the scenery, architectural remains and the manners and superstitions of the peasantry (London, 1824), pp.325-8; Patrick John Dowling, The hedgeschools of Ireland (Dublin, n.d.), pp.55-88

3 T. Corcoran, Some lists of Catholic lay teachers and their illegal schools in the later penal times (Dublin, 1932), p.43.

4 William Tighe, Statistical observations relative to the county of Kilkenny made in the years 1800 and 1801 (Dublin, 1802), p.513.

5 John Dobourdieu, op. cit., p.497.


7 Isaac Weld, op. cit, p.699.


9 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Dec. 1811, KPS I/Ms 100.

10 Ibid, 6 June 1812, KPS I/Ms 100

11 S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 4 July 1812, KPS II/1/35: "thou art aware that at School Street scholars are taught much further than the first rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, nay the higher branches of arithmetic, bookeeping, mensuration. . . .".

12 Minutes of the Committee of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, 31

13 Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 June 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

14 Ibid., 20 June 1812 KPS I/Ms 100.

15 Ibid., 6 June and 20 June 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

16 R.B. Warren to J. Lancaster, 23 June 1812 on back of KPS II/1/35.

17 S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 4 July 1812, KPS II/1/35.

18 J. Lancaster to S. Bewley, 10 July 1812, KPS II/1/37.

19 W. Harding and S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 3 August 1812, on back of KPS II/1/35.

20 Cf. Minutes of the Committee of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, 27 Mar. 1812; 10, 18 and 24 April, 1812; 1, 8, 15 and 22 May 1812; 5, 12, 19 and 26 June 1812; 3, 10, 17, 24, and 31 July 1812; 7, 19 and 25 August 1812; 25 September 1812; Archives BFSS, Committee Minute Book, 1811-1813.

21 J. Lancaster (at Tooting) to S. Bewley, 29 September 1812, KPS II/1/45.

22 S. Bewley to W. Allen, 14 Sept. 1812, KPS II/1/43.

23 Minutes of the Committee of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, 10 Oct. 1812, Archives BFSS, Committee Minute Book 1811-1813.

24 Ibid.

25 Committee minutes and resolutions, 3 Dec. 1814 and 10 Dec. 1814. A letter from J.D. Jackson to Joseph Fox, Secretary to the British and Foreign School Society dated 12 Dec. 1814 is included in the Minutes of 10 Dec. 1814. See also J. Fox to J.D. Jackson, 25 Jan. 1815, KPS II/1/92.

26 Register of Masters, p.1. Archives BFSS.

27 Minutes of the Committee of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, 23 Dec. 1808, Archives BFSS, Committee Minute Book, 1808-1809.

28 J. Lancaster (at Birmingham) to S. Bewley, 9 Nov. 1812, KPS II/1/46.

29 A minute of the Royal Lancastrian Institution Committee states: "A fair manuscript copy of the first four rules in arithmetic prepared by J. Veevers
under the direction of Joseph Lancaster was brought and is to be printed with all possible despatch." Minutes of Committee, 20 Feb. 1809, Archives BFSS, Committee Minute Book 1808-1809.

30 Register of Masters, Archives BFSS.

31 J. Lancaster (at Birmingham) to S. Bewley, 9 Nov. 1812, KPS II/I/46.

32 Ibid.

33 Ibid.

34 Committee minutes and resolutions, 21 Nov. 1812, KPS I/Ms 100.

35 S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 26 Nov. 1812, Letter Book Written, KPS I/Ms 131, p. 4

36 Same to W. Allen, 26 Nov. 1812, Letter Book Written, KPS I/Ms 131, p. 6.


38 J. Lancaster to S. Bewley, 8 Dec. 1812, KPS II/I/48. It is interesting to note that Lancaster was proved correct in this regard for the London Committee received a severe letter of complaint re. Veevers' removal to Ireland from the Birmingham Committee, cf. Minutes of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, 19 Mar. 1813, Archives BFSS Committe Minute Book 1811-1813.


