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Trinity College

A History of Kilkenny College, 1538 - 1903:

A study of the vicissitudes of a privately endowed grammar school in Ireland

by

Howard Terence Welch

A thesis submitted to the School of Education, Department of Higher Education and Research in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2001

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Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. But his delight is in the law of the LORD; and in his law doth he meditate day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

Psalms ch. 1 v. 1 - 4. The text chosen by the Rev. Dr. A. A. Luce, the chancellor of the University of Dublin, for his address on the occasion of the College's quatercentenary celebrations, given at St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny, 24 September, 1942.

A History of Kilkenny College, 1538 - 1903: A study of the vicissitudes of a privately endowed grammar school in Ireland.

This thesis examines the history of Kilkenny College, Ireland's oldest grammar school, from its foundation in 1538 until the management of the College was taken over by the Incorporated Society for the Promotion of Protestant Schools in Ireland in 1903. The philosopher George Berkeley, the writer Jonathan Swift and the dramatist William Congreve are some of the College's notable former pupils. Chapter One examines the establishment of the College by the earl and countess of Ormond until its closure in 1566. In doing so the Ormonds were continuing in a tradition of education which had existed in Kilkenny since monastic times and the twelfth century foundation of the college of the vicars choral, connected to St. Canice's Cathedral. Chapter Two argues that through the orthodox teachings of Peter White, Master of the College from 1557 until 1566, several former students of the College had a considerable impact on the Counter-Reformation within both Ireland and the continent. The re-establishment of the College c.1666 by James Butler, the first duke of Ormond, and the granting of an endowment of one hundred and forty pounds to the College along with a Charter and Statutes in 1685, form the subject of Chapter Three. This Charter and Statutes were closely linked to the Statutes which were granted to Witney Grammar School, Oxfordshire in 1674, the connection being the Rev. Dr. Hinton, who was Master of both Witney and the College, a link which is analysed in Chapter Four. In 1688 the College was closed and replaced by a Roman Catholic institution which developed into the short-lived Royal College of St. Canice, chartered as a university by James I in 1690 but reopened after the Williamite victory at the Boyne.

Chapter Five charts the development of the College into a school favoured by the Anglo-Irish aristocracy during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1715 the governorship of the College transferred to the provost and board of Trinity College, Dublin: the situation thus arose that Trinity was both visitor and governor of the College. The deficiency of accountability, during the later nineteenth century eventually led to a lack of capital investment, injudicious choices of head master, a dramatic reduction of pupil numbers and ultimately the College's deterioration. Chapters Six and Seven deal with the College's decline utilising the reports of various governmental commissions who inquired into the College during the nineteenth century. The investigation of the College in 1887 by the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commissioners*, resulted in a new scheme for the College's management and in 1903 an amended scheme was granted to the College by which its management was then vested with the Incorporated Society. Throughout the thesis there is reference to other educational institutions within Kilkenny with which the College had links such as the Pococke School, Kilkenny and the Kilkenny Diocesan School.

The thesis concludes that the history of the College mirrors the fortunes of the Protestant community in the south of Ireland and that the College provides a clear example of the evolution of governmental attempts to make both the publicly and privately endowed schools of Ireland more accountable. It also notes that due to the fact that the College was formally linked, albeit loosely, to three influential institutions: Trinity College, Dublin, the Church of Ireland and the Ormond family - it was able to survive, unlike other Protestant endowed schools which closed during the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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A number of colleges, libraries and other institutions have facilitated the research. I would like to thank the staff of the following: Trinity College Library Dublin, especially the Manuscripts Department and the Department of Early Printed Books; the National Library of Ireland; the Royal Irish Academy; Marsh's Library, especially Mrs. Ann Simmons; the National Archives, the Irish Architectural Archives, Dublin; the Representative Church Body Library, Dublin; the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, Dublin; the Manuscripts Department of University College, Dublin; Kilkenny Public Library; the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast; the British Library; the Worshipful Company of Grocers, especially Mrs. Pauline Siddel; the Guildhall Library, London; the University Library of the University of Cambridge; the Merton College Library, Oxford, especially Ms. Fiona Wilkes: the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and the Firestone Library, Princeton University.

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Soli Deo Gloria

DECLARATION

This thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at any other university. Except where stated, the work described therein was carried out by me alone.

I give permission for the Library to lend or copy this thesis upon request.

Howard Terence Welch

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Introduction

The thesis examines the history of Kilkenny College, Ireland's oldest grammar school, from its foundation in 1538 until the management of the College was taken over by the Incorporated Society for the Promotion of Protestant Schools in Ireland in 1903. The Rev. Professor Timothy Corcoran SJ, wrote in his book *State Policy in Irish Education A.D. 1536 - 1816* (1916) "The vicissitudes of urban grammar-schools in Ireland may be illustrated from the history of the Kilkenny School." In making this statement, Corcoran neatly summarises the tumultuous history of Kilkenny College.[1] Since its foundation and through four hundred and sixty years of existence, the College's fortunes can be clearly seen to have been interwoven with local, national and international events. The College has managed to preserve itself while numerous other educational establishments have failed amid the turbulence of Irish and European History.

The College, which was founded by Piers and Margaret Butler, the earl and countess of Ormond[2], continued a tradition of education in Kilkenny which had existed since the monastic settlement of the seventh and eight centuries and the twelfth century foundation of the college of the vicars choral which had been connected to St. Canice's Cathedral. The thesis discusses the reasons behind the Butlers' decision to establish the College and the possible influences of the ideals of Humanism which had been ushered in by the Renaissance. The influence of Humanism was increased by the arrival of Peter White as the College's Master in 1557. One of White's students, Richard Stanihurst, recorded in great detail his memories of the College and his debt to his teacher. This account illuminates the understanding of education during the sixteenth century and clearly marks White to be one of the most important educators of his age, not only in terms of his Humanistic approach to education but of the link that he formed with the monastic and bardic traditions of Irish education. Several of his former students, who can be traced from Stanihurst's writings, were actively involved in recusancy. By examining both the forces that influenced White and the lives of his students, the thesis suggests that the College had a considerable impact on the Counter-Reformation within both Ireland and the continent.

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[1] Timothy Corcoran, *State Policy in Irish Education A.D. 1536 - 1816* (Dublin: Fallon Brothers, 1916), 20.
[2] Ormond is sometimes spelt Ormonde.

After the departure of White to the deanery of Waterford in 1566 the College appears to have closed, although there are references to educational activity within Kilkenny which may have been connected to the College's original foundation. The College was formally re-established by James Butler, the first duke of Ormond c.1666. The Rev. Dr. Edward Jones was the first Master to be appointed to the newly reestablished College, taking charge c.1670, and was possibly the author of *Sacri Lusus in Usum Scholae Kilkenniensis*, a text book which was used within the College. This is one of the earliest surviving examples of text books printed exclusively for use within an Irish school. In 1685 the Duke granted an endowment of one hundred and forty pounds to the College along with a Charter and Statutes which provided the framework for its government.[3] The Charter and Statutes appointed the head of the Ormond family as its governor and the provost of Trinity College, Dublin, along with two Church of Ireland bishops, as its visitors. The thesis analyses the Charter and Statutes in relation to the College but also compares them to the Statutes which were in 1674 granted to Witney Grammar School, Oxford. The link between the schools is provided by the Rev. Dr. Hinton, who was Master of Witney Grammar from 1670 until 1683 and Master of the College from c.1683 until 1702. By comparing these documents, which share a large amount of common material, the thesis confirms the involvement of Hinton in the framing of both schools' Statutes. The Statutes also give a distinctive insight into the development of education in England and Ireland. Hinton's importance to the survival of the College is documented through his commitment to the College during the Williamite Wars in Ireland. In 1688 the College was closed and replaced by a Roman Catholic institution which developed into the short-lived Royal College of St. Canice, chartered as a university by James I in 1690. After the Williamite victory at the Boyne, Hinton returned and reactivated the College and therefore ensured its survival. Another link between the College and education in England concerns the first five men appointed to the Mastership, all of whom either had a direct or an indirect connection with Dr. Richard Busby, head master of Westminster School, London. Busby held a prominent position with the development of education in England, holding the head mastership of Westminster from 1640 until 1695.

Although the duke of Ormond established the College as essentially a school for the

[3] Although the Charter and Statutes were awarded on 18 March 1684, previous to 1752 the calendar year began on the 25 of March. All dates in this thesis have been transferred into the new style calendar.

Protestant community of Kilkenny, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the College became the Anglo-Irish aristocracy institution of choice for the education of their sons in Ireland as a whole. Members of various noble families such as Waterford, Lismore, Enniskillen, de Vesci, Hawarden, Boyle, Desart and Inchiquin are recorded to have received their education at the College. It is argued that although this was a welcome development for the College at the time, it may also have had a detrimental effect since it moved attention away from the weak management structure that was possessed by the College. In 1715 the second duke of Ormond was attained by Parliament for his refusal to refute his Jacobite tendencies. The Charter and Statutes of the College allowed that the governorship of the College would transfer to the provost and board of Trinity College, Dublin on the occasion of the failure of the Ormond lordship. The situation thus arose that the provost of Trinity was both visitor and governor of the College. This lack of accountability was to lead directly to the many problems which the College would face in the later nineteenth century, such as lack of capital investment and the decline of pupil numbers. The College during the late eighteenth century was fortunate in its selection of head masters; the Rev. Dr. John Ellison, head master from 1781 until 1793, secured a parliamentary grant of five thousand pounds for the construction of a new College building which was completed c.1787. This was a significant act since it illustrated the link the College possessed with the Anglo-Irish aristocracy. Several of those involved in the parliamentary committee which recommended the award were former pupils of the College. The passing of the Act of Union in 1800 and the end of the Irish parliament which shifted the focus for the aristocracy to London resulted in this link being dramatically weakened, both in terms of pupil numbers and influence.

The College experienced a decline during the later nineteenth century and the main factors involved are outlined. They include the improvement of rail and shipping links to and from Ireland which made the public schools of England accessible for the first time, and the development of the Royal Schools of Ulster which successfully competed with the College for the gradually decreasing numbers of middle and upper class Protestants who desired a classical education for their sons in Ireland.[4] The College's management by Trinity College, Dublin, who habitually avoided any investment in the College, also played a part in its demise. The College's endowment of one hundred and forty pounds had attracted able men to the position of Master during the century after its re-establishment, but the amount was paltry during the

[4] The Royal Schools of Ulster were founded by James I c.1608 as part of the Ulster Plantation.

nineteenth century when compared to the salaries head masters received at other endowed establishments, such as the Royal Schools of Ulster. Apart from the size of the salary, the expectation that head masters were to finance improvements to the College out of their own funds proved to be another major disincentive to potential candidates. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the College's head masters were of a low calibre and were allowed to remain in their positions so long that they became liabilities to the College.

The problems concerning the College's management were detailed by the various governmental commissions of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were seeking to control and distribute with more equity the large amount of money and land endowed in both private and public educational institutions within Ireland which were being utilised exclusively by the Protestant community to the detriment of the Roman Catholic population. The reports which concern the College include: *The report of the Commissioners of Irish education enquiry* (1791), *The reports of the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland* (1806 - 1813), *Report from the select committee on foundation schools and education in Ireland* (1835 - 1837), *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purposes of education in Ireland,* commonly referred to as the Kildare Report (1857 - 58) and *Report of the Commission appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to inquire into the endowments, funds, and conditions of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland,* commonly referred to as the Rosse Report (1881).[5] Those reports are explored and utilised to give an insight into the decline of the College.

Through the ineffectiveness of these commissions, in attempting to make Irish endowed schools more accountable, the College's mismanagement by Trinity College,

[5] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791), in report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds and actual conditions of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland*; 1857 - 58 (2336 - II) XXII. part iii. 341 - 379.
Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), pursuant to Act 43, Geo. 3, c. 122; First, on Free Schools of the Royal Foundation, Second, on the Schools of Private Foundation, Third, on Protestant Charter Schools; 1809 (142) VII. 463. 475. 478.
Report from the Select Committee on the foundation schools and education in Ireland (1835); 1837 (701) VII. 345. (report).
Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland (1857 - 58) (Kildare); 1857 -58 (2336 - I) XXII. part i. 1.
Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to inquire into the endowments, funds and condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland, with evidence, appendices, and index; (1881) (Rosse); 1881 (c.2831) XXXV. 1.

Dublin was allowed to continue unchallenged until the 1880s, by which stage the College had ceased to function as a school, consisting solely of a head master and a building. The investigation of the College in 1887 by the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commissioners*, set up by the 1885 Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, resulted in a new scheme for the College's management.[6] Although the new scheme instigated a local board and greatly reduced the role played by Trinity College, Dublin, it was not a success. In 1902 discussions between the local management board and the Incorporated Society for the Promotion of Protestant Schools in Ireland took place and in 1903 an amended scheme was granted to the College by which its management was then vested with the Incorporated Society.[7] The Incorporated Society provided the support and funding which had been lacking in the government of the College by Trinity College, Dublin and continued to govern the College into the twentieth century.

Kilkenny College has a long and impressive list of former pupils who have contributed richly to Irish society, such as the philosopher George Berkeley, the writer Jonathan Swift, one of Wellington's generals at Waterloo, Denis Pack, William Congreve, the restoration dramatist, Thomas Prior, the founder of the Royal Dublin Society and Earl Beatty, the First Sea Lord. Other former pupils who are not so well known include Benjamin Cronyn the founder of Huron College, the forerunner to the University of Western Ontario and Abraham Colles, the celebrated physician whose name was given to a type of wrist fracture. Where pertinent a short biography of such individuals has been included along with an appraisal of the influence of the College upon them.

Due to the fact that the College was involved in some ways with many educational institutions within Kilkenny, such as the Royal College of St. Canice, the Kilkenny Diocesan School, the Pococke School, St. Kieran's College and other establishments the thesis contains information, where appropriate, which details their histories and outlines how they were connected to the College. Through these links the contribution the College has made to the development of the city of Kilkenny can be seen.
Only two brief accounts of the College's history have been previously published, one

[6] *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act*, 1885, 48 & 49 Victoria c. 48.
[7] For further information relating to the Incorporated Society for the Promotion of Protestant Schools in Ireland see, Kenneth Milne, *The Irish Charter Schools 1730 - 1830* (Dublin: The Four Courts Press, 1997) and Henry Kingsmill Moore, *The Work of the Incorporated Society for the Promoting of Protestant Schools in Ireland* (Dundalk: W. Tempest, 1938).

in 1850 and the other in 1938, both of which only offered a glimpse into the College's past.[8] Educational historians such as Timothy J. Corcoran, Patrick J. Dowling, James J. Auchumuty and Norman D. Atkinson have all recognised the College as a salient part of the fabric of Irish educational history, and provided additional material on its development.[9] Due to the lack of any sources in possession of the College today, the thesis has been bereft of original and cohesive local material; in its stead, extensive research has been undertaken utilising other contemporary material relating to the history of both Irish education and Kilkenny. The two registers of the College, which are preserved in the Trinity College Library, Dublin, although incomplete, provided a valuable resource in determining both how many pupils attended the College and who they were.[10] The various governmental commissions such as those which took place in 1791, 1855 and 1887, which included extensive interviews with head masters and others connected to the College also provided an important source of primary material. Two additional works, one by J. B. Leslie and the other by W. G. Neely, contributed towards an understanding of the College's role within the Church of Ireland and the Kilkenny area. Leslie's comprehensive work on the clergy of the diocese of Ossory was an informative resource in tracing the relationship between the Church of Ireland and the College.[11] William George Neely's *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391 - 1843* (1989) provided a useful reference resource to the history of the city and county of Kilkenny and the College.[12]

The thesis concludes that the history of the College mirrors the fortunes of the Protestant community in the south of Ireland and that the College provides a clear example of the government's attempts to make the endowed schools of Ireland more accountable. It also notes that due to the fact that the College was formally linked, albeit loosely, to three influential and stable institutions such as Trinity College,

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[8] William E. J. Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College* (Kilkenny: Kilkenny People Ltd.1938).
John Browne, "Kilkenny College," *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* vol. I, 1849 - 1851: 221 - 229.

[9] Corcoran, *State Policy in Irish Education.*
Patrick Joseph Dowling, *A History of Irish Education, A Study in Conflicting Loyalties* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1971).
James Johnston Auchmuty, *Irish Education, A Historical Survey* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1937).
Norman D. Atkinson, *Irish Education, a history of educational institutions* (Dublin: Allen Figgis & Co., 1969).

[10] Entrance and Leaving Books of Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019 & TCD MS 2020.

[11] James Blennerhassett Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes: Being an Account of the Clergy of the Church of Ireland in the Diocese of Ossory, From the Earliest Period, with Historical Notices of Several Parishes, Churches, &c.* (Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh: Fermanagh Times, 1933).

[12] William George Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391 - 1843* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1989).

Dublin, the Church of Ireland and the Ormond family, the College has survived when numerous other similar establishments have not, for example Viscount Weymouth's School in Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan, Galway's Erasmus Smith's Grammar School, Cork Grammar School and Preston's Schools at Ballyroan, Co. Laois and Navan, Co. Meath. The only educational institutions that share a common heritage and are still in existence today are Bandon Grammar School and Midleton School, both in Co. Cork.

Chapter One

Early educational activity in Kilkenny and the foundation of the College in 1538 until the College's reestablishment by James, 1st duke of Ormond c.1666.

1538 - c.1666

1.1: Introduction.

Kilkenny College, having been formally established in 1538, holds the venerable position of being Ireland's oldest surviving grammar school. Indeed there are few institutions in Ireland, educational or otherwise, which can claim to have an earlier foundation date.[1] The only educational establishment on the island which was founded before Kilkenny College, and is still in existence, is the school connected to St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Although the grammar school at St. Patrick's was founded in 1547 by Edward VI, the present school was amalgamated with the cathedral's choir school in 1869 which had been founded by Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin in 1431.[2] The College was founded in Kilkenny by Piers and Margaret Butler, the earl and countess of Ormond, in 1538. The original building was located at the west end of the precincts of St. Canice's Cathedral on the site of the present cathedral library. The site chosen by Piers and Margaret Butler was one where education had been provided in various guises during the centuries prior to the College's foundation. This chapter will detail the development of education leading up to the Butler foundation. There is limited evidence that points to the possibility that the monastic community, which existed in Kilkenny during the sixth century, may have had an educational function. A more explicit educational tradition existed in Kilkenny in the form of the college of the vicars choral of St. Canice's Cathedral, which existed from the late twelfth century. These traditions of both formal and informal educational provision formed the basis on which Piers and

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[1] Hereafter, 'The College' refers to Kilkenny College.

[2] Hector Rex Cathcart, *Ireland's Oldest School, St. Patrick's Grammar and Choir Schools, Dublin* (Dublin: St. Patrick's Grammar School, 1980), 3.
The term grammar school refers to an institution in which Latin and Greek grammar were exclusively taught.
Hector Rex Cathcart, *'An Help for School Boys' The Choir and Grammar Schools 1431 - 1991* (Dublin: St. Patrick's Cathedral Dublin, 1991), 1.
Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin 1419 - 1449, instituted and endowed a college of six minor canons and six choristers at the cathedral in 1431.
Rex Cathcart was a master at Kilkenny College until 1953 when he was appointed to the head mastership Royal School, Raphoe Co. Donegal. He resigned in 1960 on his appointment to the head mastership of Sandford Park School, Dublin. He was later Professor of Education at the Queen's University of Belfast.

Margaret Butler founded their school. The chapter will also examine the lives of Piers and Margaret Butler and also other possible influences which led to the establishment of the College. Although this first incarnation of the College only appeared to have lasted the duration of two masterships, those of the Rev. William Johnston, master from 1552 until 1557, and the Rev. Peter White, master from 1557 until 1566, a period in total of approximately twenty eight years, the College was to make an important contribution to the history of Irish education. This chapter will examine the background of both men, especially Peter White, and assess their role in the development of the College. In many ways White can be seen as the first recorded teacher in Ireland who espoused the Humanistic tradition which had grown out of the Renaissance. The main reason for our knowledge of the College during this period is the writings of Richard Stanihurst, one of the first writers of the Anglo-Irish tradition, who wrote at length about his experiences of White at the College and the debt that he owed him.[3] Stanihurst's writings provide an illuminating insight into both the College and education in Ireland. This chapter will also examine the educational activity, initiated by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, which occurred during the one hundred years after the closure of the College in 1566 upon the departure of White and the re-establishment of the College by the first duke of Ormond c.1666. Several school masters were operating in Kilkenny during the seventeenth century, especially during the Cromwellian period. There are also single references in contemporary manuscript sources to a master named Penyngton who ran a Protestant school in 1615, and another to a institution named the Free School of Ossory run by a John Wyttar in 1634.[4] The 1641 depositions for Co. Kilkenny also make several references to schoolmasters who were victims of the Roman Catholic revolt of the same year.[5]

1.2: The educational context.

According to P. J. Dowling in *A History of Irish Education, A Study in Conflicting Loyalties* (1971) educational provision in Ireland from the coming of Christianity until the end of the medieval period consisted of two distinct educational systems "one represented by the Bardic Schools, the other identified with the monastic

[3] Richard Stanihurst (1547-1618), historian, physician and Counter-Reformation priest, was a former pupil of Peter White and wrote on a number of occasions concerning his experiences as White's pupil.

[4] John Wyttar's Receipt for Monies Received From the Earl of Ormond for the Free School of the Dioceses of Ossory, 23 July, 1634, NLI MS 11064, item 7.

[5] 1641 Depositions For Co. Kilkenny, TCD MS 812, f.202 & f.214.

institutions."[6] The Bardic tradition, which dated back to Pre-Christian Ireland, was the way in which the upper classes of Irish society ensured the passing of knowledge, such as poetry, law and history, from one generation to the next. Such schools were essential to the survival of the oral traditions of Irish society, as they not only taught students but prepared them to be the teachers of the next generation. Another facet of education during this period involved fosterage. This involved the fostering in a family of a son of another household and was particularly prevalent within the noble classes. After the arrival of Christianity in the fifth century and the institution of Irish monasteries, the Bardic Schools slowly adapted to the new situation, so much so that they were able to exist in tandem with the new Christian educators. Norman Atkinson noted in *Irish Education, a history of educational Institutions* (1969) that "the prototype teacher of early Christian Ireland was to be an aristocratic monk, equally well versed in the classical learning of the continent and in the lore of the *filí* (the Bardic literary caste)"[7] The Irish monasteries obtained a high reputation for scholarship and produced beautiful illuminated manuscripts such as the *Book of Durrow* and the *Book of Armagh*. Their reputation was such that the monasteries began to attract students from all across Europe. The importance of the Irish monasteries only began to wane after continued incursions from Scandinavia disrupted stability and the shift in focus and importance to Europe that occurred after the conversion of the Germanic people. The arrival of the Normans during the latter twelfth and early thirteenth centuries did not affect Irish society to any great extent. The new rulers searched for individual benefit and did not represent an organised political attempt at the conquest of Ireland. The ancient systems of the Bardic Schools and the monastic communities stagnated. The growth in the efficiency of the English Kings allowed an increase in the attention that had been previously paid to Ireland. The structures of the Anglican church provided the machinery to control the provision within Ireland, especially after the extension to Ireland of the Act of Supremacy in 1536. In 1537 Henry VIII disestablished the monasteries of Ireland and, with the money gained from the seizure of religious land, the opportunity was taken to instigate an act for the implementation of English order to Ireland.[8] The act attempted to establish schools in every parish in Ireland. The foremost objective of these schools was the promotion of the English language and, through this, initiation of religious change in Ireland. The

[6] Dowling, *A History of Irish Education*, 9.
[7] Atkinson, *Irish Education*, 6.
[8] 28 Henry VIII c. 15.

act made provision for every parish minister to employ and finance a schoolmaster:

> And further be it enacted by authority aforesaid that every arch-bishop, bishop, suffragan and every other having authority and power to give order of priesthood, deacon, subdeacon, shall at such time as they or any of them do give to any person or persons, any of the said orders of priesthood, deacon or subdeacon, give unto every person taking any of the said orders of priesthood, deacon or subdeacon, a corporal oath that he or they so taking order as is aforesaid shall to the uttermost of his power, wit and cunning, endeavour himself to learn the English tongue and language, and use English order and fashions . . . And in likewise shall bid the beades, in English tongue, and preach the word of God in English, if he can preach, and also for his own part shall use and exercise the English order and habit, and also to provoke as many as he may to the same, and also shall keep or cause to be kept within the place, territory, or parish where he shall have pre-eminence, rule, benefice or promotion, a school for to learn English, if any children of his parish should come to him to learn the same, taking for the same school such convenient stipend or salary as in the said land is customarily used to be taken.[9]

The 1537 act failed because the Anglican administration did not extend beyond the Pale and the ministers of the church were to some extent apathetic and indifferent to moves for the propagation of the gospel.[10] Although Henry VIII failed in his plan to establish an elementary school system, his efforts were the first official governmental attempt to intervene in provision of education in Ireland. This attempt was followed by "An Act for the Erection of Free Schools" of 1570, during the reign of Elizabeth but this only enjoyed a limited amount of success.[11] The attempt by the government to organise education in Ireland occurred during the Plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century. James I ordered the establishment of a free school in each of the counties of Ulster which were to be planted; Fermanagh, Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine (later renamed County Londonderry) Cavan and Donegal.[12] Each of these free schools was to be publicly endowed with land and became known as the

[9] *The statutes at large, passed in the parliaments held in Ireland: from the third year of Edward the Second, A.D. 1310 to the twenty sixth year of George the Third, A.D. 1786 inclusive,* vol. I (Dublin: George Grierson, 1786), 125 & 126.

[10] James Lydon, *The Making of Ireland, from ancient times to the present* (London: Routledge, 1998), 141.

[11] *An Act for the Erection of Free Schools in Ireland,* 12 Eliz. c.1, *The statutes at large, passed in the parliaments held in Ireland,* vol. I, 361 - 362.

[12] No Royal School was founded in the county of Coleraine due to the lands for the school having been misappropriated, although a London merchant, Mathias Springham, gave a limited endowment for the establishment of a school, which fulfilled the function of such a school within the walls of Derry in 1617.

Royal Schools. Although the main object of these schools was to provide "good education for the youth of this realm of Ireland in literature and knowledge of true religion" in the main they initially met the educational needs of the planters.[13] During the Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell ordered a survey of all free schools and commanded that any school with an endowment of less than one hundred pounds was to be raised to that amount and to establish additional free schools. Both of these activities was to be financed by rent formerly received by the Church of Ireland. Cromwell also established a committee to oversee the free grammar schools of Ireland and to inspect both the masters qualifications and curriculum being taught. Before the 1650s Roman Catholic education in Ireland was to a certain extent tolerated, but the arrival of Cromwell in Ireland and the implementation of the Penal Laws saw the start of its systematic suppression. The Penal Laws were developed by subsequent governments requiring Roman Catholic schoolmasters to take the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy and eventually, in 1695, ordering that all education should take place in Protestant Schools. During the seventeenth century numerous individuals privately established and endowed Protestant grammar schools throughout Ireland, such as the earl of Cork in Bandon, Charleville, Lismore and Youghal, Erasmus Smith in Drogheda, Galway and Tipperary and Sir Richard Hansard in Lifford.

1.3: Kilkenny's educational heritage.

Although evidence regarding a related precursor institution to the College is unclear, there was a definite tradition of education in Kilkenny in connection with the sixth century monastic settlement and the college of the vicars choral, founded in the thirteenth century, connected to St. Canice's Cathedral.[14] Evidence for the existence of a monastic school is both limited and circumstantial and should be treated with caution, but there can be more valid speculation that some type of educational role prevailed within the Pre-Norman monastic community that existed near the cathedral site.[15] The name Kilkenny is derived from the name 'cell of Canice' or *Cill Chainnigh*,

[13] Letters Patent From King James I, founding a Free School at Dungannon for County Tyrone and appointing a Schoolmaster, Patent Rolls of Chancery Ireland, of the 13th year of the Reign of James I. Two other Royal Schools were established during the reign of Charles I, Banagher, Kings County, (now Co. Offaly) and Carysfort, Co. Wicklow.

[14] The College's situation is not unusual, schools such as The King's School, Rochester, Kent and The King's School, Worcester, both of which were formally founded in the medieval or early modern period, claim to be the successors to a long tradition of educational activity. Evidence to support the claims of both these schools is limited.

[15] Clement Adrian Empey, "The Anglo-Norman Diocese of Ossory," in *A Worthy Foundation, The Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, 1285 - 1985* , essays by Siuban Barry, John Bradley and Clement Adrian Empey, ed. Clement Adrian Empey (Portlaoise: The Dolmen Press, 1985), 14.

Canice's Church, and referred to the monastery which St. Canice traditionally established during the second half of the sixth century.[16] Little is known about the life of St. Canice, Charles Plummer noted in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniaea* (1910); the three lives of St. Canice which exist contain "neither spiritual edification nor historical information."[17] As a result of the lack of information surrounding St. Canice it is not certain that he physically established the monastic community in Kilkenny; some historians have noted that the monastery founded at Aghaboe, Queen's County (later Co. Laois), has a firmer connection with St. Canice. John Bradley in "The Early Development of the Medieval Town of Kilkenny" an article contained in *Kilkenny: History and Society, Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, edited by William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (1990), included information which pertained to the relationships between St. Canice, Aghaboe and Kilkenny:

> It is possible that Canice founded Kilkenny in person but very little is known about the way in which early Irish monasteries received their dedications and it is at least as likely that it was established at a later stage by one of his disciples. Canice's principal foundation in southern Ireland was at Aghaboe (Laois), and it is normally referred to as *Cill Chainnigh* or *Cill Mór Chainnigh* in the annals. The use of the same placename for both Aghaboe and Kilkenny (and indeed Kilkenny West (Westmeath)) can lead to confusion and accordingly it is difficult to know exactly when the annalists stop referring to Aghaboe and start referring to Kilkenny.[18]

The one hundred foot round tower, which stands just clear of the south transepts of the present day cathedral, is the only piece of physical evidence that remains of 'Canice's Cell' and the accompanying monastic community. The date of the

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[16] John Canon O'Hanlon, *Lives of Irish Saints with Special Festivals and the Commemorations of Holy Persons compiled from Calendars, Martyrologies and various Sources relating to the Ancient Church History of Ireland*, vol. X (Dublin: James Duffy and Sons, 1873), 147 & 155.
Charles Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae, Partim Hactenvs Ineditae Ad Fidem Codicvm Manvscriptorvm Recognovit Prolegomenis Notis Indicibvs Instrvxit*, vol. I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), introduction, xlv.
St. Canice is thought to have been born in Glengiven, Co. Derry c.526. It is believed that he received his initial training under St. Cadoc at Llancarvan in Wales. Under St. Cadoc, he became a monk and was ordained. It is also thought that before he started his work in the southern part of Ireland he went on two sojourns, the first to the north of England and second to the Western Isles. During his lifetime it is recorded that he came into contact with other saints such as Brendan of Clonfert, Columba and Comgall. The date of his death has been placed at c.599. St. Canice is also known as Cainneach, Kannich, Kenneth or Kenny.

[17] Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, vol. I, introduction, xcv.
John Bradley, "The Early Development of the Medieval Town of Kilkenny," in *Kilkenny: History and Society, Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, ed. William Nolan and Kevin Whelan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1990), 64.

[18] Bradley, "The Early Development of the Medieval Town of Kilkenny", 64.

construction of the tower is thought to be around the eleventh or early twelfth century, though some hold that it dates from the sixth century.[19] Archaeological investigations in 1846 and 1847, by the then dean of Ossory, the Very Reverend Charles Vignolles, revealed that the tower was built on top of a burial site. The skeletons were found buried with their feet facing towards the east, according to Christian tradition.[20] These apparent Christian burials have added to the understanding that the tower was built some time after the arrival of Christianity to Ireland, but George Barrow has argued in *The Round Towers of Ireland, a study and gazetteer* (1979) that the positioning of the bodies is merely a coincidence and that the location was in existence as a burial site before being taken over by the Normans and the early church.[21] Hugh Graham, in *The Early Irish Monastic Schools* (1923), referred to a monastic school being located in Kilkenny. Although he was unable to give a foundation date, he attributed the school's foundation to St. Canice.[22] There are no other sources which corroborate Graham's evidence and therefore his supposition must be viewed with substantial reservations. Most of the historians of this period refer to the better documented and more influential monastic schools which were connected to the monasteries at Armagh, Clonard, Clonmacnoise and Bangor.[23] Kenneth Milne referred to the educational character of early Irish monastic communities in *The Early Period to the 18th Century* a chapter of *Irish Educational Documents, A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish education from earliest times to 1922*, vol. I, (1987), edited by Àine Hyland and Kenneth Milne:

> Simple though the monasteries of the native Irish tradition may have been in design, there was nothing simple about their form of organisation. In fact they were, both in terms of social and religious structure, considerably more complex than has been recognised, small towns in fact, and many questions about their mode of organisation and their place in society await definitive answers. But we *can* be certain that they were numerous and that very

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[19] Ibid., 66.
George Lennox Barrow, *The Round Towers of Ireland, a study and gazetteer* (Dublin: The Academy Press, 1979), 129

[20] James Graves and John George Augustus Prim, *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith & Co., 1857), 110.
Robert Wyse Jackson, *The Story of Kilkenny* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 1974), 15.

[21] Barrow, *The Round Towers of Ireland*, 131.

[22] Hugh Graham, *The Early Irish Monastic Schools, A Study of Ireland's Contribution to Early Medieval Culture* (Dublin: The Talbot Press Ltd., 1923), 39.

[23] James Johnston Auchmuty, *Irish Education, A Historical Survey* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1937), 22.

many of them were important centres of education.[24]

Milne's assessment of the educational importance of monastic settlements in Ireland add credibility to the possible existence of a school connected to the monastery at Kilkenny. With the arrival of the Normans in Ireland, Kilkenny was given a new social and political structure. The Anglo-Normans were directly responsible for establishment of a cathedral and a territorial episcopacy, in the form of the bishopric of Ossory, and therefore provided a stable platform from which institutions such as schools could take root and prosper. Adrian Empey, in his work on the Anglo-Norman diocese of Ossory, contained in *A Worthy Foundation, The Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, 1285 - 1985* (1985), dated the beginnings of the cathedral organisation in Kilkenny as during the last decade of the twelfth century. The new cathedral infrastructure proved integral to Kilkenny's educational development, as Empey has stated:

> Whatever diocesan structures may have existed before this - and there is no evidence of any - were swept away by the newcomers in their impatience to replace the insular eccentricities of the Irish church with the systematic, hierarchical command structure of the continental church . . . The Irish church was to be fully integrated not only into the continental ecclesiastical system but into the framework of the Anglo-Norman state as well. It was made to measure. The changes which took place in Ossory in the early years of the thirteenth century - in diocesan organisation, in the administration of episcopal manors, and in relation to the crown - therefore part of the wider development, which incidentally provided the logistical basis for the construction of the great cathedral church of St. Canice.[25]

The foundation of St. Canice's Cathedral was accompanied by the creation of several official positions which made up the chapter of the cathedral. These posts included a dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer and archdeacon. One of the many duties of a chancellor would have been the supervision of schools of grammar and theology.[26] While there is no remaining proof to indicate the existence of a Norman grammar school, there must be speculation that there had been one. If the chancellor and the cathedral authorities had managed to avoid the founding of a grammar school, it

[24] Kenneth Milne, "The Early Period to the 18th Century," in *Irish Educational Documents, A selection of extracts from documents relating to the history of Irish education from earliest times to 1922*, vol. I, ed. Àine Hyland and Kenneth Milne (Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education, 1987), 29.

[25] Empey, *A Worthy Foundation*, 15.

[26] Ibid.

would not only have been in opposition to a commonly accepted custom but also inconsistent with the deep need for educational provision in Ireland during the Middle Ages.[27] This educational need had already been identified in the charter of St. Patrick's Cathedral given by Archbishop Comyn of Dublin in 1191 which stated:

> since the study of letters flourishes throughout the whole world except in Ireland and since there are very many professors of civil and divine law in every kingdom except Ireland we, desiring to provide the people with learning that they be less ignorant, decree that the prebendal church of St. Patrick, Dublin, be established with the assent of the Holy See and of our prince John.[28]

Documentary evidence to suggest the existence of a grammar school at Kilkenny in the years previous to 1538 is almost nonexistent. In 1537 the jury of Co. Waterford are recorded to have petitioned the Crown Commissioners that the earl of Ossory [Piers Butler], was hindering scholars travelling to school in Waterford. Brendan Bradshaw has speculated that the hindrance might have grown from competition between the grammar school in Waterford and a grammar school in Kilkenny.[29] The deficiency of corroborating material means that any inference from Bradshaw's speculation, that a precursor institution founded by the Butlers existed prior to the foundation of 1538, must remain as conjecture. The college of vicars choral was established in St. Canice's during the thirteenth century, its founder usually cited as Bishop Geoffrey St. Leger (1260 - 87).[30] John O'Phelan, in his nineteenth century survey of the Cathedral of St. Canice, *Epitaphs on the Tombs, in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice* (1813) recorded that Bishop St. Leger had been responsible for "endowing it liberally, and gave the vicars his manse and lodging of the common hall, which was the palace and place of residence of the bishops, before the palaces of Aghor and Dorrow were erected."[31] Contrary to this reference, Empey has suggested that Bishop

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[27] Cathcart, *Ireland's Oldest School*, 5.

[28] Newport Benjamin White, ed., *The 'Dignitas Decani' of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1957), quoted in Cathcart, *Ireland's Oldest School*, 5.

[29] Brendan Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 223.
Bradshaw also stated that a grammar school had been in existence in Waterford since the early 1530s as Gerald Fitzjohn of Desmond had sent his son there.

[30] Edward Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny (from the original records and authentic documents)* in Charles Vallancey, *Collectanea De Rebus Hibernicis*, vol. II, (Dublin: Luke White, 1786), 487.
Bishop St. Leger is often referred to as the cathedral's 'second founder' due to the work on the cathedral's fabric which he initiated.

[31] John O'Phelan, *Epitaphs on the Tombs, in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice* (Dublin: Graisberry & Campbell, 1813), 9.

St. Leger probably was not responsible for its foundation but rather for its systemisation.[32] The need for vicars choral arose out of the failure of the canons of the cathedral to fulfil their obligations, such as the maintenance of the houses in the cathedral close, rendering hospitality and the long periods of residence needed in relation to liturgical duties. Vicars were therefore assigned in the canons' place to perform these tasks. In return the canons were in part accountable for the well-being of their replacements. Empey indicated that it was Bishop St. Leger who assigned the income from the cathedral parish to the costs of the common hall of the vicars choral.[33] In 1450 there was reference to the vicars of the common hall having petitioned the Irish Parliament being held at Drogheda, to ease the load of taxation on the people of Irishtown.[34] The vicars stated that due to the heavy taxation, allied with attacks from local raiders, they were not being supported by the cathedral parish and therefore not able "to continue hospitality at any time, or sustain there the divine service."[35] The vicars had to wait until a later parliament during the reign of Edward IV for a response to their petition which referred to:

> many of the faithful English burgesses and commons of the said Irishtown are dead and many of the Irish come and dwell there in the places who have refused to pay the said annual rent to the said vicars . . . to the great hurt of the said vicars and diminution of divine services in the aforesaid church. It is enacted, ordained and established by authority that as often as it shall happen the said annual rent or any part thereof to be in arrears unpaid to the said vicars for the time being or to their successors for the space of two months after specified feasts it will be lawful for the ordinary or vicar general . . . to fulminate the censures of the church against every person of the said Irishtown who retains the said annual rent . . . until they make full satisfaction to the said vicars.[36]

The vicars choral were mentioned in the 1615 Regal Visitation which noted that "in the College near the Church [of St. Canice] are eight Vicars Choral and four

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[32] Jackson, *The Story of Kilkenny*, 29.
Empey, *A Worthy Foundation*, 16.
Empey did not include any reference in conjunction with this comment.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Irishtown is the second of the two distinct townships of Kilkenny, the other being Englishtown. These two townships grew from the arrival of the Normans c.1170 who built dwellings to the south of the Breagagh river, some distance from the original settlement which was to the north of the river. The two settlements were therefore named Englishtown and Irishtown respectively.

[35] Henry Fitz-Patrick Berry, ed. *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, Reign of King Henry the Sixth* (Dublin: H.M.S.O., Alexander Thom & Co. (Limited), 1910), 209 & 211.

[36] James F. Morrissey, ed. *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, Twelfth and Thirteenth to the Twenty First and Twenty Second Reign of King Henry the Sixth* (Dublin: Printed for the Stationery Office by Browne and Nolan Ltd., 1939), 315 & 317. Additional information concerning the Vicars Choral of St. Canice's is contained in Empey, *A Worthy Foundation*.

Choristers, who are bound to serve the Cathedral Church at Divine Services daily."[37] Canon Carrigan in the first volume of *History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (1905), claimed that the vicars choral of St. Canice's were also responsible for the running of a famous school in the early part of the sixteenth century.[38] Carrigan notes as his source for this statement to be a *Treatise* concerning the history of Kilkenny that had been written by David Rothe, the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory 1618 - 1650. The *Treatise* was contained, in a manuscript entitled, *De Ossoriensi Dioccesi*, which is one of two remaining remnants of the Bishop's *Hierographia Hiberniae*, that are said to have been destroyed by fire during the Cromwellian occupation of Kilkenny in 1650.[39] The account, which was fifty years in the writing, referred to the vicars choral connected to St. Canice's and also to the College that had been established by Piers and Margaret Butler:

> In this college (of the Vicars) there was formerly maintained such a high standard of sound training and education, that it served as a nursery of virtue for the whole Diocese, and as a high class school of excellent character, for noble and distinguished youths. And later on, when the pupils became of a maturer age and needed to be grounded in a more advanced course of polite literature, they had at hand a public lecture room or phrastisterium, most conveniently established on the opposite (of the Cathedral cemetery) by Peter Butler, Earl of Ormond, and his most noble consort, Margaret Fitzgerald, for the training and education of youth in the higher branches of learning. There still survive persons who saw youths in great numbers flocking from all parts of the Kingdom to this place, as to the Attic Muses.[40]

This account appears to imply that there was another school within the precincts of the cathedral which performed the role akin to that of a preparatory school for students before they entered the College. Rothe's account is also of great importance, since it indicated that the College had gained a reputation that extended not only through the locality but throughout the island of Ireland for the quality of the

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[37] Quoted in Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. III, 176.
[38] Ibid., vol. I, 256 & vol. III, 7 & 176.
[39] David Rothe was born in 1573 in Kilkenny and was made Bishop of Ossory in 1618. He was a noted scholar, theologian and historian. He was the author of *Analecta Sacra* and *Hierographia Hiberniae*, of which only fragments remain. His life coincided with a difficult time in Ireland, and for several years he was unable to find another bishop in Ireland to consecrate an episcopate. He was selected as the Primate's representative in Ireland due to Peter Lombard being unable to personally take up his position in Armagh. It is thought that his death, in 1650 was a consequence of a violent encounter with some Cromwellian troops who were camped outside the city of Kilkenny.
[40] David Rothe, *De Ossoriensi Dioccesi*, part of, *Collectanae de Rebus Hibernicus*, in the Sloane Collection Add MS 4796, held in the British Library.

education it gave to its students. The lifetime of Rothe suggests that he would have come into contact with individuals who remembered or possibly even attended either the school which he claimed was part of the vicars choral or the College itself during the masterships of the Rev. William Johnston and the Rev. Peter White.[41] Although Rothe's account gives illumination to a possible link between the vicars choral and the College, it is not corroborated by any other contemporary evidence and should therefore be treated with caution. The existence of the vicars choral, along with whatever educational service it provided, would have been an important tradition of education for Piers and Margaret Butler to build upon. The College of 1538, by its location and structure owed a considerable amount to the tradition of education that had stretched back to the foundation of the college of the vicars choral and perhaps to the monastic settlement of the sixth century.

1.4: The foundation of Piers and Margaret Butler.

Kilkenny College is an example of the numerous grammar schools established in England during the Reformation and after the dissolution of the monasteries. Some were constituted by royal personages, such as Henry VIII and Edward VI who founded, or more correctly refounded, quite a number of schools in England, examples of which include schools at Bristol and Norwich.[42] Others were established by the funds of private individuals whose charity had formerly been effectively channelled into the Church. These individuals recognised that there was now a vacuum caused by the closure of the monasteries and their educational role, and attempted to satisfy it. The grammar schools of Brentwood in Essex and Abingdon in Oxfordshire were examples of foundations which owe their existence solely to the benevolence of private individuals such as, Antony Brown in the case of Brentwood

[41] Dowling, *A History of Irish Education*, 61.

[42] Paul Cattermole, Richard Harries and Peter Mackintosh, *A History of Norwich School, King Edward VI's Grammar School at Norwich*, ed. Richard Harries (Norwich, England: Friends of Norwich School, 1991), 61.
Jane Collard, Roger Burgess and David Ogden, *'Where Fat Black Canons Dined' A History of Bristol Cathedral School 1140 to 1992* (Bristol, England: Bristol Cathedral School, 1992), 1.
Norwich School can trace its foundation to a monastic school established in 1090. In 1547 the School was re-established by a patent of King Edward VI.
Bristol Cathedral School has a similar history, it was founded in 1140 as part of an Augustinian monastery and then re-established by Henry VIII in 1542.

and John Roysse in the case of Abingdon.[43] The foundation of Kilkenny College can be seen to have been a decision by Piers and Margaret Butler akin to those by Browne and Roysse. The closure of the monastery clearly had had grave consequences for educational provision in Ireland. In March 1539 there is a record of a letter to the lord privy seal, Thomas Cromwell from the Lord Deputy Gray and Council of Ireland, in response to the proposed dissolution of Irish monasteries, which indicated the established and valued educational nature of these monastic communities.[44] The letter attests the social and educational function of the religious houses. These were at Jerpoint and Kells in Co. Kilkenny, Connell in Co. Kildare and three others in Dublin. The letter requested that they should be spared the contemplated subjugation. Lord Deputy Gray and the council put forward the following reasons to support their plea:

> For in those houses and such like, in default of common innes, which are not in this land, the King's Deputy, (and all others his grace's council and officers, also Irishmen and others resorting to the King's Deputy in these quarters), is and hath been commonly lodged at the cost of said houses. Also in them young men and childer, both men childer and other, both of man kynd and woman kynd, be brought up in virtue, learning, and the English tongue.[45]

Apart from Kilkenny, only four other Irish grammar schools are known to have existed during the sixteenth century, those at Galway, Limerick, Cork and Waterford.[46]

The College's formal foundation can be directly traced to the actions of the altruistic Piers and Margaret Butler in 1538.[47] The Butlers were one of the foremost Anglo-Norman families, having gained their name from the office of a butler in the

[43] Richard Rice Lewis, *A History of Brentwood School* (Brentwood, England: Governors of Anthony Browne's School, 1981), 4.
Donald Willis, *A Song on a Bugle Blown: More adventures of an Ordinary Man* (Cumnor, England: Kenton Books, 1983), 7.
Brentwood School in Essex was founded in 1558 by Antony Browne. Abingdon School in Oxfordshire is known to have existed since 1256 as part of a Benedictine abbey but was refounded in 1563 by John Roysse, a London mercer.

[44] William Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. I (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker, 1905), 257.

[45] *State Papers published under the authority of His Majesty's Commission. King Henry the Eighth*, vol. III, (London: 1830-52), 130.

[46] John Pentland Mahaffy, *An Epoch in Irish History, Trinity College, Dublin, Its Foundations and Early Fortunes, 1591 - 1660* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), 10.

[47] cf. Appendix VIII, Fig I, showing the sixteenth century tomb of Piers and Margaret Butler in St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny.

household of Prince John (1167 - 1216) who had come to Ireland in 1185. The name Ormond came from the name given to the area of Munster awarded to the family. The success of the family revolved around their ability to produce male heirs which consolidated their political influence and land ownership. Lord Dunboyne once surmised this situation when he suggested that "The Butlers bred like rabbits immune from myxomatosis".[48] On the occasions that the lineage did fail, as happened in 1515, there were always very capable members of the extended family willing to claim the title. Through family connections at the Royal Court during the twelfth century the Butlers were able to continue to expand their territories in Ireland. The demands of Scottish and French affairs during the thirteenth century forced the English crown to distribute authority to the various Irish landowners, and this, aligned with the fall from ascendancy of other Anglo-Norman families, such as the lords of Meath and Ulster, meant that the Butler family could prosper. The following centuries saw the family rise and fall from prominence but always managing to maintain influence. Adrian Empey, in his entry on the Ormond family in *The Oxford Companion to Irish History* edited by S. J. Connolly (1998) noted:

> It is sometimes suggested that the Butlers, unlike the Fitzgeralds, owed their survival to their association with English interests. But the politics of the royal court could bring destruction as quickly as fortune: only the experienced players survived. The Butler lordship repeatedly faced extinction . . . The reality is that they survived because at such critical moments the interests of the family lay in capable hands.[49]

The year of Piers Butler's birth is unknown, but John Bradley noted in his article *The Medieval Tombs,* contained in *A Worthy Foundation, The Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, 1285 - 1985,* that it is unlikely that he was born before 1467.[50] Dobbs in *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College, 1538 - 1938* (1938), commented that, "Sir Piers Butler, of Paulstown, whose mother was a daughter of Donal Reagh Kavanagh, was an active warrior who contended successfully for the headship of the Butlers when the senior branch of the family died out in England."[51] This quotation only gives an outline of the complexities of Piers Butler's activities. Butler's rise to the

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[48] Ida Grehan, *Irish Family Histories* (Boulder, Colorado, U.S.A.: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 1993).

[49] S. J. Connolly, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Irish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 417.

[50] John Bradley, "The Medieval Tombs," in *A Worthy Foundation, The Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, 1285 - 1985,* 77.

[51] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College,* 2.

earldom of Ormond had not been a straightforward contention. He had used every tool available to further his cause, including assassination, intricate political manoeuvring and marrying into another influential family. Empey described the same 'successful contention' in the following excerpt from an article entitled *From Rags to Riches: Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, 1515 - 1539,* (1984):

> he [Piers Butler] secured the title [the earldom of Ormond] only eighteen months before his death, after fifty years of unremitting effort to fashion fortune to his design. To get there he had to defeat the opposition of his cousins, the displeasure of the earl himself, the ire of Henry VII, the venom of the Geraldines, the machinations of the court of Henry VIII, and all this on the strength of a dubious lineage and an even more doubtful title.[52]

In 1505 Piers became agent for the Irish lands of the absentee seventh earl of Ormond and, on the death of the earl in 1515, Piers laid claim to the title on the grounds he was the holder of the earl's estates. Although no charters were forthcoming, Piers, through a well organised network of agents and supporters, started a campaign to have himself recognised as the rightful heir to the earldom. The lack of substantial evidence to legitimatise Piers' claim did not stop him declaring himself earl of Ormond in 1516. In 1520 he became lord treasurer of Ireland and in 1522 he was appointed lord deputy. In 1527 the descendants on the female side of the former Earl, in the form of Sir Thomas Boleyn, petitioned Henry VIII for the restoration of the title of Ormond. Piers duly withdrew his claim to the title, receiving the earldom of Ossory in exchange. In 1538, after the death of Sir Thomas Boleyn, the earldom of Ormond was again bestowed upon him. He died on 26 August 1539, and was buried in St. Canice's Cathedral.[53] Piers Butler was a man who manoeuvred his political career in a particularly shrewd and malevolent manner, but he was also a man who felt it necessary to found an institution of learning. Arthur Aston Luce in his address at St. Canice's in September 1942, while overlooking the Earl's avaricious political ambition, described Piers Butler as having been a product of the "Renaissance of liberty and light, which endowed Europe with many a noble seat of learning."[54] The connection between Piers Butler and the ideals of the Renaissance period can be shown by his familiarity with some of the foremost

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[52] Clement Adrian Empey, "From Rags to Riches: Piers Butler, Earl of Ormond, 1515 - 1539," *Journal of The Butler Society* vol. 2, no. 3 (1984): 299.
[53] Bradley, *A Worthy Foundation*, 77.
Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391 - 1843*, 18.
[54] *The Church of Ireland Gazette*, 16 October 1942, 355 - 357.

Renaissance individuals of the day, as John Leonard, in his book on the seventeenth century university in Kilkenny, *A University for Kilkenny, Plans for a Royal College in the Seventeenth Century* (1996), noted:

> Butler [Piers] was no stranger to the Royal Court in London and, in all probability, he would have been acquainted with St. Thomas More and Erasmus and the latest educational ideas of the time. He brought these ideas back with him to his native city and used them to establish a school in the grounds of St. Canice's Cathedral which specialised in teaching Latin and Greek, with particular emphasis on grammar.[55]

Erasmus (1466 - 1536) was the foremost Humanistic educator of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and through his scholarship and travels formed a link between the humanists of Italy and those of northern Europe. Having been born in Rotterdam, Holland, and after his initial education, Erasmus became a priest in the service of the bishop of Cambrai. He was sent by the Bishop to Paris to study theology and began to appreciate the importance of classical study in relation to the understanding of the origins of Christianity. In Paris Erasmus met a group of English students who invited him to London and Oxford. In England he met with a group of individuals, such as John Colet (c.1467 – 1519) and William Grocyn (c.1446 – 1519), who had recently returned from Italy with an alacrity for classical study and simultaneously started the teaching of Greek at Oxford and the English Humanistic tradition. Erasmus left England to devote himself to the study of Greek and travelled widely in both Italy and Europe. He eventually returned to England and became professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1511, at the invitation of Bishop John Fisher (1469 - 1535), the chancellor of the university. Although Erasmus only remained in Cambridge until 1514, W. H. Woodward, in *Studies in Education during the Renaissance 1400 - 1600* (1906), noted that he "gave standing to the new learning, and more than any other single person created the atmosphere in which humanism could flourish."[56] During this time he assisted John Colet in the foundation of St. Paul's School, London and supplied texts for the new institutions which included *De Copia*. This work was modified by Peter White and used in the College during White's mastership. The advent of the Reformation disrupted Erasmus' work and he was forced to move first

[55] John Leonard, *A University for Kilkenny, Plans for a Royal College in the Seventeenth Century* (Dún Laoghaire, Co. Dublin: St. Canice's Press, 1996), 15 - 16.
[56] William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Renaissance 1400 - 1600*, Contributions to the History of Education vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906), 109.

to Basel, Switzerland and then Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Germany, where he continued his work while he witnessed with considerable sadness the dissipation of the Christian Church. He died in 1536 after a long illness. Empey also saw Butler's involvement with some of the main protagonists of the Renaissance and commented:

> The fact that Piers and Margaret founded a grammar school to which the sons of the Anglo-Irish flocked suggest that they had a genuine interest in letters and in promoting Renaissance civility like aristocratic patrons elsewhere in Europe. Thus, while he can scarcely be acclaimed as an Irish Maecenas, it should not be readily assumed that he was immunised by native insularity against religious and cultural contagion from Europe and his contemporaries.

Ledwich in *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny,* (1786) gave an interesting insight into the character of Piers Butler when he commented:

> The earl, every year for the last fortnight in Lent, retired to a chamber in St. Canice's church-yard called Paradise, and there devoted himself to prayer and almsgiving, and returned to his own house on Easter eve. He was not ashamed of the duties of religion; he was conscious that from this practice of them new splendour was derived to his family and high rank.[57]

Butler's actions were performed as a preparation to receive the sacraments, and participate in the Easter celebrations.[58] Although the above quotation indicated that Piers had a magnanimous nature and possibly a spiritual character, there may have been other influences on his decision to found the College. It can be speculated that the reasons why Piers Butler founded the College in 1538 were a mixture of a Renaissance interest in education and an act of benevolence, but the role of his wife seems to have been more than significant. The seventeenth century Anglo-Irish writer Richard Stanihurst described Margaret as "a rare woman, and able for wisedome to rule a realme, had not her stomacke ourruled hir knowledge, a lady of such parts"[59] Another quote from Stanihurst, recorded in *A plain and perfect description of Ireland,* in R. Holinshed ed., *Chronicles of England and Ireland,* vol. VI described her as:

> a lady of such parts that all the estates of the Kingdom crouched unto her;

[57] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny,* 387.

[58] Patrick Francis Moran, "Inaugural Address," *Ossory Archaeological Society,* vol. I, (1874 - 1879): 17 - 18.
Bishop Moran quoted material from a manuscript entitled *Lynch's Irish See,* which was probably Ledwich's source for information concerning Piers Butler's annual visit to the cell within St. Canice's precincts. Moran gave no other reference to where Lynch's manuscript could be located.

[59] Stanihurst, *The historie of Ireland,* 328.

> so politic, that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice. She was man like and tall in stature: a secure friend; bitter enemy; hardly disliking, where she fancied; not easily fancying, where she disliked.[60]

Edward Ledwich added to this assessment when he commented that she was "a lady of most amiable qualities". Carte in *Life of James, Duke of Ormond* (1636) gave a clearer indication as to the nature of the relationship between the Earl and Countess, when he recorded that Margaret, "ruled her husband with an iron hand and was a person of great wisdom, and courage uncommon in her sex."[61] Margaret Butler was the second daughter of the eighth earl of Kildare and in marrying Piers Butler in 1587, she forged a link between the two most powerful Irish families in the sixteenth century.[62] The Rev. David Woodworth in his article on the library of St. Canice's Cathedral speculated if Piers Butler can actually be credited with the foundation of the school. Woodworth cited Lawless' work on the House of Ormond, as evidence, which noted:

> The Lady Margarett Countesse of Ormonde and Ossorye lived some yeeres after him (her husband) and during her lyfe shee lived most godly in contemplation and prayer, giving almes bountefully unto poore and needy people; and (at her proper costs and charges) built a schole-house neere the

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[60] Stanihurst, *A plain and perfect description of Ireland*, in R. Holinshed ed., *Chronicles of England and Ireland*, vol. VI, 85.

[61] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*, 387.
Unreferenced quote from Carte contained in Tighe, *William Tighe's Statistical observations relative to the County of Kilkenny*, vol. II, footnote 636.
O'Phelan remarks that Margaret FitzGerald was sometimes known by the Irish version of her name: Morhyhead Ghearhodh.
Margaret FitzGerald died in 1542 and was placed along side her husband in his tomb in St. Canice's Cathedral, the inscription reads:

> + INRI. HIC IACENT PETRUS BUTTELER COMES ORMONIE & OSS' Qi OBIT XXVI DIE AUGUSTI Ao DNi M CCCCC XXXIX ET MARGARET A FI'GERALDE COMITISSA UXOR EI'Q OBIT IX DIE AUGUSTI [ ]

John Bradley translates the inscription as:

> Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews. Here lie Piers Butler earl of Ormond and Ossory who died 26 August 1539 and his wife Countess Margaret FitzGerald who died 9th August [ ]

Further information concerning the lives of Piers and Margaret Butler is contained in:
Imelda Kehoe, "Margaret Fitzgerald, wife of Piers Butler 8th Earl of Ormond and 1st Earl of Ossory," *Old Kilkenny Review, The Journal of Kilkenny Archaeological Society* vol. 3, no. 3 (1991): 826 -841. & George Butler, "Red Piers of Ormond," *Journal of The Butler Society* vol. 1, no. 1 (1968).

[62] Empey, "From Rags to Riches,": 302.

Churchyard of St. Kenny's Church.[63]

Woodworth continued:

> The implication is that Lady Margaret founded the School after the death of Piers Butler, 8th Earl of Ormonde, in 1539. On the other hand, good sources hold that Piers and Margaret together founded the School. The dates for this joint foundation are usually given as 1538 or 1539. Canon Carrigan is numbered among these good sources . . . Since the School is known as the Earl of Ormonde's School as early as 1555, perhaps the puzzle is solved by suggesting that Piers and Margaret planned the school - even commenced to build it - before the Earl's death and that after his decease, his widow turned the plans into bricks and mortar, teacher and pupils. This suggestion could well be correct, since, supposing the building started in 1538, it would take more than a year to build and furnish the structure, and to find a suitable schoolmaster.[64]

Margaret Butler was also credited with rebuilding many castles in the Kilkenny area and is connected especially with the castle at Gowran.[65] She also appeared to have continued to exist in the realms of popular mythology up until the middle of the nineteenth century; Prim and Graves in *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny* (1857) recorded that her name was still a vital figure in the traditions of the people of Kilkenny "forming with Cromwell and the Danes a triad to whom almost everything marvellous, cunning or cruel is attributed."[66] This was not the only action of Piers and Margaret Butler which proved to be of benefit to the people of Kilkenny. Ledwich has recorded that the Butlers were instrumental in bringing small scale manufacturing to Kilkenny, noting that "This noble and excellent pair endeavoured to enrich Kilkenny by introducing manufacturing to it. For this purpose they brought out of Flanders and the neighbouring provinces, artificers, whom they employed and encouraged at Kilkenny, in working tapestry, diaper, turkey carpets, cushions, &c."[67]

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[63] Richard Lawless, *Pedigree of the Most Noble House of Ormonde*, MS contained in the Earl of Bessborough Archives, quoted in Graves & Prim, *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny*, 247.

[64] Gerald Mark David Woodworth, "St. Canice's Library, (Continued)," *Old Kilkenny Review, The Journal of Kilkenny Archaeological Society* no. 23, (1971): 15 -16.

[65] Tighe, *William Tighe's Statistical observations relative to the County of Kilkenny*, vol. II, 636.

[66] Graves & Prim, *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice*, 249.

[67] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*, 387.

There is no physical evidence remaining of the first College building but its location seems almost certainly to have been in the west end of St. Canice's Cathedral yard, the site of the present cathedral library.[68] John Bradley in *Historic Towns Atlas, No. 10 Kilkenny* (2000) identified the exact location as Church Lane, the site of the Blackrath Castle, the c.1300 residence of the prebend of Blackrath.[69] Woodworth noted that after 1412 the revenues of the prebend of Blackrath were in the hands of the King and after that date there was no prebend which resulted in the castle falling into disuse until the foundation of the College on the site in 1538.[70]

1.5: The masterships of the Rev. William Johnston (d.1581), master of the College from 1552 - 1557 and the Rev. Peter White, master of the College from 1557 - 1566.

The College that was founded by Piers and Margaret Butler was fortunate to attract two men of significant calibre to become the master. Both Johnston and White were clerics and Oxford graduates with a sound background in Latin and Greek grammar, and gave the College a firm foundation by gaining a reputation for dispensing the classical education necessary for entrance to European universities. The first recorded master of the College was the Rev. William Johnston. Henry Cotton, in his *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae,* (1878) referred to the Rev. William Johnston as having been a native of Worcester who had been brought to Kilkenny by Thomas, the tenth earl of Ormond to be the master of the College in 1552.[71] Both Henry Cotton in *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae* and Charles and Thompson Cooper in *Athenae Cantabrigienses,* vol. I, 1500 - 1584 (1858) acknowledged that Johnston had been educated at Cambridge, although they both noted that there were no records remaining of what college he had attended or which degree he had been awarded.[72] After Cambridge Johnston then attended All Souls' College, Oxford, where he was awarded a B.A. and elected to a

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[68] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College,* 2.
Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory,* vol. I, 257.

[69] John Bradley, *Irish Towns Atlas No.10, Kilkenny* (Dublin: The Royal Irish Academy, 2000), 22.
Gerald Mark David Woodworth, "St. Canice's Library," *Old Kilkenny Review, The Journal of Kilkenny Archaeological Society* no. 22, (1970): 5 -10.

[70] Woodworth, "St. Canice's Library,", 10.
The prebend of Blackrath remained vacant until 1544.

[71] Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae, The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies in Ireland,* vol. II, The Province of Leinster (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1878), notes in appendix, 414 & 415.
In some records Johnston appears as Jonson.

[72] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae,* vol. II, appendix, 414.
Charles Henry Cooper and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses,* vol. I, (1500 - 1584) (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co. 1858), 445.

fellowship in 1543, and in 1547 he was awarded an M.A.[73] J. B. Leslie in his record of the clergy of Ossory, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (1933), suggested that Johnston was the rector at Clonmore, Co. Louth during the 1540's before his appointment to Kilkenny.[74] He was appointed to the deanery of Ossory by the Crown in 1559, a position he held until his death on 7 October 1581. As dean of Ossory, Johnston was an agent of Thomas, the tenth earl of Ormond, and nominated as a trustee to the disposition made by him in 1576, of all his honors, manors and estates.[75] Johnston was referred to in the following extract taken from the last will and testament of his predecessor as dean of Ossory, James Bicton, who died in 1552, "Mr. Johnston scholem to my Lord of Ormud owethe me twenty shyllyng or thereabout, and whether yt be more or lesse I referr yt to hys conscyence."[76] Although he was buried in St. Canice's Cathedral, there was no monument to his memory until 1624, when a memorial stone was erected by his son-in-law, the Rev. Robert Wale.[77] Although the College was clearly a Catholic institution Carrigan has cast doubt over Johnston's religious convictions, stating that he continued as a schoolmaster in Kilkenny during Queen Mary's reign and therefore would have had to have professed a Catholic faith which was either authentic or fabricated. Carrigan further noted that since he left a wife and two daughters when he died, and maintained his positions within St. Canice's Cathedral during the reign of Elizabeth, there can be no doubt that Johnston moved with the prevailing religious trends and clearly was a member of the reformed faith in his later life.[78] When Johnston was raised to the deanery he was replaced as school superintendent by the Rev. Peter

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[73] Charles William Boase, ed. *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. I, (1449 - 63; 1505 - 71) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 207.

[74] James Blennerhassett Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes: Being an Account of the Clergy of the Church of Ireland in the Diocese of Ossory, From the Earliest Period, with Historical Notices of Several Parishes, Churches, &c.* (Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh: Fermanagh Times, 1933), 58.

[75] Cooper & Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. I, 446.

[76] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, appendix, 414.
The original text of Bicton's will is part of the Register of Wills, held in the Bodleian Library at the University of Oxford.

[77] The inscription on William Johnston's monument reads:

> Gulielmus Johnson, decanus ecclesiae cathedralis St. Canici, Kilkeniae, qui Wigornii natus Cantabrigiae educatus, obiit Kilkeniae . . . .die idus Octobris, 1681.

O'Phelan translates the inscription as follows:

> William Johnston, Dean of the cathedral church of St. Canice, in Kilkenny, had his birth in Worcester, his education in Cambridge, and departed this life in Kilkenny, the . . . day of . . . 1681.

The date on the inscription is incorrect: the actual date of Dean Johnston's death is 1581.

[78] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. I, 258.

White. White had been brought to Kilkenny by Thomas, earl of Ormond, with the expressed purpose of building up the school's reputation.[79] The earl's choice proved to be a judicious one, as White was to become probably one of the most famous educators of the early modern period in Ireland. Edmund Hogan in *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century* (1894), described him as "The prince of Irish schoolmasters."[80] White in turn made the school founded by Piers Butler, in Dowling's words contained in *A History of Irish Education* (1971) "a landmark in the history of education in Ireland."[81] An early account of White's life was entered in *Athenae Oxonienses* by the biographer and compiler, Anthony à Wood, in 1721. Wood's account is both distinctive and informative and adds a greater understanding to White's background:

> Peter White, noted for his excellency in humane learning while he continued in the University (Oxford), elected a Fellow of Oriel Col. An. 1551, and in the year 1555 was admitted Master of Arts. About the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign he returned to his native country, and became the happy school-master of Munster, and Dean of Waterford for a time. From which last place ejected for his religion, about 1565, he continued notwithstanding in his beloved faculty of pedagogy, which was then accounted a most excellent employment in Ireland, by catholics; especially for this reason, that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so consequently keep out protestancy. His school was, in his time in a flourishing condition, and by his care and industry, many learned persons issued thence. Among such (not that I shall mention Rich. Stanyhurst, of whom I will speak hereafter) was one Peter Lombard . . . As for Peter White he has written,
> Epitome Copiae Erasmi, lib. 1.
> Epit. figurarum Rhetoricarum, lib. 1.
> Annotationes in orat. pro Archiâ poetâ.
> Annot. in orat. pro T. A. Milone.
> Epigrammata diversa, lib. 1.
> He lived, as I guess, to the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign: but the particular time when he died I find not.[82]

White had been born in Waterford, but the exact year remains unknown, although the White family had been in Munster since the arrival of Henry II and was

[79] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 43.
[80] Edmund Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century* (London: Burns & Oates, 1894), 51.
[81] Dowling, *A History of Irish Education*, 57.
[82] Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses: an exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the university of Oxford*, ed. Philip Bliss (London: 1813 - 20), 575 - 576.

developing a strong recusant tradition.[83] John Lynch, Roman Catholic bishop of Killala, in *Supplementum Alithinologia,* published in 1667, described the White family as "always having clung steadfastly to the faith".[84] Lynch continued:

> In the year 1585, Victor White, of Clonmel, suffered the loss of his property, liberty and life, rather than betray a priest of God. Peter, Dean of Waterford, and John, a priest suffered many things for the Faith, as we are told by Sanders; Richard, Lord of Loghil, lost his liberty and lands because he refused to take the Oath of Supremacy. Sir Dominick and Sir Andrew and Nicholas White sacrificed their fortunes, and went into exile sooner than renounce the inheritance of St. Patrick. It is beyond all doubt that there are more priests of this one family than any other Irish name. I myself have known Stephen of the Society of Jesus, Doctor of Divinity. I have seen a Doctor of Divinity and *Professor emeritus*, who, on account of his great learning in every department of science, has been called by some *Polyhistor*, and by others a walking library; I think his brother was that James White, whom O'Sullevan calls Doctor of Divinity. I have seen a Doctor of Divinity at Nantes named Balthazar White, while in the same town Dr. John White of the Oratory teaches Divinity with the greatest *éclat*, and is honoured with the title of Rector of the Academy; there is also another Doctor of Divinity, of the same family living in exile at Morlaix.[85]

His formative education probably was begun locally in Waterford before he entered The House of the Blessed Mary the Virgin in Oxford, commonly called Oriel College. The decision, by his parents or his teacher, to send White to Oxford was not an unusual one. There being no university in Ireland the exodus of Irish scholars requiring a university education to England and the continent was natural. As John Brady remarked in an article entitled *Some Irish Scholars of the Sixteenth Century*, this situation was far from satisfactory "It is one of the ironies of history that the love of learning in Ireland was never more in evidence than during a period when education was most difficult to obtain."[86] White was first awarded a B.A. and then elected to a fellowship at Oriel on 9 April 1551, as shown in the following record, translated from Latin, from *The Dean's Register of Oriel College*, edited by Richards

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[83] Joseph Hansard, *The History Topography and Antiquities (Natural and Ecclesiastical) with Biographical Sketches of the Nobility, Gentry and Ancient Families, and Notices of Eminent Men, and Company of the County and City of Waterford; including the Towns, Parishes, Villages, Manors and Seats*, ed. Donald Brady (Lismore,Waterford: Waterford Co. Council, 1998), 263.

[84] John Lynch, *Supplementum Alithinologia quod partes Invectivae in Hibernos cusae* (1667), 190. quoted in Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth Century.*

[85] Ibid.

[86] John Brady, "Some Irish Scholars of the Sixteenth Century," *Studies, An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy & Science* vol.XXXVII, (June 1948): 226 - 231.

and Salter, (1926):

> On the ninth of April 1551 A.D. by decree of the sovereign court on the convocation of the fellowship after communion and after other decrees which are in force, these two graduates Master Henry Mitchell . . . on the same day John Hemming of the community and diocese of Worcester, Peter White from the community and diocese of Waterford in Ireland and Robert Huys from the community of Denbighshire and diocese of St. Asaph (Llanelwy), have all been admitted into a probation year by me John Smyth as proposer.[87]

White proceeded to the degree of M.A. on 26 April 1555 before returning to Ireland in the following year. The reasons for this return stemmed from Oriel College's desire to grant a year of absence to fellows who wished to become schoolmasters. They were encouraged to pursue their teaching careers because Oriel College was in severe financial difficulties and could not afford to maintain all her fellows. On 23 December 1556, at the end of his year of leave, White was summoned back as Oriel's register records, "Also accordingly, Master White must try and return to College before Easter or else face the authority of the College."[88] White chose not to return and was expelled from Oriel College as a consequence.[89] The reasons why White chose not to return are unclear. It could be suggested that he was discouraged by the religious developments at Oriel during the 1550s.[90] This suggestion is strengthened by John Gutch in his edition of Anthony à Wood's history of Oxford published in 1786, when he stated "From Oriel divers absented themselves and

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[87] George Chatterton Richards and Herbert Edward Salter, ed. *The Dean's Register of Oriel, 1446 - 1661* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), 133.
Below is the original Latin text from *The Dean's Register of Oriel, 1446 - 1661*:

> Nono die Aprillis anno domini 1551 ex statuto regiae maiestatis convocata societate post communionem et alia, quae exigunt statuta, admissi sunt hii duo baccalaurei dominus Henricus Mychell . . . Eodem die admissi sunt in annum probationis Iohannes Hemming comitatus & diocesis Vigorniensis, Petrus Whyte ex comitatu & diocesi Waterforde in Hybernia et Robertus Huys de comitatu Denbighe & diocesi Assauensi per me Iohannem Smythe prepositum.

Huys is sometimes recorded as Hewys.

[88] Richards & Salter, *The Dean's Register of Oriel*, 133.
Below is the original Latin text from the Register of Oriel College:

> Item ut Magister White redeat ad studium in Collegio ante festum Paschalis aut ius Collegii amittat.

[89] George Chatterton Richards & Charles Lancelot Shadwell, *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1922), 67.

[90] The religious disharmony and recusant activity at Oriel and Oxford is discussed at a fuller length in Chapter Two.

therefore their Fellowships were pronounced void of these were Mr. Will. Allyn of who before sub. am. 1557, Joh. Herniaman another, and I think Pet. Whyte an Irishman."[91] Ireland may have seemed to him to provide a more conducive atmosphere to pursue his faith. This possibility is echoed by Edmund Campion's biographer, Pietro Bombino, who commented on why, in 1580, Ireland was considered valued as a place of refuge for Campion: "the true religion could be practised more securely and less perilously."[92] It is not clear when White took holy orders but in most contemporary literature he is referred to as Father or the Reverend White. White must have already acquired an impressive reputation as a schoolmaster when c.1557 he was offered and accepted the position of master of Kilkenny College. A year later he was elected as the prebendary of Mayne, in the diocese of Ossory.[93] Like his predecessor Johnston, White is mentioned as a debtor in the following extract taken from Dean Bicton's will, "Sir Peter Whyte feallow of Oryall Coleadge owethe me ten shyllynges stlynge."[94] Under White's tenureship, which was only to last approximately nine years, the College grew in both numbers and renown. The College's fame along with White's growing reputation, was such that in 1557, James Stanihurst, a learned Dublin politician and merchant, selected White's school as the place where his ten year-old son, Richard, was to be educated.[95] Richard Stanihurst spent the next six years under the assured guidance of White. Dowling speculated that the Stanihurst family were "stoutly Protestant" and made issue that it was a gauge of the esteem in which Peter White and his school were held for Richard to be sent there.[96] Colm Lennon in *The Life of Richard Stanihurst, The Dubliner 1547 - 1618* (1981) refuted this suggestion and has stated that White's Roman Catholicism would not have been a major issue during Richard Stanihurst's time at Kilkenny.[97] Although noting Lennon's dismissal, it is worth pointing out that for James Stanihurst, a respected member of the Dublin Anglo-Irish society, being prepared to send his son to a school run by an unashamedly Roman Catholic priest was a

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[91] John Gutch, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, in two books: by Anthony à Wood, M.A. now first published in English from the original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, vol. III, (Oxford: Printed for the Author, 1786), 146 -147.

[92] Pietro Bombino, *Vita et Martyrium Edmundi Campini* (Antwerp, 1618), 27, quoted in Colm Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst The Dubliner, 1547 - 1618, (with his History of Ireland)* (Balckrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981), 29.

[93] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, 258.

[94] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, appendix, 414.

[95] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 43.
Stanihurst is sometimes referred to as Stanyhurst.

[96] Dowling, *A History of Irish Education*, 59.

[97] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst The Dubliner*, 25.

significant act.[98] Richard Stanihurst later wrote at length about White and his time in Kilkenny. These writings are a valuable and informative source concerning not just White's school but they form one of the best records of the nature of education in Ireland during the sixteenth century. These accounts offer a unique insight into an ancient institution by a writer of considerable merit, who was witnessing first hand how the ideas of the Renaissance affected Ireland through individuals such as Piers Butler and Peter White. The first reference by Stanihurst to his teacher is contained in his *Harmonia, sive catena dialectica in Porphyrianos institutiones*, published in London in 1570. In this work he was trying to emulate his father's feeling on the use of education to spread English civility to areas outside the Pale, referring to "Peter White, my own teacher, a man of erudition and integrity".[99] The most quoted and acclaimed reference to White and his school is in Stanihurst's *Description of Ireland* which formed part of Holinshed's famous *Chronicles*, first published in London in 1577, and was the longest and most detailed of Stanihurst's descriptions. The literary richness, as well as the historic importance of the description, have ensured that it has a substantial value to the general reader, educationalist and historian alike:

> In the west end of the churchyard (St. Canice's), of late, has been founded a Grammar School by the Right Honorable Pierce or Peter Butler, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, and by his wife the Countess of Ormond, the late Lady Margaret FitzGirald, sister to Girald FitzGirald the Earl of Kildare, that last was. Out of which school has sprouted such proper imps through the painful diligence and laboursome industry of a famous lettered man, Mr. Peter White (sometime fellow of Oriel college in Oxford, and schoolmaster in Kilkenny), as generally the whole weal public of Ireland, and especially the southern parts of that Island are greatly thereby furthered. This gentleman's method in training up youth was rare and singular, framing the education according to the scholar's vein. If he found him free, he would bridle him like wise Isocrates from his book: if he perceived him to be dull, he would spur him forward; if he understood that ye were worse for beating, he would win him with rewards. Finally by interlacing study with recreation, sorrow with mirth, pain with pleasure, sowerness with sweetness, roughness with mildness, he had so good success in schooling his pupils, as, good sooth I may boldly bide by it, that in the realme of Ireland was no grammar school so good, in England I am well assured, none better. And because it was my happy hap (God and my parents to be thanked)

[98] Dowling, *A History of Irish Education*, 59.

[99] Richard Stanihurst, *Harmonia, sive catena dialectica in Porphyrianos institutione* (London: 1570), quoted in Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst The Dubliner.*

> to have been one of his crue, I take it to stand with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie in requiting his good turns, yet to manifest my good will in remembering his pains. And certes, I acknowledge myself so bound and beholding to him and his sake, I reverence the meanest stone cemented in the walls of that famous school.[100]

The description of White's teaching methodology indicates not only his commitment to humanist thinking, it also demonstrates a deep pedagogic awareness. Stanihurst likens White to a stable hand breaking in a new horse; the pupil would be bridled if found free, and if punishment was deemed to be fruitless then a system of rewards was used. White's commitment to basing his teaching methodology in responding to individual pupils' needs reflected the methods of other humanistic Renaissance educators. The term Humanism is convenient in describing the type of education that was purveyed by White at the College, A. F. Leach noted in *The Schools of Medieval England* (1915), what he considered the term meant:

> The true virtue of what is known as the Renaissance is much better expressed in the term Humanism. It is not the introduction of Greek or the imitation of Cicero, the preference for the study of grammar over dialectic, or for details of philology instead of the niceties of logic, which constitute the Renaissance. It was the substitution of humanism for divinity, of this world for the next, as the object of living, and therefore education, that differentiated the humanists from their predecessors. For a thousand years the attention of educated mankind had concentrated on his latter end, or on what was feared to follow it. Not life, but death, had been the subject of the culture. Not how to prepare for life but how to prepare for death was the subject of education. The humanist's progress consisted in the adoption of this dogma, 'the noblest study of mankind is man.'"[101]

In light of Leach's comments White clearly falls into the Humanistic category. Another example of other educators in Europe who espoused the ideals of the Renaissance was the Italian Vittorino de Feltre. There are several interesting comparisons to be made with the work of Vittorino and Peter White which provide

[100] Stanihurst, *A plain and perfect description of Ireland*, in R. Holinshed ed., *Chronicles of England and Ireland*, vol. VI, 34.
Constantia Elizabeth Maxwell, *Irish History from Contemporary Sources (1509 - 1610)* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1923), 345.
Isocrates was one of the Ten Attic Orators, who made significant contributions to the development of rhetoric theory and education in Ancient Greece. His writings are essential to understanding fourth century B.C. politics and scholarship. Isocrates was an ardent believer in the ethical obligations of the rhetor, and he devoted his life to educating young Athenians to become better citizens through their use of rhetoric.

[101] Arthur Francis Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (London: Methuen, 1915), 248 - 249.

evidence as regards the position that White holds in the development of European Humanism. Vittorino de Feltre, born in Feltre, Italy in 1378, or, more probably in 1373, was one of the foremost humanist educators of the Renaissance. After Vittorino's initial education and academic career at the University of Padua, where he studied and taught Latin, Greek and mathematics, Vittorino moved to Venice. In 1423 he was offered the opportunity to start a private school in Mantua by Gian Francesco Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua. The Marquis was aware of the importance of a sound education necessary to allow his sons to compete in the intrigues of life amongst the minor noble families of Italy. After much persuasion by the Marquis, Vittorino established a school in an old recreation hall of a villa, whose agreeable surroundings led the house to become known as 'Casa Jocosa' or 'House of Joy'. Vittorino remained at the school for the following twenty-two years. The pupils were mainly the sons of local nobility but Vittorino admitted local boys as well at his own expense. The school was all boarding and Vittorino attempted to make it as much like home as possible. Patrick J. McCormick referred to Vittorino's teaching methodology in the following quotation from *The Catholic Encyclopaedia,* (1913):

> The instruction given was of new Humanistic type but Christian in character and spirit. It was not merely a literary training but embraced the physical and moral requirements of a liberal education. Letters (Latin and Greek), arithmetic, geometry, algebra, logic, dialectics, ethics, astronomy, history, music, and eloquence were all taught there, and frequently by special masters . . . He was an exemplary Catholic layman and as a teacher strove to cultivate in his pupils all the virtues of Catholic gentlemen. He did not over look the individual, but attained his success in overcoming faults and building up character by private direction and exhortation. His punishments were intended as remedies and were not administered without compromising the principles of Christianity. He insisted on pleasant surroundings, made study attractive, and, by attention to individuals, more profitable.[102]

Vittorino de Feltre's awareness of the individual and devotion to the Catholic faith compare closely to the characteristics of Peter White, recorded by Stanihurst over a century later. Although Vittorino did not leave any written accounts of his thoughts on education, White would no doubt have become aware of his activities during his time at Oxford. Vittorino was himself part of the development of Humanist thought, having been heavily influenced by the prominent Humanist Guarino da Verona and the writings of the Roman educationalist Quintilian. Guarino da Verona (1370 - 1460)

[102] Patrick J. McCormick, *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York: Encyclopaedia Press, 1913).

was born at Verona, Italy and was the leading Humanist in Renaissance Europe. He studied Latin and Greek, in which he quickly developed an outstanding aptitude. During his studies he visited Constantinople where he discovered fifty Greek manuscripts which he brought with him when he returned to Italy. Guarino spent the rest of his life teaching and lecturing throughout Italy. His teaching methodology was so acclaimed that students came from all over Europe to attend his lectures. His works included grammatical treatises, translations from the Greek, and commentaries on the works of various classical authors. His main influence on Vittorino resulted from the time which Vittorino spent with him studying Greek. Marcus Fabius Quintilian was born in Calagurris, Spain in 35 A.D. with a Roman rhetorician as a father. Quintilian was sent to Rome where he was educated in rhetoric by individuals such as Remmius Palaemon, Domitius and Afer. After his initial education he returned to Spain and became a well known rhetorician. He later returned to Rome, began to teach and published three works, of which only his *Institutio Oratoria* survived. He became the first rhetorician to set up a truly public school and to receive governmental aid, in the form of an imperial grant, and taught for twenty years. As a teacher of rhetoric, Quintilian taught the younger Pliny, the two sons of Domitilla, and the sister of Domitian. He lived in the period after Cicero, and therefore his ideas on rhetoric and rhetorical pedagogy were influenced by him. Since Cicero was also influenced by Isocrates, Quintilian's ideas can also be seen to mirror Isocrates. He believed that there was a level which a rhetorician could reach that he felt was perfect, and developed five main objectives that this rhetorician would have to follow to reach and maintain this level. These included protecting the innocent, defending the truth, deterring crime and criminal activities, inspiring the military, and in general, inspire the public. These ideals were what Quintilian felt every rhetorician should strive for to be a true rhetorician.

In another work, *De rebus in Hibernia gestis libri quattuor*, published in Antwerp in 1584, Stanihurst again celebrated his old school master and notes the tremendous debt he owed to him:

> There is in the town [Kilkenny] a school which owes its foundation to the munificence of Piers Butler, earl of Ormond and Ossory, and his wife Margaret Fitzgerald. This highly respected woman was a daughter of the earl of Kildare and she was remarkable for her wisdom in matters normally beyond the comprehension of women. In our own time the school was run by

> Peter White whose great merits are recognised throughout the colony . . . My own boyhood was given to him. Indeed I am so indebted to this schoolmaster's attention and compassion that I am at a loss in paying him tribute to him since I cannot reckon the full extent of his infinite merits on me.[103]

Apart from Stanihurst's account, there is only one other contemporary reference to White and the College which is included in Bishop Rothe's account contained in *De Ossoriensi Dioccesi*.[104] The Right Rev. Dr. Moran, Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, recorded in his *Inaugural Address* to the Ossory Archaeological Society in 1875, that Bishop Rothe was also a pupil of White's at the College in Kilkenny, but this is not the case since Rothe had been born in 1573, seven years after White's departure to the deanery of Waterford in 1566.[105] On 15 June 1566, Bishop Patrick Walsh, who held both the deanery and bishopric of Waterford and Lismore, wrote to the lord deputy concerning his resignation from all of these positions. In his request to the government to facilitate his retirement, he made a petition that his successor to the deanery would be Peter White. Bishop Walsh, in his petition to the government, described his condition which had precipitated his request and the talents that White possessed:

> Finding my self in boddy and senses so decaied for the age as I growe now unable to discharge the burden of my functions, whereof I conceive the more care, that myne impotence with detaining of those dignities I have from such as I shall be thought worthy to supply them, cannot excuse me before God, I am thereby in conscience stirred to wish myself ridd of some part of them, althou' they being united doth scant make me competent livinge; and therefore my good lord, I shall most humbly beseech you to accept my resignation of the deanerie of Waterford, to be by your honor commended to one Peter White of the birth of this city a man very well learned, past degrees in

[103] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 142.
Below is the original Latin quotation from *De Rebus in Hibernia gestis libri quattuor* (Antwerp: 1584):

> Exstat in hoc oppido (*i.e.* Kilkennia) schola extructa opibus clarissimi viri, Petri Butleri, Ormondiae et Ossoriae comitis, et uxoris ejus quae Margarita Giralda vocabatur. Foemina fuit spectatissima; non modo summa generis nobilitate, quippe comitis Kildarae filia, sed rerum etiam prudentia, supra muliebrem captum, praedita. Hic ludum aperuit, nostra aetate Petrus Whitus, cujus in totam rempublicam summa constant merita. . . excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros, commemorare potuissem; qui primis temporibus aetatis in ejus disciplinam se tradiderant.

[104] cf. 14.
[105] Moran, "Inaugural Address", 19.
Margaret Phelan, "Richard de Ledrede, John Clyn, James Grace, David Rothe - the Earliest Chroniclers of Kilkenny," in *Kilkenny: History and Society*, 103.

> scoles, and of virtuous sober conversation, by whose industry and travail a great part of youth in both this County (Waterford) and the County of Dublin have greatly profited in learning and virtuous education; where in, in my opinion your lordship shall do a great deal by displacing of me that am far spent, and commendation of him that is so well able everie waie to discharge the dutie of that roome.[106]

The lord deputy duly issued a *Coyne de Esline* to the chapter of Waterford and Lismore instructing them to proceed with the election of Peter White to the position of dean in the winter of 1566. This advancement severed his direct affiliation with Kilkenny but he was not to hold his new office for long. Carrigan points out that, unlike the Rev. William Johnston, White's Roman Catholicism had never been in question.[107] Therefore, being a steadfast Roman Catholic, with an innate loyalty to the papacy, he could not acknowledge the spiritual authority of the new Queen, which the oath of supremacy demanded and was thus deprived of both the prebend of Mayne and the deanery of Waterford and Lismore. The situation is well defined by Woodworth who described White as "Being out of sympathy with the Elizabethan Settlement of Church affairs."[108] The College at this time seems to have closed with the withdrawal of White to Waterford. It is known that he returned to his previous profession by setting up a school in Waterford which apparently flourished to much the same level as Kilkenny.[109] Wood's assertion that it was not known whether White lived to see the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign remains the most informative statement in connection to the date of White's death. James Auchmuty, in *Irish Education, A Historical Survey* (1937) saw White, through his educating Roman Catholic youths in the tenets of their faith, as the last attempt by an individual teacher to maintain the ideals of the monastic schools. Although White continued to teach after he was deposed from the deanery of Waterford and Lismore, the Irish monastic tradition of education that had been so prevalent in the ninth and tenth centuries, Auchmuty suggested, ended with him.[110] John Brady has also noted that although the remnants of the Irish monastic tradition may have ended with White,

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[106] Walter Harris ed. *The Whole Works of James Ware Concerning Ireland, revised and improved, including The Writers of Ireland*, vol. I (Dublin: Robert Bell, 1764), in *The Writers of Ireland*, 95. *Calendar of patent and close rolls of Chancery in Ireland of the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* ed. James Morrin, vol. I (Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1861 - 64), 494.

[107] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. I, 258.

[108] Richards & Salter, *The Dean's Register of Oriel*, 141.
Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 43.
Woodworth, "St. Canice's Library, (Continued),", 16.

[109] One uncorroborated source refers to White having a school in Clonmel aswell as Waterford.

[110] Auchmuty, *Irish Education*, 38.

White also played a role in maintaining the priest training function of the religious houses of Ireland. Brady has linked the opening of the Irish Colleges in places such as Salamanca in 1592 as the natural successor to the Irish monastic tradition of spiritual education.[111] Since Peter White maintained the College during a time when it contributed so richly to the personnel attending the new Irish colleges on the continent, White can then be seen to be a chief protagonist in the sustenance of the system which educated Roman Catholic priests, who would eventually return to Ireland and serve their own people. White and the College can be seen also as a vital factor in the survival of Roman Catholicism in Ireland. Apart from the supply of individuals to the Counter-Reformation, White, and others like him, ensured that when the arrival of the Jesuits took place in the early part of the seventeenth century, there was the semblance of a system to infuse with new fervour and hope. The maintenance of a tradition of Irish Roman Catholic education meant that when the government attempted to pursue a more proactive policy concerning the anglicanisation of Ireland, the task was not straightforward. James Auchmuty summarised this situation correctly when he said "Elizabeth realised full well the necessity of educating a native clergy if the church was to be anything but an alien institution."[112] By the 1570 act entitled "An Act for the Erection of Free Schools" which sought to establish "a free schoole, within every diocese of this realm of Ireland, and that the Schoolmaster shall be an Englishman or of the English birth of this realm", to educate youths who lacked a "good bringing up", Elizabeth evoked the spirit of Henry VIII's attempt to establish parish schools within Ireland.[113] Like Henry's attempt, the act failed due to apathy and the massive financial burden that it would have imposed on the English exchequer. Auchmuty has suggested that it would have been more expedient to have left a less ambitious attempt incomplete for future governments to build upon, than to have drawn up an act that was impossible to implement.[114] Although the government failed to make a significant impact in terms of an organised national education structure they were more successful in their attempt to establish a university in Ireland. A reformed university was set up in Dublin in 1592 with the express aim of making protestants of the Irish, as Susan Parkes noted in *Higher Education, 1793 - 1908*, in *Ireland Under the Union*, vol. VI, of *A New History of Ireland* (1996):

[111] Brady, "Some Irish Scholars of the Sixteenth Century," *Studies, An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy & Science* vol.XXXVII, (June 1948): 226 - 231.
[112] Auchmuty, *Irish Education*, 44.
[113] 12 Eliz. c.1. & 28 Henry VIII c. 15.
The statutes at large, passed in the parliaments held in Ireland, vol. I, 361 - 362 & 125 - 126.
[114] Auchmuty, *Irish Education*, 45.

> This University (Dublin) had been part of the Tudor monarchy's policy of anglicanisation and religious reformation, and consisted of one college. The 1592 charter referred to 'the college of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin' and incorporated it as 'the mother of a university' that would provide for the 'education, training, and instruction of youths and students in arts and faculties . . . that they may be better assisted in the study of liberal arts and the cultivation of virtue and religion'. Therefore from the outset Trinity College was both a university and a college, and it remained an anglican preserve and the centre of training for the clergy of the Church of Ireland.[115]

The Very Rev. James O'Boyle, in *Irish Colleges on the Continent, Their Origin and History* (1935), saw the foundation of the University of Dublin in starker terms:

> Our rulers (the English) well divined the influence that educated priests would have among their flock, and hence in the reign of Elizabeth, they devised ways and means that they conceived would sap and undermine the faith (Catholic) and the love of the country amongst the Irish.[116]

The foundation of the new university proved to be too late to stop the momentum of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland. Teaching from a curriculum heavily influenced by the new spirit of post-tridentine dogma, the Irish Colleges produced priests who were committed to the defence of Roman Catholicism to the point of martyrdom. From 1590 until 1615, five hundred priests were recorded to have been trained at one of the four Irish Colleges on the continent. These men, encouraged by the work of the likes of Archer, Lombard and Comerford, all of whom were educated by White at the College, came to Ireland to minister to the native population.[117] This action can be seen to have stemmed the tide of Protestantism well before the English were afforded the political freedom that came after decisive defeat of the Irish and Spanish at Kinsale, and the subsequent 'Flight of the Earls'. The connection with the continent, particularly France and Spain, that was made through Irish students travelling to study was so firmly established that it was not weakened until the anti-clericism of the French Revolution in 1789 and the Spanish Civil war in 1936 - 39. The reformed religious climate of Kilkenny during the later decades of the

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[115] Susan Mary Parkes, *Higher Education, 1793 - 1908*, in *Ireland Under the Union, II 1870 - 1921*, vol. VI, ed. William Edward Vaughan, in *A New History of Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 540 -541.

[116] James Canon O'Boyle, *Irish Colleges on the Continent, Their Origin and History* (London: Browne & Nolan Ltd., 1935), 9.

[117] This subject is dealt with in Chapter Two.

sixteenth century would not have restrained the ambitions of a Roman Catholic schoolmaster, but would have been enough to stimulate the maintenance of the College with an unambiguous religious inclination. After White's departure to the deanery of Waterford in 1566, no other information concerning any educational activity in Kilkenny exists until 1615, when a Protestant schoolmaster named Penyngton is recorded as having a school. It is reasonable to suggest that the College closed with the departure of White. Bishop Rothe's comments in *De Ossoriensi Dioccesi,* about a school which had formerly been in the church-yard of St. Canice's, adds credence to this position.[118]

1.6: The closure of the College until its re-establishment by James, 1st duke of Ormond c.1666.

The next decisive stage of the College's existence began with the decision of James, first duke of Ormond to re-establish the College in c.1666. In the intervening years many attempts were made to maintain the role which the College had performed in the educational life of Kilkenny. These attempts have a possible connection to the College that Peter White had left in 1566. The next documented reference to educational activity in Kilkenny is contained in a Royal Visitation of Ossory carried out in 1615. These visitations were undertaken, primarily, in an endeavour to strengthen Protestantism within Ireland. R. W. Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd in *Sources for Early Modern Irish History, 1534 - 1641* (1985) stated that these visitations were also to "ascertain church property and order the activities of the higher and lower clergy . . . These visitations, called royal because they were made officially by commissioners appointed to enquire into the state of the dioceses of the established church".[119] There were visitations in 1607, 1615, 1622 and 1633 - 34. At the conclusion of the entries in the visitations book for Ossory in 1615, it was recorded that there was a Protestant school in Kilkenny "There is . . . in this Diocese a publique schoolmaster placed, whose name is Penyngton, a minister and preacher. He keeps the publique school at Kilkenny: but few students resort to his schoole, by reason of their backwardness in religion."[120] Although J. B. Leslie lists Penyngton as a possible headmaster of the College no other details have survived concerning Penyngton's establishment, and it is therefore difficult to ascertain the

[118] David Rothe, *De Ossoriensi Dioccesi*, part of, *Collectanae de Rebus Hibernicus*, in the British Library's Sloane Collection Add MS 4796.

[119] Robert Walter Dudley Edwards and Mary O'Dowd, *Sources for Early Irish History, 1534 - 1641* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 71.

[120] Timothy J. Corcoran, *Education Systems in Ireland from the Close of the Middle Ages* (Louvain, Belgium: H. Bomans, 1928), 15 - 16.

exact relationship that this establishment had with the College that White had left in 1566. Penyngton's school could have been either a direct successor to the College or a temporary establishment that may have simply utilised the same premises as the College within the grounds of St. Canice's. It is possible that Walter Butler, the eleventh earl of Ormond, appointed Penyngton to be the master of some sort of successor to the College of which White had been the master, since 1615 was the year after he had ascended to the Ormond titles after the death of his father, Thomas Butler, the tenth earl of Ormond. Although the eleventh earl's involvement with Penyngton is possible, it would only have been for four years, since in 1619 the Earl was imprisoned in London by James I because of his refusal to submit to the award of the Ormond lands to Elizabeth, a daughter of his uncle. The report of the 1615 visitation to Ossory clearly indicated that Penyngton was a Protestant and that pupil numbers were in decline as a direct result. Although the relationship with the College remains speculation, Penyngton's establishment represented the start of an explicitly Protestant educational presence in Kilkenny. As regards Penyngton himself there are no other surviving records: if he was a graduate of Oxford, Cambridge or Dublin, as most ministers would have been at this time, no record of his attendance exists in any of these universities' alumni registers. Given the lack of information contained in the 1615 report, it can be inferred that the institution that was run by the Rev. Penyngton was a fairly new establishment. The report on the visitation of Alexander Lynch's school in Galway contained far greater detail, which indicated that his school had been established for some time prior to the visitation. The visitation of Lynch's school noted:

> Wee found in Galway a publique schoolmaster named Lynch, placed there by the Cittizens, who had a great number of schollers, not only out of that Province but also out of the Pale, and other partes, resorting to him. Wee had daily proofe, during our continuance in that citty, how well his schollers profited under him, by verse and orations which they presented us. We sent for that schoolmaster before us, and seriously advised him to conforme to the Religion established; and not prevailing with our advices, we enjoyed him to forebear teaching: and I the chancellour did take a recognizance of him and some others of his kinsmen in that citty, in some of 400 *li.* ster., to his Matie use, that from thenceforth he should forbeare to teach any more without special license of the Lo. Deputy.[121]

The lack of any additional information pertaining to Penyngton and the school that

[121] Ibid.

he was the master of can be linked to the tribulation that was suffered by the Ormond family during these years. The eleventh earl of Ormond was not released from imprisonment until 1625. In a manuscript held in the National Library of Ireland there is a reference to a free school in the diocese of Ossory dated 23 July, 1634.[122] The manuscript is a receipt from Patrick Wemyss to John Wyttar, the master of the Free School of Ossory, for money owed to him by the earl of Ormond for the running of the school. Since the title of the school referred to the diocese of Ossory, it cannot be immediately accepted that the school was located in the city of Kilkenny, although this must have been a strong possibility. The receipt referred to the half-yearly gales or rents of Michaelmas and Easter. Although nothing additional is known about Wyttar, Patrick Wemyss, originally from Scotland, was the agent of the earl of Ormond and the Sheriff of Co. Kilkenny. The earl referred to in the receipt was James, the twelfth earl of Ormond, who was later created the first duke of Ormond, who was responsible for the re-establishment of the College c.1666. Since the manuscript is dated 1634, the year after the twelfth earl and future first duke of Ormond had acceded to the title vacated by the death of his grandfather, Walter Butler, the eleventh earl of Ormond, there is a strong possibility that the Free School had been in existence for several years prior to 1634 and possibly dating from 1625 the year in which the eleventh earl had been released from imprisonment and had returned to Kilkenny. Any suggestion that this school in turn was in some way connected to Penyngton's establishment of 1615 must remain as speculation, due to the lack of any evidence to confirm any form of continuity between these schools. The involvement of the future first duke of Ormond also gives an indication that the establishment that he refounded c.1666 was not his first involvement with educational matters in the County of Kilkenny. Another reference to educational activity in Kilkenny is contained in the 1641 depositions for the County of Kilkenny held in Trinity College Library, Dublin. The depositions referred to two men who were Protestant schoolmasters during the 1641 rebellion in Kilkenny. One was named as Hughes, "a schoolmaster, and divers of other Protestants" and the other was named as a Mr. Lemon "a Scottish Protestant and late a schoolmaster in Kilkenny."[123] It appears that Lemon was a victim of the rebellion. No other references to either Hughes or Lemon could be located. Again the lack of further evidence concerning the teaching activity of these men makes it impossible to place them in

[122] John Wyttar's Receipt for Monies Received From the Earl of Ormond for the Free School of the Dioceses of Ossory, 23 July, 1634, NLI MS 11064, item 7 (see Fig. II, Appendix VIII).
[123] 1641 Depositions For Co. Kilkenny, TCD MS 812, f.202 & f.214.
I am grateful to Dr. David Edwards for the information pertaining to Wyttar, Hughes and Lemon.

connection with any other institution that existed between the closure of the College in 1566 and its re-establishment c.1666. During the Cromwellian period in Ireland, educational activity in Kilkenny is referred to on a number of occasions. These references occur during the latter half of the 1650s. Carrigan recorded that a Captain John Joener, a member of Cromwell's army of occupation in Kilkenny, removed some of the timber of the old school house in the churchyard of St. Canice's. Joener then built a house within a mile of Kilkenny using the timber, which was commonly called Joener's Folly.[124] Although Carrigan doesn't record the source of this information, it is most likely to have been footnotes contained in *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny,* (1857) by James Graves and John George Augustus Prim.[125]

Rev. David Woodworth, in his article on the library of St. Canice's pointed out that the school house was not completely destroyed, "It is worth noting that he (Joener) removed only the "mayne timber" and not all of it, implying that, while flooring, panelling and roofing timbers were taken away, some timber at least remained after their removal."[126] The acquisition of church property and lands was a common practice amongst the Cromwellian army occupying Kilkenny. Much of the land belonging to the diocese of Ossory was distributed amongst the soldiers by Lieutenant Colonel Oliver Wheeler, the first Mayor of the Cromwellian corporation in Kilkenny.[127] A Cromwellian institution may have attempted to fill the vacuum left by the demise of the College. T. C. Barnard noted in *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649 - 1660* (1975) that in Kilkenny money from the profits of justice was put aside for "the educating of youths after the English fashion."[128] Evidence contained in *MS Seymore: Ministers of the Gospel appointed by the Commonwealth Government to minister throughout Ireland,* supports this statement and

[124] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory,*Carrigan, vol. I, 259.
Neely in *Kilkenny: An Urban History,* mentioned John Joener as a man who had changed his loyalties: after being a cook in the household of Charles I, he joined the Parliamentary army. He is also mentioned as the chief witness in the trial of Daniel Axtell. Axtell, unable to come to terms with the conciliatory moves of Henry Cromwell, had been involved in Lambert's attempt to resist the restoration of Charles II and was tried, hanged, drawn and quartered as a result. The townland still bears the name Joener's Folly.
Woodworth, "St. Canice's Library, (Continued)", 16.

[125] Carte MS vol.SS, f.278 held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford quoted in Graves & Prim, *The History, Architecture, and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny,* footnotes, 247.

[126] Woodworth, "St. Canice's Library, (Continued)", 16.

[127] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History,* 43.
Wheeler seems to have done this regardless of the fact that his father was the bishop of Ossory.

[128] Toby Christopher Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland English Government and Reform in Ireland 1649 - 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975), 190.

demonstrates that there was considerable educational activity taking place in Kilkenny during the Commonwealth period. The *Commonwealth Council Books, A List of Schoolemasters in Several Precincts in Ireland,* contained in the manuscripts, recorded in 1655 that, "Mr. Thomas Osmington, a schoolemaster in ye citty removed to teach in Rosse (Co. Wexford)", and that Osmington's salary was noted as forty pounds.[129] Osmington's departure from his position may have occurred sooner than 1655 because he is mentioned in the 1654 List of Commonwealth Ministers in Ireland, as being the minister of Ross in the precinct of Wexford with a salary of one hundred pounds. It is not known when Osmington had started teaching in the city but it is reasonable to think he arrived from England shortly after the Cromwellian occupation of Kilkenny. He seems to have benefited greatly from his change in position with his salary increasing by sixty pounds. The Seymore Manuscripts fail to include any biographical information about Thomas Osmington, but there is a mention of a Thomas Osmonton contained in the alumni registers of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[130] Both of these alumni registers lack an account of the life of Thomas Osmonton between 1653 and 1664, apart from the award of an M.A. from Trinity College, Dublin. These dates, and the fact that he was awarded a degree in Dublin during these years, would facilitate a reasonably sound connection between the Osmonton mentioned in the alumni registers and the Osmington mentioned in the Seymore Manuscripts. The divergence in the spelling in the name in both the register and the manuscripts is negligible since the manuscripts contain two other alternative spellings of the name. According to the compilers of the alumni registers, Osmonton, from Sussex, entered Jesus College, Cambridge as a pensioner in the October of 1648. He was awarded a B.A. in 1652/3. In 1664 he was incorporated at Jesus College, Cambridge and in 1672 at an unspecified college at the University of Oxford. It is recorded that Osmonton was rector of three parishes: Ivychurch in Kent, Little Horsted in Sussex and High Ham in Somerset. The registers also mention that he was removed from his position at Ivychurch for non-conformity in 1662 but

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[129] Seymore's Commonwealth MS, Notes relating to the "*Ministers of the Gospel appointed by the Commonwealth Government to minister throughout Ireland,*" abstracted by St. John Drelincourt Seymore, from the original documents (since burnt in 1922) in the Public Records Office, Dublin, held at the Representative Church Body Library, Dublin, MS LIBR/20, 217 - 220.
Osmington is also recorded as Ossington or Osmanton.

[130] John Venn & John A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900, Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751,* vol. III Kaile - Ryves (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), 286.
Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500 - 1714: Their Parentage and Year of Birth, with a Record of their Degrees,* vol. III, Early Series (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1892), 1096.

conformed in 1663 and subsequently took up his position at Little Horsted.[131] There is no mention of Osmonton's award of M.A. in the alumni register of the University of Dublin.[132] There are two other limited references to him contained in Seymore's Commonwealth MS which indicate that he remained in Ireland after he left his teaching position in Kilkenny. On 28 January 1655 it was recorded that "For the better encouragement of Thomas Osmington, at New Ross, Co. Wexford, in the work of the ministry £10 is to be added too his former allowance of £110."[133] He was similarly mentioned on 8 April 1656, "Thomas Osmanton is to get £20, to buy books for his better encouragement in study, and to defray the cost of bringing his family out of England."[134] If it is assumed that the Osmanton of the Seymore Manuscripts and the Osmonton of the alumni registers of Oxford and Cambridge are the same, the mention of the cost of bringing his family to Ireland fails to agree with the entry in both the alumni registers. They state that he was married to Emlyn Rolle, at Sheirocke in Cornwall during the August of 1663, eight years after the decision to allow him extra funds. The reasons for this discrepancy are unclear, but it is not unreasonable to conclude that information regarding a family was construed to gain an augmented stipend.[135] There is a final mention of Osmington, contained in a letter from Thomas Harrison to Henry Cromwell dated 12 August 1656, part of the Lansdowne Manuscripts held at the British Library. The exact context of the reference is not completely clear but seems to have indicated his unhappiness in the prevailing religious conditions in Ireland:

> Mr. Osminton last week was with me, doubtful whether to return or no, and earnestly requiring after mine, saying all the ministers in Ireland would make usage of the rule of their expectations, for if Ireland was too hot for some that had such shelter, what might the rest look for.[136]

The matter appears not have been resolved, since he was recorded in the ministerial lists of 1656 and 1657 - 59 as maintaining his salary and charge at Ross, though

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[131] Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. III, Kaile - Ryves, 286.
Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500 - 1714*, vol. III, 1096.

[132] George Dames Burtchaeli & Thomas Ulick Sadleir, ed. *Alumni Dublinenses, A Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College in The University of Dublin (1593 - 1860)* (Dublin: Alex. Thom & Co., Ltd., 1935).

[133] Seymore's Commonwealth MS 11.

[134] Ibid., 16.

[135] Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. III, Kaile - Ryves, 286.
Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500 - 1714*, vol. III, 1096.
It is also recorded that he was the father of two sons, Richard and Thomas.

[136] Lansdowne MS vol. 821.

residing in England.[137] The Rev. Robert Sands of Kilkenny is recorded in Seymore's Commonwealth MS as being instructed to take up Osmington's position as the schoolmaster in Kilkenny, in September of 1656, maintaining Osmington's salary of forty pounds. Sands was to be accompanied by Mr. Laughlin Neale from Marrishborough, but no salary was mentioned for him. Mrs. Hannah Smith and Elizabeth Wells were both individuals who were also noted as being involved in some unspecified educational capacity in Kilkenny, with a salary of ten pounds between them.[138] The Commissioners for Governance and Management of Affairs in Ireland 1659 - 60 recorded that Sands and Neale had been joined by a third Schoolmaster, Henry Price, in the years since 1656. No other record can be found which relates to Sands and Neale but there is additional information concerning Henry Price. Price seems to have left Kilkenny in the June of 1659 to take up a ministerial position in the barony of Kenry, Co. Limerick. The inhabitants of the barony of Kenry then petitioned the government for Price to be allowed to stay as their minister, to which the government replied on 13 September, 1659:

> Henry Price has liberty for the space of six months (probationally) to preach to them in such places where the lord shall make his ministry most effectual. At the end of six months he is to receive recompense as upon application shall be thought fit.[139]

Price made an appeal against the government concerning their decision which proved successful, since he was awarded twenty five pounds in the *Money Issues out of Tithes Revenue* of 25 October 1659 "he having (as alleged in his petition) officiated for five months with out consideration for his payment."[140]

During the time after the closure of the College in 1566 there were several attempts by Roman Catholic church to establish educational institutions in Kilkenny. In the early 1640s a Jesuit college and novitiate housed in the priory of St. John's was established in the city of Kilkenny. The Jesuit college reflected the determination of the Roman Catholic Confederation that had met in Kilkenny in 1642, to establish institutions of higher learning for Roman Catholics, as the following order indicated:

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[137] Seymore's Commonwealth MS 187 & 195.
[138] Ibid., 220.
[139] Ibid., 99.
[140] Seymore's Commonwealth MS 123 & 65.
The Commissioners for Governance and Management of Affairs in Ireland 1659 - 60 consisted of Lord Broghill, Sir Charles Coote and Major William Bury.

> It is further ordered and established, for the advancement of learning, that in every province of this Kingdom *Free Schools* shall be erected and maintained, so many, and in such places, and in such manner and form, as the Metropolitan of the Diocese in their respective provinces shall think fit.[141]

It is recorded that the Jesuit college produced a drama in 1644 entitled, *Titvs; or The Palme of Christian Coverage*, the original of which is part of the Bradshaw Collection at the University Library, Cambridge.[142] Bishop Rothe also answered the order of the Confederation and set up his own school in 1642. His own establishment was at a house in Rose Inn Street in Kilkenny. The building had been a gift to Bishop Rothe from his father, John Rothe Fitz-Robert.[143] Carrigan provides additional evidence of the school's existence when he noted a visit by Rinuccini, the Papal Nuncio, to the school in 1645. Unfortunately, Carrigan doesn't provide the source of his information.[144]

1.7: Conclusion.

The decision by Piers and Margaret Butler to found the College in 1538 was not a spontaneous act of benevolence. Through the Butlers' exposure to the humanistic ideals of Erasmus and Thomas More at the court of Henry VIII, the concept of establishing a school in Kilkenny would have been a clear response to the challenge of passing this new understanding to subsequent generations. The fact that they were willing to construct a building to house the College adds resonance to the understanding that their desire was to create a permanent legacy. During the twenty-eight years of the College's existence it is clear that this challenge was met with a fair degree of success. The Butlers' involvement in the setting up of manufacturing in Kilkenny can also be seen as an extension of their largesse to their native land. The foundation of the College can also be seen in a more cynical light, as representing the Butlers' desire to leave a lasting legacy to the power and influence they had acquired during their lifetimes. After Piers Butler's death Margaret Butler continued not only the founding of the College, but also the rebuilding of castles within the county of Kilkenny. These activities demonstrate both the desire to ensure that their

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[141] Orders made by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the rest of the General Assembly (of the Confederate Catholic) for the Kingdom of Ireland met in the City of Kilkenny, 24 October, A.D. 1642. Item 20, quoted in Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. I, 259.

[142] *Titus; or the Palme of Christian Courage, A School Drama Performed at a Jesuit school in Kilkenny, 1644*. University of Cambridge, MS 5311/Hib 7.644.33.

[143] Dowling, *A History of Irish Education*, 66.

[144] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. I, 259 - 260.

legacy endured and that the Butlers' hold on the earldom of Ormond would be strengthened.

The relationship between the College and the earls of Ormond provided a secure footing from which the College could develop. Due to this relationship the College persisted from 1538 until c.1566. This was a significant length of time for an educational establishment, considering the hostile environment of sixteenth century Ireland, and also during a period in which a school's lifetime correlated more closely with the lifetime of its master than any other factor. The tradition of the Ormond connection with the College started by Piers and Margaret Butler, celebrated in the writings of Richard Stanihurst, ensured that educational provision became a natural concern of subsequent generations of Ormonds. This was the tradition on which James, first duke of Ormond, was able to re-establish the College c.1666.

The educational tradition that had been connected with Kilkenny since the founding of the monastery, and subsequently the vicars choral of St. Canice's Cathedral, appears to have been maintained by various institutions during the period after the closure of the College in 1566 and the re-establishment of the College c.1666. Although little is known about these institutions, such as Penyngton's school and the Free School of Ossory, of which John Wyttar was master, there must be strong speculation that Walter, the eleventh earl of Ormond, was in some way involved in their government. These institutions ensured that there was some sort of educational provision for the Protestant community within Kilkenny during this interim and that there were some form of continuity on which the duke of Ormond was able to draw to re-establish the College. The educational activities of various individuals in Kilkenny during the Cromwellian period appear to have been badly funded and supported by the Commonwealth.

The appointment of the Rev. Peter White as master of the College was essential to the development of the College. He can be seen as the vital connection between the humanistic aspirations of Piers and Margaret Butler, which were partly behind their decision to found the College, and the reality of the implementation of these humanistic principals. White was an exceptional educator who had himself been schooled in humanist thought at Oxford and was determined to educate those in his charge likewise. White's efforts are best illustrated by Richard Stanihurst who, after

he had left the College, became one of the first members of the Anglo-Irish literary tradition. The College's foundation, through the actions of Piers and Margaret Butler, the teachings of Peter White and the writings of Richard Stanihurst, can be seen as the first tangible indication of the effects of the Renaissance on education within Ireland. Stanihurst's writings on the College not only detailed his experiences of White but also the names of other students who were at the College along with Stanihurst. Many of the names that Stanihurst contained on his list became members of the Roman Catholic priesthood and in turn played an important role in the Counter-Reformation within Ireland and the continent. The role that White played in their decision to become part of the Counter-Reformation has never been fully analysed, and this, along with a clearer insight into what influences affected White, will be further explored in the next chapter.

Chapter Two

Kilkenny College's contribution to the Counter-Reformation, through the teachings and life of Peter White and the actions of his former pupils.

1538 - c.1600

2.1: Introduction

During the latter sixteenth century the College made a significant contribution to the Counter-Reformation both in Ireland and on the continent. The College's contribution can be gauged by the number of key individuals who were actively involved in the Counter-Reformation and attended the College under the guidance of Peter White such as: Peter Lombard (1554 - 1625), Richard Stanihurst (1547 - 1618), Nicholas Comerford (c.1544 - 1590?), Thomas White (1556 - 1622) and James Archer (c.1545 - 1620). It can be concluded with some confidence that White saw his role, as a Roman Catholic school teacher, was to promote conservative Roman Catholicism amongst his novitiates. This chapter will also examine the individuals and circumstances which may have influenced White's thinking, such as his initial education in Ireland and later at Oriel College, Oxford, where he came into contact with two major figures in English recusancy, William Allen (1532 - 1594) and Morgan Phillips (d. 1570). It is difficult, nevertheless, to ascertain to what extent White's influence was responsible for many of his pupils proceeding to play an effective and active role in the Counter-Reformation, both in Ireland and abroad. This chapter will chart the lives and recusant activity of a couple of individuals who it is thought attended the College under the tutelage of White. The impact of these individuals on the next generation of recusants will also be briefly examined. In doing this it is hoped to demonstrate the impact of the College and Peter White on the Counter-Reformation.

2.2: Kilkenny and the Counter-Reformation.

During the religious tumult of the sixteenth century, Kilkenny maintained, as Steven Ellis in his article *John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552 - 3* (1984) has suggested, "a tranquil air."[1] This was due to the leadership of the Ormond family, which was a strong stabilising element in the area. The main member of the Ormond family during this period was Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormond (1531 - 1582), otherwise known as

[1] Steven Godfrey Ellis, "John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552 - 3," *Journal of The Butler Society* vol. II, no. 3 (1984): 286.

'Black Thomas Butler'. However there is some evidence of the conflict between the Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements which were moving throughout the land. The early stage of Thomas Butler's life had been spent with the O'Moores, to whom he had been given in fosterage. This background gave him strong and influential links with the dominant local chiefs. His relation to the Boleyn family meant he was educated at the English court, and therefore instructed in Protestantism. His experiences at court, along with the fact that Thomas had shared tutors with Edward VI, made him a lifelong favourite of Elizabeth, who referred to him as her 'black husband'. Thomas's Protestant and English upbringing, although proving a benefit at court, meant he was unable to coexist cordially with his kin in Ireland; his father's cousins, the Cavanaghs, and his six brothers had all been brought up Roman Catholic. In 1554 Thomas returned to Ireland and was immediately placed in difficulties concerning his religious affiliations. The situation that he entered in Kilkenny had been significantly influenced by a former bishop of Ossory, John Bale. In 1552 Edward VI had sent John Bale, a man who Colm Lennon, in an article entitled *The Counter Reformation* contained in *Natives and Newcomers, Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society 1534 - 1641* (1986), has described as "The most committed of the reformers to operate in Ireland" to the diocese of Ossory as bishop.[2] The King had chosen Bale because of his personal friendship with him and his fervent Protestantism. Although Bale only managed to maintain his position within the diocese for only six months, he had an immediate effect. On his arrival, Bale insisted on preaching throughout the diocese of Ossory using the trenchant alterations contained in the second Book of Common Prayer which had been published in 1552. This new edition of the Book of Common Prayer included an instruction that required the altar to be replaced by a communion table and members of clergy to face the congregation wearing a simple surplice instead of the medieval vestments. These changes, since they ensured that clergy could no longer perform the new reformed service by gabbling the English text in an inaudible manner not unlike the old Latin, caused considerable consternation.[3] In addition to his use of the new prayer book, Bale refused to be consecrated as bishop, by the archbishop of Dublin, George Browne, unless the Edwardian Ordinal of 1552 was utilised in the service.[4] The new rite involved the presenting of a Bible to represent the preaching of the Gospel as

[2] Colm Lennon, *The Counter Reformation*, in *Natives and Newcomers, Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society 1534 - 1641*, ed. Ciaran Brady & Raymond Gillespie (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1986), 79.
[3] Ellis, "John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552 - 3," 286.
[4] Browne was archbishop of Dublin from 1535 until 1555.

opposed to the orthodox pastoral staff.[5] Throughout Bale's ministry he maintained a rigid commitment to the reformed faith. R. W. Dudley Edwards, in *Church and State in Tudor Ireland* (1935), pointed to Bale's

> tactless assault on all that was held sacred by the reverence of generations - exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, Mass, holy water, images and relics of venerated national saints - he created an uproar, and there "followed angers, slaunders, conspiricyes, and in the ende the slaughter of men."[6]

Bale has been described as a man who had more enemies than any other man during his period. He was known as 'Bilious Bale,' being "scathing, bitter and tactless, hewing about him in a vigorous polemic style more noted for energy than for taste."[7] The death of Edward VI in July 1552 undermined further Bale's already weak position. The failure to establish the Protestant, Lady Jane Grey, as Queen and the subsequent accession of Mary to the throne in August of the same year, formally signalled the end of Bale's term as bishop. Bale, confronted with a threat to his life and the impending restoration of papal primacy, decided to escape to Dublin.[8] By the time he left, the reforming zeal of Bishop Bale had, in Neely's words, "pitchforked Kilkenny into the reformation."[9] Ellis commented that although, in Ossory, there was now a deeper understanding of the conflicting nature of Protestantism, "There is no hint of the emergence of any recusant tradition under Edward, and much of the opposition Bale encountered was clearly provoked more by his political mishandling of the situation than by any deep detestation of heresy."[10] Therefore the pugnacious post-tridentine Roman Catholicism which emerged to an extent in Kilkenny, and manifested itself in the active *alumni* of the College in the years after Bale's ministry, had its origins, not in the Protestant fervour of Bale, but in the failure of the Elizabethan government to provide preachers of Bale's potency and dedication for Ireland.[11] Thomas therefore adjusted to the religious conditions demanded by Mary and on the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to his Protestant roots and took a position that maintained his loyalty to the Queen and yet managed not to alienate

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[5] Ellis, "John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552 - 3", 286.
[6] Robert Walter Dudley Edwards, *Church and State in Tudor Ireland: a history of penal Laws against Irish Catholics, 1534 - 1603* (Dublin: The Talbot Press Ltd., 1935), 148, & John Bale, *Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the bishoprick of Ossorie in Ireland* (London: 1553), f.17v.
[7] Stanley Jasspon Kunitz & Howard Haycraft ed., *British Authors Before 1800, A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1952), 24.
[8] Ellis, "John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552 - 3," 291.
[9] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 41.
[10] Ellis, "John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552 - 3", 292.
[11] Ibid.

his Roman Catholic subjects.

The inhospitable climate that Peter White and his pupils encountered in the 1560s revolved around the conflict of allegiances between religion and political authority. The situation was further complicated by the arrival, in 1561, of Father David Wolfe. Wolfe, who had been one of the first Irishmen to become a Jesuit, had been sent by the pope as a legate to Ireland.[12] The arrival of Wolfe established an important link between Ireland and the continent: it allowed for the spread of information, and meant that young men could be encouraged in the priesthood and sent to various educational centres on the continent. These locations were places of refuge, far away from the reformed nature of the English based educational establishments. Richard Stanihurst not only gave detailed information about his former school and mentor, he also recorded a list of fellow pupils who went on to gain recognition in various professions. This is shown in an extract from *De rebus in Hibernia gestis Libri quattuor* (1584):

> From this school educated men have sprung as if from a Trojan horse. I could commemorate here the learned and intelligent scholars - the Whites, Comerfords, Walshes, Waddings, Dormers, Shees, Garveys, Butlers, Archers, Strongs and Lombards - all of whom committed themselves to that teacher's [Peter White's] tutelage at an early age.[13]

Dobbs identified Stanihurst's former school colleagues as having included: Peter Lombard, Luke Wadding, Strong, James Archer, George Dormer and Nicholas Comerford.[14] Other historians have identified individuals named Thomas White, Shee, Butler; and Robert Garvey from Stanihurst's list.[15] Most of these men contributed to some extent to the Counter-Reformation. To demonstrate the impact the College had on the Counter-Reformation it is necessary to give a biographical account of the men

[12] Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd., 1994), 312.

[13] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 142.
Below is the original Latin quotation from *De rebus in Hibernia gestis libri quattuor* (Antwerp: 1584):

> Ex illius etiam schola, tanquam ex equo Trojano, homines literatissimi reipublicae in lucem prodierunt. Quos ego hic Whiteos, quos Quemerfordos, quos Walsheos, quos Wadingos, quos Dormeros, quos Shethos, quos Garveos, quos Butleros, quos Archeros, quos Stronges, quos Lombardos, excellentes ingenio et doctrina viros, commemorare potuissem; qui primis temporibus aetatis in ejus disciplinam se tradiderant.

[14] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 11.
Comerford is sometimes recorded as Quemerford or Comberford.

[15] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 86.

who can be identified from Stanihurst's list, including Richard Stanihurst himself. In addition, any attempt at deciphering the College's role in the Counter-Reformation requires an investigation into Peter White's influences and religious affiliations.

2.3: Peter White's contribution to the Counter-Reformation in Ireland.

Placed in the context of 1560s Ireland, Peter White's Roman Catholicism would not have been considered a major threat to the religious policy of the English government. We know that he had been a militant enough Roman Catholic not to return to Oriel College, Oxford during the latter 1550s, but as to how dedicated he was to the post-tridentine zeal of the Counter-Reformation it is unclear. Although White would have trained his pupils in the rudiments of Roman Catholicism - as Neely has said, "His [White's] beliefs were for a reformed, biblical and traditional church, loyal to the papacy" - the curriculum would have been more esoteric. Neely continued, "His ideas were those of Erasmus whose writings he introduced to his pupils."[16] Wood mentioned *Epitomae Copiae Erasmi* which was a specially prepared edition of a summary of Erasmus' collected work.[17] The inclusion of this work in the curriculum instigated by White is important since it was the standard work used throughout the schools of Europe.[18] The original text had been written by Erasmus in 1512 at the request of John Colet (1467 - 1519), dean of St. Paul's Cathedral and the founder of St. Paul's School, London, and ran into over a hundred editions during the sixteenth century.[19] Kenneth Charlton in *Education in Renaissance England* (1965), noted the main components of the text:

> The first part of the work is an extended vocabulary arranged to provide alternative words with which to elaborate a statement already made, whilst the second, and smaller, part details the different ways in which statements might be arranged in the form of various figures of speech.[20]

Wood mentioned other works White used from Renaissance Europe, *viz. Epitomae Figurarum Rhetoricarum, Annotationes in Orat. pro Archiâ Poetâ, Annot. in Orat. pro T. A. Milone and Epigrammata Diversa.*[21] The first text is a collection of rhetorical figures of

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[16] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 43.
[17] Wood, *Athenea Oxonienses*, vol. I, 576.
[18] J. K. Soward, 'Erasmus and the Apologetic Text-Book: a study of the *De Duplici Copia Verborum Ac Rerum' Studies in Philology*, LV (1957), 123 - 135, quoted in Kenneth Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England* (Toronto: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1965), 111.
[19] Charlton, *Education in Renaissance England*, 111.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Wood, *Athenea Oxonienses*, vol. I, 576.

speech. The study of rhetoric formed a standard part of the Renaissance education system and indicates that White was aware of the latest developments in education. The next two are notes for the study of speeches by Cicero. The first of these concerned Archias, a Greek poet from Antioch, defended by Cicero. The speech is considered famous for its disquisition on the glories and benefits of literature. The second speech was intended to defend Milo, a paramilitary leader, supporting Pompey, who was accused of killing Clodius, an agent of Caesar's, in a riot. Cicero was so nervous because of the presence of troops and potential rioters in the court that he gave a poor delivery of the speech which failed to save Milo, who was convicted and exiled. The version that was adapted by White was the speech that Cicero had wished to have given. As a result the speech is of a particular quality and is seen as a fine example of the art of rhetoric. Both of these speeches continued to be used in education until the mid part of the twentieth century fulfilling a similar role as they probably had for White. The *Epigrammata Diversa* were examples of witty sayings: the role they would have played in White's curriculum is unclear and open to speculation. Although Erasmus was a key figure in the writing of works promoting the Catholic church he was also the author of material that was deeply critical of the popes of his day. Erasmus's work, although orthodox in some aspects, cannot be considered as major tools for indoctrination of students in Counter-Reformation ideology. It is interesting to note that Erasmus, as well as having an indirect role in the school's founding, through his possible influence on the motives of the College's founder Piers Butler, also influenced the curriculum through the use of his books.

Neely concurred with Lennon's appraisal that although the school was not an active 'hotbed' of traditional Roman Catholicism or an institution of indoctrination, radical thoughts connected with Counter-Reformation thought were being cultivated, as Lennon noted, "It is possible that some seeds sown in the classroom at Kilkenny bore fruit later on in the Catholic Counter-Reformation ideology of Richard Stanihurst and those of his fellow-graduates who became exiles in Europe."[22] Neely commented further:

> This was something new and more dynamic, not old-fashioned conservatism but pro-papal, reforming, dedicated counter-reformation Catholicism. White was no Jesuit but he was using Erasmus to create a seed-bed for his beliefs

[22] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 25.

> in the Counter Reformation. The leading families of Kilkenny, Waterford and to some extent Dublin provided his pupils. [23]

The question arises whether or not White encouraged something more than just conservative pro-papal Roman Catholicism, considering the dynamic influence White's former charges had on the Counter-Reformation. White's attendance at Oriel College during the 1550s coincided with the religious turmoil of the sixteenth century, as *Oriel College, Oxford*, compiled by The Oxford University Archaeological Society (1953) suggested:

> Throughout the religious troubles of the sixteenth century Oriel played a conservative part in the main. It is true that three fellows are thought to have left the College during the reign of Mary on account of their Protestant views; but that the balance of opinion was rather on the other side is illustrated by the execution of three Catholic fellows and the resignation, deprivation or departure into exile of six more under Elizabeth. Among these last was William Allen, later Cardinal and founder of the Douai seminary, so through him the College may be said to have made an important contribution to the Counter-Reformation.[24]

It can be speculated that through his own experiences at Oriel, White proceeded to have his own considerable impact on the Counter-Reformation. William Allen, one of the six Roman Catholic fellows exiled during Elizabeth's reign, became a probationer fellow at Oriel in 1550, the same year as White. Allen's tutor and mentor at Oriel was Morgan Phillips who had been born in the diocese of Llandaff, Wales and had entered Oxford at some stage during 1533. He gained considerable notoriety during the early part of his academic career, as Wood has noted that Phillips "made so much progress in logic and philosophy, and became so quick at undermining a disputant, that when he was bach. of arts, he was commonly called Morgan the sophister."[25] Phillips was elected a fellow of Oriel in 1538 and continued to study first for an M.A. in 1542 and then a B.D. in 1543. He took holy orders in 1546 and

[23] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 43.
[24] The Oxford University Archaeological Society, *Oriel College, Oxford* (Oxford: The Oxford University Archaeological Society, 1953), 4.
[25] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 432.

was appointed principal of St. Mary Hall in the same year.[26] In the May of 1549, along with three other men, he demonstrated the ardent nature of his Roman Catholicism, by undertaking a public dispute concerning the Eucharist with the Regius Professor of Theology, Peter Martyr, in the divinity school of the university.[27] The incident originated with the arrival of Royal Commissioners in Oxford in the summer of 1549. The commissioners, after they had visited the colleges, then attended the academic debate. Phillips, along with two others, opposed the proposition that the sacrament of thanksgiving contained no element of the medieval doctrine of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The result of the debate was inconclusive with both sides claiming victory.[28] This event added to Phillips' growing reputation at Oxford as being both a 'fiery Welshman' and a 'zealous Catholic'.[29] In 1550, due to the illness of the provost of Oriel, William Haynes, Phillips acted as the provost's deputy. When Haynes eventually died, Phillips again demonstrated his religious convictions and ensured that, John Smith, a

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[26] Lee ed., *DNB* vol. XV (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1909), 1057.
St Mary Hall was originally the Parsonage of the Rectors of St. Mary's Church, till Edward II in 1326 gave the church with all its appurtenances to Oriel College. It was established by Oriel as a hall for reception of students, and the office of principal was held by the fellows of Oriel down to 1656, from which time the chancellor of the University of Oxford exercised an absolute right of nomination. On the death of the last principal in 1902 the Hall was reunited with and became an integral part of Oriel. The Hall was situated along the eastern boundary wall of Oriel. New College, Oxford was so called because it was also named St. Mary's College at the time of its foundation in 1379, but since there was already a college called St. Mary's it was given the name New College.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Clare Cross, *Oxford and the Tudor State, 1509 - 1558*, in *The Collegiate University*, vol. III, ed. James McConica, in *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Trevor Henry Aston (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 136 -137.
John Gutch gives the following account of the incident in his transcript of Wood:

> They having this large Commission granted to them, some (particularly Cox) being then in the University, and others that came soon after began to sit (according to a citation) in St. Mary's Church 24 May. But before they could do anything, they caused a sermon to be there preached before them by Dr. Pet. Martyr. His text was taken out of the sixteenth chapt. of St. John, 'Verily, verily I say to you, that whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name he shall give it to you.' On which after had spent some time, he directed his words to his visitors declaring to them the calamities of the times, which always from the beginning of the world were worse and worse. But now a reformation which had been desired by pious men being come, it was hoped that all things would be set in good order, and that select instruments would be raised that should administer discipline and instruct the church and schools, and continue the people in the services of God, &c. And among other things, which he delivered was this, that the Majesty should ordain good laws, purge the schools and universities because they are the root part of the church where the hosts of the Lord abideth, &c. And so going forward he told them divers things not a little displeasing to the Rom. Catholicks then present, and so concluded.

Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 99.

[29] Stephen & Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. I, 314.

supporter of the 'old faith', was appointed as Haynes' successor.[30] On the death of Edward in 1553, and the resulting change in the religious climate, Phillips was made precentor of St. David's Cathedral, St. David's, Wales. Due to his absence from Oriel, his fellowship was declared *non socius* on 20 December, 1554.[31] After the succession of Elizabeth to the throne Phillips left his "preferment, friends and country for religion sake" and settled in Louvain.[32] In 1567 Phillips visited Rome in the company of William Allen and a Dr. Venderville.[33] When he returned to Louvain he arranged, along with Allen to establish an English college at Douai. Charles Dodd in *The Church history of England, from the year 1500, to the year 1688* (1737 - 42, reprinted 1970), recorded that Phillips advanced a sum of money for the foundation of this new college.[34] Phillips died on 18 August 1570 in Douai, leaving all of his property to William Allen. Allen had been born in Rossall, in the county of Lancashire in 1532 and in 1547 entered St. Mary Hall, Oxford. Morgan Phillips appeared to have exerted considerable influence over his student, from his time at St. Mary's Hall, where Phillips was principal. John Gutch noted in *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford* (1786) that at this time Allen became a "great admirer of Phillips".[35] When Phillips moved to Oriel in 1550 to assume the position of the provost's deputy, Allen followed and was elected as a probationer fellow in the same year. After a further three years as teacher and student, Phillips and Allen were parted when Phillips moved to Wales and subsequently Louvain in 1553. Allen continued to rise in notoriety in Phillips' absence, Wood recorded that Allen became "A very subtle disputant, but not without sophistical quirks vulgarly used in his time."[36] In 1556 Allen followed his mentor in becoming principal of St. Mary's Hall, a position he held until 1560, and later that year he travelled to Louvain to be the tutor of Christopher Blount, until he was summoned back by Oriel in 1561.

It is impossible to ascertain definitely what relationship White shared with Allen and Phillips, nevertheless when White was elected as a fellow of Oriel, there were only approximately sixteen other fellows in residence, which indicated a close working

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[30] Richards & Shadwell, *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College* , Appendix III, Oriel and the Reformation, 204 -205.
[31] Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XV, 1057.
[32] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 432.
[33] Richards & Shadwell, *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College*, 64.
Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 432.
[34] Charles Dodd, *The Church history of England, from the year 1500, to the year 1688, chiefly with regard to Catholicks*, vol. II, (Reprinted: Farnborough: Gregg, 1970), 100.
[35] Gutch, *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, vol. II, 136.
[36] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 575 - 576.

environment.[37] White would have been aware of the religious allegiances held by Phillips and Allen. The Oxford that Peter White experienced during his time at Oriel would have been filled with religious tension and disharmony. In 1551, the year in which White arrived, Oxford would still have been reverberating from the effects of the public debate between Peter Martyr and Morgan Phillips *et al.* The possible role that his Roman Catholicism played in White's decision not to return to Oriel has already been discussed. Through his example and teaching many of White's students went forward to play their own role in the Counter-Reformation in Ireland and the rest of Europe. White's devout and consistent loyalty to Roman Catholicism, for which he would be, in time, deprived of all his influential positions within the established church, must have been a spur and encouragement to those who were being continually exposed to the temptation to alter their faith under the social, political and religious pressures of the Reformation. White provided a broad education for the sons of Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen in their own religion. As Wood mentioned, White was "accounted a most excellent employment in Ireland, by Catholics; especially for this reason, that the sons of noblemen and gentlemen might be trained up in their religion, and so consequently keep out protestancy.[38] This negated the necessity for these men to send their sons to the Continent for their initial education. A home-based institution meant that pupils were educated in an Irish setting and in turn gave them an appreciation for their surroundings, an affiliation which may have never evolved or been nurtured abroad. This fraternity with Ireland is best shown by Stanihurst who wrote widely about the land of his birth. White's character and curriculum coincided with the religious backlash in Kilkenny to the reformed fervour of Bishop Bale. Thomas J. Morrissey in his M.A. thesis, *'Archdevil' and Jesuit, The Background and life of James Archer 1550 - 1604* (1968), commented that the religious development of James Archer, one of White's pupils, took place "In this staunchly catholic background and influenced, no doubt, by the teaching and example of Peter White."[39]

To demonstrate the impact of the College on the Counter-Reformation the lives of Peter Lombard, Richard Stanihurst, Nicholas Comerford and Thomas White, four of White's most notable former pupils, will be considered. Information is known about

[37] Richards & Shadwell, *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College*, Appendix IX, Order of Succession of the Fellows of Oriel, Plate A.
[38] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 575 - 576.
[39] Thomas J. Morrissey, M.A. Thesis, University College, Dublin, *'Archdevil' and Jesuit, The Background and life of James Archer 1550 - 1604*, 30.

other individuals who also attended College and this is contained in the Appendix I. Peter White has been treated with a considerable amount of reverence by several generations of Roman Catholic historians and theologians with the result that White is often credited with educating many more individuals than there is evidence to support.[40] The Rev. Patrick Power writing in *Waterford saints and scholars* (1920), included the following account of Luke Wadding's experience in the classroom of Peter White:

> Tall of stature, with black hair and complexion slightly sallow, the lucky schoolmaster, with his handsome aquiline nose, inspires me even now with affectionate confidence. I feel myself back again in the old schoolroom where, in company with Richard Stanihurst, Peter Lombard, and Patrick Comerford, I listen to the charming utterances of the Munster scholar. I can now see him as of old, with pointer in hand and map spread before him, cleaving the waters of the Piraeus – holding with a master-hand, to our young feasting eyes, the ruined but unrivalled beauties of the city with the violet crown.[41]

There are two men of the Counter-Reformation period named Luke Wadding, the Luke Wadding that Power was referring to is the man who became a Franciscan scholar and leading figure in the Counter-Reformation Wadding was born in 1588 over twenty years after White's departure from the College.[42] There is the possibility that Wadding was educated by White who may or may not have continued as an itinerant teacher around Munster after his resignation from the deanery of Waterford and Lismore in 1570, but it is impossible for him to have attended the College with Lombard, Stanihurst and Comerford. Stanihurst mentions a Wadding as a "proper verifier" in his work, but exactly who Stanihurst was referring to remains unknown. This situation, coupled with the fact that the evidence for many individuals attendance at the College is largely based on Stanihurst's and Wood's writings, means that a degree of caution must be utilised when dealing with this material.

Peter Lombard (1554 - 1625)

The life of Peter Lombard was of such note that Wood, in *Athenae Oxonienses*, felt that although Lombard had not graduated from the University of Oxford, he warranted noting as part of his entry on Peter White:

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[40] Patrick Power, *Waterford and Lismore, a Compendious History of the United Dioceses* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1937), 17.
[41] Patrick Power, *Waterford saints and scholars* (Waterford: The Waterford News, Ltd., 1920), 7.
[42] Luke Wadding (c.1628 - 1691) was bishop of Ferns during the 1680s.

> Among such [of White's pupils] was one Peter Lombard born in Waterford, who afterwards studied at Louvain in Brabant; where after he had spent two years and a half in philosophy, he was chosen when he proceeded master of arts, Primus Universitatis, by the uniform consent of the four principals; which preferment did not happen in such sort for many years before. About that time the said Lombard wrote *Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum Nicholai Quermerfordi*, with other things afterwards, which were much valued at Louvain: but such I have not seen.[43]

Lombard was born in Waterford, the son of a merchant, and received his initial education with White in Kilkenny, after which it is often cited he proceeded to Westminster School, London where he studied under the care of William Camden (1551 - 1623), the school's usher. Camden, an Oxford graduate and scholar of note, having been the author of *Britannia* (1586), went on to become headmaster of Westminster school from 1593 - 1597.[44] This is highly unlikely since there is evidence that Lombard had started his studies at the University of Louvain in 1572, three years before Camden had taken up his position at Westminster. The reason for this confusion transpires from a letter from Camden to Usher dated 10 of July 1618 which included the following passage:

> I brought there [at Westminster] to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, O'Raily [sic], Shees, the eldest son of the Archbishop of Cashel, Peter Lombard, a merchant's son of Waterford, a youth of admirable docility, and others bred popishley and so affected.[45]

The Lombard that Camden referred to was another member of the Lombard family, perhaps a cousin of Peter Lombard. At Louvain he studied philosophy and graduated sometime during the later 1570s. In August 1594 Peter Lombard was created D.D. by Louvain. He obtained a canonry in the collegiate church 'Sidenensis' in the diocese of Tournia, and was also appointed provost of the cathedral of Cambria. In July 1601 the pope, Clement VIII, appointed him as Edmund MacGaura's successor as archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. Due to his familiarity amongst the English government as an accomplished Roman Catholic agitator, he was unable to take up his position in person. Instead David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, was selected as his representative in Ireland, and was commissioned as such in 1609 by Pope

[43] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 575 - 576.
[44] John Dudley Carleton, *Westminster School, A History* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1965), 7. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. II, 339.
[45] Camden to Usher, 10 July 1618

Clement VIII.[46] His inability to take up his position in Armagh meant he was allowed to hold on to all his ecclesiastical preferments in Belgium. In February of 1616, Lombard was involved in the Roman Catholic church's response to the scientific discoveries of Galilei Galileo. He was selected as one of the eleven theological consultors who rejected Galileo's proposals. The proposals suggested that the sun was at the centre of the world and devoid of motion while the earth was not the centre of the world and nor was it immovable, but moves as a whole along with its moon. The theological consultors, after five days of thought, considered both ideas to be, "foolish, absurd philosophically and formally heretical, in as much as it expressly contradicts the doctrines of the Holy Spirit in many places."[47] Lennon has described Lombard as "the chief propagandist" of Hugh O'Neill during the 1590s.[48] O'Neill was involved in an attempt to transfer the kingdom of Ireland to Spanish control with papal benediction. Lombard's activity continued to such a degree that he was mentioned as a 'disturber of the government' in a speech by James I in 1614.[49] Lombard's election in 1576, as 'Primus Universitatis', by the four principals of the University of Louvain was a significant achievement and an indication of the esteem that Lombard was held in by his fellow scholars. This achievement is given perspective when it is considered that at this time the University of Louvain was, as Robert Bellarmine, a Jesuit priest attending Louvain in the 1570s noted in James Brodrick's *The Life and Work of Blessed Rob. Francis Cardinal Bellarmine S.J. 1542 - 1621* (1928):

> Believe me gentlemen, I have seen many universities, academies and homes for the muses, but hardly one of them is comparable with this shrine and citadel of wisdom, either as to the number of students, the fame of its doctors, and the wealth and convenience of its instruments of learning.[50]

Lombard wrote several noted works including, *Casus circa decretum Clementis Papae VIII de Sacrametali confessione et absolutione non faciendâ in absentiâ*, *Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi* and is credited, along with Nicholas Comerford, as

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[46] Charles Patrick Meehan, *The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donel, Earl of Tyrconnel; their flight from Ireland and their death in exile* (Dublin: James Duffy & Sons, 1886), notes on 41.
MacGaura is sometimes recorded as McGauran or McGorran.

[47] Brodrick, *The Life and Work of blessed Rob. Francis Cardinal Bellarmine*, vol. II, 366.

[48] Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, 324.

[49] Sidney Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XII (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1909), 94.

[50] James Brodrick, *The Life and Work of Blessed Rob. Francis Cardinal Bellarmine S.J. 1542 - 1621*, vol. I (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1928), 94.

being the author of, *Carmina in Laudem Comitis Ormoniae*.[51] In 1623, Lombard settled in St. Pietro Palomba's monastery in the neighbourhood of Rome and died there two years later in 1625.[52] A book written by Lombard was published in Louvain during 1632 entitled: *De Rego Hiberniae, Sanctorum Insulâ, Commentarius; in quo preter ejusdem Insulae Situm, nominis originem . . . Pii Conatus et Res a Principe O-Neillo ad fidem Catholicam propagandam feliciter gestae Continentur.* He was in many senses an active proponent of the Counter-Reformation. In 1633 this book was mentioned by Secretary Windebank in a letter to Lord Deputy Strafford indicating that the King had ordered the deputy to suppress the book on the grounds of its recusant nature.[53]

Richard Stanihurst (1547 - 1618)

Through the decision of James Stanihurst to send his son to Peter White's school the foremost Irish educator of the time was brought together with a boy who was destined to become one of the most learned men of his generation. Through this union, the Renaissance can be seen clearly for the first time to have had a tangible influence on Ireland to such an extent that he is sometimes referred to as a Renaissance 'Magus'. Peter White, the Renaissance teacher, employed the work of Renaissance authors, such as Erasmus, and concerned himself with the great works of rhetoric; his pupil, Stanihurst, the Renaissance scholar, was to translate the work of the Greek philosopher Porphyry and the Roman poet Virgil. In examining Richard Stanihurst it can be seen that Ireland was emerging from a time where it had been seen as a backwater of European culture unrelated to its glorious past as the island of 'saints and scholars'. Stanihurst exhibited the qualities of Irish society, and in doing so was one of the first to demonstrate that the governance of Ireland by England may have meant political assimilation but it did not involve the replacement of Irish culture as well. In attempting to convey the paradox of his nationality and cultural identity, he created the phrase 'Anglo-Irish', but in doing so he stressed he was more Irish than English.[54] Richard Stanihurst can be described as the most famous and influential *alumnus* of the pre-1666 foundation of the College. Stanihurst was a man of many parts, pursuing careers as a classical scholar, historian, physician, diplomat, priest and alchemist. He came to notice primarily due to his writings on Ireland which contain some of the best contemporary accounts of Ireland's past. In

[51] Harris ed., *The Whole Works of James Ware*, 96.
Lee ed., *DNB*, vol.XII, 94.
[52] Meehan, *The Fate and Fortunes of Hugh O'Neill*, footnote on 42.
[53] Lee ed., *DNB*, 94.
[54] Lydon, *The Making of Ireland*, 142.
Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VII*, 200.

terms of the Counter-Reformation Stanihurst made an important contribution, becoming a "recusant in exile and an active proponent of post-tridentine Roman Catholicism."[55] His contribution was not in the missionary activity of Archer and Comerford but in his writings, which were an inspiration and encouragement to those involved in the Counter-Reformation in Ireland and in his attempt along with other exiles from England and Ireland, to secure the Spanish succession to the English throne.

Richard Stanihurst was born in Dublin in 1547 into a family which had been present in Ireland probably since the late fourteenth century.[56] The Stanihursts had maintained a prominent position within Dublin and Anglo-Irish society since their arrival. Many members of the family held influential appointments in the English administration. A Richard Stanihurst is noted as having been the Lord mayor of Dublin in 1489, Stanihurst's grandfather, Nicholas, held the same position in 1542. James Stanihurst, his father, was recorder of the City of Dublin and was also Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in the Parliaments of 1557, 1560 and 1568.[57] The Stanihursts had evolved into an English and Irish hybrid, fashioned through their involvement in the wider affairs of Dublin and consequently the English government. By the early sixteenth century the family had, as Lennon has stated, "integrated well into the political, social and economic life of the Pale."[58] James Stanihurst given his position within Dublin society would have been deeply interested in his son's education, though the list of possible schools was limited. The closure during the 1550s of the school connected to St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, would have meant that the choice was limited to Kilkenny or one of the few other grammar schools in other major towns in Ireland. James Staninurst was also interested in the development of education throughout Ireland. In 1570, he spoke in Parliament in support of a system of national education which would have been implemented by a network of grammar schools set up across Ireland. This desire for educational advancement centred on the belief that education, involving the medium of the English language, would be a civilising force amongst the areas outside the Pale. James Stanihurst, also vocalised his backing for the re-establishment of a university in Dublin, something

[55] Colm Lennon, "Recusancy and the Dublin Stanyhursts," *Archivium Hibernicum, Irish Historical Records* no. XXXIII, Maynooth, (1975): 101 - 110.
[56] Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XVIII, 975.
Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 14.
Lennon refers to the name Stanihurst being first mentioned in English records dated 1395.
[57] Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XVIII, 976.
[58] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 16.

that both papist and Protestant wanted to see.[59] Although his recommendations went unheeded, the idea of an Irish university was once again brought to the fore and eventually came to fruition with the creation of the University of Dublin in 1592 by Queen Elizabeth. These various activities have given James Stanihurst a certain standing in the history of Irish education, to such an extent that he has been acknowledged by Lennon as "an enlightened advocate of educational reform."[60] After Richard Stanihurst had completed six years at Kilkenny he went up to University College at the University of Oxford in 1563. Robert Garvey, a fellow pupil in Kilkenny travelled in the same year to Oxford only to attend Oriel College.[61] Stanihurst quickly rose to academic prominence when he undertook the translation of the Greek neo-platonist Porphyry during his undergraduate years. This task demonstrates the erudite foundations in classical languages that had been instilled at Kilkenny and shows that James Stanihurst's faith in White as an exemplar educator had been well placed. Stanihurst's choice of Porphyry proved to be critical in the progression of his life, as the translation brought Stanihurst into contact with Edmund Campion (1540 - 1581). A fellow at St. John's College, Oxford, Campion was a writer and scholar of note, an authority on the work of Porphyry. Campion was to be the definitive influence on Stanihurst. He was a Roman Catholic who was struggling with the prevailing demands of the government that academics had to conform to the reformed faith. Campion was held in a high regard by the student population of Oxford because of his magnetic personality. Campion sponsored Stanihurst in the publication of his translation of Porphyry which appeared in c.1566 when Stanihurst was only nineteen. Campion had catapulted Stanihurst from being an undergraduate to a published writer in short succession. Campion appears to have discovered a kindred spirit in Stanihurst who appears to have been struggling to find his own religious leanings. Stanihurst left Oxford after being awarded a B.A. in 1568 and started studying law at Furnival's and Lincoln's Inn in London.[62] Campion's inability to coalesce his faith with Anglicanism resulted in him seeking respite from the pressures of Oxford, at the home of James Stanihurst in Dublin. Richard Stanihurst accompanied Campion on his visit to Ireland. While in Dublin, Stanihurst and Campion began work on a *History and Description of Ireland* which was to

[59] Lennon, *The Counter Reformation*, 81.
[60] Colm Lennon, *The Lords of Dublin in the Age of Reformation* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989), 138.
[61] cf. Appendix I.
[62] Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XVIII, 976.

eventually be part of *Chronicles* published by Raphael Holinshed in 1577.[63] After his work in Ireland Stanihurst returned to England. He moved to Knightsbridge and married Janet Barnewall. In 1579 Janet died while giving birth to a child who did not survive.[64] The death of his young wife saw the start of a new stage in Stanihurst's life and signalled the eventual breaking away from his Pale heritage. Stanihurst's mentor Edmund Campion had moved to the Continent after leaving Ireland. He attended the English College at Douai and subsequently became a Jesuit priest. Campion's long disquietude with Anglicanism eventually culminated in his return to England in 1580 as part of a mission to those who had maintained their faith despite the demands of the government. After a year of recusant activity he was arrested, tried and hanged at Tyburn during December 1581. Stanihurst is thought to have seen Campion at some stage during his time in England but left for the Low Countries soon after Campion's arrest.[65] The effect of Edmund Campion's death on Stanihurst's life cannot be properly gauged but his decision to become a catholic at this time must be attributed to the life and death of Campion, as Sidney Lee in the *DNB* commented "There can be little doubt that under Campion's influence his [Stanihurst's] religious views had undergone a change. Although the date of his conversion to Roman Catholicism is undetermined it probably took place after his arrival on the Continent."[66] Stanihurst's links with the Irish and English Roman Catholic exiles on the Continent were strengthened with his marriage to Helen Copley in 1585, a zealous Roman Catholic, whose family originated from Gatton in Surrey. Helen's sister became superioress of the abbey at Louvain.[67] Helen gave birth to two sons, both of whom were to eventually enter the Society of Jesus. Stanihurst's arrival on the continent marked the beginning of his public commitment to Roman Catholicism and also his involvement in the affairs of the Spanish government in the Netherlands and the European Counter-Reformation movement. He was given a pension for life by the Spanish government in 1587 in recognition that he was an Irishman who had left his country of birth on grounds of his religion. Stanihurst had arrived in the Netherlands at the time of the Dutch revolt, with the

[63] Raphael Holinshed or Hollingshead is thought to have came from a Cheshire family. The date of his birth is unknown but it is possible that he entered Christ's College, Cambridge in 1544. After Cambridge he went to London and joined a publishing firm owned by Reginald Wolfe. Wolfe had undertaken a project which would chronicle the history of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Edmund Campion was engaged as the editor for the section on Ireland. When Wolfe died in 1573 the work was continued and was first published in 1577. It is thought that Holinshed died c.1580.

[64] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 39.

[65] Ibid, 40.

[66] Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XVIII, 976.

[67] Ibid., 978.
Kunitz & Haycraft ed., *British Authors Before 1800, A Biographical Dictionary*, 490.

English army actively helping the rebelling Dutch forces. This had polarised the various religious and political groupings in the Netherlands, ensuring that it was at the cutting edge of the religious wars in Europe.[68] Stanihurst was now seen as a major source of information regarding Irish affairs, his upbringing, talents and experience meant that he was very valuable to the Spanish. Stanihurst's popularity was also connected to his 'growing reputation' as a physician especially for his curative elixirs, usually alcoholic, that he prepared for his patients.[69] From 1587 until 1595, Stanihurst pursued his career in medicine and further scientific study into alchemy. He continued under the patronage of the Spanish monarch, and travelled between Madrid and Brussels. In 1595 Stanihurst returned his attention to literary matters and his role as a chaplain to the Spanish court in the Netherlands. It is thought that Richard Stanihurst died and was buried in Brussels during 1618.

Nicholas Comerford (c.1544 - 1590?)

Nicholas Comerford was born in the city of Waterford c.1544 into an important family, his father was Patrick Comerford, a merchant, and his mother was a member of the influential Walsh family. Comerford's uncle was Dr. Patrick Comerford, bishop of Waterford and Lismore.[70] He entered Oxford University after leaving White's school in c.1558, although the name of which college he attended at Oxford is unknown, and gained an arts degree on 20 February 1563 after he had spent, in Wood's words "four years in this university in pecking and hewing in logic and philosophy."[71] He returned to Ireland after leaving Oxford and took holy orders shortly after his arrival. He did not survive long in Ireland and was dismissed from the country on account of his religion and returned to England. In England he wrote two books: *Answers to certain questions propounded by the people of Waterford*, and *Divers Sermons*, which Stanihurst described as "pithy and learned treatise, very exquisitely penned."[72] He was then ejected from England, again on account of his Roman Catholicism, and went on to the University of Louvain, in Brabant, where he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the university on 23 October 1576. He was also honoured in that year by a poem, composed and published by Peter Lombard the university's

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[68] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 45.
[69] Ibid., 46.
[70] Stephen & Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. IV, 894.
Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 71.
Bishop Walsh was responsible for bringing Peter White to Waterford, as dean, in 1566.
[71] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 459.
Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. I, Early Series, 314.
[72] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 459.

'Primus in scholâ artium', entitled: *Carmen Heroicum in Doctoratum Nicholai Quemerfordi.*[73] In 1577, in response to the religious needs of his countrymen, Comerford returned to Ireland. His influence was soon being felt by the government and was included, along with James Archer and John White by Sir William Drury on his list of subversive priests in Munster, contained in his letter of 1577:

> The students of Ireland that are in Louvain and come from thence, are the meerest traitors and breeders of treachery that liveth, by whose means I doubt not James Fitzmaurice hath much favour in Rome. Whereof there are in these parts about Waterford and Clonmel four principal prelates. The first is called John White . . the second is James Archer of Kilkenny, a detestable enemy to the word of God. He did swear against Her Majesty's jurisdiction in Louvain, and to read not in no English book. He arrived the last March and came then out of Louvain. The third is Dr. Quemerford of Waterford is also of late come out of Louvain: he and all the rest taught all the way between Rye and Bristol against our religion, and caused a number to despair . . . There are a great number of students of this city of Waterford in Louvain, at the charge of their friends and fathers . . . By whom the proud and undutiful inhabiters of this town are cankered in Popery, undutiful to Her Majesty, slandering the Gospel publicly, as well this side of the sea as beyond in England, that they fear not God nor man, and hath their alters, painted images, and candlesticks in derision of the Gospel, every day in their synagogues - so detestable that they may be called the unruly newters rather than subjects. Masses infinite they have in their several churches every morning without any fear. I have spied them; for I chanced to arrive Sunday at five of the clock in the morning and saw them resort out of the churches by heaps; this is shameful in a reformed city.[74]

Comerford, along with James Archer, fled to the Continent from Ireland c.1577. On his arrival Comerford went on to his former university Louvain to take up a teaching position. Brenan commented in *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* that Comerford:

> became one of the most eminent lecturers in Louvain. The desire which he had always cherished of combining the religious with the literary life had at length induced him to become a member of the Society of Jesus accordingly he was removed to Spain where he was honourably employed for many years, and obtained unbounded applause in some of the most celebrated colleges of that kingdom.[75]

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[73] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 73 - 74.
[74] Brady, ed. *State papers concerning the Irish church in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, 22 - 24.
[75] Michael John Brenan, *An ecclesiastical history of Ireland, from the introduction of Christianity into that country to the year MDCCCXXIX* vol. II, (Dublin: Duffy, 1864), 158.

Hogan records that Comerford was at Bayona de Galicia, Spain, in 1589 and in Lisbon, Portugal in 1590, where "he was by Cardinal Allen and divers other estates sent for from Rome to have the archbishoprick of Cashel."[76] Little is known about Comerford's life after 1590. Hogan has recorded that along with his *Sermons* and *Answers to Questions*, he also wrote many tracts on philosophical and theological subjects and is credited, along with Peter Lombard, as the author of, *Carmina in Laudem Comitis Ormondiae* (Songs or poems in praise of the Count of Ormond).[77] There is one reference in material relating to the College, about the attendance at White's school of a Gerald Comerford. Browne terms him an "eminent lawyer, Queen Elizabeth's Attorney for Connaught and second Baron of the Irish Exchequer." There is no other evidence available to suggest that Gerald Comerford, undoubtedly a relation to Nicholas, attended the College.[78]

Thomas White (1556 - 1622)

In 1872, Dr. MacDonald, the then Rector of the Irish College at Salamanca, noted in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* that Thomas White, the founder and Rector of the first Irish College on the continent:

> did more for the preservation of the faith in his native land than any other Irishman ever did, during the terrible ordeal through which the Church of Ireland passed in two or three years of persecution. To him is due the idea of establishing Irish Colleges in foreign lands, in order to educate priests for the trying and dangerous Irish Mission. Clonmel may well be proud of having been the birth place of this saviour of the faith in Ireland. Such a man is in every way worthy of a national monument; and I hope to see the day when the Irish Church will, in gratitude to his memory, raise one in the capital of the kingdom and another one in his native town.[79]

Thomas White was born in Clonmel during 1556. He was born into the same side of the family as Peter White. The exact relationship between them is unclear but Hogan speculated that Thomas was Peter's nephew. It is thought that both Thomas and his older brother John attended their uncle's school.[80] Hogan has suggested that Peter

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[76] H. C. Hamilton, ed. *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland of the reign of Elizabeth 1588 August - 1592 September* (London: 1885), 136.

[77] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 74.
Charles Patrick Meehan, *The Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries, and Memoirs of the Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1869), 201.

[78] Browne, "Kilkenny College.", 221 - 229.

[79] MacDonald "Father Thomas White," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (1872): 558 & 560.

[80] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 52.

White's "scholastic labours . . . glorious example and advice" encouraged Thomas White to serve the suffering Irish Church through education.[81] The example of his older brother John would also have been a factor in his subsequent active recusancy. In 1577 Drury was corresponding with Walsingham concerning John White's 'zeal' in promoting popery in south Leinster and east Munster. Drury noted:

> John White is worshipped like a god between Kilkenny and Waterford and Clonmel; he suborneth all the dwellers of these parts to detest the religion established by Her Majesty. He is chief preacher to the contrary, an arrogant enemy of the Gospel. If he were not so, and if his auricular teaching were not such, one nobleman, to the comfort of a great number, should be converted from this popery.[82]

After leaving Peter White's school, Thomas was sent to Valladolid, Spain. In Valladolid he witnessed the plight of Irish students endeavouring to prepare for Holy Orders. Over a ten year period Thomas White tried to gain permission and funding for an Irish college in Spain. Eventually, in 1592, King Philip the Second consented to the founding of such a college as part of the University of Salamanca. The following letter was sent on 2 August 1592, from the King to the Rector, Chancellor and Cloister of Salamanca:

> as the Irish youths who had been living in this city (of Valladolid) have resolved to go to yours to avail of the opportunities it affords for the advancement in literature and languages, a house having been prepared for them, in which they intend to live under the direction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, I will allow them a good annual stipend, and I desire to give them this letter to charge you, as I hereby do, to regard them as highly recommended, and not to allow them to be ill-treated in any way, but to favour and aid them as far as you can; in order that, as they have left their own country, and all they possessed in it, for the service of God our Lord and for the preservation of the Catholic faith, and as they make their profession of returning to preach to in that country and to suffer martyrdom, if necessary they may get in that University the reception which they have reason to expect. I am certain you will do this, and become benefactors to them; so that with your subscription and that of the city, to the authorities of which I am also writing, they may be able to pursue their studies with content and freedom, and thereby attain the end of which they have in view.

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[81] Ibid., 51 - 52.

[82] Brady, ed. *State papers concerning the Irish church in the time of Queen Elizabeth*, 23.

Yo el Rey.[83]

Thomas White became the spiritual director of the Irish College at Salamanca later that year. In 1602 Thomas White became the Rector of Salamanca, a position he was to hold until his death in 1622. A Spanish Jesuit, Ferdinand de Castro, wrote about the life of Thomas White shortly after his death, noting that White had been to the students of Salamanca "a bright example of religious perfection; and by his influence and untiring exertions various religious orders were supplied with distinguished subjects, and Ireland was peopled with holy priests and prelates."[84] The impact that Thomas White had on the Counter-Reformation can also be seen in the following quote from Hogan:

> Witnessed by the German Jesuit Tanner, the Spanish Father Nieremberg, and the Irish Father Reade, that, in the first fifty years of its existence under Father White and his successors, the Irish College at Salamanca educated three hundred and seventy students, of whom were one Primate of all Ireland, four Archbishops, five Bishops, nine Provincials of Religious Orders, thirty martyrs, whose lives were cut short by the sword, the halter, or by imprisonment, exile, and other calamities suffered for the Faith; one hundred and twenty Religious, twelve distinguished writers, and forty Doctors of Divinity and Professors thereof filled the first chairs in the most celebrated Universities of Europe.[85]

2.4: Conclusion.

The College, under the guidance of Peter White, existed at a critical time for Roman Catholicism in Ireland. The chances that a Counter-Reformation in Ireland was going to be a success were still very much open to question. Brendan Bradshaw noted:

> By the end of the century [sixteenth] Irish Catholicism had all but completed the erection of its own counter-structure of pastoral organisation, over against the established one, to cater for the needs of the church . . . In the Pale and Ormond, where the suppression campaign had been most effective, a new generation had grown up, more self-consciously, more articulately, more committedly Catholic, than their fathers, both Richard Stanyhurst and his fellow Jesuit, John [James] Archer, both products of the secular school at Kilkenny, were examples.[86]

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[83] *Commentarius de Rego Hib.*, 137, quoted in Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 54.
[84] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 68.
[85] Ibid, 69 - 70.
[86] Bradshaw, *The dissolution of the religious orders in Ireland under Henry VII*, 228.

The College can be seen to have made a major contribution to the strengthening of the Roman Catholic church's resolve not only to adjust to the new religious changes enforced by the Reformation but actively to resist them. As Colm Lennon has commented:

> The influence of White and other Catholic educators must have been a significant factor in the transmission of a fidelity to the traditional religion to a younger generation. Even though parents may have displayed varying degrees of conformity to the state religion, their choice of schooling for their offspring bespoke of conservatism.[87]

The College produced individuals such as Comerford, whom Hogan has asserted, "worked with all their might for the preservation of catholicity in their own city (in Comerford's case, Waterford)."[88] The College provided the inspiration and students for the Irish Colleges on the Continent. This contribution meant that Roman Catholicism was maintained in Ireland.[89] As John Brady pointed out:

> When the history of the Counter-Reformation in Ireland is written it will be found that the greatest force behind the revival was the group of colleges founded on the continent for the education of priests for the mission in Ireland.[90]

These individuals who went out of White's school can be seen to have been instrumental in the founding of Irish Colleges such as Salamanca. Helga Hammerstein has supported this view when she noted:

> The English government's neglect of education and the Catholic clergy's awareness of its importance, appear in retrospect to have been vital factors determining the unique course of Irish history . . . Ireland was the only country where the Counter-Reformation succeeded against the will of the head of state.[91]

Hammerstein, along with Roy Foster, have both noted the use of the Homeric

[87] Lennon, *The Counter Reformation*, 83.
[88] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 77.
[89] James Canon O'Boyle, *The Irish Colleges on The Continent, Their Origin and History* (London: Browne & Nolan Ltd., 1935), 1.
[90] Brady, "The Irish Colleges in Europe and the Counter-Reformation", 1.
[91] Helga Herta Wilhelmine Hammerstein "Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I," *Historical Studies, Papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians* no. VIII, Dublin (1971): 137 - 153.

analogy of the Trojan horse in Stanihurst's reminiscences of his school colleagues, "Richard Stanihurst, one of his [White's] numerous former pupils, approvingly compared the properties of White's institution with those of a Trojan horse, implying that its teaching fashioned the weapons to save Roman Catholicism in Ireland."[92] This statement reinforces the idea that the College was more than just a seed-bed for the Counter-Reformation, but an academy of recusancy, not through fanaticism but rather the quiet subtle infusion of a passion for the perseverance of Roman Catholicism, by White, who had witnessed first-hand the ease with which the Reformation had taken England. It was the depth of conviction, not just of a polemic nature, which fired the likes of Lombard and Archer to the acts they committed in the defence of Roman Catholicism. The impact of the College on the Counter-Reformation in Ireland and Europe was as follows, the College provided men of Irish birth who were able to advise and encourage the papacy and other ultramontane elements in Europe that Ireland was not for succumbing to the Reformation. The fact that many of the College's students travelled to the Continent to continue their education created a route which was to be used frequently in subsequent centuries. Through these links countries such as Spain, France and Portugal became Ireland's closest 'spiritual' neighbours, replacing England as its primary influence. The attendance of Irish students of the Spanish Continental Colleges only stopped with the Spanish civil war. The existence of a large albeit scattered body of Irishmen on the Continent meant that the benefits of networking were utilised fully. Young men committed to accepting holy orders could now be sent with confidence by teachers and parents that they would be accepted amongst their kinsmen in places such as Salamanca, Lisbon and Paris. William Carrigan in volume three of *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* recorded Edmund Hogan's list of Jesuits born in the diocese of Ossory during the Counter-Reformation.[93] The names on the list included James Lee (1583 - 1617), Richard Dalton (1579 - 1617), John Shee (1581 - 1626?), Peter Langton (1595 - 1626?) and William St. Leger (c.1599 - 1665). All of these men received the majority of their education on the continent and became influential components within the Society of Jesus and the Irish College in Spain and France. They were undoubtedly inspired and encouraged by the personalities and actions of former pupils of the College. Through their subsequent actions the impact of White and the College can be seen to have continued through to the next stage of the Counter-

[92] Ibid., 140.

[93] Edmund Hogan, *Chronological Catalogue* quoted in Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. III, 261 - 262.

Reformation.

It must be considered though, that students such as Richard Stanihurst did not become actively recusant directly after leaving the influence of White. Indeed it was a considerable time before Stanihurst openly converted to Roman Catholicism and became active within the Counter-Reformation movement under the influence of Edmund Campion's life and martyrdom. Other pupils whom White taught, such as Robert Garvey and George Dormer, seemed to have taken no interest in Roman Catholicism or to have contributed to the cause of the Counter-Reformation after they had left his care.[94] It must further be considered that those of White's pupils who went on to play such an active role in the Counter-Reformation were not only influenced by the education they received under White, but by the many other political and religious influences of the day. The times in which they lived witnessed the development of a new recusant activism which, combined with a conservative Roman Catholic education, would prove a potent mixture in the fight against the machinations of the Reformation. White's influence on his pupils predated the 1570 excommunication of Elizabeth by Pope Pius V and his declaration demanding Catholics to forsake their allegiance to her, since she was then considered a heretic. This declaration may have been the point at which White's former pupils were challenged into putting their beliefs into action.

The clear involvement of former pupils of the College within the Counter-Reformation was well documented through the writings of Richard Stanihurst. These activities may have been the reason that during the 1660s James Butler, the first duke of Ormond, decided to re-establish the College as an unambiguously Protestant foundation, a process which will be examined in full in the next chapter.

[94] For further details on Dormer and Garvey see Appendix I.

Chapter Three

The re-establishment of the College by James Butler, the first duke of Ormond, until the granting of a Charter and Statutes to the College in 1685.

c.1666 - 1685

3.1: Introduction.

The seventeenth century witnessed many attempts at restarting the tradition of formal education which William Johnston and Peter White had maintained in Piers and Margaret Butler's school. These endeavours included the schools run by Penyngton, Lemon, John Wyttar and the schoolmasters who had been in Kilkenny during the Commonwealth, none of which had managed to become anything other than temporary. Despite this lack of any permanent institutions, writers such as Stanihurst ensured that the College and the exploits of its former pupils had not been forgotten. This chapter will examine the factors which contributed to the re-establishment of the College c.1666 by James Butler, the first duke of Ormond. A brief examination of the life of the Duke and the influences which inspired him to refound an institution first established by Piers Butler, one of his ancestors, will also be made. Several of the Duke's biographers, such as Thomas Carte, have referred to his philanthropic nature and there is considerable documentary evidence in the form of letters which show the development of his concern for education in Kilkenny.[1] The chapter will also investigate the lives of the two notable masters of the College during this period: the Rev. Dr. Edward Jones (c.1670 - 1679) and the Rev. Dr. Henry Ryder (1679 - c.1683) who had a significant impact on the development of the College through their background of classical education. Both men had attended Westminster School, London and Trinity College, Cambridge. It will also examine the lives of several pupils who achieved fame after leaving the College and those who achieved fame in their chosen careers. These former pupils were mostly educated at the College during the years prior to the granting of the Charter and Statutes, but some of those whose lives are recorded attended the College during years both prior and after the granting of the Charter and Statutes in 1685. Those pupils who attended the College during this period include the writer Jonathan Swift (1667 - 1745), the Restoration dramatist William Congreve (1670 - 1729), Richard Baldwin (?1668 - 1758) provost of Trinity

[1] Thomas Carte, *Life of James, first duke of Ormonde*, III vol. (London, 1736).
Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde, preserved at Kilkenny Castle (Historical Manuscripts Commission, n.s., VIII vol., London, 1902 - 20).

College, Dublin for forty one years during the eighteenth century, and the lesser known Captain Robert Parker (c.1666 - c.1720), who chronicled the European military campaigns of the duke of Marlborough, 1702 - 1712. This section will also include profiles of a cross-section of pupils who attended the College during this time and of whom information is available concerning their subsequent careers.

3.1.2: Educational historical overview.

Several Protestant schools were established during the seventeenth century. These schools are divided into two types, those that were publicly endowed by governmental actions and those which were privately endowed by an individual's patronage. The main examples of publicly endowed schools were the Royal Schools. In 1608 James I ordered a school to be established in each of the six counties of Ulster which were part of the Plantation, namely Armagh, Tyrone, Coleraine (later renamed Londonderry), Donegal, Fermanagh and Cavan, the schools endowed with land that had been confiscated.[2] The first school, the Royal School Dungannon (Co. Tyrone), opened in 1614. The schools known as the Royal Free Schools of Ulster possessed both a social and political function, the letters patent for the foundation of the Dungannon Royal School and the appointment of a master referred to its purpose to be "for the good education of the youth in literature and knowledge of the true religion; to the end that they may learn their duty towards God and true obedience towards us".[3] Further Royal Schools were founded by Charles I in the province of Leinster, one at Carysfort Co. Wicklow and another at Banagher, Co. Offaly. Both of these schools were endowed with land but never thrived and were closed during the nineteenth century. Although all of these schools were open to Roman Catholics, the vast majority of the students were Protestant.

Erasmus Smith (1611 - 1691), a Cromwellian adventurer, was awarded over forty-six

[2] For further information see *Department of Education Report of the Council of Education as presented to the Minister for Education, The Curriculum of the Secondary School* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1960), (Pr. 5996.).
No Royal School was established in Coleraine although a Free School was established within the walls of Derry City in 1617 by Mathias Springham, a member of the London guild of the Merchant Taylors. All of the Royal Schools of Ulster still exist today in some format or other. Both the Armagh Royal School and the Royal School Dungannon (Co. Tyrone) merged with local Protestant girls high schools and are now co-educational. Portora Royal School (Co. Fermanagh) remains an all boys school although it had an abortive attempt at developing a co-educational sixth form during the 1980s. Cavan Royal School is now a co-educational school and the Royal School Raphoe (Co. Donegal) merged with the Prior School in Lifford and is now known as the Royal and Prior Comprehensive School based in Raphoe. All of these schools have maintained a strong Protestant ethos.

[3] Quoted in *Department of Education Report of the Council of Education as presented to the Minister for Education, The Curriculum of the Secondary School.* (Pr. 5996.), 10.

thousand acres of Irish land after he had donated both supplies and financial aid to the Cromwellian cause.[4] In 1657 Smith assigned a portion of the lands in trusteeship for the purposes of education and that "the great and ardent desire which he hath that the children inhabiting upon any part of his lands in Ireland should be brought up in the fear of God and good literature and to speak the English tongues".[5] Smith initially intended the schools to be located in Antrim, Galway, Tipperary, Sligo and "a place to be fixed". After the Restoration the trust was granted a Royal Charter in 1669 by Charles II for three schools at Drogheda, Galway and Tipperary, where children were to be instructed "to write and cast accounts and, as far as children are capable, to teach and instruct them in the Latin, French and Hebrew Tongues, and fit them for the University." A later school was founded at Ennis, Co. Clare. In 1723 the endowment was extended to provide scholarships and professorships at Trinity College, Dublin. Due to the formal nature of the Erasmus Smith Trust charter, they can be seen as private endowment which was subsequently transferred into a public endowment.[6] The only other significant public foundation of the seventeenth century was the King's Hospital, otherwise known as the 'Blue Coat School' because of the school's uniform, founded c.1669 by Charles II for "the sustentation and relief of poor children, aged, maimed, and impotent people, inhabiting or residing in the city of Dublin."[7] The foundation was later changed to cater only for the education of children. The school was initially located in Queen Street, then Blackhall Place in 1783 and then to its present site in Palmerstown on the banks of the River Liffey in 1970.

Several educational institutions were privately endowed during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Richard Boyle, the first earl of Cork established schools c.1610 at Bandon, Youghal and Charleville in Co. Cork and Lismore in Co. Waterford.[8] In his will of 1642 Boyle left a permanent endowment for the payment of the masters of the schools. Other schools were established at Lifford Co. Donegal by Sir Richard Hansard in 1619, Preston's schools founded at Navan and Ballyroan Queen's County (later Co. Laois) in 1696, the countess of Orkney established a school

[4] Connolly, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, 516.
[5] Foundation deed of the Erasmus Smith Trust, 1 December 1657.
[6] The only educational establishment still administered under the trusteeship of the Erasmus Smith Trust is the High School, Dublin which was established by 1870 not as a school but with the aim of, "training boys for the civil service, the army and for the world of commerce". In 1971 the school which was situated on Harcourt Street moved to its present location in Rathgar, South Dublin. In 1974 the school became co-educational on its amalgamation with The Diocesan Secondary School for Girls, Adelaide Road, Dublin.
[7] The Royal Charter of the King's Hospital, 5 December, 1671.
[8] Of these schools only Bandon still exists.

at Midleton, Co. Cork and Viscount Weymouth endowed a school at Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan in 1711.[9]

3.2: The refoundation of the College during the 1660s.

At some stage during the 1660s James Butler, the first duke of Ormond, began preparations to refound the College. Any attempt at ascertaining the reasoning behind this decision must remain speculative, but through his numerous letters and additional evidence some understanding may be gained. Thomas Carte, one of the Duke's numerous biographers described him as "a man, who loved to encourage learning, and lost no opportunity of doing service to learned men, particularly to such who were bred in the college of Dublin, which flourished under his particular care and protection."[10] A contributing factor that may have influenced the Duke in his decision to re-establish the College is the reference in *The Catalogue of his Grace the Duke of Ormond's books at his Graces Closet at Kilkenny Castle, and account taken of them by his Grace's direction, 6 January, 1684 - 5*, a section contained in the *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, that the Duke's library at Kilkenny Castle included a copy of Holinshed's *Chronicle*.[11] Through the information contained in the *Chronicles*, and especially the section written by Richard Stanihurst, the Duke may well have gained an awareness of the exploits of his ancestors, Piers and Margaret Butler, and the considerable acclaim the College gained during and after its period of original foundation. It must also be noted that the Duke had been born at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century and therefore would probably have heard mention of the exploits of the initial Butler foundation through those who remembered the College and its pupils. An additional factor is the role that the Duke played in the running of the Free School of Ossory, at which John Wyttar was the master in 1634. The exact role that the Duke had in relation to that particular school remains unclear, since Wyttar's request for payment is the only piece of evidence that has survived. Although these possible lines of influence are difficult to assess, the achievements of past members of his family, combined with the testimony of those who remembered the school, may have been a strong inspiration in causing the Duke to bring about the re-establishment of the College. James Butler had been born on 10 October, 1610 at Clerkenwell, Middlesex, into one of the most influential families in

[9] Of these schools only Midleton still exists.
[10] Thomas Carte, *Life of James, first duke of Ormonde*, vol. III, 279 - 280.
[11] A copy of the catalogue is contained in: *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. VII, 514.

Ireland.[12] He was born into the Roman Catholic branch of the Butler family and after the drowning of his father, Thomas Butler, in the waters off Skerries, Co. Dublin in 1619, his mother ensured that his initial education was undertaken by a Roman Catholic tutor at Finchley, North London. The king, James I, discovered that after the death of Butler's father, by some "legal subetulty" that James Butler was a royal ward and therefore the responsibility of the monarch.[13] The king removed him forthwith to the tutelage of George Abott (1562 - 1633), the archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth. This was due to the King's desire that such an important member of such a powerful family should be brought up a Protestant and also in the hope that it would serve as an encouragement to other families to convert to Protestantism.[14] Ormond was made viceroy of Ireland (1643 - 1647), but went into exile on the continent with Charles II during the Commonwealth (1649 - 1660). On the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 Ormond was rewarded for his loyalty to the monarchy: in 1661 he was elevated to the dukedom of Ormond and in 1662 he was reinstated as the lord lieutenant of Ireland. He remained lord lieutenant until 1669 during which time he outlined plans for the Phoenix Park in Dublin. In 1677 he was again made lord lieutenant of Ireland for the last time, until 1685. During his last tenure as lord lieutenant he founded the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, Co. Dublin in 1680. He also held the chancellorship of both the University of Dublin (1645 - 1688) and the University of Oxford (1669 - 1688). He died on 21 July, 1688 at Kingston Hall, Kingston Lacy, Dorset and was interred at the family vault within Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

The exact date of the re-establishment of the College has been open to speculation but the date which has been generally accepted is 1667. The main reason for this is based on a letter written by the Duke in March 1679, in which he claims that he had founded a school in the city of Kilkenny some ten years previous, for the benefit of English and protestant children of Kilkenny "Ten years since at least - I set up a schoolhouse there, that, valuing the rent and charge of building, cost me, £2,000, at least, and that I have ever since and do now give £150 a year to a master and Usher."[15] There is evidence to suggest that there had been a previous attempt to

[12] Stephen & Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. III, Brown - Chaloner, 504.
[13] David Edwards, *The Poisoned Chalice: The Ormond inheritance, sectarian division and the emergence of James Butler, 1614 - 1642*, in *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610 - 1745*, ed. Toby Christopher Barnard & Jane Fenlon (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 2000), 61.
This was a blatant legal fabrication since James' grandfather and legal guardian was still alive.
[14] George Abott, an ardent Calvinist, was archbishop of Canterbury from 1611 - 1633.
[15] Carte, *Life of James, first duke of Ormonde*, vol. V, 137.

reestablish the College c.1664 by the Duke. Griffith Williams, bishop of Ossory (1589 - 1672), made the following observation in his sermon on *The Sad Condition of the Church and Clergy in the Diocese of Ossory*, which was published in May 1665:

> My L. Duke of Ormond, for himself and my Lady Duches have (the following rectories): Osserulam, Rathdowny, Glishard, Lawkil, Donnaghmoore, Kilmenan, Kilcolman, Donnoghmoore, Kilmocar, Donmore, Disart, Rower, Knoctoser, Priorserpoint and Prior Kells. But I do understand that this pious and most honourable Duke doth most religiously (as it is said of Arauna, All these things as a King did Arauna gave unto the King, 2 Sam 2. 4. 23.) intend to yield up, and bestow them all for the building of a College in Kilkenny, to bring up Scholars for the service of God, and the perpetual honour and glory of himself and succeeding race of his family forever; and I beseech God continue his grace in that most godly resolution: and let the God of heaven multiply his blessing upon him, to ride on with his honour more and more.[16]

Although this evidence is not supported by any other contemporary material it demonstrates that the possibility of the re-establishment of the College had been in the mind of the Duke, inasmuch as how he was going to finance it, in the years previous to 1666. There is a reference to plans for a new school building dated (*sic*) 31 November, 1666, which were referred to by Rev. John Browne in 1849. Browne, in his essay on the College, utilised another document, endorsed in the Duke's handwriting, which was once located in the Evidence Chamber of Kilkenny Castle but is now held in the National Library of Ireland:

> The house which the Duke of Ormonde at this period converted into a free school (as appears by an estimate for the necessary alterations, still existing, dated November 3, 1666), was situated "in St. John's Towne," and belonged to the City of Kilkenny, it had been built by Mr. Seix, and was then in the possession of his Grace's tenant, named Badgge, at a rent of £25 per annum.[17]

The Seix family had been resident in the Kilkenny area since the early part of the seventeenth century, when a Henry Seix is recorded to have been charged with drunken behaviour in the City. There is also another reference to the Seix family in a letter contained in the *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*. In

[16] Griffith Williams, *The Sad Condition of the Church and Clergy in the Diocese of Ossory; and I Fear Not Much Better In All Ireland*, contained in, *Several Sermons on Solemn Occasions and Treatises expressed in the next page* (London: Tho. Grigg. & R.P.D. Humf., 1665), 16.

[17] Estimate for repairing a house in St. John Street Kilkenny to make a new school of it, 31 November 1666, NLI MS 11,053/5/ii, quoted in Browne, "Kilkenny College," 223.

December 1667 a John Bryan wrote to the duchess of Ormond mentioning an Adam Seix, who appears to have been employed by the Ormond family as a gardener.[18] Information regarding the Duke's tenant Badgge could not be located. The next part of the Bryan letter detailed the proposed renovation and dimensions of the new school building:

> The house is described as being built in a figure of four sides, with a small central court; the street front measured sixty feet, and the depth was eighty feet in the clear; the central court was twenty feet by sixteen; and it had a garden attached which reached to the meadow. Attached to this larger house, in the rear, was another, sixty feet long by twenty wide, and which had been built since the erection of the larger concern. The roofs, floors, and partitions are said to have been in good condition, and the MS. further states that, "all the whole house in every story is reasonably well borded with oaken boards, and strong layed, and good strong stayrecases of oaken boards; and ye tenante hath bestowed good glasing of many windowes on ye house." The building was three stories high beside the garret, and thus described: - 1st story - "to begin with the lower story that lies a foot higher than ye kennell of ye street," it had backwards a kitchen 22 by 26 feet, with a good chimney 10 feet wide; by this side of this apartment ran the mill stream, described as "a constant river of water."[19]

The last section of the letter clearly indicated, through its mention of eating rooms and dormitories, that the College was to be a boarding school. Additional facilities were also noted for the housing of resident staff, which were to include a master, ushers and servants:

> On the same floor might be an "eating hall," 60 feet by 22, and 10 feet high, beside rooms for larders, cellarage, storage for goods, &c. 2d story - "On the second story is a very ffaire roome towards the street, with good hight, 22 feet by 60 long, I suppose big enough for the schoole;" and at either end, rooms for the master, ushers, servants, and ten of the principal scholars. 3rd story - "This storye will be most convenient for so many scollars' chambers as it is capable off, and that can have chimneys; alsoe one of ye ushers ought to lye in this story to regulate the schollars from disorders as may happen." 4th story or garret, it is stated, may also be made into rooms with chimneys for the scholars; in all, with the other floors, affording accommodation for the master, ushers, and 60 scholars.

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[18] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. I, 17 - 18.
Ibid, vol. III, 282 - 283.

[19] Estimate for repairing a house in St. John Street Kilkenny to make a new school of it, 31 November 1666, NLI MS 11,053/5/ii, quoted in Browne, "Kilkenny College," 223.

> These alterations, together with the breaking out of several new windows, are estimated, at the lowest (materials included), at £180. The paper is endorsed in the Duke's own hand - "Estimate for repairing a house to make a free schoole of."[20]

The location of the College building of c.1667 is where the present College building on John Street is now situated. Rev. John Browne in his article on the College included a lithograph dated c.1770, from an unidentified source, of a view of the College in this situation.[21] The Banim brothers, John (1798 - 1842) and Michael (1796 - 1874), provided a description of the old College building in their semi-fictional novel, *Peter and the Castle and The Fetches, by the O'Hara Family* (1866). It is unclear how much information contained in the extract is correct, since all of the material would have been based on other people's memories, but nonetheless it gives another interesting insight into the former College buildings.

> But the original edifice, that existed at the time of our story was pushed further back, faced to the street of the town, and was grey reverend pile of irregular and rather straggling design, or we should perhaps say, of no design at all; having partly, a monastic physiognomy, and partly that of a dwelling-house, and bearing, to its present gay successor, about the same likeness that the levee skirts of Anne's time bear to the smart swallowtail of the last summer but one. We surmise that at a more remote period, it belonged to the old and beautiful Augustinian Abbey of St. John, from which the main building was not more than three hundred yards distant, and was richly endowed "for the salvation of the soul and those of his predecessors and successors" (as Ledwich abstracts its charter) by William Marshall the elder, Earl of Pembroke, in 1220.[22]

The Banim brothers also included a description of the interior of the College which corroborates the information contained in the Bryan letter:

> The entrance to the school-room was immediately from the street, through huge oak folding doors, arching at the top, to suit the arched stone doorway, and gained by two grand flights of steps at each side, that formed a building spacious platform before the entrance, and allowed under them a passage by which visitors approached the college. To the left was another gateway, where carriages had egress. The whole front of the building was of cut stone,

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[20] Ibid.

[21] Browne, "Kilkenny College", 229 & the facing page. See Appendix VIII, Fig. III.

[22] Michael Banim, *Peter of the Castle and The Fetches, by the O'Hara Family, A new edition with introductory notes* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1866), 208 - 209.

> with Gothic Windows composed of numerous small panes of glass, separately leaded, and each of a diamond form; giving the appearance of a side or back rather than of a front, on account of its grotesque gables, chimneys, and spouts, the last of which jutted into the street, to the no small annoyance, in rainy weather, of the neighbours and the passengers; while from the platform before the school-room entrance, the lads of the college contrived, in all weathers, further annoyances of every description. But in the past, as well as the present time, the lawn of the college was devoted to the exercise and sports of the students, and had, for its left-hand boundary, "the darkwall," a shrubbery, so called to this day, though its appearance and indeed identity, are changed, and for its right the crystal Nore, of which the opposite banks were flanked by a wall some forty feet high; and over this wall - its foundations on a level with the top - towered in uncouth grandeur, among the throngs of luxuriant trees, the old family castle of the all but regal Ormonds.[23]

The Banim brothers also included additional material on the supposed activities of the pupils outside teaching hours, although it is unclear whether or not the information is based on John Banim's own experience at the College, which he attended from 1810 until 1813:

> nor yet the high front wall that ran from the side of the college to the brink of the latter, completely succeeded in keeping within proper bounds, at improper hours, the mettlesome race of young students, that, in the old time, frequented Kilkenny College. Stories are whispered on the spot of stolen orgies at midnight, in confidential taverns through the town; of ardent breathings at the windows of not the ugliest lasses in the suburbs; of desperate wars between native youth and the fiery sojourners; and all the et ceteras that spring from the proximity to a small town of such an establishment, and which Harrow at this day might illustrate.[24]

This plan for the refurbishment of the house and the construction of a new College building in John Street is one of the earliest accounts for a purpose built schoolhouse in Ireland, albeit a renovated one. Previous schools that had been established in Ireland utilised property already existing and made do with the property as it stood to meet its needs. The Londonderry Free School, which had been founded in 1617 and located on the walls of Derry, was housed until c.1814 in a simple one storey building. The upstairs floor was used for sleeping while the downstairs was used for all other activities, teaching and otherwise. The plans give an interesting insight into

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

the thoughts of the Duke about the practicalities of providing education. Not only was there to be accommodation for a number of masters, ushers and several servants: the schoolhouse would also be capable of holding sixty scholars. The use of the term 'principal scholars' indicated that the Duke envisaged a hierarchical structure within the student population, something akin to the structures of English public schools such as Winchester College, Eton College and Westminster School. There is evidence to confirm that the schoolhouse on John's Street had been completed at some stage towards the end of the 1660s. In a letter to Captain George Matthew dated 21 January 1670, the duchess of Ormond expressed concern over the safety of the College building because of its proximity to property of a combustible nature:

> My Lord is very well pleased, and so am I, with what you design in building of brick houses at Kilkenny in the room of those thatched cabins that are pulled down; which if done in John Street also, would secure the school from danger of being fired, which as it is may be such neighbours be in some hazard; and it may be worth your consideration whether it might not be convenient to take such land from the Corporation, where cabins would be built near unto where stone houses are, to prevent the mischief that so frequently does happen by them.[25]

Browne also included, in his essay, the memoirs of a citizen of Kilkenny who had remembered the old building that had existed on the site of the present structure on John Street which was completed in 1782:

> The old College, the internal economy of which is so minutely brought before us by the manuscript alluded to, was well remembered by the last generation - amongst others, by our late fellow-townsman, Edward Denroche, Esq., of John-street, an *alumnus* of the school, who, during a long life spent in his native city, by probity and sterling worth of his character, reflected honour on the establishment in which he had been educated. Mr. Denroche described the old College as bearing the resemblance to the ancient mansion of the Rothe family still standing in High-street. It consisted, according to his statement, of a quadrangular building with a central court. In the street front were two archways, still remaining in the wall at each side of the present entrance gate. These archways gave entrance to the central quadrangle, and between them, projecting into the street, was a high double flight of steps, which gave admittance to the first floor. The school-room was a lofty and very large apartment, and was situated on the east side of the quadrangle; the windows of which, large and massive framed timber, looked out on the mill-race. The

[25] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. III, 446.