40 S. Bewley to W. Allen (draft) 19 Dec. 1812, KPS II/I/49.


42 Committee minutes and resolutions, 4 Jan. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

43 S. Bewley to J. Lancaster, 5 Jan. 1813, Letterbook Written, KPS I/Ms 131, p. 7.

44 Same to W. Allen, 18 Feb. 1813, KPS II/I/55.

45 J. Lancaster to S. Bewley, 22 Feb. 1813, KPS II/I/56.

46 Committee minutes and resolutions, 10 July 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.
47. J. Fox, the Secretary of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, gave Veevers a letter of introduction to the Committee of the SPEPI dated 19 May 1815 (KPS II/1591). The Committee did not receive it until Veevers arrived in Ireland in early July (KPS I/Ms 100, p.96). The minutes of the London Committee make it clear that some of the time, at least, was spent at Tooting, and that Veevers did not depart for Ireland until 19 June 1813, (Minutes, Royal Lancastrian Institution, 18 June 1813, Archives BFSS, Committee Minutes Book 1811-1813).


49. Committee minutes and resolutions, 4Jan. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

50. Ibid., 27 Feb. 1813 and 27 Mar. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

51. Ibid., 10 Apr. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

52. Ibid., 15 May and 29 May 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

53. Ibid., 10 July 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.


55. Committee minutes and resolutions, 31 July 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.


57. Committee minutes and resolutions, 13 Nov. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.

58. Ibid., 27 Nov. 1813, KPS I/Ms 100.


61. Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Nov. 1813 KPS I/Ms 100.

62. Ibid., 5 Mar. 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.
63 Ibid., 7 May, 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.

64 Ibid., 21 May 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.

65 Ibid., 19 Feb. 1814, KPS I/Ms 100.

66 Ibid., 7 Jan. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.


68 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Jan. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., 21 Jan. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

71 Ibid., 7 Jan. 1815, KPS I/Ms 100.

72 Ibid.


74 Second report of the Society, 1814, p. 22.


76 Fourth report of the Society, 1816, p. 20.

77 See Chapter 2, pp. 90.

78 Committee minutes and resolutions, 25 Feb. 1815, 4 Mar. 1815, 10 July 1815, 9 Dec. 1815, 11 May 1816, 28 June 1816 and 19 Oct. 1816, KPS I/Ms 100-101.

79 Ibid., 19 Oct 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.

80 A list of the masters trained, together with the dates of their admission to, and graduation from, the model school was included as an appendix to each of the annual reports.

81 Committee minutes and resolutions, 21 Dec. 1816 and 15 Feb. 1817, KPS I/Ms 101.

Chapter Four - Footnotes

83 Committee minutes and resolutions, 12 Oct 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.

84 Ibid., 12 Oct. 1816, 26 Oct 1816 and 9 Nov. 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.

85 Ibid., 15 May 1817, KPS I/Ms 101.

86 Ibid., 22 Nov. 1817, 6 Dec. 1817 and 7 Feb. 1818, KPS I/Ms 101.

87 Ibid., 13 Jan. 1821, KPS I/Ms 102.

88 Ibid., 13 July 1816 and 28 Sept. 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.

89 Ibid., 28 Sept. 1816, KPS I/Ms 101.

90 Ibid., 14 Nov. 1818 and 2 Jan. 1919, KPS I/Ms 101.

91 Quarterly report of model school subcommittee, Jan 1819, KPS I/Ms 122A(8).

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid., 5 April 1819, KPS I/Ms 122A(9).

94 D. Litton (Register) [sic] to Walter Moore (at Liverpool), 1819, KPS II/2/2.

95 Committee minutes and resolutions, 13 Mar. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

96 Quarterly report of model school subcommittee, July 1820, KPS I/Ms 122A(14).

97 Ibid., 30 Sept. 1820, KPS I/Ms 122A(15).

98 Cf. Chapter 3, table 3.1

99 Evidence of J. Veevers, 24 Nov. 1824 in Appendix to first report of the commissioners of the Irish education inquiry pp.471-2, 1825, xii.

100 Ibid.

101 [KPS] The schoolmasters's manual (Dublin, 1825) passim. See also Descriptions and observations written in the model school, Dublin, by Martha Donaldson, 9 May - 15 July 1836, KPS I/Ms 688; and Descriptions and observations written in the model school, Dublin by Elizabeth Crowther, 9 Mar -
14 July 1838, KPS I/Ms 688A.