> domestic buildings were two stories high, and occupied the west side of the quadrangle, where the stables and out offices of the present College stand. Mr. Denroche commenced at the College when he was six years old, at which time Dr. Heweston, afterwards prebendary of Aghour, and rector of the union of Freshford, was master.[26]

Another image of the College was contained in a panorama included in *A Map of the Kingdom of Ireland* (1705, reissued c.1751) by Henry Pratt.[27] The panorama also includes views of the Castle, St. Canice's Cathedral and St. John's Bridge.[28] Although there is speculation concerning the exact year of the re-establishment of the College, it was not until 1670 that there is any distinct reference to a master, when the Rev. Dr. Edward Jones was appointed to the College. Whether or not there was a master in the College before the arrival of Dr. Jones in 1670 remains unclear.

3.3: The first two masters of the newly re-established College: Edward Jones (1641 - 1703) and Henry Ryder (c.1648 - 1696).

The first two masters of the newly re-established College were both English clergymen and had received their education at Westminster School, London and Trinity College, Cambridge. This similarity provided a stable foundation and a degree of continuity from which the College was to develop. The Rev. Dr. Edward Jones (1641 - 1703) was appointed c.1670 by the Duke to be the first headmaster of the second foundation of the College.[29] Edward Jones was born in 1641 at Llwyn Ririd, Montgomeryshire, Wales. He was educated at Westminster School, London under the instruction of the famous Dr. Richard Busby (1606 - 1695), where he was a King's Scholar.[30] He was then elected to Trinity College, Cambridge where he was admitted as a pensioner on 22 May 1661.[31] His tutor on admittance is recorded as being an Irishman, Thomas Hill. He was accompanied by seven other Westminster boys who succeeded in the election and matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge during the

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[26] Browne, "Kilkenny College", 224.
Rev. Dr. Thomas Heweston was master of the College from 1743 - 1773.
[27] See Appendix VIII, Fig. IV.
[28] Henry Pratt, *A Map of the Kingdom of Ireland* (1705, reissued c.1751).
[29] William Maziere Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, taken from diocesan and parish registers, MSS in the principal libraries and public offices of Oxford, Dublin, and London, and from private or family papers* (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1864), 102.
[30] The influence of Richard Busby on the master's of the College is discussed in Chapter Five.
[31] Annual elections took place at Westminster School for boys who wished to enter Trinity College, Cambridge and Christ Church College, Oxford.

Easter term of 1661.[32] Isaac Newton (1642 - 1727), was admitted as a subsizar, to Trinity College, two weeks after Jones and one reference has suggested that the two were friends during their time together at Cambridge.[33] Jones won a scholarship in 1662, gained a B.A. in 1665 and in 1667 he was elected, along with Newton, as a minor fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In subsequent years he was awarded an M.A., a B.D. and a D.D., though it is not clear if he ever gained election as a major fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge.[34] Having taken holy orders in London during 1667, Jones was selected as one of the domestic chaplains to the duke of Ormond.[35] The Duke, who had been newly appointed as the lord lieutenant, of Ireland brought Jones over to Ireland in 1670. Jones was accompanied by his brother, Matthew Jones. It seems that the Duke placed Jones in the position of master of the College shortly after his arrival, while his brother took up the position as the vicar-choral of Lismore Cathedral, Co. Waterford.[36] Jones' tenure as the master of the College signalled its development into a significant educational institution in Ireland for the second time in the College's history. Pupils were prepared for entry into Trinity College, Dublin, the first entering during 1671 and 1672. Another significant moment during this period of the College was the decision of Godwin Swift to send his godson, Jonathan, to the College. Jones is recorded by many sources as being the "preceptor to" Jonathan Swift, who attended the College between 1673 - 1681.[37] This action was to establish a link between the College and the great Anglo - Irish literary tradition started by Swift and continued by the restoration dramatists. Although most of those who have made reference to the life of Edward Jones, mention that he was the tutor of Jonathan Swift, Swift himself appears to have made no record of a debt to Jones and his

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[32] Lee, *DNB*, vol. X, Howard - Kenneth, 985 - 986.
Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. II,
Dabbs - Juxton, 484.
Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, 102 - 104.
Walter William Rouse Ball & John Archibald Venn ed. *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge. 1546 - 1700*, vol. II, (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1913), 456.
In total, 35 boys matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge during the Easter term of 1661.

[33] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, 102 - 104.
Subsizar is a term which refers to a poor scholar at Cambridge or Dublin University whose assize of food is given him. Sizars used to have what was left at the fellows' table, because it was their duty at one time to wait on the fellows at dinner. Each fellow had his sizar.

[34] Rouse Ball & Venn ed. *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge. 1546 - 1900*, vol. II, 456.
Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, 102 - 104.

[35] Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. II,
Dabbs - Juxton, 484.

[36] Lee, *DNB*, vol. X, Howard - Kenneth, 985 - 986.
Matthew Jones (1654 - 1717), became a precentor of Cloyne Cathedral in the diocese of Cloyne and Ross in 1687 and a prebendary of Donoughmore, also in the diocese of Cloyne and Ross in 1687.

[37] Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae, The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies in Ireland*, vol. I, The Province of Munster (Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1878), 296.

instruction. Jones was elected to the prebendary of Aghour and Freshford in the diocese of Ossory in 1677, and appears to have held his position at the College until c.1680 when he seems to have moved to fulfil his role as dean of Lismore, a position to which he had been elected in 1678.[38] It is thought that Jones relinquished his position as master of the College in 1679. Rennison noted in *Lists of the Clergy of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore* (1920), that Jones also held the position of rector of the parish of Inishlounaght, Clonmel in Co. Tipperary from 1679 - 1683.[39] Although this is not corroborated by any other sources, it is possible that Jones moved from his position in Kilkenny and simultaneously enjoyed the income from two posts, as the rector of Inishlounaght and the dean of Lismore. What is more certain is that in the February of 1683 he was elected to replace Patrick Sheridan as the bishop of Cloyne. He was consecrated on 16 March of the same year in Cashel Cathedral by the archbishop of Cashel, who was assisted by the bishops of Waterford, Limerick and Killaloe.[40] There were moves throughout the 1680s to have Jones translated to the position of bishop of Ossory. A letter written in February 1686 by the earl of Clarendon to the archbishop of Canterbury noted "Dr. Jones, the present Bishop of Cloyne, whom I propose to be translated to Ossory, is a very worthy man, has done a great good in the diocese he is now in, even to his own detriment, to promote the interests of the Church."[41] In 1688, against the background of the changing religious and political climate initiated by the arrival of Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell, as the commander in chief and virtual governor of Ireland in 1685, Jones and his family, along with many other Protestants, fled to England.[42] Brady, in his work *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, has speculated that due to the haste of his departure, Jones left or lost five hundred pounds worth of real estate behind him.[43] He died on 10 May 1703, at his house in College Court, Westminster. He was buried, on 13 May, in a vault under the communion table of St. Margaret's parish church,

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[38] Walter Harris ed. *The Works of James Ware Concerning Ireland, revised and improved*, vol. 1 (Dublin: Printed for the Author by J. Jones, 1738), 579.

[39] William Henry Rennison, *Succession Lists of the Bishops, Cathedral, Parochial Clergy of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore (from the earliest times - together with hitherto unpublished records* (Waterford: Croker & Co., 1920), 157.

[40] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, 102 - 104.

[41] Clarendon State Papers, vol.I, 58.

[42] Lee, *DNB*, vol. X, Howard - Kenneth, 985.
Jones had married Elizabeth Kennedy of Newmountkennedy, Wicklow the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Kennedy c.1680, by whom he had six children.

[43] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, 102 - 104.
Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. II, Dabbs - Juxton, 484.

Westminster, without any inscription or memorial.[44] Nothing which concerned the organisation of the College under Jones is known, although it can be speculated that the nature of the curriculum within the College was strongly influenced by Jones' religious conviction. A text book used in the College from the period in which Jones was master has survived and provides a unique insight in to what was taught at the College. Although no author is recorded on the text book, there is a strong argument to suggest that the book was the work of Jones. A copy of this book still exists in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin.[45] Some writers who have noted various parts of the College's history were unable to make any comment on the text book because of its apparent disappearance for several years. Browne, in his article on the history of the College, mentioned that the book was not to be found in Archbishop Marsh's Library. It is not clear exactly when or how the book was rediscovered some eighty years later and became available to Dobbs who alluded to it in his work on the College.[46] Dobbs described the book, which he thought to have been printed c.1676, as being "an interesting relic of the period."[47] The publication entitled *Sacri Lusus in Usum Scholae Kilkenniensis* or *Sacred Games For Use in the Kilkenny School* comprised of thirty-six pages of Biblical texts intermingled with theological observations. The Biblical texts mostly concern the Gospel message, while the theological interpretation deals with themes such as Jesus being the human incarnation of God.[48] The text is clearly Protestant in nature, as it indicated that belief in the life, death and resurrection of Jesus are the sole means by which salvation could be attained as opposed to a Roman Catholic text which would have alluded to the merits of righteous works and indulgences. The text also highlighted Jesus' power over nature and evil, shown in the calming of the storm on the Sea of Galilee and the healing of the man with the withered hand. The text also mentions Greek poets of the first

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[44] Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, 104.
Lee, *DNB*, vol. X, Howard - Kenneth, 985.
Unable to return to Ireland Edward Jones settled back in his native Wales and was for a time rector of the parish of Aber-Hafesp in 1690 before being translated to the see of St. Asaph, Wales, in November 1693, as successor to Bishop William Lloyd. During his occupancy as bishop of Asaph, he also performed the duties of rector to the following parishes in Wales: Halkin (1694), Caerwys (1695) and Llansaintffraid (1696). Jones's tenure as bishop of St. Asaph was marked by bad judgment and maladministration which eventually led to him appearing, in 1700, before an ecclesiastical court. He signed a confession to the effect that he had been "promoting to canonry a notorious person accused of crimes and excesses, and in entering into simonical contracts for the disposal of preferments." The court deliberations resulted in Jones being suspend from his position for six months. The suspension was in fact not lifted until 5 May, 1702 by which time Jones had moved to London.

[45] See Appendix VIII, Fig. V.
The book appeared in the first librarian's shelf catalogue c.1701.

[46] Browne, "Kilkenny College", 229.

[47] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 5.

[48] *Sacri Lusus in Usum Scholae Kilkenniensis* (Dublin: Joseph Wilde, c.1676).

century, such as Silius and Martial. The text seems to have been a collection of wholesome topics for translation into English which enabled both the basics of Latin grammar and Church of Ireland catechism to be taught. The book was printed in Dublin by Joseph Wilde at the King's Printing house. The volume originally belonged to Michael Jephson, archdeacon of Leighlin from 1680 to 1683 and dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral from 1691 to 1694. It was purchased for the library of Archbishop Marsh, whose handwritten Greek motto appears at the top right hand side of the title page alongside Jephspon's signature.[49] The bottom part of the title page has been cut to remove the date of the publication: it is thought that this was the result of damage carried out when the volume was being rebound.[50] Although it is unclear how Dobbs in *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College* (1938) was able to conclude that the date of the book was c.1676, this date does corroborate with the dates that Joseph Wilde was known to have been publishing. The existence of this work indicates that the College was firmly grounded in the reformed faith and had a master who was willing to write or have compiled and published material which clearly promoted Protestant thought. It is unclear how the book came into the possession of Marsh, but the fact that he was one of the visitors named in the College's Charter and Statutes of 1685 may be a possible explanation.

Edward Jones's replacement as master was the Rev. Dr. Henry Ryder (c.1648 - 1696). Henry Ryder was a man of very similar background to Jones, most likely selected by the Duke to provide continuity. Ryder was born in Paris c.1648, the son of Thomas Ryder, the secretary to the British Embassy in Paris. Ryder had strong connections with Ireland, his grandfather having been John Ryder, the bishop of Killaloe. J. B. Leslie discovered that Ryder may very well have been a descendant of the de Rythre family of Harewood House, Yorkshire.[51] Like Edward Jones, Ryder was a King's Scholar at Westminster School, London and was then educated at Trinity College, Cambridge.[52] He was admitted to Trinity on election from Westminster with four others during July 1663, two years after Edward Jones. His tutor was Thomas Gale, a Yorkshire man and another former Westminster pupil, who subsequently became the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge. Ryder gained a scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1664 and graduated with a B.A. in 1667, and in 1673 he

[49] For a full biographical account of Marsh see Chapter Four.
[50] Personal correspondence with Ann Simmons, assistant to the keeper of Archbishop Marsh's Library.
[51] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 105.
Ryder is recorded also as Rider in some sources.
[52] Ibid.

returned to Cambridge to receive his M.A.[53] After Ryder had left Cambridge in 1667 it is not certain where he went but it is thought that he came to Ireland to take up the position of headmaster of St. Patrick's Cathedral Grammar School, Dublin in 1672. Among his pupils at St. Patrick's was Thomas Molyneux, who was the younger brother of William Molyneux, the famous political writer, professor of Medicine at Trinity College, Dublin and Ireland's first medical peer. Other pupils included John Sterne, who became bishop of Clogher and vice-chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin and Thomas Bulkley who was knighted for his services to the Royal Society.[54] J. A. Venn and John Venn, in their biographical lists of students at the University of Cambridge, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1924), mentioned that Ryder was incorporated at Trinity College, Dublin at some time after his arrival in Ireland.[55] This was not an unusual occurrence since numerous graduates of Oxford and Cambridge who came to Ireland for educational or ecclesiastical posts became incorporated at the University of Dublin to the same degree to which they had graduated from at their respective universities. Unfortunately there is no record of this event in any of the registers of the University of Dublin. At some stage towards the end of the 1670s the duke of Ormond offered Ryder the position of master of the College. The possibility that Ryder was offered the mastership by Ormond on the advice of Edward Jones is quite likely. Jones would have known or known of Ryder at both Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge.

During the tenure of Dr. Ryder, the College continued to develop a reputation for being a place of learning which had been initiated by Edward Jones. Ryder had been attracted to the College by the Duke and his desire to ensure the best "scholarship and ability" were available for his foundation.[56] The duchess of Ormond wrote to her son, the earl of Arran, in 1682 to celebrate the work of Dr. Ryder and prompt his preferment for the ecclesiastical post of the dean of Ossory. Ryder already held the prebend of Mayne, a post he had been preferred to in 1681. The Duchess wrote "I fear without such help he will quit that place and that then the school will break which has hitherto had great credit and been an advantage unto the town."[57] He was eventually made a prebendary of Malahidert and St. Patrick's in 1683, the year he left his position at the College. He was given additionally the positions as prebendary of

[53] Rouse Ball & Venn ed. *Admissions to Trinity College, Cambridge. 1546 - 1700*, vol. II, 466.
[54] Cathcart, *'An Help for School Boys', The Choir and Grammar Schools 1431 - 1991*, 8.
[55] Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. III, Kaile - Ryves, 457.
[56] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 108.
[57] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol.VI, 495.

Holy Trinity, Cork (1685 - 1686) and treasurer of Cork diocese (1686 - 1687) through the dispensation of Boyle, the archbishop of Armagh. Ryder also held the rectories of Offerland, Attanagh, Aharney and Durrow from 1687 - 1689 until he was attained by James II. Leslie has recorded that although Ryder returned to these positions after the Williamite victory at the Boyne in 1690 he was deprived of Offerland on account of a long absence from the parish. Ryder also added to his list of rectories with the addition of the parish of Rosconnel.[58] In 1692, Ryder eventually gained a position within the diocese of Ossory, when he was elected as archdeacon on 9 December 1692.[59] In 1693 Ryder succeeded John Roan as the bishop of Killaloe. He was consecrated on Trinity Sunday, 1693, as bishop at the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Dunboyne by the archbishop of Cashel, Narcissus Marsh.[60] Ryder died on 30 January, 1696 and was buried at Clonmethan, Co. Dublin. His will was dated 12 January, 1696 and was proved in April of the same year.[61]

During the period prior to the granting of the Charter and Statutes many pupils who had attended the College went on to become distinguished in various fields: Jonathan Swift the writer, William Congreve the dramatist, Richard Baldwin provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Robert Parker an army captain and Samuel Foley and John Hartstronge, who were both Church of Ireland bishops. These individuals had many factors in common with each other, they were all members of the Church of Ireland and came from families who could afford the College fees as well as a private tutor to prepare their sons for entry into the College. Apart from Robert Parker, they all entered Trinity College, Dublin where the sound classical education they had received at the College was built upon. The progression from the College to Trinity became a well travelled route and was continued by future generations of College pupils further cementing the role the College had in the creation and maintenance of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy.

Jonathan Swift (1667 - 1745)

Jonathan Swift was born at 7 Hoey's Court in Dublin of English parents on 30 November, 1667. Swift's early education was undertaken by a nurse, who had been given charge of him by his mother, since his father had died shortly after his birth

[58] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 105.
[59] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 305.
[60] Harris ed. *The Works of James Ware*, vol. I (Dublin: Printed for the Author by J. Jones, 1738), 598.
[61] Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. III
Kaile - Ryves, 457.
Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 105.

and she had left Ireland to be with her family in England.[62] His mother returned to Ireland and took Swift along with his nurse, back to England. There Swift stayed for three years, at the end of which he is said to have been able to read any part of the Bible.[63] At the end of these three years Swift was sent to be with his uncle, Godwin Swift, in Ireland. In 1673, at the age of six, Godwin sent Swift to the College which was only a few miles from Godwin's home, Swiftsheath. At the College Swift would have been taught the rudiments of Latin, which he fully utilised in his later writings. In total Swift stayed for nine years at Kilkenny, his time there straddled the masterships of Edward Jones and Henry Ryder.[64] In 1682, at the age of fourteen Swift left the College and matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin as a pensioner. Swift endured an unsuccessful career at Trinity, where he "too much neglected his academic studies, for some parts of which he had no great relish by nature."[65] Although Swift was a prolific writer on numerous topics, he never ventured to comment much on his education. The *DNB* recorded that "nothing is known of Swift about this time beyond a trifling anecdote or two."[66] Three anecdotes were recorded by him and are the only existing words related by Swift concerning his time at his *alma mater*. One of these was a general comment on his time at the College:

> I have observed from myself and others (and I think it the wisest observation I have ever made in my life) that men are never more mistaken, than when they reflect on past things, and from what they retain in their memory, compare them with the present. Because when we reflect on the past, our memories lead us only to the pleasant side, but in present things our minds are chiefly taken up with reflecting on what we dislike in our present condition. So I formerly used to envy my own happiness when I was a schoolboy, the delicious holidays, the Saturday afternoons and the charming custards in a blind alley; I never considered the confinement ten hours a day to nouns and verbs, the terror of the rod, the bloody noses, and broken shins.[67]

The second concerned the purchase of a 'mangy horse' for which he paid one and six pence, all the money he possessed. He bought the horse from a man on his way to the knacker's yard for the glory of riding his own horse through Kilkenny, but

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[62] Stephen & Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XIX, Stow - Tytler, 204 - 205.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Victoria Glendinning, *Jonathan Swift* (London: Hutchinson, 1998), 10.
[65] Stephen & Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XIX, Stow - Tytler, 204 - 205.
[66] Ibid.
[67] David Nichol Smith, ed., *The Letters of Swift to Charles Ford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1935), November 12, 1708.

shortly after the acquisition the horse dropped dead.[68] The third dealt with a time when he nearly landed a fish while angling on the River Nore. The fish appeared above the surface before vanishing from sight. Swift likened this sorry tale as the presage of all his future disappointments, such as his inability to secure more prestigious ecclesiastical preferments.[69] There is a widely held belief that during Swift's time in the College he partook in some schoolboy vandalism, not dissimilar to that which can be seen in the fourth form room at Harrow School, where generations of Harrovians have marked their names on the desks and walls. Swift is reputed to have carved his name with a penknife onto a desk which apparently survived for several years after he had left.[70] The Rev. John Browne in his article on the College included the following anecdote which was received from a Mr. B. Scott and concerned Swift's graffito:

> When the old College was pulled down, Dr. Ellison was master at the school. The oak timber-work was purchased by his (Mr. Scott's) uncle, the father of the late Mr. Martin Scott, of Kilkenny, who therewith erected his tenement in High-Street. After the work was finished it came to Dr. Ellison's knowledge that the name of "Jonathan Swift" existed, carved in school-boy fashion, on some part of the woodwork. Anxious to obtain this treasure, Dr. Ellison obtained permission from Mr. Scott to pull down that part of the work in which the particular board had been used; but after considerable progress in the work of demolition, *Mrs.* Scott declared that she could no longer suffer the business of the establishment to be interrupted, and put a stop to the search. I understand that the timber work of the house erected at that period remains, the frontage only having been re-built within a few years back. If such prove to be the case, I will use every exertion towards the recovery of this relic.[71]

It is not known whether or not the Rev. Browne was successful in his search. Henry Craik, one of Swift's legion of biographers, speculated in *The life of Jonathan Swift Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin* (1894) that his time at the College and in Kilkenny had a significant influence on Swift's subsequent writings. The fact that Kilkenny had two corporations which divided the city with the River Nore, the line separating the two jurisdictions, one containing the majority of the Roman Catholic citizens and the other

[68] Thomas Sheridan, *The Life of the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift* (Dublin: Luke White, 1785), 402.
[69] Francis Elrington Ball, ed., *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.* vol. IV (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1910-14), 76.
[70] Henry Craik, *The life of Jonathan Swift Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin*, vol. I (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 13.
[71] Browne, "Kilkenny College," 229.

the majority of the Protestant population, ensued habitual bickering between the two corporations, and this meant that Swift was therefore "inured to the baneful animosities that were eating into the life of the country."[72] There exists information concerning some of Swift's fellow pupils at the College which included his cousin, Thomas Swift of Oxfordshire, who was a fellow student both at the College and at Trinity College, Dublin. At Trinity Thomas Swift matriculated on the same day as Jonathan.[73] Another colleague at the College as a boy, named Francis Stratford, went to the City of London after attending the College. There Stratford became commercially successful for a time as a Hamburg merchant, gaining first the envy of Swift and then his pity when he became bankrupt by the spring of 1712.[74] The most well known of Swift's fellow pupils at the College was the Restoration dramatist, William Congreve. Although Congreve was three years Swift's junior, he only attended the College for one year, 1681- 82, with him. Swift's friendship with Congreve only began when they were both students at Trinity College, Dublin. It is clear that through the instruction of Edward Jones and Henry Ryder the College presented Swift with a strong classical education which was to provide a sound foundation for his impending career as a prolific writer and satirist.

William Congreve (1670 - 1729)

William Congreve was born near Leeds, Yorkshire on 24 January 1670, the son of an army officer. Congreve's father was transferred to Ireland where the family were located in the garrison towns of Youghal, Co. Cork and Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim. Towards the end of 1681 Congreve's father joined the regiment of the duke of Ormond and moved to Kilkenny.[75] Congreve entered the College at the age of twelve, a natural move since his father was an officer in the Duke's regiment. Although the Charter and Statutes of 1685 was still to be formally written, which stipulated that children of those in the service of the Duke were to be "admitted to the privileges and benefits of the said School gratis," Congreve may well have received his education free.[76] Congreve's main friend at the College was Joseph Keally who

[72] Craik, *The life of Jonathan Swift Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin*, vol. I, 13.
[73] Thomas Swift left Trinity College, Dublin to become secretary to the diplomat and essayist Sir William Temple (1628 - 1699).
[74] John Middleton Murry, *Jonathan Swift, A Critical Biography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 14. Henry Craik, *The life of Jonathan Swift Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin*, vol. I (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894), 14.
[75] John Cunyus Hodges, *William Congreve The Man, A Biography from New Sources* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1941), 12.
[76] cf. Appendix III, 7th Clause.

entered the College on 5 May 1685.[77] Keally was the son of John Keally, a local landowner who had his residence at Keally's Mount, situated a few miles outside Kilkenny.[78] Keally attended Pembroke College, Oxford, where he matriculated in May of 1686 before entering the Middle Temple in 1692.[79] Their friendship lasted through their student days at the College and at the Law Courts of London. John Hodges recorded in *William Congreve The Man, A Biography from New Sources* (1941), that:

> even after Keally returned to Ireland to practice law, Congreve wrote to him steadfastly and awaited eagerly Keally's coming to London. They had similar bents - loved books, made translations and dabbled in politics. They both ate and drank too much.[80]

Hodges made the observation that there was a significant amount of theatrical activity in Kilkenny and suggested that Congreve may have had an opportunity to pursue some acting while at the College.[81] There is a reference to Congreve's burgeoning literary talents recorded in the *Biographical Britannia* (1789):

> Our author [Congreve] received the first tincture of letters in the great school of Kilkenny and gave very early proofs of his genius; and it is said, that one of his first essays of his potential talents was a copy of verse upon the death of his master's magpie.[82]

On Monday 5 April 1685 Congreve, along with John Hinton, the son of the College's master Edward Hinton, and two other Kilkenny boys, matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin:

> 1685. Die quinto Aprillis. Hora deci, promeri. Pupillus: Gulielmus Congreve. Pensio. Parens: filius Guli: Congreve, Generosi de Yogholia. Aetas: annos natus Sexdecim. Ubi Natus: Natus Bardsagranus in Com. Eboracen: Aus: b. 5. Ubi Educatus: Educatus Kilkeniae Sub feru. Doctris Hinton. Tutor: St. Geo: Ashe.[83]

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[77] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[78] Keally is also recorded as Kelly.
[79] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. II, Early Series, 841.
[80] Hodges, *William Congreve The Man*, 19.
[81] Ibid., 21.
[82] *Biographia Britannica: or, the Lives of the most eminent persons who have flourished in Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. IV (London: Rivington & Marshall, 1789), 69.
Charles Wilson, *Memoirs of the life, writings, and amours of William Congreve, Esq; Interspersed with miscellaneous essays, letters, and characters written by him* (London: E. Curll, 1730), 1.
The magpie was almost certainly the property of the Rev. Dr. Edward Hinton, master of the College from c.1683 until 1702.
[83] Admissions Register of Trinity College, Dublin, TCD MUN V/23/1.

Congreve made a poor impression to the College authorities almost immediately. While John Hinton appeared on the first day before the senior lecturer of Trinity at seven in the morning, Congreve only emerged before him at ten. Congreve completed his university career without much success having paid more attention to drinking the beer and wine from Trinity's cellars than to his studies. John Hinton in comparison was never recorded as having taken drink from the cellars of Trinity and was elected to scholarship in 1688.[84]

Richard Baldwin (?1668- 1758)

The matriculation register of Trinity College, Dublin records that he entered Trinity on 29 April 1684 at the age of seventeen, had been born in Athy, Co. Carlow the son of a Richard Baldwin, a gentleman of Athy and that he had attended Kilkenny College under the care of the Rev. Dr. Edward Hinton (This entry was unusual since, although being a few miles from the border of Co. Carlow, Athy is in Co. Kildare).[85] Much to the puzzlement of his colleagues, Baldwin never discussed his background while he was alive. Dr. John Lawson, professor of Oratory and History at Trinity College, who gave the oration at Baldwin's funeral, enlightened those in attendance by stating that he had in fact been born in England and brought to Ireland in his infancy. Lawson's revelation was supported by an account in a local history of Colne, Lancashire, "Richard Baldwen [*sic*] the son of James Baldwen, of Parke Hill, near Colne, born AD 1672, and educated at the grammar school of that place, where he is said to have given a mortal blow to a school fellow, upon which he fled to Ireland, and was admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, where in 1717 he became provost".[86] A more detailed retelling of this account by a Mr. Adamson, a curate who served in the parish of Colne during the nineteenth century, which was prepared in connection with a subsequent legal challenge to Baldwin's will, was included in W. B. S. Taylor's *History of The University of Dublin* (1845).[87] The baptismal register of St. Bartholomew's Parish Church in Colne records that a Richard Baldwen [*sic*], son of James Baldwen of Park Hill, Barrowford, Colne was baptised on 14 April 1672 but the dates are inconsistent since if this was the record of Baldwin's birth he would have been only

[84] Hodges, *William Congreve The Man*, 22 - 29.
[85] Admissions Register of Trinity College, Dublin TCD MUN V/23/1. f.132.
[86] Thomas Dunham Whitaker, *An History of the original Parish of Whalley and Honor of Clitheroe*, Vol. II (London, 1872-76), 519.
[87] William Benjamin Sarsfield Taylor, *History of the University of Dublin* (London: T. Cadell, 1845), 250. W. B. S. Taylor was also a former pupil of the College.

12 on entry to Trinity College, Dublin.[88] Another variation of Baldwin's background appeared in a letter to the 'Daily Express' in July 1892, from a J. R. Baldwin corresponding from Geneva who claimed that Baldwin had been the son of a James Baldwin from Ingthorpe Grange, Skipton, Yorkshire and that the incident in which Baldwin supposedly had killed a fellow pupil occurred at Sedbergh School, and had involved a cricket ball.[89] The real circumstances behind Baldwin's arrival in Ireland remain unclear but his attendance at the College can be confirmed. Dobbs stated adamantly that Baldwin had not attended the College and that previous commentators had confused Baldwin with another pupil of the same name.[90] However, there is a copy of Dobbs' book inside which there is a handwritten *erratum* by the author stating that he was now under the impression that Baldwin had attended the College.[91] The register of the College records Baldwin having left the school to enter Trinity College in 1685.[92] His entry into the College was not recorded, since he arrived before the granting of a Charter and Statutes. Although Baldwin is recorded as having matriculated a year earlier than when he was supposed to have left the College, the date noted for matriculation was not always the date from which attendance at university began. Baldwin was elected as a scholar of Trinity College in 1686 and commenced with a B.A. in early 1689. After the Jacobite occupation of Trinity College in 1689 Baldwin fled to England and possibly took up a teaching position in Chester. His experiences during this time made a deep impression and contributed to his becoming an avowed Whig and constant opponent of the Tories within and without the College for the rest of his life. Samuel Burdy's biography of the life of the Rev. Philip Skelton (1792) contained a number of anecdotes concerning Baldwin's battle with Jacobite sympathisers including Baldwin's supposed comment about his Tory antithesis, Swift, of whom he judged "remarkable for nothing else while a student than his skill in kindling a good fire and that he would never allow his College woman to do it for him."[93] He was elected a fellow of Trinity in 1693,

[88] The Parish Register of St. Bartholomew's Church, Colne. I am grateful to Dr. Craig Thornber, of Colne, Lancashire for this information.

[89] *Daily Express*, July 1892.
J. V. Luce stated that although he had made contact with the Archivist of Sedbergh School, no record of a Richard Baldwin had been located in the school records. Sedbergh School was founded in 1525 by Roger Lupton, provost of Eton College.
John Victor Luce, *Trinity College, Dublin, The First 400 Years* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1992), 43.

[90] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 13.

[91] I am grateful to Mr. Gilbert Colton headmaster of the College 1950 - 1979 for this information.

[92] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.

[93] Samuel Burdy, *The Life of Philip Skelton (reprinted from the edition of 1792 with an introduction by Norman Moore)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), 33.

became a senior fellow in 1697, vice-provost in 1713 and provost in 1717. The speed of his elevation to high office has caused some historians to speculate that it may have been due to Whig forces outside the College "being preferred to men more highly gifted" than himself.[94] This understanding is supported by the date of his selection as provost coinciding with the start of the Hanoverian succession. His manner of leadership has been described as autocratic "a forerunner of the more severe type of Victorian head-master, with sound but unimaginative scholarship and an insistence on hard work and the observance of a strict disciplinary code" but behind Dublin's Georgian facade was a culture of "riots and drunken brawls among half-educated would-be gentlemen" to which students were easily attracted.[95] Baldwin made significant progress in improving student behaviour: Swift, in a letter to the earl of Peterboruogh in April 1726, described Trinity as a place where "youths are instructed with much stricter discipline than either Oxford or Cambridge".[96] Two of Trinity College's finest buildings, the Printing House (1734) and the Library (1732), were completed during his provostship. He died on 30 of September, 1758, reputedly at the age of 92 after completing forty one years as provost, the longest tenure of any provost before or since. He left the College his entire legacy, which consisted of 24,000 pounds and 200,000 acres in real estate located in several counties around Ireland. His will was disputed by certain persons in England who claimed to be his relatives citing the evidence that suggested Baldwin had been born in Colne. Litigation continued intermittently for sixty two years before the case was decided in favour of Trinity College in 1820. There is a large sculpted monument to him, by Christopher Hewetson, in the Public Theatre of Trinity College.[97]

Robert Parker (c.1666 - c.1720)

The memoirs of Captain Robert Parker, a pupil at the College during the time before the granting of the Charter and Statutes to the College in 1685, provide another valuable insight into the life of the College. Parker was probably born in Kilkenny some time between 1665 and 1668, and was a pupil at the College for several years

[94] Taylor, *History of the University of Dublin*, 250.
[95] Robert Brendan McDowell & David Allardice Webb, *Trinity College, Dublin: 1592-1952: an academic history* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 38.
[96] Harold Herbert Williams, *The correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, vol. III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 133.
[97] Anne Olivia Crookshank & David Allardice Webb, *Painting and Sculptures in Trinity College Dublin* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1990), 16.

until he absconded in 1683 to join the army.[98] Parker recorded the following account of his time at school in Kilkenny:

> My father, who lived on a concern of his own near Kilkenny, kept me at school in that town until I was fifteen. The Old Duke of Ormond then the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and here was that he resided for the most part, and had with him the late unfortunate Duke, his grandson. He being a youth of military disposition, had enlisted a company of Protestant school-boys, among whom I was one; these he armed with wooden guns and took great delight in marching and exercising them before the Duke and Duchess. From this trifling circumstance I was induced to entertain a high opinion of military life, and was determined to take the first opportunity to enter into the service in any state. And this was not my case only: I afterwards knew about thirty of these young gentlemen who bore commissions in the army, and some of them became Colonels and General Officers. It now appeared that very little was to be expected from me in the way of learning; the next design was, to bring me up to country business: but it would not do, my head was quite turned another way.[99]

Due to the lack of any sizable alternatives to the College in Kilkenny at this time, it is assumed that the school Parker is referring to in his memoirs is the College before the granting of the Charter and Statutes.[100] Dobbs noted that it was unfortunate that Parker did not record those individuals who "became Colonels and General Officers", as the majority, if not all of them would have attended the College. The information that it would have provided would have indicated the names of the families who were sending their sons to the College at a time that no attendance register was being kept.[101] Parker was a member of a company raised by the duke of Ormond's grandson, James Butler (1665 - 1745), who also entered military life, and eventually replaced the disgraced duke of Marlborough in 1712 as captain general of the British forces in Flanders. It is interesting to note the considerable influence Parker's education had on his future career, especially considering that he had the opportunity to enter the farming profession. The College's ethos at this time would have appeared to have been heavily influenced by the military. Parker's first venture

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[98] David Chandler, ed. *Military Memoirs of Marlborough's Campaigns, 1702 - 1712, by Captain Robert Parker, Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland, and the Comte de Mérode - Westerloo, Field Marshal of the Holy Roman Empire* (London: Greenhill Books, 1998), 5.

[99] Robert Parker, *Memoirs of the most remarkable military transactions from the year 1683 to 1718: containing a very particular account of the several battles, sieges, &c. in Ireland and Flanders, during the reigns of K. William and Q. Anne* (Dublin: Geo & Alex. Ewing, 1746), 2 -3.

[100] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 5.

[101] Ibid.

as a soldier was short-lived, as the start of his career occurred simultaneously with the elevation of James II to the throne. In 1687 Parker left the army and returned to Kilkenny as a result of king James' intent into increasing the number of Roman Catholics in the army and promoting those Roman Catholic officers who were already enlisted. Shortly after he had returned home, both his parents died on one single day, and he then sold his portion of the inheritance to an older brother, which enabled him to revert to his chosen career as a soldier.[102] At the end of his military career Parker retired to Cork in April 1718, after which information concerning him is not available. As David Chandler has commented "the rest of his life - even the date of his death - are shrouded in a pall of anonymity cast by more than two centuries of history."[103]

Because there was no College register until 1685, there is only a limited amount of information concerning the other students of the College before the granting of the Charter and Statutes. The *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde* contained a letter from a Lodowick Jackson of Youghal, County Cork to the duke of Ormond dated 10 April 1683. In the letter Jackson refers to his son whom he has kept at the Duke's school in Kilkenny, who is "fitted by his small growth, and other education, to wait on his Grace or his Lady Duchess as a page, or to attend on the Lord Ossory in his travels."[104] There is a further mention of a pupil of the College in the *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, in a letter dated 5 June

[102] Parker, *Memoirs of the most remarkable military transactions*, 6.

[103] Chandler, ed. *Military Memoirs of Marlborough's Campaigns, 1702 - 1712*, 10.
Parker arrived in London at the time of the 'Glorious Revolution' and was invited to join Lord Forbes' Regiment (which was later to become the Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland) in March 1689. Parker's military career overlapped with the Williamite wars in Ireland, he fought at the Boyne, Aughrim and was involved with the siege of Limerick during 1690. After this Parker saw action at Namur (1695) as the Nine Years War spread to the Continent. As part of the duke of Marlborough's forces during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701 - 1713) Parker again was involved, fighting at Blenheim (1704) and Oudenarde (1708). On his return from France one of his last engagements was with the High Tory students of Oxford University, when he was billeted there in 1716. Parker noted in his memoirs what he encountered at Oxford and how he and his fellow men responded to the student threat "It surprised me much to see many of the Youths of this famous university poisoned in their principles. There were indeed some worthy and well affected Gentlemen among them: but they were very few, not above one in ten. Upon this they [the troops] had orders to leave there swords and bayonets in their quarters, every man to provide himself with a good cudgel, to walk the streets not less than four and five in company, especially at night, and in case they were assaulted, to defend themselves. This soon made that matter easy, and the scholars were never before known to keep so close to their Colleges." Although Parker's boyhood acquaintance, the 2nd duke of Ormond, rose to become the commander of British forces on the Continent in 1712, Parker never sought to take advantage of this situation, this may have been due to the lack of respect that was given to the Duke as a soldier. Parker considered the Duke to be of an inadequate standard as a soldier and seems to have avoided him during his military career.

[104] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. VII, 11.

1684 from James Clarke to the Duke's son, the earl of Arran which concerned Clarke's unnamed nephew whom he had kept at the College under Dr. Jones' care for five years and for a further seven at Oxford. He inquires in the letter as to the possibility that his nephew might find employment in the Earl's regiments as a chaplain.[105] Dobbs mentioned, along with Swift and Congreve, four other individuals who attended the College before the granting of the Charter and Statutes in 1685 and rose to prominence within the church and parliament. Two men who succeeded in the Church of Ireland were John Hartstrong, and Samuel Foley.[106]

Samuel Foley (1655 - 1695)

Samuel Foley left the College in 1672 and was admitted as a fellow-commoner of Trinity College, Dublin in June of the same year.[107] Foley subsequently became chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, dean of Achonry and precentor of Killala before he succeeded Thomas Hackett as bishop of Down and Connor in 1694. He died of a fever at Lisburn, Co. Antrim in 1695.[108]

John Hartstrong (1654 - 1717)

John Hartstrong was born at Catton near Norwich, Norfolk in 1654, the son of Sir Standish Hartstrong, one of the barons of the exchequer in Ireland.[109] After attending the College he entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1672. After graduation Hartstrong attended Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge and the University of Glasgow, and became a fellow of Gonville and Caius College in 1681.[110] During the subsequent years Hartstrong became the chaplain to the first duke of Ormond, and then to the second duke of Ormond on the death of the former in 1688. In 1693 he was promoted from the archdeaconry of Limerick to the bishopric of Ossory. In 1714 Hartstrong was translated from Ossory to the see of Derry, a position he held until his death in 1717.[111] In relation to the Irish Parliament, two past pupils became M.P.s, Francis Cuff and Josiah Haydock. Haydock subsequently became Mayor of Kilkenny from 1701 until 1702.[112]

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[105] Ibid., 241.
[106] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 13.
[107] A fellow-commoner was a term used to describe an undergraduate of Cambridge or Dublin University who on extra payment was allowed to dine at the Fellow's table.
[108] Stephen & Lee, *DNB*, vol. VII, Finch - Gloucester, 355.
[109] Hartstrong is sometimes recorded as Hartstronge.
[110] Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. II, Dabbs - Juxton, 321.
[111] Stephen & Lee, *DNB*, vol. IX, Harris - Hovenden, 355.
[112] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 13.

George Farquhar (c.1678 – 1707)

George Farquhar, another restoration dramatist, is regularly cited as a past pupil of the College in numerous references, but this is not the case.[113] George Farquhar was born in Raphoe, Co. Donegal, one of the seven children of the Rev. Farquhar of the Raphoe Diocese and was educated under Mr. Ellis Walker at the Free School in Derry. At the age of seventeen he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin in 1694.[114]

3.4: Conclusion.

The fact that the College managed to survive its first eighteen years of reestablishment was due to four factors. The relevant stability that was offered by the duke of Ormond as the College's benefactor was vital. For eleven of the first eighteen years the Duke had held the lord lieutenancy of Ireland and had largely been based locally, either in Kilkenny or Dublin. The authority that came with the lord lieutenancy ensured that the College's finances and fabric would have been well protected against many of the potential hazards in establishing a school of this nature. The Duke also had displayed a clear desire to see his plans come to successful fruition. The College is not dissimilar to many of the other projects of the Duke's that required an earnest desire to see them completed. Examples of the fruits of his endeavours include the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham and the laying out of the Phoenix Park. The fact that the Ormond family were of such importance was also a benefit to the College. The Duke and his successor, his grandson, were involved in various levels of government in Ireland and England, and thus had little time to take an active role in the management of the College, which meant that the College was able to benefit from the patronage of the head of the Ormond family, but not suffer the interference of an over officious benefactor. The second contributing factor was the fact that the College had a building, which ensured that it did not depend on an unstable tenancy and was able to establish firm foundations in both a physical and social sense. Many schools during this period had no fixed location and often closed with the departure of its teacher or the ending of the availability of

[113] Browne "Kilkenny College,", 227.

[114] Kathleen Carlin, *George Farquhar Restoration Dramatist* (Derry: Guildhall Press, 1987), 3 - 4.
Kate Newman, compiler, *Dictionary of Ulster Biography* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast, 1993), 76.
Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
James Barkley Woodburn, "Famous Irish Schools II Foyle College, Derry," *The Irish Presbyterian* vol. XX, no. 5, (May, 1914): 67 - 70.
George Farquhar wrote several plays, of which, *The Recruiting Officer* (1706) and *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707) are regarded as his best.

suitable accommodation. The third factor was the burgeoning relationship the College had with Trinity College. The intake by Trinity of College pupils began a relationship which was to be beneficial not only to the College, who gained a reputation of preparing boys for university, and Trinity, who could enjoy an influx of boys adequately prepared for a university education but also to the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, who were supplied with groups of young men with similar values and backgrounds. The fourth factor was the continuity in staff, in Jones and Ryder the Duke selected two men who had themselves experienced a classical education, and therefore were most suitable in the running of such an establishment. Both men had been pupils of Dr. Richard Busby, head master of Westminster School from 1638 to 1695. The lack of formal educational training in teaching would have meant that Busby's influence on both Jones and Ryder would have been significant and provided a certain continuity between the two masterships. The quality of the instruction provided by these men is demonstrated by the standard of pupils who left the College such as Swift, Congreve, Baldwin and Parker. These four factors provided a firm foundation on which the College could develop, their strength being demonstrated when the entire political and social structure of Kilkenny and Ireland were subject to massive upheaval in the 1690s and the College being able to survive. In 1685 the Duke granted a Charter and Statutes to further secure the future of the College, the content of the Charter and Statutes, along with a study of the impact of the changing political and religious climate, are dealt with in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

The granting of the Charter and Statutes to the College in 1685 and the survival of the College during the Williamite wars.

1685 - 1702

4.1: Introduction.

On 18 March, 1685 the College was granted a Charter and Statutes along with a limited endowment by the first duke of Ormond.[1] Although the date recorded on the document is 1684, because of the contemporary understanding that the year ended on 25 March, in modern terms the Charter and Statutes were signed in 1685. Several copies of the original Charter and Statutes have survived and contain information concerning the mechanism of governance put in place by the Duke to ensure the proper management and survival of the College. They also provide an insight into the ideals behind the Duke's decision to refound the College and what type of institution the Duke envisaged it being. The Charter and Statutes also signalled the formal start of an association between the College and Trinity College, Dublin stating that the provost, fellows and scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, were to assume the patronage of Kilkenny College on the failure of a male heir to the Butler title.[2] Before the granting of a Charter and Statutes to the College a new master was appointed. The Rev. Dr. Edward Hinton (c.1683 - 1702) was brought from the Witney Free School, Oxfordshire by the Duke to replace Henry Ryder. Hinton had been instrumental in the composition of the Statutes of the Witney Free School, which bear a striking similarity to the Charter and Statutes of the College, pointing to Hinton's involvement in their framing. This chapter will contain a detailed comparative study of the two Statutes. Hinton had enjoyed considerable success at Witney before arriving at the College, and proved to be a pivotal character in the development of the College at a time of great upheaval in Kilkenny and Ireland. During Hinton's mastership the College survived the death of the first duke of Ormond, the College's governor and benefactor, and its closure as a result of the Jacobite army in Ireland

[1] Ordnances of Kilkenny College, 1684, TCD MUN/P1/518a.

[2] The College had been sending boys to Trinity College, Dublin on a regular basis since the re-establishment of the College c.1666.

and the subsequent Williamite wars.[3] The College only reopened after the Williamite victory at the Boyne, due to the return of Hinton from England where he had fled after the Jacobite takeover of Ireland. The various Roman Catholic educational institutions which were founded during this period are also examined in this chapter. Those pupils who attended the College in the years after the Charter and Statutes included the philosopher George Berkeley (1685 - 1753) and one of the founding members of The Royal Dublin Society, Thomas Prior (c.1682 - 1751). This chapter will also contain information on some of those individuals who were first entered into the College Register, which had been instigated by the College's Charter and Statutes.[4]

4.2: The Rev. Dr. Edward Hinton (d.1702), the Charter master of the College from c.1683 until 1702.

Edward Hinton was selected by the duke of Ormond as the replacement for Henry Ryder and was mentioned in the Charter and Statutes as the College's master. Edward Hinton's tenure as master of the College coincided with a time of great turbulence both in the College's and Ireland's history, and was largely responsible for ensuring the College's survival. Edward Hinton was born in Malden, Surrey in c.1639, the son of Rev. Dr. Edward Hinton, rector of Malden. In 1646 "the committee of lords and commons for the revenue of lands belonging to the dean and Chapter of Westminster" selected Edward Hinton (senior) as rector to the Parish of Islip, Oxfordshire and hence the family moved there.[5] Edward Hinton (junior) matriculated at his father's *alma mater*, Merton College, Oxford on 16 May 1659 and began study

[3] The restoration of Charles II in 1660 brought stability to Ireland after the upheaval of the Cromwellian Protectorate. In 1685 Charles's brother James ascended to the throne but within three years, both the old nobility and emerging commercial class had been totally alienated by James's pro-Catholic policy. James's wife gave birth to a male heir which interfered with Parliament's wish that James' Protestant daughter, Mary, would succeed to the throne upon the death of her father. Protestant members of Parliament then invited Mary and her husband, William of Orange, to take the throne. James chose to flee London and eventually reached France. In 1689 James travelled to Ireland, where he still could rely on significant support, and attempted to challenge William with an army of Irish and French soldiers. After James's arrival 2,000 Protestants were attained by a new Parliament, of which only six members were not Roman Catholic. After initial victories against the Williamite army, the Jacobite army failed to capitalise on their successes. After failed attempts to take Enniskillen and Londonderry James's forces were defeated at the Boyne in July 1690 and Aughrim July 1691 and surrendered at Limerick in October 1691. The Williamite victory in Ireland heralded the start of the Protestant ascendancy and the suppression of Roman Catholics through the introduction of the penal laws.

[4] cf. Appendix III, 18th Clause.

[5] Mary Doreen Lobel, *Victoria History of The County of Oxfordshire*, vol. VI, Ploughley Hundred (London: Published for The Institute of Historical Research by the Oxford University Press, 1959), 215. Edward Hinton senior, held this position until his death in 1678. In 1709, Jonathan Swift attempted to secure the position of the rectorship of Islip.

for his B.A. degree.[6] In May 1662 Hinton entered St. Alban Hall where he stayed for an unclear length of time.[7] In 1665 he returned to Oxford to receive an M.A.[8] After graduating from Oxford Hinton moved to Chipping Norton, also in Oxfordshire, and married; his son John was born there in 1670. At some time in the early 1670s Hinton was appointed by Mary Box to replace Dr. Francis Gregory as the master of the Free School in Witney, Oxfordshire.[9]

The free school in Witney had been founded in 1660 by Henry Box (1585 - 1662). The family into which Henry Box was born had been successful farmers in the Oxford area since the mid fourteenth century, and in Witney especially since the sixteenth century. Henry Box had attended Oriel College, Oxford before serving an apprenticeship with the Worshipful Company of Grocers, an organisation which had a long connection with the Box family. In 1640 Box was elected to the mastership of the Company of Grocers and Box's career prospered in London culminating in his ownership of considerable amounts of property in Oxfordshire. Like many Grocers, Box desired to donate some amenities for his native town and in 1660 began to make arrangements for the establishment of a grammar school in Witney.[10] Box died in 1662 before all of the arrangements for the school's governance had been concluded. The task of completing the founding of the school was undertaken by Box's second wife Mary, who arranged in 1663 for an 'Act for the Setling of Free School in Witney in the County of Oxon.' (The actions of Mary Box curiously mirror the original foundation of Kilkenny College, where the major part of the establishment of the College was conducted by Margaret Butler after the death of her husband Piers). The foundation was to be entitled 'The Free Grammar School of the

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[6] Merton College Matriculation Register 1676 - 1714, Register 2.32, f.29. Hinton was the only student to matriculate in May 1659 although twenty-one students matriculated during the other months of 1659.

[7] No records concerning Edward Hinton's time at St. Alban Hall were located.

[8] Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500 - 1714: Their Parentage and Year of Birth, with a Record of their Degrees*, vol. II, Early Series (Oxford: Parker & Co., 1892), 718. St. Alban Hall, was a separate College, connected to Merton College. It had existed since 1313 and became fully incorporated into Merton College in 1882. Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801 - 1890) was a former member of the Hall.

[9] Mary A. Fleming, *Witney Grammar School, 1660 - 1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 22 - 25.
Francis Gregory, the man whom Hinton replaced as master, was a former student of Westminster School and Trinity College, Cambridge, just as had been Henry Ryder, the man whom Hinton replaced as master of the College in c.1683.

[10] Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 1 - 4.
Both Rugby and Oundle Schools were founded by Grocers during the seventeenth century, Lawrence Sheriff and Sir William Laxton respectively.

Foundation of Henry Box'.[11] The endowments of the school were vested with the four Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, who also acted as the governors of the school. The 'Act for the Setling' also allowed for visitors, who were to be the Provost and four senior fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, appropriately the college which Henry Box had attended.[12] The Act also placed Mary Box as the solitary *de facto* governor of the school in addition to the wardens of the Grocers' Company "During her life time she was to have full control of the school and its endowment".[13] Although there is no contemporary written evidence from the school in Witney regarding Edward Hinton's employment as master, there is a handwritten entry into the Subscription Book of the Oxford diocese on 17 October 1671 which has survived:

> Ego Edwardus Hinton Artium Magister Ad instruendum pueros in Schola Publica Witneiensi in Comitatu et Diocesi de Oxon Admittendus tribus istis Articulis Canone tricessimo (sexto) comprehensis lubens et ex animo subscribo
>
> Edwardus Hinton[14]

Mary Fleming in *Witney Grammar School, 1660 - 1960* recorded that in the margin of the Subscription Book of the Oxford diocese there was an additional note to the effect that Hinton had made additional declarations and taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. In taking of these oaths, which had been laid down by The Act of Uniformity of 1662, Hinton had declared his willingness to conform to the liturgy of the established church, and to declare the illegality of armed resistance to the King and of the Solemn League and Covenant. The Act of the Setling of a Free School in Witney had also required the master to have taken these oaths before he could undertake the position. The exact date of Hinton's arrival at Witney is unclear, since

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[11] 15 Car. II, c. 27, Private. This Bill was printed by John Bill and Christopher Barker, 'Printers to the Kings most Excellent Majesty', in 1664.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 1 - 4.
[14] Oxford Diocesan Papers, Subscription Book: 1662 - 1730, held in The Bodleian Library, The University of Oxford quoted in Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 25.

The text is translated as the following:

I Edward Hinton M.A., To be admitted for the instruction of boys in the Public School in Witney in the County and Diocese of Oxford. To those articles of yours which are included in the 36th Canon, I subscribe willingly and from my heart.

Edward Hinton

there survives no formal record of his appointment, although since it is known that he held the position at Witney for thirteen years, it can be speculated that his tenure there lasted from 1670 until 1683. During his tenureship at Witney, Hinton built on the work that had been completed by Dr. Gregory and demonstrated his scholarship by completing a translation of Plutarch's *Morals*, which was printed in October 1684. His translation was included in *The Apophthegms or remarkable sayings of Kings and Great Commanders*, a copy of which can be viewed in the British Library.[15] His scholarship in Greek was of such a high standard that one of his students at the College, the dramatist William Congreve, was said by the poet Dryden to be "more capable than any man of translating Homer."[16] During or at the end of his time at Witney, Hinton presented the school library with a copy of Edmund Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton*, a gift which Mary Fleming in *Witney Grammar School* (1960) considered "one of the greatest single accessions the Library ever received."[17] Hinton was brought to Ireland by the duke of Ormond to be the master of the College c.1683 most likely under the advice of the new provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Dr. Robert Huntington. Hinton's appointment is a clear example of the use of informal contacts by Huntington and the Duke to locate a suitable candidate. Huntington would have been very familiar with Edward Hinton from his time as fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Hinton had matriculated at Merton in 1659 along with twenty-one other students. According to the Merton College Minute Book, Huntington appears to have been elected as a probationary fellow in 1658.[18] Huntington is mentioned as being a fellow until his departure in 1670 to the position of chaplain to the Levant Company in Aleppo. Because of the small environs of Merton College, there were only approximately twenty fellows in Merton during this period and a student population of approximately fifty, and the chances of both men being fairly familiar with each other were high. Huntington had returned to Merton from Aleppo in 1681 for two years until his appointment to the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin in 1683. During these two years at Merton it is possible that Huntington became familiar with the progress that Hinton had made in the Witney School, which was only ten miles from Oxford. There is a letter, dated 27 August 1689, between Hinton and Huntington, held in the library of Trinity College Dublin, which demonstrates a definite friendship.[19] The letter contained considerable amounts of personal information,

[15] Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 26.
[16] Quoted in Hodges, *William Congreve The Man*, 20. Hodges does not record the location of the material for the quotation.
[17] Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 26.
[18] Merton College Library, Oxford, *Registrum Collegii Mertone*, entry for 1658, f.415 & 416.
[19] Letter between Robert Huntington and Edward Hinton, 27 August 1689, TCD MUN/P/1/556.

such as the health of Hinton's wife, the availability of tobacco paper and what books have been recently published in England.[20] Although it can be speculated with confidence that Huntington had some influence in the selection of Hinton, the duke of Ormond, being the chancellor of the University of Oxford, would have had access to many individuals who could have advised him concerning the ability of any potential candidates, including Hinton. The exact date in 1683 of Hinton's arrival is unclear because of the lack of documentary evidence concerning Hinton's transference from Witney to Kilkenny. The similarity between the Statutes of the Witney School and the College's Charter and Statutes indicates that Hinton had taken up his new position within the College well over a year or so prior to the issuing of the Charter and Statutes in March 1685. Also at some stage prior to the awarding of the Charter and Statutes College Hinton had been awarded the degree of D.D. by Trinity College, Dublin, although again, like many of his contemporaries who received honorary degrees from Trinity, his name does not appear in any of the alumni registers of the University of Dublin.[21] Hinton was a judicious choice as the College's master, since the Duke clearly desired a capable and diligent man with a strong Anglican background for his College. Hinton's father had not always been a confirmed Anglican: it was recorded that he had "ran with the presbyterians and was a preacher of sedition" during his student days at Merton College, Oxford. Hinton's father had obviously reconciled himself with the Anglican tradition when he published a sermon entitled *The vanity of self-boasters. Or, The prodigious madnesse of tyrannizing Sauls, mis-leading Doegs,* which had been preached at the funeral of a John Hamnetin in 1643.[22] Hinton appeared to have continued to enjoy the success he had had at Witney and made considerable progress at the College. Richard Mant commented in *History of the Church of Ireland* (1840) that Hinton had, "industriously and successfully taught in the duke's school."[23] Bishop Otway wrote to James Clarke, the Duke's chief steward and confidant, on 18 August 1686, two years after the arrival of Hinton, recording that:

> On the last Thursday of July the visitors were at his Grace's school, where they found all things well, considering the great discouragement all things are

[20] cf. Appendix I.

[21] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. II, Early Series, 718.

[22] Ibid.
Edward Hinton, *The vanity of self-boasters. Or, The prodigious madnesse of tyrannizing Sauls, mis-leading Doegs* (London: printed by R. Bishop for S. Gellibrand, 1643).

[23] Richard Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland, from the Reformation (to the Union of the Churches of England and Ireland Jan. 1, 1801). With a preliminary survey, from the Papal Usurpation in the twelfth century, to its . . abolition in the Sixteenth*, vol. II (London: John W. Parker, 1840), 689.

> under here, in which the very schoolboys have their share, who would be more humorous if the times were more serene. The master is certainly a very industrious man. There are in the school fifty-one.[24]

Two years later Bishop Otway's praise is echoed, this time by William Moreton, the bishop of Kildare (1682 - 1705), who in September 1688, wrote to the duke of Ormond first congratulating the Duke on the honours and patrimony of his great ancestors and commending the care and industry of Dr. Hinton, the master of the school in Kilkenny.[25] Of Hinton's personal life little is known except for his interest in a pet magpie. The death of this magpie prompted William Congreve to compose his first piece of literature.[26] Hinton fled to England, along with probably most of his students, at some stage during 1688, as Ledwich noted "As the apprehensions of Tyrconnell's severe government had driven numbers of Protestants out of the kingdom, so Dr. Hinton, among the rest, fled for safety to his native country."[27] Hinton, unlike James, the second duke of Ormond, who had ascended to the Ormond title after his grandfather had died in July 1688, had not been one of the two thousand individuals named as traitors in the Act of Attainder, passed at the so-called 'patriot' parliament of 1689. Hinton was though eventually attained by James II in a charter to provide for the foundation of a Royal College at Kilkenny, given on 21 February 1690 "And whereas the aforesaid Edward Hinton, and Richard Coote have also been attained for high treason, so there is now no master of the aforesaid School [Kilkenny College], indeed no School."[28] After Hinton had departed, the College closed and the College buildings were utilised by others, first being converted into a military hospital by Tyrconnell's army until James' arrival in Dublin and subsequently, Kilkenny, and after the arrival of James in Kilkenny the buildings were used again for education by the fledgling university, The Royal College of St. Canice.[29] It is possible that at this time Edward Hinton returned to take up another teaching position in his native

[24] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. VII, 444.
James Clarke was an ancestor of the French Field Marshal Henri Jacques Guillaume Clark, the Duke de Feltre.

[25] The Manuscripts of Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq. of Condover Hall, Shropshire reported in The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts *5th Report* (London: 1876), Appendix, 345.

[26] *Biographia Britannica*, vol. IV, 69.
Wilson, *Memoirs of the life, writings, and amours of William Congreve*, 1.

[27] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*, 518.

[28] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. IV, Appendices IV, 397.
The original charter, which was written in Latin and contained in Walter Harris, *Life of William III* (Dublin: 1749), 234, and was translated into English by the Rev. Patrick Gorevan and contained in John Leonard, "Kilkenny's Short Lived University (Feb. - July 1690)" *Archivium Hibernicum, Irish Historical Records* no. XLIII, Maynooth, (1988): 72.

[29] Browne, "Kilkenny College," 226.
This topic is discussed in further detail in Chapter Six.

Oxfordshire or elsewhere in England. After the restoration of 1690 Hinton returned to Kilkenny and his position as master of the College. The reasons behind his decision to return to the political and social instability of Kilkenny are unclear. In 1690 Hinton at the relatively young age of fifty, coupled with his substantial experience in education, would have made him a prime candidate for many positions both in his native Oxfordshire and surrounding counties. It is possible that Hinton returned to Kilkenny because he felt a responsibility to the College through his role as the Charter master to ensure the College's survival. The size of the salary which accompanied the mastership must also be considered as a factor which contributed to his decision to return. Edward Hinton left the mastership in 1702 and in the same year was presented to the position of dean of St. Canice's, but died before he could take up this preferment.[30] Several of his sons were educated at the College during the time he was master; one of them, named John, attended both Trinity College, Dublin and Trinity College, Cambridge.[31]

4.3: Attempts at establishing a Roman Catholic school and university in Kilkenny during the seventeenth century.

In 1686 a Roman Catholic school was established in Kilkenny. Carrigan recorded in *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (1905) that the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, Dr. James Phelan, whom he described as our zealous bishop,

> was not slow to take advantage of the favourable political circumstances that had arisen. His first care was to establish a high class school in Kilkenny city for the education of the youth of his diocese in the various branches of secular sciences. The school or college, of which he himself was the patron, he placed under the presidency of Dr. William Dalton, P.P. of St. Mary's, and

[30] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 16.

[31] Edward Hinton's son, John entered the College on 1 October 1684, and was one of the first to be recorded in the College Register, which had been instituted by the Charter and Statutes. John Hinton matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin at the age of fourteen on 5 April 1685. He became a Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin in 1688 and in 1689 he fled with his father back to England, where, in December of that year he was admitted as a pensioner to Trinity College, Cambridge. John Hinton was not the only student to have fled from Dublin and to be admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge to complete studies. A John Harrison of Lisnagarvy, Co. Antrim, is recorded to have been admitted as a pensioner from Dublin although he did not complete his degree. John Hinton was awarded a B.A. from both Trinity College, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin in 1690. It is not clear why he was awarded this degree from both institutions. It may have been that he completed his Dublin B.A. course at Cambridge and was then incorporated into the degree of B.A. at Cambridge also. John Hinton returned along with his father to Ireland after the Williamite victory at the Boyne and became a domestic chaplain to the second duke of Ormond, and in 1701 he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Ossory. In 1704 he received the degrees of LL.B. and LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin. He added the chancellorship of Lismore in 1706 and the deanery of Tuam in 1712, to his list of ecclesiastical preferments. John Hinton died in 1743 and was buried at Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary.

Dean of the Diocese.[32]

The favourable political circumstances that Carrigan referred to were the gradual relaxation of the various laws regarding the Roman Catholic church by James II. Thomas Otway, bishop of Ossory, recorded in his report after his visitation of the College in August 1686, this development in Kilkenny of a school for the education of Roman Catholic boys:

> We are to have an university here, six of the natives who have studied at Paris intend to teach the arts and languages, and have hired a house for that purpose. They show no authority as yet for it. I send you one of the papers which they dispersed on Monday last, by which you will see their design. I desire you would, with my humblest duty, present it to his Grace.[33]

The advertisement that Otway referred to is also contained in the *Calendar of the manuscripts*, and outlined the curriculum and requirements of pupils who wished to be educated in the new institution:

> Deo Optimo Maximo
>
> Impiger huc propera, piger hinc procul esto profane. A good method of teaching Humanity, Greek and French, Philosophy &c. being much wanting in Ireland, some well wishers of the nation, thought fit to choose out of the Irish students at Paris six to teach the several classes methodically. Kilkenny is chosen by the approbation of all, as the fittest place for such a design. The teachers being desirous that nothing should hinder the progress of their discipline, engage themselves to furnish their boarders the books that shall be necessary - parents having very often been found negligent in that point. Their pension will be 10*l.* sterling per annum, for which they will allow lodging, diet, schooling, books, and washing. Each boarder is to bring his bed, napkins, knife, spoon, fork, and the first quarter's pension. Those that come from far will find little college-beds at a cheap rate by the teachers' means, who will have particular care of such. As for those who diet abroad, they will give what reasonable gratuity their parents shall think fit according to their means. The poorer sort shall be taught gratis, provided they have their diet and lodging fixed. The school will be opened the 1st of September,

[32] Ibid., 120.
William Dalton had been born in Bessboro, Co. Kilkenny in 1644. He was educated at the Sorbonne, and was elected as Procurator of the German Nations at the University of Paris. He came back to Kilkenny in 1682. He left Ireland in 1698 due to his attainment by William of Orange; he died in France in 1712.
Leonard, *A University for Kilkenny*, 40.

[33] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. VII, 444.
When Bishop Otway used the term 'university' it is considered as a reference to a school and not to a third level institution.

> 1686. Those that intend to come in the beginning or soon after, are desired to give notice thereof to Mr. Edmond Galvan, or Mr. Francis Barnewell, at Mr. Nicholas Lee's, merchant, in High Street, in Kilkenny. Gentlemen desirous of learning Hebrew, writing &c. shall find conveniency. Nec praemia, nec exercitationes publicae, tragaedioeve, aut ejusmodi quidquam deerit, quo torpentes discipulorum animi ad summum litterarum amorem excitentur, accendanturque. Habebitur in Aula majori oratiuncula in laudem litterarum Humaniorum a F. B. Humanitatis Professore die Septembris '8a altera vero in ignorantiam ab E. G. praefecto studio 1ma Octob.'[34]

In saying that "Kilkenny is chosen by the approbation of all, as the fittest place for such a design" the author of the advertisement clearly showed that there was an understanding that the new school was building on previous generations attempts, such as by Peter White, the Society of Jesus and the Confederation of Kilkenny, to provide education for the the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Kilkenny and the south Leinster and east Munster area. The five of the six natives who had studied at Paris were to be masters at the new school and were recorded in *The Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny* (1786) by Ledwich who acquired the information from the manuscripts of a Mr. Laffan, Edvardus Tonnery, philosophiae professor, Jacobus Cleary, rhetorices professor Guilielmus Felan, lit. human. professor, Fran Barnwell, tertii ordinis professor, and Johannes Meagher, quartae classis professor.[35] The advertisement for the new school provides an interesting comparison to the Charter and Statutes of the College. The proposed school, through its curriculum and boarding facilities appears to have attempted to copy many of the aims of the College and to provide the Roman Catholic population of south Leinster their own institution. Ledwich also recorded the rules of the new school, which included encouragement to the teachers to avoid familiarity with the pupils lest "the scholars may discover any weakness in their masters, or diminish their esteem for them."[36] A copy of these rules still exist and are held in Trinity College Library, Dublin,

[34] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*,vol. VII, 444.
The translation of the Latin text at the start and end of the advertisement is as follows:

> To the Greatest and Best God, Hurry hither tireless one, idle one be far from here outside the shrine.
>
> Neither prizes nor public exercises or tragedies or anything of any sort will be lacking by which sluggish minds may be aroused to the highest love of literature and set on fire. A short speech will be held in The Big Hall in praise of human literature by Francis Barnewell, Professor of Humanity on 8 September, but another one against ignorance by Edmond Galvan, the Prefect of Study 1 October.

[35] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*, 519.
[36] Ibid., 521.

although it is not know if this manuscript contains the original rules or an early copy.[37] Incorrect cataloguing of the manuscript as the "Rules of Kilkenny College" has led one historian reviewing the history of education in Ireland to use the manuscript as evidence of the strength of Protestant education in Kilkenny at the time.

The first duke of Ormond responded to the news that there was to be another school in Kilkenny in a letter to Thomas Otway, the bishop of Ossory dated 20 November 1686:

> Although by receiving your letter of the 18th of October in the Country the delivery of the other letter to my Lord Sunderland was something delayed, yet it was put into his hands time enough to give him, and by him the King, so good satisfaction that I presume you will hear no more of that matter, nor if it is my power to prevent it of any other that may hinder or divert you from continuing the successful care you have had to govern and improve that college. My intention in erecting and endowing the school at Kilkenny was good, and if it shall be frustrated, I shall be very sorry for it, but not ashamed of my attempt.[38]

The impact the new school had on the College is difficult to gauge. The type of pupil which was entering the College at this time was representative of the land-owning community of the county of Kilkenny and its surrounding area. The College was a Protestant institution by the definition contained in its Charter and Statutes; although there was no religious test specified in the Charter and Statutes it must presumed that virtually all the College's students were Protestants. In taking account of the religious nature of the two schools, it is difficult to claim they were competing institutions. The Roman Catholic school was clearly founded with the needs of the community in mind and was not so much a rival to the College, but a complement to it. It was clear that the development of a school, primarily for the education of Roman Catholics in Kilkenny, was a cause of concern for both the Anglican bishop of Ossory, Thomas Otway and the first duke of Ormond. The reserved opinions of both Otway and Ormond reflected more the changing political and religious circumstances instigated by James II, than the educational activities of William Dalton and James Phelan. The Duke appeared to show more awareness that the changing circumstances would prove to be more of a threat to the College than the

[37] Rules to be Observed by the Professors of my College in Kilkenny by the Catholic Bishop of Ossory, TCD MS 2016.

[38] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. VII, 475.

establishment of the Roman Catholic school in Kilkenny. To the Duke and Otway the development of the new school was just an indication of the shape of things to come. The Duke was in no position to challenge the development of Dr. Dalton's school since he had effectively been replaced in 1685 as the lord lieutenant by Richard Talbot, the earl of Tyrconnell. Thomas Otway also would have been hampered in any potential efforts to thwart the new school's development due to the Jacobite government of Tyrconnell. J. G. Simms recorded the next stage of the development of Dr. Dalton's school in *Jacobite Ireland 1685 - 91* (1969):

> After his bout of energy (spent during the failed sieges of Derry and Enniskillen) James relapsed into passivity and took little part in administration. For much of the winter he retired to Kilkenny, so as to avoid infection from his fever-striken soldiers. He appeared to be plunged into a deep melancholy, which raised much speculation. One result of his stay in Kilkenny seems to have been the conversion of Kilkenny College (whose Protestant headmaster had fled) into a university under the style of the Royal College of St. Canice, with a rector, eight professors and two scholars and an elaborate charter.[39]

Although this may have seemed as a spontaneous act by James II, Dr. Dalton and his fellow staff members had previously petitioned the king in 1688, to legalise its position and allow for the expansion of the school to university status:

> September 8, 1688. Windsor. Reference to the Lord Deputy of Ireland of the petition of Dr. William Dalton, Edward Tonnery, Dennis Lery, Edmund Galvan, James Clery, Bernard Dunn, John Meagher, Christopher Glascock and William Phelan, the teachers in the public school in Kilkenny, to be created a corporation of a standing college under what name and qualification shall seem best to his Majesty and that for the encouragement to others some liberality may be bestowed towards the foundation thereof.[40]

John Leonard speculated in *A University for Kilkenny* (1996) that James II was on the verge of consenting to the petition when the political situation was rocked by the unexpected arrival of William of Orange at Falmouth in November 1688 and his subsequent challenge to James' throne.[41] While James II was in Kilkenny he was again approached by Dr. Dalton along with the staff of the school, the bishop, the clergy of the Roman Catholic diocese of Ossory and the mayor and corporation to grant their

[39] John Gerald Simms, *Jacobite Ireland 1685 - 91* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1969), 133.
[40] State Papers Domestic (London) (Reign of James II 1685 - 1688) s.p. 44/236, 44.
Leonard, "Kilkenny's Short Lived University (Feb. - July 1690)," 65.
[41] Leonard, *A University for Kilkenny*, 27.

desire to expand the school and create a university in Kilkenny.[42] The situation was ideal for the development of a new Roman Catholic university in Kilkenny. The College building had lain vacant since the departure of Hinton, apart from its brief spell as a military hospital.[43] The College's estate and endowments, which had been instigated by the College Charter and Statutes of 1684, had been confiscated by James' Dublin Parliament of May 1688. The new duke of Ormond, having been attained by the Dublin Parliament 1689, was in no position to maintain or protect the institution that his grandfather had revived. The situation was described by Walter Harris in his *Life of William III* (1749):

> King James therefore by a charter dated the 21st of February, 1689, upon the ruins of this school [the College] erected and endowed a royal college: consisting of a rector; eight professors and two scholars in the name of more: to be called the royal college of St. Canice, Kilkenny, of the foundation of king James.[44]

The rector of the new university was William Dalton and the chancellor was Sir Alexander Fitton, lord baron of Gosworth. Alexander Fitton, had been born in Awrice, Co. Limerick and had trained as a lawyer at the Inner Temple, London. James II had named him as lord chancellor and created him lord baron of Gosworth in the Patriot Parliament of 1689.[45] The university's brief existence came to an end with the Williamite victory at the Boyne, as Ledwich noted in an obviously vitriolic manner: "But the glorious victory at the Boyne dispersed those vain conceits and reinstated every thing."[46] It is not clear if the university actually functioned as a teaching institution, Simms has speculated that "the scheme seems to have existed only on paper."[47] Simms appears to be the only historian of the period to go as far as to doubt the actuality of the university. Other commentators of the period have only mentioned the university in the terms of its Charter. In 1690, William of Orange's Act of Attainer reversed all the legislation that had been imposed by James' Parliament of May 1689. One of those who were included in the list of those to be

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[42] Leonard, "Kilkenny's Short Lived University (Feb. - July 1690)," 65 - 66.
[43] Mant, *History of the Church of Ireland*, vol. II, 689.
[44] Harris, *Life of William III*, 234.
[45] Leonard, "Kilkenny's Short Lived University (Feb. - July 1690)," 77.
Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. VII, Finch - Gloucester, 80.
Alexander Fitton's title of lord baron of Gosworth, bestowed on him by James II was not recognised by William, and he fled Ireland in 1690 during the aftermath of the Battle of the Boyne. He died at St. Germains, France in 1699.
[46] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*, 523.
[47] Simms, *Jacobite Ireland 1685 - 91*, 133.

attained by the 1690 Act of Attainer was, ironically, the rector of the Royal College of St. Canice, Dr. William Dalton. Dalton remained in Ireland, despite his attainment by William, and succeeded James Phelan as Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory in 1696. In 1697 an additional inclusion in the Penal Laws, been enacted in 1695, banished all members of the Roman Catholic clergy. This new legislation resulted in Dalton fleeing to France during the following year.

Subsequent generations failed to establish a third level institution in the city unlike neighbouring towns such as Carlow and Waterford which both have degree awarding institutions. Sean O'Faolain in *An Irish Journey* (1941) felt this was unfortunate since considered it to have the air of a university town:

> Those grey towers [of Kilkenny] are the symbols of a genuine, intelligible, informing culture, the oldest in Europe and the basis of Irish life, just as Magdalen College Chapel, or All Souls, or Christ Church are to Oxford . . . Then this town could be a real university town, better fitted to be so than Cork or Galway . . . I could see here, in those days of enlargement a noble city where men of many ideas would mingle in the streets and clubs and pubs, and over their heads the tower of St Canice and the tower of St Mary's would stand as inspiring above the High Street as the spire of St Mary's or the tower of Magdalen stands to-day above the High Street of Oxford. If that ever came to pass, and some future Kilkenny don dropped into this cosy pub of Mulhall's in Irishtown for a glass of Smithwick's best, I am satisfied that he would feel intellectually and spiritually home.[48]

4.4: The Charter and Statutes of the College, awarded by James, the first duke of Ormond, 1685.

The Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College legally set up the College on 18 March, 1685. Many historians who have referred to the Charter and Statutes, have had to use various copies of the Charter and Statutes of the College. Copies of the Charter and Statutes were contained in various reports of educational endowments commissioners during the nineteenth century, who quoted the Charter and Statutes in the appendices of their reports.[49] Another source from which the Charter and Statutes

[48] Sean O'Faolain & Paul Henry, *An Irish Journey* (London: Readers Union with Longmans Green, 1941), 27 - 28.
In September 1997 a campus was set up by Maynooth University in Kilkenny and is based in St. Kieran's College. Currently there are over 100 registered Maynooth students pursuing various courses in Kilkenny. The majority of these students are undertaking a B.A. (Local and Community Studies).

[49] *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland (1857 - 58) (Kildare)*; 1857 - 58 (2336 - I) XXII. part i. 1.

were copied was an eighteenth century copy of the original Charter and Statutes made on 27 July, 1757 by Howard St. George. This was printed in 1910 in an article by Robert Macalister in *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.* According to Macalister the copy was signed by St. George, but was "not countersigned nor certified by any other signature."[50] Macalister recounted in the article how the copy of the Charter and Statutes had been in the possession of the Rev. James Graves for a time until Macalister discovered and purchased it, along "with a number of miscellaneous documents - letters, accounts, &c." from an English secondhand bookseller. It is not known, at present, the current location of St. George's copy Charter and the other miscellaneous papers which were in the possession of Macalister.[51] The original Charter and Statutes, (see *fig. vi*) which to many historians had appeared to have been lost, is in fact located in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The reason for its apparent lost state seems to have stemmed from it being catalogued under the term *The Ordnances of Kilkenny College* as opposed to *The Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College.* It is not clear how this document arrived at this library but, it seems that it has been a recent addition to the muniments held there, since it was not listed in the original catalogue and was entered by hand at some stage during the last fifty years.[52] The Charter and Statutes were written on a large piece of vellum and contain the seal and signature of the duke of Ormond, along with the signatures of those who witnessed the signing of the Charter: Robert Huntington, James Power and William Robinson. Another reference to the Charter and Statutes is found in Ledwich's *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny* (1786). Ledwich, along with a full account of the Charter and Statutes included additional information pertaining to the Charter and Statutes, and the trustees of the College:

> The 18th of March 1684 the Duke of Ormond granted a new Charter to the college of Kilkenny, of a certain house in John Street, with the adjacent park for a school-house: and the rectories and tithes of Donoghmore, Kells, Wollengrange, Jerpoint, and Kilmocar in the County of Kilkenny; and the parishes of Bruor, Templemore and Religmurray in the County of Tipperary, given in trust to Richard Coote, Esq; and Sir Henry Weymes, knt. to pay the master £140 per anum.[53]

[50] Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister, "The Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. XL, part 1, (March 1910): 32.
[51] Ibid.
The Rev. James Graves was a founder member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
[52] Ordnances of Kilkenny College, TCD MUN P1/518a.
[53] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*, 509.

The two trustees were named by Ledwich as Richard Coote (1636 - 1701) and Sir Henry Weymes. These two men were seen as an additional guarantee, along with the visitors who had been provided for in the Charter and Statutes, to the survival ofthe College. Richard Coote, of Tullaghmaine, had been born in 1636, the only son of Richard Coote, Lord Colooney. A strong supporter of the established church and of the Williamite campaign in Ireland, he was attained by James's Irish Parliament of 1689 along with James Butler, the second duke of Ormond.[54] William III rewarded him for his loyalty after his victory at the Boyne, creating him Earl of Bellamont. He was M.P. for Kilkenny in 1692 - 93 before becoming governor of New England in 1695 and died in New York in 1701.[55] John Leonard in *A University for Kilkenny* (1996) speculated that Henry Weymes was probably the son of a Cromwellian soldier who had been granted land in the County of Kilkenny in return for service given during the Cromwellian campaign in Ireland.[56] Leonard utilised material contained in *Kilkenny: History and Society* (1990), edited by William Nolan and Kevin Whelan, which recorded a Henry Weymes from Danesfort, Co. Kilkenny, who had been M.P. for Callan, County Kilkenny from 1692 - 93 and 1695 - 99. *Kilkenny: History and Society*, also noted that Henry Weymes was M.P. for Kilkenny City from 1703 until 1714 and was the Sovereign of the Corporation of Callan 1713 - 1715.[57] The Register of the College recorded that four sons, Patrick, George, Henry and James, of Sir Henry Weymes all entered the College during the 1690s.[58]

Although the buildings in which the College was housed were not altered at the time of the Charter and Statutes, there are gates which are still standing on John Street at the entrance to the present College buildings which comprise of two archways at either side of the entrance. Above the arches is the date 1684; it is not unreasonable to suppose that the archways were constructed at the entrance to the old College buildings to commemorate the granting of the Charter and Statutes to the College in that same year.

4.5: Analysis of the Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College, 1685.

The analysis of the Charter and Statutes is divided into the various subjects areas which are dealt with therein; the master and usher of the College, the scholars of the

[54] Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*, vol. IV, Appendices IV, 397.
[55] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. IV, Chamber - Craigie, 1088.
[56] Leonard, *A University for Kilkenny*, 39.
[57] *Kilkenny: History and Society, interdisciplinary essays on the history of an Irish county*, ed. William Nolan & Kevin Whelan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1990), 296 & 328.
[58] Entrance and Leaving Book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.

College, the Charter and Statutes direction to the religious nature of the College and to the visitors of the College.

Several clauses of the Charter and Statutes deal with positions of master and usher. The Charter and Statutes allowed for a master who was to be "constantly resident and attending the duties" in the College. He was to be an ordained university graduate of at least Master of Arts standing, a subscriber to the Oaths of allegiance and supremacy and be compliant under the discipline of the Church of Ireland.[59] Within the first clauses of the Charter and Statutes Edward Hinton is named as the master of the College. This is an unusual feature, since most school statutes of this period would not mention any individual staff by name. This is perhaps a sign of the level of trust the Duke was placing in Hinton to guide the College for several years to come. The master was expected "to instruct the Scholars in Religion, virtue & learning in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages, as also in Oratory, and Poetry."[60] It is of note that the curriculum, contained Hebrew since it was usually seen as a language reserved for university. Many schools in England had it as part of their curriculum though it was probably not in fact taught that much.[61] Hebrew was most likely stipulated in the College Charter and Statutes because of Hinton's ability to teach it and because it had been part of the curriculum Hinton had been expected to teach at Witney.[62] The master's time of absence was to be closely monitored: he was allowed to be absent for thirty school days in the whole year, but no more than a fortnight at any one time, and on the understanding that either the master or the usher was to be present at all times. The school year was deemed to begin on 25 March each year. The master was provided with a more than modest dwelling which included: "the School house, with the courts, out houses, and the garden, thereunto belonging, as also the meadow adjoining, commonly called the pigeon house meadow."[63] The Charter and Statutes ensured that those who entered and left the College were recorded: part of the master's duties was to provide a register, in which:

> the names, qualities, & ages of all such Children as shall from time to time be admitted into the said School shall be register'd and entered, as also the time

[59] cf. Appendix III, Imprimis Clause.
[60] cf. Appendix III, 3rd Clause.
[61] Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908), 525 - 527.
[62] cf. Appendix IV, 13th Clause.
[63] cf. Appendix III, 18th Clause.

> of their departure, what Class they were in, and to what place & employment they go, likewise a catalogue of all goods, standards, or utensils as do or shall belong to the said house, School, out houses, gardens, and meadows.[64]

The Charter and Statutes required that information concerning what happened to pupils after they had left the College was recorded. This was most likely included so that the visitors could study the success or otherwise which the scholars achieved after they had left, and provide indication of the standard of instruction being provided by the master and the usher.[65] The master's salary was set in the Charter at one hundred and forty English pounds. This was a large sum when compared to the thirty five English pounds which Edward Hinton had been in the receipt of at Witney.[66]

The position of usher was to be filled by a candidate similar to the master, only he was expected to be single and have graduated from university only to the level of Bachelor of Arts. The appointment of the usher was to be the domain of the master, who was expected to provide food, lodging and maintenance at his expense. Both the master and the usher were expected to have no other forms of employment outside the College that would interfere with the discharge of their roles. This was requested to ensure that the master and usher were not tempted to undertake any additional, attractive and lucrative preferments within the Church of Ireland that would interfere with their tasks of instruction at the College.[67] The terms and conditions by which both the master and usher were employed contained many checks and balances. The College's visitors were empowered to remove a master and usher on numerous grounds, such as neglect of duty or acting inconsistently with the management of the school. The visitors were allowed, if they saw fit, to issue a reprieve for three months after such a violation, during which another violation would lead to automatic removal.[68]

The scholars of the College were referred to in the ninth clause of the Charter and Statutes. It stated that boys wishing to attend the College had to "be cleanly &

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[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] cf. Appendix IV, 9th Clause.
Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 6.
Hinton's salary at Witney would have been supplemented by his receipt of a proportion of the entrance fee paid by some of the pupils.
[67] cf. Appendix III, 5th Clause.
[68] cf. Appendix III, 23rd Clause.

decently habited, & such as shall first have read their accidence, & are fit to enter upon Grammar learning".[69] To have "read their accidence" would have meant that they had to have an understanding of the rudiments of English grammar, such as the basic system concerning word inflections before they could enter the College. This clause would have prohibited many boys from attending the College, since the teaching of basic grammar would have been the preserve of those who could afford the employment of a tutor or the attendance at a local informal establishment. The Charter and Statutes made a clear distinction between five different types of scholars; those who were the children of the Duke's household staff, those who showed considerable academic potential but were of a deprived background, those children whose parents were inhabitants or natives of the city or liberties of Kilkenny, those pupils who were of a high academic ability and normal fee paying pupils. Those scholars whose parents were in the service of the Duke were entitled to a place in the College free of charge. This was a common clause in the Charter and Statutes of endowed schools which applied to the founder's family or to those in their employment. The Charter and Statutes allowed for the presentation of "ingenuous & orderly Lads" who did not come from affluent backgrounds, by a generous benefactor.[70] These scholars were allowed to enter the College under the patronage of their benefactor as long as they continued to be "modest and diligent" throughout their schooling.[71] Those who showed considerable promise academically were encouraged by the Charter and Statutes. It allowed for a number of 'Ormond Scholars' who were to receive their education without charge. The Charter and Statutes also provided for those 'Ormond Scholars' who went on to continue their studies at Trinity College, Dublin. The provision of maintenance for pupils who went on to university in Dublin did not prove to be unique. A similar scheme was employed at Midleton College, Co. Cork in 1696, eleven years after the granting of the Charter and Statutes to the College.[72] The Charter and Statutes of Midleton College allowed for:

> The sum of fifty pounds per ann. shall be paid to certain scholars at the University [of Dublin] who had their education at the said school [Midleton College] as Exhibitors and towards their maintenance, to be paid unto such persons and in such proportion and for so long a time as the major part of the Governors for the time being shall direct and appoint, no one Exhibition

[69] cf. Appendix III, 6th Clause.
[70] cf. Appendix III, 8th Clause.
[71] cf. Appendix III, 6th Clause.
[72] Midleton College had been founded by the countess of Orkney in 1696.

to exceed fifteen pounds per ann.[73]

Children of parents who had been born or lived in the "City of Kilkenny, or in the liberties therefore" were given the right to pay only half fees.[74] The fees were set at the same level of the "most remarkable School in Dublin, both for the entrance and schooling"[75] This was a wise precaution since a fluctuation of education fees elsewhere would have meant that the College fees would be deemed either inexpensive or excessive.

The Charter and Statutes showed a clear awareness of the practicalities of running a boarding school. The master was given the right to dissolve the school on notice of scholars being under any "infectious or offensive diseases or distemper"[76] Disease and infection, such as cholera, were a common occurrence in the Ireland of the seventeenth century and this clause was invoked on several occasions, due to such circumstances as described above.[77] In the area of discipline the Charter and Statutes laid down "elaborate rules for the government and discipline of the School"[78] The Charter and Statutes expressed that "every stubborn and refractory lad, who shall refuse to submit to the orders and correction of the said School" was to suffer expulsion, which was only to be reprieved after he had acquiesced to undergo "exemplary punishment."[79] If the offender became guilty of a second offence he was to be then expelled without any further chance of being absolved. Minor misdemeanours, such as the abuse or defacement of College building or property were to be inflicted with exemplary punishment, viewed by the scholars. These clauses ensured that miscreants were punished and there was a clear policy in place that gave the master the opportunity to demonstrate to the student population the penalty for indiscipline. The school day was split into two parts: the morning session was to last from six in the morning to eleven, from March until September, while during the rest of the year the school day started when the city gates were open,

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[73] The Indenture of the Countess of Orkney 23 October 1696 (effectively the College Charter and Statutes of Midleton College, Cork), quoted in Timothy Trevor West, *Midleton College 1696 - 1996, A Tercentenary History* (Midleton, Co. Cork: Midleton College, 1996), 10.

[74] cf. Appendix III, 10th Clause.

[75] Ibid.
It is not clear to which schools in Dublin the Charter and Statutes were referring but it can be speculated that it refers to The King's Hospital founded in 1670, or St. Patrick's Cathedral Grammar School, founded in 1431.

[76] cf. Appendix III, 11th Clause.

[77] cf. Appendix III, 11th Clause.

[78] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 5.

[79] cf. Appendix III, 12th Clause.

finishing at eleven. The afternoon session was to last from one until five. The Charter and Statutes allowed for recreational activities on Thursday and Saturday afternoons.[80] A holiday could only be granted if the master was presented with ten shillings, all of which was to be "disposed of, to the most indigent & deserving Lads of his School."[81] Official school holidays were to be held three times a year, at Christmas, Easter and whitsontide (whitsunday).[82] The master's meadow was to be used as the scholars' area of recreation.[83] The meadows were a self-contained area at the rear of the College building and would have provided a safe environment for the scholars to use well away from the distractions and dangers of the city.

The Charter and Statutes made it clear that the religious nature of the College was to be Anglican. The 15th Clause clearly stated that the master was to:

> intrust them by his own good example at all times, as well as by occasional directions, & shall have the prayers of the Church of England & Ireland read to them both morning and Evening in some convenient place of the house, & in the School, the prayers seen and approved of by the Lord Bishop of Ossory.[84]

This clause ensured that the College was not only Anglican from the outset, but was to remain so under the close supervision of the bishop of Ossory. Sundays, along with Saturday mornings from March until September, were to be set aside for instruction in church catechism. After Sunday morning instruction the master would escort the pupils to church, although whether this would have been St. Canice's Cathedral or St. John's Parish Church is not specified in the Charter and Statutes.[85]

The visitors nominated in the Charter and Statutes were Thomas Otway the lord bishop of Ossory, Narcissus Marsh, the lord bishop of Leighlin and Ferns and Robert Huntington, provost of Trinity College, Dublin.[86] Their role as the College's visitors would pass to their successors in their various respective appointments. The roles of the visitors, as outlined by the Charter and Statutes were disomatous. It was their

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[80] cf. Appendix III, 14th Clause.
[81] Ibid.
[82] cf. Appendix III, 12th Clause.
[83] cf. Appendix III, 17th Clause.
The College's proximity to the River Nore meant that the grounds were prone to flooding.
[84] cf. Appendix III, 15th Clause.
[85] Ibid.
[86] cf. Appendix III, 21st Clause.

primary task to make an annual formal visit of inspection to the College and to judge if any amendments or alterations of the College were to made as a result of the visitation. Secondly, if there was a failure of the male issue of the house of Ormond, the visitors of the College would replace the Duke as the governors of the College.[87] The yearly visitation was to be held on the last Thursday in June between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning. The generous discrepancy in the hours given in which the visitors were expected to arrive arose from the various distances each visitor had to travel. Although the provost of Trinity and the bishop of Leighlin and Ferns probably divided their journey with an overnight stop on his journey a degree of latitude concerning punctuality would have been necessary.[88] The first duty they had to complete was the hearing of the statutes read "audibly" by one of the scholars.[89] This was an important function since it reaffirmed the rights of the master to act in accordance with the Charter and Statutes and therefore outlawed ignorance as a legitimate excuse for the breaching of any of the clauses therein. After the Charter and Statutes had been read, the visitors completed the following tasks:

> afterwards proceed to examine the proficiency of the Scholars, and enquire after any breach of Statutes, and after the behaviour of the Master, the sufficiency and manners of the Usher, the Authors that are read, the methods, usages, and customs of the School, and if they shall judge any alterations or amendments requisite, in any of these they shall express it to the Master, who by virtue of these statutes is readily to comply with their advice, for the better improvement of the said School, and when there shall be Foundation Scholars, they shall by the Visitors be chosen according to their merit, for the University [of Dublin].[90]

After the visitation of the scholars, the visitors were to retire to dinner which was provided by the master, "soberly and decently". The master was allowed to secure a "fat buck" from the park lands owned by the Duke for this dinner. After dinner the visitors were requested to inspect the College buildings, the master's house and environs.[91] The visitors were then to make a judgment on any breaking of the Charter and Statutes that had occurred in relation to the master, usher or scholars. They were also to make a decision on any repairs that were to be made. If any work was to be

[87] cf. Appendix III, 2nd & 21st Clause.
[88] The bishop of Ossory had the more manageable distance to traverse since the bishop's palace was located within Kilkenny.
[89] cf. Appendix III, 21st Clause.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.

carried out it was to be by "able workmen", the cost taken out of the master's salary. This statute was put in place to encourage the master to ensure the wellbeing of College property.[92] The 23rd clause gave the visitors the power to interpret the meaning and intent of the Charter and Statutes. This probably was included as an insurance against any legal challenge to the Charter and Statutes by any interested parties.[93] Although the day of visitation of the College was mandated to be the last Thursday in June, the actual date of the visitation became for an unspecified reason the last Thursday of July "On the last Thursday of July the visitors were at his Grace's school, where they found all things well" noted Thomas Otway, lord bishop of Ossory, in a letter dated 18 August 1686.[94] The Charter and Statutes was signed by the Duke of Ormond at Dublin Castle on 18 March 1685 in the presence of three men: Robert Huntington, James Power and William Robinson. These three men formed an interesting group, since they shared several things in common. They had all been born in England, had attended either Oxford or Cambridge and were all members of the Church of Ireland. Their shared heritage would have meant they had a good understanding of the standard the College would have to meet if it was to become the type of school which the Duke had envisaged. They also shared a common background, in that they had come to Ireland more because of the lack of opportunities in England than the many opportunities in Ireland. Although the Duke had selected them as visitors primarily because of the importance of the titles and positions they held, they all had a great deal of experience and expertise in the field of education and management to offer to the newly refounded College.

Robert Huntington (1637 - 1701): provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

Named as a visitor and the first to sign the Charter and Statutes was Robert Huntington, provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Huntington had only been in Dublin a year, having been offered the position in 1683. He was born at Deerhurst, Gloucestershire in 1637, the second son of the Rev. Robert Huntington, the rector of Deerhurst, and educated at Bristol Grammar School before entering Merton College, Oxford in July 1654, where he graduated with a B.A. in 1657 and with an M.A. in 1662.[95] It appears that he was then elected to a probationary fellowship of Merton in 1658 and remained there for thirteen years teaching and studying oriental languages.[96]

[92] Ibid.
[93] cf. Appendix III, 23rd Clause.
[94] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, vol. VII, 444.
[95] Merton College Matriculation Register 1676 - 1714, Register 2.32., p. 26.
[96] Merton College Library, Oxford, *Registrum Collegii Mertone*, entry for 1658, 415 - 416.
Lee, *DNB.*, vol. X, Howard - Kenneth, 308 - 309.

In 1671 he took up the position of chaplain to the Levant Company at Aleppo, Syria where he "distinguished himself in the study of Oriental literature, and as an indefatigable traveller."[97] He held the position of chaplain until 1681 when he resigned and returned to Merton College. Huntington then graduated from Merton with the degrees of B.D. and D.D. in 1683; later in the same year he was appointed to be the provost of Trinity College, Dublin, a position he took reluctantly, possibly on the grounds that he was more interested in gaining an appointment within Oxford.[98] His rise to the provostship of Trinity came about largely due to the efforts of John Fell (1625 - 1686), bishop of Oxford and Narcissus Marsh (1638 - 1713) who was then the outgoing provost of Trinity College, Dublin, two men with whom Huntington had kept in regular correspondence when he had been resident at Aleppo.[99] The *DNB* records that Huntington fled from Ireland to escape the government of James I in 1688 and returned some time after the Williamite victory at the Boyne.[100] Huntington may have returned to Ireland at a date previous to this: a letter sent to Huntington by Edward Hinton dated 27 August 1689 is addressed to Huntington at his residence in Dublin.[101] J. B. Leslie corroborated this evidence when he recorded in *Raphoe Clergy and Parishes* (1940) that Huntington returned to his position as provost of Trinity College, Dublin in 1689.[102] Huntington resigned from the provostship in 1692 and in the autumn of the same year took up the position of rector at Great Hallingbury, Essex. In 1692 Huntington was offered the preferment of the bishopric of Kilmore but declined.[103] In October 1693 Huntington failed in an attempt to secure the wardenship of Merton College, a position it appears he had always sought. He was consecrated as bishop of Raphoe in July 1701 in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin but he died within six weeks of his appointment and was buried near the door of the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin.[104] The reason for Huntington's selection as a visitor to the College is very clear: as the provost of Trinity College, Dublin he gave the College a direct link with the only university in

[97] John Batteridge Pearson, *A Biographical Sketch of the Chaplains to the Levant Company, maintained at Constantinople, Aleppo and Smyrna 1611 - 1706* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1883), 22 - 23.
[98] Lee, *DNB*, vol. X, Howard - Kenneth, 308 - 309.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Letter from Edward Hinton to Robert Huntington, 27 August 1689, TCD MUN P/1/556, see Appendix I.
[102] James Blennerhassett Leslie, *Raphoe Clergy and Parishes. Being an Account of the Clergy from the Church of Ireland in the Diocese of Raphoe, From the Earliest Period, with Historical Notices of Several Parishes, Churches, etc.* (Enniskillen, Printed for the Author, 1940), 7.
[103] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. III, 353.
[104] Leslie, *Raphoe Clergy and Parishes*, 7.
Lee, *DNB*, vol. X, Howard - Kenneth, 309.
Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. III, 353.

Ireland at that time. Having the head of such an institution involved in the government of the College provided mutual benefits. Trinity College was always going to be in need of well prepared students to attend it, and so a close link with a school whose curriculum was heavily biased towards the preparation of boys for university entrance was very beneficial. The benefit to College of having the provost of Trinity as a visitor were twofold. Firstly, the College was primarily involved in the preparation of boys for entry into university in Dublin, and having a sympathetic figure in the form of the provost of Trinity as visitor would have been of great assistance to the College in its desire to see pupils gain entry to Trinity. Secondly, the College's future survival was now not solely dependent on the benefaction of the Ormond family, since the Charter and Statutes of the College placed Trinity as one of the guardians of the College's survival.[105] It is possible that the long relationship that Huntington had had with Narcissus Marsh, the bishop of Leighlin and Ferns and fellow visitor, may have been a factor in his selection but it is more likely that he was chosen because of the important and influential position he held.

Thomas Otway (1616 - 1693): bishop of Ossory.

Thomas Otway was born at Aldebury, Wiltshire, one of nine children of George Otway (1578 - 1640) who was the rector of the local parish church. Thomas Otway was educated at Winchester, and was then admitted to his father's *alma mater*, Christ's College, Cambridge on 13 June 1632, aged fifteen.[106] He graduated with a B.A. in 1635 and took his M.A. in 1639. At some time subsequent to his departure from Cambridge he was awarded a D.D. at Trinity College, Dublin. He became chaplain to the royalist army commander Sir Ralph Hopton (1596 - 1652), during the English Civil War (1642 - 1649) and when Hopton surrendered to Sir Thomas Fairfax in 1646, Otway was banished to the West Indies by Cromwell's Parliament. After the restoration Otway became the rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, London from June 1663 until June 1664, and of Etchingham, Sussex from June 1664 until 1670.[107] Otway came to Ireland towards the end of 1670 as chaplain to Lord Berkeley of Stratton (1602 – 1678) who had recently been appointed lord lieutenant.[108] He was consecrated bishop of Killala in 1671, his preferment having been procured by Lord Berkeley. In

[105] cf. Appendix III, 2nd Clause.
[106] Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. III, Kaile - Ryves, 288.
[107] Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. XIV, Myllar - Owen, 1246 - 1247.
[108] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 22.
Lord Berkeley had fought on the royalist side during the English Civil War and was a close friend of the duke of York, later James II (1633 - 1701).

1679 he was translated to the bishopric of Ossory despite reservations concerning his character.[109] He adhered to James II and sat in the Jacobite House of Lords in Dublin in 1689, and "studiously refrained from praying for William and Mary in his cathedral."[110] This attitude probably had been formed during his time in exile for supporting the royalist cause; regardless of the Protestantism of William III, Otway still considered James II as the true king.[111] After the Williamite victory at the Boyne in 1690 Otway survived calls for his suspension and in 1692 he sat in William's House of Lords. He died in March 1693, still in possession of both his position and royalist opinions, and was buried in St. Canice's Cathedral.[112] A library was established at St. Canice's in his memory under the terms of his will, and both Christ's College, Cambridge and Trinity College, Dublin were aided through his benefaction.[113] Thomas Otway's selection as a visitor was for similar reasons to Huntington's. Otway held the bishopric of the diocese in which the College was located. It would have made sense to have the senior member of the local Church of Ireland diocese actively involved in the government of the College. A local link with a strong national institution, such as the Church of Ireland, which shared a similar Protestant ethos to the College, was a judicious move, since it again linked the College with another institution that could assist if the security offered by the Ormond family was in any way hindered. The Duke would have also been pleased in the knowledge that the religious nature and general day to day running of the College was to be monitored by another more permanent figure in the Kilkenny area, since the Duke himself would have been rarely resident in Kilkenny.

Narcissus Marsh (1638 - 1713): bishop of Leighlin and Ferns.

Narcissus Marsh was born at Hannington near Highworth, Wiltshire, on 20 December 1638. After he had received his initial education locally, Marsh was admitted to Magdalen Hall, Oxford in 1655 where he graduated with a B.A. in 1658 and an M.A. in 1660. In June of 1658 he became a fellow of Exeter College and attained the degrees of B.D. in 1667 and D.D. in 1671.[114] While a fellow at Exeter Marsh was ordained as deacon and priest by Robert Skinner (d.1670), bishop of Oxford, in 1662

[109] He had reputedly executed a Tory at his house without a warrant.
[110] Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. XIV, Myllar - Owen, 1247.
[111] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 282.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 22.
[114] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. III, 973.

and became the rector at Swindon.[115] After many different preferments within various Church of England parishes, Marsh became the principal of St. Alban Hall, Oxford in 1673 where he proceeded to revitalise the institution. On account of his success in Oxford and the patronage of the first duke of Ormond, Marsh was appointed provost of Trinity College, Dublin in 1678.[116] Marsh recorded that he did not enjoy his new environs and struggled with the poor academic standard of the students coming up to Trinity. In 1683 he was consecrated as bishop of Leighlin and Ferns but continued to reside in Dublin until the arrival of his friend Robert Huntington, his successor as provost.[117] During the Jacobite occupation of Dublin Marsh was exiled in Gresford, North Wales as the guest of William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, where Marsh was presented with the rectorship of All Saints' church in that parish.[118] At some time shortly after the Williamite victory at the Boyne in 1690, Marsh returned to Dublin and the following year was translated to the archbishopric of Cashel. In 1694 Marsh was again translated to Dublin before being consecrated in his last ecclesiastical appointment as archbishop of Armagh in 1703.[119] During his time in Dublin Marsh founded the first public library in Ireland. Opened in 1701 and added to through Marsh's efforts, the library contained Marsh's own collection of books along with the library of Edward Stillingfleet (1635 - 1699), bishop of Worcester, whose books and manuscripts had been put up for sale after his death.[120] Marsh died in Dublin on 2 November 1713 and was buried near St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.[121] Marsh's appointment as a visitor of the College was due more to his relationship with the Duke rather than to the position he held within the Church of Ireland. Marsh had been known to the first duke of Ormond since his appointment as principal of St. Alban Hall, Oxford in 1673 when the Duke had already completed four years as chancellor of the University of Oxford. The fact that it was largely through the Duke's efforts that Marsh had been brought to Ireland as provost of Trinity College, in 1678 demonstrated the esteem in which the Duke held him. Marsh would have not only contributed the influence that was afforded to him by his position as bishop

[115] Marsh resigned his charge after he discovered he was expected to join in a simonical marriage in return for his preferment.
[116] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 338.
[117] Lee, *DNB*, vol. XII, Llwyd - Mason, 1101 - 1103.
[118] William Lloyd, who resisted Anglicization in his diocese by ensuring the appointment of Welshmen, but remembered mostly as one of those in the reign of James II, who refused to have the Declaration of Indulgence read.
[119] Lee, *DNB*, vol. XII, Llwyd - Mason, 1102.
[120] Bishop Stillingfleet's library contained 2,000 folios, it was remarked by a contemporary commentator that "the choiceness of the collection appears very remarkable and hard to be equalled." Lee, *DNB*, vol. XVIII, Shearman - Stovin, 1265.
[121] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 338.

of Leighlin and Ferns but he also possessed a wealth of experience in the government of educational institutions, gained during his time at Oxford and Dublin. This experience would have been greatly valued by the Duke as he attempted to ensure his re-foundation of the College was a success.

Robert Huntington, William Robinson and James Power were the three men who were selected by the duke of Ormond to witness the signing of the Charter and Statutes of the College in March 1685. Since Robert Huntington was already named as a visitor and due to the fact that he resided in Dublin, he would have been available to attend the signing of the Charter and Statutes at Dublin Castle. The other two visitors, Thomas Otway and Narcissus Marsh, who would have been resident at Kilkenny and Leighlin respectively, may have had difficulty attending the signing. In their stead the Duke seems to have selected two men, William Robinson and James Power to complete the task of witnessing the signing. Although a considerable amount is known about William Robinson (1645 - 1712), no details concerning James Power could be ascertained. Contemporary evidence has indicated that the William Robinson who is recorded as having witnessed and signed the Charter and Statutes in March 1685 was the architect Sir William Robinson. Robinson was the manager of the duke of Ormond's estates in Ireland and the architect who was involved in many of the building programmes completed during the Duke's tenancy of the lord lieutenancy. Jane Fenlon has described Robinson as being "the most talented architect then working in Ireland" during the 1680s.[122] It is evident that no information exists concerning Robinson before 1670, although it has been speculated that he was originally from Yorkshire. It is thought that he was brought from England to Ireland by the then lord lieutenant, the duke of Ormond, to replace his architect, Captain John Morton, who had died in 1669.[123] Robinson was then appointed by Lord Berkeley (1607 - 1678), Ormond's successor as lord lieutenant, as Irish surveyor general in 1671, a position he held until he was forced to resign on grounds of ill health in 1701.[124] Robinson is credited as being the architect of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham in 1680, a design which is sometimes erroneously

[122] Jane Fenlon, *Episodes of Magnificence: The material worlds of the Dukes of Ormonde*, in *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610 - 1745*, ed. Toby Christopher Barnard & Jane Fenlon (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Boydell Press, 2000), 151.

[123] Architectural Dublin, Biographies, William Robinson (1645 -1712): http://www.archeire.com/archdublin/bio/robinson.htm
Robinson shared the post of Irish surveyor general from 1684 to 1701 with William Molyneaux.

[124] Jacqueline O'Brien & Desmond Guinness, *Dublin, A Grand Tour* (London: George Weldenfield and Nicholson Ltd., 1994), 249.

noted as being originally conceived by Sir Christopher Wren.[125] Robinson was also a military engineer and was simultaneously involved with the building of the Charles Fort, which guards Kinsale Harbour in Co. Cork, while working on the Royal Hospital.[126] Robinson was also involved in the design of Marsh's Library, St Mary's Church, reconstruction work on Dublin Castle and various minor work for the dukes of Ormond in Kilkenny. He was knighted in 1701 or 1702 but was imprisoned for a time in 1703 because of a financial disparagement. After being an M.P. for various periods of time from 1692 - 1712 he finally left Ireland in 1709 and died in England in 1712.[127] It is difficult to disentangle the exact nature of Robinson's relationship with Ormond and understand why he was called upon to be a witness to the signing of the College's Charter and Statutes. A simple explanation could be that Robinson fulfilled the criteria required for being a witness to the signing. Robinson held an important official title, that of surveyor general, and therefore was well acquainted with Ormond, having been involved as the architect in many of the Duke's building projects. Robinson also was conveniently located in Dublin while implementing the Duke's wishes for the construction of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham. Information regarding James Power could not be located in any contemporary material from the seventeenth century. Although there is no mention of any person named James Power, who is applicable to the historical context of the 1680s, in the *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde*, there are however numerous references to those with the name Power.[128] Many of those men were in the service of the duke of Ormond as members of his regiment. It can be speculated that James Power was either a soldier in the Duke's regiment, stationed at Dublin Castle, or a governmental official based also in the castle or elsewhere in Dublin.

4.6: Comparisons between the 1674 Statutes of Witney Free School, Oxfordshire and the 1685 Charter and Statutes of the College.

As it has already been noted, there is a large amount of content overlap between the Statutes of the Witney Free School and the Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College. The main link between both documents was Edward Hinton, being the master of

[125] The Royal Hospital was built to house retired soldiers who had no way of maintaining themselves after they had left military service. Ormond drew his inspiration from Louis XIV's Hotel des Invalides in Paris in 1671 - 6. The Royal Hospital predated Sir Christopher Wren's Chelsea Hospital by two years.

[126] O'Brien & Guinness, *Dublin, A Grand Tour*, 34.

[127] David W. Hayton, *Dependence, clientage and affinity: the political following of the second Duke of Ormonde*, in *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610 - 1745*, ed. Barnard & Fenlon, 224.
O'Brien & Guinness, *Dublin, A Grand Tour*, 249.

[128] *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde.*

both the Witney School and the College, he had a strong influence on both documents, possibly as their compiler. Hinton was the master of Witney for at least three years before Mary Box composed the 'Statutes Constitutions Orders and Directions' in early 1674. His selection as the master of the College may have instigated the need for a more defined term of reference for the College as regards its governance. Hinton's experience at Witney and his knowledge of what was required in the compilation of such documents was invaluable. In a sense the Statutes of the Witney Free School and its mode of government can be seen as the model for not just the Charter and Statutes and government of the College, but for other schools in Ireland, such as Midleton School, Co. Cork and Viscount Weymouth's School, Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan.[129] In comparing the Statutes of the Witney School and the Charter and Statutes of the College, additional information concerning the origin of the Witney Free School is required. The school at Witney had been originally founded in 1660 when Henry Box purchased two acres of land that was adjacent to the rectory of Witney Parish Church and constructed a schoolhouse on it. Henry Box died in 1662 before he had the opportunity to endow and develop his foundation. Mary Box, Henry's wife, was named as the sole executrix of his will and set about implementing his wishes.[130] In 1664 a private Act establishing the school was passed. The act detailed the basic outline of the government of the school, including the endowments and the naming of the visitors of the school.[131] In December of 1674 Mary Box cemented her control of the school when she finished the collation of the school's 'Statutes Constitutions Orders and Directions'. This was a task that she was entitled to complete under the Act of 1664 which legally entrusted her with the framing of the Statutes of the school.[132]

Although the Statutes of Witney contained nine more clauses than the Charter and Statutes of the College, thirty-three as opposed to twenty-four, the principal subjects concerned in both of them are the same, namely: the master and usher, the scholars, the religious nature of the Statutes of Witney and the Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny and the visitors of both institutions.

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[129] Michael Quane, " Viscount Weymouth Grammar School, Carrickmacross." *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. LXXXVI., (1956): 27 - 51.

[130] Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 3 - 4.

[131] 15 Car. II, c. 27, Private. "An Act for the Setling of a Free-School in Witney in the County of Oxon, being Erected and Indowed by Henry Box, Citizen and Grocer of London, deceased." Held at the Hall of the Worshipful Company of Grocers, London.

[132] The original copy of Mary Box's 'Statutes Constitutions Orders and Directions' has been since lost but a copy of the text was presented to both the school and to the Worshipful Company of Grocers, London.
Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 4.

The roles of the master and usher of Witney were fairly similar to the roles they were expected to perform at the College. In the precarious world of education in the seventeenth century the need for able and dependable staff was paramount. This situation is reflected in the concise nature of the clauses that refer to the appointment and maintenance of the master and usher in both institutions' Statutes. In both the master had to be an M.A. graduate of a university "in the Dominion of the Crown of England."[133] The Statutes of both schools were agreed as regarding the qualification of the usher. In the Witney Statutes, as well as the College's Charter and Statutes the usher had to be well-versed in Greek and Latin and a graduate, but only to the degree of B.A.[134] The Statutes of both institutions contained clear instructions concerning employment and dismissal of the master, although there was a divergence in the wording used. The terms of dismissal in the two documents is the level of detail, the Witney Statutes required that the master was never, "notoriously suspected to live incontinent in whoredom or adultery, be a common swearer, a tavern or alehouse haunter to disownment of religion now established or religious duties or otherwise scandalous", while the Charter and Statutes of the College required the master to avoid "obstinate neglect" in the discharge of his duties.[135] These regulations probably reflected Hinton's contentment with the terms and conditions of his employment at Witney. The area in which the Statutes were in disagreement is that of the employment of the usher. The Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College included the proviso that the master would solely be responsible in having an usher "nominated, chosen and removed"[136] This deviated some way from the Witney Statutes which detailed that the usher's employment was mainly the domain of the governors of the school, although their decision was made "by and with the consent of the visitors and the master qualifies before which after three months trial had of his abilities."[137] This change might have again arisen from Hinton's experience of the selection of usher in the past, or possibly an example of the trust placed in him by the Duke to make his own decision concerning who would be his usher. The number of suitable candidates within Ireland would not have been substantial, and such a clause would have given Hinton considerable flexibility in the selection of an usher

[133] cf. Appendix IV, 1st Clause.
cf. Appendix III, Imprimis Clause.
[134] cf. Appendix III, 4th Clause.
cf. Appendix IV, 1st Clause.
[135] cf. Appendix IV, 3rd Clause.
cf. Appendix III, 23rd Clause.
[136] cf. Appendix III, 4th Clause.
[137] cf. Appendix IV, 2nd Clause.

and the potential to employ a man of whom he had had previous knowledge from his time as master of Witney. The Statutes of both Witney and the College allowed the master a number of days leave a year, twenty four days at Witney and thirty days at the College.[138] It is obvious that Hinton requested the increased number of days to facilitate visits to his family in England, which would have required additional travelling time, with the journey involving a sea voyage and a lengthy horse and carriage ride through Wales to Oxfordshire.[139] The usher was allowed fifteen days leave at Witney although at the College the master was given the responsibility of deciding the number of days leave to be afforded to the usher.[140] This again demonstrated Hinton's previous experience of working with ushers who, in hindsight, would have been more pliant if they had known that the potential amount of leave they could have been granted was correlated with how the master viewed their performance.

The clauses concerning both the scholars of Witney and the College were laid out in considerable detail in their respective Charters. The Statutes of the Witney Free School demonstrated the awareness of Mary Box's concern over the absenteeism of the English schoolboy during the seventeenth century. Under the Witney Statutes no healthy scholar could be absent from the school for more than three days without the permission of the master. The Charter and Statutes of the College contained no reference to Scholar's absences since a large proportion of the school population would have been boarders and therefore insulated from the demands of seasonal agrarian employment. The Statutes of Witney and the College diverged on the area of scholarships available to various groups of boys.[141] This situation highlighted the different roles the two institutions fulfilled. The Witney Free School was founded to provide education for local families, both poor and wealthy, with priority being given to those boys who lived in the locality, although the fees for sending boys to Witney were small and mainly dependent on the families' ability to pay. There was however special dispensation for male descendants of Henry Box to attend the school, although these would not have initially amounted to many pupils.[142] Although the

[138] cf. Appendix III, 3rd Clause.
cf. Appendix IV, 4th Clause.
[139] The Charter and Statutes of the College specified that the master could only take his leave in periods lasting no longer than two weeks.
[140] cf. Appendix III, 4th Clause.
cf. Appendix IV, 5th Clause.
[141] cf. Appendix III, 6th, 7th, 8th & 9th Clauses.
[142] cf. Appendix IV, 13th Clause.

College had been founded c.1666 to provide education for the Protestant population of Kilkenny who could afford it along with the sons of anyone in the service of the duke of Ormond, by 1685 the College had become a boarding school nearly exclusively for the privileged classes. It is unlikely that Hinton would have influenced many of the Charter and Statutes' clauses that concerned the governance of the scholars at the College since they probably represented the wishes of the duke of Ormond.

The curriculum of both institutions was essentially the same classical education, the scholars of Witney and the College were to be taught Latin, Hebrew and Greek.[143] The scholars of the College were also to be taught oratory and poetry, subjects which were not prescribed at Witney. The reasons for this are unclear but may reflect the desire of Hinton or the duke of Ormond to broaden the curriculum that was taught at the College. The entrance requirements for both Witney and the College are similar in the respect that pupils that entered the schools were expected to have had received some previous instruction. The Statutes of Witney stated that "None shall be admitted into the said School but such as can read English perfectly." Fleming considered this as a clear indication that Edward Hinton considered his task to instruct boys in Latin, Greek and Hebrew and "naught else,"[144] in insisting that pupils were to have "read their accidence, & are fit to enter upon Grammar learning." The Charter and Statutes of the College seemed to have been less stringent than Statutes at Witney.[145] This seems to suggest that Hinton may have regarded the availability, private or otherwise, of instruction for prospective students to be inadequate in Ireland at this time and that a basic grammatical understanding coupled with a suitability for learning, was a more realistic requirement for potential students.

The school day at the College reflected the daily proceedings at Witney and many other educational institutions throughout England, starting at six o'clock and ending at eleven o'clock in the morning with the afternoon lesson starting at one o'clock and ending at five o'clock. Provision for the dark mornings of the winter was allowed for in both Statutes by bringing the time of assembly forward an hour, from six o'clock to seven o'clock in the morning.[146] The Statutes of Witney included extra provision for

[143] cf. Appendix III, 3rd Clause.
cf. Appendix IV, 13th Clause.
[144] Fleming, *Witney Grammar School*, 13.
[145] cf. Appendix III, 6th Clause.
[146] cf. Appendix III, 14th Clause.
cf. Appendix IV, 17th Clause.

especially dark mornings by allowing an extra thirty minutes, later and afternoon lessons could be shortened on account of darkening evenings.[147] The omission of this provision in the Charter and Statutes of the College suggested that Hinton had never felt it necessary to implement it at Witney, and could see no reason for its inclusion or that the Duke had sufficient trust in Hinton to vary the times of instruction as the case arose.

As regards the disciplinary policy of both schools, there is little difference. The main emphasis is the importance of punishment of an exemplary nature for misdemeanours such as the defacement of the fabric of the school. For more serious matters the Charter and Statutes of Witney and Kilkenny instructed that after a couple admonishments any 'uncooperative' students were to be expelled. The only divergence as regards this policy was the number of times an individual could offend before being removed: at Witney it was to be "two or three", while in the case of the College, a pupil was "upon the second offence of the same kind, to be discharged and expelled for ever."[148] In case of sickness both Witney and the College Statutes instructed that scholars who had any "noious infectious disease" were to be removed and isolated until "perfectly cured".[149]

The religious natures of both the College and Witney were solidly Anglican. The Statutes of Witney clearly outlined that the master and the usher were to be adherents of the Anglican tradition.[150] The Charter and Statutes of the College stipulated in the Imprimis clause that the master was to "take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and conform to the doctrine and discipline of Church of Ireland, as it is by law, now established".[151] As regards the religious persuasion of the usher, the College Charter and Statutes made no judgment clear, yet it can be assumed that his faith was to be as definite as the master's. As regards the nature of the religious instruction and example Witney's Statutes ordained that the day was to commence with a religious service which included the reading of scripture and a "short and solemn calling upon God for a blessing". The day was to end with a prayer of thanksgiving. The Charter and Statutes of the College requested a routine amounting to the same as at Witney " that the prayers from the Church of England and Ireland

[147] Ibid.
[148] cf. Appendix III, 12th Clause.
[149] cf. Appendix III, 11th Clause.
cf. Appendix IV, 15th Clause.
[150] cf. Appendix IV, 3rd Clause.
[151] cf. Appendix III, Imprimis Clause.

be read to them both morning and evening, . . . the prayers seen and approved by the lord bishop of Ossory".[152] At Witney the Anglican nature of the school was also emphasised during the visitors' visitation to the school once a year, when a service would be held which the Statutes stipulated should contain prayers along with scripture reading and the singing of four verses of a Psalm.[153] The service was to end with the school saying together the following Latin prayer:

> Domine deus Resurrectio et vita Credentium qui semper es benedictus tam in defunctis quam in vivis Agimus tibi gratias pro Henrico Box et Maria uxore ejus Fundatoribus nostris caeterisque benefactoribus quorum beneficijs hic ad pietatem et studia literarum instituimur Orantes ut nos his donis recte utentes una cum sanctis tuis Ad Resurrectionem Gloriosam et immortalem perducamur per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum Amen.[154]

The proximity of the lord bishop of Ossory to the College ensured that the religious nature of the College would have been under constant scrutiny. The Charter and Statutes desired that the prayers used in the College were to be, "seen and approved by the lord bishop of Ossory."[155]

The structures implemented by both institutions allowed for a role for visitors to oversee the governance of both schools. The Statutes of Witney requested that the visitors of the school were to be the provost of Oriel College, Oxford along with four senior fellows of the same institution, with only two of the four being required to attend the annual visitation of the school which was to be held on St. James' Day.[156] The Charter and Statutes of the College requested that the visitors be comprised of the provost of Trinity College, Dublin, the lord bishop of Ossory and the lord bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. The statute instructed that at least two of the three visitors were to undertake an annual visitation of the College "upon the last Thursday in

[152] cf. Appendix III, 15th Clause.
[153] Ibid.
cf. Appendix IV, 28th Clause.
[154] An English translation of the prayer is as follows:

> Lord God, the resurrection and the life of Believers, who always art blessed as among the dead so among the living we give you thanks for Henry Box and Mary his wife our founders and the rest of the benefactors by whose benefits here we are instituted for the purpose of piety and the study of letters praying that we using these gifts properly may be led together with your saints to a glorious and immortal resurrection through Jesus Christ our Lord Amen.

[155] cf. Appendix III, 15th Clause.
[156] Oriel College, Oxford had been selected by Henry Box since it had been the college that he had attended.

June yearly, or oftener if they shall see occasion."[157] The tasks of the visitors at both institutions on the day of visitation were almost identical. The visitors of Witney and Kilkenny were both ordained to monitor the state of the institution and detect if any of the Statutes had been contravened. Their role was also expanded to include a survey of the environs of both institutions and whether they had suffered any abuse.[158] The main divergence concerning the visitations included in the Statutes for Witney and the College was the sequence of tasks to be performed by the visitors. At Witney the review of the master, usher and scholars was to be initiated after dinner. The dinner was to be at the expense of the master who was instructed to allocate forty shillings of his salary to its cost.[159] It is possible to imagine that the order of events which involved the visitors of Witney enjoying a large meal, with wine, and then being required to perform a visitation of the school may not have been ideal. Hinton clearly had a high level of disdain for this practice and probably ensured that the Charter and Statutes of the College contained provision that the inspection of the master, usher and scholars took place before dinner and to be undertaken "soberly & decently".[160] After dinner the visitors were then to undertake the less demanding task of the inspection of the College buildings. The visitors of Witney and the College also helped to maintain the legal credibility of the Statutes of both institutions. At Witney the visitors, in conjunction with the governors, were to agree on how to approach any suggested defects in the Witney Statutes. The governors of Witney had been named in the original Charter of the school in 1664 as the four wardens of the Grocers' Company,[161] although the thirty third clause of Witney's Statutes said that Mary Box was to:

> reserveth during her natural life full power and authority of enlarging, altering, changing in substance or words of adding, removing or dispensing with what experience and prudent counsel shall appear to be hopeful to the furtherance of the pious intention of the founder.[162]

After Mary Box's death the role of governor would have been transferred to the four wardens of the Grocer's Company. The governor of the College, named in the Charter and Statutes was the duke of Ormond, although one of the visitors, the

[157] cf. Appendix III, 21st Clause.
[158] cf. Appendix III, 22nd Clause.
cf. Appendix IV, 29th Clause.
[159] cf. Appendix IV, 9th Clause.
[160] cf. Appendix III, 22nd Clause.
[161] 15 Car. II, c. 27, Private.
[162] cf. Appendix IV, 33rd Clause.

provost of Trinity College, Dublin, along with the fellows and scholars of Trinity, were assigned that in the event of the failure of the Ormond line the role of governor would pass to them, although the role would have effectively been the provost's.[163]

4.7: The College Register.

The Charter and Statutes of the College maintained that a register be kept to record those "Children . . . admitted into the said School . . . as also the time of their departure, what Class they were in, and to what place & employment they go."[164] The main details recorded in the register were name, date of entry, age on entry, profession and name of the father and the place from which they came. The first entry in the register was made on 1 October 1684, when the two sons of Edward Hinton, Edward and John Hinton, aged ten and twelve years respectively, were recorded to have entered the College. The date of their entry may suggest that the register was started after the arrival of Edward Hinton or the register was used retrospectively to record the date of entry of the pupils who were attending the College at the time of the awarding of the Charter and Statutes in march 1685. The second entry recorded is the entry of Daniel King (13 years) and Richard Swinfield (11 years) to the College on the 25 October in the same year. The third entry is on the 8 November 1684, when Oliver Wheeler (13 years) is registered as having entered the College. On 6 December 1684, Ebenezer Raddon, aged 13 years, is recorded as being the last entry into the College that year.[165] An early entry into the College register is Hugh Drysdale, who entered the College on 25 January 1685, he later became lieutenant - governor of Virginia from 1722 - 1726.[166] Several pupils who attended the College during the years after the granting of the Charter and Statutes of the College including George Berkeley the philosopher, Thomas Prior the founder of the Royal Dublin Society, Richard Helsham a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin and Walter Harris the Irish historiographer, gained distinction after they left. These men had much in common with those former students who had become famous and had

[163] cf. Appendix III, 2nd Clause.
[164] cf. Appendix III, 18th Clause.
[165] Entrance and Leaving Book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[166] Although his lieutenant-governorship of Virginia was brief and occurred at a time of relative peace in the colony he is known as an important opponent of slavery. Drysdale attempted to curb the increase in slave traffic by bringing in legislation to tax the import of slaves. Drysdale's bill was however annulled by the British Board of Trade who had been in turn pressured by the African Company who favoured the extension of commercial slavery.
For more information on Drysdale see page 151 in Margaret Vowell Smith, *Virginia 1492 - 1892, A Brief Review of the Discovery of the Continent of North America with A History of the Executives of the Colony and of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1972).

attended the College before the granting of the Charter and Statutes. They were all members of the Church of Ireland, came from wealthy backgrounds and all attended Trinity College, Dublin. The fact that they were all awarded a scholarship at Trinity College and entered such a wide range of professions with a high level of success points to the ability of the pupils who entered as well as the teaching offered at the College during this time. It is again interesting to note that, with the exception of Berkeley these men were happy to remain in Ireland and pursue their careers at home as opposed to removing to England.

George Berkeley (1685 - 1753).

George Berkeley entered the College on 17 July 1697 at the age of eleven.[167] He had been born at Kilcrene, a mile outside the city of Kilkenny, on 12 March 1685. His childhood was spent at or near Dysart Castle, near Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny. On entry to the College Berkeley was placed into the second highest class, indicating at an early age his academic ability.[168] This probably indicated that Berkeley had been well tutored before his entry to the College, to a standard well above the proficiency in the reading of accidence that had been specified in the Charter and Statutes as an entry requirement.[169] Not much is known about Berkeley's time at the College, except for the single episode which Berkeley himself referred to in later life which concerned a visit to the Dunmore Caves. Hone and Rossi noted in *Bishop Berkeley, His Life, Writings, and Philosophy* (1931) that "Although Stock affirms that the future philosopher spent most of his boyhood among 'airy visions of Romance', it appears that the day-dreamer had a keen interest in the investigation of nature."[170] The visit took place during July 1699 to the caves which are located a few miles from the College:

> he and several of his school friends went over with guns and dogs to explore the cave of Dunmore, a remarkable natural feature . . . Berkeley was a keen observer of detail, with a photographic memory; seven years later he wrote from memory an account of the place, which was read at a Dublin or college meeting. His description of the cave is spirited and wonderfully accurate, and after all that has been written and invented about his

[167] Entrance and Leaving Book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[168] Arthur Aston Luce, *The Life of George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne (with a new introduction by David Berman)* (London : Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1992), 20 - 30.
[169] cf. Appendix III, 6th Clause.
[170] J. M. Hone & M. M. Rossi, *Bishop Berkeley, His Life, Writings, and Philosophy* (London: Faber & Faber Limited, 1931), 13.
Joseph Stock, *An account of the life of George Berkeley with notes containing strictures upon his works* (London: J. Murray, 1776).

> supposed eccentricities, it is pleasing to see him a normal apple-eating schoolboy, enjoying a holiday with his friends, shooting rabbits and waking the echoes.[171]

Throughout Berkeley's time at the College, Edward Hinton was master. It is unusual to note that, as with Swift and Congreve, Berkeley never formally referred to his former teacher or the debt he owed him for his education. At fifteen Berkeley left the College, and matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin as a pensioner on 21 March 1700. At Trinity, Berkeley embarked on a successful academic career. In 1702 he was elected to a scholarship of Trinity College, and in 1707 he was elected to the fellowship of the same.[172] Berkeley went on to develop a basic philosophical theory that was directed against the materialism of the seventeenth century philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588 - 1679). His major works included *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (1710).[173] Berkeley appears to have been friendly with only two of his former school colleagues: Thomas Prior and a boy he referred to by just his surname: Langton.[174]

Thomas Prior (c.1682 - 1751).

Thomas Prior, of Rathdowney, Queen's County (later named Co. Laois), entered the College on 11 January 1697, at the age of fifteen.[175] He met Berkeley, who had entered the College six months previously and they began a friendship which lasted until Prior died in 1751. Prior entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1699 and was elected to a scholarship in 1701. After graduating he embarked on a career of promoting "material and industrial works among the protestant population of Ireland."[176] In pursuing this aim Prior often antagonised the establishment, a case in point being the publication of *A List of Absentees of Ireland and the yearly value of their estates and incomes spent abroad. With Observations on the Present Trade and conditions of*

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[171] Luce, *The Life of George Berkeley Bishop of Cloyne (with a new introduction by David Berman)*, 30. An original MS which contains the account of Berkeley's visit to the Dunmore Caves is held in Trinity College Library, Dublin.

[172] Ibid., 31 - 40.

[173] George Berkeley, *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (Dublin: Jeremy Pepyat, 1710).

[174] Langton, according to A. A. Luce, was a friend of Berkeley's at the College although there is no reference to him in the College Register. Luce recorded that after leaving the College Langton became a curate somewhere in Co. Meath.

[175] Entrance and Leaving Book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019. Prior is spelt in the College Register as Pryor. Prior's exact year of birth is unclear, but 1682 is generally recorded as being the most accurate.

[176] Lee, *DNB.*, vol. XVI, Pocock - Robins, 401.

that Kingdom (1729).[177] In this book, Prior not only criticised the landowners of Ireland who were absent from their properties, but also demanded that they paid tax on all income moved abroad. On 25 June 1731 Prior, along with thirteen other men, founded the 'Dublin Society for improving Husbandry, Manufacturers and other Useful Arts', an organisation which went on to gain a royal charter and become universally known as the Royal Dublin Society.[178] It is generally considered that amongst the fourteen men who were present, Thomas Prior was the main instigator in the establishment of the society.[179]

Richard Helsham (1683 - 1738).

Helsham was born in 1683 at Leggatsrath, near Kilkenny, and entered the College on 20 January 1692 at the age of eight before matriculating at Trinity College, Dublin on 18 July 1698.[180] He obtained a scholarship in 1700 and a B.A. in 1702 before being elected a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin in 1704.[181] He was co-opted as a senior fellow in 1714 but resigned in 1730 due to his marriage. Helsham was the first holder of the Erasmus Smith's Professorship of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, being appointed in 1724, having previously held a lectureship in mathematics. He was also Regius Professor of Physic, 1733 - 38.[182] Helsham had a good reputation as a doctor and was the personal physician to Swift. Swift noted in a letter to Alexander Pope in 1729 that he was "an ingenious and good-humoured physician, a fine gentleman, an excellent scholar".[183] He was President of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland in 1716 and 1725. Through his friendship with Swift, Helsham was involved in Dublin's literary circle which also involved Stella and Patrick Delany. He married Jane Putland, the widow of Thomas Putland, on 16 December 1730, and was awarded the freedom of the city of Dublin in 1737 for his assistance in the improvement of the piping of water into the city. He died on 25 August 1738 of a stomach tumour and was interred in the churchyard of St. Mary's, Dublin. His will instructed his executors that:

> before his coffin should be nailed up his head was to be severed from his

[177] Thomas Prior, *A List of Absentees of Ireland and the yearly value of their estates and incomes spent abroad. With Observations on the Present Trade and conditions of that Kingdom* (Dublin, 1729).
[178] The word 'Sciences' was inserted into the full title of the *RDS* at a subsequent meeting.
[179] *The RDS 1731 - 1981*, James Meenan & Desmond Clarke, in *RDS, The Royal Dublin Society 1731 - 1981* ed. James Meenan & Desmond Clarke (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1981), 1 & 3.
[180] Entrance and Leaving Book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[181] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 42.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Williams, *Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, vol. III, 312.

> body and that my corps be carried to the place of burial by the light of one taper only at the dead of night, without hearse or pomp, attended by my domestics only.[184]

Helsham was the author of *A Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy* which was edited posthumously by a colleague and former student, Bryan Robinson, and was published in 1739.[185] It was one of the earliest text books to present the scientific discoveries of Bacon, Descartes, Boyle and Newton to university students in an understandable manner. The book had an enduring popularity and was a compulsory text for students at Trinity College, Dublin until 1849.[186]

Walter Harris (1686 - 1761).

The Irish historiographer Walter Harris was recorded as having entered the College on 21 July 1701, after which he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin in 1704.[187] In his book concerning the Williamite wars in Ireland, *Life of William III* (1749), he noted that he had been educated by Edward Hinton: "the first duke of Ormond . . . settled there a protestant schoolmaster, Dr. Edward Hinton, a learned and conscientious Englishman, who officiated in it with great industry and success; which I mention with gratitude because to him I am indebted for my early education."[188] Harris was awarded a scholarship in 1707 but soon after was sent down for his involvement in a student disturbance.[189] Harris was called to the bar in 1713 and in 1716 married Elizabeth Waye of Killree, Co. Kilkenny. She died within a month of their marriage and Harris subsequently remarried Elizabeth Ware, the grand-daughter of Sir James Ware (1594 - 1666), the Irish antiquarian and historian.[190] This connection brought Harris into contact with Ware's works in relation to Ireland. These works were

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[184] "The Will of Richard Helsham, doctor of Physic," *Irish Genealogist*, vol. 1, no. 11, (April 1942): 338-9.

[185] Richard Helsham, *A Course of Lectures in Natural Philosophy* (4th Edition, 1767), eds. D. A. Attis, P. Kelly and D. L. Weaire (Dublin: Physics Department of Trinity College, 1999).

[186] Ibid.

A reprint of the fourth edition of Helsham's work to mark the Millennium was part published by the Physics Department of Trinity College, Dublin in 1999.

[187] Entrance and Leaving Book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.

[188] Harris, *Life of William III*, 374.

[189] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. IX, Harris - Hovenden, 26 - 27.

[190] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. XX, Ubaldini - Whewell, 816 - 817.

written in Latin and Harris set about translating and enlarging them.[191] Harris was awarded an honorary Doctor of Laws from Trinity College, Dublin in 1753 and in the same year created the vicar-general of the bishop of Meath. He died at Dublin on 26 July 1761.[192]

4.8: Conclusion.

The period covered in this chapter was probably the most tumultuous in the College's history. The political upheaval which saw the closure of the College for nearly two years coupled with the death of the governor and benefactor of the College nearly brought about the permanent demise of the College. These events demonstrated why a Charter and Statutes were needed; when the College was closed there was a foundation in place which made the task of reopening the College possible, though far from straightforward. The College was granted an organised structure which gave both legal and financial security. Considering his past experience with the establishment of schools, the duke of Ormond was clearly aware of the potential pitfalls that such an institution would face. The lack of a son to Charles II ensured that Charles's brother James was in line to take the throne. James's known bias towards Roman Catholicism would have meant that the Duke was aware that uncertain times lay ahead for Protestant institutions such as the College as well as the Ormond family. This was confirmed by the inclusion of the clause which transferred the governance of the College to the provost of Trinity College, Dublin. This ensured that the College had a secure fail-safe if the Ormond line proved unable to produce an heir. Neely recorded in *Kilkenny: An Urban History, 1391 - 1843* (1989) that "It was a measure of the thoroughness of the first Duke's statutes for the college, that its life continued to be governed by the rules he made for it, even after his family lost the patronage of the school."[193] The involvement of the Church of Ireland in the form of the bishops of Ossory and Leighlin and Ferns as visitors also improved the life expectancy of the College. The College's involvement with the Church of Ireland was not just superficial. The College was grafted into the structure of the church and thus benefited from the security and patronage that an institution

[191] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. IX, Harris - Hovenden, 26.
The first part of Harris' work appeared in 1739 entitled as *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland, revised and improved. Volume I, containing the history of the bishops of that kingdom, and such matters, ecclesiastical and civil, in which they were concerned, from the first propagation of Christianity therein to the present time.* The first part of the second volume of Harris' work appeared in 1745 and the second part of the second volume appeared in 1746. Although inaccurate in parts Harris' translation of Ware was a significant contribution to scholarship concerning the period.
[192] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. IX, Harris - Hovenden, 27.
[193] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 238.

of that size and power had to offer. The role of Edward Hinton and his nineteen years as master were pivotal to the survival of the College. His return as master after the College's closure was a vital contribution to its continuity. During his exile in England while Ireland was enduring the Williamite wars he would certainly have been aware of many opportunities to continue his teaching career in more stable circumstances. His letter to Robert Huntington clearly showed that along with the many other negative factors concerning his role within the College and Ireland he had also a homesick wife with whom to contend.[194] Hinton demonstrated by his determination to return to his post in Kilkenny a considerable amount of loyalty and that the faith Huntington and Ormond had put in him was not misplaced. Hinton left the College in a good position that it was to exploit fully. Due to his efforts the College was prepared and poised to meet the needs of the emerging Anglo-Irish families who desired that their sons receive the best education available without having to leave the shores of Ireland. By the early eighteenth century the College had become one of the recognised places for the education of the aristocracy in Ireland.[195]

[194] cf. Appendix I.

[195] Edward MacLysaght, *Irish Life in The Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1979), 300.

Chapter Five

The College's development as a school of the Anglo-Irish nobility during the eighteenth century.

1702 - 1793

5.1: Introduction.

The College steadily expanded during the eighteenth century moving from the role envisaged by the first duke of Ormond as a school essentially for the Protestant population of the Kilkenny area to become a leading school in the country for the sons of the Anglo-Irish nobility. This chapter will chart that development by detailing the lives and impact of the masters of the College from 1702 to 1793, *viz.* William Andrews, Edmund Lewis, Thomas Hewetson, Richard Pack and John Ellison. The first two of these shared a common background with the first two masters of the refounded College, namely Edward Jones and Henry Ryder, in that they were educated either directly or indirectly by Richard Busby (1606 - 1695), head master of Westminster School, London from 1640 until 1695. Although Edward Hinton was not educated by Busby, he also had connections with Westminster and Busby. Busby's background and the manner in which he educated boys will be examined in this chapter along with the influence that he had on the masterships of these men.

In 1788 the Irish Parliament made arrangements for the first inquiry into the funding and governance of endowed education; this inquiry was to be the first of numerous commissions that inspected the College during the nineteenth century.[1] The inquiry's report on the College, along with the reasons why such an inquiry was initiated, will also be studied.

Throughout the eighteenth century the College followed closely the rise in fortunes of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy. The granting of £5,000 by the Irish parliament to the College for the construction of a new building at the end of the eighteenth century when the ascendancy was at the peak of its golden age, was a physical acknowledgement by the Anglo-Irish ascendancy of the part the College had played in its rise, the new building later provided a stability which was to aid the survival of the College during the leaner times of the latter nineteenth century.

[1] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791)*, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII.

The College's role in the Anglo-Irish ascendancy is clearly demonstrated by the College register. The register contained the names of many leading figures of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy such as scions from various noble families *viz.* Waterford, Lismore, Enniskillen, de Vesci, Hawarden, Boyle, Desart, Inchiquin, Ashbrook, Ross, Thomond, Clifden and Charlemont. Other men who attended the College during this period achieved prominence in the Church of Ireland, the Army and government. These included Michael Cox (c.1692 - 1779) who became bishop of Ossory, Denis Pack (c.1772 - 1823) who was a key member of the duke of Wellington's staff at the Battle of Waterloo (1815) and rose to the rank of major general, Abraham Colles (1773 - 1843) who was a distinguished surgeon and John Beresford (1738 - 1805), who was one of the most influential members of the infamous 'Castle Clique' of Dublin Castle that dominated the administration of Ireland during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

This period also saw the alignment of the College with Trinity College, Dublin, which occurred in 1715 after the attainment of the second duke of Ormond. This alignment brought the only university of Ireland and trophy of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy alongside one of the foremost schools in Ireland.

This chapter also includes information on two schools which were to have an important impact on the development of the College: the Kilkenny Diocesan School (c.1731 - 1773) and the Pococke School (1762 - 1902) as well as a brief account of the establishment of first Roman Catholic school in Kilkenny after the removal of the penal laws: St. Kieran's College founded in 1782.

5.2: Dr. Richard Busby (1606 - 1695), head master of Westminster School 1640 - 1695, and his influences.

Richard Busby was involved with Westminster School as pupil and head master for all but a handful of years of his life. He was directly or indirectly responsible for the education of four out of the first five masters of the College since its refoundation c.1666 and had an indirect influence on the other. Although it is difficult to quantify his influence on the development of the College an insight into the man gives an indication of the form of education that took place in the College from c.1666 until 1743. Richard Busby was appointed as head master of Westminster School in 1640 and is regarded according to John Field in his history of Westminster

School, *The King's Nurseries* (1987) as "justly the most celebrated head master in Westminster's long history, and perhaps the most remarkable headmaster in the history of education."[2] Anthony à Wood concurred with Field's assertion when he noted in *Athenae Oxonienses* (1813 - 20 edition) that:

> He was a person eminent and exemplary for piety and justice, an encourager of virtuous and forward youth, of great learning and hospitality and the chief person that educated more youths that were afterward eminent in the Church and State, than any master of his time.[3]

Amongst the boys whom Busby educated and who gained to national and international prominence include: Christopher Wren[4] (1632 - 1723) the architect, John Dryden[5] (1631 - 1700) the poet, John Locke[6] (1632 - 1704) the philosopher and Robert Hooke[7] (1635 - 1703) the experimental scientist. Busby had attended Westminster as a King's Scholar before being elected to Christ Church College, Oxford in 1624 where he graduated with a B.A. in 1628 and an M.A. in 1631.[8] After several years as both a tutor at Christ Church and rector of the parish of Cudworth in Somerset, Busby was appointed head master of Westminster School. Field described the educational regime of Richard Busby as being:

> tough and severe. A minimum of seven hours a day was spent in the Schoolroom, with an inexorable sequence of tasks linked with each period of the day, each day of the week. Aesop on Mondays, Ovid on Tuesdays, Terence on Wednesdays, Martial on Thursdays, for those in the second form.

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[2] John C. D. Field, *The King's nurseries: the story of Westminster School* (London: James & James, 1987), 32.

[3] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. II, 923.

[4] Wren studied physics and mathematics at Oxford and became a professor of Astronomy at Gresham College, London and at Oxford. In 1663 he was invited to make a survey of St. Paul's Cathedral and also drew plans for buildings such as Sheldonian Theatre in Oxford. After the Great Fire of London Wren was involved in the design of over fifty churches, which had been destroyed in the fire, including St. Paul's Cathedral which was completed in 1673.

[5] Dryden was appointed poet laureate in 1668 and retained the position for 20 years, until the Glorious Revolution in 1688. His major works included: *Mac Flecknoe*, *Absalom and Achitophel, Part I*, *The Medal*, and *Absalom and Achitophel, Part II*.

[6] After Westminster Locke went to Oxford where he took part in experimental studies in Medicine and Science. Over a period of twenty years he compiled his monumental *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), this aimed to determine the limits of human understanding and is regarded as the most important statement of an empiricist theory of knowledge.

[7] Among his many accomplishments, Robert Hooke invented the universal joint, the iris diaphragm, and an early prototype of the respirator; invented the anchor escapement and the balance spring, which made more accurate clocks possible; worked out the correct theory of combustion; devised an equation describing elasticity that is still used today (Hooke's Law) and invented or improved meteorological instruments such as the barometer, anemometer, and hygrometer.

[8] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. III, Brown - Chaloner, 481 - 483.

> Construing first, dictionary work second, then translating and parsing. After dinner dictation in English, to be made into Latin. On Fridays repetition of all the week's exercises, a habit that persisted until the 1850s.[9]

Busby was not afraid to utilise corporal punishment during his time as head master. It is said that he considered his rod as a sieve: if a boy could not pass through, it would then signify that the boy was not for him, as the *DNB* noted:

> Busby's name has become proverbial as a type of the severest of severe pedagogues; and though this character of him only rests upon general tradition, there appears to be little doubt that during his extraordinarily long reign at Westminster he ruled the school with a rod of iron, or rather of birch.[10]

Peter Holmes, in an article written in the *Elizabethan* (the Westminster School magazine) that celebrated the tercentenery of Busby's death in 1995, attempted to place into context Busby's rigorous manner of punishment:

> Legend has therefore been allowed to accumulate around one or two well-known features of his regime, especially on his reputation as a beater. This was undoubtedly deserved, but must be set in the context of the times, when central authority was constantly being challenged, and counterpoised by the genuine affection and gratitude felt for him by so many pupils - the Busby 'whose kindness I shall never forget'; 'Busby, whose memory to me shall be forever sacred'; 'not only a master, but even as a father and, which is a relation more rarely found, a real friend.' Above all, as another contemporary wrote, 'his charity was the greatest virtue in him, whereof none ever took more care that his right hand should not know what his left did'.[11]

Another interesting insight into Busby's character is contained in the anecdote that he once refused to remove his cap during a visit of Charles II to the school lest the boys would have thought that there was someone more important in the land than himself.[12] In 1919 during a visit to the school, George V, taken with the story, allowed James Gow, the school's head master at the time, to keep his head covered. Busby is also said to have uttered the idiom 'The fathers govern the nation; the mothers

[9] Field, *The King's nurseries*, 39.
[10] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. III, Brown - Chaloner, 482.
[11] Peter Holmes, "The Tercentenary of Doctor Busby's Death," *The Elizabethan (Westminster School Journal)*, (1996): 35.
Thomas Shadwell (c.1642 - 1692), who succeeded Dryden as Poet Laureate in 1689, noted in *Virtuoso* that he had to visit brothels to be flogged since he had grown so used to it as a pupil of Busby.
[12] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. III, Brown - Chaloner, 482.

govern the fathers; but the boys govern the mothers, and I govern the boys.'[13] Busby died on 6 April 1695 having refused to relinquish the Head mastership, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Henry Rider, Edward Jones, William Andrews were all taught by Busby, Edmund Lewis entered Westminster c.1702 seven years after Busby's death but the head master at this time was Thomas Knipe who had been appointed head master in 1695. Knipe had been educated by Busby and had served as his Second master since 1663. Joseph Welch in *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster* (1852) described Knipe as a "respectable successor to that eminent instructor of youth [Busby]".[14]

Although Edward Hinton, the College's master in between Jones and Andrews, was not educated at Westminster, he was clearly aware of Westminster School and its reputation and structures of government. Hinton sent a memo to the second duke of Ormond c.1692 that recommended a scheme for electing a group of Ormond Scholars at the College, which could be based on the Statutes and practices of Westminster School.[15] Hinton added that the provost of Trinity College, Dublin, along with his assistant, could visit the College every year to elect four or five boys from the Ormond Scholars for entry into Trinity, just as the Kings and Queens Scholars at the end of their education at Westminster then competed for entry into Christ Church College, Oxford and Trinity College, Cambridge.[16] Hinton would have also been influenced by Busby through the mastership of the Rev. Dr. Francis Gregory (?1625 - 1707), the man he replaced as master of Witney Free School c.1670. Gregory had not only been educated by Busby, but had served as his usher for a number of years before his arrival as master of Woodstock Grammar School in Oxfordshire, and subsequently at Witney Free School. Gregory noted that Busby had not only been his master but also a father to him during his time at Westminster.[17] When Edward

[13] Field, *The King's nurseries*, 39.

[14] Joseph Welch (compiler), *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster, admitted on that foundation since 1663, and of such as have been thence elected to Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, from the foundation by Queen Elizabeth 1561 to the present time. To which is prefixed a list of the Deans of Westminster and of Christ Church, Oxford, The masters of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the masters of Westminster School. A new edition, with very numerous additions relating to persons educated at the school, as well as those on the foundation, by an old King's Scholar (Charles Bagot Phillimore)* (London: G. W. Ginger, 1852), 147.

[15] Proposals for a Scheme Governing Scholars at his Grace's School in Kilkenny c.1692, TCD MUN/P/1/563.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. VIII, Glover - Harriot, 539.

Hinton arrived at Witney he would have been very aware of the style of government that Gregory had undertaken.

Through Busby's influence, which had directly or indirectly affected the first five masters of the College, the concept of an English grammar school came to Ireland. The curriculum and government practised at the College were replicated in other educational establishments in Ireland, such as Midleton College, Co. Cork and Viscount Weymouth Grammar School, in Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan.[18] This concept of a grammar school continued in Ireland well into the nineteenth century and can be linked clearly to the life and work of Richard Busby.

5.3: The Rev. Dr. William Andrews (d.1736), master of the College from 1702 until 1714.

William Andrews was appointed to the College after Edward Hinton's preferment to the deanery of St. Canice in 1702.[19] Few details are known about William Andrews' early life and most commentators on the College refer to him as Dr. Andrews LL.D., giving no indication of the degrees he had been admitted to before he commenced in the Spring of 1704 with the degree of LL.D. and LL.B. from Trinity College, Dublin.[20] In Burtchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses* (1935) the entry for William Andrews has two additional points of information apart from the degrees awarded, firstly that no further details concerning Andrews's entry into Trinity College, Dublin existed and that Andrews could be cross referenced with Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (1892).[21] There are two William Andrews recorded by Joseph Foster, one who was elected to Christ Church College, Oxford from Westminster School in 1695, where he matriculated on 18 June and attained the degrees of B.A. in 1699 and M.A. in 1702, while the other became vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less, Smithfield, London from 1715 until 1720, then vicar of Meesden, Hertfordshire in 1720 and Barkway, Hertfordshire in 1727.[22] Foster's evidence conflicts with the more reliable biographical alumni register for Cambridge University, John Venn and John Archibald Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (1922 - 1924) which recorded that a William Andrews entered Trinity College, Cambridge on 18 June 1698 and was subsequently vicar of Meesden

[18] Quane, "Viscount Weymouth Grammar School, Carrickmacross," 27 - 51.
[19] Andrews is sometimes recorded as Andrewes.
[20] The University of Dublin, *A Catalogue of Graduates who have proceeded with Degrees in the University of Dublin, From the earliest recorded Commencements to July 1866 with supplement to December 16 1868* (Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Foster, 1869), 10.
[21] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 10.
[22] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. I, Early Series, 26.

and Barkway.[23] This information indicated that Foster may have included the Cambridge William Andrews in *Alumni Oxonienses* and thus became confused between the two men. The Alumni lists of Cambridge contain no other references to any William Andrews who was educated there during the late seventeenth century. Joseph Welch's *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster* (1852), included the William Andrews who was mentioned in Foster and who attended Westminster School, as a King's Scholar, from 1693 until 1695, but also gives two potential biographies of the same man.[24] One William Andrews was awarded an M.A. from Christ Church College, Oxford in 1705, while another was master of Kilkenny College and was the author of a sermon, *Christ's Perpetual Presence with the Bishops of His Church* (1705), given at the consecration of Wellbore Ellis (c.1651 - 1734) as bishop of Kildare in Dublin in 1705. Leslie corroborated this evidence when he mentioned in *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (1933) that William Andrews the master of the College 1702 - 1714, was the author of this sermon.[25] There are a number of factors which point to the strong probability that the William Andrews who attended Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford was also the William Andrews who became the master of the College in 1702. William Andrews' son, John was sent to Westminster School after four years at the College, where he had entered on 29 September 1714, aged eight.[26] This suggests that there was more than just a casual affinity with Westminster School and that Andrews still had close links with the school. The selection of Andrews to preach a sermon at the consecration of Wellbore Ellis as the bishop of Meath may have been more by design than accident. Wellbore Ellis had himself been educated at Westminster School, after which he was elected to Christ Church College, Oxford in 1680.[27] On the title page of his published sermon Andrews is referred to as chaplain in ordinary to the second duke of Ormond. This position and the scholarship contained in the sermon indicates that Andrews had received a formal education at university.[28]

Edmund Lewis, who replaced William Andrews as master of the College had also

[23] Venn & Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses Part I, From Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. I, Abbas - Cutts, 31.
[24] Welch, *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster*, 229.
William Andrews, *Christ's Perpetual Presence with the Bishops of His Church. A sermon preached at the consecration of Wellbore Ellis Lord Bishop of Kildare* (Dublin: Edwin Sandys, 1705).
[25] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 106 - 107.
[26] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[27] Welch, *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster*, 184 & 189.
Welbore Ellis was translated to the bishopric of Meath in 1731.
[28] Andrews, *Christ's Perpetual Presence with the Bishops of His Church*, Title Page.

been educated at Westminster School and Christ Church College, Oxford.[29] Although Andrews would have not been at Westminster by the time Lewis had arrived (Andrews left in 1695 and Lewis arrived in 1703), it is not unreasonable to suggest that Lewis was known to Andrews who then recommended him to the second duke of Ormond, the provost of Trinity College and the other visitors of the College. The second duke of Ormond had himself attended Christ Church College, Oxford, albeit for only a year, having matriculated on 4 March 1679 at the age of thirteen. The Duke was awarded an M.A. on 6 September 1680.[30] Another Westminster connection lies in Benjamin Portlock, the second duke of Ormond's private secretary, who had attended Westminster School from 1677 until 1682.[31] Portlock appears to have held a position of influence with the Duke, having been employed from 1693, and accompanying the Duke on various travels, although it is impossible to gauge the role of Portlock in Andrews' appointment as master to the College.[32] One dissenting piece of evidence concerning the likelihood of Andrews having attended Westminster is contained in Barker and Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters* (1928), which listed William Andrews as having been elected to Christ Church College, Oxford and that he then became the rector of Longdon parish in Worcester.[33] Difficulty surrounds any attempt to discover how they came to this conclusion since Barker and Stenning included no list of sources that were used in compiling William Andrews' entry. If it is taken that the William Andrews who was master of the College did indeed attend Westminster and Christ Church College, Oxford before coming to Ireland then according to Foster he was born in 1678, the son of James Andrews of London.[34] After Andrews' appointment to the College in 1702 he was assigned to the vicarage of Clonmult in the diocese of Cloyne from 1708 - 1713 and to the prebendary of Killamery in 1710.[35] On 3 September 1713 he was preferred to the archdeaconry of Ossory and to the rectorship of Clonenagh in the diocese of Leighlin.[36] In his

[29] Ibid., 247.
[30] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. I, Early Series, 222.
[31] Welch, *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster*, 194 &198.
George Fisher Russell Barker & Alan H. Stenning, compliers, *The Record of Old Westminsters. A biographical list of all those who are known to have been educated at Westminster School from the earliest times to 1927*, vol. II, (London: 1928), 754.
Portlock was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1682 where he became a Major Fellow in 1689; he also served as Member of the Irish Parliament from 1703 - 1713.
[32] David W. Hayton, *Dependence, clientage and affinity: the political following of the second Duke of Ormonde*, in *The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610 - 1745*, ed. Barnard & Fenlon, 228.
[33] Barker & Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, vol. I, 19.
[34] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. I, Early Series, 26.
[35] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 316.
[36] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 106 - 107.
Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 306.
The thirty pounds per annum salary was supplemented with a further thirty shillings for books.

appointment to the archdeaconry of Ossory he replaced John Hinton, the son of Edward Hinton the former master of the College.

There is evidence contained in the National Archives of Ireland concerning the second duke of Ormond's interest in the College during Andrews' mastership. In November 1704 the Duke's secretary, Willworth, instructed Alderman Josias Haydock of Kilkenny to arrange for the payment of twenty pounds to a carpenter named Pickering Avery who had completed repairs to the College's portal and for the placing of the Ormond family coat of arms above the repaired portal.[37] This is the only source which demonstrated the Duke's active involvement in the College's operation before his departure to France and his subsequent attainment. There is a manuscript in the National Library of Ireland which refers to the Duke's involvement in establishing a linen weaving school in Kilkenny at some point in 1705 but it is not clear if the Duke's proposals were ever realised.[38]

Andrews's preferment to the archdeaconry and to Clonenagh probably led to his resignation from the position of master of the College. It is possible that the numerous ecclesiastical appointments, actual or honorary, that he had collected since his appointment as master had begun to bear pressure on his ability to dispense his duties. Andrews' holding of such positions would have contravened the Charter and Statutes of the College which instructed that the master and the usher were not to "take upon them any other charge, office or employment, which the visitors shall judge inconsistent with, or prejudicial to the due managery and improvement of the said School, but shall constantly attend and discharge their respective duties"[39] It is unclear whether Andrews' prompting to leave the mastership of the College originated with himself or with the governors and visitors of the College. On 9 December 1709 the lord chancellor, Sir Richard Cox (1650 - 1733), wrote to (possibly) the second duke of Ormond concerning the mastership of William Andrews:

> Your Grace has done a great deal of good to Kilkenny, and indeed the whole Kingdom, in appointing Dr. Andrews to manage that School which piety and generosity of your illustrious ancestors founded in that City: and I doubt not

[37] Letter to Alderman Josias Haydock, Order to pay for repair to the Portal at his Grace's School (Kilkenny College), 15 November, 1704, National Archives of Ireland, Prim Box 1, Haydock, MS PR1/14.

[38] Proposal, by the second duke of Ormond, for the establishment of a linen weaving school in Kilkenny, c.1705, NLI MS 11,070.

[39] cf. Appendix III, 5th Clause.

> but your Grace will give all the encouragement you conventionally can to him . . . perhaps your Grace may never have such another opportunity as now by the vacancy of St Mary's by the promotion of Mr. Baxter. And doubtless the Bishop who is very sensible of the merits of Dr. Andrews will be glad to collate him, if your Grace be pleased to countenance that matter.[40]

The Lord Chancellor's interest in the preferment of William Andrews may not have been solely out of generosity. Richard Cox's son, Michael, had attended the College from 1704 - 1707 under the care of Andrews.[41] In 1707 Andrews secured for Michael Cox a place at Christ Church College, Oxford where he graduated with a B.A. and an M.A. Michael Cox returned to Ireland and became the first of three former pupils to be consecrated as bishop of Ossory. The success of Andrews in securing his son a place at a prestigious Oxford college such as Christ Church could be seen as a possible motivating factor in Richard Cox's enthusiasm for Andrews' progress within the Church of Ireland.

In 1731 Andrews provided thirty pounds per annum for Mr. Oliver Grace to be maintained as the curate in the parish of Kilfane in the diocese of Ossory, with the proviso that Grace was also expected to preach in the parish of Tullowherin every other Sunday and preach six sermons at St. Canice's or St. Mary's in Kilkenny.[42] Oliver Grace was a former pupil of Rev. Edmund Lewis, Andrews' successor as master of the College, having entered into the College on 8 February 1715 at the age of eight.[43] Although Andrews had not taught Oliver Grace he had taught his brother, Robert, who had entered the College in October 1711.[44] William Andrews' benefaction towards Oliver Grace, may have come about from the strong possibility that his son, John, was a friend of Grace. John Andrews would have known Oliver Grace since he had entered the College five months previous to John Andrews, who had entered the College on 29 September 1714. In addition they would have been about the same age as each other. John Andrews and Oliver Grace would have attended the College for nearly three years before John Andrews left the College in 1718 to attend Westminster School, where he was admitted in the June of the same year.[45] Their education would have overlapped for three more years at Trinity College, Dublin.

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[40] Letter possibly to the second duke of Ormond from Richard Cox, 9 December 1709, NLI MS 2473, 257 & 258.
[41] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[42] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 294.
[43] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Barker & Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, vol. I, 19.

Oliver Grace matriculated at Trinity College on 2 June 1724, two years after John Andrews who matriculated on 13 October 1722. John Andrews and Oliver Grace both graduated with a B.A. in the Spring of 1727 and with an M.A. in 1731.[46] John Andrews was appointed as curate, on a salary of forty pounds per annum, to the parish of Burnchurch in the diocese of Ossory in 1731, where he remained until his death in 1746.[47] Oliver Grace was appointed vicar to Aghamacart in the diocese of Ossory in 1736 where he remained until his death in 1753.[48] The close proximity of these two parishes would have meant that their friendship could have been maintained.

William Andrews resigned from the rectorship of Clonenagh in 1731 but maintained his role as the archdeacon of Ossory until his death in 1736. He was buried at St. Mary parish, Kilkenny.[49] Leslie recorded that he predeceased his wife Ann, but gives no other information concerning her.[50] Several notable individuals attended the College during his mastership: Michael Cox (c.1692 - 1779), Caleb Cartwright (1697 - 1763) and Warden Flood (1694 - 1764).

These men entered three very distinct professions: the church, academia and the law respectively. This demonstrated the strong link the College had with Anglo-Irish ascendancy. As the College produced boys educated to a standard which meant that they could not only enter universities such as Trinity College Dublin and Oxford but also the main institutions of the state (on which the Anglo-Irish oligarchy had been built) and rise to the significant positions within them. Some of these men came from privileged backgrounds, such as Cox, but others such as Cartwright rose to their positions by utilising the education that they had received at the College.

Michael Cox (c.1692 - 1779).

Michael Cox was the son of Sir Richard Cox, lord chancellor of Ireland from 1703 - 1711. Cox entered the College, at the age of twelve, on 25 March 1704 and spent three years under the care of William Andrews.[51] On 10 October 1707, after three years at the College, Cox matriculated at Christ Church College, Oxford, after which

[46] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 14 & 337.
[47] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 209.
[48] Ibid., 182.
[49] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 306.
[50] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 107.
[51] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.

he attended Inner Temple, London.[52] He was appointed to the rectorship of Callan in the diocese of Ossory in 1714 where he remained until 1736, and on 29 May 1743 in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin was consecrated as bishop of Ossory. In 1754 he was translated to the archbishopric of Cashel and Emly where he remained until his death on 28 May 1779.[53]

Caleb Cartwright (1697 - 1763).

Caleb Cartwright was born in 1697 in Cork, the son of Charles Cartwright. He entered the College on 18 July 1711 and after five years at the College he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin on 7 July 1716.[54] He graduated from Trinity with B.A. in 1720 and an M.A. in 1723. Cartwright was elected to a fellowship of the College in 1724 and was awarded his B.D. in 1730 and a D.D. in 1735.[55] He was Archbishop King's lecturer in Divinity in 1735 before being appointed to the chair of Natural Philosophy in 1738.[56] During Cartwright's lifetime he held a number of preferments within the Church of Ireland including the prebend of Clonmethan in the diocese of Dublin from 1744 until 1763 and rectorship of Kilmacrennan in the diocese of Raphoe.[57] He died on 23 August 1763.

Warden Flood (1694 - 1764).

Warden Flood was born in 1694, the son of Major Francis Flood of Burnchurch, Co. Kilkenny. He entered the College on 31 July 1706.[58] In 1710 Flood matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin and commenced with a B.A. on 1714.[59] He entered Middle Temple, London in 1716 after which he was called to the Irish Bar in 1720. He held a number of posts such as solicitor general and attorney general, before being appointed lord chief justice of Ireland in 1760, the first Irishman ever to hold the position.[60] He died in 1764, during which year he once took over the role of speaker of the Irish House of Lords.

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[52] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. I, Early Series, 341.
[53] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 28 -29.
[54] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[55] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 139.
[56] Ibid.
Cartwright inherited the chair from another former pupil of the College, Richard Helsham, who was professor of Natural Philosophy at Trinity from 1727 until 1738.
[57] Leslie, *Raphoe Clergy and Parishes*, 97.
[58] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
George Dames Burtchaell, *Genealogical memoirs of the members of Parliament for Kilkenny city and county* (Dublin: 1888) 130 -131.
[59] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 293.
[60] Francis Elrington Ball, *The Judges of Ireland, 1221 - 1921*, vol. II (London: John Murray, 1926), 211.

5.4: Rev. Edmund Lewis (c.1691 - 1743) master of the College from 1714 until 1743.

After the departure of William Andrews to the archdeaconry of Ossory, Edmund Lewis became master of the College in 1714. Andrews' mastership had clearly been a difficult time for the College, as he had added to his list of ecclesiastical preferments while still undertaking his responsibilities as master. These lessons were not addressed by the governors of the College and Lewis continued the tradition of numerous sinecures being awarded to the master of the College as a supplement to his income. Although a limited amount of work would have been involved in these appointments, they provided an unhelpful distraction to the master.

Edmund Lewis had been born in Middlesex c.1691, the son of Francis Lewis of London.[61] He was educated at Westminster School where he was a Queen's Scholar and Captain of House.[62] He was elected to Christ Church College, Oxford in 1706 and graduated with a B.A. in 1710 and an M.A. in 1713.[63] During the following year on 17 June, he was appointed as the master of the College at the age of twenty-two by a letter patent from the second duke of Ormond.[64] Apart from his possible Westminster connection with William Andrews, Lewis' appointment may well have been influenced by his attendance at Christ Church College, Oxford. The governor, the second duke Ormond, and one of the visitors of the College, Thomas Vesey (?1668 - 1730) the bishop of Ossory from 1712 until 1730, had both attended Christ Church College.[65] Although it is again impossible to quantify the importance of Lewis' background in relation to his appointment it must be considered as a possible contributing factor. In 1719, five years after his appointment to the mastership he was preferred to the prebendary of Blackrath in the diocese of Ossory.[66] In 1728 Lewis added the rectorship of Castlecomer and Kilmocar, also in the diocese of Ossory.[67] The visitation of Edward Tennison (1673 - 1735), bishop of Ossory from 1731 until 1735, in 1731 to Castlecomer noted that the rector, Mr. Lewis "resides in Kilkenny in his School."[68] After he left the rectorship of Castlecomer and Kilmocar

[61] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. III, Early Series, 906.
Both Dobbs and Browne refer to him as Edward Lewis.
[62] Welch, *The list of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster*, 247.
[63] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. III, Early Series, 906.
[64] Letters Patent for the Appointment of Edmund Lewis to the mastership of the Kilkenny School, 17 June, 1714, TCD MUN/P/1/650.
[65] Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, vol. I, Early Series, 222. & vol. IV, Early Series, 1544.
[66] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 115.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid, 226.

Lewis' last ecclesiastical appointment was to the prebendary of Modeligo in the diocese of Lismore in 1742.[69] At some point Lewis married the second daughter of the Rev. Heighes Woodforde, the vicar of Epsom in Surrey.[70] He died in 1743 and was buried at St. Canice's Cathedral.[71] Lewis's mastership coincided with the lapse in the recording of the College register, whose last entry was on 6 August 1716 and remained untouched until the Head mastership of Thomas Hewetson in 1743 when the register was re-established. It is not clear how Lewis managed to avoid the obligation of the keeping of the register, since it was a key clause in the Charter and Statutes of the College.[72] It is possible that Lewis felt less inclined to follow the Charter and Statutes of the College since other clauses such as the yearly visitation had not been undertaken. An interesting list of parishes whose tithes were held for the College during the Headship of Edmund Lewis is contained in Ledwich's *The Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny* (1786):

> By return of the Schoolmaster, Mr. Lewis, November the 16th 1716, the tithes appropriated to the school were set and produced as follows:
>
> | | *l.* | *s.* | *d.* |
> |---|---|---|---|
> | Parishes of Bruor and Templemore set to Mr. John Carden for - | 76 | 0 | 0 |
> | Parishes of Kells, Donoughmore and Kilmocar, Co. Kilkenny, to Mr. Richard Power for - | 72 | 0 | 0 |
> | Parishes of Kells to Mr. Patrick Walsh, Mr. William Belcher, Toby Den, James Archdekin, Arthur Izard, Thomas Dyer and William Tucker, for - | 28 | 0 | 0 |
> | Parishes of Donoughmore to Mr. Toby Purcell, for - | 17 | 10 | 0 |
> | Parishes of Kilmocar to Mark Rudkins, for - | 18 | 10 | 0[73] |

5.5: The Kilkenny Diocesan School c.1731 - c.1773.

During the Head mastership of Edward Lewis, the Kilkenny Diocesan School was revived and evolved into an institution which replicated to a certain extent the educational role performed by the College.

The impetus to establish diocesan schools originally stemmed from the Elizabethan

[69] Rennison, *Succession Lists Diocese of Waterford and Lismore*, 70.
[70] Barker & Stenning, *The Record of Old Westminsters*, vol. II, 575.
[71] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. I, 200.
Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 115.
[72] cf. Appendix III, 18th Clause.
[73] Ledwich, *The History and Antiquities of Irishtown and Kilkenny*, 524.

education act of 1570.[74] Due to the Church of Ireland's unenthusiastic response to their running costs only a small number of these schools actually came into being. Although the schools were encouraged in several pieces of legislation such as the act to Restrain Foreign Education of 1695 their number stayed low.[75] Akenson noted in *The Irish Educational Experiment* that the diocesan schools taught higher subjects along with elementary literacy and were mainly attended by the sons of the Protestant middle classes.[76] In 1791 the *Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry* noted that of the thirty-four dioceses only eighteen had schools which educated a total of just three hundred and twenty-four students.[77] A diocesan school was established in Kilkenny c.1731 and although only a limited amount of information is known about the school it is clear that it had several links with the College. The school's first recorded master, James Doggerall (c.1679 - c.1739), was appointed c.1731. Doggerall was the son of John Doggerall of Kilkenny and had been a former pupil of Edward Hinton.[78] James Doggerall entered the College on 12 January 1696 at the age of seventeen after which he was educated at Trinity College, Dublin.[79] He entered Trinity at the age of twenty and graduated with a B.A. in the Spring of 1703 and with an LL.B. and an LL.D. in the Summer of 1712.[80] Dr. Doggerall's educational achievements were all the more impressive since he is recorded in the Admission Register of Trinity College, Dublin as being blind.[81] His blindness probably also explains the relatively late age at which he entered formal education. Dobbs, in his *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College* (1938), suggested that Dr. Doggerall prepared boys for university entrance and that the school became a rival to the College.[82] The Admission Register of Trinity College, Dublin gives only limited credence to Dobbs' supposition. Only three boys educated by Dr. Doggerall are recorded to have enter during the eight years that he was master at the diocesan school: James Eyre entered in 1732 at the age of seventeen, Gilbert Jackson entered in 1733 at the age of nineteen and William Cockburn entered in 1739 at the age of eighteen.[83] During the same period fifteen

[74] *An Act for the Erection of Free Schools in Ireland*, 12 Elizabeth, c.1.
cf. Chapter One, 1.2: The Educational Context.
[75] *An Act to Restrain Foreign Education*, 7 William III, c. 4.
cf. Chapter One, 1.2: The Educational Context.
[76] Akenson, *The Irish Educational Experiment*, 27.
[77] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791)*, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII.
[78] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 235.
[79] Entrance and Leaving Book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[80] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 235.
[81] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 6.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Admission Register, Trinity College, Dublin 1725-58, TCD MUN V/23/3.

boys who had been educated by Edmund Lewis entered Trinity College.[84] The age of the boys educated by Dr. Doggerall entering Trinity suggests that they needed several years more tuition than other boys who were entering Trinity College mostly at the age of sixteen or younger. This indicates that the academic ability of most of Dr. Doggerall's pupils was some-what below that available to Edmund Lewis the master of the College. All three boys were registered as sizar, the lowest rank of entry after fellow commoner and pensioner, indicating that they were largely from impoverished backgrounds. Although there is no record of Gilbert Jackson graduating from Trinity College, both James Eyre and William Cockborn appear to have succeeded in their studies. James Eyre was elected to a scholarship in 1734 and graduated with a B.A. in 1736 and in 1750 he was awarded an LL.B. and an LL.D. by Trinity College.[85] William Cockburn was elected to a scholarship in 1742 and graduated with a B.A. in 1743 and in 1747 he was awarded an LL.B. and an LL.D. in 1749.[86] After holding numerous preferments within the Church of Ireland Cockburn was appointed as archdeacon of Ossory in 1762, a position he held until his death in 1776.[87] After Doggerall's death in 1739 Warren Sandforde replaced him until 1758 when Dr. Michael Clancy, a medical doctor, became the master of the diocesan school.[88] Clancy was a friend and correspondent of both Jonathan Swift and the political theorist Charles Louis de Secondat, the baron de Montesquieu (1689 - 1755).[89] Although Leslie in *Ossory, Clergy and Parishes* (1933) recorded that Clancy left the position in 1779, Neely in *Kilkenny: An Urban History* (1989) that the school only survived until 1773 and that the thirty-six pounds per annum salary was transferred to Dr. Richard Pack shortly before his appointment as the head master of the College in 1773.[90]

5.6: The attainment of the second Duke of Ormond in 1715 and the placing of the governorship of the College in the hands of the provost of Trinity College, Dublin.

Some historians have referred to the start of the mastership of Edward Lewis as the time when the governance of the College was transferred effectively to the provost of Trinity College, Dublin. The governor of the College, the second duke of Ormond,

[84] Ibid.
[85] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 270.
[86] Ibid., 160.
Cockburn is sometimes recorded as Cockbourne.
[87] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 107.
[88] Ibid., 376.
[89] Ibid.
Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 240.
[90] Ibid.

was attained in 1715 and thus invoked the second clause of the Charter and Statutes of the College which placed the government of the College in the hands of Trinity College.[91] The existence of the Letters Patent from a member of the Ormond family appointing Lewis' successor, Thomas Hewetson, as master has questioned the depth or finality of the cessation of the Ormond family's involvement in the governance of the College.[92] The second duke of Ormond had continually struggled to emulate the political stature and achievements of his grandfather, the first duke of Ormond.[93] At the coronation of William and Mary in February 1689 the second duke had been the lord high constable, and during the next year the Duke had been an important member of the Williamite forces that had regained Ireland from Jacobite forces.[94] The Duke continued to be in royal service for the following twenty years but during the last stages of Queen Anne's reign the Duke's loyalty to the settlement made in 1689 began to falter. During the months after Queen Anne's death in 1714 he was threatened by parliament with impeachment on a charge of treason. In August 1715 he fled to be with his Jacobite cohorts in France rather than face his impending trial. The Duke's English titles and estates were awarded to the crown and his Irish lands were confiscated by the Irish parliament. He was part of an unsuccessful attempt to instigate a Jacobite insurrection in western England in 1715 and died in 1745 in exile. He was buried beside his grandfather in Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey. On the death of the Duke the headship of the Butler family passed to his brother, Charles, earl of Arran.

The earl of Arran signed the Letters Patent which appointed a new head master to the College in August 1743.[95] This involvement, by the earl of Arran, in the appointment of the new head master raises the question as to whether there had been a cessation of the role of the Ormond family in the running of the College when the Duke became attained in 1715. It is unclear to what extent the Earl influenced the appointment of the new head master or whether the Earl was merely acting in an official capacity after the provost of Trinity College, Dublin had made his selection. The earl of Arran was the youngest grandson of the first duke of

[91] cf. Appendix III, 2nd Clause.

[92] This matter is discussed in further detail in the section concerning the Head mastership of Thomas Hewetson.

[93] James Camlin Beckett, *The Cavalier duke, a life of James Butler, 1st Duke of Ormond, 1610 - 1688* (Belfast: Pretani Press, 1990), 147.

[94] The lord high constable was the position awarded to a senior peer of the realm at a coronation of a monarch.

[95] Letters Patent Appointing Rev. Thomas Hewetson as master of His Grace's School in Kilkenny, 5 August 1743, TCD MUN P/1/563.

Ormond and styles himself in the Letters Patent as "Patron and governor of the School in Kilkenny founded by our grandfather"[96] The Earl's reference to "our grandfather" possibly indicated that the duke of Ormond, who at the time of the Letters Patent was in exile in Avignon, France, was still regarded by the Earl as a symbolic part of the governance of the College. No contemporary evidence exists to shed light on the question of the governance of the College and the exact role of the Ormond family in the affairs of the College in the aftermath of the attainment of the second duke of Ormond.

5.7: The Rev. Dr. Thomas Hewetson (1713 - 1782), head master of the College from 1743 to 1773.[97]

Thomas Hewetson, was born in Carlow in 1713, the fourth son of Thomas Hewetson and was thus the first Irishman since the re-establishment of the College c.1666 to serve as its master. He was educated in Carlow under Dr. Crump and entered Trinity College, Dublin on 29 August 1731 at the age of eighteen.[98] He was elected to a scholarship in 1734 and commenced with a B.A. in 1736 and an M.A. in 1739.[99] Two years after his appointment to the Head mastership of the College in 1745 he was awarded with an LL.B. and an LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin.[100] Hewetson appears to have arranged for several members of his family to receive their education under him at the College, including his brother Christopher's son, also Christopher, who entered the College on 2 September 1745.[101] Unlike his predecessors it was twenty-four years after his arrival at the College before Hewetson was awarded his first ecclesiastical preferment. This absence of preferment may have been at the behest of the visitors and governors since the College may have in some way suffered at the hands of Andrews and Lewis, who would have been distracted by numerous ecclesiastical positions within the Church of Ireland. Hewetson was appointed as prebendary of Cloneamery in the diocese of Ossory in 1768 and rector of Clonmore in 1769, but both appointments seem to have been only temporary since it is

[96] Ibid.

[97] Since Hewetson was the first master recorded as having an usher his title is thus recognised as Head master.

[98] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 393.
Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 127.
Dr. Crump was possibly a Westerna Crump who had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin.

[99] John Hewetson "The Hewetson's of The County Kilkenny," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. XXXIX, 1909, part IV, 369 - 392.
On 6 October 1735 he was elected a Freeman of the Corporation of Gowran, Co. Kilkenny by the Portreeve, Burgesses and Freemen of the Corporation.

[100] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 127.

[101] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.

recorded that by 1770 he had been replaced in both roles.[102] In 1770 he was appointed to the prebendary of Killardriffe in the diocese of Cashel and from 1771 until 1772 he held the prebendary of Blackrath before being appointed to the vicarage and perpetual curacy of Claragh and St. John's, Kilkenny in 1772.[103] Hewetson also held the prebend of Aghour in the diocese of Ossory from 1772 until 1782.[104]

In 1745 Dobbs recorded that Richard Baldwin, provost of Trinity College and former pupil of the College made a visitation of the College in the company of the another former pupil, the bishop of Ossory, Michael Cox.[105] The lack of information concerning what should have been annual visitations points to a lapse in the regularity of such visits. The eagerness of the visitors who were named in the Charter and Statutes of the College may have dissipated after the demise of the importance of the Ormond family, with the role of the visitors limited to the assistance to the provost of Trinity in the selection of Head masters. A contemporary account of the College was recorded by Richard Pococke, the future bishop of Ossory and subsequently Meath, in his journal of his 1752 tour of Ireland, who remarked that in Kilkenny:

> there is a free school . . . with an endowment, if I mistake not of £120 a year, a house and a pleasant meadow on the river; and it is the only one in Ireland that has some face of a publick school, but the prices are risen so high, that it is feared it will fall in its credit.[106]

In 1773 Hewetson resigned from the Head mastership of the College to become the vicar of Kilbrin, near Mallow, in the diocese of Cloyne on 6 March of the same year.[107] He was collated to the prebendary of Killenemor in the diocese of Cloyne on 8 May 1776.[108] Hewetson was a justice of the peace and was involved in the administration of the new test oath of allegiance to George III to twenty citizens of Freshford, Co. Kilkenny on 7 December 1775.[109] Hewetson died unmarried and

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[102] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 127.
[103] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. I, 60.
Hewetson "The Hewetson's of The County Kilkenny," 392.
[104] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 127.
Aghour is sometimes recorded as Aghoure.
[105] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 13.
[106] Richard Pococke, *Pococke's Tour in Ireland in 1752. Edited, with an introduction and notes, by G. T. Stokes* (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis, 1891), 128.
[107] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. I, 332.
Brady, *Clerical and Parochial Record of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, vol. II, 266 & 246.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Hewetson "The Hewetson's of The County Kilkenny," 391.

intestate at Wellbrook, near Freshford on 14 April, 1782.[110]

During Thomas Hewetson's Head mastership he was assisted by four ushers: William Austin, John Miller, Thomas Sandiford and Laurence Cleare. Two of the ushers, Cleare and Austin, were former pupils of the College, which points to a policy of employing former students to assist them in their careers, a practice which is still maintained today in many boarding schools. Two of the ushers, Austin and Sandiford, are recorded as having attended university, this background would have been beneficial to the College since the pupils would have had an assistant master familiar with the standards required for entrance to university.

Leslie recorded in *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (1933) that in 1748 a William Austin was appointed usher.[111] Although the College would have had, over the years, several ushers assisting the master in his duties, as allowed for in the Charter and Statutes of the College, William Austin is the first for whom any information has been available. Austin remained in assistance to Hewetson for a year before resigning. William Austin fulfilled the criteria set out in the Charter and Statutes that an usher was to be a "Bachelor of arts at least in one (of) the universities of England or Ireland" since he had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin where he had been awarded a B.A. in 1736. Austin had been born in Kilkenny and had been a former pupil of the College, having been educated there under Edmund Lewis.[112] It is unclear to what appointment Austin moved directly after his year as the usher of the College but Leslie in *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* noted that he was appointed curate of Inchicolaghalan in the diocese of Ossory, in 1758. In 1762 Austin became curate of St. John's, Claragh, St. Mary's and Blackrath in the diocese of Ossory before becoming vicar of the same parish in 1772.[113] William Austin died at Bath, Avon in 1782. Austin was replaced as usher in 1749 by a John Miller who remained until 1763.[114] No information regarding John Miller could be located in any biographical lists of Church of Ireland or Trinity College, Dublin but it is clear that he provided a certain amount of continuity, which would have been a benefit to both Hewetson and the students of the College throughout his fourteen years. Miller was replaced in 1763 by Thomas Sandiford: although he is not included in Leslie or Cotton a Thomas

[110] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 127.
[111] Ibid., 376.
[112] cf. Appendix III, 4th Clause.
Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 28.
[113] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 273 & 350.
[114] Ibid., 354.

Sandiford is listed as having entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1759 and graduated in 1763 having been formerly educated by the Rev. Richard Norris of Drogheda.[115] Although it is impossible to say for certain that the Sandiford that was listed in Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, was the Sandiford who became usher of the College in 1763, it would not be an implausible suggestion. Thomas Sandiford was in turn replaced by Laurence Cleare in 1766.[116] It is uncertain when Cleare was replaced but it is not improbable to assume that he departed at the same time as Hewetson in 1773. Laurence Cleare was most probably the Laurence Cleare that had attended the College under Thomas Hewetson, having entered on 7 July 1755, aged fifteen, the son of James Cleare.[117]

5.8: The Pococke School, Kilkenny c.1762 - 1902.

The Pococke School, named after Richard Pococke (1704 - 1765) bishop of Ossory, was established first as a proselytising school for Roman Catholics before evolving into an intermediate school for the sons of the Protestant middle classes and eventually amalgamating with the College in 1902.

Richard Pococke had been born in 1704 the son of Richard Pococke, headmaster of King Edward VI Free Grammar School in Southampton, Hampshire from 1691 until 1710. After attending his father's school Pococke entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford where he graduated with a B.A. in 1725, B.C.L. in 1731 and D.C.L. in 1733.[118] After leaving Oxford he secured some minor preferments within the Church of Ireland before embarking on a grand tour of Europe, Northern Africa and the Middle East before returning to Ireland in 1742. These positions within the Church were secured on his behalf by his uncle, Thomas Milles, bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1708 until 1740, who desired Pococke to have a reasonable income by which to finance his travels and education.[119] He was appointed to the praecentorship of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore in 1744 and then to the archdeaconry of Dublin in 1745 during which time he travelled through-out the British Isles. Pococke was then appointed to the bishopric of Ossory in 1756. Leslie in *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* noted that during Pococke's tenure as bishop "he restored and embellished the cathedral; procured the rebuilding of several churches in his diocese; was a promoter

[115] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 273.
[116] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 376.
[117] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[118] Stephen & Lee ed., *DNB*, vol. XVI, Pocock - Robins, 12 - 14.
[119] James Hartin "Richard Pococke, Bishop of Ossory," *Journal of the Butler Society*, vol. 2, no. 3 (1984): 339 - 346.

of many schemes of charity, and a munificent benefactor of the city of Kilkenny."[120] Although previous bishops had attempted some repairs to the cathedral church of St. Canice's, the building at that time was still in a ruinous state as a result of the activities of Cromwell's army. Soon after his arrival Pococke set about zealously restoring the cathedral to a classical design.[121] Pococke was translated to the bishopric of Meath in 1765 but died only a few months later of a stroke. He was buried at the bishop's palace, Ardbraccan, Co. Meath.[122] At some stage during his tenure as archdeacon of Dublin, Pococke became involved with *The Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland*. This connection developed into an interest in the provision of education which came to fruition in the establishment of a linen weaving school at Lintown near Kilkenny c.1762. His will of 1765 named his sister and his cousin as the chief beneficiaries of his estate and then detailed how this foundation, which was to be placed under the auspices of the Incorporated Society, was to be developed:

> and then I do leave all my Estate real and personal for founding a school for Papist boys from twelve to sixteen years old, who shall become Protestants, and be bred to linen weaving, and be instructed in the principles of the Protestant Religion; said boys not to have been at any school before of any public legal foundation and particularly in none of the charter schools; to be apprenticed to the society, after they are fourteen years old, for seven years, desiring that my manufactory house at Lintown, Kilkenny, if not disposed of by me, be applied for that use.[123]

The will also awarded the Incorporated Society a considerable amount of property to endow the school and develop its twofold purpose, firstly as an industrial school and secondly as a school for the proselytising of Roman Catholic boys.[124] Pococke's sister and cousin both died during the 1770s which meant that under his will the Incorporated Society became entitled to the entire bequest. The Lintown school struggled and in 1778 it was taken over by the Incorporated Society who were also

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[120] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 30.
[121] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 286.
Hartin "Richard Pococke, Bishop of Ossory," 340.
[122] Ibid., 13.
[123] *Third Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of all Schools on Public or Charitable Foundations in Ireland*, 1808. Appendix, 30.
[124] Michael Quane "Pococke School, Kilkenny," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. LXXX (1950): 43.

responsible for the Kilkenny Charter School.[125] This new situation was not a success, and according to the Education Commissioners of 1808 the school continued to have difficulty in remaining true to Bishop Pococke's intended purposes. The boys entered the school at the age of twelve by which stage attempts to convert them to Protestantism were ineffective.[126] The weaving school at Lintown fell into such a state of decay that all of the founder's aims became increasingly unachievable. In 1817 the Incorporated Society decided to amalgamate the two schools on the site of the Charter School at Brownstown, a mile outside the city. The newly amalgamated school attempted to continue along the lines envisaged by both Pococke and the Incorporated Society but in 1835 the direction of the school changed radically. The school became an intermediate school for the education of Protestants students with all forms of weaving being removed from the curriculum. In doing so the school was now totally diametric to the original aims of Richard Pococke, instead of tending practically to the needs of the Roman Catholic working classes the school now served the needs of the Protestant establishment. As a result of such a development the Pococke School effectively became a rival to the College. The legality of this decision seems not to have caused much thought for the Incorporated Society or for the Educational Commissioners who inspected the endowments of the Pococke School in subsequent years. The *Endowed School Commission* of 1857 - 58 who visited the school and grudgingly accepted the Incorporated Society's decision:

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[125] The Charter of the *Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland,* granted by George II in February 1733, allowed for the establishment of schools, funded mainly by the crown, parliamentary grants, which would educate "the children of the popish and other poor natives" in the English tongue and the catechism of the Church of Ireland. Children from the age of six boarded and were prepared for work on farms, linen factories and in domestic service. After they had completed training the children were apprenticed to Protestant masters. The schools were usually built on land granted in perpetuity by a local landlord along with other land which was leased with an approbatory rent. Before the establishment of a charter school, Kilkenny had previously had a charity school founded by Sir Thomas Vesey, bishop of Ossory, in 1717. Michael Quane in his article on the Pococke School, noted the school had been supported by an annual subscription of £56, of which Bishop Vesey contributed £40. The charity school appears to have been suppressed by the advent of the Charter School. A report by Michael Cox, the bishop of Ossory, which detailed the progress of the Kilkenny Charter School was published in 1748. Cox noted that the forty boys attended the school and had amongst other things prepared land for two acres of potatoes and spun and knitted eighty pairs of socks. A report completed by the prison reformer John Howard and published in 1784, concluded that the Irish Charter Schools were a disgrace and had effectively encouraged Roman Catholicism instead of Protestantism. This opinion was confirmed by the Report of the 1791 *Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry* which referred to the "wretched condition" that the schools were considered to be in. In 1778 the Incorporated Society had taken over the running of the Pococke's Linen manufacturing school at Lintown and in 1817 the Brownstown school was closed with the Charter School being transferred to Lintown. In 1835 after several years of diminishing numbers the Incorporated Society ceased to operate the Brownstown school as a Charter School and the endowment was diverted to create an intermediate school for the education of Protestants.

[126] *Third Report of the Commissioners for inquiring into the State of all Schools on Public or Charitable Foundations in Ireland,* 1808, Appendix No. 8.