102 A salary of £8 p.a. was set for Ellen Milligan, monitress general of the female school in 1823. Committee minutes and resolutions, 11 Jan 1823, KPS I/Ms 103.


105 See Chapter 3. See also Evidence of J. Veevers, 24 Nov. 1824 in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, p.474.

106 Ibid., p.475.

107 Ibid. See also [KPS] *A concise account of the mode of instructing in needlework, as practised in the female model school, Kildare Place, Dublin* (Dublin, 1833).


109 Ibid., pp.89-91.

110 Evidence of J. Veevers, 24 Nov. 1824 in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, p.474.

111 [KPS] *Hints and directions for building, fitting up, and arranging school-rooms published by order of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland* (Dublin, 1813).

112 Appendix No. VI in *Eighth report of the society, 1820*, (Dublin, 1820), pp.61-2. See also evidence of J. Veevers in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, pp.477-8.

113 Appendix No VI in *Eighth report of the Society, 1820*, p.61.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid., also Evidence of J. Veevers in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, p.482.

116 Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Mar. 1819 and 17 April 1819, KPS I/ Ms 101.
117 Evidence of J. Veevers in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, p.482.

118 See Chapter 6, pp. 628-31.

119 Committee minutes and resolutions, 6 Mar. 1819 KPS I/Ms 101.

120 Cf. Appendices on teachers trained in the annual reports of the Society.

121 Evidence of J. Veevers in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, p.470.

122 The documents cited in note 101 above are two examples of the notes which the trainee teachers were required to keep.

123 *Fourteenth report from the commissioners of the board of education in Ireland*, pp.330-1.


125 Ibid., pp.470-1.

126 Ibid., p.479.

127 Committee minutes and resolutions, 7 Feb. 1818, KPS I/Ms 101.

128 Monthly account of items of expenditure, for months ending 5 May 1820, 5 Dec 1821, 5 Jan 1823, KPS I/Ms 297.

129 Evidence of J. Veevers in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, p.479.

130 Ibid., pp.479-80.

131 Ibid.

132 Ibid., p.478.

133 Quarterly report of the model school subcommittee, July 1820, KPS I/Ms 122A(14). Also Committee minutes and resolutions, 11 Mar. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.
134 Committee minutes and resolutions, 19 April, 1823 and 19 July 1823, KPSI/Ms 103.

135 Ibid., 19 July 1823, KPS I/Ms 103.

136 Committee minutes and resolutions, 23 April 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.

137 J.L. Foster to [Secretary], 6 Apr. 1824, KPS II/2/74.

138 Committee minutes and resolutions, 23 Apr. 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.

139 Register of mistresses, Archives of BFSS.

140 Enquiries re the training of mistresses prompted a special report from the correspondence subcommittee which was passed to the model school subcommittee in this year. Committee minutes and resolutions, 13 June 1818, and 20 June 1818, KPS I/Ms 101.

141 Committee minutes and resolutions, 4 July 1818, KPS I/Ms 101.

142 Ibid., 19 Dec. 1818 and 9 Jan 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

143 Ibid., 9 Jan. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

144 Ibid., 27 Feb. 1819, KPS/Ms 101.

145 Ibid., 17 April 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

146 Ibid., 1 May 1819, 15 May 1819 and 5 June 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

147 Quarterly report of model school subcommittee, Jan. 1821, KPS I/Ms 122A(17).

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid.

150 Committee minutes and resolutions, 23 June 1821, KPS I/Ms 102.


152 Ibid., 19 Apr. 1823, 3 May 1823 and 12 July 1823, KPS I/Ms 103.

153 Ibid., 14 Feb. 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.
154 Ibid., 13 Mar. 1824, KPS I/Ms 103. Also J. Foster to [Secretary], 6 Apr. 1824, KPS II/2/74.