> The history of the Incorporated Society's schools discloses a remarkable change in the application of the funds of the charity: the persons intended to be benefited being no longer of the same religion as that chiefly contemplated by the Charter, nor receiving the industrial instruction prescribed by it. The Society, however, took the opinion of counsel in 1839 by whom they were advised that these changes were legal.[127]

The new school took in both boys who were elected foundation scholars and those who were private pupils of the master.[128] The curriculum included Mathematics, English, Scripture and the Prayer Book while other subjects were considered as "extras". In 1879 the *Endowed School Commissioners* inspected the school and recorded that:

> a high class English and mathematical education is given. From the master's return it appeared that there were sixty-five pupils on the roll, all boarders and all Protestants. Twenty-six were foundation free scholars. The charge for paying boarders was £21 per annum. Mr. Moore found fifty-three boarders at the school: the answering was very credible, and the school kept in perfect repair. In his general report he remarks that the non-foundation boys were backward as compared with the foundation scholars.[129]

The school was eventually amalgamated with the College in May 1903 as a result of a new scheme that had been drawn up by the *Educational Endowment Commissioners.*[130] Mr. John Blair Browne was master of the school from 1859 until the school's closure in 1903. Dobbs, relying on the memories of one of Browne's former pupils, the Church of Ireland chronicler, J. B. Leslie, recounted that Browne was "a man of imposing presence and strong personality; though sparing in the use of the cane, he inspired awe in his pupils. He devoted much attention to religious instruction."[131] Other eminent individuals that received their education at Pococke's School, included Dean Carmody, Dean Talbot of Cashel, Dean Leslie of Lismore, John Hobson the headmaster of Cork Grammar School and George Smith, the secretary of the Great Southern Railways.[132]

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[127] *Endowed Commissioners Report;* (Kildare), 1857 - 58, (2336 - 11) XXII, 94 & 97.
[128] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 9.
[129] *Educational Endowments Commissioners;* (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831) XXXV, 95.
[130] The scheme may have been arranged previous to this date and introduced on the ocassion of Blair Browne's retirement in 1903.
[131] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 9.
[132] Ibid., 9 & 10.

5.9: The Rev. Dr. Richard Pack (c.1730 - 1781), head master of the College from 1773 to 1781.

Richard Pack was the first head master in the College's history to have been a former pupil of the College, having been educated by Thomas Hewetson in the 1740s, and the second Irishman to hold the position.[133] Pack's Head mastership is recorded as not being successful by several sources and although the problems behind failings are unclear he managed to awake the governors of the College to take more interest in the running of the College. This ultimately led to the governors making the decision to appoint a more capable individual after Pack's death in 1781. Richard Pack was born the son of Thomas Pack of Ballynakill, Queen's County (later Co. Laois). Richard's elder brother, Thomas, was not educated at the College (Burtchaell & Sadleir, in *Alumni Dublinenses*, indicated that he was entered at Trinity College, Dublin as the former pupil of Matthew Towers of Portarlington, Queen's County, (later Co. Laois),[134] He became the dean of Ossory and was the father of one of the College's most famous old boys, Denis Pack (c.1772 - 1823) who was one of Wellington's generals at the battle of Waterloo. Richard Pack entered Trinity College, Dublin from the College on 7 June 1748. At Trinity he became a scholar in 1750 and in 1752 he was awarded his B.A. and commenced with an M.A. in 1773.[135] In 1771 Richard Pack was appointed treasurer of Leighlin, a position he held until a couple of months before his death in 1781.[136] On 4 June 1773 he was appointed head master of the College, a position he would hold until his death at the start of 1781. One year after his appointment to the Head mastership of the College in 1774 he was awarded with an LL.B and an LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin.[137] Pack was keen that the public became aware of his pupils' successes. An advertisement in a March edition of *Finn's Leinster Journal* announced that after the quarterly examinations several boys at the College had obtained "premiums".[138] Those listed as winners included: Helsham, Philips, Pack, Primus, Blunt, Stewart, Flood, Ponsonby, Cramer and Neville.[139] It is unclear what award was given in connection with the premium. Dobbs in *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College* (1938) stated that there was evidence to suggest that the College had suffered under the care of Richard Pack.[140] Although

[133] Ibid.
[134] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 649.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 396.
[137] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 649.
[138] *Finns Leinster Journal*, 1782, no.18.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 7.

Dobbs does not identify his source, it is was probably the *Commissioners of the Irish Education Report* (1791) who noted in 1788 that the College had "fallen in its character in the time of the late master [Dr. Richard Pack]."[141]

5.10: Rev. Dr. John Ellison (d.1809), head master of the College from 1781 until 1793.

John Ellison was appointed to the Head mastership by the board of Trinity College, Dublin from the fellowship he held at Trinity, with the specific remit of reviving the College. Ellison repaid the trust placed in him and was responsible for the obtaining a grant from the Irish Parliament, to construct a new building for the College. The securing of this grant was possibly the most important development in the College's history since the decision by Edward Hinton to return to the College in the aftermath of the Williamite victory at the Boyne in 1690. The new purpose built structure, which was the home of the College until the 1990s, ensured the College was given a secure foundation on which it would come to rely during the lean times of the nineteenth century. Ellison also had the skills necessary to ensure that the College regained its reputation as a first class school.

Little is clear about John Ellison's early life and education but it is known that he entered Trinity College, Dublin in 1760.[142] At Trinity he was elected to a scholarship in 1762 and was awarded a B.A. in 1764. He appears to have enjoyed a successful academic career at Trinity; after he was elected a fellow in 1767 he was awarded a B.D. in 1776 and a D.D. in 1779.[143] On 13 April 1781 John Ellison was put forward by the visitors of the College to the provost of Trinity College, Dublin as a suitable candidate to fill the position of head master of the College, the vacancy having arisen on the death of Richard Pack, who had died in possession of the Head mastership. The visitors, John Hely-Hutchinson (1724 - 1794), provost of Trinity College, Dublin, John Hothman (1735 - 1795), bishop of Ossory, and Joseph Deane Bourke (1736 - 1794), bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, deemed Ellison to be "able and sufficient both for religion learning and manners" for the task.[144] The letters patent for Ellison's

[141] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791), in report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds and actual conditions of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland;* 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII. part iii. 362.

[142] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 263.
No information is contained in the matriculation records of Trinity College, Dublin regarding who had prepared Ellison for his entrance into Trinity.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Letter of Recommendation of John Ellison for Appointment to the Head mastership of the Kilkenny School, 13 April 1781, TCD MUN/P/1/844.

appointment were duly issued by the provost of Trinity College eight days later on 21 April, several senior fellows, including William Clement and Andrew Murray, witnessing the signing of the patent.[145] Ellison would have been well known to Hely-Hutchinson, Hothman and Deane Bourke, through his twenty-one years at Trinity as both a student and a fellow. His familiarity with the visitors of the College would have been the main factor behind his appointment. In accepting the position at Kilkenny Ellison resigned his fellowship at Trinity and gave up what appeared to have been a successful career in the university. His appointment as head master of the College in 1781 was followed with his preferment to the perpetual curacy of St. Mary's, Kilkenny which he held for a year.[146] From 1784 until 1795 he held the rectorship of Cleenish in the diocese of Clogher.[147] Dobbs in *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College* (1938) quoted from an unidentified source that the cost of board and tuition at the start of Ellison's Head mastership was thirty guineas, an entrance charge of ten guineas.[148] Ellison resigned as head master in 1793 to become rector of Conwall in the diocese of Raphoe.[149] He remained at Conwall until his death in February 1809. Ellison had three sons, John, Thomas and Frederick, all of whom were educated by his successor, the Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack, at the College and then subsequently at Trinity College, Dublin. Although no information concerning Frederick's subsequent career appears to exist, information pertaining to John and Thomas is available. Both John and Thomas became scholars at Trinity and entered into the Church of Ireland, John eventually became prebend of Killymard in the diocese of Raphoe and Thomas became the prebend of Killamery in the diocese of Ossory.[150]

After his arrival Ellison set about overseeing the building of a new school house for the College, since the old College buildings had been deemed ruinous. Ellison petitioned the Irish Parliament for aid to rebuild the College utilising every conceivable argument to gain a favourable response:

> A Petition of the Reverend *John Ellison*, D.D. master of the Grammar School of *Kilkenny*, was presented to the House, and read, letting forth, That the Grammar School of *Kilkenny*, founded by his Grace, *James* Duke of *Ormond*,

[145] Letters Patent for the Appointment of John Ellison to the Head mastership of the Kilkenny School, 21 April 1781, TCD MUN/P/1/841.
[146] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 353.
[147] Leslie, *Clogher Clergy and Parishes*, 133.
[148] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 7.
[149] Leslie, *Raphoe Clergy and Parishes*, 56.
[150] Leslie, *Clogher Clergy and Parishes*, 133.

> has ever been held in Repute, and that many of the first and greatest Men which this Kingdom has produced, have been educated at the said School; that said School is, by the Will of the Founder, regulated by a body of Statutes, and subject to the Visitation of the Right Reverend the Bishops of *Ossory*, and *Leighlin* and *Ferns*, and the Provost of *Trinity* College, and is, as the Petitioner is informed, the only endowed School in the Province of *Leinster*; that the Patronage of the said School is now in the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of *Trinity* College, *Dublin*, in consequence of the failure of the Male Issue of the Founder, and that of Course said School will for the future be under the immediate Inspection and Superintendence of that learned Body; that the Petitioner imagining that this Circumstance, aided by his own Care and Assiduity, could not fail to raise the Reputation and Fame of said School, flattered himself with the Hopes of being able to establish it, as nearly as Circumstances would admit, upon the Footing of the great Schools of *England*; that induced by these Hopes, he did in *May* last, resign his Fellowship in *Trinity* College, which he enjoyed fifteen Years, in order to accept of the Place of master of the said School, which about that Time became vacant.[151]

In the initial part of the petition Ellison pointed to the reputation of the College as the school at which many members of the government had been educated. This was included as a clear attempt to make the petition out as a chance for the Irish Parliament to repay a debt that many of its number owed to the College. By listing the various august institutions involved with the College Ellison promoted the College as part of the Protestant ascendancy and therefore something to be preserved. He also noted the state of the management of the College and how it represented the wishes of an esteemed member of the Irish nobility. Ellison gave the Irish Parliament a chance, by helping the College and those who had been charged with its governance after the failure of the Ormond lineage, and to become part of that heritage. Lastly Ellison points to his own efforts to revive the College, which he states have been of a great personal cost to himself, and to the potential reward for the parliament which lie in the establishment of a school in Ireland which could compete with the great schools of England. Ellison's petition continued:

> that the Petitioner, on his Arrival at *Kilkenny* found the School House, commonly called the College, in most ruinous Condition; that the Petitioner had said College examined by Workman and Builders of Skill and Integrity, who have reported it to be not only ruinous, but absolutely incapable of being repaired; that the ruinous State of the said College is also known to many Members of Parliament to whom the Petitioner had an Opportunity of

[151] *The Irish House of Commons Journal*, vol. X, 6 November 1781, 227.

> shewing it last Summer; that the Funds of the Institution are entirely inadequate to the Expense which would attend the rebuilding of the said College, the Endowment being but 140 *l. per Annum*, and therefore, that this ancient and useful Institution must cease, and the Petitioner's Hopes be altogether frustrated, unless said College rebuilt by public bounty; that as nothing can be of greater Importance to the Kingdom than the Education of its Youth, the Petitioner hopes that the House will consider the rebuilding said College, as a national Object: And therefore praying such Aid as to the House shall seem meet. *Ordered*, That the said Petition be referred to a committee. And a Committee was appointed of Mr. *Bushe*, and Mr. *Morres*, and others, or any three or more of them, and they are to meet tomorrow Morning, nine of the Clock, in the Speaker's Chamber.[152]

Ellison points to the ruinous and unrepairable nature of the College which he inherited from the previous head master and also stated that there were several members of the parliament who could verify what he was saying. Ellison ended his petition by reminding parliament about the limited size of the College's endowment and the importance of investment in such a venture for the youth of the nation.

The two men who had been instructed to form a committee, Mr. Bushe and Mr. Morres, had significant connections with Kilkenny. Gervase-Parker Bushe had been elected as one of the Members of Parliament for Kilkenny City in 1778, and was also the brother-in-law of the greatest political orator of the time Henry Grattan (1746 – 1820).[153] Lodge-Evans Morres (b.1747) was M.P. for Bandonbridge, Co. Cork during the 1778 - 83 Parliament, having formerly served as the M.P. for Inistiogue, Co. Kilkenny from 1768 until 1778.[154] Bushe's selection was fortunate since he had attended the College, having entered it on 6 August 1759 at the age of fourteen and would have had a sympathetic ear to the petition.[155] These two men met on 7 November 1781 and decided that Ellison's petition was worthy of the support of Parliament.[156] Bushe's decision may also have been influenced by the fact that in 1781 his son William would have been two years old and the improvement of the College buildings would have been of direct interest to him and his son's well-being. On 28 January 1793 William Bushe is recorded to have entered the College.[157] On 10 November 1781 it was resolved that, along other awards such as a four-hundred pound grant to the

[152] Ibid.
[153] Burtchaell, *Genealogical memoirs of the members of Parliament for Kilkenny city and county*, 173.
[154] Ibid., 163.
[155] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[156] *The Irish House of Commons Journal*, vol. X, part I, 7 November 1781, 236.
[157] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.

minister of Killurine parish in Co. Wexford for the rebuilding of the church, John Ellison would be granted two thousand pounds towards the cost of the rebuilding of the College.[158] By the end of April 1782 the plan for the new building had been approved and tenders were being sought for "digging and clearing the foundation; for drawing brick, stone, lime and sand, and for executing the mason's, bricklayer's, carpenter's, stone cutter's, plasterers, ironmonger's, painter's, glazier's and slater's work."[159] Building work officially started, on land adjoining the old College, with the laying of the foundation stone by Walter Butler (1770 - 1820), the viscount of Thurles, the twelve year old son of John Butler the seventeenth earl of Ormond, on 30 July 1782.[160]

Although the sum granted to the College for the rebuilding was generous, it was not sufficient to complete the project. During the next parliamentary session, 1783 - 1790, Parliament was again requested to help finance the completion of the building work in addition to the original grant.[161] Ellison stated in his petition of 1787 that the College was "universally allowed to be one of the best and cheapest public works ever executed in this kingdom" and that he had paid the strictest attention to the economy, and that the overrun was chiefly due to his having been deceived by the estimates made for him "a misfortune not uncommon to builders." Parliament, having been satisfied that the work on the College had been "effectually executed and completed, and every Sum expended agreeable to the Intention and Import of the Grant", granted additional sums in February 1785 and March 1787.[162] In total the Irish Parliament granted five thousand and sixty four pounds towards the cost of the new College building which was completed in late 1787.[163]

Volume XI of *The Irish House of Commons Journal* also details information about the identity of the College's architect which had previously never been officially established. Charles Vierply is recorded as having been the architect and another Vierply, Simon, is recorded as being a stone-cutter involved in the building of the

[158] *The Irish House of Commons Journal*, vol. X, part I, 10 November 1781, 245.
[159] *Finns Leinster Journal*, 1 May, 1782.
[160] Burtchaell, *Genealogical memoirs of the members of Parliament for Kilkenny city and county*, 181.
Finns Leinster Journal, 6 February, 1782.
[161] *The Irish House of Commons Journal*, vol. XI, part I, 5 November 1783, 65.
[162] Ibid., vol. XI, part I, 1785, Appendix CCXCI.
Ibid., vol. XI, part II, 1785, Appendix CCCXXII & CCCXXIII.
Ibid., 27 March, 1787.
[163] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791), in report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds and actual conditions of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland*; 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII. part iii. 374.

College.[164] A Simon Vierply was closely associated with many buildings of note in Ireland, such as the Royal Exchange in Dublin, which is now the City Hall, and Lord Charlemont's neoclassical temple (the Casino) at Marino near Dublin. Charles Vierply was almost certainly the son of Simon, but the identity of the other Vierply, Simon, is unclear. Although Charles's father was a noted stone mason, by the mid 1780s he would have been much in demand as an architect and it would have been unusual for him to work as stone cutter on his son's project. One possible explanation is that the Simon Vierply mentioned was either a son or brother of Charles. Charles Vierply appears to have been a resident of Kilkenny and is recorded as being the architect and builder of Castle-hill in 1788.[165] Unfortunately no plans for the original building survive, but Lanigan and Tyler in *Kilkenny, Its Architecture & History* (1977) recorded several details about the architecture of the building. They noted that the structure was "a seven bay Georgian building eight bays deep. The decorated doorway is, probably, the most beautiful one in Kilkenny. It is flanked by paired pilasters with sidelights; the full width fanlight has a surround with heavy cavetto moulding."[166] A large school room dominated the ground floor where all lessons took place, with the upper floors reserved to accommodate boarders. There would have also been accommodation for the head master and his family in the building, as well as accommodation for other members of staff. During the demolition of the previous building on John Street and the completion of the new building, the College vacated itself to a large house on Patrick Street.[167] Ellison advertised in the *Finns Leinster Journal* of February 1782 that although the College was temporarily removed, "classical education, French, dancing, fencing and writing" were still offered along with the promise of a bed for each boy.[168] In October 1790 the *Finns Leinster Journal* contained an article which recorded that concerns had arisen about the safety of the assembly room. The article reported that the architect, Mr. Vierply, had inspected the cupola and found it to be in a safe condition and that "no sort of apprehension need to be entertained from vague reports to the contrary."[169] The new building led to the appointment of new staff: in January 1793 the College register recorded that John Beltz entered, the twelve year old son of J. J. Christian Beltz a French and Fencing

[164] *The Irish House of Commons Journal*, vol. XI, part II, 1785, Appendix CCCXXII & CCCXXIII.
[165] Richard Lucas, "Irish Provincial Directories: Directory of the Province of Leinster, 1788," *The Irish Genealogist*, vol. 3, no. 10 (1965): 398.
[166] Katherine M. Lanigan, & Gerald Tyler, ed., *Kilkenny, Its Architecture & History* (Kilkenny: An Taisce, Kilkenny Association, 1977), 96. See Appendix VIII, Fig. VII & VIII.
[167] *Finns Leinster Journal*, 6 February, 1782.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid., 30 October, 1790.

master.[170]

Two of Ellisons's former students gained fame after they left his care: Denis Pack played an important role in the Napoleonic Wars and Abraham Colles, a local boy, who became the most outstanding Irish surgeon of the nineteenth century. The lives of these men demonstrated that the education and values offered by the College could enable men to advance to the top of their chosen career, whether in academic circles or the military.

Denis Pack (c.1772 - 1823).

Denis Pack was born c.1772 in the County of Westmeath, the son of Thomas Pack, the dean of Ossory. After having attended the College he was gazetted as a cornet in the 14th light dragoons on 30 November 1794. Pack was involved in action in Boxtel in 1794, Ballinamuck in 1798, Lospard's Bay at the Cape of Good Hope and Buenos Aires in 1806 and various battles in Portugal from 1808 until 1809.[171] By 1810 Pack had been promoted to the rank of colonel and was an aide-de-camp to the king. Later that year he returned to the Iberian peninsula and fought with distinction at Salamanca in 1812 and Vittoria in 1813, and was promoted again to major-general. He was made K.C.B. in January 1815 and later that year was present at both Quatre Bras and Waterloo, where he earned the praise of Wellington.[172] This was his last military engagement and in 1819 he became the lieutenant - governor of Plymouth. On 24 July 1823 Pack died in London, and in 1828, his wife, Elizabeth, erected a monument to his memory in St. Canice's Cathedral.

Abraham Colles (1773 - 1843).

Colles was born at Millmount, a few miles from Kilkenny, on 23 July 1773.[173] After receiving his initial education from Mr. William Lindsay he entered the College at some point in the 1780s. It is said that his interest in anatomy came from a book on the subject he discovered in a meadow beside Millmount, the book having come to rest in the meadow as the result of the river Nore flooding its banks, along with the library of a physician named Butler.[174] Colles entered Trinity College, Dublin in September 1790 and commenced with a B.A. in 1795.[175] During his time at Trinity he

[170] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[171] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. XV, Owens - Pockrich, 25 - 26.
[172] Wellington to Earl Bathurst, 19 June 1815 quoted in *DNB*.
[173] John Benignus Lyons, *Brief Lives of Irish Doctors* (Dublin: Blackwater, 1978), 57.
[174] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. IV, Chamber - Craigie, 789 - 790.
[175] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 163.

enrolled as an apprentice to Philip Woodroffe, surgeon at Dr. Steeven's Hospital. Colles then went to Edinburgh University where he was awarded an M.D. in 1797. After a short time in London, Colles returned to Dublin where in 1799 he replaced Woodroffe as resident surgeon at Dr. Steeven's.[176] In 1802 he failed in his attempt to be appointed to the chair of anatomy and chirurgery at Trinity College, but soon after was appointed to the chair of anatomy and physiology and the chair of surgery at the College of Surgeons in Dublin. Colles was a gifted surgeon and lecturer and attracted many students to view his operations.[177] After his death in 1843 he subsequently gained international recognition for his work on fractures of the wrist. He described one fracture which resulted from falling onto the palm of the hand in a paper submitted to the *Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Review* in 1814: the fracture became known as the Colles' Fracture of the Radius.[178]

5.11: The establishment of St. Kieran's College, 1782.

As the College developed throughout the eighteenth century as a major provider of education for the Protestant community it was not until the latter half of the century before there was a similar institution for Roman Catholics. In 1782 the forerunner of St. Kieran's College was founded in the city, this new establishment signalled not only a new departure for education in Kilkenny but for Ireland. In the 1770s, many of the penal laws which among many measures had prohibited all Roman Catholic educational activity since 1695 which were relaxed. This relaxation was welcomed by the Roman Catholic authorities who immediately initiated plans to establish schools in Ireland. John Thomas Troy, the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory took the opportunity to found a school in Kilkenny, which was the first in Ireland.[179] Initially called the Academy, the school occupied a site facing St. James' Green on which St. Mary's Cathedral was eventually built. The new school was designed to cater for both the rich and poor of the diocese, day and boarding students and eventually provide a university education. The classically based curriculum that was provided was very similar to that of the College although with the addition of geography and

[176] Davis Coakley, *Irish masters of Medicine* (Dublin: Town House, 1992), 55 - 63.
Davis Coakley, *The Irish School of Medicine, Outstanding Practitioners of the 19th Century* (Dublin: Town House, 1988), 37 - 40.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Abraham Colles, "On the fracture of the carpal extremity of the radius," *The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, no. 10 (1814): 182 -186.
[179] Fearghus Ó Fearghail, *St. Kieran's College Kilkenny 1782 - 1982* (Kilkenny: St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny, 1982), 16.
Bishop Troy also established a primary school for both boys and girls in the city in 1784.

astronomy.[180] The French Revolution meant the end of the link with the Irish Colleges and there was an urgent need for the establishment of additional seminary facilities in Ireland. In 1793 the first students preparing for the priesthood entered the seminary. The seminary became a separate institution in 1811 and was housed first in Maudlin Street and then in Birchfield House. In 1836 William Kinsella, the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory decided to build a new college to accommodate a united lay and clerical institution at Walkinslough.[181] The new college, which was designed in Gothic style by William Deane Butler and named St. Kyran's, was completed in 1839.[182] The impressive nature of the new building along with the new cathedral of St. Mary's, also designed by William Deane Butler reflected the growing confidence of the Roman Catholic community of Kilkenny.[183] In 1872 Dr. Patrick Francis Moran, the step-nephew of Cardinal Cullen, was consecrated as the new bishop of Ossory. Moran's arrival signalled the start of a new era which saw reorganisation and the expansion of the school buildings. The introduction of the Intermediate Board Examinations and 'payment by results' in 1879 gave the school for the first time an external source of revenue.[184] St. Kieran's continued to provide education to both lay and seminary students until the latter twentieth century when the seminary closed. Many notable pupils who were educated at the various forms St. Kieran's College has taken since 1782 include Edmund Rice, the founder of the Christian Brothers, John Banim, the author of *Peter and the Castle and The Fetches, by the O'Hara Family* (1866) and Father Theobald Mathews, the founder of the Temperance movement.

St. Kieran's has had several links with the College over the last two centuries. Both Anthony Pack and John Browne gave evidence various government commissions how the number of Roman Catholic students at the College was limited due to the success of St. Kieran's. At least one member of the College staff was also employed at St. Kieran's. A Frenchman named Gibory was appointed Professor of French and Drawing at St. Kieran's in February 1874.[185] In 1887 the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, Dr. Brownrigg, failed in his appeal to the Educational Endowments Commission to transfer the College endowment to St. Kieran's.

The Irish Christian Brothers came to Kilkenny in 1860 at the request of the people of

[180] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 241.
[181] Ó Fearghail, *St. Kieran's College Kilkenny 1782 - 1982*, 26.
[182] The new spelling of the school's name was first used in 1875.
[183] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 242.
[184] Ó Fearghail, *St. Kieran's College Kilkenny 1782 - 1982*, 66 - 68.
[185] Birch, *St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny*, 221.

Kilkenny who raised £3,000 for this purpose. Although the school was originally only as an elementary school senior pupils were admitted during subsequent years.[186]

5.12: The College and *The Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry* (1791).

As head master of the College, John Ellison witnessed the first attempt by the government to ascertain the extent and terms of educational endowments in Irish schools which had public or charitable foundations. The idea of such a board of enquiry was first mooted by Thomas Orde after John Hely-Hutchinson, the provost of Trinity College, Dublin had suggested a plan for the development of two great public schools in Ireland along the lines of Westminster School and Eton College. Hely-Hutchinson expressed these thoughts in a letter to Thomas Orde in December 1785 in which he noted that "The want of good schools in this kingdom had long been the subject of general complaint. The learned languages are very ill taught; and young men are not trained to composition in any language."[187] The proposals aroused Orde's interest as Donald Akenson has noted:

> the most important result of Hely - Hutchinson's proposals was that it alerted Thomas Orde to the need for educational legislation . . . Orde addressed the commons about the improvements of education, and moved two resolutions which the house unanimously adopted. He stated that he was aware that there were already several endowed schools in the country, some of them very rich, but he felt that their very opulence was the chief cause of the defeat of their founder's intentions, for some of the masters were content to receive their salaries without doing any work at all.[188]

Although the proposals did not become law, Orde's desire to evaluate the state of education in Ireland had begun and culminated, in March 1788, with the decision of Parliament to allow the lord lieutenant to appoint commissioners to ascertain the finances and condition of schools on a public or charitable foundation in Ireland.[189] The Commissioners were comprised of the following individuals: Denis Daly (1747 - 1791), Isaac Corry (1755 - 1813), John Forbes, Thomas Burgh, Edward Brooke, Alleyne Fitzherbert (1753 - 1839) (who was later replaced by Robert Hobart (1760 - 1816) and

[186] See Appendix VI, for a full record of educational activity in Kilkenny.
[187] Bolton Manuscripts, 29/24, 17 December 1785. "Outline of a plan for a great school connected with the University and some thoughts on school education in Ireland" quoted in Donald Harman Akenson *The Irish Educational Experiment, The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1970), 61.
[188] Ibid., 61.
[189] *The Irish House of Commons Journal*, vol. XII, part I, 14 March 1788.

John Hely-Hutchinson (1724 - 1794).[190] All of the members of the commission were members of the Protestant ascendancy. By December 1788 the commission had nearly completed their investigations which had encompassed parish schools, charter schools, Erasmus Smith schools and diocesan schools.[191] The report was due to be published in 1791 but was withheld due to its radical and critical content, which included, amongst other recommendations, that parish schools should be open to both Protestants and Roman Catholic pupils with religious instruction being conducted by the relevant clergy. The most disparaging of the report's criticisms were reserved for the schools of private and public foundation, whose condition was described by the commissioners as being largely "wretched", and that fraud was a major concern in the administration of certain schools' endowments.[192] It must also be remembered that the report was conducted and published during the era of the Napoleonic wars, a time which did not provide a conducive atmosphere for the implementation of major educational reform. The 1791 report was eventually published alongside *The Endowed Schools Commission Report* of 1858.[193] Kilkenny College appeared to have been the only institution that managed to avoid the wrath of the commissioners. The new College building was only a year old when it was visited by the Commissioners, who noted that the money, which had been granted by the Irish Parliament had been "usefully expended" by Dr. Ellison and that "an excellent house has been created, sufficient to accommodate eighty boarders in single beds".[194] The commissioners also praised the current efforts of Ellison who appeared to have arrived at the College to find not only the buildings in decay:

> The credit of this school, formerly of great celebrity, but fallen in its character in the time of the late master, has been revived by Dr. Ellison, of whose conduct and care of his scholars, as well of his course of instruction, we think

[190] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791)*, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII. part iii. Denis Daly was M.P. for Galway, Isaac Corry was elected M.P. for Newry in 1776 in succession to his father. He became surveyor-general in 1788 and chancellor of the exchequer in 1798. John Forbes was possibly the M.P. for St. Johnstown, Co. Longford. Alleyne Fitzherbert, baron of St. Helen's, who was chief secretary, later became ambassador to Spain and had Mount St. Helens (Washington State, U.S.A.) named after him. Robert Hobart, the earl of Buckinghamshire, was M.P. for Portarlington and Armagh, Hobart, Tasmania is named after him. John Hely-Hutchinson was born in Co. Cork and educated Trinity College, Dublin. He was M.P. for Lanesborough, Cork and Taghmon, Co. Wexford, and became provost of Trinity in 1774. Although born John Hely he added his wife's family name to his own after their marriage.

[191] Michael Quane, "The diocesan schools - 1570 - 1870", *The Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 2nd series, vol. IXVI (Jan. - June 1961), 33 - 6. quoted in Akenson, *The Irish Educational Experiment*, 70.

[192] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791)*, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII. part iii. 357 - 8.

[193] Ibid., 341 - 79.

[194] Ibid., 362.

> it necessary to express an entire approbation. It consisted in the year 1788 of thirty six boarders and twenty nine day scholars.[195]

The College compared well to the state of other comparable endowed institutions such as Midleton College, which was described by the commission as being in an unsatisfactory state:

> There is a great house for the school and the residence for the schoolmaster, in which fifty boarders might be accommodated with convenience. The present master, the Rev. James Reid, was appointed on the 25th of March, 1775; he had sixty-five boarders in the year 1783, but the school has fallen off so very considerably, that in the year 1788 there were only ten boarders and eight day scholars there; of the latter six were free scholars.[196]

The praise that was lauded on Kilkenny College must be set against the fact that the chairman of the commission was John Hely-Hutchinson, who was a visitor and the *de facto* governor of the College after the cessation of the involvement of the Ormond family in the running of the College. The commissioner's glowing comments on Ellison's progress must be tempered, therefore, with the understanding that the comments reflected a contentment on Hely-Hutchinson's part not only that his institution was prospering while many others were not, but also that *his* appointment of Ellison, seven years previous, had proven to have been an efficacious one. Hely-Hutchinson's familiarity with Ellison, with whom he had been a contemporary at Trinity, must also have proved a factor in the positive report. Hely-Hutchinson's career was dogged with allegations concerning the misuse and abuse of power. His appointment to provostship of Trinity College, ahead of many other more qualified candidates, caused some to question the integrity of the decision. He was also accused of nepotism when he arranged for his sons to be appointed to positions for which they were not necessarily the best qualified.[197]

It is difficult to speculate what the impact of the commission's findings would have had on the College. It is conceivable that since the College appears to have been the foremost endowed school in the Island it could have become one of the two great Irish public schools envisaged by Hely-Hutchinson.

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[195] Ibid.
The commissioners recorded that there were no 'Free Scholars' at the College in 1788.

[196] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791)*, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII. part iii. 362.

[197] For more information see J.V. Luce, *Trinity College, Dublin: The First 400 years* (Dublin: Trinity College Dublin Press, 1992), 56 - 61.

5.13: The school of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy.

John and Michael Banim in *Peter of the Castle and The Fetches, by the O'Hara Family* (1866), detailed the College's rise to become the school of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy "this seminary [the College] rose to the height of its fame, and that young Irish noblemen and gentlemen crowded its classes for the most approved preparation for university honours. It might be called the then Eton of the sister country".[198] The College register provides the evidence to show that many of the old landed ascendancy were attending the College along with individuals who were subsequently raised to the peerage. Although a large proportion of the students were not from the Kilkenny area the College still catered for the local population. Some of the main members of the nobility who attended the College from the late seventeenth century to the early nineteenth century included: from Kerry, John Crosbie (1752 - 1814), afterwards the second earl of Glandore; from Meath, John Netterville (1744 - 1826), afterward the sixth viscount of Netterville; from Westmeath, Edward Michael Pakenham (1743 - 1792), afterwards the sixth baron of Longford; from Clare, William O'Brien (1694 - 1777), later the fourth earl of Inchiquin, along with his two brothers; from Fermanagh William Willoughby Cole (1736 - 1803), afterwards the first earl of Enniskillen; from Wicklow, John Stafford (1698 - 1777), afterwards the first earl of Aldborough; from Cavan, John (1738 - 1805) and George Beresford (1735 - 1800), the former was commissioner of excise and the latter was afterwards the first marquis of Waterford, and Ford Lambert (1718 - 1772), afterwards fifth earl of Cavan; from Tipperary, John Toler (1741 - 1831) afterwards the first earl of Norbury; from Queen's County (later Co. Laois), Thomas Vesey (d.1804), afterwards first viscount of De Vesci; from Waterford, Cornelius O'Callaghan (1741 - 1827), afterwards the first baron of Lismore; and from Kilkenny, George Wandesforde (1687 - 1751), afterwards the fourth viscount of Castlecomer and William Flower (1744 - 1780), afterwards second viscount of Ashbrook.[199] Several of these men achieved fame after they had left the College:

William O'Brien, fourth earl of Inchiquin (1694 - 1777).

William O'Brien entered the College on 4 May 1709.[200] O'Brien acceded to his father's

[198] Banim, *Peter of the Castle and The Fetches, by the O'Hara Family*, 208.
[199] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[200] Ibid.
O'Brien is recorded as O'Bryen in the College register.

title as the fourth earl of Inchiquin in 1719. He was grandmaster of English Freemasonry from 1740 - 1741, created a Knight of the Bath in 1725 and a lord of the bedchamber from 1744 until 1751. O'Brien was also member of Parliament for New Windsor, Camelford and Aylesbury.[201] He died on 18 July 1777 and was interred in Cloyne Cathedral, Co. Cork. Both his brothers, James and Charles, also attended the College. James O'Brien became member of Parliament for Charleville in 1725 and Youghal in 1727.

John Toler, first earl of Norbury (?1741 - 1831).

John Toler was born on 3 December 1742 at Beechwood, County Tipperary and entered the College on 18 April 1754 at the age of twelve. He matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin on 2 December 1756 and commenced with a B.A. in 1761.[202] Called to the bar in 1770; M.P. for Tralee 1776. His support of the government of the marquis of Buckingham and the earl of Westmoreland brought him appointment as solicitor-general in 1789 and as attorney-general in 1798. He was involved in the prosecution of many of those involved in the 1798 Rebellion, although he was familiar with several United Irishmen, having been challenged to a duel in 1793 by James Napper Tandy (c.1737 - 1803) a prominent United Irishman.[203] His merciless treatment of many members of the Rebellion was disapproved of even by those "who thought the occasion called for firmness on the part of the government."[204] For his support for the act of Union in 1800 he was given the title Baron Norbury of Ballyorenode and was appointed chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas. Notorious on the bench for his scanty knowledge of the law and bigoted views, his buffoonery often had the court in an uproar. On one occasion during a murder trial he fell asleep and was unable to supply the lord lieutenant with any notes on the case. Daniel O'Connell 'the Liberator' (1775 - 1847) petitioned Parliament on several occasions to have him removed, but without success. Eventually he was induced to resign in 1827 at the age of 82 and was compensated with a pension of £3,046 a year and an earldom. O'Connell said that "he was bought off the bench by a most shameful traffic."[205] He died in Dublin, 27 July 1831.

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[201] Charles Mosley, ed. in chief, *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage* (106th edition), vol. I (Crans, Switzerland: Burke's Peerage, 1999), 1496.

[202] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 815.

[203] Mosley, ed. in chief, *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage*, vol. II, 2089.

[204] Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. XIX, Stow - Tytler, 922 - 924.

[205] Ibid.

John Beresford (1738 - 1805).

John Beresford was born on 14 March 1738 in Dublin, the second son of the earl of Tyrone. He entered the College on 26 January 1745, the same day as his older brother George Beresford (1735 - 1800) the future first marquis of Waterford.[206] He matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin in 1754 - 55 and commenced with a B.A. in 1757.[207] After a short career at the bar he was elected as M.P. for Waterford in 1760. In 1770 Beresford became a commissioner of revenue and ten years later the first commissioner of revenue.[208] His position within the revenue was such that he wielded more political power than any other parliamentary official. In 1795 his power was threatened by the arrival of Lord Fitzwilliam (1748 - 1833) who sought, against the wishes of London, to encourage political reform within Ireland. Fitzwilliam found on his arrival that Beresford "was filling a situation greater than that of the lord-lieutenant himself" and referred to him as the "King of Ireland".[209] Fitzwilliam dismissed him on full salary but he was shortly reinstated after Fitzwilliam himself was relieved of his duties and recalled to London. Beresford oversaw the fiscal implementations of the act of Union until his retirement in 1802. He died in November 1805.

Neely in *Kilkenny: An Urban History* (1989) noted that the nobility were joined in the College by the sons of a wide cross section of Protestant society.[210] The attraction of the College for gentlemen no doubt was that their sons were attending the same school as the gentry and members of the classes they aspired to. The College register recorded in the year 1761 a Thomas Bermingham, the son of Richard, a gentleman from Co. Roscommon, Robert Evans, a son of Alderman Ambrose Evans, William Harty, a son of William Harty, a shopkeeper, Joseph Holmes, a son of James Holmes, a writing master at the College, Laurence Parsons, a son of Sir Laurence Parsons of Birr, Matthias Scott, a son of Kenny Scott, a miller and William Fulton, a son of William Fulton, a servant of the archbishop of Cashel, were all entered into the College.[211] Neely has suggested that this mix of people with many future leaders of society was beneficial both locally and nationally; good understanding between the various stratas of Anglo-Irish society was fostered and "Something of the spirit of fellowship evident in the city [Kilkenny] must have been nurtured by that early

[206] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[207] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 61.
[208] Stephen &Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. II, Beal - Browell, 327 - 328.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 239.
[211] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.

experience at the College."[212] This fellowship amongst former pupils was evident in 1793 when there appeared to have been the first recorded meeting of the College old boys. In February 1793 the *Hibernian Journal: or, Chronicle of liberty* noted that a group of former pupils were to meet in Dublin under the chair of the earl of Enniskillen:

> Gentlemen educated at the College of Kilkenny by the late Dr. Hewetson, hold their annual dinner meeting at Smyth's, the Kings Arms, Fowne's Street on the first Sunday in March, being the 3rd day, Earl of Enniskillen in the chair - dinner at six o'clock.[213]

This group of men was possibly a forerunner to the Trinity College Dining Club of London, which was founded in the early part of the nineteenth century in the wake of the act of Union which transported many Irish politicians and members of the Irish ecclesiastical hierarchy and nobility to London.

5.14: Conclusion.

The eighteenth century saw the College develop from being a rural school which served the upper classes of south Leinster to one which attracted pupils from the whole island of Ireland. The renown of former pupils such as Jonathan Swift, William Congreve and George Berkeley helped develop the College's reputation further as wealthy individuals began to realise that a sound classical education and not just their patronage would be needed if their sons were to be successful. The College became the school of the Anglo- Irish ascendancy, offering the same classical education that had long been available in England. Also at this stage the College seemed to have enjoyed a period as the fashionable institution for the wealthy landowners to send their sons to, attracted by the fact that they would be attending along with nobility. This attraction is not unlike that which Westminster School experienced during the eighteenth century, Eton College during the nineteenth century and Gordonston during the later twentieth century. The role of John Ellison in the development of the College was significant, Ellison had been hand picked by the visitors of the College to provide a stability that had been lacking in the previous Head masterships of Pack and Hewetson. Ellison's effort in regard to the completion of a new building for the College is especially noteworthy. The new building represented the commitment which the Anglo-Irish aristocracy had to the education of their sons but was also a demonstration of the debt of gratitude so many of the

[212] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 238.
[213] *Hibernian Journal: or, Chronicle of Liberty*, No. 23, 22 February 1793.

Protestant ascendancy owed to the College which had provided them with a sound classical education. The new building gave the College a firmer foundation which it would need during the latter nineteenth century as the Anglo-Irish families who had patronised the College for so long then began to send their sons to England for their education in the wake of the Act of Union which had moved the focus of political life from Dublin to London. Ellison also witnessed the first attempt by government to assess the state of education in Ireland through *The Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry* (1791). The Commissioners recorded an impressive account of the College and it is possible that the College could have been selected as one of the two Irish public schools envisaged by the commissioners. If this had occurred, the College would have been in a perfect position to take advantage of this situation since it had many appropriate qualities, such as its noteworthy location, a prestigious reputation and newly constructed purpose built facilities. Although the report was not published until the 1850s it gives an interesting insight into the affairs of the College. The report was most favourable to the College although the commissioners had visited the College at possibly its peak of fashion and success. The new building was both impressive and fully functional but disguised the many weaknesses concerning the mechanisms for the College's government which eventually came to the fore during the next century. This change in the College's fortunes along with additional attempts by government to investigate the management of the College, will be examined in the next chapter.

Chapter Six

The beginnings of more effective governmental supervision of endowed schools - the College and the 1806 - 12 *Reports of the Commissioners of the Board of Education* and the 1858 *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, (Kildare).

1793 - 1864

6.1: Introduction.

By 1793 the College had survived nearly 127 years of continuous existence and had enjoyed a privileged position within Anglo-Irish society educating many sons of the main noble families. This chapter will examine the College during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century, a period which saw major political upheaval through the United Irishmen's rebellion of 1798 and the subsequent Act of Union of 1800, both of which eventually had a detrimental effect on the College. The aftermath of the 1798 Rebellion saw an increase in the definition of religious and social divisions within Kilkenny which had the immediate effect of the College becoming a less attractive choice for Roman Catholic families who wished to pay for their sons' education. This situation was exacerbated by the development of a Roman Catholic school in the City during this period. The shift of political focus from Dublin to London, ushered in by the Act of Union, encouraged Anglo-Irish families who had previously sent their sons to be educated at the College during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to send them to England for their education. Although the numbers attending the College were initially maintained during the first half of the nineteenth century, these events precipitated a slow haemorrhaging in the number of pupils attending the College. This decline was augmented by the gradual decrease in the Protestant population in the Kilkenny area as well as the south of Ireland as a whole during the later nineteenth century.

During this period the College was overseen by four head masters: the Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack, who was head master during the 1798 Rebellion, the Rev. Andrew O'Callaghan, the Rev. William Baillie and the Rev. Dr. John Browne, each having their own distinct influence on the College. The chapter examines the lives of these men and their contribution to the development of the College. The continuation of government inquiries which had been initiated in 1791 also occurred during this

period.[1] The College was visited twice by major Commissions firstly in 1809 and 1810 by *The Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland* (1806 - 12), during the head mastership of the Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack and secondly by the *Commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds, and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland*, (Kildare) in 1855 and 1856, during the head mastership of the Rev. Dr. John Browne.[2] In 1813 the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* were established by the government for the "regulation of the several Endowed Schools of Public and Private Foundation in Ireland."[3] Although the College was not initially under the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* it eventually came under the remit of the board: some of the College's returns survive and provide additional evidence concerning pupil numbers. Along with the returns to the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland*, the College also submitted a return to Thomas Wyse's *Select Committee on Diocesan and Foundation Schools* in 1836.[4] The major governmental inquiries which visited in 1806 and in 1858 give a clear insight into the state of the College and the various successes and failings of various head masters. They also demonstrated the fundamental problems that existed within the College, predominately the unsatisfactory arrangement by which the College was governed effectively by the provost of Trinity College, Dublin and the bishop of Ossory, who acted as both visitors and governors. The reports of 1806 and 1858 also give an indication as to the development and failures of government attempts to reform the educational endowments of Ireland, which had been acknowledged since 1791 as being abused on a large scale, albeit in the unpublished *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry* (1791).[5]

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[1] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791)*, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII.

[2] *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), pursuant to Act 43, Geo. III c.122, First, on Free Schools of the Royal Foundation, Second, on the Schools of Private Foundation, Third, on Protestant Charter Schools*, 1809 (142), VII.
Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds, and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland (Kildare), 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII. part I, *Evidence Taken Before the Commissioners*, vol. I, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII.

[3] *Act for the Appointment of Commissioners of Education in Ireland*, 53 Geo. III c.107.
The *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* were also known as the *Endowed Schools Commissioners* or as the *Clare Street Board*.

[4] *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), Twelfth on Classical Schools of Private Foundation*, 1812 (218) V.
The Second Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry (Abstract of Returns in 1824, from Protestant and Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland, of the state of Education in their respective parishes), 1826-27 (12), XII.
Returns from Diocesan and other Endowed Schools, etc., 1831 (106), XV.
Select Committee on Diocesan and Foundation Schools, and Systems of Education in Ireland, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendices: Administration and Courses of Instruction in Royal, Diocesan and Private Schools in Ireland, 1836 (630), XIII.

[5] *Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry (1791)*, 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII.

6.2: The Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack (1756 - 1842), head master of the College from 1793 to 1810.

Anthony Pack's head mastership coincided with two major events which had far reaching effects on both Kilkenny and Ireland: the 1798 Rebellion and the Act of Union, both of which had major implications for the College. Pack was also head master during the visit of the *The Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland* in 1806, the first government investigation into the endowments of schools of private foundation since the 1791 report and since the union of the Irish and British parliaments in 1801.[6]

The Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack was officially appointed head master of the College by a letters patent issued on 22 December 1792 by the vice provost of Trinity College, Andrew Murray, although his letter of recommendation from the visitors of the College to the provost, fellows and scholars of Trinity College was written six days after the issuing of the letters patent.[7] Anthony Pack had been born in Kilkenny in 1756 the son of Rev. Richard Pack, the head master of the College from 1773 until 1781, and had been educated at the College under his father before he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin in February 1774.[8] He became a scholar of Trinity in 1777 and was awarded his B.A. in 1778.[9] For several years previous to his appointment Pack had served as the College's Usher and according to William Tighe in *Statistical observations relative to the County of Kilkenny made in the years 1800 and 1801* (republished in 1998), he also held the mastership of the defunct diocesan school in Kilkenny:

> There is no Diocesan School belonging to Ossory: the salary of the school-master is levied on the Clergy, and was given as a sinecure to Dr. Pack, while he was Usher of the College, and continued to him now that he is Master; the salary is 36*l* a year.[10]

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[6] *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), pursuant to Act 43, Geo. III c.122, First, on Free Schools of the Royal Foundation, Second, on the Schools of Private Foundation, Third, on Protestant Charter Schools*, 1809 (142) VII.

[7] Letters Patent for the Appointment of Anthony Pack to the Head Mastership of the Kilkenny School, 22 December 1792, TCD MUN/P/1/1050 & Letter of Recommendation of Anthony Pack for Appointment to the Head Mastership of the Kilkenny School, 28 December 1792 , TCD MUN/P/1/1051.

[8] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 165.

[9] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 649.

[10] William Tighe, *William Tighe's Statistical observations relative to the County of Kilkenny made in the years 1800 and 1801*, vol. II, (Kilkenny: Grangesilvia Publications, 1998), 510. cf. 154.

There is no record of the diocesan school sinecure being offered to any of Dr. Pack's predecessors, and was probably arranged to supplement the salary he received as head master. Pack's appointment reinforced the desire of the provost and board of Trinity College, Dublin to offer the position of head master to Irish candidates rather than to search elsewhere for suitable candidates. His securing of the post also provided a degree of continuity from the head mastership of Ellison since Pack would have been familiar with the role from his time as Usher.

Pack conducted his care of the College without any accountability to the visitors; Tighe noted "No part of the visitation takes place, except the gift of the buck from Lord Ormond; but the school is nevertheless well conducted and with much reputation by the present master."[11] A record of the curriculum that was taught at the College during his head mastership has survived and is part of the Dr. Michael Quane's papers held at the National Library of Ireland. There is no notation on the paper, bar the inclusion of the date: 11 May 1809, that would indicate the reason for the recording of the information but since it is part of the Quane Papers it is not unreasonable to suggest that it was a return requested by the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland*.[12] The record noted that the College was split into six forms and that Eton Grammar (Latin) and Greek were the major subjects taught, with the works of Virgil, Terence, Horace, Homer and Cicero along with the Greek New Testament being utilised in the process of instruction. The other subjects listed included Church History, Church Catechism and History. Geography was taught with the use of "globes and maps."[13] The College was also listed as starting at six o'clock in the morning and finishing at five o'clock in the afternoon in the summer, while during the winter the College both began and finished an hour later.[14]

From 1782 until two years after he had resigned from the College, Anthony Pack held the vicarage of Dunmore. In 1812 he was appointed to the prebendary of Blackrath and in 1816 he was created the dean of Ossory's vicar.[15] He was translated to the prebendary of Cloneamery in 1821 a position he held until his

[11] Tighe, *Statistical observations relative to the County of Kilkenny*, vol. II, 509.
[12] Quane had unrestricted access to the papers of the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* through his position within the Department of Education.
[13] Letters and Papers of the Commissioners for Education in Ireland relating to Kilkenny College, Dr. Michael Quane Papers, NLI MS 17,946.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 316 & 326.
Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 16.

death in March 1842.[16] Leslie in *Ossory Clergy and Parishes* (1933) stated that the Rev. Bartholomew Pack replaced Anthony Pack as head master of the College in 1806 before the Rev. Andrew O'Callaghan became head master in 1810.[17] The Rev. Bartholomew Pack had been a former pupil of Dr. Ellison at the College in the 1780s and held the curacy of Burnchurch in Ossory. Although Leslie's information is not corroborated by any other available contemporary sources it may be possible that Leslie was referring to a source which mentioned the Rev. Bartholomew Pack as an assistant Master at the College.

6.3: The College and the 1798 Rebellion.

The 1798 Rebellion was the culmination of political instability triggered in part by the War of Independence in North America and the French Revolution. The lack of autonomy enjoyed by the Irish Parliament, because of complex mechanisms which meant the British Parliament had a *de facto* veto on its decisions until 1782, was also a contributory factor. There was a considerable amount of activity involving the largely Roman Catholic agrarian secret society, the Whiteboys, in the Kilkenny area during the decades preceding the 1798 Rebellion. *Finn's Leinster Journal* contained many reports of their actions including one incident in 1770 when William Shee of Thomastown was attacked one night by three hundred men armed with guns and swords. The crowd kidnapped the Shee's father and brought him to Gowran where they left him for dead.[18] In addition to the Whiteboys rural disquiet emanated from other quarters, such as the efforts of farm labourers and the miners of Castlecomer to improve their conditions.[19] Neely has indicated that there was:

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[16] Ibid., 322.
Anthony Pack's sister-in-law, Catherine, was also involved with education in Kilkenny. In 1813 Catherine Pack opened a small school for ladies on High Street, Kilkenny. Essentially for the education of her own daughters the school also took in several girls from the city. The school moved from High Street to Patrick Street in 1815 and eventually c.1831 to John's Quay to a building specifically designed for educational use. Aided by her daughters Mrs. Pack's school taught dancing, music and painting. Catherine Pack had close connections with the College: her husband William was the son of Richard Pack, the College's Head Master in 1773 to 1781 and a brother of Anthony Pack. This connection meant that parents of boys who were sent to the College to be taught could be directed to Mrs. Pack's school for the education of any daughters they had. In 1834 it appears that Catherine Pack left Kilkenny and the school was continued by two of her daughters. In 1836 an advertisement in the *Kilkenny Journal* announced that Mrs. Pack had returned to Kilkenny to take over the running of the school and that she had remarried and was now to be known as Mrs. St. John. Both daughters who had assisted their mother in the running of the school established rival institutions to their mother's in the city which both lasted until the 1840s.
Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 165.
[17] Ibid., 381.
[18] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 1770, No. 22.
[19] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 158.

> general unrest and dissatisfaction that coincided with the persistent whiteboy activity. The reaction to this as much as patriotism was ultimately to be a major factor in the almost spontaneous growth of the volunteer movement in the city [Kilkenny] . . . The landlords held a meeting in Grace's castle in the city and signed a pledge, to be published in the *Leinster Journal*, that no whiteboy would be given tenancy. Ninety nine local landlords signed this pledge among them, all the leading families and those prominent in the patriot party, Henry Flood, Eland Mossom, Hercules Langrishe, as well other local leaders, William Evans Morres, James Agar, Richard St. George, the bishop of Ossory, earl of Carrick, Lord Wanesford and Walter Butler of the castle.[20]

Of the names which Neely selected from the list, from those who signed the pledge in 1774, the majority had strong links with the College; William Evans Morres had sent his son, Haddock Morres, to the College in 1754, Eland Mossom had attended the College in the 1750s and sent his son, also named Eland, to the College in 1795 and Richard St. George was educated at the College along with his five brothers.[21] Although they themselves may not have attended the College, Henry Flood, Hercules Langrishe, Lord Wanesford and James Agar all had members of their families who had attended the College.[22] The volunteer movement in Kilkenny, known initially as the rangers, first emerged in early 1776, when the *Finn's Leinster Journal* reported that two men were arrested by "gentlemen of this city, who have been lately formed in an association called rangers, to quell riots and arrest rioters."[23] Another edition of the *Finn's Leinster Journal* in March 1776 recorded the following incident in which the rangers were involved:

> The society of Gentlemen called the Rangers, who have distinguished themselves for some months past in apprehending rioters, and preserving the peace, of the city and neighbourhood, have given a fresh instance of their public spiritedness; on finding that a military guard could not be spared from Clonmell, to conduct a search for a notorious Whiteboy hither charged with some capital offence in this county. This body of Gentlemen offered their assistance on this occasion . . . they returned the next day with Edmond Power, a noted Whiteboy.[24]

The rangers were led by Sir Haddock Evans Morres, the son of William Evans Morres and a former pupil of the College. The rangers were joined by an official

[20] Ibid.
[21] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 163 - 164.
[24] *Finn's Leinster Journal*, 1776, No. 25.

volunteer unit in the city in October 1778.[25] In 1779, tensions in the city were further heightened when another former pupil of the College, Gervais Parker Bushe, was nearly killed in the apprehending of two whiteboys.[26]

The volunteer movement continued to flourish in Kilkenny maintaining its cause against the whiteboys but also developing an interest in the demand for parliamentary reform and the liberties of the Irish Protestant nation. At the first Dungannon volunteers convention held in 1782, Eland Mossom, another former pupil of the College, made a speech, which was well received in Kilkenny, that likened the poor of Ireland to the Biblical Good Samaritan who had fallen amongst the thieves.[27] The volunteer movement became disunited over the question as to what extent parliamentary reform should be demanded. In August 1784, *Finn's Leinster Journal* recorded that there had been a petition signed by forty eight volunteers, including James Weymes, Edward Evans, Edward Loftus and Eland Mossom, all former pupils of the College, as well as Henry Flood, demanding parliamentary reform and the extension of the franchise to Roman Catholics.[28] This petition was dismissed by other members of the volunteer movement in the city and indicated the divide between those who saw full Irish parliamentary autonomy as an end and those who saw it as a means towards the creation of an independent kingdom. In 1798 none of the previous decades political activity amongst the Protestant classes evolved into any serious commitment to the cause of the United Irishmen, as Neely has noted: "Despite such sympathies, there is no evidence to suggest any considerable support for the revolutionary activities of the United Irishmen. Unrest was seen in the city as a rural phenomenon amongst a 'deluded people'."[29] In 1797 due to unrest the county of Kilkenny was placed under martial law but Neely has recorded that the city remained quiet: "in 1797, the assise reported that no single case had been called in either court in the city, at its Autumn sessions."[30] The Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack, head master of the College, gave the address at a service of thanksgiving held in St. Canice's Cathedral after the halting of the French invasion at Bantry Bay, Co. Cork in December 1796. At the service, "The mayor and officers, the whole garrison, the two yeomanry corps attended without any distinction of sect, the largest congregation

[25] Ibid., 1778, No. 83.
[26] Ibid., 1779, No. 86.
[27] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 163 - 164.
[28] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2019.
Finn's Leinster Journal, 1784, No. 64.
[29] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 165.
[30] Ibid., 166.

of citizens ever seen to give thanks for deliverance."[31] 1798 saw the execution of both Defenders and United Irishmen in the city but disturbances were kept to a minimum due to the efforts of General Asghall of Kilcreene House and the yeoman of the county.[32] During the actual rebellion of May 1798 Kilkenny city and county survived unscathed by the actions of the rebels in Wexford and Carlow. Neely has described that a "prevailing sentiment of loyalty" was one of the main factors which saved Kilkenny the worst of the rebellion.[33]

Apart from Pack's appearance as the special preacher at the service of thanksgiving, nothing is known about the College during the rebellion. The lack of incident in the city meant that the College would have been protected from the actions of the rebels. One possible effect of the 1798 Rebellion on the College was the denominational make up of the pupils who were sent to the College after the rebellion. The general religious and social polarisation that occurred in Irish society after 1798, meant that Roman Catholics were more likely to attend a school of Roman Catholic orientation rather than be sent to the obviously Protestant College. The potential for more civil disturbance throughout Ireland, as demonstrated by Robert Emmet's (1778 - 1803) failed attempt to rekindle the revolutionary aims of 1798 in 1803, also forced parents to question the safety of sending their sons to rural locations for their education. This decline was noted by William Tighe who wrote in 1801 - 02:

> In 1788 there were thirty six boarders and twenty nine day scholars: during the late rebellion numbers declined; but the school has recovered by the attention of Doctor Pack, the present master, though the numbers of boys at any time, has scarce ever exceeded forty.[34]

6.4: The College and the 1806 *Commissioners of the Board of Education.*

The creation of the 1806 *Commissioners of the Board of Education* was the result of the wishes of Sir John Newport (1756 - 1843), the chancellor of the exchequer and William Stuart (1755 - 1822), the archbishop of Armagh.[35] Newport and Stuart

[31] Quoted in Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 168, taken from a *Finn's Leinster Journal* of February, 1797. The exact location of the edition used by Neely could not be located.
[32] Wyse Jackson, *The Story of Kilkenny*, 62.
[33] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 168.
[34] Tighe, *Statistical observations relative to the County of Kilkenny*, vol. II, 508.
[35] Akenson, *The Irish Educational Experiment*, 76.
Robert Brendan McDowell, *The Irish Administration, 1801 - 1914* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964), 234.

desired to address the question of the state of education in Ireland and, where prudent, suggest ways in which the government could intervene to make the situation more equitable and accountable. The Commission, according to Akenson, was a direct revival of the 1791 *Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry*: indeed the legislation used by Lord Grenville's (1759 - 1834) short-lived administration was entitled *An Act to revive and amend an Act made in the Parliament of Ireland for enabling the Lord Lieutenant to appoint Commissioners for enquiring into the Several Funds and Revenues granted for the purpose of Education and into the State and Conditions of all Schools in Ireland.*[36] The Commission was made up of six individuals selected by the lord lieutenant, the duke of Bedford (1766 - 1839): Henry Grattan (1746 - 1820), Isaac Corry (1755 - 1813), William Parnell, Robert Stearne Tighe (1760 - 1835), Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744 - 1817) and William Disney (b.1762 and called to the Irish Bar in 1787) and five appointed by the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests* who were all members of the Church of Ireland: William Stuart, the archbishop of Armagh, Charles Agar (1735 - 1809), the archbishop of Dublin, the Rev. George Hall (1753 - 1811), provost of Trinity College, James Verschoyle (c.1750 - 1834), the dean of St. Patrick's and James Whitelaw (1749 - 1813), the vicar of St. Catherine's, Dublin.[37] Of these men Isaac Corry alone had served on the 1791 *Commissioners of Irish Education Enquiry*. At the first meeting of the Commission on 21 October, 1806, John Corneille (b.1772 and called to the Irish Bar in 1795) was appointed as secretary. From the start the Commission was dominated by the Church of Ireland clergy, largely due to the parliamentary demands that were made on the two of the commission, Corry and Grattan, who were Members of Parliament, and the sporadic attendance of the other lay members.[38]

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[36] Akenson, *The Irish Educational Experiment*, 76.
An Act to revive and amend an Act made in the Parliament of Ireland for enabling the Lord Lieutenant to appoint Commissioners for enquiring into the Several Funds and Revenues granted for the purpose of Education and into the State and Conditions of all Schools in Ireland, 45 Geo. III. c.122.

[37] Richard Lovell Edgeworth was an Anglo-Irish educational theorist, influenced by Rousseau, he wrote a work entitled *Practical Education* (1798); He also pioneered a new system of road making and deserved the credit which later went to the Scotsman Macadam. Charles Agar, the first earl of Normanton was born in Gowran, Co. Kilkenny; he had been the Church's leading spokesman in its efforts to resist the progressive dismantling of the Penal Laws against Roman Catholics. James Whitelaw was the compiler of the 1798 census of Dublin, during which he visited nearly every home in Dublin, which was published as *An essay on the population of Dublin* in 1805. Parnell later resigned and was replaced by John Leslie Foster (c.1781 - 1842) the nephew of John Foster the last speaker of the Irish House of Commons, an M.P. as well as an Irish Judge. Archbishop Agar later resigned and was replaced by Euseby Cleaver (1745 - 1819). William Disney later resigned and was replaced by the Rev. Thomas Elrington (1760 - 1835) provost of Trinity College and later bishop of Limerick and bishop of Ferns. James Verschoyle afterwards became bishop of Killala.

[38] Michael Quane (thought to be the author), unpublished record on the history of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland c.1960, NLI MS 17,979, f.5.

The Commission compiled fourteen reports between October 1806 and October 1812. The twelfth report of the *Commissioners of the Board of Education on classical schools of private foundation* contained the findings of the examination of the Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack, which had been undertaken on 11 May 1809, a year before his departure from the College. The Commission noted the impressive structure of the College buildings describing it as "built of stone in the most permanent manner . . . it has every convenient office annexed to it" and recorded that the College was located in two acres and three roods of land.[39] The Commission also noted that "in and about 1773" was the year in which the involvement of the Ormond family in the governance of the College formally ended and transferred to the provost and board of Trinity College, Dublin.[40] This reference is the only written evidence to suggest that the Ormond family had some role in the government of the College after the attainment of the second duke of Ormond in 1715. The Commission was also informed that the College buildings were "one of the largest and most convenient buildings of the description in Ireland and is kept in repair by the Master, there being no provision made by the Statutes for repairs."[41] Anthony Pack detailed to the Commission that attending the College in 1809 there was twenty boarders and twenty-four day scholars and, as had been the case in 1788, there were no free scholars in attendance. His fees for the years were noted as thirty guineas for boarders with six guineas for entrance and four guineas for day scholars along with one guinea for entrance. These fees were largely on a par with other institutions of a similar endowment: the fees for Midleton College, Cork, in 1809, were thirty guineas for boarders with five guineas for entrance, while day scholars were charged eight guineas along with one guinea for entrance.[42] Pack also reported that seven of his pupils had recently matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin and that he employed two classical assistants at a salary of fifty pounds per annum along with board and lodgings.[43]

When examined, Pack also mentioned that, during his tenure as head master, there had been a formal Visitation of the College by John Kearny, the bishop of Ossory and the provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Although the original transcripts of this

[39] *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), Twelfth on Classical Schools of Private Foundation*, 1812 (218), V, 4.
A rood is approximately a quarter of an acre.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid., 5 - 6.
[42] Ibid., 4.
[43] Ibid.

visitation could not be located, Dobbs in *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, said that this visitation occurred in 1806 and recorded that there had been forty-three boarders and twenty day scholars at the College in that year. Dobbs also quoted that the visitors had expressed "full and entire approbation of the conduct of Dr. Pack, the present Master."[44] Dobbs also identified the two ushers mentioned in the 1806 - 12 report of the *Commissioners of the Board of Education* as being Richard Graves, the Usher and William Stone, the Assistant Usher.[45] Richard Graves was the father of the Irish Antiquarian, James Graves (1815 - 1886). Richard Graves was born in Thomastown, Co. Kilkenny and had been educated by Anthony Pack at the College before attending Trinity College, Dublin from 1801 until 1806. On the completion of his degree he returned to the College to become an Usher to his old Master, Anthony Pack, before being presented to the curacy of Tascoffin in the diocese of Ossory in 1808. Graves held many positions within the diocese of Ossory and was at one stage diocesan school master in Kilkenny before becoming the rector of Mothell in 1844, where he stayed until his death in 1858.[46] Graves's appointment was a continuation of the practice of employing graduates as assistant masters that had been common throughout the head mastership of Thomas Hewetson. No further information concerning William Stone could be located.

In the *Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education*, Pack also noted the impact the 1798 rebellion had had on the College. Pre-1798 there had been forty-three boarders of whom ten had been Roman Catholic, as opposed to 1809 when there were no Roman Catholic pupils in attendance. Pack attributed this change to the rebellion but also the development of a Roman Catholic school in the city, a forerunner to St. Kieran's College, which had been founded in 1782.[47] Pack noted "There is at present a classical Academy kept by a Roman Catholic in which young Roman Catholics intended for the priesthood are educated."[48] The Commission also mentioned in their report on the College that "The plan of instruction varies little at Kilkenny School from those adopted in other great classical schools in Ireland; and it appears to us that Dr. Pack has regularly and carefully attended to the duties of his situation."[49] The College had gone into a relative decline since the report of 1791,

[44] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 16.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 321 - 322.
[47] *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), Twelfth on Classical Schools of Private Foundation*, 1812 (218), V, 4.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

there having been a decrease in pupil numbers, from sixty-five in 1791 to forty-four in 1809, a net difference of twenty-one pupils. The Commission again chose to ignore this obvious downturn in numbers and felt it necessary to praise the work of Dr. Anthony Pack. In comparison, Midleton College's decline in numbers, from forty seven boarders, some years previous, to fourteen pupils in 1809, was noted with some concern by the Commission:

> This school [Midleton] has greatly declined in point of numbers . . . the present Master had when we examined him, only fourteen boys all together, but he stated to us that he had at one time forty-seven Boarders. He attributed this decline to what he called the fluctuation of Schools, and to the bad state of the school house. Other causes may have combined.[50]

Although the drop in pupil numbers at Midleton was decidedly more marked than at the College, it is clear that the College escaped any negative commentary on the fall in pupil numbers. The reasons for this special treatment revolved around the inclusion of George Hall (1753 - 1811), the provost of Trinity College, Dublin as a commissioner. Regardless of the evidence, Hall resisted any formal criticism of the College, an institution for which he was ultimately responsible. The continued protection of the College from an objective enquiry gave an illusion of progress and the College was able to ignore many problems, such as the need for a more accountable system of government, which if addressed could have led to the betterment of the College.

The reports of the Commission pointed out that education in Ireland was effectively out of governmental control and lacked any accountability for the standard that was being provided. John Leslie Foster, who had replaced William Parnell in 1809, wrote to the secretary of the *Board of Education, Ireland* in 1811,

> Thus if we were merely to consider the extent to which instruction is administered we might perhaps be led to the conclusion, that hardly any country is so amply provided with the means of education, but when we take into consideration, not merely the quantity, but the quality of these means, the extent becomes an additional and imperious reason for interference and alteration.[51]

[50] Ibid., 5.
[51] John Leslie Foster, *Letter to the Board of Education, Ireland* (1813 - 14) V, quoted in Dowling, *A History of Irish Education*, 106.

Patrick Dowling noted in *A History of Irish Education* (1971) that as a result of this situation "There was thus a case for the Government to find some means of getting control of these schools or forcing them out of existence."[52] The fourteenth report of the Commission attempted to create a framework which would allow the Government to get this control. The report recommended the creation of a permanent and central supervisory body of educational commissioners to report on all aspects of education in Ireland, from teacher training to the provision of education for the lower classes.[53] Although the main proposals were rejected the Commissioner's findings effected a change in Governmental policy. Harold Hislop noted in his unpublished 1990 Ph.D. *The Kildare Place Society 1811 - 1831: An Experiment in Popular Education*:

> 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 the Government to seek to provide a comprehensive education system for the lower classes and to engage all the ancillary activities - (eg teacher training and text books) needed for such a scheme.[54]

Akenson has noted that although the idea was mentioned in a casual fashion it was really "a recommendation for massive state intervention in education."[55] Instead the Commissions' recommendations were rejected and their proposals initiated a process which saw the foundation of a permanent board which would only deal with endowed schools. These were institutions which the *Commissioners of the Board of Education* had felt should be left alone, since they would have come under the influence of the changes and decisions that their permanent board would have instigated. This decision was a missed opportunity to introduce accountable management which would have meant the avoidance of the problems the College was to encounter during the latter nineteenth century.

The new body was limited in both power and the number of schools it was to oversee. The Board's remit extended to the Royal Schools and a few endowed institutions which had not been appointed visitors by an act of parliament or by charter. Since Kilkenny College had visitors organised by its Charter and Statutes of March 1684 the College did not initially come under the new *Commissioners of*

[52] Ibid.
[53] *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), Fourteenth Report, Appendix*, 1812 - 13 (21), VI.
[54] Harold John Hislop, Ph.D. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin: *The Kildare Place Society 1811 - 1831: An Experiment in Popular Education*, 1990, 46.
[55] Akenson, *The Irish Educational Experiment*, 77.

Education in Ireland but it did eventually make occasional returns to them concerning pupil numbers and curriculum.[56] The *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* continued to publish reports until 1925 but never were able to make any major contribution to the development of secondary education. Coolahan in *Irish Education: Its History and Structure* (1981) noted that, "this unpaid body showed no great zeal in carrying out its functions and gave little close attention to remedying defects in the quality and range of education provided by schools under its care."[57]

The *Report of the Commissioners of the Board of Education on classical schools of private foundation* was of some significance for the College since it was the first formal investigation into the College's government to be published. The leniency that the report showed to the College by the Commission, and especially by George Hall, led to the report's failure to investigate fully the lack of formal contact the College had with its visitors, namely the board of Trinity College, Dublin and the bishop of Ossory, or address the problems related to the limited nature of the College's endowment. The deficiency of formal and effective involvement by the visitors in the management of the College was effectively institutionalised by the 1806 report. These problems were obscured while there was still a clear demand for places at the College by the Protestant population of the county and beyond. This encouraged weaknesses that would be exposed when leaner times befell the College in the subsequent decades of the nineteenth century.

6.5: Rev. Andrew O'Callaghan, head master of the College from 1810 to 1820.

The appointment of the Rev. Andrew O'Callaghan as head master in 1810 came after the relatively successful tenure of Anthony Pack but this success was not continued. This was largely due to O'Callaghan publicly publishing his views on the work of the Bible Society in Ireland at a time when the College was having to face up to the fact that the Anglo-Irish families no longer considered the College as the most suitable place to educate their sons.

[56] The following annual reports of the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* included returns for the College:
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1880 - 81), 1881 (C.2954), XXXIV.
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1881 - 82), 1882 (C.3242), XXIV.
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1882 - 83), 1883 (C.3821), XXVI.
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1883 - 84), 1884 (C.4094), XXV.
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1884 - 85), 1884 - 85 (C.4509), XXIV.
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1885 - 86), 1886 (C.4799), XXVI.
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1886 - 87), 1887 (C.5150), XXXI.
Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1887 - 88), 1888 (C.5446), XXXIX.
[57] Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*, 57.

A native of Cork, Andrew O'Callaghan had matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin as a sizar in May 1784 after he had received his initial education from a Mr. Buckley. The matriculation register of Trinity lists his father as a farmer named Stephen O'Callaghan.[58] At Trinity Andrew O'Callaghan became a scholar in 1787 and gained a B.A. in 1792. The Rev. Andrew O'Callaghan taught in Carlow before being appointed to the College in the January of 1810.[59] O'Callaghan's appointment as head master was confirmed by a letters patent from the provost of Trinity College, Dublin. The 1812 report also contained returns forwarded by O'Callaghan to the *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), Twelfth on Classical Schools of Private Foundation (1812)*, on 12 March, 1812.[60] He recorded that there were forty-six boarders at the College, of whom two were Roman Catholic, and thirty-nine day pupils, of whom five were Roman Catholic. Out of the day scholars, four of them were free scholars. O'Callaghan recorded that he was assisted by four other masters: the Usher who was paid one hundred pounds per annum, two others of whom one was paid eighty pounds per annum and the other forty guineas per annum and an English master who was paid fifty pounds per annum.[61] O'Callaghan also included the College fees, which were: thirty-four guineas for boarders and six guineas along with one guinea entrance for day scholars.[62]

The Rev. O'Callaghan's involvement in an controversy concerning the Bible Society began in 1816 when O'Callaghan published *Thoughts on the tendency of Bible Societies as affecting the Established Church and Christianity itself as a "Reasonable Service"*.[63] The book criticised the work of the Bible Society in Ireland (formerly known as the Hibernian Bible Society) which circulated Bibles to individuals regardless of denomination, class or reading ability without any aid to the understanding of the text. O'Callaghan suggested that the money collected by the society would be better utilised through the meeting of social needs such as food and education. O'Callaghan's arguments were both defended and attacked by many individuals, the most critical of them was by the Rev. Robert James McGhee, a young Church of Ireland cleric, whose work was published in 1817 and entitled, *The Bible and the*

[58] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 629.
[59] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 17.
[60] *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education, in Ireland (1806), Twelfth Report on Classical Schools of Private Foundation*, 1812 (218), V, 4 - 5.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Andrew O'Callaghan, *Thoughts on the tendency of Bible Societies as affecting the Established Church and Christianity itself as a "Reasonable Service"* (Dublin: J. Kempton, 1816).

rights of conscience and the established church vindicated; being an answer to the Rev. Mr. O'Callaghan in which the leading principles of that author's work are examined and proved by unanswerable documents, to be in perfect conformity with the principles of the Church of Rome, and direct opposition to those of the Church of England.[64] The final paragraph of the book outlined clearly what McGee considered to be the main influence on O'Callaghan:

> Such were the principles of these prelates of our Church, "Who being dead, yet speak" it is to be trusted that the author will find their successors decidedly opposed to his principles, as they were; that he will find them equally willing, to support this great pillar of the protestant faith, and resist the encroachment of Popish superstitions among our congregation whether they are attempted by the Master of the College of Maynooth or the Master of the College of Kilkenny.[65]

McGhee's venomous attack was all the more pointed since McGhee himself had been a former pupil of the Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack at the College before he matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin. McGhee's antagonism towards the College is reflected in his decision to personally administer his son's education rather than send him to his own *alma mater*. His son, also Robert James McGhee, attended Trinity College, Dublin before studying at Cambridge University and later published works defending the Church of Ireland against perceived threats from Roman Catholicism. O'Callaghan's views also caused consternation amongst the parents of College pupils. A letter addressed to a Mr. William Walker at the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland*, dated 26 November 1816, from a Mr. Francis Despard, possibly of Killaghy Castle, Mullinahone, Co. Limerick, provides evidence of this concern. Despard wrote to complain about the maltreatment of his son at the College under the cane of the Rev. O'Callaghan. He described in great detail the beatings and referred to one occasion on which his son received "twelve slaps with his [O'Callaghan's] favourite instrument."[66] Despard noted with dismay that there were now only thirteen boarders and twelve day boys although added with some exaggeration that there had previously been seventy to eighty boarders before O'Callaghan's arrival. He also

[64] Robert James McGhee, *The Bible and the rights of conscience and the established church vindicated; being an answer to the Rev. Mr. O'Callaghan in which the leading principles of that author's work are examined and proved by unanswerable documents, to be in perfect conformity with the principles of the Church of Rome, and direct opposition to those of the Church of England* (Dublin: W. Watson, 1817).

[65] Ibid., 194.

[66] Letters and Papers of the Commissioners for Education in Ireland relating to Kilkenny College, Dr. Michael Quane Papers, NLI MS 17,946.

included a reference to the selection of a "popish writing master" to instruct the boys.[67] Such sentiments clearly intimated that it was not only O'Callaghan's methods of discipline that were a point of concern. O'Callaghan's involvement with some of the more contentious areas of reformed theology appears to have hurt the College's reputation. The public nature of his clash with the Rev. Robert James McGhee would have marked him out to be strongly opinionated and may well have counted against the College as it competed with other educational establishments in the search for potential pupils. The negative influence O'Callaghan had on the College was reflected in the number of pupils who were attending the College in 1820. A contemporary record noted the number of boarders to be five and the number of day scholars to be seven.[68] It is possible to conjecture that the shortness of O'Callaghan's tenure as head master of the College was precipitated by his controversial extra-collegiate activities. No information concerning O'Callaghan's life after his departure from the College in 1820 could be located.

O'Callaghan was not the only head master of an Irish endowed school to partake in such public religious controversies. The Rev. Richard Grier (d.1829) of Midleton School in 1812 published *An Answer to Ward's Errata of the Protestant Bible*.[69] West in *Midleton College: A Tercentenary History* (1996) noted that "In spite of, or perhaps, on account of, Rev. Grier's successful onslaught on the 'errors and sophistries of the Church of Rome' Midleton's decline continued to gather pace."[70]

Benjamin Cronyn (1802 - 1871).

One of O'Callaghan's former pupils, Benjamin Cronyn, made a major contribution to both education and the development of the Anglican church in Canada. Cronyn was born in Kilkenny the son of Thomas Cronyn on 11 July 1802 and was educated at the College before entering Trinity College, Dublin c.1817 where he gained his B.A. in 1822. After being ordained he served in the Church of England in the parish of Tunstall in Kirby Lonsdale, Lancashire until 1827 and the Church of Ireland in the parish of Kilcommock, Co. Longford until 1832. In 1832 the archbishop of Dublin wrote to John Strachan, the archdeacon of York in Toronto, Canada, concerning the potential opening for Irish clergy in Canada who, "are thinking of emigration from

[67] Ibid.
[68] James Glassford, *Notice of Three Tours of Ireland in 1824 and 1826* (Bristol: W. Strong & J. Chilcott, 1832). 196 - 197.
[69] Richard Grier, *An Answer to Ward's Errata of the Protestant Bible* (London, 1812).
[70] West, *Midleton College: A Tercentenary History*, 16.

finding themselves destitute thro' the existing troubles of the Church".[71] Cronyn travelled in the summer of 1832 and settled in London, Ontario where he finished building the church started by his predecessor. London only had a population of three-hundred but soon grew into a major town, enlarged by those moving out of the Toronto area. With the support of a large number of Irish-born clerics Cronyn was elected as the first bishop of Huron and was consecrated at Lambeth Palace by the archbishop of Canterbury on 28 October 1857. He was the last Canadian bishop required to travel to England for consecration. Distrusting the theological nature of Trinity College, Toronto, the main Canadian Anglican ministerial training College, which he deemed to be too close to the Roman Catholic church, Cronyn set about establishing his own college. In 1863 Huron College was opened and started training men for the ministry. At the inauguration of Huron College Cronyn outlined his vision for the new institution:

> Huron College will be for ages to come, the honoured instrument of sending forth men well prepared to contend for the faith, not only against avowed enemies of God's word but also with the Sword of the Spirit to oppose the mystery of iniquity, whatsoever form it may assume.[72]

Huron College continued to be an important supplier of clergy both to the diocese of Huron and to the episcopal church in Canada. It grew over time into the University of Western Ontario which is now the fourth largest university in Canada. He died in September 1871 but his evangelical views were maintained by the many clergy of Irish birth that he had recruited to the Canadian church and through the teachings of Huron College. It is not clear how influential the polemical views of O'Callaghan were on the actions of Cronyn.

6.6: Rev. Dr. William Baillie (c.1795 - 1859), head master of the College from 1820 to 1842.

After the various disappointments of O'Callaghan's head mastership the visitors of the College selected William Baillie, a native of Tipperary, as his replacement. He was born c.1795 the son of Robert Baillie and had received his early education from a Mr. Fea in Tipperary before matriculating at Trinity College, Dublin in 1811, aged sixteen. He was elected to a scholarship at Trinity in 1814 and was awarded a

[71] Quoted in Marc La Terreur, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. X, 1871 to 1880 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 205.

[72] Quoted in Alfred Henchman Crowfoot, *Benjamin Cronyn, Bishop of Huron* (Huron, Canada: The Incorporated Synod of the Diocese of Huron, 1957), 101.

B.A. in 1816 after which he was presented to the deanery of Cloyne in 1818.[73] In 1820 William Baillie was appointed to the College at the age of twenty-four. Unfortunately no record of Baillie's appointment by the visitors of the College has survived in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. In 1827 he was awarded an LL.B and an LL.D by Trinity College, Dublin. He remained at the College until 1842 when he was appointed as the rector of Clonderaddock in the diocese of Raphoe, where he lived until his death in 1859. He was the author of a book entitled *A Brief View of the Church of Ireland, its early purity and independence; its subjugation and restoration*, which was published in 1853.[74] Dobbs noted that he was considered:

> A good classical and Hebrew scholar - a man of earnest piety. He was aware of the value of publicity. A famous Scotch elocutionist was brought over six weeks before the summer vacation to prepare the boys for Speech Day, and the school was well advertised. On one occasion he led a deputation of the senior boys to present an address in Latin to the second Marquis of Ormond, and that the nobleman replied at some length in the same tongue.[75]

The occasion that Dobbs referred to which involved the marquis of Ormond greeting some members of the College was on 7 June 1838. The Register of the College contained a full account of the incident recorded in Baillie's handwriting. The transcript, which has been translated from the Latin and included below, demonstrated how the College valued the Ormond family's contribution to the establishment of the College:

> A deputation of the senior students, introduced by the head master, waited on the Marquess of Ormonde on this day (7 June 1838) with an address of condolence on the demise of his father, the late Marquess of which the following is a copy: To the most noble gentleman, John, Marquess of Ormonde, etc, etc, etc, Honourable sir your recent arrival at your ancestral home and the honours and dignities of your house makes it fitting that we alumni of Kilkenny College seek a friendly meeting with you while we address you with words on the one hand sad, on the other happy. We grieve because that most distinguished father of yours has been so suddenly snatched from the eyes of yourself and of all "and we miss for the virtuous character of that man which has been removed", for "what may be the limit to the yearning for so dear a head". On the other hand since he has only

[73] Leslie, *Raphoe Clergy and Parishes*, 51.
[74] William Baillie, *A Brief View of the Church of Ireland, its early purity and independence; its subjugation and restoration* (Dublin: George Herbert, 1853).
[75] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 17.

exchanged an earthly and therefore corruptible crown for a heavenly and so incorruptible one, we truly rejoice with you and all his friends. You too, Your honour, while we wish to console (you) because of such a fine lost father reflecting on the writings of bygone times wherefore we also give congratulate (you) that you have acceded to the ranks and titles of the famous men. Who, your ancestors, were well known not only in Ireland and in England, but also in Europe. For who is so ignorant as not to know that the noble Dukes of Ormond have handed down important great deeds in Europe in and in times past overseas. Really this name in the historical record "thrives in everlasting honour". Nor indeed least is the praise of that Duke who generously founded this college in which we live and in which we daily drink the pure streams of the teaching of this and of the better world. How many great benefits have flowed therefrom not only upon this people but upon his whole race! What famous people of whom we may give Berkeley, a blessing of his race, as a lone example have been educated there! Wherefore sincerely praying Almighty God that you may be worthy of so great ancestors and your most outstanding father in every way and that you also may attain every felicity both in this and later in a better world we profess ourselves, Most Noble Man, your Most Friendly Dependents.

Not dissuaded by the sycophantic nature of the pupils' address the Marquis made the following response in which he tried to justify his fathers lack of participation in the College's affairs:

Greetings to the Pupils of Kilkenny College. I am grateful to you, my young friends, because of this evidence of your goodwill towards me; but especially of your reverence towards the memory of my recently departed father. Although unexpected, yet such a sign of your friendship is more gratifying to me; because that parent of mine was not at all involved with you, by no means forgetful of his ancestral example, but always lacking the opportunity not the wish. For he constantly showed himself benevolent towards the young and never considered as irrelevant to him the success of those, who could regard themselves as his fellow citizens. Arrival at the honours of my house brings with it difficulties mixed with privileges and "about to undergo perils which must be levelled by brave deeds". I can remember not without longing the happy and carefree times of my youth. You therefore, young men, may be congratulated on having been placed under the care of a schoolmaster so well knowing how to direct your steps through the different paths of knowledge and to explore with you the lovely haunts of the muses. I pray that in this world you may attain the highest honours, and in

the other eternal happiness. Farewell.[76]

Mrs. Barbara Baillie, William Baillie's wife was also involved in the running of the College, with both of their names being listed in connection with the College in the Parochial Returns included in the Appendix of the *Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry*, collated in 1824. The return recorded that there were sixty pupils attending the College of which fifty were Church of Ireland, two were Presbyterian, one was of another Protestant denomination and seven were Roman Catholic. The College fees were noted as being thirty-six guineas for boarding and six guineas for day pupils.[77]

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[76] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020, f.3.

> A deputation of the senior students, introduced by the Head Master, waited on the Marquess of Ormonde on this day with an address of condolence on the demise of his father, the late Marquess of which the following is a copy, *viz*, Viro Nobilissimo, Johanni, Marchioni Ormondiensi, Etc, Etc, Etc, Salutem vir honorande, Adventus tuus recens ad patiros lares et accessus ad honores tuaeque domus dignitates facit ut nos Collegii Kilkenniensis alumni tuos congressus petamus dum verbis aliqua ex parte maestis, aliqua laetis te compellamus Maeremus quod pater ille tuus prestantissimus e tuis omniumque oculis tam subito ereptus est "virtutemque illius sublatam quaerimus" nam "Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis" At quia coronam terrestrem ideoque corruptibilem pro caelesti adeoque incorruptibili ille tantum mutavit tecum omnibusque amicis ejus vere gaudemus Te quoque Honorande dum propter talem patrem amissum consolari volumus scripta praeteritorum temporum volventes quoque gratulamur quoniam ad dignitates titulosque illustrium virorum accessisti qui majores tui non tantum in Hibernio et Anglia sed etiam in Europa bene noti fuere Quis emin tam inscitus est qui nescit nobiles Duces Ormondiae res gestas Europae tempore praeterito per maria tradidisse Revera hoc nomen in pagina Historica "perpetuo viget honore" Nec minima quidem laus est illius Ducis qui hoc collegium in quo vivimus et in quo puros rivos doctrinae et hulus et melioris mundi quolidie bibimus magnifice fundavit Quam multa et quam magna beneficia non solum in hunc populum sed in totam speciem suam exinde manaverunt! Quam illustres viri si modo Berkleium Proferamus, sui generis commodum ibi educati sunt! Quare ut tantis Majoribus tuis patreque tue praestantissimo omnimodo dignus sis omnemque felicitatem et in hoc et postea in mundo meliori tu quoque assequaris Deum Ommipotentem sincere precantes Nosmet profitemur Vir Nobilissime Clientes tuos Amicissimos. To which his Lordship was pleased to make the following reply - Collegii Kilkenniensis Alumnis S. gratias vobis iuvenes amici reddo propter hoc in me benevolentiae testimonium praecipue tamen in memoriam Patris mei nuper discessi reverentiae. Inopinatum licet, tamen gratius mihi tale amicitiae vestrae signum quia minime vobiscum parens ille meus versatus est, nullo modo aviti exempli immemor sed occasione semper non voluntate carens. Usque enim erga iuventutem benevolus inventus est et nunquam successum illorum qui se concives inscribere possent a se alienum putavit Ad honores domus meae adventu difficultates dignitatibus commistas secum affert et passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus non sine desiderie felices dies et secura juventutis tempora meminisse queo. Vos igitur juvenes gratulari liceat quod sub cura magistic locati fuistis tam bene scientis gressus per varias scientiarum semitas dirigere et vobiscum sedes amoenas Camoenarum explorare. Ut in hoc mundo ad summas honores et in altero adfelicitatem aeternam attineatis precor. Valete.

[77] *The Second Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry (Abstract of Returns in 1824, from Protestant and Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland, of the state of Education in their respective parishes)*, 1826 - 27 (12), XII., Appendix XXII.

In 1832 James Glassford's *Notice of Three Tours of Ireland in 1824 and 1826*, was published.[78] Glassford had been one of the Commission involved in the *Inquiry into the State of Education in Ireland* who had published its report in 1824. During one of his tours in 1824 Glassford visited the College and recorded that the College possessed "an extensive and very handsome building, with gardens and enclosure" and also noted that "There is room for sixty boarders, there are only twenty-two at present and forty-one day scholars."[79] Glassford added that this was a considerable increase from when Baillie had arrived at the College four years previous. He also recorded that the number of Roman Catholic boarders had increased to eight and that their religious needs were being catered for by an English Master, who was also a Roman Catholic, and that Baillie had established a circulating library for the boys of the College and that it contained books of a religious, historical, moral and didactic nature.[80] Glassford mentioned that he had inspected the original Charter and Statutes of the College, signed by the first duke of Ormond: this is the only reference to the original parchment before its placement in the library of Trinity College, Dublin at some date during the twentieth century.[81] In another part of Glassford's work a conversation with the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory is noted, in which there is reference to "the late excitement" concerning the subject of scripture readings.[82] Although it is not clear from the text it is probable that Glassford was referring to the controversy that William Baillie's predecessor, the Rev. Andrew O'Callaghan, had been involved in concerning the questioning of the benefits of the distribution of proselytising material by the Bible Society in Ireland. Seven years later in 1831 the *Returns from Diocesan and other Endowed Schools* recorded that the numbers at the College had dropped to fifty-four, of which thirty-one were boarders, twenty were day scholars and one boy was a free scholar.[83]

During the following year, 1832, the page in the College's register begins ominously with the line, "The year of the Cholera".[84] This simple comment referred to the epidemic of cholera which came to Ireland in 1832. Neely noted that "At first Kilkenny was spared, but when the disease reached Clonmel it could not but

[78] Glassford, *Notice of Three Tours of Ireland.*
[79] Ibid., 196 - 198.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] *Returns from Diocesan and other Endowed Schools: etc:* 1831 (106), XV, 69.
[84] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020.

come."[85] The first reported case was on 12 September and it wasn't until the start of December that the outbreak ended, by which time four hundred and seven of Kilkenny's twenty thousand inhabitants had died. Neely also commented that considering the poor state of sanitation within the city's environs the number of dead was surprisingly low.[86] At St. Kieran's College the school closed in July 1832 for six weeks but Peter Birch in *St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny* (1951) noted that this period was protracted since students were in fear of returning and the school did not reopen until January 1833.[87] As regards how the disease affected the College it is difficult to say since deaths attributed to cholera were not recorded in the College register or any other contemporary source.[88]

William Conor Magee (1821 - 1891).

Baillie was responsible for the early education of William Conor Magee who later became the bishop of Peterborough and subsequently the archbishop of York. Magee entered the College in February 1833 and stayed two years before being admitted to Trinity College, Dublin.[89] At Trinity he became the agitator for the re-establishment of the College's Historical Society, which had originally been formed in 1770, and was acknowledged as a very capable debater. After Trinity he entered the Church of Ireland in 1845 becoming the curate of St. Thomas' parish in Dublin. After holding several ecclesiastical positions at Bath, London, Enniskillen and Cork, Magee was promoted to the see of Peterborough in 1868.[90] He remained there until 1891, when he was selected by the prime minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804 - 1881) to replace William Thomson (1819 - 1890) as archbishop of York, but died a few months after his enthronement. Magee's appointment to Peterborough from the deanery of Cork is possibly the only example of an English bishopric occupied by an incumbent of an Irish preferment.

In 1831 the national school system was set up within Ireland, mainly due to the efforts of Lord Stanley (1799 - 1869), the Irish chief secretary. Although it lacked the support of the denominations, by 1833, 107,042 children were on the rolls of the

[85] Neely, *Kilkenny: An Urban History*, 237.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Peter Birch, *St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd., 1951), 140.
[88] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020.
[89] Ibid.
Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 545.
[90] Stephen & Lee, ed., *DNB*, vol. XII, Llwyd - Mason, 760.

National Schools.[91] In 1835 several select committees were established to inquire into the condition of endowed schools and to assess what improvements could be made. Coolahan has suggested that some felt that these committees would precipitate legislation similar to that which had been enacted in relation to the National Schools.[92] The committee was chaired by Thomas Wyse (1791 - 1862), a Roman Catholic M.P. for Waterford who had a deep interest in education and had played an important role in the implementation of the National School system.[93] Although the College was not inspected by the *Select Committee on Diocesan and Foundation Schools, and Systems of Education in Ireland* returns concerning it were published in an initial report in 1836.[94] These returns gave an insight into the numbers attending the College as well as the curriculum being taught. The returns showed that the College population had not changed much since 1831; thirty boarders and twenty-one day pupils being recorded as being on the College books. The fees were shown to have increased to forty guineas for boarders and six guineas for days pupils.[95] The College hours were also recorded as being in the morning from six o'clock until nine and then from ten o'clock until one. The afternoon lasted from two o'clock until four and from six o'clock until eight. The record of the curriculum was divided up into two groups: Classical and Scientific, which were in turn divided up into further sections; Classical into: Greek, Latin, Modern Languages and Composition, and Scientific into: Mathematics, logic, Arithmetic. The return for the College included:

Classical Education

Greek:	Homer, Lucian, Xenophon, Cyrop., Greek Testament, Delectus, Valpy's Grammar and Vocabulary.
Latin:	Juvenal, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Terence, Livy, Caesar, Sallust, Selectae, Latin Sentences and Grammar, &c.
Modern Languages:	French.
Composition:	Greek, Latin, French and English.

[91] *First report of the commissioners appointed by the lord lieutenant to administer funds voted by parliament for the education of the poor in Ireland*, 1834 (70), XL.
[92] Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*, 58.
[93] Thomas Wyse was educated at Stonyhurst and Trinity College, Dublin. He was M.P. for Tipperary 1830 - 1832 and Waterford 1835 - 1847. He was British Minister at Athens, 1849 and was knighted in 1856.
[94] *Select Committee on Diocesan and Foundation Schools, and Systems of Education in Ireland, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendices: Administration and Courses of Instruction in Royal, Diocesan and Private Schools in Ireland*, 1836 (630), XIII, 560 - 561.
[95] Ibid.

Scientific Education

Mathematics:	Elrington's Euclid and Lloyds' Algebra.
Logic:	Murray's.
Arithmetic:	Thompson's.[96]

The returns also recorded a section entitled, General Education, in which the boys of the College studied History, Astronomy, Antiquities, Hinck's Ancient and Thompson's Modern Geography.[97] The final report of the select committee contained many innovative and radical suggestions such as the reorganisation of the endowed schools to provide day schooling which would be denominationally mixed on the same lines as the National Schools and financed by local and public funds as well as the introduction of a comprehensive curriculum such as an emphasis on physical training and agricultural teaching.[98] In this respect the Committee were somewhat ahead of their time and included statements such as: "There does not seem to exist any valid reason why the elements of linear drawing should not be taught as universally as writing."[99] The main points of the report were not adopted and the idea of a system of state sponsored secondary education was shelved. Coolahan noted that the enthusiasm of Wyse and his committee "was not matched by the many interested parties . . . the late 1830s saw much opposition among the three denominations to the concept of interdenominational education and had no desire to see it extended into more advanced schooling."[100]

6.7: Rev. Dr. John Browne (c.1798 - 1871), head master of the College from 1842 to 1864.[101]

In selecting William Baillie as head master the visitors of the College had made a fortunate choice. When appointed Baillie was only twenty-four, this represented a clear risk on the part of the governors since Browne's inexperience could have caused problems for the College. The visitors' next choice, John Brown was more judicious,

[96] Ibid.
Elrington's Euclid was the work of Thomas Elrington, provost of Trinity College, Dublin.
[97] Ibid.
[98] *Report from the Select Committee on the foundation schools and education in Ireland (1835)*, 1837 (701), VII.
[99] *Select Committee on Plan of Education in Ireland, Report, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, Index*, 1837, (485) IX, 36.
[100] Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*, 59.
Wyse's suggestion of provincial colleges provided the basis for the non-denominational Queen's Colleges that were established in 1849 at Cork, Galway and Belfast.
[101] The Famine of 1848 occurred during the Head Mastership of Browne but no information could be located concerning the effects of the Famine on the College. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the social standing of the staff and pupils meant that the effect of the Famine on the College would have been minimal.

before his appointment to the College he had been a successful head master of Bandon Grammar School, Co. Cork for sixteen years, having been appointed to Bandon by the sixth duke of Devonshire (1790 - 1858) in 1826.