155 Ibid., 17 Apr. 1824. Also J.L Foster to J.D. Jackson, 5 June 1824, KPS II/2/83.

156 Committee minutes and resolutions, 23 Apr. 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.

157 Ibid., 24 Apr. 1824, 1 May 1824, 8 May 1824, 11 Sept. 1824, 18 Sept. 1824, and 17 Nov. 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.

158 Ibid., 1 May 1824 and 3 May 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.

159 Jane Edkins to J.D. Jackson, 14 May 1824, KPS II/2/80 and James Millar to J.D. Jackson, 14 May 1824, KPS III/Ms 852/66. Committee minutes and resolutions, 26 May 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.

160 James Millar to J.D. Jackson, 21 June 1824, KPS III/Ms 852/74 and Committee minutes and resolutions, 26 June 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.

161 Committee minutes and resolutions, 10 July 1824, 11 Sept. 1824, 18 Sept. 1824 and 17 Nov. 1824, KPS I/Ms 103.


163 Committee minutes and resolutions, 30 June 1832, KPS I/Ms 105.

164 Mrs. Campbell to [Committee], 18 Jan 1833, KPS II/36/50; Same to Same, 7 Mar. 1833, KPS II/36/51; and Committee minutes and resolutions, 9 Mar. 1833, KPS I/Ms 105.

165 Committee minutes and resolutions, 10 Aug. 1833, KPS I/Ms 105.

166 Ibid., 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

167 Ibid., 18 Mar. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102, [report on Veevers' tour of 1819].

168 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, pp.22-3.

169 General report for the year 1827(?), by R. Daly, KPS II/17/109.

170 First report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, p.42 and p.58.

172 General report on southern (no.1) tour for the year 1827, by L. Mills, 24 Dec. 1827, KPS II/17/111.

173 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p.24.

174 General report on north-west tour for the year 1829, by L. Mills, 8 Jan. 1830, KPS II/18/60.

175 Report of desultory tour 1829, by J. Veevers, KPS II/18/54.


178 Evidence of J. Veevers in *Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry*, pp.479-481.

179 General report on tour no. 5, for the year 1829, by W. Fitzgerald, 22 Jan 1830, KPS II/18/64.

180 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p.22.

181 General report on tour no.3 for the year 1829, by M. Donelan, KPS II/18/58.

182 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, pp.23-4.

183 One master was so touched by his experiences at Kildare Street that he included a poem of praise in his letter of thanks. Samuel Ferguson (Newtownstewart) to J. Humphreys, 10 Sept. 1817, KPS III/Ms 838/185. See also below notes 218-224.


185 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p.23.
186 General report on southern (no.1) tour for the year 1827, by L. Mills, 24 Dec. 1827, KPS II/17/111.


189 Evidence of Alexander McArthur, M.D., Superintendent of the male and female model schools and training department of the commissioners of national education, 10 Apr. 1837, in *Report (brought from the House of Lords, 17 July 1837) from the select committee on the new plan of education in Ireland; together with the minutes of evidence, an appendix and index*, pp.285-309, 1837, viii, part 1.

190 Parkes, *Kildare Place*, p.36.

191 Evidence of A.R. Blake, 11 Aug. 1835, in *Reports from the select committees on foundation schools and education together with the minutes of evidence, appendix and index*, pp.355-6, 1836, xiii.

192 Ibid., pp.353-4.


197 Evidence of T.J. Robertson, 22 May 1837, in *Report... from the select committee on the new plan of education*, p.714.

198 Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.


200 See Chapter 3, especially table 3.2

201 Rev. John McCurdy (Glennan, Glaslough), to J.D. Jackson, 8 April 1817, KPS III/Ms 838/102.
202 John S. Whitfield (Finnelly, Dungannon) to D. Litton, 2 May 1820, KPS III/Ms 843/409.

203 Minutes of the Committee of the Royal Lancastrian Institution, 31 Oct 1812, 15 Feb 1813, and 12 June 1813, Archives BFSS, Committee Minute Book, 1811-13.