John James Browne was born in Co. Roscommon the son of the Rev. James Browne. Unfortunately, no record of the letters patent in connection with Browne's appointment by the visitors of the College has survived in the library of Trinity College, Dublin but a record of the conditions of the appointment has, included in a legal brief in June, 1874 which Browne signed in July 1843:

> I do consent to the resolution of the Board of Trinity College, Dublin of 15th of April and 6th of May - *viz:* the Board to give two hundred pounds towards repair of the College of Kilkenny, the remainder of the sum necessary for the exacting the establishment to be furnished by me, three quarters of the entire sum (including the two hundred pounds advanced by the Board) to be charged upon my successor, Kilkenny College to be annually inspected by the person appointed by the Bishop of Ossory to inspect Glebe houses of his diocese and should an unfavourable report be made of the situation at the house or offices I promise to repair them within a reasonable time, otherwise the repairs to be made by the Board and charged against the sum to be paid by my successor, a final inspection to be made when I vacate the school by persons appointed by the board who shall assess the dilapidations.[102]

A note contained in the College register recorded that Browne took up his appointment on 25 June 1842.[103] Browne was replaced as head master of Bandon Grammar School by his brother, Dr. S. Browne. John Browne had been educated initially by a Rev. William Smyth before matriculating at Trinity College, Dublin as a sizar on 7 June 1814 at the age of sixteen. Browne was elected as a scholar in 1819 and commenced with a B.A. in 1822. In 1834, eight years before his appointment to the College, he was awarded an LL.B. and an LL.D. by Trinity College, Dublin.[104] After his resignation from the College in 1864 he was appointed as the rector of Carrick-on-Suir, Co. Tipperary, a position he held until 1871.[105] The College register noted that it was due to the wishes of the marchioness of Ormond that Browne

[102] The Case on Behalf of the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin and Kilkenny College, presented to Mr. Charles H. Tandy Q.C., June, 1874, TCD MUN/P/1/2240.
[103] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020, f.6.
[104] Burtchaell & Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses*, 104.
[105] Rennison, *Succession Lists Diocese of Waterford and Lismore*, 145.
Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 176.

received this ecclesiastical preferment.[106]

In November 1850 Browne addressed the Kilkenny Archaeological Society on the subject of the history of the College.[107] His article proved to be the only written record of the College's history until the publication of Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College* in 1938. Browne made a major contribution to the educational history of the College in his article through his inclusion of stories about the College, such as the story concerning Jonathan Swift's signature appearing on a piece of College furniture, which would otherwise have been forgotten. Some of the issues that were addressed by Browne in his article, such as the fashion for sending Irish boys to England for their education, were deeply relevant to the future wellbeing of the College, Browne stated:

> Our great men and our little men are not satisfied with education in Ireland, and the lamentable consequence, obvious to all, is an unlearned and dwindling race, instead of the giants of those days when Ireland educated her own sons. Our young gentry (with few honourable exceptions) bring home from England and the Continent, ideas unsuited to their circumstances, and habits unfit them for their duties of good and plain country gentlemen in Ireland. But let us hope that better days are coming to Ireland, that her sons will no longer be alienated in their affections from the land of their nativity by a foreign education . . . Then we shall no longer be able to adopt, as applicable to our own people, but we shall be able to reverse, the celebrated lines of Horace - Aetas perentum, pejor avis, tulit nos nequiores, mox daturos progeniem vitiosiorem.[108]

This lament featured to an even greater extent in the lives of subsequent head masters of the College.[109] In January 1857 an edition of *The Dublin Evening Mail* recorded the successes of various students at the College in the half yearly examinations. Amongst the fifty boys named were a number of Browne's sons; the piece also included information concerning the achievements of former students of the College:

> Five Fellowships, Gold medals in Science and Classics, first University

[106] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020, f.13.
[107] Browne, "Kilkenny College," 221 - 229.
[108] Ibid., 228
The Latin quote can be translated as: "The age that gave our fathers birth, Saw them their noble sires disgrace: We, baser still, shall leave on earth, The still increasing guilt of our degenerate race."
[109] Ibid.

> Scholarships - the highest places at the Great entrances, Honours and Prizes in every branch of University Education - invariable successes at Addiscombe, Woolwich, and Sandhurst, attest the successful cultivation of General Knowledge at Kilkenny College.[110]

The piece ended with a plea from Browne for a "punctual attendance" of all boys at the College for the start of the Spring term.[111]

On 11 March 1864, after Browne's resignation from the head mastership, the College was inspected by Mr. McCurdy, the architect of Trinity College, Dublin. McCurdy reported that the College buildings needed some repair, such as new timbers for floors in the boarders' dormitories, new stairs for the boarders, a new schoolroom door and a new skylight. In total McCurdy considered that £190 was required to make such repairs good.[112] As decreed in the conditions of Browne's appointment this amount was deducted from the amount owed to him by his successor.

6.8: The College and the *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission* 1857 - 58 (Kildare).

The decision to establish a Royal Commission on Irish educational endowments was influenced by three factors. Firstly, the failure of Thomas Wyse's 1836 *Select Committee on Diocesan and Foundation Schools, and Systems of Education in Ireland* to establish any new structures for secondary education exacerbated the situation that had emerged after the creation of National Schools in 1831. The new National School structure had displaced those schools which had previously provided secondary as well as elementary education and thus created an increasing need for some type of state sponsorship of secondary education.[113] Secondly, the shortage of students adequately educated for entry into the new Queen's Colleges, which had been established in 1849, was becoming problematic.[114] The struggle for the Queen's Colleges to become established had been compounded by the Roman Catholic church's opposition to non-denominational education at all levels. Thirdly, the endowments of privately and publicly endowed schools were viewed as being

[110] *The Dublin Evening Mail*, 7 January, 1857.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Return of Dilapidations, Kilkenny College by the Architect of Trinity College, Dublin, 11th March, 1864, TCD MUN/P/1/2018.
[113] Godkin, *Education in Ireland*, 142.
Graham Balfour, *The educational systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), 209.
[114] Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*, 116.

unsatisfactorily managed. James Godkin in *A Handbook of The Education Question; Education in Ireland, its History, Institutions, Systems, Statistics and Progress, From Earliest Times to Present* (1862) surmised the situation when he noted "they [endowed schools] were under the control of one small exclusive party, who never wished to enlighten and elevate the great body of people, but - instinctively dreading their political influence - were ever anxious to keep them down."[115] The inadequate state of endowed schools and their endowments had been a perennial complaint of previous commissions, which had reported that the objects of their founders were not being carried out. This meant that there were sizable resources that were not being fully realised and could therefore be utilised to finance the development of a new national secondary education system.[116] The possibility of the redistribution of endowments was a key objective of the *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission.*

On 15 August, 1855, the Rev. Dr. Browne addressed the Commission on the state of the College. The members of the Commission in attendance comprised Charles William FitzGerald (1819 - 1887), the marquis of Kildare and later the fourth duke of Leinster, Henry George Hughes (1810 - 1872), Archibald John Stephens, Dr. William Nielson Hancock (b.1820) who acted as secretary, and Dr. Andrews the chairman (The Rev. Dr. Graves was the only member of the Commission not in attendance at the public meeting in Kilkenny).[117] Browne was first questioned about the nature of the endowment of the College; in his answer he detailed £140 that the first duke of Ormond endowed to the College in 1684. Browne then explained how the College no longer gained this endowment from parishes which the Duke had assigned for this payment to the College, but the lands had since been taken away from the College and that the funds were now presented directly to the College by the Ormond family and were fixed at £140 (Irish pounds). Browne noted that the amount would have been considerably more if the land had still been held by the College.[118]

[115] Godkin, *Education in Ireland*, 43.
[116] Ibid., 142.
[117] *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the endowments, funds, and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland,* (Kildare), 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII. part I., *Evidence Taken Before the Commissioners*, vol. I, 1857 - 58, (2336 - 11), XXII, part II, 6 - 8. Henry George Hughes, later Baron Hughes, the only Roman Catholic Commissioner, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin and entered the Irish Bar in 1834. He served as Irish solicitor-general before becoming a baron of the Irish exchequer. His position within Government meant that he was sometimes unpopular with more militant Roman Catholics although he did enjoy the support of the Roman Catholic clergy. Dr. William Nielson Hancock was a Q.C., having been called to the Irish Bar in 1840, and in 1846 had been appointed to the chair of Political Economy at Trinity College, Dublin.
[118] Ibid., 6.

The Commission then inquired about student numbers. In his answer Browne noted that it was difficult to record exact pupil numbers since there were always pupils arriving while others were leaving to attend university but the average number for 1854 had been forty-five. On the question of the College's state of repair Browne answered that the College was in good order having been recently improved at his own expense. When asked about the source of the income Browne detailed that he had received £300 from Trinity College, Dublin together a claim for a third of the expenditure from his successor along with his own monies, the total expenditure being £1900.

The Commission then asked about the visitation of the College undertaken by the provost of Trinity College, Dublin and the bishop of the diocese. Browne noted that the provost had never visited the College during his time as head master and that the bishop of Ossory visited on an informal basis. Browne also stated that the bishop and the provost were aware of the workings of the College and of the many honours and distinctions that former pupils of the College had achieved at Trinity College, Dublin. Browne listed the following achievements of his former pupils at the College:

> Four of them entered in July before last; and as well a I can remember, they got 2nd, 4th, 7th and 10th places. They got honors in classics and science. They made their way very well. One got double honors in classics and science in January. Five gentlemen who were pupils of mine are Junior Fellows of the University. Three got professorships in succession and Madden's Prize.[119]

Browne also detailed the distinctions his pupils had attained without Trinity College, Dublin at various training establishments which prepared boys for a career in the colonial civil service, especially India:

> In England, at Woolwich, and at the East India College, not one of my pupils have ever been rejected. One of them got one of the highest prizes at the East Indian examination last Thursday. Another who went direct from the school was highly commended at Addiscombe - a grandson of the late Chief Justice Bushe.[120]

[119] Ibid., 8.
[120] Ibid.

Browne acknowledged that the bishop of Ossory's informal visits to the College were often supplemented by his frequent visits to the Bishop's palace in Kilkenny and that a formal visitation would be undertaken if things were perceived, for whatever reason, to be not going well for the College.[121]

The Commission inquired then into the class of the boys attending the College to which Browne responded that the boys were mostly sent from gentlemen's homes. The Commission inquired into the denominational breakdown of his pupils, Browne answered by recounting that all but one of the pupils was Protestant. Browne attributed the small numbers of Roman Catholic pupils attending the College to the fact that St. Kieran's College in Kilkenny city was a sound educational institution and that it catered for the Roman Catholic population.[122] Browne contrasted this to the situation in which he had found himself in Bandon where he had educated many Roman Catholics.

The Commission inquired into the lack of any inspection by members of the Clare Street Board (*Commissioners of Education in Ireland)* and then discussed whether or not the Statutes of the College were still in place and when it was decided they were inactive, due to the lack of any formal visitation as outlined in the Statutes, the Commission deemed the College to be without a charter and therefore should have been under the jurisdiction of the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland.*[123] The findings of the Kildare Report again demonstrated the failings discovered by the 1806 Commission which should have pursued the issue of what exactly the arrangements were for the government and management of the College.

When questioned about any formal or informal restrictions on Roman Catholic attending the College, Browne was adamant that Roman Catholic pupils were welcomed and fully catered for, Browne explained:

> One of my masters is a Roman Catholic; and when I get Roman Catholic pupils, he attends them to their own church. He is a conscientious, good man. I commit them entirely to his care . . . he takes them [Roman Catholic

[121] Ibid., 6.
[122] Ibid., 7.
[123] Ibid.
The first report of *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* to contain a return from the College was published in 1880: *Commissioners of Education in Ireland Annual Report (1880 - 81)*, 1881 (C.2954), XXXIV.

> pupils] to his own clergyman. He has full liberty to attend to his own religious instruction.[124]

The man that Browne referred to was named McCarthy and had worked in the College for twenty years. Browne also mentioned another master who had been at the College twenty five years.[125] The examination of Browne finished with the Commission inquiring into the existence of a "class, somewhat under the higher class" who desired to be educated classically and of any difficulty in them acquiring it.[126] Browne answered that there was such a class and that there was no difficulty in obtaining such an education. He then commented on the careless attitude of Kilkenny people towards such an education, which was poor in contrast to the experiences he had had in Co. Kerry and Co. Cork, and noted that the gentry of Kilkenny didn't send their sons into the "learned professions."[127]

The inspection of the College by George Whitley Abraham, one of the Assistant Commissioners, on the 10 June, 1856, along with his subsequent report given the *Endowed Schools Commission* provide additional pieces of evidence regarding the state of the College.[128] Abraham confirmed what the Commission had suspected in August 1855, that the College Statutes of March 1684 had been on the whole unenforced for sometime and therefore obsolete, but intimated that they still had their uses:

> I regret to observe that the Statutes framed by the founder for the regulation of this school are completely set at nought, so far as they refer to the discipline and management of the school. These rules drawn up by the founder and incorporated by reference with the deed of the endowment, are not only binding upon conscience as conditions of the founder's bounty, but are generally entitled to respect and observance of their wisdom. Circumstances may have rendered one or two of the Statutes inapplicable, and others may require to be liberally interpreted, but I am not aware of any excuse that can be suggested for their total abandonment.[129]

Abraham noted from the Statutes that the curriculum of the College was to include, "Religion, virtue & learning in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages, as also in

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid.
[128] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Kildare), 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII, part IV, *Papers accompanying the report (Tables of Schools and Endowments)*, 149 - 150.
[129] Ibid., 149.

Oratory, and Poetry"[130] He therefore concentrated on these branches of learning in his inspection and regretted to find that, "instruction of this kind . . . has no existence in the school."[131] Another area in which the Statutes were shown to have failed regarded the clause which required the visitors of the College to protect the fabric of the College by deducting the cost of any repair to the buildings from the Master's salary. The failings of the visitors were proved again when Dr. Browne was asked about the state of the fabric of College and he had responded that he had found the College in ruins. Abraham laid the blame for the nonexecution of the College's Statutes at the Board of Trinity College, Dublin. Abraham pointed to the fact that after the failure of the Ormond lineage the board of Trinity College became the governors of the College while the provost maintained his role as one of the visitors of the College, Abraham continued:

> Having regard to the relations, neither few nor indistinct, established by the Statutes between the school and the Board - and also looking to the importance of the school itself, which has furnished to the University as many as five of its present junior fellows - I cannot imagine a more serious misprision of duty on the part of a public body than is involved in the neglect with which this school has been treated by the governors and visitors. The master has received no direction whatever as to the government of the school and has made acquaintances with the Statutes simply as a matter of curious research, in "Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland;" while the studies of an important public institution having positive rules for its management are as much at the discretion of the master as those of any private school, the adventure of an individual whom no one can call to an account.[132]

Abraham also commented on the standard of instruction taking place within the College. He examined a class in the "Phoenissae" by Euripides, which he found to be competent but discovered that the class were, "extremely deficient" in the study and knowledge of Horace, Virgil, Lucian, Mahomet and comparative philology.[133] After questioning Abraham was more impressed with the pupils' ability in mathematics: "I was far better pleased with the result of my examination in Euclid and algebra, both of which appeared to be well and radically understood."[134] Abraham concluded his report by noting that the College was not being equal to its resources but pointed

[130] cf. Appendix III, 3rd Clause.
[131] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Kildare), 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII, part IV, *Papers accompanying the report (Tables of Schools and Endowments)*, 149.
[132] Ibid., 150.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.

out that he felt that no blame could be attached to the Rev. Browne, the head master, who was not in want for "zeal or ability, so far as there is room for their exercise in the course of education he has adopted for his pupils."[135]

The Kildare Report noted that Midleton School was also found to be in an unsatisfactory state:

> We found the state of instruction unsatisfactory. In consequence of the feeling respecting it in the neighbourhood, we also held a special court in Midleton, and received evidence as to its state . . . As the result of our inquiry, we think that there was elicited sufficient proof to show that the present master has not evinced sufficient energy in maintaining discipline, or zeal in the discharge duties, and he unnecessarily gave dissatisfaction to some of the inhabitants of Midleton . . . Our Assistant Commissioner reports that only eight day boys and fifteen boarders are attending the school.[136]

The Kildare Report was published in 1857 - 58 and like previous commissions revealed a large amount of abused endowments. The report recommended that these existing endowments be used, along with governmental grants, to finance a state-sponsored secondary school system. The new system was to be denominationally mixed with regulations for separate religious instruction. The report also argued that the new secondary system should "embrace instruction not only in the classics and mathematics, but in the English language and literature, foreign languages, and the experimental and natural sciences."[137] Coolahan noted that the report was bound to be rejected "In the prevailing climate of hostility to mixed education there was little chance of these recommendations being accepted".[138] This 'prevailing climate' was demonstrated by the fact that one of the Commission, Henry George Hughes, the only Roman Catholic member of the Commission, could not sign the final report on the grounds that religion should form a part of every system of education.[139] The Roman Catholic church had made full use of the opportunity afforded by the removal of the penal laws, at the end of the eighteenth century, to establish secondary schools. Twenty-seven new schools had been established between the years 1850 and 1867 alone.[140]

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[135] Ibid.
[136] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Kildare), 1857 - 58 (2336 - 11), XXII, 150.
[137] Ibid., 269.
[138] Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*, 116.
[139] Godkin, *Education in Ireland*, 170.
[140] Ibid., 59.

As regards the College, the Kildare Report was the first governmental Commission to clearly point out the various problems it was facing. It was also, significantly, the first Commission not to contain any governor or visitor of the College, and therefore the first to have an objective view of the College. The Assistant Commissioner, G. W. Abraham, focused on the complete failure of the governors and visitors to dispense their duties. Abraham considered the only redeeming factor to be the ability of John Browne, the head master. The subsequent inaction of the governors of the College in failing to address the many serious issues raised by the Kildare Report is difficult to explain. One possible reason could have been the lack of progress made by the Commission in having any of their recommendations implemented by the Government, which removed a considerable amount of momentum from the report, not aided by the public disagreements amongst the Commission concerning some of the recommendations. More than just a public airing of the College's problems, to the embarrassment of those responsible, would have been needed if the Church of Ireland and Trinity College, Dublin, two of the most inflexible and traditionally minded establishments on the island, were to be pushed into action. Another possible reason was that in the past the College had appeared to survive instinctively without much input from the governors, apart from the appointment of head masters, and the Kildare Report did not appear to threaten the continuation of this situation.

The inaction of the College's governors to the Kildare Report compares starkly with the response of those responsible for the management of Midleton College. In July 1788, after it had become clear that the school had received a negative report, two of the governors, R. Cloyne and Charles Brodrick, published a notice in *The Dublin Chronicle* to the effect that the governors along with two local Church of Ireland clergy had inspected the school themselves and declared that the Master had "discharged his duty perfectly" and had agreed to tackle the issues raised by the 1791 Commission.[141] Despite the governors' actions, the school went into a further decline after the death of the Rev. James Reid in 1799. In 1858 Midleton College received a negative report from the Kildare Commission but again those involved in the management of the school, at that time the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland*, responded and made arrangements for the selection of a new head master, the Rev. Thomas Moore, who was appointed in 1863.[142] Moore, the father of Canon Henry

[141] *The Dublin Chronicle*, 22 July 1788.
[142] Michael Quane, "Midleton School, Co. Cork," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* vol. LXXXII, (1952): 26.

Kingsmill Moore, was head master of the school for nineteen years which according to West were "crowned with success".[143]

6.9: Conclusion.

In 1788 the number of pupils attending the College was sixty-five and although this number had stayed level during the first half of the nineteenth century, by 1854 this number had dropped to forty-five. The reasons for the decline in the numbers can be explained by two main factors: the decline in the numbers of upper class Anglo-Irish families who were now no longer based solely in Ireland and were preferring to send their sons to English public schools, and the gradual decrease in the protestant population. This decrease in the traditional supply base was not felt immediately by the College since the burgeoning Protestant middle classes started to send their sons to secondary schools. These factors, along with the attainment of the second duke of Ormond in the eighteenth century and the complete failure of the successive provosts and boards of Trinity College, Dublin and bishops of Ossory to visit and govern the College effectively as instructed in the Charter and Statutes, placed the College in a precarious position. Although Kilkenny was a minor endowment of little consequence in the greater scheme of educational endowments, neither Trinity College, Dublin nor the Church of Ireland, wished to oversee the reform, or more realistically dismantlement, of endowments which had provided unaccounted finance for generations. As a result in its growth in power and influence, the Roman Catholic church began to realise the potential of exploiting the fact that many of the publicly endowed schools were only serving the needs of a small percentage of the population. In response to this pressure the Government was faced with the prospect of permanently reorganising the whole area of endowed schools. This process and its impact on the College is the subject of the next chapter.

[143] West, *Midleton College: A Tercentenary History*, 25.

Chapter Seven

Progress towards reform - the *Educational Endowment Commission* of 1881 (Rosse), the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act* 1885 and the framing of a new scheme of government for the College in 1890 and 1903.

1864 - 1903

7.1: Introduction.

The College endured a period of acute decline during the forty years after the publication of the Kildare Report, closing for over six months on one occasion and over a year on another. The College was visited by several Governmental enquiries during this period, firstly by the *Educational Endowment Commission* (Rosse Report) in 1879 and by a commission initiated by the 1885 *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act*, who visited the College in 1887.[1] The relationship between Trinity College, Dublin and the College also suffered during this period, the lack of decisive and unambiguous government on the part of Trinity College and the other visitors of the College being the major cause. The Rev. Dr. J. H. Martin, head master of the College from 1864 until 1874 came in to dispute with the board of Trinity regarding the amount of money he was liable for concerning repairs that had to be made to the College buildings shortly after his departure. Only when the board of Trinity had taken advice from a senior Queen's Counsel was the matter able to be resolved amicably. The continual problem of the governance of the College was finally addressed during this period when Trinity College, Dublin relinquished its control, first to local committee and then to the Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland.[2] The College's government was eventually reformed under a scheme (Scheme No. 46) framed under legislation provided for by the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act*, 1885.[3] The *Educational Endowment Commissioners* proposals were objected to by some members of Kilkenny's Protestant community but the interest of the Roman Catholic church in the College's endowments and the possibility of them being utilised by Roman Catholic schools resulted in the eventual acceptance of the scheme which was approved on 31 December 1889. The scheme, which involved the creation

[1] *Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to inquire into the endowments, funds and condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland;* (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831), XXXV.

[2] Although Trinity College, Dublin relinquished the position of the governing body of the College, it maintained a position on the new local committee.

[3] Scheme framed under the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885*, for the future government and management of the Educational Endowments belonging to Kilkenny College, in the County of Kilkenny. Scheme No. 46, 31 December 1890.

of a new local management board, was not successful and only lasted twelve years. In 1903 the College approached the Incorporated Society about the management of the College being taken over by the Society. The Incorporated Society recognised the situation as an opportunity to amalgamate the College with the Society's other school in the Kilkenny, The Pococke School. The aftermath of the new scheme saw a complete change in the nature of the College, instead of attempting to recreate the classical institution which had been so favoured by the gentry of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the College evolved into a rural grammar school which served the needs of the Protestant community of South Leinster. Although this period was essentially one of decline, the College educated one of the most famous naval heroes of the First World War. David Beatty (1871 - 1936) received his initial education at the College before joining the navy and becoming admiral of the fleet in 1919.

7.2: Rev. Dr. John Henry Martin (c.1834 - 1902), head master of the College from 1864 to 1874.

John Henry Martin was born c.1834 and was originally from New Ross, Co. Wexford, the son of Henry Needham Martin, a private tutor. Martin's initial education was undertaken by his father before he was sent to Foyle College, Londonderry. He then matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin on 11 November 1850 at the age of seventeen where he subsequently became a scholar in 1852.[4] At Trinity Martin also won the Elrington Theological Prize and the Vice-Chancellor's Prize in English Prose.[5] In 1857 he commenced with a B.A. and two years later was ordained into the Church of Ireland ministry being appointed to the curacy of St. Luke's Parish in Dublin. He was appointed to the head mastership of the College on 13 February 1864 and held the position until the March of 1874.[6] During his time as head master he was presented to the position of vicar of Ballynamara parish in the diocese of Ossory in 1870.[7] In an extension of the custom of Trinity College, Dublin awarding honorary degrees to new incumbents of the head mastership of the College, Martin was awarded the degrees of LL.B and LL.D. in 1867.[8] Leslie noted that he

[4] Burtchaell & Sadler, *Alumni Dublinenses*, (1846 - 1860), 81.
[5] The Ulster Historical Foundation and The Library Committee of the Dioceses of Down, Connor and Dromore, *Clergy of Connor from Patrician times to the present day, based on the unpublished Succession Lists compiled by Canon J. B. Leslie* (Belfast: The Ulster Historical Foundation and The Library Committee of the Dioceses of Down, Connor and Dromore, 1993), 488.
[6] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020, f.14 & f.17.
[7] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 199 - 200.
[8] Burtchaell & Sadler, *Alumni Dublinenses*, (1846 - 1860), 81.

was the head master of the Pococke School in Kilkenny from 1864 until 1874 and that the Rev. Dr. John Browne had held the head mastership until 1874, but this is incorrect since Browne is known to have been appointed to the rectorship of Carrick-on-Suir in 1864 and Mr. J. Blair Browne was the head master of the Pococke School from 1859 - 1903.[9] The Rev. Dr. Martin's head mastership was not a successful one, at the end of his tenure in 1874 the College closed for over six months before the arrival of the Rev. James Maxwell Weir. The delay in the appointment of a new head master was probably due to the unattractiveness of the pay and conditions. During the same period, a senior classics master at Portora Royal School, Enniskillen would have earned two-hundred and fifty pounds per annum, some one-hundred pounds in excess of what the head master of the College would have earned.[10]

The months after Martin's departure from the head mastership of the College were overshadowed by a protracted battle with the board of Trinity College, Dublin regarding the reimbursement of funds which Martin had spent in repaying the monies that had been originally paid by the Rev. Dr. John Browne on the upkeep of the College. When Martin had taken on the head mastership of the College he had also taken on the debts that were owed by Browne. When Browne had been appointed he had accepted the debts of the previous head master on the understanding that he would be reimbursed when he vacated the position, less the value of any repairs deemed to be needed by the architect of Trinity College, Dublin. Browne had signed a formal agreement with the board of Trinity at his appointment, something which had been overlooked when Martin had been appointed. The wrangle revolved around whether or not the monies owed to Martin should be less the amount the architect of Trinity deemed to be needed to carry out necessary repairs. The architect to the board of Trinity College, Dublin, a Mr. McCurdy, inspected the College buildings on 24 February 1874 and reported that although new timbers had been laid on two thirds of the boarders' dormitories, the rest of the floor needed to be repaired lest the new timbers were affected by the old diseased timbers.[11] McCurdy also reported that in addition to the floors, other repairs such as slates, glazing and doors, the

[9] Ibid.
Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 9.
[10] Portora Royal School, Enniskillen, *Portora Royal School Register* (Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, 1936), 2.
[11] Return of Dilapidations, Kilkenny College by the Architect of Trinity College, Dublin, 11 March, 1864, TCD MUN/P/1/2018.

cost of making good the building amounted to three-hundred pounds.[12] Martin maintained that he was not liable for the repairs that were needed to be done to the College before the arrival of the James Maxwell Weir, the incoming head master of the College. After much correspondence between Martin and Andrew Searle Hart, and the registrar of Trinity College, Dublin, who represented the provost and board of Trinity, the board of Trinity resorted to legal advice to resolve the situation.[13] Mr. Charles H. Tandy Q.C. of Lower Lesson Street in Dublin, was instructed by the board of Trinity to inspect the case and make recommendations concerning Trinity's liability in the matter.[14] Although none of the original correspondence between Trinity and Martin could be located, a draft of the letter from Andrew Searle Hart to Martin exists. The draft indicated that the findings of Tandy indicated that Martin was legally liable for some of the outstanding monies owed to the new head master and that the board hoped a settlement could be possible.[15] Martin must have agreed to the proposals since a Mr. McQuestion is recorded to have received three-hundred and twenty-nine pounds on Martin's behalf from Trinity College.[16]

The battle between Martin and Trinity College, Dublin demonstrated the lack of effort by Trinity in the government of the College and the general malady in which the College existed. A greater interest in the financial matters of the College along with an annual or biannual visitation would have resulted in the detection of potential problems. The incident also probably confirmed in the mind of the board of Trinity College the troublesome nature of the College and the need for the management of it to be removed from the remit of the board. Unfortunately for the College, the board of Trinity College was to continue to carry the burden right up until the end of the nineteenth century. The argument between Martin and Trinity also meant that the state of the College buildings fell into further disrepair since neither party seemed willing to continue to contribute funds for this purpose.

The only recorded return, that could be located, for numbers attending the College

[12] Return of Dilapidations, Kilkenny College by the Architect of Trinity College, Dublin, 27 February 1874, TCD MUN/P/1/2234.
[13] Correspondence between John Henry Martin and the Registrar and Board of Trinity College, Dublin, March, April and May, 1874, TCD MUN/P/1/2251a(1).
[14] The Case on Behalf of the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin and Kilkenny College, presented to Mr. Charles H. Tandy Q.C., June, 1874, TCD MUN/P/1/2240.
[15] A Draft of Letter to be Sent from Andrew S. Hart, the Registrar of Trinity College, Dublin to the Rev. J. H. Martin, 29 June 1874, TCD MUN/P/1/2243.
[16] A Receipt for Monies owed to the Rev. J. H. Martin by the Board of Trinity College, Dublin, paid to a Mr. McQuestion, the Rev. Martin's nominee, 19 January, 1875, TCD MUN/P/1/2267(1).

during Martin's head mastership were contained in the *Census of Ireland 1871*. The census noted that thirty-seven boys were in attendance, of whom twenty-eight were boarders and nine were day students.[17] All of the pupils were recorded as being members of the Church of Ireland.

After resigning from the College Martin was appointed rector of the parish of Old Court in the diocese of Down and Dromore in 1875. Martin subsequently held the rectorship of St. George's in Belfast and Loughguile in Co. Antrim before he became the rector of Rasharkin parish, also in Co. Antrim, where he served from 1880 until his death on the 24 January 1902.[18] The publication of J. B. Leslie's manuscripts concerning the clergy of the diocese of Connor in 1993 revealed that Martin had also been a poet, with two of his poems having appeared in *Lyra Hibernica sacra*.[19] When questioned by the *Endowed Schools Commission* in 1879 about Rev. Dr. Martin's educational activities after he had left the head mastership of the College, the Rev. James Maxwell Weir, the then head master of the College, suggested that he had continued to teach "in connection with some Belfast institution."[20]

7.3: The Rev. James Maxwell Weir (d.1890), head master of the College from 1874 to 1890.

The Rev. James Maxwell Weir was the last head master of the College before the formal reorganisation of the College by the *Educational Endowment Commissioners* in 1890. Although Weir oversaw the decline of the College to the point when there were no pupils, his obstinacy in refusing to leave the position ensured that there was still an endowment to reorganise in 1890.

James Maxwell Weir had commenced his teaching career at Eyre-court Endowed School, Co. Galway before he had become the head master of a school at No. 1 The Crescent and at Pery-square in Limerick. He remained in Limerick until he was appointed by the board of Trinity College, Dublin, to the head mastership of the College in April 1874.[21] Weir had attended Trinity College, Dublin where he had been

[17] *Census of Ireland 1871: Part I, Area, Population and Number of Houses; Occupations, Religion and Education, Vol. I. Province of Leinster* 1872 (c.662), LXVII, *Table XXXI A Summary of Educational Establishments for the City of Kilkenny*, 420.
[18] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 199 - 200.
[19] *The Clergy of Connor from Patrician times to the present day, based on the unpublished Succession Lists compiled by Canon J. B. Leslie*, 488.
W. MacIlwaine, *Lyra Hibernica sacra* (Belfast: M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, 1878).
[20] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831) XXXV, *Minutes of Evidence*, 461.
[21] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020. f.18.

awarded a classical sizarship in 1849 and had then been elected a scholar in 1852. The College had been closed for over six months after the departure of Martin which had meant there had been no boarders at the College when Weir had arrived. The College buildings were in a poor state of repair when Weir undertook the head mastership. In August 1879 Weir was contacted by the Rev. James Alexander McMullen of Douglas on the Isle of Man concerning the possibility of the transfer of property to the College for the endowment of a number of scholarships tenable at the College for members of his own family.[22] Weir felt dubious about the offer and suspected that the cleric was confusing the College with St. Kieran's College and wrote to inquire further as to what McMullen's plans entailed.[23] McMullen's reply made it clear that the College was indeed the subject of his plans and assured Weir that St. Kieran's College was of a "nature of which I am very well acquainted." The property that McMullen referred to consisted of land and houses on the Isle of Man which yielded an income of two-hundred pounds per annum.[24] The Rev. McMullen had been born c.1825, the son of John McMullen, and was a native of Co. Kilkenny. McMullen was noted in *Alumni Dublinenses* as having been self educated, entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a pensioner on the 22 May 1849 at the age of twenty-four.[25] No other biographical information concerning McMullen could be located but the address given in his correspondence with Weir was, Foxdall, St. John's, Douglas, The Isle of Man. This suggested that McMullen may have had a role in the ministry of the church of St. John the Baptist, in the parish of St. John's on the Isle of Man. In a letter to Mr. J. H. Nunn, the legal agent of the board of Trinity College, Dublin, Weir referred to McMullen's offer as a means of "resuscitating this old establishment" if there were no legal technicality preventing the realisation of the bequest.[26] Weir commented that he considered the only draw back that the scholarships were intended for the paying of College fees and did not fund any exhibitions tenable at Trinity College, Dublin and mentioned the possibility of the *Commissioners of Education* being induced into granting surplus funds for the giving of prizes at annual examinations.[27] On 25 September 1879 Weir forwarded McMullen's

[22] Correspondence between James Maxwell Weir and James Alexander McMullen, August, 1879, Copy of Letter 1, TCD MUN/P/1/2362.
[23] Correspondence between James Maxwell Weir and J.H. Nunn, 8 September, 1879, TCD MUN/P/1/2361.
[24] Correspondence between James Maxwell Weir and James Alexander McMullen, August, 1879, Copy of Letter 1 & 2, TCD MUN/P/1/2362.
[25] Burtchaell & Sadler, *Alumni Dublinenses*, (1846 - 1860), 78.
[26] Correspondence between James Maxwell Weir and J.H. Nunn, 8th September, 1879, TCD MUN/P/1/2361.
[27] Ibid.

proposals to Nunn for the scheme to govern the new scholarships. The scheme set out that the funds for the scholarship would come available on the deaths of both McMullen and his wife. There were to be five scholarships, worth forty pounds per annum, and were to be tenable for five years at the College, providing that the sons of McMullen's brothers and sisters were under the age of sixteen and Protestant. The scholarships were only tenable at the College while the head master remained a Protestant. McMullen also added various clauses that would allow others to compete for the scholarships if members of his own family failed to claim them. The examinations that would determine the award of the scholarships were to be run under the auspices of the board of Trinity College, Dublin, but only if the board was comprised of a majority of Protestants. The bishop of Ossory and council of clergy of the diocese of Ossory would deputise for the board if that was not the case. If the scholarships continued to remain vacant, the funds of the endowment could then be utilised as a fund for prizes and exhibitions which would again be determined by the board of Trinity College, under the same restrictions as had been previously mentioned.[28] Weir sent a copy of the scheme to Nunn, along with some recommendations of his own, he commented:

> Though there is no immediate prospect of benefits it will ultimately be of material advantage to this College and in the mean time something else in the way of a fund prizes etc. may be worked up. I should suggest an arrangement of six scholarships tenable for three years in Trinity College, Dublin and subject to the same conditions as those of the Royal Schools payable by and under the sole control of the Board of Trinity . . . of course McMullen's wishes must be deferred to particularly but I am sure he would be in a great measure influenced by any suggestion offered by the Board.[29]

It must be assumed that some problem arose since nothing came of McMullen's plans and there is no other reference to the proposal outside the information contained in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The reason was possibly that the board of Trinity College may have decided to block McMullen's offer on some legal impediment or that McMullen's claims concerning the property he owned on the Isle of Man were not able to be substantiated. Weir's desire to gain for the College a fund for scholarships and exhibitions would have been great. The *Return of Schools of*

[28] The Rev. James Alexander McMullen's Outline of the Scheme for the Organisation of a Proposed Endowment to Fund Scholarships at Kilkenny College, September, 1879, TCD MUN/P/1/2364.
[29] Correspondence between James Maxwell Weir and J.H. Nunn, 25th September, 1879, TCD MUN/P/1/2363.

Public and Private Foundation under the Control of Commissioners of Education for Endowed Schools (Ireland) (1878) demonstrated the gulf that existed between the College and other endowed schools. The return was separated into two groups, one half which contained schools which had a sizable endowment and the other which contained schools whose endowments were so small as to be considered to be insignificant. In his return, which was included in the section with endowed schools with insignificant endowments, Weir noted that in 1876 there were thirty pupils at the College of whom fifteen were day students and fifteen were boarders.[30] Of the thirty boys, twenty-five were members of the Church of Ireland, two were Presbyterians and three were Roman Catholics.[31] The return also included a section concerning the total number of scholars, both day and boarders, the College could accommodate, it is not clear whether an error or embarrassment forced Weir to leave it blank. At Bandon Grammar School, where Dr. S. Browne, the brother of the former head master of the College, the Rev. Dr. John Browne, was head master, the situation was in a poorer state, with there being fifteen day scholars and two boarders, all of whom were members of the Church of Ireland, in a school that could accommodate eighty boarders and thirty day scholars.[32] The school with the largest number of pupils included in the second half of the return was Rathvilly Endowed School, Co. Carlow, which recorded sixty-five pupils, ten of whom were boarders of which all were Protestant.[33] Included in the list of schools that were deemed as having an endowment worthy of mention was Portora Royal School, Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, where the head master, the Rev. Dr. Steele, oversaw the education of sixty-three boys and was able to draw upon a newly reformed fund of three-hundred and fifty pounds for exhibitions redeemable at Trinity College, Dublin.[34] The clear and growing discrepancies between schools which were endowed with sizable amounts and those which didn't meant that the task of a head master with a limited endowment to compete for the sons of the shrinking Protestant middle and

[30] *Return of Schools of Public and Private Foundation under the Control of Commissioners of Education for Endowed Schools (Ireland)*, (1876), 1878 (67) LX, 3.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 2.

upper classes, regardless of a schools famed past, was not complaisant.[35]

7.4: The College and the *Educational Endowments Commission* 1881 (Rosse).

During Weir's tenure as head master, the College was inspected by various bodies at the request of the lord lieutenant of Ireland. The first of such bodies was the *Educational Endowments Commission*, who published their report in 1881. The report is commonly referred to as the Rosse Report after the head of the Commission, William Parsons (1800 - 1867), the third earl of Rosse. During the decades since the completion of the Kildare Report the Government's concentration had been on the provision of secondary education along the same lines as the National Schools. The Government's attempts had been frustrated by the religious denominations negative attitude to state intervention in education and the lack of resources to finance such a scheme. Progress was made in the form of *The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act* of 1878.[36] The act introduced an examination system run by an Intermediate Education Board which provided 'payment by results' which meant that the difficult issue of interdenominational education was avoided and Roman Catholic schools could accept state aid without having concerns over any preconditions. The scheme also did not require any additional Governmental funding since it utilised one million pounds made available by the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, which had occurred in 1869. Although the new board had dealt with one problem, the issue of educational endowments was still unresolved. The main impetus which led to new legislation concerning these endowment came from Lord Randolph Churchill (1849 - 1895). On 3 December 1878 the seventh duke of Marlborough (1822 - 1883), the Irish lord lieutenant, issued a warrant appointing a Commission "to inquire into the endowments, Funds and Actual Condition of all Schools endowed for the purpose of

[35] Although the nature of Weir's Head mastership of the College was essentially one of failure, he was responsible for the early education of David Beatty (1871 - 1936) who after attending the College joined the Royal Navy and eventually became admiral of the fleet. Beside the date of 20 April 1876 the names of David and Thomas Beatty, the sons of Major Thomas Beatty appear in the College register. David Beatty had been born in Stapeley, near Nantwich, Cheshire but was raised at Borodale in Co. Wexford. After leaving the College he joined the Royal Navy and made such progress that he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant in 1892. After his involvement in Kitchener's (Horatio Kitchener (1850 - 1916), later Lord Kitchener) retaking of the Sudan in 1896 he was appointed to the D.S.O. and noted for further promotion, which he gained in 1898 and 1900. After seeing action in the Mediterranean and the South China Sea he was promoted to rear-admiral in 1910. In 1912 he became Winston Churchill's (1874 - 1965) naval secretary and played a prominent role in the Battle of Jutland (31 May, 1916) as commander of the battle-cruiser squadron. In November 1919 he was appointed as admiral of the fleet and was raised to the peerage as Earl Beatty. He retired from the admiralty in 1927 and died on 11 March 1936, three months after the death of Earl Jellicoe (1859 - 1935) Beatty's superior at Jutland, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

[36] 41 & 42 Victoria, c.66.

education in Ireland."[37] The members of the Commission included, the earl of Rosse, Lord Randolph Churchill, Gerald Fitzgibbon (1837 - 1909), Richard O'Shaughnesy M.P., William Wilson M.P. (d.1879), Andrew Searle Hart (1811 - 1890) and Andrew Hill Curtis.[38] The Commission appointed the Rev. Dr. John Pentland Mahaffy and Hugh Keys Moore to assist them in the inspection of the schools, which was to supplement the oral evidence collated by the Commission.[39]

Weir was first interviewed by the Commission, which comprised Lord Justice Fitzgibbon and Andrew Searle Hart who were assisted by Mr. G. W. Bradshaw, the Assistant Secretary, on 4 October 1879. The visit confirmed, just as previous inspections had, that the present arrangement by which the board and provost of Trinity College, Dublin were both governor and visitor to the College was unsatisfactory and a better agrangement needed to be framed. One member of the Commission, Andrew Searle Hart had had firsthand experience of the situation when, as registrar of Trinity College, Dublin, he had communicated with the Rev. Dr. John Henry Martin about monies owed for repair work on the College buildings. The Commission inquired into the state of pupil numbers on Weir's arrival at the College. Weir stated that along with the eighteen students that he had brought with him from Limerick there were "twelve or fourteen" day boys from the city.[40] Some of these day pupils were additional boys that he had brought with him for whom he had found lodgings in the town. Weir appeared to have had as many as eighteen Roman Catholic pupils when he first came, until they were "interfered with". The Commission chose not to explore what Weir had meant by this comment but it is not unreasonable to suggest that they had been removed as a result of pressure from members of the Roman Catholic clergy in the city.[41] Weir also reported that illness had broken out amid his pupils and that he had been forced to send them all home.[42] Although the details of the illness are not recorded, it may be conjectured

[37] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831) XXXV, 5.
[38] Gerald Fitzgibbon was the son of Gerald Fitzgibbon master of the chancery in Ireland. After attending Trinity College, Dublin he was called to the Irish bar in 1860 and became Irish solicitor general 1877, in 1878 he became a lord justice of appeal. Andrew Searle Hart was educated at Foyle College, Londonderry and Trinity College, Dublin where he was elected to fellowship in 1835 and became vice-provost in 1878. He wrote on various scientific subjects and was knighted in 1886. Andrew Hill Curtis was Professor of Natural Philosophy at Queen's College, Galway.
[39] For further information on the impetus for endowment reform see William Raymond Wilkinson, M.Ed. Thesis, Trinity College, Dublin: *The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act and Its Implementation in Intermediate Schools of Public Foundation in Ulster, 1885 - 1900*, 1982, 35 - 50.
[40] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831) XXXV, *Minutes of Evidence*, 461.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid., 462.

that a contagious disease such as Scarlet Fever was prevalent amongst the pupils. Weir detailed to the Commission the financial situation in the College. Weir as head master received one-hundred and twenty-nine pounds per annum from the marquis of Ormond, which made up the only endowment the College enjoyed.[43] The only addition to the endowment were the fees that the pupils paid for tuition and board. The fees for the College in 1879 were forty to forty-five pounds per annum for boarders and eight, ten and twelve guineas for day boys according to class.[44] Any repairs that the College buildings required had to be paid from the head master's own monies.[45] Weir also noted that he had had to supply all of his own furniture since the College had possessed only a small book case.[46] He also lamented the fact that the College had no provision for prizes or exhibitions, Weir intimated that it had been "the only drawback to the complete success of the College."[47] Weir may also have been referring to the failure of the Rev. McMullen's proposals to establish a limited endowment for the College which had occurred during the previous September. Weir also detailed the complex situation as regards the management of the College noting that the provost and board of Trinity College, Dublin, along with the bishop of Ossory were the present visitors and governors of the College. Weir also noted that the marquis of Ormond was a nominal patron of the College and explained that the Marquis and his family had not taken an active interest in the affairs of the College. He also added that if the Marquis was offered a more prominent position in the government of the College, the Marquis had intimated that he would be interested in reestablishing his family's involvement in the College.[48] Weir noted that the provost of Trinity had not visited the College since he had become head master, though the bishop of Ossory had visited the College in an informal manner at the invitation of Weir, during the previous year, but the visit had not come under the terms of the Statutes of the College which required that the College be visited on the last Thursday of June.[49] Lord Justice Fitzgibbon inquired if Weir would have considered a more organised system which resulted in the College being formally visited on a regular basis by the bishop of Ossory and by the provost of Trinity College, Dublin; Weir responded by saying that a fund for prizes and

[43] James Butler (1844 - 1919), the fourth marquis of Ormond, had succeeded to the marquessate in 1854.
[44] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831) XXXV, *Minutes of Evidence*, 462 & 463.
[45] Ibid., 462.
[46] Ibid., 463
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., 464.
[49] Ibid., 462.
cf. Appendix III, 21st Clause.

exhibitions would be of more benefit to the College. After further questions which concerned the advantages of a local governor, Weir agreed that it would be of benefit to him and future head masters.[50] Towards the end of the evidence collated by the Commission the question of the management of the College was again identified. After discussing at length the arrangement by which he had underwritten the monies owed to his predecessor, which had been a condition of his appointment, Weir detailed that no formal visitation had been undertaken by the visitors of the College. The only contact Weir had had with the board of Trinity College, Dublin, had been through a Mr. Curdy [McCurdy] who had been sent by the board, on two occasions, to assess repairs that the College buildings had required. Weir explained that the board of Trinity College had only recompensed him a proportion of the monies he had spent on repair to the College buildings. Dr. Hart asked several questions as regards the benefits of having a regular formal visitation of the College by the College visitors to assess the repairs needed to be completed to the College buildings and thus remove the financial and technical burden from him. Weir agreed that it would indeed be of benefit to him to have such an arrangement in place.[51] Dr. Hart also quoted from the Kildare Report which had been so critical of the visitors' disregard for the responsibilities that had been vested with them in regard to the management of the College.

The Commission also addressed the question of the curriculum at the College, which Weir reported comprised of: Greek, Latin, French, German, English History, Geography and other subjects of a grammar school education.[52] The Commission inquired as to how many boys would be entering the Intermediate Examinations that year, to which Weir responded that there would be none. Weir used the example of his own son who was at the right age for examination but he had held him back to prepare him for the entrance examination for Trinity College, Dublin, which he felt was of greater importance. Weir also mentioned that he had had boys who could have also been examined that year but he had held them back since he wanted to ensure that they were properly prepared since if a person entered the examination and failed they were barred from entering the examination for a second time.[53] Weir's focus on the entrance examinations of Trinity College compares to that of the Rev. Thomas Moore, head master of Midleton College, who reported to the Commission that he saw his

[50] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831) XXXV, *Minutes of Evidence*, 463 & 464.
[51] Ibid., 464.
[52] Ibid., 463.
[53] Ibid.

school as essentially a place of preparation for university entrance, although he did mention that he had entered sixteen of his pupils into the Intermediate Examination during the previous year but only because they had not been able to attend the school on a regular basis.[54]

Weir used the interview to add that some of his pupils had obtained appointments in the Indian Civil Service, some had gained appointments in the Army, others were now clergymen in the Church of Ireland, two were inspectors of schools, three of his former pupils enjoyed considerable success at Trinity College, Dublin, the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Belfast and that a member of the Commission, Richard O'Shaughnessy, M.P. for Limerick, was a former pupil of his.[55] The Commission also inquired into other members of staff that were involved in the instruction of pupils at the College. Weir noted that he was assisted by a mathematical assistant and a foreign master, though two English masters had been employed when there had been a larger group of boys at the College.[56]

The Commission asked Weir a considerable number of questions relating to the numbers of pupils attending the College. Weir responded by mentioning that the numbers had been in decline and that he had currently approximately twenty five pupils attending the College, either as boarders or day boys. The Commission questioned him on the reasons behind the decline of pupil numbers. Weir suggested that the most recent decrease had resulted from the large number of boys who had left to go to university and had not been replaced by new pupils.[57] The Commission then inquired into longer term reasons for the dramatic fall from the forty seven pupils noted in the 1857 Kildare Report. Weir responded by noting that:

> the mania prevailing amongst the gentry for sending children to England to be educated has increased tenfold since 1857. Then of course we must take into account the scarcity of Protestants in the south of Ireland, there are so few Protestant families that can send their boys to such an institution.[58]

Andrew Hart then asked Weir "I suppose increased railway facilities have had the

[54] Ibid., 495.
[55] Ibid., 464.
Richard O'Shaughnessy had probably been educated by Weir at one of the two schools in Limerick he had taught in before his appointment to the College.
[56] Ibid., 463.
[57] Ibid., 462.
[58] Ibid., 463.

effect of encouraging those families, who can afford to give their boys a liberal education, to send them to schools in England?" Weir answered "Yes; the increased railway and steamer facilities of course have that tendency. Numbers of boys from the county Kilkenny are educated in England."[59]

Through his answer, Weir highlighted three factors which can be seen to have resulted in the decline of numbers attending the College; the decline of the Protestant population in the south of Ireland, the impact of improved transport within Ireland and between Ireland and Britain and the increase in the amount of upper and middle class parents choosing to send their sons to England for their education.

There had been a clear decline of the Protestant population of the south of Ireland (although their overall percentage of the population remained constant). The census of 1861 recorded that the Protestant (Church of Ireland, Presbyterian and Methodist) population of Kilkenny city and county was 6,330 (approximately 5% of the population), in 1881 that population had dropped to 5,305 (approximately 5% of the population) and by 1891 it had fallen to 4,446 (approximately 5% of the population).[60] This decline of Kilkenny city and county's was mirrored in the figures for the rest of Leinster in which the Protestant (Church of Ireland, Presbyterian and Methodist) population had dropped from 199,232 (approximately 14% of the population) in 1861 to 167,750 (approximately 14% of the population) in 1891.[61] This fall had been exacerbated by the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869 which had undermined the Protestant position within Irish society. Trevor West in *Midleton College: A Tercentenary History* (1996) also pointed to the granting of emancipation given to Roman Catholics in 1829 which had challenged the "hitherto unchallenged assumptions of the Irish protestant ruling class were subjected to increasing scrutiny and, were finally, in the southern part of the Island, completely overturned."[62]

Transport within Ireland and between Ireland and Britain improved dramatically during the nineteenth century. The first railway service in Ireland was established in 1834 and ran between Dublin and Kingstown (Dún Laoghaire). Although it was not

[59] Ibid.
[60] William Edward Vaughan & A. J. Fitzpatrick, eds. *Irish Historical Statistics Population 1821 - 1971* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 49, 57 & 60.
[61] Ibid, 53 & 62.
[62] West, *Midleton College: A Tercentenary History*, 26.

until 1853 that a line was built between Waterford and the city, from the mid 1840s the residents had been in close proximity to the Dublin to Cashel line by way of the Carlow branch line.[63] The development of railways in Ireland had a major impact on industry and society. Human mobility had previously been limited to foot, canal or cart with only a small minority having been able to afford horse drawn carriages. In conjunction with the improvement of a steamer service between Ireland and Britain, middle and upper class parents in search of a school for their children now had the option of sending them outside the island. By the late nineteenth century many were choosing this option which had a clear dertrimental effect on the numbers attending southern Irish schools like the College. Although the development of the railways had a clear detrimental effect on the College, it is interesting to note that Foyle College, Londonderry benefited from the creation of a rail network which at one point had meant that four railway lines serviced Londonderry and had made the school more accessible to the rural Protestant population of Ulster than ever before.

This fashion which Weir referred to as the "mania" of members of the gentry sending their sons to England for education had been a long established tradition. Christopher Tyerman in *A History of Harrow School 1324 - 1991* (2000) noted that:

> Forty Harrovians (former pupils of Harrow School) with parents living in Ireland have been identified as having entered the school between 1760 and 1785. Most came from the landed aristocracy and gentry and proceeded to English institutions - university, the law, or the army - before resuming their place in Irish society or staying in England.[64]

Harrow, along with Eton, Westminster and Winchester had essentially become a finishing school or forcing house for the Irish upper classes but this trend had been aided by a number of factors not least the improvement of transport links between Ireland and Britain. The Act of Union in 1801 shifted the political focus from Dublin and London and thus the attentions of the Irish aristocracy, who now saw England as the main political arena. This development prompted individuals like Dr. Maurice C. Hime, the head master of Foyle College, Londonderry, who in 1887 wrote a book entitled *Home Education: or Irish Versus English Grammar Schools for Irish Boys*. In his work, which was nearly exclusively directed at the middle classes of Ireland, he estimated that 1,500 Irish students, the majority of whom were Protestant, were

[63] Oliver Doyle & Stephen Hirsch, *Railways in Ireland 1834 - 1984* (Dublin: Signal Press, 1983), 27.
[64] Christopher Tyerman, *A History of Harrow School 1324 - 1991* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 105.

attending major and minor public schools in England.[65] Hime's argument against English public schools centred around numerous questionnaires he had sent to various distinguished Irishmen concerning where they had received their education, from which he deduced that, "of distinguished living Irishmen only 9.6 percent . . . were educated, or even partly educated at English schools."[66] Hime was not so worried about those boys educated at Harrow, Eton, Westminster or Winchester, who only accounted for a small percentage of those boys being sent to England, but those who attended minor public schools. Hime considered that those boys could have received a higher standard of education at a lower expense if they had been kept in Ireland. Although Hime criticised the standard of education provided by these schools they had improved somewhat since the time of Dickens's infamous DotheBoys' Hall which had appeared in *Nicholas Nickleby* (published in monthly parts March 1838 to September 1839) and now provided an attractive option for Irish parents.[67]

Because of the lack of any pupils in the College at the time of Weir's interview the Commission instructed their Inspector of Grammar Schools, the Rev. John Pentland Mahaffy (1839 - 1919), to inspect the College when there were pupils in attendance.[68] Mahaffy visited the College at an unspecified date in the latter part of 1879. His report, which demonstrated a rare talent for neatly surmising a situation, was included in an appendix to the report, under the section "Older Private Endowments":

> Kilkenny College, a fine building, with a good endowment, and with most respectful traditions, is in a melancholy state. The house and grounds are there to testify that there was once a flourishing school, but various untoward circumstances have reduced the boarders to three and the day boys to four. The present master is too old and otherwise unfit to raise the school. The Provost and Bishop of Ossory, as visitors, have lately ordered an inquiry into the school, and are actively considering the best means of improving it. The appointment of a young head-master, with some connections, would probably serve to raise it.[69]

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[65] Maurice C. Hime, *Home Education: or Irish Versus English Grammar Schools for Irish Boys* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co., 1887), 4.

[66] Ibid., 2 - 3.

[67] West, *Midleton College: A Tercentenary History*, 26.

[68] John Pentland Mahaffy was born in Switzerland of Irish parents and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, being elected a fellow in 1864 and became professor of ancient history in 1869. He was elected provost in 1914 at the age of seventy-five but died five years later in 1919. He was knighted in 1918.

[69] *Endowment Commissioners Report*, (Rosse), 1881 (c.2831) XXXV, *Appendix A*, 245.

Although the Commission did not precipitate immediate reform, it can be seen as an important stage in the long term reorganisation of endowed schools in Ireland as it led to the framing of the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act 1885.*

Midleton College was also visited by the Commission who set out their recommendations for the school in Scheme 105. The proposed scheme had originally met some opposition from the governors of the school since it had included a suggestion to include an individual who was not a member of the Church of Ireland on the local management board. The problem was surmounted by the removal from the scheme of any references to the denominational make-up of the board.[70]

In August 1880 Weir placed an advert in a national journal detailing the successes of his former pupils at several universities in Ireland. Of the seven names, two were Weir's sons: Edward H. Maxwell Weir and George W. Weir. The advert ended with the note that, "There are at present vacancies for resident pupils on terms UNUSUALLY MODERATE (*sic*); Boys from 10 to 15 preferred."[71] Weir's advertisment proved to be unsuccessful in attracting many additional pupils to the College. No new pupils were admitted until August 1884, when two new names are recorded in the College register and after that only ten more names appear.[72] The reason for Weirs lack of success appears to have been a fresh outbreak of Scarlet Fever. In a response to an enquiry from the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* about pupil numbers, dated March 1881 Weir noted "We have had very few pupils here for nearly two years" and continued to recount how Scarlet Fever had broken out in the College in the August of the previous year and how it had meant the few remaining pupils were returned home.[73] As the first pupil who had introduced the fever to the College had died Weir recorded how the parents had been scared to return their boys to the College and that he had had only three pupils since. Weir utilised the opportunity to reiterate his concern that although he considered that the location of the College was the best in southern Ireland it was the need of a fund for prizes and exhibitions that was damaging the College chances of success in attracting new pupils.[74]

[70] West, *Midleton College: A Tercentenary History*, 34 -35.
[71] Letters and Papers of the Commissioners for Education in Ireland relating to Kilkenny College, Dr. Michael Quane Papers, NLI MS 17,946.
[72] Entrance and Leaving book, Kilkenny College, TCD MS 2020.
[73] Letters and Papers of the Commissioners for Education in Ireland relating to Kilkenny College, Dr. Michael Quane Papers, NLI MS 17,946.
[74] Ibid.

In April 1884 Weir again responded, in a clearly defeatist tone, to another inquiry from the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* concerning pupil numbers at the College. He noted that there was on average five day pupils and one boarder and again mentioned the lack of prize funds as a contributory factor to the College's decline. He also noted that the Model School in the city, along with the Pococke School, were attracting potential pupils away from the College.[75]

The decline of the College was also given attention in a guide book to Kilkenny written by G. H. Bassett and published in 1884. The guide noted "This once famous collegiate school maybe described as an old-fashioned square building, without any pretensions to architectural beauty."[76] The guide also contained information on the Pococke School, which recorded the fine situation in which the school was placed, the school's curriculum and the successes of former pupils in Civil Service and Trinity College entrance examinations. The guide also noted that the present principal of the school, Mr. John Blair Brown, had altered the school's drainage twenty-five years previous and "there had not been since a case of typhoid fever, scarlatina [Scarlet Fever], or measles on the premises." The statement concerning the absences of disease at the Pococke School, was a clear reference to the problems the College had experienced in relation to sanitation during the previous years.[77]

7.5: The College and the 1887 *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission.*

The College was visited in 1887 by the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission*. The Rosse Report signalled the beginning of the end of the unsatisfactory arrangement whereby the College was managed by the board of Trinity College, Dublin, and the framing and introduction of a new scheme for the government of the College. The Commission had been set up as the result of the *Educational Endowments Act of 1885*

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[75] Ibid.
The Model Schools were established as a result of the lack of teachers available to fill positions in the new National Schools which had been established in 1831. The schools, which were entirely funded by the government, were used to train teachers while still functioning as a school. In 1856 the Kilkenny Model School opened on Ormonde Road and initially had a large number of Roman Catholic students on its roll but after the Irish Christian Brothers School opened in the city in 1860 this number dropped considerably. In 1892 the Kilkenny Model School came under Protestant management and two years later took over the education of the pupils who had previously attended the Kilkenny Subscription School. In 1936 the Model School moved from its premises on Ormonde Road to Newpark Drive and in 1999 it moved again to inside the grounds of the newly moved Kilkenny College on the Castlecomer Road.

[76] George Henry Bassett, *Kilkenny city and county guide and directory: a book for manufacturers, merchants, traders, land-owners, farmers, tourists, anglers, and sportsmen generally* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1884), 57.

[77] Ibid., 50.

which corresponded closely with the English Endowed Schools Act of 1869 and Scotch Educational Endowments Act of 1852.[78] The Commission was directed by the act to draft new schemes of management for educational endowments. The schemes were then open to a process of publication, petition, appeals and then submission to the lord Lieutenant for approval. Provision was also given so that schemes could be altered under the auspices of the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland*. Although the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission* were instructed to protect vested interests they were also to be aware of "merit as ascertained by examination". Aware of the contentious religious nature of the Commission's task, the government framed the membership of the commission with due sensitivity. The Commission comprised the Right Hon. Lord Chief Justice Fitzgibbon, the Right Hon. Lord Justice Naish, Monsignor Gerald Molloy, Dr. Anthony Traill and the Rev. Professor James Brown Dougherty. Lord Chief Justice Fitzgibbon and the Right Hon. Lord Justice Naish (1841 - 1899) were the two judicial members of the commission that were requested by the act, Gerald Fitzgibbon was the present lord chancellor of Ireland and was appointed the chairman of the Commission and John Naish was a former lord chancellor of Ireland and a Roman Catholic, although he was seen by the Roman Catholic hierarchy as something of a 'Castle Catholic', having attended Trinity College, Dublin.[79] Monsignor Gerald Molloy (1834 - 1887) was the rector of the Catholic University of Ireland and former professor of theology at Maynooth; he was also a distrusted figure and had been described as an "unmitigated whig . . . and a genial soul, as fit to cope with the chairman, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, as a shrimp with a shark" by Archbishop Croke, Dr. Anthony Traill (1838 - 1914) was the representative of the board of Trinity College, Dublin and future provost of Trinity and the Rev. Professor Dougherty was professor of Logic at one of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland's training colleges: Magee College, Londonderry.[80]

The Roman Catholic hierarchy sensed that there was still a Protestant bias to the Commission, and in October 1885 demanded that the issue should be addressed by the government and if their demands were ignored, then they called upon the Roman Catholic members of the Commission to resign.[81] Thomas McElligott pointed out in *Secondary Education in Ireland, 1870 - 1921* (1981) that the Roman Catholic hierarchy

[78] 48 & 49 Vict. c.78.
[79] Letter of Dr. Croke, archbishop of Cashel, to Archbishop Walsh, 11 January 1886, quoted in Patrick J. Walsh, *William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin* (Dublin: Talbot Press,1928), 510.
[80] Dougherty resigned in 1892 and was replaced by the Rev. Hamilton B. Wilson of Cookstown, Co. Tyrone.
[81] *Freeman's Journal*, 8 October, 1885.

were not just concerned with the religious make up of the Commission but also in the power of veto that each of the judicial members of the Commission possessed. This meant that although the Roman Catholic judicial member of the Commission could veto all judgments as regards the redistribution of an endowment, so could the Protestant judicial member of the Commission and hence nothing would change, since the overwhelming majority of endowments were in the hands of the Protestants.[82] McElligott also suggested that there was a general welcome for the Act of 1885 by both Roman Catholic and Protestants because it aimed to give:

> as wide a freedom as possible to those already in control of schools, to avoid undue interference with established rights and vested interests, and to ensure that any reorganisation necessary would not violate the spirit of the founder's intentions. With this in mind, the Commissioners announced: "Any governing body, or governing bodies jointly may, within two months after the commencement of this Act, give notice in writing of their intention to submit a draft scheme for the consideration of the Commissioners."[83]

Despite many of the Act's disparities, W. Raymond Wilkinson in his 1982 M.Ed. thesis entitled *The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act and its Implementation in Intermediate Schools of Public Foundation in Ulster, 1885 - 1900* pointed out that "an immense amount of administrative, legal and financial tidying up in the Irish educational sphere was to be accomplished by the relatively short-lived Commission which it established."[84]

At a public meeting held at the Court House in Kilkenny on 29 October 1887 the College was examined by the Commission. The meeting was attended by the Rev. Dr. William Pakenham Walsh (1820 - 1902), the Protestant bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, the Right Rev. Dr. Brownrigg the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, the Rev. James Maxwell Weir, the head master of the College, and the Rev. Father Barry the President of St. Kieran's College, Kilkenny. Mr. George Dames Burtchaell, as instructed by Mr. James Poe, appeared on behalf of the marquis of Ormond. The Commission's main objective was to discover the state of the College and its endowments and thus being informed, attempt to reorganise the government of the College. Lord Justice

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[82] Thomas J. McElligott, *Secondary Education in Ireland, 1870 - 1921* (Dublin: Irish Academical Press, 1981), 56 -57.

[83] Ibid.
The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, 48 & 49 Victoria. c.78, 354.

[84] Wilkinson, *The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act and Its Implementation in Intermediate Schools of Public Foundation in Ulster, 1885 - 1900*, 68.

Fitzgibbon made a statement at the start of the meeting which was not recorded in the official records. The Rev. Dr. Walsh noted that he had visited the College with the provost of Trinity College, Dublin, John Hewitt Jellet (1817 - 1888), a former pupil of the College, in January 1887 and found only two pupils at the College.[85] As a result of their visitation they had sent a report to the marquis of Ormond which contained the following paragraph which was read out to the Commission:

> Having in our capacity as visitors inspected Kilkenny College buildings, it is our duty to call to your attention certain repairs (Schedule of Repairs enclosed), which we consider necessary to be done in a workmanlike manner. We beg to call attention to the fact that part of the building has been sublet; this has been done without our consent, and we direct you to obtain possession of that part of the premises and to restore them to their original state.[86]

Walsh noted that although the subletting of part of the building had ceased, no move had been made by the Marquis of Ormond to make good any repair to the buildings. He added that he had visited the College during the previous fortnight and discovered no pupils at the College. The Commission then asked the Rev. Dr. Walsh for his own understanding for the College's decline. Walsh said that he considered the College had ceased to function as an efficient educational establishment in 1880. He had visited the College on previous occasions:

> In 1872, immediately after I came here, I reported on its educational condition to Lord Ormonde. The school [the College] was inefficient then in not having a sufficient number of pupils attending it, but the few who were there were well taught I believe.[87]

Walsh also referred to the limited size of the endowment along with the provision in the College Statutes that the master had to be at least a graduate of a university to the degree of M.A., this meant that men of the required calibre were not being attracted to the position. Walsh's comments could be construed to have been a reference to Mr. D. H. Creighton, the master of a successful Protestant school in Kilkenny, as a potential head master of the College. Walsh had already reminded the

[85] John Hewitt Jellet entered the College along with his two brothers in 1830 but subsequently removed to Midleton College, Co. Cork from where he entered Trinity College, Dublin, becoming a fellow in 1840 and provost in 1881.

[86] *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, Annual Report*, 1887 - 88, *Minutes of Evidence*, 1888 (c.5232), XXXXIX, 253.

[87] Ibid.

Commission that Mr. James Maxwell Weir had been the only candidate who had applied for the head mastership in 1874.[88] Walsh also reported that pupils who would have normally attended the College now attended a private academy run by Mr. David H. Creighton in the city of Kilkenny.[89] Mr. Burtchaell then spoke on behalf of the marquis of Ormond. Burtchaell detailed how the Marquis was anxious that any new scheme that was to be framed for the government of the College would allow for him a role in the selection of the head master. Burtchaell also noted that the Marquis was concerned with the practicalities of Weir remaining as head master:

> The present master is not as physically capable of carrying on the school as when he was first appointed, and there is no way of making any provision, that, in case the master is not able to conduct the school, he can be supplanted by a man who is physically more competent to do so.[90]

Burtchaell then relayed the Marquis' concerns over the head master's pension arrangements:

> There is no way provided of pensioning such a master, and carrying on the school under a younger and more energetic man. Lord Ormonde (the Marquis) considers that there might be such powers vested in the governing body as would enable them to make provision for the master. There is no difficulty whatever in the matter, except that the power to do so does not exist under the old charter.[91]

Burtchaell also mentioned that it was the Marquis' wish that the College should remain within the Church of Ireland in accordance with the Charter and Statutes of the College.[92] The Commission inquired into why the Marquis had ceased to pay the endowment to the College's head master. Burtchaell answered that the Marquis had taken the action after Bishop Walsh and the provost had reported that the College building had not been maintained and that Weir had been subletting part of the College without the consent of the Marquis. When Dr. Traill asked how this could be, since the Marquis had been withholding the endowment for well over a year previous to the visitation by Bishop Walsh and the provost, Mr. Burtchaell could

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[88] Ibid., 252.
[89] Ibid., 253.
[90] Ibid., 254.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid., 254.
cf. Appendix III, 15th & 17th Clause.

provide no answer.[93] Lord Justice Fitzgibbon then asked Burtchaell about the Marquis' attitude to a new board of management, Burchaell retorted that the Marquis would be satisfied if:

> whatever regulations that you make for the future management, he should have a substantial voice in the matter. I think as the Bishop of Ossory and the Provost of Trinity were two of the visitors under the old scheme, they should naturally have a place in the new governing body.[94]

Dr. Traill commented that it would be better if a local person such as the dean of Ossory could be involved since the provost would find it difficult considering his circumstances and responsibilities in Dublin. Traill was clearly under instructions from the provost and board of Trinity College to relinquish the ties it had had with the College, since the relationship between the two, especially during the previous couple of decades, had proved to be anything but harmonious.

The *Minutes of Evidence* suggested that Weir was not initially in attendance on 19 October but after Mr. Burtchaell had finished answering questions, Weir appeared to have arrived and was sworn in. Most of the initial questions were of a similar nature to previous Commissions' inquiries. Weir answered questions that concerned his own background and the reasons for the decline in pupil numbers. In addition to the answers that he had given to previous commissions, Weir noted that since the serious outbreak of Scarlet Fever which had occurred in 1878, he had struggled to increase pupil numbers but only had three or four boarders in the years that followed.[95] He reported that his last pupil had left on 24 May and since then he had had no new pupils. Monsignor Molloy then asked Weir to detail exactly his thoughts on the decline of the College:

> Well there are several causes. I had opposition from a variety of sources. There was the government opposition - the model schools - and people who want to give their children an English education prefer to send them to these schools on account of cheapness . . . Then the Incorporated Society have a school in this neighbourhood [The Pococke School].[96]

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[93] *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, Annual Report*, 1887 - 88, *Minutes of Evidence*, 1888 (c.5232), XXXXIX, 254.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 255.
[96] Ibid.

Weir continued to reiterate many of the points he had previously made to other commissions, such as the strength of the Roman Catholic school in the city, the inclination of wealthy families to send their sons to England for education and the lack of any exhibitions and prizes attached to the College. Weir stated that many potential pupils had been sent to the Royal Schools of Ulster, such as Armagh, Portora and Dungannon because of the assistance that could be offered through entrance exhibitions offered at those establishments. Some boys had moved to the Erasmus Smith School in Tipperary because of the availability of exhibitions open to Erasmus Smith pupils at Trinity College, Dublin. After further questions Weir admitted that there were some pupils whose parents could have afforded the fees at the College but had decided to attend the Model School in the city.[97]

Lord Justice Fitzgibbon asked about the provision of commercial studies at the College. Weir confirmed that Book Keeping had been part of the curriculum and that one of his former pupils had passed into the Bank of Ireland, notwithstanding the fact that the boy was the son of the manager of the Bank of Ireland in Kilkenny.

The Commission then inquired into the state of the College finances and Weir again recounted the situation of how he had inherited the College's debts on his appointment from his predecessor. After stating that he had remained unpaid since March 1886, the Commission inquired into the state of repair Weir had kept the College buildings in. Weir answered by saying that he had ensured the College's upkeep until his salary had been withheld and had therefore been only paying the various taxes the College annually incurred and had not been able to finance the repair of the buildings. Weir stated that he had not attempted to recover his salary since he had "an objection to go to law."[98]

The Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, Dr. Brownrigg, was then sworn in, he proceeded to made a statement concerning his views on the future of the College. Dr. Brownrigg stated that although he acknowledged that the College had been a Protestant institution since its refoundation in 1684, it had proved to be of no use to the present Protestant community:

> it is quite manifest from the evidence which has been given here to-day that

[97] Ibid., 256.
[98] Ibid.

> the school has been just kept on its legs for the last fourteen years; it has during that period been barely kept alive. It is evident that Mr. Weir was brought here from Limerick for the purpose of rehabilitating the school, but his efforts have only been attended with complete failure. I do not mean to say that owing to any fault on Mr. Weir's part. It may be that the people of the district are apathetic and I believe that is a reason.[99]

Dr. Brownrigg continued to state the case to the Commission regarding the Roman Catholic Church's involvement in the drafting of a new scheme of government for the College:

> the Commission is empowered under the Act (The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885) to draft a new scheme for the school, the Catholics have the right to some consideration in the drafting of the new scheme - the original object having failed and Catholics not being allowed to go to the school, both on account of their religious convictions, and, also because they cannot comply with the conditions laid down by the original statutes.[100]

Dr. Brownrigg suggested that the College's endowment should not be presented completely to the Roman Catholic community of Kilkenny in the form of St. Kieran's College, but that the money should be placed into a prize fund that could be competed for by boys of the district through the Intermediate Examinations. Dr. Brownrigg admitted that the prizes would most likely reach more Roman Catholic boys than Protestant, since the Roman Catholic schools had entered the examinations set up under the Intermediate Board with more fervour and success than their Protestant counterparts.[101] Brownrigg's case for the consideration of the Roman Catholic community in the framing of the new scheme was supported by Rev. Father Barry, the president of St. Kieran's College. Father Barry based his claim on the fact that the present institution was a direct descendant of the ancient Pre-Reformation Catholic foundation of the College which was founded by Piers and Margaret Butler in 1538. Father Barry also pointed to the failure of the Marquis and the Protestant community of Kilkenny to ensure the propagation of the College which had caused their right to the endowment to lapse he also mentioned that there were a number of other Protestant educational institutions who were fulfilling the role that the College had once performed. Barry continued that since part of the Statutes, and therefore the endowment, of the College allowed for the education of boys from the liberties

[99] Ibid. 256 & 257.
[100] Ibid., 257.
[101] Ibid., 257 & 258.

area of Kilkenny, an area inhabited mostly by Roman Catholics, for half the normal fees, the Roman Catholic community had a legitimate claim to a part of the endowment.[102] Barry also mentioned the fact that the present College building had also been built with public money during the 1780s, that in his mind the College and its endowment had therefore become public property.[103] Father Barry concurred with the Rev. Dr. Brownrigg that the endowments should be transferred into a fund that could be competed for through the annual Intermediate Examinations. He also felt that since the College buildings were in such a bad state of repair and had proved to have been unhygienic, being the cause of several outbreaks of Scarlet Fever during the previous decades, they should be disposed of and the proceeds added to the endowment.[104]

The Commission then interviewed Mr. David H. Creighton, the master of another Protestant school in the city. Creighton reported that he had founded the school in 1880 and that the majority of the thirty seven boys attending were Protestant, although several Roman Catholics also attended. Lord Justice Fitzgibbon questioned Creighton on his opinion regarding the demise of Kilkenny College. Creighton answered that he considered that the lack of a local board containing people who were interested in the College was a contributory factor. Fitzgibbon then pointed out to Creighton that his own school was not run by any local board, yet it had been successful, and asked him the reason for that situation, Creighton answered "I suppose I must have attended to my school better."[105] Creighton was asked by the Commission as to how many of his pupils had entered university, Creighton answered that eight of his former pupils had matriculated at the Royal University of Ireland. After they had heard this, the Commission commented that Mr. Creighton's school was performing the role that the College had once done. In a letter addressed to the *Educational Endowment Commissioners*, dated 21 November 1887, contained along with Creighton's returns which detailed the parentage of the pupils attending his school in Kilkenny, Creighton added to the discussion regarding the future of the College:

> Your Lordships will notice that these pupils, have in the main, been of the

[102] Ibid., 260.
cf. Appendix III, 10th Clause.
[103] *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, Annual Report*, 1887 - 88, *Minutes of Evidence*, 1888, (c.5232), XXXXIX, 260.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., 258.

> class which would attend Kilkenny College, if that establishment was in active operation - I may add that I would be happy to attend before the Commission to render any assistance in my power towards the reestablishment of Kilkenny College. Though I do not apply for the mastership of the College, I have the pupils necessary to its revival, and if the scheme were so modified that I were to be eligible for the mastership I believe I could greatly increase my present school with superior accommodation the building and grounds could afford.[106]

It is not clear if the Commission considered Creighton's offer.

After hearing all the evidence Lord Justice Fitzgibbon finished by stating what he intended to happen next:

> We have now heard all that we can learn upon the spot, and it is plain that the college at present is inefficient. It has practically ceased to exist, and it is our duty to restore it, if we can, to efficient working order. Our first duty is to see if this can be done in the terms laid down in the original foundation. There are several matters which will require some consideration, and this is especially the case with regard to the position of Trinity College towards this endowment. The next step will be, if that question is disposed of or if we can get over it, to publish a draft scheme for the school and endeavour to meet the views of all parties upon the matter. This scheme will be open to objections and amendments before it is finally settled.[107]

Weir wrote to the Commission on 17 November 1887 to offer supplemental evidence. In this additional evidence Weir again stated in more detailed manner the successes that former pupils had obtained at various universities in Ireland. Weir stated that he had felt compelled to do so because he considered that he had not been "sufficiently explicit with respect to my connection to the college . . . certain evidence was given of a nature prejudicial to my interest of which I was not aware until I saw it reported in the public press". He also apologised to the Commission for his late arrival at the hearing, claiming that he had thought that the proceedings

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[106] *Endowed Schools Commission*, 1879 - 80, Box. 2. Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Kilkenny, uncatalogued (held in the National Archives, Dublin). Although the Box is labelled containing documents pertaining to the *Endowed Schools Commission*, material relating to the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission*, such as Creighton's return, are also included. Creighton was ineligible to become the Head master of the College because he had not been admitted to the degree of M.A. at a university within Britain or Ireland but had attended Owen's College, Manchester.

[107] *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, Annual Report*, 1887 - 88, *Minutes of Evidence*, 1888 (c.5232), XXXXIX, 260.

would not commence until after noon.[108] Weir continued to offer additional evidence in his defence, annotating how he had attempted to gain for the College money for prizes and exhibitions:

> I on one occasion put an advertisement in *The Moderator*, by way of an appeal to the clergy and gentry requesting subscriptions for the purpose would be paid to the Rev. Dr. Heatly Ex. Sch. T.C.D., as treasurer. To this there was not one single response, and after two months I discontinued it in disgust . . Such is a *notable* (*sic*) instance of my experience of the *Great ! ! !* (*sic*) interest displayed by the people here in the welfare and prosperity of Kilkenny College.[109]

On 31 March 1888 Weir wrote to the *Commissioners of Education in Ireland* in a response to an inquiry to the numbers at the College. Weir used the opportunity to again vent his frustration over the situation he had found himself in as well as those he considered to be at fault:

> Mr. Fleming, the reason why I have not responded sooner and more fully to the papers of inquiry is that I consider it perfectly useless to do so. I have been answering the same queries each year for the last <u>fourteen</u> (*sic*) years and making suggestions which if acted on would have materially benefited the school, but no benefits resulted . . . The general opinion is that it will ultimately fall into the hands of the Roman Catholics as the Protestant laity or clergy[110] have not for many years past, taken any interest in it so as to maintain it as a Protestant School.[111]

In reviewing Weir's attempts at reviving the College it is again clear that his efforts alone would not be sufficient but that a new scheme of management and a new head master were required if the College was to survive.

7.6: The New Scheme dated 31 December 1890 (Scheme No. 46) for the Government of the College.

The scheme proposed by the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission* (Scheme No.

[108] Ibid., *Appendix B*, no. XX., Kilkenny College, Supplemental Evidence submitted by Mr. James Maxwell Weir, 17 November, 1887, 506 -507.

[109] Ibid.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Young Heatly had been elected a scholar of Trinity in 1850 and was presented to the prebend of Killamery in 1883, in 1891 he was preferred as treasurer of St. Canice's, a position he held until 1900.

[110] In the original letter the word 'gentry' had been crossed out and replaced by the word 'clergy'.

[111] Letters and Papers of the Commissioners for Education in Ireland relating to Kilkenny College, NLI MS 17,946.

46) was published 13 August 1887 and was objected to by five different groups; the proposed governors of the College, the marquis of Ormond, the provost, fellows and scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, James Maxwell Weir and the parents of present and former pupils of the school run by Mr. David H. Creighton.[112] Each one of these groups petitioned the Commission to make amendments. Unfortunately no record of any of these objections was able to be located. On 18 November, during the scheme's amendment process, James Maxwell Weir died. His death gave the new governing body an opportunity to introduce a more dynamic figure to the head mastership of the College. The modified scheme was given formal approval by the lord lieutenant on 31 December 1890.[113] The new scheme first detailed the situation which had prevailed after the granting of the Charter and Statutes to the College by the first duke of Ormond before the new scheme had been devised. The new scheme then catalogued the recent and past financial settlements that had been made between the board of Trinity College, Dublin and the head masters of the College. The new governing body was to consist initially of the marquis of Ormond, who would also act as the chairman of the governors, and three *ex-officio* members; the bishop of Ossory, the dean of St. Canice's and the provost of Trinity College, Dublin. The rest of the governors were to be made up of five representatives of the *ex-officio* governors, one being nominated each by the marquis of Ormond and the provost of Trinity and the other three being elected by the Diocesan Council of Ossory.[114] The scheme also required that all governors were members of the Church of Ireland. The Rev. Waller de Montmorency was selected by the marquis of Ormond as his representative governor, the Rev. Joseph Carson was selected to represent Trinity and the Ven. William C. Gorman, Edward Warren and James Poe were selected to represent the Diocesan Council of Ossory.[115] The scheme then outlined the areas in which the governors could utilise the College's endowment:

> (*a*) To maintain the buildings, furniture, appliances, and premises of the College in good order and condition, and make such additions thereto, and improvements therein, as may be required from time to time.
>
> (*b*) To pay all rents, taxes, costs of insurance, and other charges, necessarily

[112] *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, Annual Report*, 1890, *Report*, (c.6181), XXIX, Table 1, XI.

[113] Scheme framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, for the future government and management of the Educational Endowments belonging to Kilkenny College, in the County of Kilkenny. Scheme No., 46, 31 December 1890 contained in Appendix V.

[114] Ibid., 2nd Clause.

[115] Ibid.

or properly payable out of or for the said premises, and to defray the necessary working expenses of the College, and the cost of management.

(*c*) To maintain an efficient Teaching Staff for the College.

(*d*) To maintain a sufficient household and domestic staff, and to provide suitable board, lodgings, and accommodation for the resident pupils and staff of the College.

(*e*) To provide prizes for the most deserving pupils; such prizes maybe awarded in such a manner as the governors may deem best calculated to promote the progress of the pupil, and may be so given as to enable or encourage deserving and capable pupils, who require such assistance, to continue their education at the College longer than they could otherwise do, or to obtain special instruction or more advanced education elsewhere.

(*f*) To defray any other expenses incurred in giving effect to the purpose of this scheme.[116]

Through the scheme the governors had the power to appoint and dismiss members of staff. The regulations for the appointment of the head master were only similar to the original Statutes inasmuch as they required candidates to be members of the Church of Ireland but the requirement that the head master was to be at least of M.A. standing was changed to "preference shall be given to a Graduate in Arts or Science."[117] The appointment of any Assistant masters was to be in the domain of the head master although the governors maintained the right to approve any appointments.[118] With regards to both the head master and his assistant's dismissal, it was to be, "for such cause as they (the governors) shall deem adequate."[119] The salary of the head master was to be set by the governors at an amount they reckoned sufficient.[120]

The governors of the College were instructed to meet "at least every six months . . at the College; they shall also meet at such other times and places as they may from time to time appoint"; the governors were also requested, when meeting in the

[116] Ibid., 12th Clause.
[117] cf. Appendix III, Imprimis Clause.
Appendix V.
This may have been the reason for Dr. T. Brian MacDermott and not Mr. D. H. Creighton being selected as the new Head master of the College.
[118] Ibid., 34th Clause.
[119] Ibid., 28th Clause.
[120] Ibid., 33rd Clause.

College, to take the opportunity "of examining for themselves into the condition of the College premises, and the efficiency of the education given therein."[121] In addition to the governors there were to be subscribers who could qualify by subscribing various amounts of money to the College. The subscribers were entitled to attend subscribers' meetings and could elect a governor to represent their opinions at College management meetings.[122]

The new scheme also revitalised previous items that had been contained in the original Charter and Statutes, *viz*, the allowance for free pupils and pupils on reduced fees at the College.[123] The new scheme allowed for the marquis of Ormond to select free day pupils and day pupils on reduced fees to be educated at the College, on the understanding there could only be five of each in the College at any one time. These pupils had to fulfil various requirements such as the need to possess Protestant parents, to live in the county or city of Kilkenny and be in need of assistance.[124]

The new scheme included two clauses which, although at variance to the original intentions of the first duke of Ormond, demonstrated the many changes that had occurred in Irish educational provision during the centuries after the granting of the Charter and Statutes to the College. Clause twenty-three outlined the role of religious instruction within the College and contained the requirement for day boys to be excluded from religious instruction if so wished by their parents or guardians.[125] Clause twenty-four referred to the possible future education of girls at the College. The scheme left such a decision to the governors whenever they thought it "expedient" to extend the benefit of the College's endowment to female pupils.[126]

The College's new scheme also allowed for amendments, as outlined in the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act*, to be made to the scheme by the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland* "in any matter whatsoever upon the application of the governors, or upon the application of the Diocesan Council."[127] The scheme demonstrated the desire of the Commission to ensure the past mistakes

[121] Ibid., 26th Clause.
[122] Ibid., 6th Clause.
[123] cf. Appendix III, 9th & 10th Clause.
[124] cf. Appendix V, 16th, 17th & 18th Clause.
[125] Ibid., 23rd Clause.
[126] Ibid., 24th Clause.
[127] Ibid., 41st Clause.

regarding the government of the College would not be repeated. The majority of the new governors were locally based and provided the College with the accountability that had been lacking while the board of Trinity College, Dublin had been effectively the sole governor and visitor of the College. The attempt by the Roman Catholic community of Kilkenny to secure a portion of the College's endowment failed. The reasons why they failed probably related to the limited size of the College's endowment. One hundred and forty pounds was a small sum when compared to the size of the endowments enjoyed by publically endowed schools. In the case of the Royal Schools of Ulster, their endowment was divided between the Royal Schools and the Roman Catholic church by the Commission. Dobbs recorded that a Dr. T. Brian MacDermott was selected by the new governors to replace Weir as head master. The governors would have been fully aware of the importance of selecting someone who would ensure the rejuvenated institution would have a favourable beginning. Dr. MacDermott served as head master of the College from 1890 until 1893 but no other information, biographical or otherwise, concerning MacDermott could be ascertained.[128]

7.7: The Rev. George William Baile, head master of the College from 1893 to 1902.

The Rev. George William Baile had been educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he commenced with a B. A. and an LL.B. in 1886.[129] After Baile's resignation from the head mastership of the College in 1902, he obtained a consular post and died serving as a chaplain during the First World War.[130] Dobbs noted that Baile was "virtually the last Headmaster of the old dispensation."[131] After Baile's resignation the post of head master was held temporarily by Mr. James Fisher Cox and the Rev. Thomas William Pettipice before the arrival of Mr. W. A. Sheckleton.[132] The Rev. James Fisher Cox had been educated at Coleraine Academical Institution before matriculating at Trinity College, Dublin c.1896.[133] After Cox had commenced with a B.A. from Trinity in 1900 he was ordained into the Church of Ireland, after his year as head master of the College he served in various parishes throughout the dioceses

[128] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 17.
[129] The University of Dublin, *A Catalogue of Graduates of The University of Dublin, Vol.II: containing the names of those who proceeded to degrees from the year 1868 to the winter commencement of the year 1895* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., Ltd, 1896), 10.
[130] Baile is sometimes recorded as Baily.
[131] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 8.
[132] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 376.
[133] Leslie, *Clogher Clergy and Parishes*, 205.

of Ossory and Clogher finally becoming the rector of Castlecomer.[134] The Rev. Thomas William Pettipice was educated also at Trinity College where he was awarded his B.A. in 1900.[135] He occupied the head mastership for three years during which time he was presented to the rectorship of Myshall in the diocese of Leighlin.[136] Both Mr. James Fisher Cox and the Rev. Thomas William Pettipice appear to have been unsuccessful choices as head master. It is unclear why this weakness arose, since it would have been plainly obvious to the governors that the choice of an able individual was vital if the College was to become a success. Although the Rev. Baile provided a considerable amount of continuity for the first years of the newly reformed institution, this was not continued by his successors. The head masterships of Cox and Pettipice may be speculated to have precipitated the events which led to the approach by the governors to the Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland for assistance in the management of the College.

7.8: The Amendment of the New Scheme (Scheme No. 46) for the Government of the College, 13 May 1903.

On 20 April 1903 the members of the Incorporated Society at its Annual Meeting were informed that the way had been paved for Kilkenny College to become part of the Incorporated Society:

> At the last Annual Meeting powers were given to the governors to accept from the governors of Kilkenny College the premises and grounds of which they are the trustees. It is plainly in the interests of Church Education in the south of Ireland not to maintain in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny two schools, by joining them together, we can have one strong and well equipped school, giving a sound literary and commercial education for moderate fees.[137]

The report clearly demonstrated the sensible nature of the decision to amalgamate the Pococke School with the College. Although the two schools shared a diverse heritage, during the nineteenth century their functions had begun to overlap and at the start of the twentieth century they carried out virtually similar roles in attempting to

[134] The University of Dublin, *A Catalogue of Graduates of The University of Dublin, Vol. II*, 24. Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 223.

[135] The Rev. Thomas William Pettipice is recorded as Mr. T. D. Pettypice in the amending scheme for Kilkenny College, published by the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland*, 13 May, 1903, Scheme 46.

[136] The University of Dublin, *A Catalogue of Graduates of The University of Dublin*, Vol.II, 91. Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 8.

[137] The Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland, *Report Submitted by the Society at the Annual Meeting on 20th April 1903*, 16.

attract the same rural Protestant clientele. The amalgamation joined the Pococke, a school which had embraced the intermediate examinations and had developed a curriculum of commercial studies, with the College, which had remained a classical grammar school and had continued to concentrate on the requirements of university matriculation rather than enter the intermediate examinations and had only altered its curriculum when it had had little option not to. The report seems to suggest that the governors of the College had initiated the discussions with the Incorporated Society, indicating that the College had either struggled to resuscitate itself after the formation of a local committee or that the attractiveness of the financially strong Incorporated Society had proved too strong. The most likely explanation is that a combination of both these factors occurred. The College was not the only newly reformed institution which struggled in the years after the granting of a new scheme. The 1901 Census of Ireland recorded that only sixteen pupils were attending the College, of which thirteen were boarders and three were day pupils. The census also recorded that one of the sixteen was recorded as being female.[138] There also appears to have been no alternative to the amalgamation, the Protestant community of Kilkenny could not support two institutions which were essentially fulfilling identical roles. The College's struggle was not isolated, Monaghan Collegiate eventually closed as the result of the local committee having been unable to give the school a secure financial background as Wilkinson noted:

> The lack of any financial endowment, other than the school buildings to supplement the fees of the pupils, the results fees paid by the intermediate board, and the failure of the Protestant inhabitants of Monaghan to recognise the value of secondary education, or to contribute adequately towards the upkeep of the School, were responsible for its ultimate collapse.[139]

The Incorporated Society report detailed the events which had led to the amalgamation:

> During the past year negotiations have been carried on between the two Governing Bodies, and are now so far advanced that nothing is needed but the formal sanction of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests. We have hope and expectations that the amalgamation will be

[138] *Census of Ireland 1901: Part I, Area, Population and Number of Houses; Occupations, Religion and Education, Vol. I. Province of Leinster* 1902 (c.847), CXXII, *Table* XXXIXa *Summary of Educational Establishments for the City of Kilkenny*, 149.

[139] Wilkinson, *The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act and Its Implementation in Intermediate Schools of Public Foundation in Ulster, 1885 - 1900*, 91.

> effected during the year on terms satisfactory to all concerned; we trust that the splendid traditions of the College where Berkeley, Swift and Congreve were educated will be well maintained under the Incorporated Society.[140]

It is difficult to see how the College could have survived if the Incorporated Society had not had a school in the vicinity of the College. The College appears to have had a clear intrinsic value as regards its previous fame as a great school, but this alone would not have been enough to convince the Incorporated Society to rescue the College.

In May 1903 the agreement between the Incorporated Society and the governors of the College was given official consent by the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland*. The involvement of the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests* was necessary since all amendments to the College's scheme had to be approved by them. The process was simplified since the Incorporated Society were also managed under a Scheme (No. 210) framed under the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885*, the *Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland*.[141] The most important change initiated by the new amending scheme was the introduction of new governors and the demotion of the former governors to a local committee who were to assist the new governors.[142] The new governors of the College were to be the governing body of the Incorporated Society and the College therefore became part of the 'Foundation Schools' maintained by the Incorporated Society. All endowments, rights and powers were transferred to the Society which took on all the responsibilities which the previous governors had held.[143] The local committee was essentially the same as the governors set out in the original scheme, with the only change being the personnel named. Montmorency maintained his role as the representative of the marquis of Ormond but Joseph Carson was replaced by Benjamin Williamson as the representative of the board of Trinity College, Dublin. William Gorman and James Poe continued to be two of the three representatives of the diocesan council, Godwin B. M. Swifte replaced Edward Warren as the third.[144]

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[140] The Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland, *Report Submitted by the Society at the Annual Meeting on 20th April 1903*, 16.

[141] Amending Scheme for the future government and management of the College referred to in the Order dated 13th day of May, 1903, of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, altering the Scheme framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, for the government and management of the Educational Endowments of and belonging to Kilkenny College, the Parish of St. John's, and City and County of Kilkenny contained in Appendix VI.

[142] cf. Appendix VI, 1st & 2nd Clause.

[143] Ibid., 5th Clause.

[144] Ibid., 2nd Clause.

Another aspect of the amending scheme detailed the cessation of the employment of the Rev. Thomas William Pettipice as head master of the College. It is unclear why the amending scheme ended Pettipice's association with the College but the tone of the clause which noted that "the governors of the Incorporated Society will not require the services of the said T. D. Pettipice (*sic*) any longer" suggested that the new governors were not impressed with his performance as head master.[145] No other major changes were undertaken by the amending scheme which maintained many of the previous clauses contained in the original document.

The decision by the governors to approach the Incorporated Society to take over the management of the College was of great benefit to the College and guaranteed its survival during the first part of the twentieth century. Access to both pupils and funds, both of which were in great need, was gained by the arrangement. The Incorporated Society, through its government of schools through-out Ireland was able to create a centralised system which allowed rural schools, such as the College, to feed into its senior school, Mountjoy School, Dublin, so that boys could receive instruction for preparation for entry into university.[146] The new scheme was a clear success, the Census of 1911 noted that there were fifty-four pupils in attendance at the College, of whom forty were boarders and fourteen were day pupils.[147]

7.9: Conclusion.

During this period the College was again inspected by the *Commissioners of Education* who repeated the conclusions reached by previous Commissions, that the situation in which Trinity College, Dublin occupied the dual role of governor and visitor was unacceptable. The *Endowment Commissioners Report* (Rosse) was no different to previous Commissions, in terms of their inability to enforce their opinions, due to the lack of any mechanisms, and possibly will, to implement them. Graham Balfour in *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (1898), suggested that this knowledge of their powerless nature influenced their attitude: "They [the Rosse Report] drew more attention to the conservative nature of Secondary education in Ireland than to the deficient amount of it, but did not consider themselves instructed to offer any recommendations."[148]

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[145] Ibid., Preface.
[146] Mountjoy School was established in 1896 by the Incorporated Society. The school was located in a house on Mountjoy Square, Dublin.
[147] *Census of Ireland*, 1911, Table XXXIX(part II), Endowed Establishments, Co. Kilkenny, 131.
[148] Balfour, *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*, 209.

Although in one sense the head mastership of James Maxwell Weir was a major hindrance to the development of the College, he also was a factor in ensuring the College's survival. Weir's financial investment in the upkeep of the College, along with his own personal pride and probable obstinacy, guaranteed that the College existed during the later part of the nineteenth century, albeit without any sizable number of pupils. The new scheme framed under the *Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885*, gave the College a local management board which meant for the first time the College was self-governing.

The involvement of the Incorporated Society in the government of the College was a clear signal that the newly appointed governors had not managed to make a success of the College. The reasons for this can only be speculated at but possibly included such factors as a poor choice of head master and a lack of experience in the running of schools possessed by the local management board. It is possible that the granting of a local board came too late to have any positive impact on the College.

The lack of any continuity provided by a long serving head master was detrimental to the College's progress in the years after the formation of the new scheme for the College. Mr. W. A. Sheckleton, head master of the College from 1903 until 1907, was clearly an able man but one who was approaching the end of his career and was thus a steadying influence after the difficulty with previous head masters. Both the Rev. Dr. John Mason Harden, head master of the College from 1907 until 1914, and the Rev. Edward Gilbert Seale, head master of the College from 1914 until 1917. were clearly talented men who if they had not been tempted away to more lucrative positions would have been of great benefit to the College. Although both Harden and Seale were essentially using the College as a stone from which to step to higher things, their obvious abilities were still an important contribution to the development of the College. It was not until 1917 and the appointment of Mr. C. G. Shankey to the head mastership that the College had an individual who provided the continuity that the College required.

Conclusion

For the majority of four-hundred and sixty years the College had been a constant and hardy feature on the educational landscape of Ireland. The College's contribution to the history of Ireland has been diverse. The foundation of the College in 1538 by Piers and Margaret Butler was one of the most tangible examples of the impact of Renaissance on Ireland. Although the College only survived initially for twenty-six years the impact was continued through the efforts of the Rev. William Johnston and the Rev. Peter White. White, in particular, was central to this effort with his use of a Humanistic curriculum which inspired Richard Stanihurst to become Ireland's first member of the Anglo-Irish literary tradition. The College's contribution to the Catholic Counter-Reformation was also notable as many key individuals such as Peter Lombard, Nicholas Comerford and James Archer were educated there. This contribution continued, albeit in another direction, after the College's refoundation by the first duke of Ormond c.1666. The refounded College was established by the Duke to meet the needs of the Protestant population of Kilkenny. The completion of a building and the Duke's granting of a Charter and Statutes in 1685 also gave the College a strong foundation from which to grow. When the College was closed during the Williamite wars both of these factors, along with the determination of the Rev. Dr. Edward Hinton, the College's master, ensured the College's survival. The selection of a steady stream of Oxbridge educated clerics, like Hinton, as masters of the College aided its development. These men ensured the provision of an appropriate curriculum which was designed to prepare pupils for entrance to university but also supplied the College with their considerable experience of the English educational establishment. The similarity of these men's backgrounds gave the College a continuity and a strength that was to prepare the College for the new role it developed during the eighteenth century when it became a school utilised predominantly by members of the Protestant middle and upper classes. This role had been aided by the College's close relationship with two of the mainstays of the Protestant community, Trinity College, Dublin and the Church of Ireland. The College's connection with Trinity College was further strengthened after the attainment of the second duke of Ormond in 1715 when Trinity took over the government of the College. The success of the College during the eighteenth century created a false atmosphere, since, while there was little trouble in attracting pupils to the College, the role Trinity College had in relation to the management of the

College was never addressed. Although a fine new school building, financed by the Irish Parliament, was completed in c.1787, the College was ill-prepared to cope with the gradual decline within the Protestant community in the south of Ireland during the nineteenth century along with the change of focus, from Ireland to Britain, that the Protestant upper classes experienced after the union of the Irish and London Parliaments in 1801. The problems involving the management of the College, along with its ever depreciating endowment, were to stifle the College's attempts at progress throughout the nineteenth century. Its survival up to 1903 can be seen to have come more from the apathetic attitudes of those involved in the College than any palpable desire to see it succeed. The incompetence of the College's masters, including James Maxwell Weir, allied with the *laissez faire* attitude of those members of Trinity College, Dublin, charged with the management of the College meant there was neither the impetus needed to make it a success nor the motivation to close it. It must therefore be considered fortunate that Maxwell Weir managed to live until the *Educational Endowment Commissioners* of 1885 were well into their deliberations, since, if he had not, it would not be unreasonable to suggest there would have been no endowment for the Commission to reform.

The College can be seen as a clear reflection of two aspects of the Irish society. As regards the history of Irish education, the College can be seen as an institution which witnessed many of governmental attempts to make the endowments of Protestant schools more accountable. Graham Balfour noted in *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland* (1898) that "The history of Irish education is a record of poverty, of abused endowments and of numerous inquiries preceding tardy reform."[1] The history of the College clearly demonstrated Balfour's understanding to be correct. Although the College's endowment was never of a size to have been "abused" the College was for the entirety of the nineteenth century in desperate need of reform. The eventual success of Government in the granting of new schedules in the aftermath of the *Educational Endowment Commission* (1885) for endowed schools pointed not to a lack of ability on behalf of the Government, but a lack of will which was largely as a result of a failure to accept the demands and needs of both the rising Roman Catholic middle classes and the diminishing Protestant population. The second aspect of Irish society which the College reflected is that of the Protestant population of the south of Ireland. The rise of the College in the eighteenth century was clearly correlated to the development of Protestant ascendancy in the wake of

[1] Balfour, *The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland*, 203.

the Jacobite defeat during the Williamite wars. The College not only reflected the rise of this situation but it can also be seen as a contributing factor through its role as the educator of many of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy such as John Beresford and in the fact that the Irish Parliament granted the College the necessary funds for the construction of a new school in the 1780s. As the ascendancy went into decline after the act of Union and with the development of a capable Roman Catholic opposition the College also began to suffer and decline in both numbers and prestige. The end of the nineteenth century saw the Protestant population of southern Ireland come to terms with the new situation which eventually resulted in the creation of the Free State in 1922. This was very similar to the experiences of the College during the same period, as the College came to recognise its role within rural southern Irish society as the provider of education to the local Protestant population.

The College's development during the twentieth century was one of restructuring to deal with the changing Irish educational environment. The College benefited greatly from the involvement of the Incorporated Society who were an integral part in the provision of support to help the College in coping with the new circumstances it was faced with. The twentieth century saw more political and demographic change in Ireland. The foundation of the Free State in 1922 led to the College becoming a significant point for the newly depleted Protestant minority to gather round. After the unsuccessful efforts of various head masters during the nineteenth century the College was successful in attracting individuals of considerable talent. Although two, the Rev. Harden and the Rev. Seale, only stayed for a relatively short period of time, 1907 to 1914 and 1914 to 1917, respectively, before moving on to other positions, they made an invaluable contribution to the College during the first few decades of the twentieth century.

The Incorporated Society clearly saw the need for a capable and experienced individual to undertake the newly amalgamated institution. Mr. W. A. Shekleton had previously held the head mastership of the Incorporated Society's Primrose Grange School in Sligo for twenty-eight years before his arrival at the College. Shekleton's appointment was clearly motivated by the desire of the Incorporated Society to provide a certain amount of stability to the newly amalgamated College after the difficulties they had experienced with Pettipice. He died in 1907 whilst still serving as head master of the College. Shekleton's replacement was the Rev. Dr. John Mason

Harden. In choosing Harden the Incorporated Society selected a scholar of great ability. Harden was born in Dublin in 1871 and was educated by Dr. Benson at the Rathmines School, Dublin. After the Rathmines School he attended Trinity College, Dublin where he achieved great academic success winning numerous distinctions including Archbishop King's Prize and the Elrington Theological Prize.[2] In 1890 he was elected as a Scholar of Trinity and commenced with a B.A. in 1892 and B.D. in 1896.[3] After ordination Harden was involved in a Dublin charitable organisation before being appointed to the Headmastership of the College. In 1907 Harden was appointed an honorary minor canon of St. Canice's and was awarded an LL.B. and an LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin in 1911.[4] In 1915 Harden contributed to the historical records of the College by donating a manuscript which contained the rules presented to the Roman Catholic college which had been founded in Kilkenny c.1686 by the Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory, the manuscript was later presented to Trinity College Library, Dublin.[5] After he had resigned the head mastership, Harden was appointed as vice - principal of the London College of Divinity, where he also lectured in systematic theology.[6] In 1922 he was invited by Archbishop Gregg, the archbishop of Dublin, to apply for the headmastership of The King's Hospital, Dublin, which had been vacated by the resignation of the Rev. Thomas Parry Richards.[7] Lesley Whiteside noted in *A history of The King's Hospital* (1985) that Harden made a valuable contribution to the development of King's Hospital:

> Harden steered the school through a difficult period of transition in which the Intermediate and the Leaving examinations replaced the three-tiered system of junior, middle and senior grades and it became compulsory for candidates to offer themselves for examination in Irish. Results fees were abolished and, instead, a small capitation fee was paid in respect of every pupil who had the required qualifications for entry and who was following the approved course. From now on the state contributed to teachers' salaries and could insist on a minimum number of registered teachers in the school. Harden may have had reservations about some of these changes but he recognised they had to be accepted. He was determined that the school would do just as well under the new system as it had under the old and the extent of his success may be estimated from the fact that The King's Hospital was placed third among the Protestant schools in 1925, the first year when the

[2] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 179.
[3] The University of Dublin, *A Catalogue of Graduates of The University of Dublin*, vol.II, 108.
[4] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 179.
[5] Rules to be Observed by the Professors of my College in Kilkenny by the Catholic Bishop of Ossory, TCD MS. 2016.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Whiteside, *A history of the King's Hospital*, 169.

Intermediate and Leaving examinations were held.[8]

Harden was an accomplished linguist and had mastered Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, Spanish, Portuguese, French and Irish.[9] Harden remained as principal of King's Hospital until he was consecrated as the bishop of Tuam in 1928.[10] Bishop Harden died in 1931 at the age of sixty and was buried at Mt. Jerome Cemetery in Dublin. As well as being a linguist Harden was also an Egyptological scholar, he published several works on the subject along with other theological texts.[11] Fifteen of Harden's Ethiopic notebooks were secured after his death by The Griffith Institute in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford by his son Donald A. Harden who was the assistant-curator of the museum.

The Rev. Edward Gilbert Seale, who replaced Harden in 1914, was born in 1870 and was educated at Wesley College, Dublin. After Wesley he entered Trinity College, Dublin where he was elected to a Scholarship in 1895 and had commenced with a B.A. in 1896.[12] Previous to his appointment at the College he had been an assistant house master at Highgate School, London from 1905 until 1908 and the head master of Cork Grammar School from 1908. In 1917 he was selected to replace Mr. Reginald G. Burgess as the headmaster of Portora Royal School, Enniskillen where he remained for nineteen successful years. He was a chaplain to the bishop of Clogher and became a member of the senate of The Queen's University of Belfast in 1927.[13] Although nothing is known about him during his time at the College, an account of Seale was recorded by a former pupil of his named Vivian Mercier (1919 - 1989) at Portora:

> He [Seale] was a Headmaster of the old sort, a clergyman, a classicist, a disciplinarian - but first and foremost a gentleman. He must rank among Portora's great head-masters . . . He was, and always must have been, even before his hair went white, a remarkably handsome and dignified-looking man. Yet he had a club foot, his right arm was partially paralysed, there was a

[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 179.
[11] Amongst John Mason Harden's major works were: *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy* (London: 1928), *Dictionary of the Vulgate New Testament* (London: 1921), *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, a translation (London: 1920), *An Introduction to Ethiopic Literature* (London: 1926) & *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi* (London: 1922).
[12] The University of Dublin, *A Catalogue of Graduates of The University of Dublin, Vol.III: containing the names of those who proceeded to degrees from the year 1895 to the winter commencements of the year 1905* (Dublin: Church of Ireland Printing & Publishing Co., 1906), 102.
[13] Leslie, *Ossory Clergy and Parishes*, 180.

> nervous twitch in his cheek - particularly - when he was angry - and he had a peculiar, almost barking, voice. All of these infirmities we imitated when his back was turned, but we feared and respected his presence, and when he was angry and stamped his foot on the dais of the Big School-room and called us 'cads', it was like Jehovah thundering from the top of Mount Sinai. This word 'cads' was his worst term of abuse. The soul of honour himself, he expected an impossible standard of honour from us, and we often deceived him. If you looked him in the eye he would believe anything that you said. His death took place within a year of his retirement. The relaxation of the constant strain imposed upon his fiery temperament - which was always being irritated, and having always to be controlled during his teaching career - was too sudden and complete, the stresses became necessary to him, and he suddenly collapsed when they were taken away.[14]

Mercier's comments added to the tribute paid to Seale by Ian Stuart, headmaster of Portora in 1936 when he noted in a radio address, later published in the, *Portora Royal School Register* (1936) that Seale had been "a man loved by all, a truly great headmaster, and one to whom Portora owes more than any other man."[15] Seale's success at Portora can be gauged by the fact that when he arrived there were one hundred and thirty four pupils at the school and when he left the number of pupils had been increased to one hundred and seventy three.[16] Seale died in 1936, shortly after his retirement from Portora.

Mr. C. Gilbert Shankey replaced Seale in 1917. Shankey was educated at Trinity College, Dublin where he commenced with a B.A. in 1910.[17] He was a trained engineer before he had taken up his appointment as head master and had been involved in the construction of one of the bridges over the River Nore in Kilkenny City. Shankey was the father of the international athlete and hockey player, Maeve E. E. Kyle. Dobbs recorded that in March 1937 there were seventy-six boarders, of whom forty-three were on foundation or enjoyed assisted places, and twenty-one day pupils in attendance at the College. At this time boys were only taught up to Intermediate Examination standard and those boys who desired to enter higher

[14] Vivian Mercier, "The Old School Tie," *The Bell* vol. XI., no. 6. (March, 1946): 1081 - 1090.
After completing his studies at Trinity College, Dublin, Vivian Mercier held various positions as an English lecturer in American universities, such as the University of Colorado and the University of California, Santa Barbara.

[15] Portora Royal School, *Portora Royal School Register*, 5.

[16] Michael Quane, "Portora Royal School, Enniskillen," *The Clogher Record* vol. VI., no. 3. (1968): 550 - 551.

[17] The University of Dublin, *A Catalogue of Graduates of The University of Dublin, Vol.IV: Containing the names of those who proceeded to degrees from the year 1906 to the summer commencements of the year 1917* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., Ltd, 1917.), 90.

education were sent to Mountjoy School in Dublin to study for the Leaving Certificate Examination.

In 1938 the College celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the College and a commemoration was held in the Rose Garden of the Bishop's Palace, a photograph of the event was taken[18] Those in the photograph included Dr. Alton, Dr. Thrift, Bishop Day and Jack Phair.[19] A special commemorative service should have taken place during the quatercentary year but due to the untimely death of the newly appointed bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin, Godfrey Day, during the College's quatercentenary year, and the onset of war, the service was postponed. The service eventually took place in St. Canice's Cathedral on 24 September 1942, at which the bishop of Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin dedicated a bronze tablet celebrating four-hundred years since the College's foundation. The sermon was preached by Rev. Arthur Aston Luce D. D., the chancellor of the University of Dublin, who took as his text Psalms Chapter 1: 3, "A tree planted at the waterside."[20] A. A. Luce described the debt that the country owed to the ancient foundation of Kilkenny College. The tablet, which had been written in Latin by Dr. Ernest Henry Alton, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, contained the names of seven of the College's most famous alumni *viz.* George Berkeley, Jonathan Swift, William Congreve, Denis Pack, John Banim, Conor Magee and David Beatty. Luce exhorted the present school body to ponder on the names inscribed "till in your mind they form a long corridor of time, a sunlit avenue or colonnade of years stretching back to the dim and distant past."[21] The present Kilkenny College's connection with what A. A. Luce referred to as the 'dim and distant past' can be seen in the names of the families that have been connected with Kilkenny College since 1538. In 1963, a tercentenary appeal to the former pupils and friends of Kilkenny College was launched by the Kilkenny College Old Boys' Union.[22] A booklet was published in conjunction with the appeal and contained an article under the heading: 'Of Passing Interest':

> On looking through the Register of the College for the years 1690 - 1750 the following names were noted: Blennerhessett, Briscoe, Campbell, Chamney, Colclough, Dennison, Phipps, Warren and Penny. On looking through the

[18] See Appendix VIII, Fig, IX.
[19] Memoir of John Percy Phair (1876 - 1967) by his wife Mrs. P. Beryl Phair, RCB MS 149.
[20] *The Church of Ireland Gazette*, 16 October 1942, 355 - 357.
[21] Ibid.
[22] The Pococke School, which was founded in Kilkenny by Bishop Richard Pococke in c.1760, had merged with Kilkenny College in the early twentieth century.

> Register of the College for the years 1920 - 1950, the following names were noted: Blennerhessett, Briscoe, Campbell, Chamney, Colclough, Dennison, Phipps, Warren and Penny. Strange isn't it!.[23]

In 1935 the Ormond family left Kilkenny Castle and the possibility that the College could relocate to the vacant Castle was raised. A committee was formed by the Incorporated Society in 1946 to explore the possibility but decided against the proposal. The Marquis eventually sold the Castle to the city of Kilkenny for fifty pounds. Mrs. P. Beryl Phair, the wife of the Rev. J. P. Phair (1876 - 1967), the dean of Ossory, recounted the circumstances in her memoir of her husband's life:

> The year 1935 was a sad one for Kilkenny the Ormonde family decided to leave the Castle . . . The family [the Ormonds] wanted to give the Castle to Jack [Phair] for any purpose he could suggest. Jack wondered if it could become a really large school but Bishop Gregg said it would take 20,000 pounds to adapt it (later Jack felt rueful when 70,000 pounds was needed to rehouse Mountjoy School).[24]

In 1949 Phair, who by which stage he had been preferred to the bishopric of Ossory, was invited to open a new hall that had been built at the College on the site of the old handball alley, and was named in honour of George Berkeley, Phair's wife recorded the event in her memoir:

> Jack invited Mr. R. M. Smyllie, the editor of *The Irish Times* and his wife to lunch at the Palace and to speak at the meeting. The ceremony was well reported. After the official ceremony Jack asked for a helping hand from those present to supply the hall with necessary chairs. The response was excellent; Jack stationed two senior boys at each door to collect promises. That day enough promises were made to enable 60 chairs to be purchased.[25]

Mr. Gilbert Colton replaced Shankey in 1952. Colton had been educated at Ranelagh School, Athlone and Trinity College, Dublin. He had previously taught at Foyle College, Londonderry and Galway Grammar School before his appointment to the College. In 1963 the link with Mountjoy School was severed, due to pressure on accommodation at Mountjoy, and the College once more regained its role as a senior school. In 1965 Ian Blake completed an article on the College for *The Irish Times*, the

[23] Kilkenny College Old Boys' Union, *Kilkenny College Tercentenery Appeal 1963 - 1968* (Kilkenny: Kilkenny College old Boys' Union, 1963), 2.
[24] Memoir of John Percy Phair 1876 - 1967 by his wife Mrs. P. Beryl Phair, RCB MS 149, 38.
[25] Ibid., 46.

article portrayed an interesting picture of the state of the College:

> Kilkenny [the College] is able, potentially, to make a contribution to modern Ireland. Scope for further expansion is limited, however. The staff of nine is not big enough to span the range of subjects the headmaster would ideally seek to have taught. Furthermore, the school, standing much as it did at the end of the 18th century, has been outpaced by the march of education.[26]

The report noted that in 1965 the College had eighty-six pupils, eleven of whom were in sixth year. During the following year the numbers in the sixth year had risen to twenty-six, allowing the College to be more competitive in interschool sports. The report also contained information concerning the amalgamation with the Celbridge Collegiate, a girls school which was also part of the Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland. Colton is recorded as being positive about the proposal commenting "the girls there [Celbridge] are largely the sisters and relations of the boys here at Kilkenny, so it would be logical." The merger between the two schools was completed in 1972 and Miss Freda Yates, the former Head Mistress of the Collegiate, became Vice Principal of the newly amalgamated College. In 1977 the College again became an autonomous institution as a local board of management under the chairpersonship of the bishop of Cashel, Waterford, Lismore, Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin was formed, replacing the Incorporated Society.

Colton was replaced in 1979 by Mr. Samuel McClure. McClure had been educated at Sandford Park School, Dublin and at Trinity College, Dublin. He had previously taught Geography at Newtown School, Waterford before his appointment as head master of the College. On his arrival at the College pupil numbers were up to one hundred and forty and it became apparent that the College building could no longer cope with such numbers, a year after his arrival the numbers had increased further to two hundred and forty, one hundred girl boarders, one hundred boy boarders and forty day pupils. An application for funding was made to the Minister for Education and Science, who allocated six-hundred thousand pounds for the project in February 1980. The new building, which was to be able to accommodate three hundred pupils was to be built at the College's playing fields, comprising of twenty-five acres, approximately one mile from the College, on the Castlecomer Road, beside the New Park Hotel. The Castlecomer Road site was also where the girls boarding house, Celbridge House, had been located. In an article in *The Irish Times* by Christina

[26] *The Irish Times*, 4 June, 1965.

Murphy, McClure remarked on hearing of the Minister's announcement as being, "absolutely delighted . . . We have been living out of pre-fabs and the accommodation was hopelessly inadequate."[27] The first sod of the new project was turned by Mrs Gemma Hussey T.D., the then Minister for Education and Science on 17 November 1983. The original projected number of pupils the new school could accommodate had to be continually altered as the College grew on average forty pupil a year, by November 1983 there were three-hundred and sixty. Fergus Pyle interviewed McClure in the same month and attempted to discover the reasons for the incredible growth. McClure suggested that the changing educational environment which had previously stressed less importance on the Leaving Certificate had coincided with the reintroduction of leaving certificate courses at the College,

> The boys fled to the farm after the Inter (Intermediate Certificate), but there are now no outlets for youngsters who haven't got their Leaving Certificate . . . it is essential for children from a farming background to get a sound education. A stupid boy won't get far in agriculture.[28]

The College transferred to the new location, in several stages, during the early 1990s. McClure continued with an unrelenting programme of capital investment, raising millions of pounds for the construction of both teaching and residential buildings. McClure retired in 1996 and was replaced by Canon R. J. E. F. B. Black. Black had been educated at Villiers School, Limerick and Trinity College, Dublin and had been previously head master of Dundalk Grammar School, Co. Louth.

After having survived the uncertain times of the twentieth century, a feat that many Protestant schools failed to achieve, the College has now entered a new century with confidence. It will be interesting for this and future generations to observe how the College copes with the new challenges afforded by the next four hundred and sixty-three years and the nature of its continued contribution to Irish society.

[27] *The Irish Times*, 11 February, 1980.
[28] Ibid., 7 November, 1983.

Appendix I

Other former pupils of the College who contributed to the Counter-Reformation.

James Archer (c.1545 - 1620).

James Archer was a member of a prominent Anglo-Norman family that had had resided in Ireland since the time of Richard de Clare, earl of Gloucester, father of Strongbow.[1] Edmund Hogan suggests that he was born in either 1540 or 1545 but other historians have argued that 1550 is a more accurate date.[2] He was born and spent his formative years in Kilkenny. The only evidence that he attended Peter White's College comes from Stanihurst's list in *De Rebus*. Edmund Hogan, in his *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1894), argued that this was enough evidence to connect Archer to the College. Thomas Morrissey in *James Archer of Kilkenny* (1979) commented that although we cannot be sure that Archer went to the College, all that is certain is that when the time came for him to pursue a vocation to the priesthood he had sufficient Latin learning to do so.[3] Archer would have required an understanding of Latin to have been accepted by the University of Louvain, which at this time, was as Corcoran has noted was, "the severest school of the Liberal Arts in Europe."[4] The probability is that Archer did indeed attend Peter White's school, the lack of any local alternative school in the area and Archer's subsequent friendship with former pupils of White's add to the credence to this conjecture. The reasons why Archer was sent to Louvain are vague, Morrissey has speculated that the papal nuncio, David Wolfe, and Richard Creagh, the newly appointed titular Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh had a bearing on the decision. In order to place Archer in the context of continental Roman Catholicism, additional material on Wolfe and Creagh are required. Morrissey noted that:

> David Woulfe and his assistant, Thadeus Newman, evangelised in Munster and South Leinster and encouraged promising young candidates for the priesthood to pursue their studies on the Continent. There is no evidence

[1] Thomas J. Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny, An Elizabethan Jesuit, First Rector of the Irish College at Salamanca and Ally of the Great Hugh O'Neill* (Dublin: Studies 'Special Publications', 1979), 1.

[2] Edmund Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 317. Morrissey, *'Archdevil' and Jesuit, The Background and life of James Archer 1550 - 1604*, 72.

[3] Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny*, 2.

[4] Timothy Corcoran, *Education Systems in Ireland from the Close of the Middle Ages* (Louvain, Belgium: H. Bomans, 1928), introduction, vii.

that Archer was in contact with either man; but he was one of a number of boys who set out for Louvain in the years after Woulfe's arrival.[5]

David Wolfe, who was originally from Limerick, had arrived in Ireland after having spent a substantial amount of time on the continent. He had been accepted into the Jesuit order by its founder, Ignatius Loyola, between the years 1541 and 1551. Hogan suggested that Wolfe was responsible for, "Ireland successfully resisting the inroads of the heresy of which Elizabeth was the head."[6] Cardinal Moran concurred with this opinion, when he stated that he considered Wolfe to have been "one of the most remarkable men who, during the first years of Elizabeth's reign, laboured in our Irish Church to gather together the scattered stones of the sanctuary."[7] Before 1560 Wolfe had gained considerable experience having spent seven years in Rome under Francis Borgia, becoming a professed Father, two years as the rector of Cardinal Morone's prestigious college in Modena, Italy, and a year attempting to found a Jesuit college in Valtelline, also in Italy.[8] At Modena and Valtelline Wolfe would have been responsible for the overall running of the sacred and educational sides of the Colleges. Richard Creagh also had a considerable understanding of continental academia. Born into a family that also had Limerick connections, Creagh had received most of his initial training at Standonck College and the Pontifical College both in Louvain. In 1555 Creagh had left Louvain and returned to Limerick to fight for the survival of the Roman Catholic church. He opened a grammar school in the city but was removed at the ascension of Elizabeth to the throne. David Wolfe recommended Creagh to the Vatican in 1562 and was subsequently sent back to Ireland.[9] These experiences would have given both Wolfe and Creagh an unrivalled awareness of the possibilities for study on the continent and an intimacy of various academic personnel in the major European centres for the training of priests. These centres were now in a post-tridentine state which meant that their role had been expanded from being ordinary seminaries to institutions preparing men for a more militant type of missionary activity. This knowledge of the situation in Europe was probably coupled with a deep conviction that the future of Irish Roman Catholicism was directly linked with the success of native men, who having been educated in the tenets of the

[5] Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny*, 3.
Wolfe is sometimes recorded as Woulfe.
[6] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 5.
[7] Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, 77.
[8] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 7.
[9] Helga Herta Wilhelmine Hammerstein "Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I," *Historical Studies, Papers read before the Irish Conference of Historians* no. VIII, Dublin, (1971): 142.

priesthood abroad, returning to the land of their birth to minister to the people. This conviction is supported by Morrissey who has commented, "Wolfe's training, therefore, disposed him to see Roman Catholic Colleges as important instruments for the preservation of the Roman Catholic religion and as a launching pad to future expansion."[10] In the years seceding their arrival, education developed into a major objective for Wolfe and Creagh. In 1564, the pope, Paul VI, through a Bull, empowered Wolfe and Creagh, to constitute colleges and a university, along the lines of Paris and Louvain, within Ireland.[11] Wolfe and Creagh were authorised to employ the revenues of appropriate religious houses that had been recently dissolved. The plan was promoted as a response to the demise of the monastic schools and possibly to support the work of teachers like Peter White.[12] Pope Paul VI also felt that local education was one of the main ways of reconstructing Ireland as a Roman Catholic nation. In moving to Louvain, Archer would have experienced a considerable change in environments. He had left a town where the influences of the Counter-Reformation were just beginning to be felt, to move on to a university city which had been the "breakwater of the Catholic resistance against which the invading tides of heresy dashed ceaselessly for many a year," and was playing a prominent part in the 'catholic renaissance'.[13] Archer's arrival in Belgium coincided with the mounting religious unrest in the Low Countries and the resulting radicalising of the theology being taught in Louvain. This movement was further supported by the influx of zealous exiles from England and Ireland. At this time there was around thirty Irish students in Louvain and Douai. Their existence was one of subsistence, even though they may have had sponsors back in Ireland, the day would start at five o'clock in the morning and end at eight or nine in the evening.[14] In these surroundings, Archer along with other students matured and developed into their vocation, exuding with tenacious religious zeal. James Archer, having gained his M. A., came back to Ireland in 1577. Archer was soon regarded as a threat to the government and was detailed by Sir William Drury the Lord President of Munster in a letter to one of Elizabeth's

[10] Thomas J. Morrissey M.A. Thesis, University College, Dublin, *'Archdevil' and Jesuit, The Background and life of James Archer 1550 - 1604*, 30.

[11] These colleges and university were to be diocesan seminaries that trained men in the tenets of theology, canon law and holy languages. They would also provide a laymen an education in arts, philosophy and medicine.

[12] Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 9.
John Brady, "The Irish Colleges in Europe and the Counter-Reformation," *Proceedings of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee* (1957): 2.

[13] Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny*, 3.
Brodrick, *Robert Bellarmine, saint and scholar*, 27.
Brodrick, *The Life and Work of Blessed Rob. Francis Cardinal Bellarmine*, vol.I, 65.

[14] Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny*, 4.

secretaries, Sir Francis Walsingham, dated 1577:

> The students of Ireland that are in Louvain and come from thence, are the meerest traitors and breeders of treachery that liveth, by whose means I doubt not James Fitzmaurice hath much favour in Rome. Whereof there are in these parts about Waterford and Clonmel four principal prelates. The first is called John White, the second is James Archer of Kilkenny, a detestable enemy to the word of God. He did swear against Her Majesty's jurisdiction in Louvain, and to read not in no English book. He arrived the last March and came then out of Louvain.[15]

Sir William Drury was determined to 'direct punitive measures' against Roman Catholic clergy in Munster. In 1576 having captured a Jesuit priest named Edmund O'Donnell, he then had him hung, drawn and quartered.[16] Under such intimidation Archer left Ireland and went on to Rome, where he joined the Society of Jesus in 1581. After several years at college in Rome he was sent along with other members of the Jesuit order to the University of Pont-à-Mousson in 1585. He studied scholastic theology there and ministered to the students. After his time in Pont-à-Muosson he was enlisted as a chaplain to the soldiers of Alexander Farnése, the Duke of Parma, who were involved in the war against the representatives of Elizabeth in the Belgian Low Countries. He was reported as being "a priest of talent and authority . . . a man whose presence alone was of more benefit than almost anything else, for at his nod the hearts of the men united and held together."[17] His activities in Parma's army caught the attention of Edmund MacGaura, the archbishop of Armagh, who selected Archer to reopen the Jesuit mission in Ireland, but Archer's General refused permission for him to return to Ireland. During the early part of the 1590s that the most intriguing incident of Archer's life occurs. In August 1594, William Randall a prisoner of Richard Topcliffe implicated Archer as one of four Jesuit priests who had employed him to sabotage English ships docked in Dieppe. More serious accusations

[15] William Maziere Brady, ed. *State papers concerning the Irish church in the time of Queen Elizabeth* (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1868), 22 - 23.
[16] Lennon, *Sixteenth-Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, 319.
Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 75 - 76.
Hogan suggests that Drury was responsible for the deaths of 500 'malefactors' in Munster, between 1577 - 1578, although other sources refer to the number being closer to 400.
[17] Edmund Ignatius Hogan, *Hibernia Ignatiana*, (1880), 87, quoted in Hogan, *Distinguished Irishmen of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 328.

followed as Archer was implicated in a plot to assassinate Queen Elizabeth.[18] In 1592, after Archer had completed his time in the Low Countries and finished his Jesuit training, he was summoned to Spain. In Spain Archer was involved in the plans for the establishment of an Irish College connected to the University of Salamanca. Archer aided by Thomas White, gained the approval of the Spanish King, Philip II. After its establishment, Archer became the Irish College's first Rector and guided the seminary through its first few difficult years. It faced many obstacles, such as the question of funding and the awkward background of internal bickering amongst Spanish Jesuits.[19] The deteriorating political situation in Ireland soon became of major importance. Salamanca became a focus for those requesting support for the Irish Roman Catholic chieftains, Hugh O'Neill himself visited Salamanca in 1596. In the winter of 1596 it was decided to reopen the Jesuit mission in Ireland with Archer as its superior. Given Archer's involvement with Parma's troops and various plots to undermine English rule, his return to Ireland aroused deep suspicion from the English government. The lord deputy, Sir William Russell, immediately connected Archer's arrival as a precursor to a full scale Spanish invasion. His time in Ireland was punctuated with intrigue, especially involving the capture of the earl of Ormond in 1600.[20] Archer was recalled to Spain during the winter of 1600 and became involved in the preparations for the sending of a Spanish force to Ireland, subsequently defeated at Kinsale in 1603. The aftermath of this failure not only signalled the end of Spanish interest in aiding Irish aspirations but also Archer's usefulness. For the next seventeen years of his life Archer became embroiled in various controversies concerning the role of the Jesuits in Spain. Despite numerous efforts, Archer never received permission to return to Ireland in an official capacity. In 1620, he died, aged seventy, at the Irish college in Santiago de Compostella, Northern Spain. Thomas Morrissey has given an interesting assessment of the role of James Archer in the Counter-Reformation:

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[18] Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny*, 10 - 11.
The accusation was contained in a confession by a Tipperary man, Hugh Cahill. Cahill maintained that, again, Archer, along with three other Jesuit priests, had given him the task of infiltrating the court of Queen Elizabeth and then kill her with a sword or dagger. Cahill would receive a hundred crowns in advance and two hundred after the deed had been carried out. Apart from the lack of notarising evidence, Morrissey has promoted numerous reasons concerning the improbability of Archer's involvement in such a plot. The torture of prisoners was a common practice at this time and the procurement of words the tortures wanted to hear was also widespread. The general paranoia concerning the suspicious nature of the Jesuit order ensured men like Topcliffe were eager to implicate them at available opportunities.
[19] Ibid., 14 - 17.
[20] The story of Ormond and his abduction, conversion and subsequent readjustment.

> James Archer's role as a bridge between Anglo-Irish and native Irish, his contacts with Spain, and his personal brand of dedication to the cause of the Counter-Reformation, constituted as unusual combination in sixteenth century Ireland and contributed towards his significance in the years from 1598 to 1603. It is, however, in his association with the origin and character of the Irish seminaries and, in particular, with the first of the Irish colleges, that his historical achievement appears mainly to lie.[21]

Robert Garvey (1550? - 1579).

Robert Garvey, who is recorded as a close friend of Nicholas Comerford, left White's school in 1563. Later during that year he travelled to Oxford along with his fellow student, Richard Stanihurst. In late 1563 Robert Garvey was elected as a probationer fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. It is possible that White used his links with his former College, and thus enabled Garvey to gain entrance into Oriel. When Robert Garvey arrived at Oriel, the Provost was John Smith. Smith had been appointed provost with the help of Morgan Phillips in 1550, the same year in which Peter White had first arrived at Oriel. Other fellows who were still at Oriel in 1563, and who would have remembered White included, Robert Hewys, John Rawe and Francis Webber.[22] He proceeded to an M.A. in 1566 and was given license by Oriel to study law in 1572.[23] It appears from Oriel's records that Garvey was utilised a collector of debts, being sent on two occasions, once to Stratford upon Avon, and once to London, on college business.[24] Wood mentioned him in *Athenae Oxonienses* as being, "noted for his skill in both the laws and for a volubility in the English and Latin tongues." Of what Garvey accomplished after he left Oriel nothing is known, except

[21] Morrissey, *James Archer of Kilkenny*, 46.
[22] Richards & Shadwell, *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College*, Appendix IX, Order of Succession of the Fellows of Oriel, Plate A & B.
Hewys is sometimes recorded as Huys.
[23] Richards & Salter, *The Dean's Register of Oriel*, 158 & 164.
[24] Richards & Shadwell, *The Provosts and Fellows of Oriel College*, 72.

that he died in Ireland in 1579.[25]

George Dormer (1540 - 1594)

According to Stanihurst, Dormer was, "a lawyer, borne in Rosse, Scholar of Oxford, he wrote a ballad royal; The Decay of Rosse."[26] This statement is added to by David O'Donoghue, who in *The Dictionary of Irish Writers of English Verse*, referred to Dormer as, "an early alumnus of Kilkenny College who wrote a poem entitled *The Decay of Ross*, but his particulars are wanting."[27] Colm Lennon has speculated that the poem was the source of information that Stanihurst used in his history of Ross, referred to in the third chapter of Holinshed's *Description*.[28] Joe Doran, recorded in *A Little History of St. Mary's New Ross and its Memorials* (1997) that a George Dormer, a judge of the County of Wexford, is buried in the graveyard of St. Mary's. Doran noted that the inscription on his tombstone gives the date of his death as 11 October 1594, aged 54.[29] The dates of his life combined with his profession and location of his body would indicate that this is the same Dormer who was celebrated by Stanihurst. Doran also utilised an unreferenced passage from the Carew MS that is related to Dormer, "George Dormer, married one of the Whites and dwelleth at Ross, Properly learned, very modest of behaviour, somewhat affected and inclined to his Country."[30] It is unclear if the White to whom Dormer was married was in any way connected to Peter White. It is most likely, given the position he rose to, that Dormer did not share the same militant religious beliefs which were held by many of his fellow

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[25] Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. I, 459.
Garvey is recorded as Garvie as well as Garvei.
Charles W. Boase in his *Register of the University of Oxford*, refers to Robert Garvey being connected to a protestant minister, John Garvey, Boase's source for this connection appears to be the following extract from Henry Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, vol. II, 41 - 42:

> John Garvey, a native of Kilkenny, was educated at Oxford. He became Dean of Ferns in 1558; and in the next year was made Archdeacon of Meath. In 1560 he held the prebend of Tipperkevin, in St. Patrick's, Dublin; and in May, 1565, was appointed Dean of Christ Church. In 1585 he was raised to the bishopric of Kilmore; and in 1589 was translated to the Primacy, still holding his deanery and archdeaconry *in commendam*. He died in Dublin, on March 2nd, 1594 or 1595.

It is unknown what relation John Garvey was to Robert, although both Richards & Shadwell and Cotton have suggested that there is a strong possibility that they were related, but it is interesting to note the denominational direction of John Garvey considering Robert's place of learning.
[26] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 86.
Harris, ed., *The Whole Works of James Ware*, 95.
[27] David James O'Donoghue, *The Poets of Ireland, A Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of Irish Writers of English Verse* (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis & Co., Ltd, 1912), 115.
[28] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 86.
[29] Joseph Doran, *A Little History of St. Mary's New Ross and its Memorials* (New Ross, Co. Wexford: Published by the Author, 1997), 58.
[30] Ibid.

students who studied with him at White's school.

Of the other names that were mentioned by Stanihurst little information is known. Dobbs identified Strong as a "learned Franciscan" and a John White became a bachelor of divinity.[31] Lennon believed that the Shee brothers both went to Oxford and graduated as Master of Arts. John Browne in his presentation on the history of the College to the *Kilkenny Archaeological Society* quoted from an unidentified source that one of the Shee brothers, Elias, was a, "gentleman of passing good wit, a pleasing conceited companion, full of mirth without gall, who wrote in divers Sonnets."[32] Stanihurst mentioned a Peter Walsh who was a "proper youth" who died in 1571, it is thought that he was the translator of Cambrensis. Butler is speculated to have been from Waterford and responsible for the English translation of Corderius' *Book of Phrases* in 1562.[33]

[31] Dobbs, *Notes on the History of Kilkenny College*, 11.
[32] Lennon, *The Life of Richard Stanihurst*, 86.
Browne, "Kilkenny College," 221 - 229.
[33] Ibid.

Appendix II

Letter to Robert Huntington at his residence in Dublin (Provost of Trinity College, Dublin) from Edward Hinton (Exiled Master of Kilkenny College at a unspecified location, probably in England), 27 August 1689, TCD MUN/P/1/556.

Reverend and Fond Sir,

I returned no sooner to the Gole, because she has not written to you. I have left some room but not enough for you to chide her. In her mentioning the Mayor's (word unclear), puts me in mind of what I forgot to tell you, that there, Mr. Lawless began your health, which was taken kindly. The woman is good for nothing talks of the sea all day and dreams of Chippingnorton at night. Over - run with scurvy and I fear inclined to fits of the mother. You see Sir, what paper I am faine to send into England, such as they fold Tobacco in. It would for more than charity, some what your interests, if not too much trouble, to send me a parcel of better. I goe no whether and no body why should not Mr. Thewills find me a ballad now and then by the Coach? I begger you forget not the Quietists, and whether they are charged with heresie or no. Are there any books printed lately in England? but what have I to doe with bookes? there are none truer than that I am,

Sir your most entire servant,
E. H.

Appendix III

The Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College, Awarded by James, First Duke of Ormond, 1685.

Statutes, Orders and Constitutions, made appointed and ordained by the Right Noble James Duke, Earl, and Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ossory and Brecknock, Viscount Thurles, Baron of Arklow and Lanthony, Lord of the regalities and liberties of Tipperary, Chancellor of the universities of Oxford and Dublin, Chief Butler of Ireland, Lord Lieutenant (*sic*) General, and Generaral (*sic*) Governor of Ireland, Lord Lieutenant of the County of Somerset, the chief cities of Bristol Bath and Wells, One of the Lords of his Majesty's most honorable privy Council of his Majesty's Kingdoms England, Scotland, and Ireland; Lord Stewart of his Majesty's Household and Westminster, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, Founder of a Grammar School at Kilkenny, in the Kingdom of Ireland, for the due government and managery and improvement of the said School March the Eighteenth in the year of our Lord one Thousand six hundred and Eighty Four.

Imprimis. It is by these presents constituted and ordained, that there shall for ever be a Master constantly resident and attending the duties of the said School, who shall at least be a Master of Arts either here in Ireland or one of the Universities of England, a person of good life and reputation, well skilled in humanity and grammar learning, loyal and Orthodox, who shall take the Oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Ireland as it is now established by Law, and that Edward Hinton, Doctor of Divinity, be hereby confirmed to the place and the office of Master of the said School.

2ndly. That the Master shall be nominated and chosen by James Duke of Ormond his Grace, Founder, Patron and Governor and the Heirs male of his body that shall be successively the Dukes of Ormond, Patrons and Governors of the said School, within the space of three Months next after every vacancy, who by writing under the hand and Seal of the respective Governors

being recommended to the Visitors and by them examined and approved of as able and sufficient both for religeon, learning and manners, upon certificate of such examination & approbation of the Visitors to the Governor shewn, the said Person so approved shall by a deed under the hand and seal of the Governor, be setled and confirmed as Master of the said school, but if the Governor shall neglect to nominate according to the time prefixed, or shall chuse such as are not qualified suitably to these statutes, that then it shall be lawful for the Visitors (after notice first given to the Governor, and no redress within three Months after such notice) to elect and present pro Illâ vice any other person, whom in their consciences they shall judge to be well qualified for the place, and also that upon fail of Issue male on the body of the said James Duke of Ormond, the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, and their successors, shall from thenceforth for ever afterwards be Patrons and Governors of said School.

3dly. That the Master shall constantly inhabit and reside at the House belonging to said School, and in person attend the duties of his place, which are to instruct the Scholars in Religion, virtue & learning in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Languages, as also in Oratory, and Poetry according to the best method which he and the Visitors shall judge most effectual to promote knowledge and learning, and that being in health, he shall never be absent for above thirty Schooldays in one whole year, which shall begin on the twenty fifth of March; nor above a Fortnight at any one time, unless upon Emergencies the visitors shall give him leave, being first satisfied that his place shall be well and sufficiently discharged in his absence.

4thly. That there shall always be an Usher belonging to said School to be nominated, chosen, and removed by the said Master, who shall have his diet lodging and maintenance in the School house at his allowance, a single man, well skilled in grammar learning, of good credit for parts and manners, a Batchelor of arts at least in one (of) the universities of England or Ireland, and he shall constantly assist in the duties of the said School, in such a manner & method, as the Master shall appoint.

5thly. That neither Master or Usher shall take upon them any other charge,

office or employment, which the Visitors shall judge inconsistent with, or prejudicial to the due manegery and improvement of the said School, but shall constantly attend and discharge their respective duties, and never be both of them out of the School, at School times.

6thly. That the Scholars to be admitted to the said School, shall cleanly and be cleanly & decently habited, & such as shall first have read their accidence, & are fit to enter upon Grammar learning, & shall submit to the order, method and correction of the said School.

7thly. That the Children of all such as are and continue to be in the services of the Duke of Ormond, shall at all times be admitted to the privileges and benefits of the said School gratis.

8thly. That if any well disposed person shall out of charity pay for the tabling of such ingenuous & orderly Lads, as shall by the Visitors be recommended to the Master, as fit objects of charity, he shall admit and as long as they shall continue modest and diligent teach them gratis.

9thly. That if his Grace the Duke or other pious benefactors shall hereafter make any grants or allowance for the maintenance of any number of Scholars at the said School, and afterwards if they prove fit at Trinity College, Dublin, the Master shall then be expressly obliged to those under the name of Ormond Scholars according to his best skill and industry Gratis.

10thly. That it shall be lawful for the Master to demand and receive of all other Scholars, according to the rates and usages of the most remarkable School in Dublin, both for the entrance and schooling, Those children excepted whose Parents are, or at the time of their birth were inhabitants of the City of Kilkenny, or in the liberties therefore, shall pay half so much.

11thly. That if the Master knows any of the Scholars to be under any infectious or offensive diseases or distemper, or that any infectious disease be in the house where they table, he shall, for the security of the rest discharge such from School till the danger be over.

12thly. That every stubborn and refractory Lad, who shall refuse to submit to the orders and correction of the said School, shall, by the said Master, be dismissed forthwith from the said School, not to be readmitted without due submission to exemplary punishment, and upon his second offence of the said kind, to be discharged and expelled for ever, and in this number are reconed such as shall offer to shut out the Master or Usher: but the Master shall give them leave to break up Eight Days before Christmas and three before Easter and Whitsontide.

13thly. That the Master shall make Diligent enquiry after such as shall break, cut or deface or any ways abuse the Desks, Forms, Walls or Windows of the School, or any parts of the House, or Trees in the meadow, & shall always inflict open & exemplary punishment on all such offenders.

14thly. That from the beginning of March to the middle of September, the Scholars shall be & continue in School, from six of the Clock in the morning 'till eleven, & all the rest of the year from seven or as soon as the Gates of the City are open, and in the afternoon from one to five, the Afternoons of Thursdays and Saturdays excepted, which shall always be allowed for recreation; & that the Master shall grant no play day, except to such as shall pay down ten shillings into the Masters hands, to be by him immediately disposed of, to the most indigent & deserving Lads of his School.

15thly. That the Master shall take special care of the Scholars of his own family, to intrust them by his own good example at all times, as well as by occasional directions, & shall have the prayers of the church of England & Ireland read to them both morning and Evening in some convenient place of the house, & in the School, the prayers seen and approved of by the Lord Bishop of Ossory shall constantly & duly used, in the same manner & form, as they are at the date of these Presents.

16thly. That from the beginning of March till the middle of September, all the Scholars shall be in the School upon Sundays by eight, to be instructed in the Church Catechism, & afterwards shall attend the Master & Usher to Church, in a comely & decent manner, & from the middle of September 'till March

they shall stay in School 'till half an hour past Eleven upon Saturdays, that they may be taught the said Catechism.

17thly. That Edward Hinton, Master of said School, & the Master of the time being, shall inhabit, posses, and enjoy to his own proper use and emolument the School house, with the courts, out houses, and the garden, thereunto belonging, as also the meadow adjoining, commonly called the pigeon house meadow, provided the Scholars be allowed at leisure times, to take their recreation therein, and that the trees in the said meadow be carefully preserved and improved.

18thly. That the Master shall provide a large register, wherein the names, qualities, & ages of all such Children as shall from time to time be admitted into the said School shall be register'd and entered, as also the time of their departure, what Class they were in, and to what place & employment they go, likewise a catalogue of all goods, standards, or utensils as do or shall belong to the said house, School, out houses, gardens, and meadows.

19thly. That the Master shall receive for his salary the Sum of one hundred and forty pounds per annum of good and lawful money of and in England, by even and equal portions, one moiety of it at the twenty fifth of March, and the other September the twenty ninth, or within a fortnight after either of those feasts, to be paid constantly in the School house without any defalcation out of the tythes settled by the said Duke for payment thereof, except his Grace or his Heirs shall settle some particular lands for the payment of the said Salary and which shall be of a full value to discharge it yearly, and upon the Masters death or removal his Salary pro rata shall become due to him to be paid to that very day.

20thly. That the Master shall keep and maintain the School house, School, and out houses in constant, good and sufficient repair, nor shall it be lawful to make any alterations therein without the approbation of the Visitors.

21stly. That Thomas Lord Bishop of Ossory, Narcissus Lord Bishop of leighlin and Ferns, & Robert Huntingdon, Provost of Trinity College in Dublin,

while they live in this kingdome, and in the Bishops of Ossory Leighlin and Ferns, and the Provost of the College for the time being, be nominated and appointed Visitors of the said School, & that they or the majority of them (For 'tis the greater number of them still which is meant by the Visitors) shall yearly at or upon the last Thursday in June yearly, or oftener if they shall see occasion, publickly visit the said School between the hours of eight and twelve in the morning, where and when they shall first cause the statutes to be read audibly and distinctly by one of the Scholars, and afterwards proceed to examine the proficiency of the Scholars, and enquire after any breach of Statutes, and after the behaviour of the Master, the sufficiency and manners of the Usher, the Authors that are read, the methods, usages, and customs of the School, and if they shall judge any alterations or amendments requiste, in any of these they shall express it to the Master, who by virtue of these statutes is readily to comply with their advice, for the better improvement of the said School, and when there shall be Foundation Scholars, they shall by the Visitors be chosen according to their merit, for the University.

22ndly. That on the said visitation day after dinner, which the Master is to provide soberly & decently, and towards it shall have freely given him a fat Buck yearly, out of his Grace's next Park, the Visitors then present, shall take a view of the School, house, & out houses, the Garden, meadow and the trees therein, and if they find occasion, shall specific in writing all those repairs and amendments with the manner & the time when they judge them expedient to be made, and if the Master shall be negligent herein, the Visitors shall signifie the same to the Governor of the said School, who forthwith shall order these things to be done by able workmen, and that they be paid out of the sallery next due to the Master.

23rdly. That if it appear to the Visitors that the Usher is insufficient or scandalous, & so much be signified to the Master, under their hands and seals, if the Master shall refuse to remove the said Usher, and chose another statuably qualified, or if the Master shall neglect such alterations or amendations as the visitors shall have judged fit to be made, either in the manners of himself or his Usher, the authors to be made, or the method, customs, and the management of the Said School, Or if the Master shall

forbear to discharge himself or his Usher from such offices or employments as the Visitors have judged inconsistent with, or prejudicial to the due management of the said School, or shall alter the house without their consent, the Visitors shall under their hands & seals admonish the Master a second time of his said neglect, and if for the space of three months after such second admonition, the Master shall be convicted either by notoriety of fact, or the testimony of two (at the least) credible witnesses, of such obstinate neglect, upon information thereof by the visitors, under their hands & seals, given to the Patron or Governor, he shall expell & remove the said Master from all duties & benefits of the said School, School house, &c., and shall nominate & chose another in his stead, according to the the qualifications above specified.

24thly. That if any doubt or objection shall happen concerning the time, purport, intent & meaning of these Statutes, or anything in them contained, such interpretation as the Visitors shall agree & signify under their hands & seals, shall be binding & decissive to all Persons concerned.

Lastly. In Testimony that all & singular the above written Statutes, Orders & Constutions are ratified established & confirmed to commence & be in force from twenty fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand and six hundred & Eighty five, the said James Duke of Ormond, the Founder of the said School has this present Eighteenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred & Eighty four hereto set his hand & seal at his Majesty's Castle of Dublin. Ormond

Signed Sealed & delivered in the presence of
Robert Huntingdon, James Power and Wm. Robinson.

Appendix IV

Statutes Constitutions - Orders and Directions of Witney Free School

1675.

Made and appointed by Mary Box relict and executrix of Henry Box late of London deceased according to the last will and testament of the said Henry Box and to an act of Parliament made for the enacting constituting making ordaining of a Free School in the town of Witney and in the County of Oxon of the foundation of the said Henry Box founder thereofwith are to be kept and observed forever in the aforesaid School called or known by the name of Free Grammar School of Witney of the foundation of the said Henry Box.

1. First it is limited and ordained that no person whatever shall be capable of being admitted into the said School as the Master but should have taken the degree of Master of Arts in some universities in the dominion of the Crown of England more the Usher capable of admission into the said place unless he be very well grounded in the Greek and Latin tongues and in the choice of an Usher one that hath studied some considerable time and is a graduate in one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge or any other university in the dominion of the Crown of England shall be *ceteris paribus* preferred before any others and that both Master and Usher should be sound in the faith and of unblamable lives and conversations and the Master well skilled in School learning and in the original and ancient languages which he and the Usher are responsibly to instruct the Scholars in and to the end that the said School may from time to time and at all times be furnished with meet and able persons as to before expressed. It is further ordained that before the election of the Master that shall or may be elected abilities and qualifications shall be tried by the Visitors thereof being well satisfied therein he shall be confirmed in his place by the Governor having a certificate under the hands of the said Visitors touching their appreciation under the provisions and limitations hereafter mentioned.

2. And it is further likewise ordered that the Usher be chosen by and with the consent of the Visitors and the Master qualities before which after three months trial had of his abilities and fitting it then such like certificate be obtained by him from the Visitors and Master to the said Governor then the said Usher shall be fully confirmed in his place and employment as aforesaid by the Governors and for the want of such certificates respectively the Governors may proceed to a new election and choice.

3. Furthermore it is ordained if any person or persons elected and approved as Master and Usher shall be afterwards found upon trail to be insufficient

or remissly negligent or if he or they upon just accusation shall be detected or notoriously suspected to live incontinent in whoredom or adultery, be a common swearer, a tavern or alehouse haunter to disownment of religion now established or religious duties or otherwise scandalous or shall take upon him any other charge or employment to the hindrance of his or their preforming of the duty of the said place. The Governors of the said School for the time being shall and may upon their own knowledge of certain information thereof given them by the Visitors or the major part of them or otherwise made known unto them remove him, them or either of them found so obnoxious and cease all further payments to him or them and in his or these places elect and settle one other sufficient man or men into the said place or places and employment.

4. Furthermore it is ordained that the School Master so elected and appointed to employment the said place and office shall be constantly resident and attendant there upon and if he being in health shall be absent above twenty four School days at one time in any one whole year or otherwise shall be observed to be absented from the School as to neglect his due performance in the instructing and teaching of the said Scholars so that these shall be just occasion of complaint and so be given to the Governors or Visitors or any of them for the time being and the same upon enquiry and examination found to be true by any of the said Visitors or the major part of them and there upon the said Master being admonished by them or the major part of them and upon so doing no amendment immediately shall follow and so said Visitors or the major part of them are hereby desired to be given notice forthwith under there hands in writing to the present Governor to the end the said Master upon three months warning given him or left in writing at his house under public seal maybe removed and displaced and all payments cease to be made to him and shall proceed to elect and settle one other sufficient and able man qualified as before in his place and office.

5. And it is further ordained the the Usher of the said School shall be resident and attend constantly at the School times and if he being in health shall be absent above fifteen days at one time in any one whole year or otherwise shall be observed to be so absent from the School as to neglect the duty to his teaching that for any of these things or the life falling out and complaint as before made and after admonition given him by two or more of the said Visitors and no more information found as aforesaid the life certificate is desired to be made by the said Visitors to the end that the life warning maybe given by the Governor and to cease any further payments to him and proceed to a further choice of one other to supply his place qualified as before.

6. Furthermore it is ordained that the School Master and Usher shall not be absent at one and the same time but that one of them shall be ever present at School times that the Scholars may not be neglected.

7. Furthermore it is ordained that the School Master for the time being shall enjoy for his dwelling the house and house belonging for the said School with the garden, grounds and outhouses there unto belonging rent free provided that he allows unto the Usher of the said School for the time being a convenient room for his lodgings such as the Visitors shall think fit provided that the said School Master shall and do from time to time upon his election and before his admission in possession into the said house and houses and appurtenances of his habitation under his hand and seal become bound for himself his heirs executers and administrators unto the said Governors and their successors forever in due and lawful manner in the sum of fifty pounds of lawful money of England conditions for the goods and sufficient repairing, amending, sustaining and maintaining of the said house and outhouses with the appurtenances in and by all manners of needful repartitions and for quitting and delivering up possession there of by when by death or other ways the same shall become void altogether with all such books that ought to be in the library as also all goods and utensils are or shall be contained in any schedule or schedules where the Masters name for the time being shall be subscribed and also of any other thing or things whatsoever that now are or hereafter shall justly belonging or appertaining to the said School house, library, outhouses, appurtenances and that he shall practicably quietly permit the Governors and Visitors for the time being or any of them with such workman or workmen as they or any of them shall appoint to enter into and there view the premises so often as they shall think meet and always upon such view if it shall happen that any default or want of reparation shall be found, notice shall be given or left in writing by any of the Governors or two of the Visitors for the time being and if the said house and appurtenances be not well and sufficiently repaired and amended within the space of three months next after such notice is given then the said Governors or Visitors shall appoint the same to be well and sufficiently repaired amended and shall and may deduct out of the said School Master's salary which shall be then due or afterwards grow to be due all such sum or sums of money as will fully satisfy and pay for the said amendments and reparations laid out.

8. And it is further hereby provided and ordained the fairest room in the said house shall be reserved for the Governor and Visitors for the time being to make use for their more convenient meetings so long and so often as they please with free ingress and regress there unto and thence from without any let or molestation of the said School Master or of any other person or persons of his procuring or abetting.

9. Furthermore it is ordained that the School Master for the time being shall have and receive the sum of thirty Five pounds per annum to be paid by equal and even portions that is to say upon the twenty fifth of March and the twenty ninth day of September or within one and twenty days after either of these two said days of payment out of which said thirty two pounds the Master shall distribute forty shillings upon a dinner to be made for the Visitors at the said School house St. James' day successively forever and that three pounds being the remainder of five pounds shall be annually reserved and put into the chest belonging to the School to which chest there shall be two several locks and keys the one key shall be kept by the Master the other by the Visitors as a stock to be reserved for grand reparations which shall not be lessened but by the consent of the Visitors or Governors lest the School fall to ruin.

10. Furthermore it is ordained the Usher shall have and receive for his salary fifteen pounds per annum paid him as a foresaid by equal and even proportions at the two several feast or days of payment as before mentioned or within one and twenty days after the same shall become due.

11. Furthermore the present Master shall take a perfect and and exact account written in a book to that purpose left in the library there always to remain of all such books as shall be given by the founder or any other person or persons for the furnishing of the said library together with the names of the authors, titles, editions together with the number of the volumes of every of the said books with the names of those who gave them where of at all times he shall be ready to give a true and perfect account to the Governors and Visitors or the Major part of them when and so often as they or at any time and that none whatsoever shall be suffered to write, inscribe or deface with pen or otherwise and of the said books and and that once in a week by the care and appointment of the Master the dust maybe beaten from the said books and care be taken by him for the preservation and good usage of the aforesaid books as by experience he shall find best or otherwise advised.

12. Furthermore it is ordained that if any question or doubt shall hereafter at anytime be made in and about the true and plain meaning of any of these Statutes and Orders the Visitors or the major part of them for the time being giving their sense upon such difference under there hands to the present Governors the said Governors shall have the power and are hereby empowered to construe and judge and so determine the same from time to time.

13. Furthermore it is ordained that the School shall be free for the teachings of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues or any of them to thirty Scholars

whereof all such children whose parents now do or hereafter shall at the time of their birth inhabit the town of Witney respect in the choice being had to the thirteen of the poorest inhabitants together with the children of Ralph Box of London son of the founder and of William Hill of Teddington in the County of Middlesex Esq. by his present wife Alice Hill daughter of the founder and the issue and children of them or any or either of them and the children or issue males of Edward Box of Southnewington in the County of Oxon and all other the children and issues males of them being of the whole blood of the founder shall have priority of admission as Free Scholars into the said School forever and it shall happen at any times hereafter that the children aforesaid shall not amount to the number assigned that then it shall be for the Master by the approbation of the Visitors to admit and receive into the freedom of the said School the thirteen that now are or hereafter shall be born of such parents which shall then inhabit within the Parish of the town of Witney until the said number be completed provided that the children born in Witney together with the children and issue of Ralph Box, William Hill and Edward Box aforesaid and the issue of the whole Blood of the founder aforesaid be not in hereby any kind debarred of their intended privileges which said issue of the founder shall be allowed by the Master the best and most convenient chamber or chambers for the lodgings in the said house.

14. Furthermore the due fee for admission shall be two shillings and six pence for each Scholars of the foundation first appointed whereof one shilling and six pence to the Master one shilling to the Usher except it be of such children whose parents are inhabitants are not assessed weekly towards the maintenance of the poor who shall pay one shilling to be equally divided between the Master and Usher and no more.

15. Furthermore that no children that have upon them any noious infectious disease shall during the same time be admitted or if after admission any shall fall into any such maladies they shall be removed until they be perfectly cured.

16. Furthermore the Scholars shall have notice of the time of the repairing to the School by the ringing of the bell at some meet space before the hours hereafter specified when they ought to come by some poor Scholars to be by the Master's appointment from time to time to this purpose ever to ring the bell and to sweep the School who for that and shall have six pence per quarter gathered throughout the school.

17. Furthermore the hours for coming to and departing from the School from the tenth of March to the tenth of September yearly shall be from six of the clock in the morning until eleven and from one of the clock until five in the

afternoon and from the said tenth of September to the said tenth of March from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven except for two months when the days are the shortest when they shall repair to school by half an hour after seven and continue to half an hour after eleven and from the said tenth of September to the tenth of March they shall continue from one of the clock until five or as long as the day light shall continue it being ordained that no candles shall be used for the teaching or learning in the School at any time.

18. Furthermore the first duty entered upon every morning after a short and solemn form of calling upon God for a blessing there upon shall follow the distinct reading of a chapter or some other portion of the holy scriptures by one of the Scholars as the Master shall direct and appoint likewise before their dismission in the evening they shall close the day with prayer and thanksgiving and here of both Master and Usher are enjoyed to take care that these religious duties be daily and diligently performed and attended by all the Scholars.

19. Furthermore no Scholar in health shall be absent above three days together and that with the Master's allowance and if he shall be longer absent after admonition of the Scholar or notice given to his parents or friends unless in some extraordinary case and the Master approving of the cause shall forfeit all privileges in the said School and become incapable of remission unless the Visitors or the major part of them hearing the cause so otherwise order who have power also upon complaint to call the Master to give an account for any such license to him given and there upon take such order as may conduce to the promoting the ends of this order viz diligent and constant attendance upon the School for their better profiting in learning.

20. Furthermore all disobedient stubborn youths shall after two or three admonitions if they so continue be expelled the School.

21. Furthermore such Scholars shall be preferred by the Master according to his deserts and in case of injury offered by the Master herein there shall be appeal made to the Visitors.

22. Furthermore no Scholar shall with knife or otherwise howsoever in stone, lead or other materials cut, notch, deface or break the windows, wainscots, forms, seats, tables of order, desks, doors in any part of the house, School or library neither deface nor in any kind abuse any of the books in the said library the Master upon competition of such offender or offenders shall give him or them exemplary punishment for deferring others so to do.

23. Furthermore to the end the Free Scholars may not be neglected in their

teaching the Master shall not at any time increase or suffer the number of Scholars to be above what he the said Master and Usher are able diligently and thoroughly and the Visitors and desired to be very careful that the number of the Scholars taken together with those of the foundation appointed to be free shall be above the number of one hundred at any time then they to appoint the Master to take one other Usher at his and the Usher's charge to assist him in the teaching of them and in the case the Master and the Usher shall not submit and so do the Visitors or the major part of them shall certify the same to the Governors to the end such Master and Usher maybe removed from the said School upon three months warning to them given.

24. Furthermore it is further appointed and ordained that there shall be purchased of the land tenements and hereditaments in the names of the Governors of the said Free School and their successors as counselled shall advise and direct in the county of Oxon or in some county there unto adjoining of the clear yearly value of thirteen pounds the yearly rent there of to be employed as follows viz ten pounds there of to be paid for and towards the maintenance of a fit able honest man that can very well write all usual hands and cast accounts paid him at the dates as the salary aforesaid to be paid unto the Master of the School aforesaid to be from time to time nominated chosen displaced and put out by the Governors or Governor for the time being with the approbation of the said Visitors or the major part of them to teach and instruct the said Scholars to write and cast attempt if the said Scholar his parents or friends shall desire it at such times as the Master of the said School shall for the time being direct and appoint in some place in or near the said School and that every Scholar that shall be of the foundation of the said School that shall be instructed in writing and casting attempts shall pay unto the said writing master the sum of one shilling and every other Scholar at the said School the sum of five shillings quarters so long as he the said writing master shall teach and instruct the School or Scholars there in and twenty shillings yearly parcel of the said rent of thirteen pounds shall be paid unto such of the said Visitors as shall desire it for and towards their charges in procuring horses when and so often as they shall come to the said School to visit the same upon Saint James' day and forty shillings yearly residue of the said thirteen pounds shall be paid unto the said Master for the time being for and towards payment and discharging of taxes and payments laid and imposed upon the said School house buildings and lands there unto belonging then in possession of the said School Master.

25. It is hereby further ordained that every year an amount shall be given unto the Visitors or the major part of them that the said thirteen pounds hath been disposed of as above said and if upon the said account any part remain not disposed of as aforesaid it shall be employed for and towards

the buying of such books as the said School Master by and with the approbation of the said Visitors or the major part of them shall appoint with said book or books shall remain and be in the library of the said School as foresaid.

26. Furthermore all these Statutes and Orders made for the Free Scholars privileged by the founder shall be duly observed by all the Scholars in the said School and no Scholars that are not comprehended within the free shall be admitted into the School but such as do submit to one and the same government the Master and Usher are hereby privileged to make what agreement they please for the teaching of foreigners.

27. Furthermore the Usher shall stand to the Master's directions both for method and order of teaching also the Master shall examine the proficiency under the Usher's teachings and he by himself or if need be by two of the Visitors shall take course for the regulating of what shall be amiss.

28. Furthermore the Provost and two senior fellows of Oriel College Oxon who are Visitors or some other fellows of the same College by their nomination shall meet every Saint James' day in the morning between the hours of eight and eleven every year forever where also appear the Master and usher and all the Scholars who after prayers to God made shall read the eleventh chapter of Hebrews and then to sing the first four verses of the one and forty Psalms or the four last verses of the one hundred and twenty two Psalm or also the one hundred thirty three Psalm and to say this prayer in Latin:

Domine deus Resurrectio et vita Credentium qui semper es benedictus tam in defunctis quam in vivis Agimus tibi gratias pro Henrico Box et Maria uxore ejus Fundatoribus nostris caeterisque benefastoribus quorum beneficijs hic ad pietatem et studia literarum instituimur Orantes ut nos his donis recte utentes una cum sanctis tuis Ad Resurrectionem Gloriosam et immortalem perducamur per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum Amen.

29. Furthermore it is ordained that the Visitors after their dinner in the said school shall examine the Master's and the Usher's diligence and the Scholars due admission and proficiency and to hear and determine all matters of difference that shall arise either between the Master and the Usher or between the Master, Usher or any of the Scholars upon appeal made to them of the undue proceedings of the Master and the Usher contrary to these Orders and of any miscarriages of any the Scholars contrary to the true meaning of the founder and any determination made by the said Visitors or the major part of them upon such appeal shall be binding to the parties concerned.

30. Furthermore it is ordained that there shall be a good correspondence between the Master and Usher and if the Master shall remove and take from the usher's teachings any Scholar for his own advantage before he be fit to do so taken under his teachings then the Usher may complain to the Visitors and they to reform the same. None shall be admitted to the School but such as can read English perfectly.

31. Furthermore these Statutes and Orders fairly written in books shall be kept in the library and the Master shall cause them to be read or shown to all persons as often children to be admitted either as Free Scholars or otherwise and also they shall be openly and distinctively read every Saint James' day from time to time forever so none may plead ignorance and if any of the parents or friends refuse to have their children or relations to submit to these Statutes and Orders or any of them let them not be admitted into the said School or benefit or freedom thereof.

32. Furthermore the Visitors or the major part of them for the time being upon defect found in any Statutes or Orders herein comprised and that other Orders are necessary and may further tend to the good of the said School are necessary to represent such defects to the present Governors to the end, that upon advice from the said Visitors such further Statutes and Orders for remedy therein may be provided as the said Governors with the consent and approbation of the Visitors shall make and approve of.

33. Furthermore the said Mary Box relict of the aforesaid Henry Box reserveth during her natural life full power and authority of enlarging, altering, changing in substance or words of adding, removing or dispensing with what experience and prudent counsel shall appear to be hopeful to the furtherance of the pious intention of the founder want whatsoever is herein contained as appointed and ordained shall commence and take a place from the fifth and twentieth day of July 1675 all which Statutes and Orders written verbatim the said Mary Box the fourteenth day of December 1674 did under her name.

Appendix V

48 & 49 *Vic.*, *c.* 73.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1885.

No. 46.

City and County of Kilkenny.

Date of Scheme—31st December, 1890.

FINAL APPROVAL BY ORDER IN COUNCIL.

Endowment—Kilkenny College.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council in Ireland.

ZETLAND.

Whereas the Right Honorable Gerald FitzGibbon and the Right Honorable William O'Brien, the Judicial Commissioners constituted under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, have, in virtue of the powers conferred upon them by the said Act, and of every other power enabling them in that behalf, framed and signed under their hands a Scheme relating to the Educational Endowments of or belonging to Kilkenny College, which Scheme is annexed to this Order:

And whereas all the conditions in regard to the said Scheme, which are required to be fulfilled by the said Act to enable the said Scheme to be finally approved, have been fulfilled:

Now therefore, We, the Lord Lieutenant-General and General Governor of Ireland, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Privy Council in Ireland, do, by this Order, pursuant to the 27th section of the said Act, declare our approbation of the aforesaid Scheme, and the same is hereby finally approved.

Given at the Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, this 31st day of December, 1890.

LEINSTER.
MEATH.
ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.
WEST RIDGEWAY.
D. H. MADDEN.

SCHEME REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING ORDER.

No 46. *City and County of* Kilkenny.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1885.

SCHEME framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, for the future government and management of the Educational Endowments of or belonging to Kilkenny College.

Whereas James, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Ormonde, by deed dated March 18, 1684, granted to certain trustees, and their heirs and assigns for ever, a mansion house and lands adjoining, in or near the City of Kilkenny, in the Diocese of Ossory, for the use of a Grammar School to be governed according to statutes made by the said Duke; and he also granted, for the maintenance of the Schoolmaster and for the repairs of the Schoolhouse, a certain perpetual annuity or rentcharge of One Hundred and Forty Pounds, secured upon certain tithes granted by the said Duke for that purpose:

And whereas the said James, Duke of Ormonde, by a further deed dated March 18, 1684, made and ordained certain statutes for the government and management of the said School, including the following provisions:—That there should be for ever, constantly resident in the School, a Master who should be, at least, a Master of Arts of one of the Universities of Ireland or of England, of good reputation, well skilled in Humanity and Grammar Learning, loyal and orthodox, and who should conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Ireland as then established by law; that the Master should from time to time be by deed nominated by the said James, Duke of Ormonde, Founder Patron and Governor of the School, and by the heirs male of his body who should be Dukes of Ormonde, Patrons and Governors of the School, being examined and approved by the Visitors of the School; that if the Governor should neglect to nominate a Master, or should nominate one not duly qualified, the Visitors should on every such occasion appoint a qualified person to be the Master; that upon failure of issue male of the said James, Duke of Ormonde, the Provost Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, and their successors, should thenceforth for ever be the Patrons and Governors of the School; that the Master should constantly attend the School in person, and instruct the scholars in Religion Virtue and Learning, in the Latin Greek and Hebrew Languages, and also in Oratory and Poetry; that there should always be an Usher, to be appointed and removed by the Master, and to be lodged and maintained in the School, a Bachelor of Arts of one of the Universities of Ireland or of England; that the scholars to be admitted to the School should be such as had first learnt their accidence, and were fit to enter upon Grammar Learning; that the children of such as were in the service of the Duke of Ormonde should be admitted to the privileges and benefits of the School gratis; that if any person should out of

charity, pay for the tabling in the School of pupils recommended by the Visitors as fit objects of charity, the Master should admit and teach such pupils gratis, so long as they continued diligent; that if the Duke or other pious benefactors should thereafter make ar grants or allowances for the maintenance of scholars at the School, and afterwards, if they should prove fit, at Trinity College, Dublin, the Master should be obliged to teach them under the name of "Ormonde Scholars" gratis; that it should be lawful for the Master to demand, from all other scholars, fees according to the rates and usages of the most remarkable School in Dublin, those children excepted whose parents were, or at the time of such children's birth had been, inhabitants of the City or Liberties of Kilkenny, who should pay but half so much; that the Master should have the prayers of the Church of England and Ireland read to the scholars both morning and evening, and that prayers approved by the Lord Bishop of Ossory should be constantly used in the School; that upon Sundays all the scholars should be instructed in the Church Catechism, and afterwards should attend the Master and Usher to Church; that the Master of the School, for the time being, should possess for his own use and emolument the School-house, with the courts, out-houses and gardens thereunto belonging, and also the meadow adjoining, commonly called Pigeon House Meadow, provided the scholars should be allowed to take their recreation therein; that the Master should receive for his salary the yearly sum of £140, of good and lawful money of and in England, to be paid half-yearly, without any defalcation, out of the tithes settled for the purpose by the said Duke, except the said Duke or his heirs should settle some particular lands for the payment of the said salary; that the Master should keep the School-house, School, and out-houses in constant good and sufficient repair; that the Lords Bishops of Ossory, Leighlin, and Ferns, and the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, for the time being, should be the Visitors of the School, and that they should visit the School once a year or oftener, and, if they should find occasion, should specify in writing any repairs to be made, and if the Master should neglect to carry out such repairs, the Visitors should signify the same to the Governor, who forthwith should order such repairs to be done, and that the cost of such repairs should be paid out of the salary next due to the Master:

And whereas, in the year 1715, the issue male of the said James, Duke of Ormonde, failed, and thereupon the Provost Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, became the Patrons and Governors of the School:

And whereas, in the year 1782, the School-house granted by the said James, Duke of Ormonde, had become ruinous, and a new School-house was erected by means of a grant of £5,064 from the Irish Parliament, in which School-house the School was until recently maintained and carried on, and was and is known as Kilkenny College:

And whereas, previous to the year 1855, the Rev. John Browne, then Master of the School, had effected improvements and repairs of the School-house at the cost of £925 19*s.* 7*d.*, which he defrayed out of his own moneys, in consideration of which it was agreed between the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, then acting as the Governors of the School, and the Rev. John Browne, that, upon his retirement from the office of Master, his successor should be required to pay to him the sum of £694 9*s.* 8*d.*, being three-fourths of the said sum of £925 19*s.* 7*d*:

And whereas, on February 13, 1864, the said Rev. John Browne having retired from the office of Master, the Rev. John Henry Martin was appointed Master of the School by the said Provost and Senior Fellows, upon the terms that the said Rev. John Henry Martin should repay to the said Rev. J. Browne the sum of £694 9*s.* 8*d.*, being three-fourths of the said sum of £925 19*s.* 7*d.*, and should be entitled, on his retirement, to receive from his successor the sum of £462 19*s.* 10*d.*, being one-half of the said sum of £925 19*s.* 7*d.*; and the sum of £694 9*s.* 8*d.* was paid by the said Rev. John Henry Martin to the said Rev. John Browne accordingly:

And whereas, on or about April 22, 1874, the said Rev. John Henry Martin having retired from the office of Master, James Maxwell Weir, M.A., was appointed Master of the School by the said Provost and Senior Fellows, upon the terms that on the next vacancy he should be entitled to receive, from his successor, the sum of £231 9*s.* 11*d.*, being one-half of the sum of £462 19*s.* 10*d.* payable by him to his predecessor, and being one-fourth of the original sum of £925 19*s.* 7*d.* paid to the said Rev. John Browne for the improvements made by him:

And whereas, in order to secure the payment to the said Rev. John Henry Martin of the said sum of £462 19*s.* 10*d.*, less by whatever sum he might be liable to pay on account of dilapidations during his tenure of the Mastership, the said Provost and Senior Fellows required the said James Maxwell Weir to lodge the said sum on deposit receipt in the Bank of Ireland, to the credit of the said Provost Fellows and Scholars, before his formal appointment as Master of the School was made:

And whereas it was afterwards ascertained that the said Rev. John Henry Martin was liable to pay the sum of £138 on account of such dilapidations as aforesaid; and the sum of £324 19*s.* 10*d.*, being the balance of the said sum of £462 19*s.* 10*d.* together with £4 3*s.* 9*d.* interest received on the said sum while remaining on deposit, was paid by the said Provost Fellows and Scholars to the said Rev. John Henry Martin, and the said sum of £138, together with £1 15*s.* 6*d.*, further interest received as aforesaid, was paid by the said Provost Fellows and Scholars to the said James Maxwell Weir, to be expended by him in repairing the said School-house:

And whereas the said School-house, when handed over to the said James Maxwell Weir, required repairs exceeding in cost the said sum of £139 15*s.* 6*d.* so paid to the said James Maxwell Weir, and he undertook to execute the said repairs at his own cost; and it was then agreed between the said Provost and Senior Fellows and the said James Maxwell Weir that the charge to be thereafter made against the said James Maxwell Weir or his representatives, on account of dilapidations, should not exceed fifteen per cent. per annum, for the period during which he should hold office as Master of the School, on the valuation of the School-house and Offices, which were valued at the sum of £92 0*s.* 0*d.* per annum:

And whereas the said James Maxwell Weir expended the said sum of £139 15*s.* 6*d.* so paid to him, with a further sum out of his own moneys, in repairing the said School-house, and he carried on the School therein until the year 1885, when the pupils ceased to attend; but the said James Maxwell Weir continued to hold the office of Master, and to occupy the School-house and premises, and to receive the yearly salary or annuity of £140, which was calculated in the late currency of Ireland, and at the rate of £129 4*s.* 7*d.* present currency, but he permitted the said School-house and Offices to become dilapidated:

And whereas the said James Maxwell Weir died on November 18, 1889, and there is now no Master of the School, and it has been ascertained that after deducting the sum necessary to place the said School-house and Offices in good and sufficient repair, and chargeable against the representatives of the said James Maxwell Weir, under the hereinbefore recited agreement, on account of dilapidations, the balance of the said sum of £231 9*s.* 11*d.* which is now payable to his representatives, under the terms of his appointment, amounts to the sum of £100, and no more:

And whereas the Endowments of or belonging to the School consist of the said School-house and buildings, and the meadow and lands adjoining, the particulars whereof appear in the First Schedule hereto; and of the said perpetual annuity or rent-charge of one hundred and forty pounds, the particulars whereof appear in the Second Schedule hereto:

And whereas the above mentioned Endowments, and all other the property held in trust for or applicable to the purposes of the said School, now constitute Educational Endowments within the meaning of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, and the said Act applies to the same:

And whereas it has appeared to the Commissioners under the said Act, after due inquiry, that, in order to extend the usefulness of the said Endowments, provision should be made for the future government and management thereof, in manner hereinafter appearing;

Therefore, from and after the date of this Scheme, being the day upon which the Lord Lieutenant shall by Order in Council declare his approbation thereof, the said Endowments shall be held, governed, managed, and applied for the purposes, with the powers, under the conditions and provisions, and in the manner hereinafter set forth, and not otherwise; any previous Act of Parliament, Letters Patent, Statute, Charter, Deed, Instrument, Trust, or Direction, relating to the subject-matter of this Scheme, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Preliminary.

1. For the purposes of this Scheme, unless the context otherwise requires, the following terms shall be interpreted as follows:— Interpretation of Terms.

"The Act" shall mean the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885.

"The Governors" shall mean the Governing Body of Kilkenny College, hereby incorporated.

"The College" shall mean the educational institution established under the hereinbefore recited Deeds of March 18, 1684, and since existing at or near the City of Kilkenny, and known as Kilkenny College, and shall include any other educational institution for the time being managed, maintained, or aided by the Governors under the provisions of this Scheme.

"The Endowments" shall mean and include all the lands, buildings, rent-charge, hereditaments, moneys, securities, chattels, and effects, and all other the property, real and personal, at the date of this Scheme held in trust for

or applicable to the purposes of the College, or which may hereby or hereafter become or be vested in the Governors for the purposes of this Scheme, and shall include all or any sums at the date of this Scheme due or payable on account of the above-mentioned rentcharge, from the date of the death of the late Master, James Maxwell Weir.

"The Diocesan Council" shall mean the body known as the Diocesan Council of the Diocese of Ossory, appointed in accordance with the constitution of the Church formerly established by law, and referred to in the Irish Church Act, 1869, as the Church of Ireland, hereinafter referred to as the said Church, and shall include any authority duly empowered to perform the functions now performed by the Diocesan Council.

"The Bishop" shall mean the Bishop of Ossory for the time being, appointed in accordance with the constitution of the said Church, and shall include any other person duly empowered under the said constitution to exercise in the Diocese of Ossory the authority now vested in the Bishop.

"Intermediate Education" shall mean education in such subjects as are or may be included in the programme of examinations of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland.

The Governing Body.

Incorporation of Governing Body.

2. From and after the date of this Scheme, a Governing Body shall be formed for the future government and management of the College. It shall consist of the Marquess of Ormonde for the time being, if a member of the said Church; three *ex-officio* Governors; and five representative Governors; with such additional Governors, if any, as may be elected or co-opted from time to time, as hereinafter provided.

The *ex-officio* Governors shall be the Bishop; the Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, appointed in accordance with the constitution of the said Church; and the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, if a member of the said Church; all for the time being.

Of the five representative Governors, one shall be nominated by the Marquess of Ormonde for the time being, one shall be nominated by the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, and three shall be elected by the Diocesan Council, in manner hereinafter provided.

Every Governor shall be a member of the said Church.

The first representative Governors shall be such and so many of the following persons as, at the date of this Scheme, shall be qualified, able, and willing to act as Governors.

Representing the Marquess of Ormonde.

The Rev. Waller de Montmorency, Castle Morres, Knocktopher.

Representing Trinity College, Dublin.

The Rev. Joseph Carson, D.D., Vice-Provost of Trinity College, Dublin

Representing the Diocesan Council.

The Ven. William C. Gorman, A.M., Archdeacon of Ossory.
Edward Warren, Esq., Lodge Park, Freshford.
James Poe, Esq., Rose Hill, Kilkenny.

The Governors, for the time being, shall constitute a Body Corporate, by the name of "The Governors of Kilkenny College," with perpetual succession and a common seal, and power to acquire and hold property, real and personal, for the purposes of this Scheme.

Appointment of Representative Governors.

3. The abovenamed Governors representing the Marquess of Ormonde, and Trinity College, Dublin, shall hold office until the appointment of their respective successors, or until they shall vacate office as hereinafter provided. In the month of December first happening more than twelve months after the date of this Scheme, and thereafter, from time to time, within six months after the occurrence of each vacancy, the Marquess of Ormonde, for the time being, and the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, may each, by writing, nominate a qualified person to be a Governor, representing the Marquess of Ormonde, and Trinity College, Dublin, respectively. The Marquess of Ormonde, and the said Provost and Senior Fellows, respectively, from time to time, by writing, may define the period for which each Governor so nominated shall hold office, and may revoke any nomination made by them, and may nominate a qualified person to fill the office of Governor vacated by such revocation.

The abovenamed Governors representing the Diocesan Council shall hold office until the thirty-first day of December first happening more than one year after the date of this Scheme. In the month of November or December in the said year, and in every year thereafter, the Diocesan Council shall elect three representative Governors, who shall hold office for the calendar year next following their election, or until they shall vacate office as hereinafter provided. Of the Governors representing the Diocesan Council, one at the least shall be a layman, and one at the least shall be a beneficed or licensed Clergyman of the Diocese of Ossory.

Every outgoing representative Governor, if otherwise qualified, shall be eligible for re-election.

Co-option of Additional Governors.

4. If and whenever the Governors shall deem it expedient, they may, at a meeting duly convened for the purpose, co-opt one or more persons of experience in education, or persons otherwise specially qualified to assist the Governors in the discharge of their functions under this Scheme, not at any time exceeding three in all, to be additional Governors. Every additional Governor so co-opted shall hold office for such period as the Governors may fix, or until the Governors shall revoke his appointment, or until he shall vacate office as hereinafter provided. The Governors may, from time to time, upon due notice, revoke the appointment of any additional Governor co-opted by them.

Governors representing the Subscribers.

5. Whenever and as long as the qualified Subscribers shall amount to six or more in number, an annual meeting of the Subscribers shall be convened by the Governors, at such time and place as the Governors shall in each year appoint, and at each annual meeting the qualified Subscribers present, or voting by proxy or by voting papers, may elect one additional Governor for every six qualified Subscribers present, or represented by proxy or voting by voting paper; provided that the total number of such additional Governors shall not at any time exceed three. Each

additional Governor representing the Subscribers shall hold office until the annual meeting of the Subscribers next after his election, or until he shall vacate office as hereinafter provided.

The Subscribers.

Qualifications of Subscribers.

6. The following persons, herein referred to as qualified Subscribers, shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Subscribers, and to vote, in person by proxy or by voting papers, in the election of additional Governors representing the Subscribers:—

(*a.*) Persons who, at any time before or after the date of this Scheme, shall have subscribed not less than Ten Pounds, in one sum, to the funds of the College.

(*b.*) Persons who, at any time before or after the date of this Scheme, shall have subscribed not less than Five Pounds, in one sum, to the funds of the College, and who shall, also, have paid to the College for the education therein of a pupil or pupils, sums amounting in all to not less than Ten Pounds.

(*c.*) Past pupils of the College, who, having been educated as pupils therein or not less than three Academical years, shall, at any time after the date of this Scheme, have subscribed not less than Five Pounds in one sum, to the funds of the College.

(*d.*) Persons who, after the date of this Scheme, shall annually subscribe not less than Two Pounds to the funds of the College; provided that no person shall be qualified to act or vote as an annual Subscriber until a period of six months shall have elapsed from the date of the payment by him of his first annual subscription, nor unless his subscription for the current calendar year shall have been paid.

Register of Subscribers.

7. The Governors shall cause a Register to be regularly kept, in a book to be provided for that purpose, containing the names and last known addresses of the qualified Subscribers, and the particulars of the payments constituting their respective qualifications. The said Register may be corrected from time to time by the Governors, or at any meeting of the Subscribers, and the same, when signed by the Chairman of any meeting of the Governors or of the Subscribers, and certified to be correct by the Secretary or other officer appointed for the purpose, shall be conclusive evidence that those named therein, and none others, are qualified Subscribers for the time being under this Scheme.

Notice of Elections and Meetings

8. Within one month, but not less than one week, before the first day upon which any meeting for the election of Representative Governors might or ought to be held, the Governors shall cause notice to be sent to the Secretary or other proper officer of the electing body, or to the person authorized to convene the meeting, and within the same period before the day appointed for each annual and other meeting of the Subscribers, the Governors shall cause notice of the meeting to be sent, by post or otherwise, to the last known address of each qualified Subscriber, with a voting paper in such form and with such directions and information as the Governors shall deem sufficient to enable each Subscriber receiving the same, and unable to attend, to vote by proxy or by voting paper at the meeting.

Casual Vacancies.

9. If at the date of this Scheme any of the above-named representative Governors shall have ceased to be qualified as herein provided, or shall be unable or unwilling to act, and whenever thereafter any representative or additional Governor shall die, or resign by writing under his hand, or become bankrupt, or refuse to act, or become incapable of acting, or shall cease to be a member of the said Church, or (except in the case of the Governor representing Trinity College, Dublin), shall for the period of twelve months fail to attend any meeting of the Governors, his office shall thereupon become vacant, and the fact of the vacancy, with the cause thereof, shall be recorded in the minutes of the Governors. As soon as conveniently may be after the occurrence of each vacancy among the representative Governors, the remaining Governors shall cause notice thereof to be given to the person or body whom the Governor vacating office shall have represented; the person or body aforesaid may thereupon appoint a qualified person to fill the vacancy, and if he or they shall fail to do so within six months after notice given as aforesaid, the remaining Governors may co-opt a qualified person to fill the vacancy: each person so co-opted shall hold office so long only as the Governor in whose place he shall have been co-opted might have held the same.

Vesting and Transfer of the Endowments.

Vesting of Endowments.

10. From and after the date of this Scheme, the Endowments, and all rights powers and remedies respecting the same, shall, without any new conveyance or instrument, be transferred to and vested in the Governors, and shall be thenceforth held by them and their successors for ever, upon and for the trusts and purposes of this Scheme, and subject to the conditions and provisions herein contained, and to all such rents, charges, rights, easements, and liabilities as, at the date of this Scheme, may lawfully affect the same. From and after the date of this Scheme, all property, securities, goods, chattels, and moneys held or payable by any person or persons for or applicable to the purposes of the College, or included in the Endowments, shall be delivered, transferred, and paid by the person or persons possessed thereof, or bound to pay the same, to the Governors. The receipt of the Governors, duly executed as hereinafter provided, for any delivery, transfer, or payment hereby directed, shall be a good discharge for the person or persons making the same, and he or they shall not be answerable thenceforth for the application thereof.

Trusts of the Endowments.

Trusts of the Endowments.

11. From and after the date of this Scheme, and subject to the conditions and provisions herein contained, and to any special trusts lawfully affecting any part or parts thereof, the Endowments, and all or any other property of or belonging to the Governors, or available for the purposes of this Scheme, shall be held by the Governors upon trust to maintain, or to aid in maintaining, in or near the City of Kilkenny, a College or School for boarders or day pupils, or for both, in which instruction shall be given in such branches of intermediate, commercial, technical, elementary, or other education as the Governors shall from time to time think best suited to the wants of the locality and to the requirements of the pupils.

Application of the Endowments.

Application of Endowments.

12. All moneys received by the Governors under or for the purposes of this Scheme, shall, subject to the other provisions of this Scheme and to any

special trusts or conditions lawfully affecting any part thereof, be expended and applied for the following purposes, or for such and so many of them as to the Governors shall, from time to time, seem expedient:—

(*a.*) To maintain the buildings, furniture, appliances, and premises of the College in good order and condition, and to make such additions thereto, and improvements therein, as may be required from time to time.

(*b.*) To pay all rents, taxes, cost of insurance, and other charges, necessarily or properly payable out of or for the said premises, and to defray the necessary working expenses of the College, and the cost of management.

(*c.*) To maintain an efficient Teaching Staff for the College.

(*d.*) To maintain a sufficient household and domestic staff, and to provide suitable board, lodging, and accommodation for the resident pupils and staff of the College.

(*e.*) To provide prizes for the most deserving pupils; such prizes may be awarded in such manner as the Governors may deem best calculated to promote the progress of the pupils, and may be so given as to enable or encourage deserving and capable pupils, who require such assistance, to continue their education at the College longer than they could otherwise do, or to obtain special instruction or more advanced education elsewhere.

(*f.*) To defray any other expenses incurred in giving effect to the purposes of this Scheme.

Situation of College.

13. The College shall be maintained in the buildings and premises hitherto occupied thereby, or in any other buildings which the Governors may acquire, as hereinafter provided. The Governors may, if and when they shall so think fit, remove the College to some other convenient site or sites in or near the City of Kilkenny. Any buildings or premises vacated upon such removal may be sold, let, or otherwise disposed of by the Governors to the best advantage; provided that no such removal shall take place, nor shall any agreement for the same, or for any letting sale or other disposal of the existing premises, be made or entered into by the Governors, or become binding upon them, without the previous sanction of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, and such sanction shall not be given unless and until the said Commissioners shall have satisfied themselves upon due inquiry that such removal is for the benefit of the College; provided also that no letting, sale, or other disposal of the existing premises of the College comprised in the First Schedule hereto, shall be made until the Governors shall have afforded to the Marquess of Ormonde, for the time being, an opportunity of exercising the right of pre-emption hereinafter mentioned.

Additional Endowments.

Donations and Subscriptions.

14. The Governors may collect, receive, acquire, and hold donations, subscriptions, devises, bequests, and other additional endowments, real or personal, and, subject to any trusts lawfully affecting any part thereof, may apply the same for all or any of the purposes of this Scheme. They may also collect, receive, acquire, and hold donations, subscriptions, devises, bequests, and other endowments, real or personal, and may apply the same for any object connected with the College, or with all or any of the purposes of this Scheme, which shall not be inconsistent with, or calculated to impede, the efficient

working of the provisions hereof. All property and moneys so received or applied shall be included in the accounts to be kept by the Governors under this Scheme.

Aid from Public sources.

15. The Governors may make all arrangements from time to time necessary to enable them to obtain for the College from the Intermediate Education Board, from the Commissioners of National Education, from the Commissioners of Public Works, from the Science and Art Department, or from any other public body, or under any Statute, such aid, by way of teachers salaries, results fees, prizes, provision for technical or other special education, and grants or loans for building and other purposes, as may at any time be available for or open to like institutions or the pupils thereof; and they may, notwithstanding anything herein contained, place the College, or any or all of the classes, in connection with or under the inspection of any such public body as aforesaid, and they may comply with any rules or regulations for the time being in force respecting institutions or pupils receiving such aid. All money and other aid which the Governors may so receive shall, subject to such rules and regulations, be applied by them in conformity with the provisions of this Scheme, and accounted for accordingly.

Free Pupils and Pupils at Reduced Charges.

Nomination of Free Pupils by Marquess of Ormonde.

16. Subject to the conditions hereinafter mentioned, the Marquess of Ormonde for the time being shall at all times be entitled to have educated in the College, free of charge, not more than five day pupils at the same time. The said Marquess may, at his option, nominate such free pupils, or may, from time to time, nominate not more than three candidates for each vacancy from amongst whom a free pupil shall be selected by competition in manner hereinafter provided. Unless with the previous consent of the Head Master, not more than one free pupil shall be admitted in any one year.