204 Cf. the following printed reports: Report of the county of Antrim male and female jail schools at Carrickfergus (Belfast, 1820), KPS I/Ms 712; [Report of] Carrickfergus Lancastrian School (Carrickfergus, 1821), KPS I/Ms 713; [Report of] The Castletown Roche Sunday and Daily school (Cork, 1815), KPS I/Ms 715; [Report of] Clonmel charitable school (Clonmel, 1824), KPS I/Ms 719; Second annual report of the Brickfields' Hibernian schools near Cork for the education of boys and girls, connected with some general observations on the education of the lower orders (Cork, 1813), KPS I/Ms 724(1); Rules of the Doneraile general free school, founded in the year 1820 for the education of children of every religious persuasion; under the patronage of the Rt. Hon Viscount and Viscountess Doneraile (Cork, nd.), KPS I/Ms 832; Report of the Lisburn Free School for 1823 (Belfast, 1823), KPS I/Ms 771.

205 Dr. Thomas Johnston (Castlejohnston, Sligo), to Luke Magrath, 18 June 1812, KPS III/Ms 838/5.

206 M MacDonnell (Westport) to J.D. Jackson, 14 Aug 1820, KPS III/Ms 844/682.

207 Thomas Taylor (Weekly Free School, Waterford) to J. Veevers, 29 Mar. 1818, KPS III/Ms 839/53.

208 Robert Webb to J.D. Jackson, 6 June 1813, KPS III/Ms 838/6.


210 James Hunter was trained for Ross School in July 1814, Edward Prendergast was trained for Youghal school from Nov. 1814 to Jan 1815 and Thomas Fitzpatrick was trained for Drogheda school from May to June 1815. Appendix IV to Third report of the Society, 1815, pp. 42-3.

211 Cf. Ja[mes] Clibborn (Banbridge) to J. Humphreys, 17 Nov. 1818, KPS III/Ms 840/224(1) and (2); for Lisburn and Carrickfergus Lancastrian schools see note 204 above; Joseph M. Harvey (Limerick) to J.D. Jackson, 11 Jan. 1815, KPS III/Ms 838/12(1).
212 Thomas Phelps (Graignoe Farm, Thurles) to J.D. Jackson, 31 Mar. 1817, KPS III/Ms 838/97.

213 [Maurice Fitzgerald], (Valentia, Cahirsiveen (sic)) to [the Society] 24 Sept. 1817, KPS III/Ms 838/174.

214 Eg. Berry Norris (Killeshandra) to Luke Magrath, 17 Feb. 1812, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted; Dr. Thomas Johnston (Castle Johnston, Sligo) to Luke Magrath, 18 June 1812, KPS III/Ms 838/5.

215 Samuel Mc Minn (Kilnaslee, Dungannon) to J.D. Jackson, 20 Jan. 1821, KPS III/Ms 847/112 and [Johnl Martin (Ballybay) to J. D. Jackson, 21 Feb. 1816, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted.

216 Rev. W.B. Stoney (Kilbixy Glebe, Balnacargy, Co. Westmeath) to J. Humphreys, 5 Aug. 1818, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted. The school did not come into connection until 1821, KPS I/Ms 358 f. 127.

217 Ledger entry for school at Killiclare, Co. Cavan, 1827, KPS I/Ms 348 f. 574.

218 Rev. Richard Carolan (Ratoath) to I. Topham, 1 Apr. 1824, KPS III/Ms 865/unlisted.

219 Rev. W[illiam] Gorman (Kilmore Glebe House, Kilcock) to J.D. Jackson, 22 Aug. 1820, KPS III/Ms 844/694 and John Bonham (Ballitore) to J.D. Jackson, 16 Feb. 1821, KPS III/Ms 847/190.

220 Owen Malanfy, (Fairwood Park school, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh) to J.D. Jackson, 24 Oct. 1825, KPS III/Ms 852/133.

221 Henry Hamilton (Tullylish, Co. Down) to E.S. Lees [i.e. the Society], 28 Sept. 1820, KPS III/Ms 845/775.

222 Lord Viscount de Vesci (Abbeyleix) to Mr. Jones (School Street school), 27 Feb. 1814, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted.

223 Mich[ael] Lewis (Drogheda Sunday school) to J.D. Jackson, 12 June 1815, KPS III/Ms 864 /unlisted.


225 Eg. John Johnston (Drimmenny, Co. Donegal) to [J. D. Jackson] 22 Jan 1821, KPS III/Ms 841/74; James Rourke (Furnass) to Society 15 Aug. 1821, KPS III/Ms 849/674; Edward Neill (Rathvilly school) to J.D. Jackson, 17 Nov
1821, KPS III/Ms 850/935; Henry Byrne (Tyneclash school) to J.D. Jackson, 17
Nov. 1821, KPS III/Ms 850/936; Robert Bell (Artana school) to J.D. Jackson, 22
Dec. 1821, KPS III/Ms 851/1099; Michael Foley (Clancoskeran school,
Dungannon) to J.D. Jackson, 26 Dec. 1821, KPS III/Ms 851/1124 and Samuel
Moore (Tanybrake School) to J.D. Jackson, 31 Dec. 1821, KPS III/Ms 851/1157.

226 Eg. Francis Moore (Ballnalack, Co. Meath) to E.S. Lees [i.e. the
Society] 15 Apr. 1817, KPS III/Ms 838/104.

227 W[illiam] Allen (Youghal) to J.D. Jackson, 12 Nov. 1821,
KPS III/Ms 850/890.

228 Robert and Elizabeth McElwee (Dromoland Day school) 16 Nov.
1821, KPS III/Ms 850/929.

229 Eugene O'Cavanagh (Celbridge School of Industry) to J.D. Jackson,
23 Dec. 1820, KPS III/Ms 846/1057.

230 Eugene O'Cavanagh to J.D. Jackson, 26 June 1821,
KPS III/Ms 849/533.

231 Rev. John Doyne (Hillsborough) to Secretary, 16 Nov. 1821,
KPS III/Ms 850/928 and Francis Forde (master, Hillsborough school) to
D. Litton, 14 Jan 1822, KPS III/Ms 865/unlisted.

232 Francis Forde to D. Litton, 14 Jan 1822, KPS III/Ms 865/unlisted.

233 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827,
by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p.21.

234 'Extract from the lectures of Professor Pillans descriptive of the
schools of the Society' included as an appendix to General Report on schools in
the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p(i).

235 Ibid., p.29.

236 Thomas Godson (Cove, Co. Cork) to J. Veevers, 25 June 1815,
KPS III/Ms 838/15.

237 Robert Webb (Castletownroche) to J.D. Jackson, 6 June 1815, KPS
III/Ms 838/6 and Mrs. A.S. Staples (Fortstewart) to Secretary, 22 Feb. 1817, KPS
III/Ms 838/89.

238 Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

239 Quarterly report of the correspondence subcommittee, Dec. 1818,
KPS II/11/9.
Committee minutes and resolutions, 12 Dec. 1818 and 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

Ibid. 3 July 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.


L. Mills to D. Litton, 19 Oct 1820, KPS III/Ms 845/837. An examination of the available evidence concerning pupil attendance and progress is to be found in Appendix C.

Sixth Report of the Society, 1818, p.43.

Evidence of J. Veevers, 24 Nov. 1824 in Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, p.477.

Cf. lists of masters trained, published as appendices to the annual reports of the Society.


Alex Hamilton to Secretary, 16 Feb. 1817, KPS III/Ms 841/unlisted Robert Langan to [the Society], 26 Dec. 1821, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted.

A. McCabe (Magheradoone) to [the Society], 2 Feb. 1820, KPS III/Ms 841/109; Robert Langan to [the Society], 26 Dec 1821, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted.


Parkes, Kildare Place, pp.25-6

Ledger entries for schools at Narraghmore, (Co. Kildare), 1828, KPS I/Ms 358 f. 275 and Ms 357 f. 153; Kilgowan, Co. Kildare, 1831, KPS I/Ms 359 f. 138, Corduff, (Co. Cavan), 1831, KPS I/Ms 346 f. 349 and Ms 347 f. 243.

Evidence of J. Veevers, 24 Nov. 1824, in Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, p.478.

General report on southern (no.2) tour for the year 1827, by John Skelton, KPS II/17/110. A further complaint re the lack of judgement of patrons in the appointment of teachers may be found in General report on tour
no.6 for the year 1829, by Thomas Carpenter, KPS II/18 with 57.

255Daniel White (Dunfanaghy) to J. Veevers, April [1820], KPS III/Ms 842/396; Rob[ert] Forsythe (Anahilt school, Hillsborough) to Secretary, 3 Sept. 1820, KPS III/Ms 845/726; and J. Hawkshaw (Lisburn) to E.S. Lees [i.e. the Society], 17 Sept. 1820, KPS III/Ms 845/758.

256Mary B. Smith (Ballintrae, Co. Waterford) to J.D. Jackson, 15 June 1816, KPS III/Ms 838/44; [obtained teachers from Youghal Lancastrian school]; Berry Norris (Killeshandra) to Luke Magrath, 17 Feb 1812, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted; James Gibbons (Cabragh) to J.D. Jackson, 2 Aug 1815, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted; [seeking training of lad whose education at Wilson's Hospital had been conducted on monitorial system]; William Trench (Cangort Park, near Roscrea) to Secretary, 17 Aug 1816, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted [seeking training of lad who has attended school conducted on Lancastrian plan].

257See note 203 above.


259Thomas Ansley, William Love and John Kineyborough (Richmount, [Portadown]) to E.S. Lees [i.e. the Society], 7 Mar. 1821, KPS III/Ms 848/240 and Rev. N. Garsten (Limerick) to D. Litton, 11 Aug. 1821, KPS III/Ms 849/665.


261Michael Hartney (Corahan, Co. Clare) to J.D. Jackson, 4 June 1820, KPS III/Ms 843/526/2.

262Eg. Stewart Donaghey (Gortin, Newtownstewart) to the Society, 10 Nov. 1817, KPS III/Ms 838/200; John Eyre (Maynoe school, Co. Clare) to J.D. Jackson, 6 Jan 1820, KPS III/Ms 841/21; Thomas Fitzhenry (Coolroe school) to D. Litton, 23 Mar. 1821, KPS III/Ms 848/270; Daniel White (Doe, Dunfanaghy) to Joseph Humphreys, 25 Aug. 1817, KPS III/Ms 864/unlisted.

263Rev. Samuel Thomson, (Limestone Lodge, Lisburn) to J.D. Jackson, 2 July 1821, KPS III/Ms 849/553; Rev. Hugh Bell (Eglishe, near Dungannon) to J.D. Jackson, 23 Oct 1821, KPS III/Ms 850/835; Rev. Henry St.George, jnr.
Chapter Four - Footnotes

(Alamont, Carlow) to D. Litton, 23 Oct. 1821, KPS III/Ms 850/836.

264 Andrew Clokey (Magherahamlet [Ballynahinch]) to D. Litton, 13 Nov. 1821, KPS III/Ms 850/898.

265 Hugh McNamee (Drumquin, Anagh) to [the Society], 14 Nov. 1818, KPS III/Ms 840/220.

266 Edward Smith (Rakeeven, Bailieborough) to [the Society], 21 Mar. 1820, KPS III/Ms 842/270.

267 John Kane (Bailieborough) to J.D. Jackson, 10 May 1820, KPS III/Ms 843/434.

268 John Kane (Stonewall, Bailieborough) to D. Litton, 27 Nov. 1820, KPS III/Ms 846/979 and John Kane to J.D. Jackson, 17 Feb. 1821, KPS III/Ms 847/196.

269 M. MacDonnell (Westport) to J.D. Jackson, (including certificate), 14 Aug. 1820, KPS III/Ms 844/682.

270 Lawrence Guerin (Scarriff) to Sir John Read, 29 Aug. 1818, KPS III/Ms 840/155/2 and 3.

271 Michael Hartney (Corahan, Co. Clare) to J.D. Jackson, 4 June 1820, KPS III/Ms 843/526(3).

272 Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

273 John McCarroll (Arvagh, Co. Cavan) to J.D. Jackson, 1 Jan. 1819, KPS III/Ms 840/282.

274 Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.


277 Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

278 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827,
by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, pp.44-5.


280 Ibid., pp.329-30.

281 Ibid., p.247.

282 Andrew Clokey (Magherahamlet) to J.D. Jackson, 11 Apr. 1821, KPS III/Ms 848/318.

283 Samuel Hammond (Drumhory School) to E.S. Lees [for D. Litton] 13 Nov. 1821, KPS III/Ms 850/894.

284 Francis McLorinan (Tannybrake School [Co. Antrim]) to J.D. Jackson, 13 July 1831, KPS III/Ms 849/590.

285 Rev. Robert Cassidy (Monasterevan) to J.D. Jackson, 16 Nov. 1821, KPS III/Ms 850/927.

286 John Kane (Stonewall, Bailieborough) to D. Litton, 27 Nov. 1820, KPS III/Ms 846/979.

287 William Emerson (Whitehouse, Belfast) to J.D. Jackson, 1 Aug. 1820, KPS III/Ms 844/647.

288 Frances Barber (Tullyquilly School) to D. Litton, 15 Mar. 1821, KPS II/2/26.

289 Frances Barber to the Society, 7 June 1821, KPS III/Ms 849/477.

290 General report on schools in the northern (no.2) area for the year 1826, by W.V. Griffith, 6 Feb. 1827, KPS I/Ms 398, pp.1-2, and General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, pp.18-19.

291 General report on schools in the northern (no.2) area for the year 1826, by W.V. Griffith, 6 Feb. 1827, KPS I/Ms 398, p.2.

292 General report for the year 1830, by R. Daly, 29 Dec. 1830, KPS II/18/110.

293 General report on schools in the northern (no.2) area for the year 1826, by W.V. Griffith, KPS I/Ms 398, pp.2-3.
294 M. Daly advised the committee "not to recognise farmers of a low rank in life as patrons or correspondents for schools - I have seldom visited a school so circumstanced in which some irregularity did not exist". General report on schools [in north] for the year 1827, by M. Daly, 5 Jan 1828, KPS II/17/112.

295 General report on schools in the northern (no.2) area for the year 1826, by W.V. Griffith, KPS I/Ms 398, p.3

296 Ibid.

297 General report for the year 1830, by R. Daly, 29 Dec. 1830, KPS III/18/110. Also Cruickshank, History of the training of teachers in Scotland, pp.18-19.

298 Ibid.

299 Ibid.

300 General report on schools in the north-east area for the year 1827, by W.V. Griffith, 1828, KPS I/Ms 399, p.21.

301 See notes 295 and 297 above.

302 L Mills to D. Litton, 4 Nov. 1821, KPS II/16/35.

303 Committee minutes and resolutions, 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 101.

304 Ibid., 6 July 1818, KPS I/Ms 101, and 20 Feb. 1819, KPS I/Ms 102.

305 Ibid., 18 Mar. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.

306 Ibid., 18 Mar. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.

307 See Chapter 5, p. 504-518.

308 Replies to queries on grants and gratuities from J. Veevers, [Sept. 1829], KPS II/18/ with 33; do. from L Mills, 15 Sept. 1829, KPS II/18/34; do. from W.V. Griffith, 19 Sept. 1829, KPS II/18/36; do. from M. Donelan, 21 Sept. 1829, KPS II/18/38; do. from J. Connolly, 15 Sept. 1829, KPS II/18/39; do. from John Skelton, 25 Sept. 1829, KPS II/18/ with 43.

309 Replies to queries on grants and gratuities from M. Donelan, 21 Sept. 1829, KPS II/18/38.
Replies to queries on grants and gratuities from W.V. Griffith, 19 Sept. 1829, KPS II/18/36.

Replies to queries on grants and gratuities from J. Veevers [Sept. 1829] KPS II/18/ with 33.

Committee minutes and resolutions, 18 Mar. 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.

Ibid, 16 Nov. 1819 and 8 Jan 1820, KPS I/Ms 102.

Evidence of J.D. Jackson in Appendix to first report of the commissioners of Irish education inquiry, pp.422-3.

The inspectorate is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Robert Steven to J. Humphreys, 1 Aug. 1817, KPS II/1/37.

Isabella Strangman and Elizabeth Wakefield Strangman (Waterford) to J. Humphreys, 14 Dec. 1818, KPS III/Ms 840/254.