Nomination of Pupils at reduced fees.

17. Subject to the conditions hereinafter mentioned, the Governors shall at all times be entitled to have educated in the College, at half the usual fees and charges, not more than five day pupils at the same time, who shall be selected from time to time by competition in manner hereinafter provided. Unless with the previous consent of the Head Master, not more than two pupils shall be admitted at half fees in any one year.

Qualifications of Pupils.

18. Every free pupil nominated by the Marquess of Ormonde, and every pupil admitted at half fees, shall be qualified as follows:—

(*a.*) He shall be the lawful child of Protestant parents, inhabitants of the City or County of Kilkenny, shall be in circumstances to need the assistance to be obtained by education as a free pupil, or as a pupil at half fees, in the College, and every candidate for admission by competition shall, during the twelve months next preceding the day of examination, have made at least one hundred attendances as a pupil at an Elementary School in the City or County of Kilkenny.

(*b.*) He shall be of good character and conduct, and physically and intellectually fitted to take full advantage of the education given in the College.

(*c.*) He shall, upon the day of admission, be not less than ten nor more than thirteen years of age; provided that, in any case of exceptional urgency

or necessity, the Governors may, by special resolution, extend either of the above limits of age by not more than one year.

(*d.*) Every candidate for admission by competition shall, not less than one month before the examination, give notice to the Governors of his intention to present himself for examination, and shall furnish a certificate of attendance signed by the Manager of the Elementary School attended by him, with such further evidence of qualification as the Governors may require; he shall also, if required, present himself before the Governors, who shall satisfy themselves, before permitting him to compete, that he is duly qualified; the decision of the Governors upon his qualification shall be final.

Competition.

19. The competition for admission as free pupils nominated by the Marquess of Ormonde, and as pupils at half fees nominated by the Governors, shall be held under the following conditions:—

(*a.*) The competition shall be by examination, held at the College once in each year, at a time and in a course to be appointed and publicly announced, by the Governors, not less than three months previously.

(*b.*) The subjects of examination shall be those of elementary education only, and not below the standard of the Fourth Class, as defined by the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education for the time being. All the candidates shall be examined together, in the same course, and under the same conditions and regulations.

(*c.*) The examination shall be conducted by an Examiner or Examiners appointed by the Governors, whose report as to the relative merit of the candidates shall be final.

(*d.*) No candidate shall be admitted unless the Examiner or Examiners shall certify that he has shown sufficient merit, and no candidate shall be permitted to compete more than twice.

Nomination of Pupils by Donors.

20. Every person who shall, after the date of this Scheme, subscribe one hundred pounds, in one sum, to the funds of the College, shall be entitled during his life to nominate one free pupil, and every person who shall, after the date of this Scheme, subscribe fifty pounds, in one sum, to the funds of the College, shall be entitled during his life to nominate one pupil to be admitted at half fees.

Time of remaining in the College.

21. Every free pupil, or pupil admitted at half fees, shall be entitled to education accordingly, as a day pupil, in all the ordinary subjects of education taught in the College, until the end of the half-year in which he shall attain the age of sixteen years. Provided that in any case of exceptional urgency or necessity, where further education or training appears likely to prove of permanent advantage, the Governors may by special resolution permit any such pupil to continue his education in the College, on the same terms, after he shall have attained such age, for such further period as the Governors may think fit. The Governors may refuse or remove any pupil, at any time, for such cause as they shall deem adequate, and the sufficiency of such cause shall be in the sole discretion of the Governors. All the pupils of the College, whether free or paying, shall be educated together, and in the same manner.

Pupils' Fees, and Boarding Arrangements.

22. Subject to the approval of the Governors, the Master may fix the fees to be paid by the boarding pupils, and the Governors may fix the fees to be paid by the day pupils, and they may make such arrangements with the Master respecting all such fees as they shall think desirable; they may allocate or permit the use of such portions of the buildings of the College as they shall think fit, for the residence of the Head Master and other members of the teaching staff, and may provide for the reception and boarding therein of boarding pupils, and may regulate the use of the land belonging to the College, upon such terms and under such conditions as they shall from time to time determine; provided that, so long as the College shall be maintained in the existing premises, the lands comprised in the First Schedule hereto shall be and remain available for the use and recreation of the pupils, subject to such regulations as the Governors may from time to time think fit to make.

Religious Instruction.

23. The Governors may from time to time make such provision for the religious instruction of the pupils as they shall think fit; provided that no day pupil attending the College shall at any time be permitted to receive or to be present at any religious instruction to which his or her parents or guardians shall object, and that the times for and mode of giving religious instruction shall be so fixed that no day pupil declining to receive religious instruction in the College shall be thereby in effect excluded, directly or indirectly, from any of the other advantages afforded by the College.

Female Education.

24. Unless and until the Governors shall otherwise provide, the College shall continue to be maintained as a school for boys only, but if and whenever the funds at the disposal of the Governors shall suffice, and they shall think it expedient, to extend the benefits of the Endowments, or of the College, or of any of the classes connected therewith, to female pupils, the Governors may make all such arrangements and provisions as they may deem necessary or expedient for the admission of female pupils, upon such terms as shall to the Governors seem fit; or may provide for the establishment and maintenance of a separate School, or of separate classes, for the instruction of female pupils; thereupon all or any of the provisions of this Scheme, including the provisions for the admission of free pupils and pupils at half fees may be extended and applied to female pupils, as the Governors shall think fit.

General provisions as to the Governors.

Chairman, Vice-Chairman, *Quorum*, and Honorary Officers.

25. The Marquess of Ormonde shall be the Chairman, and the Bishop shall be the Vice-Chairman, of the Governors. The Chairman, or in his absence the Vice-Chairman, shall preside at each meeting of the Governors; in the absence of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, the Governors or Subscribers present shall elect one of their number to act as Chairman for the occasion. Three Governors shall constitute a *quorum* of the Governors. All matters and questions shall be determined by the majority of the Governors present; in every case of equality of votes the Chairman of the meeting shall have a second or casting vote. The Governors may appoint out of their number an Honorary Secretary and such other Honorary Officers as they shall think fit.

Meetings.

26. Within one calendar month after the date of this Scheme, and once at the least in every six months thereafter, the Governors shall meet at the College; they shall also meet at such other times and places as they may from time to time appoint. At each meeting held at the College, the Governors shall take the opportunity of examining for themselves into the condition of the College premises, and the efficiency of the education given therein. Notice of every meeting shall be given to each Governor, by the Secretary or other officer appointed in that behalf, three clear days, or such other time as the Governors may direct, before the meeting. The Chairman, or the Vice Chairman, or any three other Governors, may at any time summon a special meeting, giving notice to each Governor six clear days, or such other time as the Governors may direct, before the meeting, specifying in such notice the object thereof. Every meeting of Governors may adjourn for the completion of its business to such time and place as those present may appoint.

Minutes, Books, and Documents.

27. Minute books shall be kept by the Governors, in which all their proceedings, and those of every meeting of the Subscribers, shall be duly entered. All deeds and other documents, sealed with the common seal and signed at any meeting by the Chairman of the meeting and two other Governors, shall be held to be validly executed on behalf of the Governors. Every Governor, at or before the first meeting which he attends, shall sign a declaration in a book to be kept for that purpose, of his acceptance of the office of Governor, and that he is a member of the said Church, and until he shall have signed such declaration he shall not be entitled to act as a Governor.

Powers of Governors.

28. Subject to the provisions of this Scheme, the Governors shall have and exercise general supervision and control over the College; they shall determine the various branches of education to be taught therein; they shall make such provisions as they shall think fit for the reception and care of the pupils; for the management of the land occupied with the College, in accordance with the provisions of clause 22 of this Scheme; and for the maintenance of order and discipline in the College. Subject to the provisions hereinafter contained as to the vested interests of individuals holding office at the date of the passing of the Act, every Master, Teacher, Officer, and other person employed in the service of the College, shall be removable by the Governors, for such cause as they shall deem adequate, or upon reasonable notice, or upon payment of a reasonable sum, not exceeding six months salary, in lieu of notice; provided that no Head Master shall be removed except upon a resolution of the Governors, passed at a special meeting summoned on due notice, at which not less than one-half of the number of Governors for the time being shall be present, and confirmed at a subsequent meeting of the Governors held at an interval of not less than one week, nor more than five weeks, after the first meeting, and at which not less than one-half of the Governors for the time being shall be present, and notice and opportunity of being heard, at both meetings, shall be given to the Head Master concerned. No person holding any paid office or employment under the Governors, or entitled to any salary or emolument out of the Endowments, shall be capable of becoming or shall continue to be a Governor.

By-laws and Annual Report.

29. The Governors may from time to time make such by-laws and regulations as they shall consider convenient and needful for the good management of the

College, for summoning and regulating the meetings of the Subscribers, for fixing the *quorum* of the Subscribers, for carrying out the election of Governors, for conducting the competition for admission of pupils, and for effectuating the other purposes of this Scheme; provided that no such by-law or regulation shall be inconsistent with the provisions of this Scheme, and that the same may be repealed, altered, and amended by the Governors as they may from time to time think fit. The Governors shall present to the Subscribers, at each annual meeting, a report upon the condition of the College, and the progress of the pupils during the preceding year, with the last reports of the Auditor and Inspector, and such further information as the Governors shall think fit, or as the Subscribers shall require.

Committees.

30. The Governors may, from time to time, appoint a Committee or Committees, consisting of any two or more of their number, to visit the College, to superintend and carry into execution any orders, rules, or directions of the Governors with respect to the purposes of this Scheme, or to manage such business as the Governors may deem it expedient to depute to such Committee or Committees. The Governors may fix the *quorum*, define the duties, and regulate the proceedings of every Committee as they may think fit.

Audit and Inspection.

Accounts and Audit.

31. The Governors shall cause to be kept regular accounts of all their receipts and disbursements, in such manner and form as may be from time to time prescribed or approved by the Local Government Board, and the accounts for each year, ending the thirty-first day of December, or such other day as the Board may appoint, or an abstract thereof, in such form as the said Board shall prescribe or approve, shall be submitted for audit on or before the first day of March following, or such other day as the Board may appoint, to an Auditor of the Local Government Board, or to some other competent authority to be appointed or approved by the said Board. The Local Government Board may fix, and the Governors shall pay, such reasonable sum as shall be necessary to defray the cost of audit. The Governors shall keep an account with such bank as they may from time to time select, and all moneys receivable or payable by them (except petty cash) shall be lodged to or drawn from such account, and every cheque shall be signed by two Governors, at the least, thereto authorized.

Inspection.

32. The Inspector to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant in pursuance of the Act, section 17, shall inspect the College once at the least in each year, and so much oftener as the Lord Lieutenant may direct, and shall present his reports thereon to the Lord Lieutenant; and the remuneration of such Inspector, as fixed by the Lord Lieutenant, shall be defrayed by the Governors out of the Endowments.

Head Master and Assistant Masters.

Head Master.

33. Subject to the provisions of this Scheme, the Governors shall appoint from time to time, upon such terms as they shall think fit, and at such salary and with such emoluments as they may deem sufficient, a Head Master of the

College, being a member of the said Church, qualified to give instructio the subjects of intermediate education. In selecting the Head Master t appointed, the preference shall be given to a Graduate in Arts or Science of of the Universities of Ireland or of England, if otherwise suitable. Whenev vacancy shall occur in the office of Head Master, or shall be about to occu consequence of notice given either by the Governors or by the Head Master, Governors shall give public notice of the vacancy, and afterwards, a meeting specially summoned for the purpose, they shall proceed to ele Head Master by open voting.

Assistant Masters and other Officers.

34. After conference with the Head Master, the Governors shall from t to time determine the number of Assistant Masters and other officers servants to be employed in or about the College, and shall fix their sala and the mode of payment thereof. The Head Master shall appoint Assistant Masters, and any other officers and servants employed in or about College, subject to the approval of the Governors to be recorded in their minu every Assistant Master, officer, and servant so employed shall be remov by the Head Master, or by the Governors, for such cause as he or they s deem adequate. The Governors may from time to time, if they shall th necessary, appoint and remove a secretary or accountant at such reason salary as they may fix.

Management of Property.

Sale, Letting, and Exchange.

35. The Governors may, at any time, with the previous sanction of Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, dispose, by way of or letting, or in exchange for other lands or hereditaments, of all or any of lands and buildings included in the Endowments, not being required for purposes of the College, which now are, or at any future time may be, ves in them, upon the most advantageous terms which they can reasonably obt and under such conditions as they shall think fit; and they shall rec and apply all moneys received on any such sale, letting, or exchange, for trusts and purposes and in accordance with the provisions of this Sche They may also, with like sanction, and upon like terms, sell the said nuity or rentcharge of £140 payable by the said Marquess of Ormonde, shall invest the moneys arising from such sale in manner next hereina provided. Provided that the Governors, before selling, letting, or other disposing of all or any part of the premises comprised in the First Sched hereto, shall give notice of their intention to the Marquess of Ormonde the time being, or to his known agent, and shall give him an opportunity purchasing the fee-simple and inheritance of the premises comprised in intended dealing, at a price to be fixed by agreement, or by arbitration, failing agreement or arbitration, by a valuer to be nominated by the Lo Government Board for Ireland.

Investment.

36. The Governors may from time to time invest the moneys arising fr any sale, or received for equality of exchange of land or buildings, also any residue of income not required in any year for the purposes of t Scheme, and any subscriptions or other moneys received by them under t Scheme, in any of the public stocks, funds, or securities of the Uni Kingdom, or of any Colony or Dependency thereof; or in the stock of

Bank of England or of the Bank of Ireland; or upon freehold or leasehold securities, or in the purchase of perpetual rents or rentcharges, in the United Kingdom; or upon the debentures or mortgages of any municipal, commercial, or other Joint Stock Company or Corporation, carrying on business or constituted for any purpose in the United Kingdom, or any Colony or Dependency thereof; or in any securities sanctioned by law, or by the practice of the High Court of Justice, for the investment of trust funds. The Governors may from time to time vary such investments, and they may have recourse in any year to the accumulations of income of any previous year or years, and they may retain in their existing state of investment, so long as they shall think fit, all or any securities which may from time to time be received by them for the purposes of this Scheme, if the retention of such securities does not involve any liability capable of affecting the other Endowments.

Provisions for Vested Interests.

Vested Interests.

37. From and after the date of this Scheme, every individual who at the date of the passing of the Act held, and at the date of this Scheme shall continue to hold, any office, place, employment, pension, compensation, allowance, or emolument under or arising out of the Endowments hereby transferred to and vested in the Governors, shall continue to hold, and shall be entitled to receive the same from the Governors, upon the same terms, and in the same manner in every respect, as he or she held and was entitled to receive the same at the date of the passing of the Act; every such individual shall remain bound to perform the same and all like duties for the Governors, so long as his or her employment shall continue, as he or she would have been bound to perform for his or her existing employers if this Scheme had not passed; and his or her employment may be determined by the Governors at any time after the date of this Scheme by dismissal for the like cause, or on the same notice, or payment in lieu of notice, from the Governors, for or on which his or her existing employers might have determined such employment if this Scheme had not passed.

Payment of Expenses.

Payment of Expenses.

38. The Governors shall, subject to the other provisions of this Scheme, pay out of the income of the Endowments hereby vested in them, all charges which, under the provisions of the Act, shall be properly and necessarily payable by the Governors, for the taxed costs and expenses of this Scheme, or for audit and inspection, or for other purposes.

Payment of charges.

39. Immediately after the date of this Scheme, the Governors shall be entitled to enter into possession of the Endowments, and to call in and recover all arrears of the said yearly rentcharge of £140, due and accruing from the date of the death of the said James Maxwell Weir, and shall pay to his representatives the sum of One Hundred Pounds, being the amount due to them under the terms upon which he was appointed to be Master of the School, upon their accepting the same in full satisfaction of all claims and demands against the Governors or the Endowments, without prejudice to the rights of the said representatives to receive any sums due on account of the said rent-

charge up to the date of his death. The existing Governing Body of the College, and any other person or persons having custody thereof for them, shall, at the same time, deliver to the Governors hereby constituted all books, documents, and other chattels and effects belonging to or held by them as such, and thereupon the existing Governing Body shall be discharged. All debts and other sums then accruing or payable to or recoverable by the existing Governing Body, including the arrears and accruing produce of the said yearly rentcharge of £140 from the date of the death of the said James Maxwell Weir, shall thereupon and thenceforth accrue and become payable to or recoverable by the Governors hereby constituted, and all sums then payable by and recoverable from the existing Governing Body, and all contracts and liabilities then binding upon them in respect of the College or of the Endowments, shall thereupon and thenceforth, to the same extent and out of the same funds, be payable by and recoverable from and binding upon the Governors hereby constituted.

Printing of Scheme.

Printing of Scheme.

40. The Governors shall cause this Scheme to be printed, or shall procure printed copies thereof, and shall keep the same for sale at a reasonable price

Alteration of Scheme.

Alteration of Scheme.

41. This Scheme may be altered from time to time by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, in any matter whatsoever, upon the application of the Governors, or upon the application of the Diocesan Council, but except upon such application no alteration shall be so made, and no alteration shall be made contrary to anything contained in the Act; provided that the Governors shall not be deemed to have made such application, unless the resolution authorizing the making thereof shall specify the nature of the alteration required, and shall have been passed at two successive meetings of the Governors specially convened for the purpose.

SCHEDULES referred to in the foregoing SCHEME.

FIRST SCHEDULE.

The College Buildings, Lands, and Premises.

i. The Schoolhouse, outbuildings, and land adjoining, formerly called the Pigeon House Meadow, containing 9 acres 2 roods 32 perches statute measure, or thereabouts, situate in or near the City of Kilkenny, and known as "Kilkenny College"; held in fee-farm for ever, subject to the perpetual yearly rent of £5, now payable to the Marquess of Ormonde; being the premises granted by the above-recited deed of March 18, 1684, for the use of the Grammar School therein mentioned.

ii. All fixtures, furniture, goods, chattels, and effects, belonging to the College at the date of this Scheme.

SECOND SCHEDULE.

Rentcharge constituting the Endowment.

The perpetual annuity or rentcharge of One Hundred and Forty pounds, "of good and lawful money of and in England," granted by the above-recited deed of March 18, 1684, as an endowment for the Grammar School therein mentioned; now payable by the Marquess of Ormonde, and arising out of certain tithes and hereditaments in the said deed mentioned, together with all moneys due and accruing on account of the said rentcharge, from the date of the death of James Maxwell Weir up to the date of this Scheme.

The said annuity has heretofore been calculated and paid according to the late currency of Ireland, at the rate of one hundred and twenty-nine pounds four shillings and seven pence halfpenny present currency.

We, the Judicial Commissioners constituted by the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, having duly prepared the foregoing Amended Scheme, hereby submit the same for the approval of the Lord Lieutenant in Council under the said Act, duly signed by both of us under our hands this Twelfth day of August, 1890.

GERALD FITZGIBBON,
WILLIAM O'BRIEN,
} *Judicial Commissioners.*

Witness:

LESLIE J. GILL,

Acting Secretary.

COMMISSIONERS OF CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS FOR IRELAND.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) ACT, 1885.

48 & 49 Vic., c. 78.

No. 46.

Date of Scheme, 31st December, 1890.

Date of Order Amending Scheme, 13 day of May 1903.

KILKENNY COLLEGE, KILKENNY.

Whereas James, Duke, Marquess, and Earl of Ormonde, by deed dated March 18, 1684, granted to certain trustees, and their heirs and assigns for ever, a mansion house and lands adjoining, in or near the City of Kilkenny, in the Diocese of Ossory, for the use of a Grammar School to be governed according to statutes made by the said Duke; and he also granted, for the maintenance of the Schoolmaster and for the repairs of the School-house, a certain perpetual annuity or rentcharge of One Hundred and Forty Pounds, secured upon certain tithes granted by the said Duke for that purpose;

And whereas the said James, Duke of Ormonde, by a further deed dated March 18, 1684, made and ordained certain statutes for the government and management of the said School, including the following provisions:—That there should be for ever, constantly resident in the School, a Master who should be, at least, a Master of Arts of one of the Universities of Ireland or of England, of good reputation, well skilled in Humanity and Grammar Learning, loyal and orthodox, and who should conform to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Ireland as then established by law; that the Master should from time to time be by deed nominated by the said James, Duke of Ormonde, Founder Patron and Governor of the School, and by the heirs male of his body who should be Dukes of Ormonde, Patrons and Governors of the School, being examined and approved by the Visitors of the School; that if the Governor should neglect to nominate a Master, or should nominate one not duly qualified, the Visitors should on every such occasion appoint a qualified person to be the Master; that upon failure of issue male of the said James, Duke of Ormonde, the Provost Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, and their successors, should thenceforth for ever be the Patrons and Governors of the School; that the Master should constantly attend the School in person, and instruct the scholars in Religion Virtue and Learning, in the Latin Greek and Hebrew Languages, and also

in Oratory and Poetry; that there should always be an Usher, to be appointed and removed by the Master, and to be lodged and maintained in the School, a Bachelor of Arts of one of the Universities of Ireland or of England; that the scholars to be admitted to the School should be such as had first learnt their accidence, and were fit to enter upon Grammar Learning; that the children of such as were in the service of the Duke of Ormonde should be admitted to the privileges and benefits of the School gratis; that if any person should, out of charity, pay for the tabling in the School of pupils recommended by the Visitors as fit objects of charity, the Master should admit and teach such pupils gratis, so long as they continued diligent; that if the Duke or other pious benefactors should thereafter make any grants or allowances for the maintenance of scholars at the School, and afterwards, if they should prove fit, at Trinity College, Dublin, the Master should be obliged to teach them under the name of "Ormonde Scholars" gratis; that it should be lawful for the Master to demand, from all other scholars, fees according to the rates and usages of the most remarkable School in Dublin, those children excepted whose parents were, or at the time of such children's birth had been, inhabitants of the City or Liberties of Kilkenny, who should pay but half so much; that the Master should have the prayers of the Church of England and Ireland read to the scholars both morning and evening, and that prayers approved by the Lord Bishop of Ossory should be constantly used in the School; that upon Sundays all the scholars should be instructed in the Church Catechism, and afterwards should attend the Master and Usher to Church; that the Master of the School, for the time being, should possess for his own use and emolument the School-house, with the courts, out-houses and gardens thereunto belonging, and also the meadow adjoining, commonly called Pigeon House Meadow, provided the scholars should be allowed to take their recreation therein; that the Master should receive for his salary the yearly sum of £140, of good and lawful money of and in England, to be paid half-yearly, without any defalcation, out of the tithes settled for the purpose by the said Duke, except the said Duke or his heirs should settle some particular lands for the payment of the said salary; that the Master should keep the School-house, School, and out-houses in constant good and sufficient repair; that the Lords Bishops of Ossory, Leighlin, and Ferns, and the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, for the time being, should be the Visitors of the School, and that they should visit the School once a year or oftener, and, if they should find occasion, should specify in writing any repairs to be made, and if the Master should neglect to carry out such repairs, the Visitors should signify the same to the Governor, who forthwith should order such repairs to be done, and that the cost of such repairs should be paid out of the salary next due to the Master:

And whereas, in the year 1715, the issue male of the said James, Duke of Ormonde, failed, and thereupon the Provost Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, became the Patrons and Governors of the School:

And whereas the Endowments of or belonging to the School consist of the said School-house and buildings, and the meadow and lands adjoining, the particulars whereof appear in the First Schedule hereto; and of the said perpetual annuity or rent-charge of one hundred and forty pounds, the particulars whereof appear in the Second Schedule hereto:

And whereas the above mentioned Endowments, and all other the property held in trust for or applicable to the purposes of the said School, now constitute Educational Endowments within the meaning of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, and the said Act applies to the same:

And whereas under the provisions of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, the Judicial Commissioners constituted by the said Act in virtue of the powers thereby conferred upon them, framed and signed under their hands a Scheme No. 46 (hereinafter called "the original Scheme") relating to the Educational Endowments of and belonging to Kilkenny College, in the Parish of St. John's, in the City and County of Kilkenny:

And whereas on the 31st December, 1890, the Lord Lieutenant by Order in Council, declared his approbation of the original Scheme:

And whereas by the original Scheme a Governing Body was constituted for the government and management of the said School, and it was thereby provided that the Governors should constitute a Body Corporate by the name of the Governors of Kilkenny College with perpetual succession and a Common Seal, and power to acquire and hold property, real and personal, for the purposes of the Scheme:

And whereas the original Scheme further provides that the Scheme may be altered from time to time by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland in any manner whatsoever, upon the application of the Governors or upon the application of the Diocesan Council, but except on such application no alteration should be so made, and no alteration should be made contrary to anything contained in the Act:

And whereas by an Agreement dated the 29th day of April, 1902, and made between the Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools (which said Society is managed under Scheme No. 210 framed under the said Act) of the one part, and the Governors of Kilkenny College of the other part, it was agreed that the Kilkenny College should be amalgamated with the said Incorporated Society, and that application should be made to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland to have the original Scheme altered in the manner hereinafter appearing as in said application specified:

And whereas Mr. T. D. Pettypice was appointed Head Master of the Kilkenny College on the 1st January, 1901, and has continued as such Head Master up to the present:

And whereas the Governors of the Incorporated Society will not require the services of the said T. D. Pettypice any longer:

And whereas the parties to the said agreement have agreed that it would be equitable under the circumstances that the said Mr. T. D. Pettypice should be paid a retiring allowance of £75 per annum until such time as the Governors shall be satisfied that his income should amount to the sum of £250 per annum and no longer:

And whereas an application has been made to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland by the Governors that the original Scheme should be altered as in the said application specified:

And whereas the Governors of the said Incorporated Society are willing to act as Governors of the said School, hereinafter called Kilkenny College, if the original Scheme be altered in the manner specified in the said application of the Governors of Kilkenny College.

Now We, the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, having made inquiry into the circumstances of the case and satisfied ourselves that it would be advantageous to the above Endowment to alter the original Scheme in accordance with the said application in virtue of the powers conferred on us by Clause 41 of the original Scheme and of every other power enabling us in this behalf, do hereby Order that from and after the date of this order the original Scheme shall altered as in the amended Scheme set forth in the Schedule hereto. And that the Scheme for the future government of and management of the Kilkenny College shall be the said amended Scheme set forth in the Schedule hereto annexed, anything in the original Scheme contained to the contrary notwithstanding. And it is hereby further ordered that all clauses and provisions contained in the original Scheme which are omitted from the Scheme set forth in the Schedule hereto, shall be and the same are hereby repealed.

Given under the Common Seal of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland this 13th day of May, 1903.

Present when Seal affixed,

The Rt Hon the Master of the Rolls
The Rt Hon Mr Justice Johnson
The Rt Hon Mr Justice Ross
} Commissioners.

Amend F. Graves
J G Hecour
} Secretaries.

SCHEDULE.

AMENDING SCHEME for the future government and management of Kilkenny College referred to in the Order dated 13th day of May, 1903, of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, altering the Scheme framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, for the government and management of the Educational Endowments of and belonging to Kilkenny College, in the Parish of St. John's, and City and County of Kilkenny.

Preliminary.

1. For the purposes of this Scheme, unless the context otherwise requires, the following terms shall be interpreted as follows:—

"The Act" shall mean the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885.

"The Society" shall mean the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland incorporated under a Royal Charter dated the 24th October, 1733, and continued by the name of "The Incorporated Society for promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland," under Scheme No. 210, framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, and dated the 26th July, 1894.

"The Governors" shall mean the members of the Governing Body of the Society.

"The College" shall mean the educational Institution existing at or near the City of Kilkenny and known as Kilkenny College, and shall include any other educational institution for the time being managed, maintained, or aided by the Governors under the provisions of this Scheme.

"The Foundation Schools" shall mean any Educational Institution for the time being maintained or aided by the Society, and managed by the Governors as Boarding Schools, or as Boarding and Daily Schools under Scheme No. 210, and shall include the College.

"The Endowments" shall mean and include all the lands, buildings, rentcharge, hereditaments, moneys, securities, chattels, and effects, and all other the property real and personal at the date of this Scheme held in trust for or applicable to the purposes of the College, or which may hereby or hereafter become or be vested in the Society for the purposes of this Scheme, and shall include all or any sums at the date of this Scheme due or payable on account of the above-mentioned rentcharge.

"The Scheme No. 210" shall mean the Scheme No. 210 for the future government and management of the Educational Endowments of and belonging to the Incorporated Society for Promoting Protestant Schools in Ireland, dated the 26th July, 1894 [as amended by Order of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, dated the 13th day of May, 1903].

The "Local Committee" shall mean the Local Committee as hereinafter constituted appointed by the Governors under the provisions of Clause No. 26 of the said Scheme No. 210 to assist the Governors in the management of Kilkenny College.

"The Diocesan Council" shall mean the body known as the Diocesan Council of the Diocese of Ossory, appointed in accordance with the constitution of the Church formerly established by law, and referred to in the Irish Church Act, 1869, as the Church of Ireland, hereinafter referred to as the said Church, and shall include any authority duly empowered to perform the functions now performed by the Diocesan Council.

"The Bishop" shall mean the Bishop of Ossory for the time being, appointed in accordance with the constitution of the said Church, and shall include any other person duly empowered under the said constitution to exercise in the Diocese of Ossory the authority now vested in the Bishop.

"Intermediate Education" shall mean education in such subjects as are or may be included in the programme of examinations of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland.

The Governing Body.

2.—(1.) The government and management of the College shall be vested in the Governing Body of the Society, and the College shall be maintained by them as one of the Foundation Schools of the Society.

(2.) A Local Committee shall be formed to assist the Governors in the management of the College, and shall consist of the Marquess of Ormonde for the time being, if a member of the said Church, three *ex-officio* Members, and five representative Members, with such additional Members (if any) as may be appointed by the Governors, in accordance with the provisions of Scheme 210, section 26, not exceeding six in number, and the Committee so appointed shall be a Local Committee within the meaning of Scheme No. 210.

The *ex-officio* Members of the Local Committee shall be the Bishop; the Dean of the Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny, appointed in accordance with the constitution of the said Church; and the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, if a member of the said Church; all for the time being.

Of the five representative Members, one shall be nominated by the Marquess of Ormonde for the time being, one shall be nominated by the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, and three shall be elected by the Diocesan Council, in manner hereinafter provided.

Every Member of the Local Committee shall be a member of the said Church.

The first representative Members shall be such and so many of the following persons as, at the date of this Scheme, shall be qualified, able, and willing to act as Members.

Representing the Marquess of Ormonde.

The Rev. Waller de Montmorency, Castle Morres, Knocktopher.

Representing Trinity College, Dublin.

Benjamin Williamson, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

Representing the Diocesan Council.

The Ven. William C. Gurman, A.M., Archdeacon of Ossory.
James Poe, Esq., Rose Hill, Kilkenny.
Godwin B. M. Swifte, Esq., D.L., Swifte's Heath, Kilkenny.

3. The above-named Members of the Local Committee, representing the Marquess of Ormonde, and Trinity College, Dublin, shall hold office until the appointment of their respective successors, or until they shall vacate office as hereinafter provided. In the month of December first happening more than twelve months after the date of this Scheme, and thereafter, from time to time, within six months after the occurrence of each vacancy, the Marquess of Ormonde, for the time being, and the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, may each, by writing, nominate a qualified person to be a Member of the Local Committee, representing the Marquess of Ormonde, and Trinity College, Dublin, respectively. The Marquess of Ormonde, and the said Provost and Senior Fellows, respectively, from time to time, by writing, may define the period for which each Member of the Local Committee so nominated shall hold office, and may revoke any nomination made by them and may nominate a qualified person to fill the office of Member of the Local Committee vacated by such revocation.

The above-named Members of the Local Committee representing the Diocesan Council shall hold office until the 31st day of December first happening more than one year after the date of this Scheme. In the month of November or December in the said year, and in every year thereafter, the Diocesan Council shall elect three representative Members of the Local Committee who shall hold office for the calendar year next following their election, or until they shall vacate office, as hereinafter provided. Of the Members of the Local Committee representing the Diocesan Council, one at the least shall be a layman, and one at the least shall be a beneficed or licensed Clergyman of the Diocese of Ossory.

Every outgoing representative member of the Local Committee, if otherwise qualified, shall be eligible for re-election.

4. If at the date of this Scheme any of the above-named representative Members of the Local Committee shall have ceased to be qualified as herein provided, or shall be unable or unwilling to act, and whenever thereafter any representative Member of the Local Committee shall die or resign, by writing, under his hand, or become bankrupt, or refuse to act, or become incapable of acting, or shall cease to be a member of the said Church, or (except in the case of the Member of the Local Committee representing Trinity College, Dublin), shall for the period of twelve months fail to attend any meeting of the Local Committee, his office shall thereupon become vacant, and the fact of the vacancy, with the cause thereof, shall be recorded in the Minutes of the Local Committee and of the Governors. As soon as conveniently may be after the occurrence of each vacancy among the representative Members of the Local Committee, the remaining Members of the Local Committee shall cause notice thereof to be given to the person or body whom the Member of the Local Committee vacating office shall have represented; the person or body aforesaid may thereupon appoint a qualified person to fill the vacancy, and if he or they shall fail to do so within six months after the notice given as aforesaid, the remaining Members of the Local Committee may co-opt a qualified person to fill the vacancy; each person so co-opted shall hold office so long only as the Member of the Local Committee in whose place he shall have been co-opted might have held the same.

Vesting and Transfer of the Endowments.

5. From and after the date of this Scheme, the Endowments, and all rights, powers, and remedies respecting the same, shall, without any new conveyance or instrument, be transferred to and vested in the Society, and shall be thenceforth held by them and their successors for ever, upon and for the trusts and purposes of this Scheme, and subject to the conditions and provisions herein contained, and to all such rents, charges, rights, easements, and liabilities as at the date of this Scheme may lawfully affect the same. From and after the date of this Scheme all property, securities, goods, chattels, and moneys held or payable by any person or persons for or applicable to the purposes of the College, or included in the Endowments, shall be delivered, transferred, and paid by the person or persons possessed thereof, or bound to pay the same to the Governors. The receipt of the Governors, duly executed as hereinafter provided, for any delivery, transfer, or payment hereby directed, shall be a good discharge for the person or persons making the same, and he or they shall not be answerable thenceforth for the application thereof.

Trusts of the Endowments.

6. From and after the date of this Scheme, and subject to the conditions and provisions herein contained, and to any special trusts lawfully affecting any part or parts thereof, the Endowments shall be held by the Society upon trust to maintain, or to aid in maintaining, in or near the City of Kilkenny, as a Foundation School of the Society, a College or School for boarders or day pupils, or for both, in which instructions shall be given in such branches of intermediate, commercial, technical, elementary, or other education as the Governors shall from time to time think best suited to the wants of the locality and to the requirements of the pupils.

Application of the Endowments.

7. The Governors, on behalf of the Society, shall, out of the moneys received by them under or for the purposes of this Scheme pay thereout an annual sum by way of retiring allowance to the said T. W. Pettypice of £75 for and during his life, until such time as the Governors shall be satisfied that his income shall amount to the sum of £250 per annum, irrespective of the said retiring allowance, and subject to the other provisions of this Scheme, and to any special trusts or conditions lawfully affecting any part thereof, shall expend and apply the balance thereof for the following purposes, or for such and so many of them as to the Governors shall, from time to time, seem expedient:—

(*a.*) To maintain the buildings, furniture, appliances, and premises, of the College in good order and condition, and to make such additions thereto and improvements therein as may be required from time to time.

(*b.*) To pay all rents, taxes, cost of insurance, and other charges, necessarily or properly payable out of or for the said premises, and to defray the necessary working expenses of the College and the cost of management.

(*c.*) To maintain an efficient Teaching Staff for the College.

(*d.*) To maintain a sufficient household and domestic staff and to provide suitable board, lodging, and accommodation for the resident pupils and staff of the College.

(*e.*) To provide prizes for the most deserving pupils; such prizes may be awarded in such manner as the Governors, with the approval of the Local Committee, may deem best calculated to promote the progress of the pupils, and may be so given as to enable or encourage deserving and capable pupils, who require such assistance, to continue their education at the College longer than they could otherwise do, or to obtain special instruction or more advanced education elsewhere.

(*f.*) To defray any other expenses incurred in giving effect to the purposes of this Scheme.

8. The College shall be maintained in the buildings and premises hitherto occupied thereby, or in any other buildings which the Governors may acquire as hereinafter provided. The Governors may, with the sanction of the Local Committee, if and when they shall so think fit, remove the College to some other convenient site or sites in or near the City of Kilkenny. Any buildings or premises vacated upon such removal may be sold, let, or otherwise disposed of by the Governors, with the sanction of the Local Committee, to the best advantage, provided that no such removal shall take place, nor shall any agreement for the same, or for any letting, sale, or other disposal of the existing premises be made or entered into by the Governors on behalf of the Society, or become binding upon them, without the previous sanction of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, and such sanction shall not be given unless and until the said Commissioners shall have satisfied themselves upon due inquiry that such removal is for the benefit of the College; provided also that no letting, sale, or other disposal of the existing premises of the College comprised in the First Schedule hereto, shall be made until the Governors shall have afforded to the Marquess of Ormonde, for the time being, an opportunity of exercising the right of pre-emption hereinafter mentioned.

The Society may grant to any member of the teaching staff of the College or any other officer of the College appointed after the date of this Scheme, who otherwise than from wilful misconduct shall become incapable of further duty, or whose services shall be no longer required, such retiring allowance or gratuity to be fixed by the Governors with due regard to the length of service and to the circumstances of his or her employment, and to the interests of the Endowment, as the Governors on behalf of the Society shall approve.

Free Pupils and Pupils at Reduced Charges.

9. Subject to the conditions hereinafter mentioned, the Marquess of Ormonde for the time being shall at all times be entitled to have educated in the College, free of charge, not more than five day pupils at the same time. The said Marquess may, at his option, nominate such free pupils, or may, from time to time, nominate not more than three candidates for each vacancy from amongst whom a free pupil shall be selected by competition in manner hereinafter provided. Unless with the previous consent of the Head Master not more than one free pupil shall be admitted in one year.

10. Subject to the conditions hereinafter mentioned, the Local Committee shall at all times be entitled to have educated in the College, at half the usual fees and charges, not more than five day pupils at the same time, who shall be selected from time to time by competition in manner hereinafter provided. Unless with the previous consent of the Head Master, not more than two pupils shall be admitted at half fees in any one year.

11. Every free pupil nominated by the Marquess of Ormonde, and every pupil admitted at half fees, shall be qualified as follows:—

(*a.*) He shall be the lawful child of Protestant parents, inhabitants of the City or County of Kilkenny, shall be in circumstances to need the assistance to be obtained by education as a free pupil, or as a pupil at half fees, in the College, and every candidate for admission by competition shall, during the twelve months next preceding the day of examination, have made at least one hundred attendances as a pupil at an Elementary School in the City or County of Kilkenny.

(*b.*) He shall be of good character and conduct, and physically and intellectually fitted to take full advantage of the education given in the College.

(*c.*) He shall, upon the day of admission, be not less than ten or more than thirteen years of age, provided that in case of exceptional urgency or necessity the Local Committee may, by special resolution, extend either of the above limits of age by not more than one year.

(*d.*) Every candidate for admission by competition shall, not less than one month before the examination, give notice to the Local Committee of his intention to present himself for examination, and shall furnish a certificate of attendance signed by the Manager of the Elementary School attended by him, with such further evidence of qualification as the Local Committee may require. He shall also, if required, present himself before the Local Committee, who shall satisfy themselves before permitting him to compete that he is duly qualified. The decision of the Local Committee upon his qualification shall be final.

12. The competition for admission as free pupils nominated by the Marquess of Ormonde, and as pupils at half fees nominated by the Local Committee, shall be held under the following conditions:—

(*a.*) The competition shall be by examination held at the College once in each year, at the time and in the course to be appointed and publicly announced, by the Governors, not less than three months previously.

(*b.*) The subjects of examination shall be those of elementary education only, and not below the standard of the Fourth Class, as defined by the Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education for the time being. All the candidates shall be examined together in the same course and under the same conditions and regulations.

(*c.*) The examination shall be conducted by a Governor or Governors or any Examiner or Examiners appointed by the Governors, whose report as to the relative merit of the candidates shall be final.

(*d.*) No candidate shall be admitted unless the Examiner or Examiners shall certify that he has shown sufficient merit, and no candidate shall be permitted to compete more than twice.

13. Every free pupil, or pupil admitted at half fees, shall be entitled to education accordingly, as a day pupil, in all the ordinary subjects of education taught in the College, until such time as if he would have left the school had he been a Foundation Scholar of the Incorporated Society. Provided that in any case of exceptional urgency or necessity, where further education or training appears likely to prove of permanent advantage, the Governors may, by special resolution, permit any such pupil to continue his education in the College on the same terms after he shall have attained such age, for such further period as the Governors may think fit. The Governors may refuse or remove any pupil, at any time, for such cause as they shall deem adequate, and the sufficiency of such cause shall be in the sole discretion of the Governors. All the pupils of the College, whether free or paying, shall be educated together and in the same manner.

14. The Governors may from time to time make such provision for the religious instruction of the pupils as they shall think fit; provided that no day pupil attending the College shall at any time be permitted to receive or to be present at any religious instruction to which his or her parents or guardians shall object, and that the times for and mode of giving religious instruction shall be so fixed that no day pupil declining to receive religious instruction in a College shall be thereby in effect excluded, directly or indirectly from any of the other advantages afforded by the College.

15. Unless and until the Governors shall otherwise provide, the College shall continue to be maintained as a school for boys only, but if, and whenever the funds at the disposal of the Governors shall suffice, and they shall think it expedient to extend the benefits of the Endowments, or of the College, or of any of the classes connected therewith to female pupils, the Governors may make all such arrangements and provisions as they may deem necessary or expedient for the admission of female pupils, upon such terms as shall to the Governors seem fit, or may provide for the establishment and maintenance of a separate school or of separate classes for the instruction of female pupils; thereupon all or any of the provisions of this Scheme, including the provisions for the admission of free pupils and pupils at half fees, may be extended and applied to female pupils, as the Governors shall think fit.

General Provisions as to the Local Committee.

16. The Marquess of Ormonde shall be the Chairman, and the Bishop shall be the Vice-Chairman of the Local Committee. The Chairman, or in his absence the Vice-Chairman, shall preside at each meeting of the Local Committee; in the absence of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman, the Members of the Local Committee present shall elect one of their number to act as Chairman for the occasion. Three members shall constitute a *quorum* of the Local Committee. All matters and questions shall be determined by the majority of the members present; in every case of equality of votes the Chairman of the meeting shall have a second or casting vote. The Local Committee may appoint out of their number an Honorary Secretary, and, with the sanction of the Governors, such other Honorary Officers as they shall think fit.

Management of Property.

17. The Governors, on behalf of the Society may, at any time with the previous sanction of the Local Committee and of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, dispose by way of sale or letting, or in exchange for other lands or hereditaments, of all or any of the lands and buildings included in the Endowments, not being required for the purposes of the College, which now are, or at any future time may be, vested in them, upon the most advantageous terms which they can reasonably obtain, and under such conditions as they shall think fit. And they shall receive and apply all moneys received on any such sale, letting, or exchange, for the trusts and purposes and in accordance with the provisions of this Scheme. They may also, with like sanction, and upon like terms, sell the said annuity or rentcharge of £140 payable by the said Marquess of Ormonde, and shall invest the moneys arising from such sale in manner provided by the Scheme 210. Provided that the Governors, before selling, letting, or otherwise disposing of all or any part of the premises comprised in the First Schedule hereto, shall give notice of their intention to the Marquess of Ormonde for the time being, or to his known agent, and shall give him an opportunity of purchasing the fee-simple and inheritance of the premises comprised in the intending dealing at a price to be fixed by agreement or by arbitration, or failing agreement or arbitration, by a valuer to be nominated by the Local Government Board for Ireland.

Payment of Expenses.

18. The Governors shall, subject to the other provisions of this Scheme, pay out of the income of the Endowments hereby vested in them, all charges which under the provisions of the Act, shall be properly and necessarily payable by the Governors for the taxed costs and expenses of this Scheme, or for other purposes.

19. Immediately after the date of this Scheme, the Governors, on behalf of the Society, shall be entitled to enter into possession of the Endowments, and to call in and recover all arrears of the said yearly rentcharge of £140.

The existing Governing Body shall prepare a final account of all their receipts and disbursements, commencing from the last audited annual account, and ending with such convenient date at or after the date of this Scheme as the Local Government Board shall direct, and shall submit the said account for audit to the Local Government Board or to some other competent authority to be appointed and approved by the Board. Upon such audit the net cash balances remaining in the hands of the existing Governing Body, or of their Treasurer, or Bankers, or of any other person on their account, shall be ascertained and certified, and thereupon the same and all securities held by or for the existing Governing Body shall be forthwith transferred or paid to the Governors to be held and applied by them for the purposes of this Scheme, and accounted for accordingly.

The existing Governing Body of the College, and any other person or persons having custody thereof for them, shall at the same time, deliver to the Governors all books, documents, and other chattels and effects belonging to or held by them as such, and thereupon the existing Governing Body

shall be discharged. All debts and other sums then accruing or payable to or recoverable by the existing Governing Body, including the arrears and accruing produce of the said yearly rentcharge of £140, shall thereupon and thenceforth accrue and become payable to or recoverable by the Governors on behalf of the Society, and all sums then payable by and recoverable from the existing Governing Body, and all contracts and liabilities then binding upon them in respect of the College or of the Endowments, shall thereupon and thenceforth to the same extent and out of the same funds be payable by and recoverable from and binding upon the Governors hereby constituted.

20. This Scheme and Scheme 210 shall be read together, and in all matters inconsistent with Scheme No. 210, the provisions of this Scheme shall over-ride the provisions of Scheme No. 210, and in all matters not inconsistent with the provisions of this Scheme, the provisions of Scheme No. 210 shall, so far as applicable, apply as if inserted in this Scheme.

Printing of Scheme.

21. The Governors shall cause this Scheme to be printed, or shall procure printed copies thereof, and shall keep the same for sale at a reasonable price.

Alteration of Scheme.

22. This Scheme may be altered from time to time by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, in any manner whatsoever, upon the application of the Governors on behalf of the Society, or upon the application of the General Synod, but except upon such application no alteration shall be so made, and no alteration shall be made contrary to anything contained in the Act; provided that the Governors shall not be deemed to have made such application, unless the resolution authorising the making thereof shall specify the nature of the alteration required, and shall have been submitted to and approved of by the Local Committee.

SCHEDULES referred to in the foregoing SCHEME.

FIRST SCHEDULE.

The College Buildings, Lands, and Premises.

1. The Schoolhouse, outbuildings, and land adjoining, formerly called the Pigeon House Meadow, containing 9 acres 2 roods 32 perches statute measure, or thereabouts, situate in or near the City of Kilkenny, and known as "Kilkenny College"; held in fee-farm for ever, subject to the perpetual yearly rent of £5, now payable to the Marquess of Ormonde; being the premises granted by the above-recited deed of March 18, 1684, for the use of the Grammar School therein mentioned.

2. All fixtures, furniture, goods, chattels, and effects, belonging to the College at the date of this Scheme.

Second Schedule.

Rentcharge constituting the Endowment.

The perpetual annuity or rentcharge of £140, "of good and lawful money of and in England," granted by the above-recited deed of March 18, 1684, as an endowment for the Grammar School therein mentioned; now payable by the Marquess of Ormonde, and arising out of certain tithes and hereditaments in the said deed mentioned, together with all moneys due and accruing on account of the said rentcharge up to the date of this Scheme.

The said annuity has heretofore been calculated and paid according to the late currency of Ireland, at the rate of £129 4*s*. 7½*d*. present currency.

Given under the Common Seal of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland this 13th day of May, 1903.

Present when Seal affixed,

The Rt Hon the Master of the Rolls
The Rt Hon Mr Justice Johnson
The Rt Hon Mr Justice Ross.
} *Commsssioner.*

Amnd. Graves
J G Hcom
} *Secretaries.*

Appendix VII

List of Kilkenny Schools Listed in the Royal Irish Academy, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, No.10

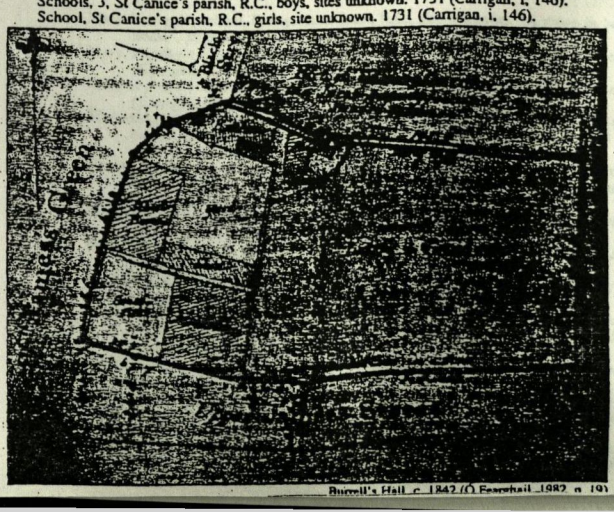
Weighing table, The Parade S. (07555675). Public scales 1841, 1847 (*KJ* 13.10.1841, 11.9.1847). Weighing table 1850 (Val. 1). Weighbridge 1852; Parade ouncel 1863 (*KJ* 20.3.1852, 10.6.1863). Corporation weighing table *c.* 1864 (Val. 2).
Weights and measures office, Rose Inn St, site unknown. 1846, 1856 (*Slater*).
City crane, 'contiguous to the market', site unknown, perhaps same as butter market crane (*q.v.*). 1789 (*FLJ* 18.2.1789).
Crane, crane house, Irishtown E. (04306270). 1795 (*FLJ* 9.5.1795). Old crane 1860 (Phelan and Gibb, 34).
Butter market crane, St Kieran's St E., in butter market (see **16** Trades and services). 1850 (Val. 1). Butter crane 1858 (Val. 2); removed by 1884 (Hogan, 1884, 261).
Public water pumps and fountains:
The Parade S. Parade pump 1835 (*KJ* 4.11.1835). Within enclosure 1841 (OS), *c.* 1855 (Val. 1). Removed by 1871 (OS).
Brewery Lane W. Erected in 1836 (KCM 18.2.1836). Jenkin's pump 1841; pump 1871 (OS).
John St Upper, S. end. Erected in 1836 (KCM 18.2.1836), 1841, 1871 (OS).
John St, site unknown, probably same as previous entry. Pump 1873; wheel pump 1874 (*KJ* 20.8.1873, 9.9.1874), 1876 (*KM* 3.6.1876).
High St E. Pump 1841; unnamed 1871; pump 1900 (OS).
Lord Edward St S. Pump 1841–1900; fountain 1946 (OS).
Patrick St, N. end. 1841 (OS).
Upper New St W. 1841 (OS).
Walkin St S. Pump 1841, 1871; unnamed 1900; fountain 1946; hydrant 1983 (OS).
Walkin's Lough Lane, site unknown. Erected in 1845 (KCM 4.2.1845).
Castlecomer New Rd E. (11156325). Pump 1871–1900; fountain 1946; hydrant 1983 (OS).
Grange Rd E. (99756775). 1871–1900; fountain 1946 (OS).
James's Green (02505885). Pump 1871–1900 (OS).
The Parade N. (07255730). Pump 1871–1946 (OS).
Troy's Gate, N. end (03556600). 1871, 1946 (OS).
James's St, near St Mary's School (see **20** Education), site unknown. 1873 (*KJ* 20.8.1873).
John's Quay, at Guinan's slip (see **17** Transport), site unknown. 1873 (*KJ* 20.8.1873).
Near Black Abbey Church (see **11** Religion), site unknown. 1873 (*KJ* 20.8.1873).
Near Green's Bridge (see **17** Transport), site unknown. 1873, 1877 (*KJ* 20.8.1873, 24.2.1877).
Patrick St Upper W., on site of former well (*q.v.*). Built in *c.* 1874 (*KJ* 9.9.1875). Removed in 1961; re-erected in 1986 (plaque).
Maudlin St, near junction Seminary Lane, site unknown. 1877 (*KJ* 27.10.1877).
Butt's Green (01006245). 1900 (OS).
City Gas Works, John's Green E. Kilkenny Gas Light Co. formed in 1838 (*KJ* 17.1.1838). Gas works: chimney, condenser, coal shed, gas house, gasometer, purifying shed, retort house 1841; City Gas Works, chimney, 2 gasometers 1871; 4 gasometers 1900; 2 original gasometers removed by 1946; unnamed, 2 tanks 1983 (OS). Demolished, replaced by coal yard by 1989 (local information).
Engine house, Canal Walk E. Engine house 1841 (OS). Converted to lodge in 1845 (see **22** Residence: Canal Lodge).
Tenters:
Butt's Green W. 1841 (OS).
Canal Walk N. 1841–1900 (OS).
Friary St S. 1841 (OS).
John St Upper E. 1841 (OS).
Thomas St E. 1841 (OS).
Stephen's St E. 1841 (OS).
Manure yards:
Near Common Hall (see **22** Residence), site unknown, perhaps same as next entry. 'Dung hole removed and levelled' in 1846 (*KJ* 25.7.1846).
Vicar St, E. end (04406350). Corporation manure yard 1850 (Val. 1), 1858–91 (Val. 2).
John's Green, site unknown, perhaps same as next entry. Manure yard 1852; corporation dung yard 1856 (*KJ* 20.11.1852, 31.12.1856).
Wolfe Tone St E. (09506260), perhaps same as previous entry. Corporation manure yard 1858–1901 (Val. 2).
St Canice's Place, site unknown, perhaps same as next entry. Corporation dung yard 1856 (*KJ* 31.12.1856).
St Canice's Place, site unknown, perhaps same as previous entry. Manure depot 1894 (*KJ* 20.1.1894).
Graveyard, Broguemaker's Hill W. (06656805). 1877 (Val. 2).
Kilkenny Union Cemetery, O'Loughlin Rd E. (15556265). Opened in 1893 (*KJ* 23.9.1893). Burial ground 1900–46 (OS). Closed in *c.* 1968 (local information). Public park 2000.

19 Health

St John the Evangelist's Hospital, Greensbridge St E., on site of later St Maul's Church (see **11** Religion). 'Hospital of St John at head of bridge of Kilkenny' established by 1202 (Carrigan, iii, 248). Probably closed on foundation of priory (see **11** Religion: St John's Abbey) in 1211.
St John the Baptist's Hospital (Knights of St Thomas the Martyr of Acon), location unknown. Founded by 1219; possessions confirmed in *c.* 1240; closed probably in 14th cent. (Gwynn and Hadcock, 343).
St Mary Magdalen's Hospital, Maudlin St N. (11706000). Leper hospital 1327 (Gwynn and Hadcock, 352). Leper house, needing repair 1352 (*Liber primus*, 18). Ruined chapel, orchard, small tower 1541 (*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, 201). Infirmary 1629 (KCA CR/I/53).
Graveyard: graveslabs 13th–14th cent. (Carrigan, iii, 245); later St John's graveyard [east] (see **11** Religion: St John's R.C. Chapel).
Magdalen Castle: castle 1520 (Hogan, 1884, 213); small castle, 'built for the defence of the lepers and dwellers in the suburbs', vacant, 'worth nothing' 1541 (*Extents Ir. mon. possessions*, 201); Magdalen Castle, leased by corporation to Thomas Kranisburge, 'best chamber' reserved for burgesses with leprosy, in 1598 (Carrigan, iii, 243); *c.* 1698 (Place), *c.* 1760 (Mitchell); old castle 1841, 1871; castle, in ruins 1900–99 (OS).
Magdalen's Gate, adjoining Magdalen Castle (*q.v.*): *c.* 1698 (Place); Maudlins Gate 1711 (CB 23.6.1711); Magdalen's Gate 1758 (Rocque); *c.* 1760 (Mitchell); demolished by 1841 (OS).
Military hospital, John St Lower W., in former Jesuit college (see **20** Education). Opened for wounded soldiers and maternity use in 1650; burnt in 1650 (Leonard, 53). Closed by 1654 (*CS*).
Hospital, St Kieran St W., site unknown. Former hospital 1654 (*CS*).
Hospital, in Irishtown, 'at the upper hill', site unknown. 'Pest house' established in *c.* 1665; closed in 1668 (*Clyn ann.*, 65).
Hospital, location unknown. Opened by General Godard Ginkel, 20 beds 1690 (CB 12.11.1690).
County Infirmary, John's Green N. Site selected in 1761 (KCM 16.5.1761). Opened in 1767 (Tighe, 516). County Infirmary 1841–1900 (OS). Closed, patients transferred to St Luke's Hospital, Freshford Rd, in 1942 (Doyle, 114). Institute for Higher Education 2000 (plaque). See also **18** Utilities: pound, Wolfe Tone St E.
Kilkenny Fever Hospital, Wolfe Tone St N. House of recovery and fever hospital 1803 (*LJ* 30.4.1803). Kilkenny Fever Hospital 1821 (*KM* 4.1.1821), 1824 (*Pigot*). Fever hospital 1841; 2 wings added by 1871; 1900–46; hospital 1983 (OS). Auxiliary hospital 1970 (local information). Hospital 1999 (OS).
Convalescent hospital, Walkin St, site unknown. 1815 (*KM* 29.4.1815).
Fever hospital, Kells Rd S., adjoining workhouse (see **13** Administration), site unknown. 1827 (*KM* 30.10.1827).
Cholera hospital, location unknown. Closed in 1832 (*KJ* 24.12.1832).
Ormonde Lying-in Hospital, Walkin St, site unknown. Dr Grant 1834 (*KJ* 1.1.1834), 1835 (*KM* 17.1.1835).
Foundling hospital, De Loughry Place E., in later horse barracks (see **12** Defence). Closed in *c.* 1835 (*KM* 15.4.1835).
Cholera hospital, Green St, site unknown. 1850 (*KM* 19.6.1850).
Lock Hospital, Hebron Rd S., in grounds of Union Workhouse (see **13** Administration) (12956185). 1871–1900; unnamed 1946; demolished by 1983 (OS).
Kilkenny Dispensary, Black Mill St W. Opened in 1819, 1841 (OS).
Dispensary, Wellington Sq., site unknown. 1846 (*Slater*).
Dispensary, Garden Row W. (04555825). Dispensary 1850 (Val. 1), 1853; closed by *c.* 1870 (Val. 2).
Dispensary, Friary St S. (04955680). 1856 (*Slater*), 1857–1910 (Val. 2).
Lunatic asylum, location unknown, perhaps associated with County and City Gaol (see **13** Administration). 1830 (*KJ* 31.3.1830).
St Canice's Hospital, 1 km S.E. of city. Built in 1851 (*KJ* 19.4.1851). Kilkenny District Lunatic Asylum 1856 (*Slater*). Ball alley built in 1862 (*KJ* 19.3.1862). Kilkenny District Lunatic Asylum: ball alley, dust pit, female dining hall, female side, gravel pit, kitchen, laundry, male dining hall, male side, pump house, stack stands, weighbridge 1871 (OS). Lunatic asylum 1884 (Bassett, 71). St Canice's Hospital 2000.
National Eye and Ear Infirmary, High St W. (05955820). Open Saturdays 1879 (*KJ* 22.2.1879).

20 Education

College of vicars choral of St Canice's Cathedral (see **11** Religion), Vicar St W., on site of later Common Hall (see **22** Residence). Founded by Bishop Geoffrey St Leger by 1287; episcopal manse granted as residence and common hall, college, 8 vicars choral, 4 choristers 1615; 'formerly a high class school of excellent character' *c.* 1620 (Carrigan, iii, 175–6, 7).
Grammar school, Church Lane S., in or on site of former Black Rath Castle (see **22** Residence). Founded by Piers Butler, 8th earl of Ormond, in *c.* 1538 (Holinshed, 59). Public lecture room *c.* 1585 (Carrigan, iii, 7). Public school 1615; closed by 1650 (Carrigan, i, 259). School re-established in *c.* 1666 (Browne, 223; Carte, ii, appendix, 91). 'Ancient school house of the diocese' 1679 (Ledwich, 487). Transferred to new premises in 1684 (see below, Kilkenny College). 'Old school house' 1692; demolished, replaced by St Canice's Library (*q.v.*) in *c.* 1693 (Ledwich, 492–3).
School, location unknown, perhaps same as grammar school (see previous entry). *c.* 1658 (Barnard, 190).
Catholic school, location unknown, perhaps same site as next entry. 1635 (Hagan, 88).
Bishop Rothe's College, Rose Inn St, site unknown. Founded by Bishop David Rothe in *c.* 1642; closed in 1650; also known as Irish Free School or College (Carrigan, i, 259–60).
Jesuit college, site unknown, perhaps in Irishtown. Opened by 1635; school with 38 Jesuits 1642 (Hagan, 88). Moved to John St Lower in 1645 (see next entry).
Jesuit college, John St Lower W., in former St John's Abbey (see **11** Religion). College for 18 Jesuits with oratory, library, refectory, dormitory, large and small parlour, kitchens, orchard, arboretum opened in 1645 (Carrigan, iii, 254; Leonard, 51–3). Closed, converted to military hospital (see **19** Health) in 1650.
Jesuit school, location unknown, perhaps Parliament St W. 1666, 1667 (Ó Fearghail, 1990, 215, n. 117).
Catholic school, location unknown. Founded by Bishop James Phelan in 1686; elevated to Royal College or University of St Canice, students transferred to Kilkenny College (see next entry) in 1690 (Leonard, 25–6, 29).
Kilkenny College, C. of I., boys, John St Lower E., in former Seix House (see **22** Residence). School founded by James Butler, 1st duke of Ormonde, in 1684; school house, court, outhouses, gardens, pigeon-house, meadow 1684 (Ledwich, 508, 514). School, closed in 1689; reopened as Royal University or College of St Canice incorporating students from former Catholic school (see previous entry) in February 1690; closed in July 1690; reopened as secondary school in 1691 (Leonard, 40, 29, 42). Free school 1708 (Pratt). The College, College Park 1758 (Rocque). Building demolished, replaced by adjacent premises at cost of £5,000 in 1782 (Egan, 260; datestone); 36 boarders, 29 day scholars 1788 (Quane, 60–61). Kilkenny College or Classical School, 22 boarders and 41 day scholars 1824 (Glassford, 196). 45 boys 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept 2*, 147b). Kilkenny College, College Park 1841 (OS). Dr Brown's college 1856 (*In. educ. rept 23*, 115). College, ball alley 1871 (OS). 3 boarders, 4 day boys 1879; amalgamated with Pococke College (*q.v.*) in 1903 (Quane, 60–61, 63). Kilkenny College 1900–46; college 1983 (OS). Pupils transferred to new premises, Castlecomer Rd in 1985 (local information). County Hall 2000.
Royal College of Physicians, location unknown. 1687 (Leonard, 23).
Industrial school, location unknown. To be established 1705 (Neely, 1989, 104).
Charity school, C. of I., location unknown. Charity school, opened in 1717 (Quane, 44). Blow Boys Hospital 1718 (KCM 16.5.1718). Closed by 1733 (Quane, 44).
School, R.C., Patrick St E., adjacent to St Patrick's Chapel (see **11** Religion), site unknown. 1731 (Carrigan, i, 146).
Schools, 2, St John's parish, R.C., sites unknown. 1731 (Carrigan, i, 146).
Schools, 3, St Canice's parish, R.C., boys, sites unknown. 1731 (Carrigan, i, 146).
School, St Canice's parish, R.C., girls, site unknown. 1731 (Carrigan, i, 146).



Burrell's Hall, *c.* 1842 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, p. 19)

School, St Mary's parish, R.C., boys, site unknown. 1731 (Carrigan, i, 146).
Schools, 4, St Mary's parish, R.C., girls, sites unknown. 1731 (Carrigan, i, 146).
Charter schoolhouse, 1.5 km E. of city. Opened in 1745; 40 boys 1748, 32 boys 1785 (Quane, 44–8). Closed, reopened as Pococke College (*q.v.*) in 1817.
Lintown Weaving School, Green's Hill W., on site of later Factory House (see 22 Residence). Founded by Bishop Richard Pococke before 1763; Lintown cotton and linen factory, master, usher, 28 boys, house with 2 dormitories, school room, 2 work rooms 1808 (Quane, 48–51). Transferred to new premises (see below, Pococke College) in 1817 (Quane, 48). See also 15 Manufacturing: Lintown Factory.
Burrell's Hall, James's St N., R.C., in former wine store (see 16 Trades and services) and residence (see 22 Residence: Burrell's Hall). Burrell's Hall, opened as diocesan college in 1783 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, 18). Closed, students transferred to St Canice's Academy (*q.v.*) in 1792 (Carrigan, i, 265). Lay college, 22 boarders, 44 day boys, incorporating students from St Canice's Academy (*q.v.*) opened in 1817 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, 38). Revd Nicholas Shearman's lay college 1824 (*Pigot*). 'A commodious house', 80 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512). Day school, 50 boys and 10 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b). 102 pupils 1836 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, 38). St James's College 1833 (*KJ* 29.6.1833). Burrell Hall boarding school, 70 boys and girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b). Burrell's Hall closed, students transferred to St Kieran's College (*q.v.*) in 1839 (Carrigan, i, 276). Burrell's Hall 1841 (OS). Demolished in *c.* 1842 (*KJ* 7.9.1842), replaced by St Mary's Cathedral (see 11 Religion).
Chapel Lane Infant School, Chapel Lane N., associated with Chapel Lane National School (see next entry) (04655860). Opened in 1784 (Birch, 3). Chapel Lane Infant School, 197 boys 1856 (*Ir. educ. rept 23*, 134–5).
Chapel Lane National School, Chapel Lane N., R.C., boys. Free school founded in 1784 (Glassford, 190–91). St James's Charity School 1812 (*LJ* 4.3.1812). 153 boys 1824 (Glassford, 190–91). Supported by bequest of Nicholas Keravan made in 1825 (*Endowed schools rept*, 142–3). Day school, 405 pupils 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept 2*, 148b). Chapel Lane National School 1841 (OS). National school 1850 (Val. 1). Sisters of Charity school 1858; parochial school 1865 (Val. 2). National school 1871; school 1900–83; demolished by 1999 (OS). See also previous entry.
Miss Quirke's school, location unknown. 1786 (*FJ* 31.5.1786).
Mr Jones's school, Canal Walk, site unknown. Opened in 1786 (*FJ* 18.10.1786). Moved to new premises in 1792 (see next entry).
Mr Jones's English boarding school, St Kieran's St, site unknown. Opened in 1792 (*FJ* 4.4.1792). See also previous entry.
Mrs Jones's ladies' boarding school, location unknown, probably St Kieran's St, see previous entry. Opened in 1792 (*FJ* 9.6.1792).
Mr Talbot's school, High St E., in tholsel assembly rooms (see 13 Administration). 1786 (*FJ* 29.11.1786).
Mrs Connor's school, St Kieran's St, site unknown, 'at the widow Comerford's'. Opened in 1786 (*FJ* 28.6.1786).
Philip Fitzgibbon's school, John St, site unknown. 1786 (*FJ* 11.11.1786).
White's wall school, location unknown. 1786 (*FJ* 29.11.1786).
English Academy, Parliament St W., in Rothe House (see 22 Residence). English Academy 1787; 1792 (*FJ* 24.1.1787, 22.12.1792). George Buchanan's school 1808 (Lanigan, 1967, 8). See also next entry.
English Academy, Tilbury Place, site unknown. Mr Buchanan 1810 (*LJ* 21.7.1810). 'A good airy room', 40 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512). See also next entry.
English Academy, St Kieran's St, site unknown. English Academy, G.C. Buchanan, 'long established' 1830 (*KJ* 16.10.1830). See also previous 2 entries.
Kilkenny Subscription School, location unknown, perhaps same as charter schoolhouse (*q.v.*) or Chapel Lane National School (*q.v.*). 1789 (*FJ* 17.1.1789).
St Canice's Academy, Church Lane N., in later St James's Park House (see 22 Residence). Day school opened in 1789; diocesan college transferred from Burrell's Hall (*q.v.*) in 1792 (Carrigan, i, 265). Diocesan college transferred to Maudlin St Seminary (*q.v.*) in 1811; day school closed, transferred to Burrell's Hall (*q.v.*) in 1817 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, 28, 38). Building converted to private residence by 1841 (see 22 Residence: St James's Park House).
English and Mathematical Academy, Rose Inn St, site unknown. Michael O'Riordan 1790 (*FJ* 26.6.1790).
Dancing school, Parliament St, site unknown. D. O'Brien 1794 (*FJ* 1.1.1794).
French and English boarding school, Patrick St, site unknown. Mrs Sommers 1795 (*FJ* 21.2.1795).
Mr Lawler's school, location unknown. 1795 (*FJ* 26.12.1795).
Miss Perry's school, St Kieran's St, site unknown. Music school, harpsicord, pianoforte, guitar, 1796; converted to girls' school in 1798 (*FJ* 1.6.1796, 18.4.1798).
Dancing school, location unknown. Mr Fleming, opened in 1798 (*FJ* 7.3.1798).
Presentation school, James's St S., associated with Presentation convent (see 11 Religion). Opened in 1800 (Hegarty, 10). 300 girls, 'spinning school for 30 girls' 1818 (Quane, 71; Hegarty, 55). 35 pupils in convent orphan school 1824 (*Pigot*). Presentation convent school, 29 orphans and 158 girls 1824 (Glassford, 194). Endowed by Nicholas Keravan in 1824 (*Endowed schools rept*, 142). '2 rooms at convent', 200 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512). 400 pupils 1831 (*KJ* 19.2.1831). Presentation chapel and school 1841 (OS). Convent school, 670 girls 1856 (*Ir. educ. rept 23*, 136–7). 204 average attendance 1858 (*Endowed schools rept*, 142–3). Chapel and national school, girls' school 1871 (OS). R.C. chapel and school 1858–97 (Val. 2). School, chapel 1900–83 (OS). Demolished on construction of shopping centre in 1992 (local information).
Orphan house: 1837 (Lewis, ii, 113).
Convent national school (04505940): built in 1860 (former wall plaque); 1897 (Val. 2); school 1900–83 (OS); demolished on construction of shopping centre in 1992 (local information).
Industrial school (04705950): 1889, 1901 (Val. 2).
French and English Academy, William St S., girls (04955765). Opened in 1801 (*FJ* 5.8.1801).
Miss Ratigan's boarding school, Patrick St, site unknown. Opened in 1802 (*LJ* 21.8.1802).
Classic and English School, John St, 'near John's Bridge' (see 17 Transport), site unknown. Boarding and day school, Laurence Quinlan 1804 (*LJ* 11.1.1804, 1.8.1804).
Mrs Christy's boarding school, Parliament St, girls, site unknown. 1804 (*LJ* 25.2.1804).
Mrs Leech's school, location unknown, probably same as George Leech's ladies' boarding school (*q.v.*). 1806 (*LJ* 26.4.1806).
Classical and Mercantile Boarding and Day School, Patrick St, site unknown. Terence Doyle 1811 (*LJ* 10.7.1811).
Maudlin St Seminary or College, Maudlin St N. (10955970). Opened as diocesan college, incorporating students from St Canice's Academy (*q.v.*), in 1811; closed, students moved to Birchfield College, 1.5 km S. of city, building converted to presbytery (see 22 Residence) in 1814 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, 28, 32).
Catherine Pack's ladies' boarding school, High St, site unknown. Opened, 9 pupils, in 1812 (*LJ* 2.12.1812; Law, 1995, 140).
English, Mathematical and Classical Academy, Chapel Lane, site unknown. Michael Ryan 1812 (*LJ* 29.2.1812).
Anne Perry's school, St Kieran's St, adjacent to collector's office (see 13 Administration), site unknown. Opened in 1815 (*KM* 28.1.1815).
Feinaiglian School, John's Quay E., in Nore View House (see 22 Residence). Feinaiglian Institution 1815; Feinaiglian Day and Boarding School 1836 (*KM* 17.1.1815, 12.10.1836). Nore View Collegiate Boarding and Day School 1849 (*KJ* 7.7.1849). Feinaiglian School 1856 (*Slater*). Converted to Kilkenny Commercial Club (see 21 Entertainment: Home Rule Club premises) by 1882.
Mrs William Pack's ladies' boarding school, Patrick St E. (07055640). 1815 (*KM* 22.7.1815), 1824 (*Pigot*). Closed, reopened as Logierian Academy of Music (*q.v.*) by 1831.
Mrs Cody's ladies' school, location unknown. Transferred to new premises in 1815 (see next entry).
Mrs Cody's ladies' school, St Kieran's St, 'in one of Mr Smithwick's new houses', site unknown. Transferred from former premises (see previous entry) in 1815 (*KM* 12.1.1815).
James Healy's private day school, St Patrick's parish, site unknown. *c.* 1815; 45 boys and 15 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept.2*, 149b).
Pococke College, 1.5 km E. of city, in former charter schoolhouse (*q.v.*). Pococke Institution, opened in 1817; 'factory boarding school', 16 boys 1835; 65 boys 1879 (Quane, 48, 52, 55). Pococke College 1884 (Bassett, 50). Closed, amalgamated with Kilkenny College (*q.v.*) in 1903.
Carroll's school for boys, Seminary Lane, R.C., site unknown. Parish school 1824 (Glassford, 193). 'Held on the middle floor of an old house', 62 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511).
George Leech's ladies' boarding school, The Parade S., R.C. (07855650). 1824 (*Pigot*). Private house, 17 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
James Cody's boarding and day school, Wellington Sq., R.C., site unknown. 1824 (*Pigot*). '2 rooms in his own house' *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Hendricken's day school, Parliament St, site unknown. 1824 (*Pigot*).
McEvoy's school, R.C., location unknown. 39 boys and girls 1824 (Glassford, 193).
Maria Doyle's ladies' boarding school, St Kieran's St, R.C., site unknown. 1824 (*Pigot*). 'A room in her own house', 40 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512). Day school, 11 boys, 48 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b). Boarding and day school 1846 (*Slater*).
Mr and Mrs Geddes protestant ladies' boarding school, William St, site unknown. 1824 (*Pigot*). 'A room in a house' *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Parochial school, St Kieran's St W., C. of I. Parochial free school, 'for the united parishes' 1824 (Glassford, 190). Day school, 143 boys and girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b). Parochial subscription school 1841; parochial school 1871 (OS), 1858–76 (Val. 2).
Sarah Teape's ladies' day school, St Kieran's St, site unknown. 1824 (*Pigot*). '10 pupils in a room' *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Thomas Tynan's day school, St John's parish, site unknown. Tynan's hedge school, 38 boys and girls 1824 (Glassford, 193). Schoolhouse given by Ormonde family, 39 boys, 13 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b). See also next entry.
Francis Tynan's school, New Rd, site unknown. 'A room in a private house', 50 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). Perhaps same as previous entry.
Andrew Wolfe's school, R.C., Parliament St W., in Rothe House (see 22 Residence). 'In a garret of his house', 40 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Catherine Duggan's school, Walkin St, site unknown. 'In a garret of her house', 30 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Catherine Jones' school, Green's Hill, site unknown. Small cabin, 30 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511).
Charles Barry's school, St Mary's Lane, R.C., site unknown. 1 small room, 80 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Classical, Mercantile and Mathematical School, Chapel Lane, site unknown. Michael Barry, 'a good school house', 280 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512). Transferred to James's St S. in 1837 (see next entry).
Classical, Mercantile and Mathematical School, James's St S., near Presentation convent (see 11 Religion), site unknown. M[ichael] Barry, transferred from Chapel Lane (see previous entry) in 1837 (*KJ* 25.3.1837).
Clohessy's hedge school, Maudlin St, R.C., site unknown. 'A room in a private house', 62 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). 35 boys and girls 1824 (Glassford, 193).
Con Hogan's school, Green's Hill, site unknown. Thatched cabin, 60 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511).
Eliza McKenna's school, Chapel Lane, R.C., site unknown. 1 room, 45 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Frances Grace's day and boarding school, Irishtown, R.C., site unknown. Stone house, 65 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). 7 boys, 23 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).
Free school, High St W., in City Gaol (see 13 Administration). 6 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
John Green's school, Butt's Green, R.C., site unknown. Stone house, 35 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511).
John Green's school, New St, R.C., site unknown. Small room, 14 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
John Brown's school, Patrick St, R.C., site unknown. 45 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
John Kelly's day school, Lord Edward St, R.C., site unknown. Stone house, 117 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). 55 boys and 13 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).
John Rogan's protestant school, St Kieran's St, site unknown. 'A room in his own house', 18 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
John Tobin's school, Bennettsbridge Rd, R.C., site unknown. Mud cabin, 50 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
John Ward's school, Patrick St, R.C. and C. of I., site unknown. 'Room in master's house', 36 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Kyran Walsh's day school, Kenny's Well St, site unknown. Thatched stone house, 50 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). 34 boys and 19 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).
Mary Carrigan's school, Pennyfeather Lane, R.C., site unknown. 'A room in her own house', 30 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Mary Murphy's school, Chapel Lane, site unknown. Small room, 5 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Michael Frayn's school, Walkin St, R.C., site unknown. Small room, 50 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Michael Lynch's private day school, Michael's Lane, site unknown. 'A room in a stone house', 32 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). 32 boys and 32 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).
Mrs Anderson's ladies' school, John St, C. of I., site unknown. '10 pupils in a room of a private house' *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). Louis Anderson 1824 (*Pigot*). Mrs Anderson 1830 (*KJ* 28.7.1830).
Nicholas Martin's school, Collier's Lane, R.C., site unknown. Small room, 23 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Pat Grace's school, James's St, R.C., site unknown. 'A room in his own house', 80 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Pat Moran's school, Patrick St, R.C., site unknown. 'In a cabin', 84 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Patrick Beckett's school, Butt's Green, R.C., site unknown. Stone house, 60 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). See also below, Martin Beckett's day school, Patrick Becket's day school.
Patrick Kelly's day school, Vicar St, R.C., site unknown. 'Upper room in a cabin', 65 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511). 30 boys, 10 girls, 'evening school for 5 or 6 children by the same master' 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 146b).
Paul Ivory's school, John's Green, R.C., site unknown. 'Stone and mud house', 30 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).
Richard Preston's and Mary Rogan's school, St Kieran's St, C. of I., site unknown. Stone house, 122 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512). Perhaps same as parochial school (*q.v.*).

Robert Reede's school, Parnell St, R.C., site unknown. 2 rooms, 72 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 512).

Thomas Fitzpatrick's school, Maudlin St, site unknown, probably same as Fitzpatrick's day school (*q.v.*), perhaps on site of later St John's School, Dublin Rd (*q.v.*). Mud house, 68 pupils *c.* 1824 (Carrigan, iii, 511).

C.B. Bailey's musical academy, High St, site unknown. Opened in 1827 (*KM* 31.1.1827).

Kilkenny Classical and English School, John's Quay, site unknown. Mr Burrowes 1827 (*KM* 4.8.1827), 1830 (*KJ* 4.8.1830).

St John's School, Dublin Rd S. St John's New School, built in *c.* 1829 (*KM* 16.12.1829). St John's Subscription School 1830 (*KJ* 20.11.1830). Lacken School 1841 (*KM* 10.2.1841). St John's National School 1841, 1871; St John's School 1900–46 (OS). Known as Lacken School mid 20th cent. (local information). Converted to parochial hall in 1952 (Doyle, 49).

Boarding and day school for young ladies, Wellington Sq., site unknown. Mrs Kelly and Mrs Price 1830 (*KJ* 9.6.1830).

Miss Whelan's school, James's St, girls, site unknown. Opened in 1830 (*KJ* 2.10.1830).

St Mary's Subscription School, location unknown, perhaps same as parochial school, St Kieran's St (*q.v.*). 1830 (*KJ* 20.11.1830).

St Patrick's Parochial School, location unknown. St Patrick's Subscription School 1830; St Patrick's Parochial School 1831 (*KJ* 20.11.1830, 12.1.1831).

Logierian Academy of Music, Patrick St E., in former Mrs William Pack's ladies' boarding school (*q.v.*). Logierian Academy of Music 1831 (Law, 1995, 140; *KJ* 11.5.1831).

Michael Broderic's private week-day school, St John's parish, site unknown. Opened in 1831, 40 boys, 16 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).

Miss Whelan's boarding and day school, Patrick St, site unknown. 1831 (*KJ* 27.8.1831).

James Kehoe's private day school, St John's parish, site unknown. Opened in 1832, 26 boys, 10 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b).

Kilkenny Classical and English School, Patrick St, site unknown. Revd William Stone, opened in 1832; 1833 (*KJ* 10.10.1832, 12.1.1833).

Mr McGill's boarding and select day school, Maudlin St N., in former Maudlin St Seminary (*q.v.*). Opened in 1832 (*KJ* 25.4.1832). 25 boys 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b). Moved to new premises in 1836 (see next entry).

Mr J.H. McGill's school, Walkin St, site unknown. Transferred from Maudlin St (see previous entry) in 1836 (*KJ* 10.8.1836).

Mrs McGill's ladies' boarding and day school, Wellington Sq. W. (04155840). 1832 (*KJ* 6.6.1832).

Noreview Seminary, John's Quay E., in Nore View House (see 22 Residence). Nore View Ladies' Seminary, 12 pupils 1832 (*KJ* 10.3.1832), 1836 (*KM* 9.7.1836). Noreview Seminary 1841; unnamed, presumably reverted to private residence by 1871 (OS).

English, French and Musical Academy, John St, 'within 1 door of the bridge', site unknown. Mrs John McCreery 1834; boarding and day school 1836 (*KJ* 22.3.1834, 2.1.1836).

Mr Cody's boarding school for young gentlemen, Friary St, 'opposite the chapel' (see 11 Religion: St Francis' Capuchin Friary), site unknown. 1834 (*KJ* 27.12.1834).

Mrs Maycock's boarding and day school, location unknown. 1834 (*KJ* 3.10.1834).

Oliver Fogarty's private day school, St Patrick's parish, site unknown. Established in 1834, 57 boys, 28 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 149b).

Schoolhouse, Rose Inn St, site unknown. 1834 (*KJ* 8.2.1834).

Fitzpatrick's day school, St Mary's parish, site unknown, probably same as Thomas Fitzpatrick's school (*q.v.*). 48 boys, 12 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 149b).

Garrett Fanin's day school, St Canice's parish, site unknown. *c.* 30 boys and girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).

Hourigan's day school, St Mary's parish, site unknown. 34 boys, 23 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b).

Infant school, St John's parish, site unknown. 25 boys, 20 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).

James Campion's day school, St Canice's parish, site unknown. 18 boys, 42 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).

James Pound's factory boarding school, St John's parish, site unknown. 16 boys 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).

Kieran Tierney's private day school, St John's parish, site unknown. 11 boys, 6 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b).

Martin Beckett's day school, St Canice's parish, site unknown, perhaps same as Patrick Beckett's school, Butt's Green (*q.v.*). 96 boys, 21 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 146b).

Michael Rourke's private day school, St John's parish, site unknown. 28 boys, 28 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).

Mr McGill's boarding and day school, St Mary's parish, site unknown. 11 boys, 48 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b).

Mrs Rothes's infant school, St Mary's parish, site unknown. 22 boys, 14 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 149b).

Patrick Beckett's day school, Walkin St, site unknown. Opened in *c.* 1835, 54 boys, 26 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b); 1856 (*Slater*). See also above, Patrick Beckett's school, Butt's Green.

Joseph Boulger's private day school, St John's parish, site unknown. Opened in *c.* 1835, 36 boys, 21 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 147b).

McConnell's boarding and day school, St Mary's parish, site unknown. Opened in *c.* 1835, 22 boys 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 149b).

Michael Conlon's private day school, St Patrick's parish, site unknown. Opened in *c.* 1835, 21 boys, 6 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 149b).

Michael Quigly's private day school, St John's parish, site unknown. Opened in *c.* 1835, 26 boys, 14 girls 1835 (*Publ. instr. rept* 2, 148b).

Mr Jephson's academy of music, William St N. (05605830). Musical academy 1836; Mr Jephson's academy of music, girls, 1841 (*KJ* 3.12.1836, 6.11.1841).

Patrick St Boarding School, Patrick St, site unknown. Mrs O'Neill's, moved from Nore View House (see above, Noreview Seminary) in 1836; Patrick St Boarding School 1838 (*KJ* 2.7.1836, 3.1.1838).

St Kieran's College, College Road N. Founded in 1836, architect W.D. Butler; E. wing opened to accommodate diocesan college students from Birchfield College, 1.5 km S. of city (see above, Maudlin St Seminary) in 1838; W. wing opened to accommodate lay students (see above, Burrell's Hall) in 1839; 4 priests, 51 boarders, 30 day boys 1839 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, 43, 45). St Kiaran's R.C. College, ecclesiastical house, lay house, ball alley 1841; St Kieran's R.C. College 1842; St Kyran's R.C. College, chapel, ball alley, lodge 1871 (OS). New wing and terraces built in 1875–7 (Ó Fearghail, 1982, 62–3). St Kieran's College, R.C. chapel, ball alley, lodge 1900; extended by 1946; 1983, 1999 (OS). See also 21 Entertainment: Ossory Archaeological Society.

Mr J. Gresham's preparatory school for young gentlemen, High St, site unknown. 1839 (*KJ* 5.1.1839).

Mrs Bridget Agnes Burke's boarding and day school for young ladies, St Kieran's St E. (06555915). Opened in 1840 (*KJ* 28.10.1840); 1846, 1856 (*Slater*).

Mrs Catherine Foley's school, James's St, site unknown. 1841 (*KM* 16.10.1841). Moved to St Kieran's St by 1845 (see next entry).

Mrs Catherine Foley's seminary, St Kieran's St, site unknown. 1845 (*KJ* 18.1.1845), 1846 (*Slater*). See also previous entry.

Mr De Vine's musical academy, William St, site unknown. 1844 (*KJ* 22.5.1844).

Mary Green's boarding and day school, John's Quay, site unknown. 1846 (*Slater*).

Mr and Mrs Heffernan's music school, Wellington Sq., site unknown. 1847 (*KJ* 16.10.1847).

Mr Ranalow's music school, Patrick St E. (07105625). 1847 (*KJ* 1.10.1847), 1884 (Bassett, 137).

Misses Green and Den's girls' school, Walkin St, site unknown. 1849 (*KJ* 26.12.1849).

St Canice's National School, Butt's Green E. (01106275). National school 1850 (*KJ* 12.1.1850). Rebuilt in 1864 (Lanigan and Tyler, 86). St Canice's National School 1871; school 1900–46; demolished by 1983 (OS).

Mr Edward R. Disney's academy, William St, site unknown. 1851 (*KM* 1.3.1851).

Miss Cummins's ladies' day school, Patrick St, site unknown. Opened in 1853 (*KM* 8.1.1853), 1856 (*Slater*).

National Model School, Ormonde Rd W. Model national schools, built in 1853 (*Slater*). Kilkenny District Model School, 128 pupils 1856 (*Ir. educ. rept 23*, 134–5). 142 pupils 1883 (*Ir. educ. rept 50*, 538). National Model School 1871; model school 1900 (OS). Converted to City Technical School in 1939 (Lanigan and Tyler, 53). Ceardscoil na Cathrach 1946 (OS); school 1983, 1999 (OS). Ormonde College 2000 (wall plaque).

Infant school, location unknown. Opened in 1854, 4 pupils 1856 (*Ir. educ. rept 23*, 109).

Miss Burke's seminary for young ladies, John St, site unknown. 1854 (*KJ* 11.1.1854).

Mr O'Shee's school, William St, site unknown. 1854 (*KJ* 15.4.1854).

Henrietta McCreery's boarding and day school, William St, site unknown. 1856 (*Slater*).

John McDonnell's school, Chapel Lane, site unknown. 1856 (*Slater*).

Maria Doyle's boarding and day school, John's Bridge, site unknown. 1856 (*Slater*). Closed by 2000 (local information).

Juvenile District Model School, Maudlin St S. 1857; converted to tenements in *c.* 1858 (Val. 2).

Ladies' boarding and day school, Wellington Sq. S. (04305825). Mr Michael MacDonald 1857; ladies' boarding and day school 1861 (*KJ* 4.4.1857, 5.1.1861), 1881 (*Slater*).

Mr Patrick Mooney's school, Black Mill St, site unknown. Opened in 1859 (*KJ* 30.7.1859).

St Joseph's National School, St Patrick's parish, site unknown. Built in *c.* 1860 (*KJ* 5.5.1860). 191 pupils 1883 (*Ir. educ. rept 50*, 538).

Evans's Asylum infants' school, John St Lower W., in Evans's Asylum (see 22 Residence). 1861 (*KM* 23.2.1861), 1900 (OS).

Mrs Semple's French and English school, Patrick St, site unknown. 1861 (*KM* 2.1.1861).

Christian Brothers' infant school, Tilbury Place W. Christian Brothers' school *c.* 1861–1901 (Val. 2). Infant school 1871–1900; school 1946–99 (OS).

Miss O'Mara's boarding and day school for young ladies, Wellington Sq., site unknown. 1864 (*KJ* 19.10.1864).

St Patrick's Convent School, Upper New St W. Christian Brothers' school 1864 (Val. 2). St Patrick's Schools, Christian Brothers 1871 (OS). Taken over by Sisters of St Camillus in *c.* 1890 (see 11 Religion: St Camillus Convent). St Patrick's Convent School 1900, schools 1946; school 1983, 1999 (OS). St John of God School 2000.

St Canice's Female National School, Dean St S. (01806165). Opened in *c.* 1867 (Val. 2). St Canice's National School (female) 1871; St Canice's Female School 1900; converted to parochial hall by 1946; demolished by 1999 (OS).

Loreto Secondary School, Church Lane N., in N. wing of Loreto Convent (see 11 Religion), R.C. Loreto boarding and day school, opened in 1868 (*KJ* 10.10.1868). School 1900–46; unnamed 1999 (OS). Loreto Secondary School 2000.

Mr Scott's grinding institution, Gallows Green, site unknown. 1868 (*KM* 29.2.1868).

St Mary's School, James's St N. Built by *c.* 1868 (Val. 2). St Mary's Christian Brothers' Schools 1871; St Mary's School 1900–46; school 1983, 1999 (OS).

Presentation infant school, Red Lane S. (04905910). Infant school 1871–1900; school 1946; closed by 1983 (OS). Demolished on construction of shopping centre in 1992 (local information).

St Patrick's National School, Patrick St E. (07655420). 1871 (Val. 2). 337 pupils 1883 (*Ir. educ. rept 50*, 538). Rebuilt in 1887 (*KP* 12.11.99). St Patrick's De La Salle school, 107 boys 1888 (Kieran, 288). St Patrick's National School, Christian Brothers 1894 (*Slater*). St Patrick's Monastery School 1900–46 (OS). Closed, pupils transferred to new site in Cootes Lane N. in 1953; St Patrick's Hall 1953 (Kieran, 288). Demolished in 1999 (local information).

St Joseph's Industrial School, Sisters of Charity, Waterford Road E. St Joseph's Industrial School for Girls, built in 1872 (*KJ* 18.5.1872). St Joseph's Industrial School, R.C. chapel 1900; St Joseph's Industrial School, chapel, burial ground (private) 1946; convent, chapel, tennis ground, burial ground 1983, 1999 (OS).

St John's School, John's Quay E. Infant school opened in 1874 (*KJ* 2.5.1874); 1874–1911 (Val. 2). 526 boys and girls 1883 (*Ir. educ. rept 50*, 538). St John's Female and Infant School 1900 (OS). Closed in *c.* 1908, pupils transferred to new school, Michael St W.; also known as the Lake School (Doyle, 112).

Science and English Academy, St Kieran's St, site unknown, presumably associated with next entry. J.F. Wilson 1876 (*KM* 1.1.1876).

Military and Civil Service Academy, St Kieran's St, site unknown, presumably associated with previous entry. J.F. Wilson 1876 (*KM* 20.5.1876).

Miss Elliot's Young Ladies' Academy, Patrick St W. (06955580). 1883 (*KM* 15.12.1883), 1884 (Egan, 125).

St John's Male Preparatory School, St Patrick's parish, site unknown. Closed in 1883 (*Ir. educ. rept 50*, 538).

Agricultural training school, Patrick St Upper, site unknown. Closed by 1884 (Egan, 124).

English school for ladies, Parliament St, site unknown. Mrs Creighton 1884 (Egan, 125). See also next entry.

Kilkenny Civil Service Institute, young men, Parliament St, site unknown, perhaps associated with previous entry. Mr Creighton 1884 (Egan, 125; Basset, 91, 139), 1886 (*KJ* 29.12.1886).

St Patrick's Industrial School, Patrick St Upper, in former agricultural training school (*q.v.*). St Patrick's Industrial School for Boys 1884 (Egan, 124), 1894 (*Slater*).

Ladies' Collegiate School, Parliament St E. (05156135). Opened in 1892; closed in 1899 (De Loughrey, 1976, 188).

Kate Baxter's school, John St, site unknown. 1894 (*Slater*).

Parochial school, John St, site unknown. 1894 (*Slater*).

Miss Llyod's [*sic*] ladies' school, John St Lower S., in Bridge House (see 22 Residence). 1899 (*KM* 23.9.1899).

St Canice's Library, Church Lane S., on site of former grammar school (*q.v.*). Built in *c.* 1693 (Ledwich, 493). Library 1758 (Rocque). Public Library 1800 (Tighe, 520). St Canice's Library 1841–1946; unnamed 1999 (OS). St Canice's Library 2000.

Circulating library, location unknown. Catharine Finn 1788 (*FLJ* 12.11.1788).

Kilkenny Circulating Library Society reading rooms, Parliament St W. (05206050). Opened in 1811 (*LJ* 14.8.1811). Granted £100 by Joseph Evans in 1818 (Egan, 170). Library and newsroom 1837 (Lewis, ii, 110). Unnamed 1841, 1871 (OS). Library and reading rooms 1846 (*Slater*). Kilkenny Library Society 1850 (Val. 1), 1858–64 (Val. 2). Vacant 1869 (*KJ* 27.10.1869). Kilkenny Library 1884 (Bassett, 79). Library and reading rooms 1894 (*Slater*). See also 21 Entertainment: Irish Foresters' Club.

Circulating library, The Parade, site unknown. 1815 (*KM* 26.1.1815).

Circulating library, Parliament St W. (04556195). 1830 (*KJ* 2.10.1830), 1858 (De Loughrey, 1976, 185).

Mechanics' Friend Society library room, William St, site unknown, perhaps same as Catholic Young Men's Society premises (see 21 Entertainment). 1835 (*KJ* 13.6.1835).

Circulating library, Rose Inn St, site unknown. J. Daly 1843 (*KJ* 4.3.1843).

St Canice's Repeal Reading Room, location unknown. 1845 (*KJ* 5.3.1845).

Crystal Palace Library, High St, site unknown. James Douglas 1868 (*KJ* 18.1.1868).

City Library, John's Quay, site unknown. 1894 (*Slater*).

Appendix VIII

Figures



Fig. I, The sixteenth century tomb of Piers and Margaret Butler in St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny.

Receaved of my the right honorable the Earle of
Ormond by the hands of Mr Patrick Swembse forty
shill ster due pty for Miharlmas gale &
partly for Easter gale to the free-schoole of
the diocesse of Ossorie, wh money I receave
till I make further account wh his Lordship
Receaver (or some other whom his Lordship shall
appoynt,) in full satisfaction, of al that is due, tu
I make it further appeare, witnesse my hand
this 23d of July 1634

John Wyttar

Fig. II, John Wyttar's receipt for monies received From the earl of Ormond for the Free School of the Dioceses of Ossory, 23 July, 1634, NLI MS 11064, item 7.

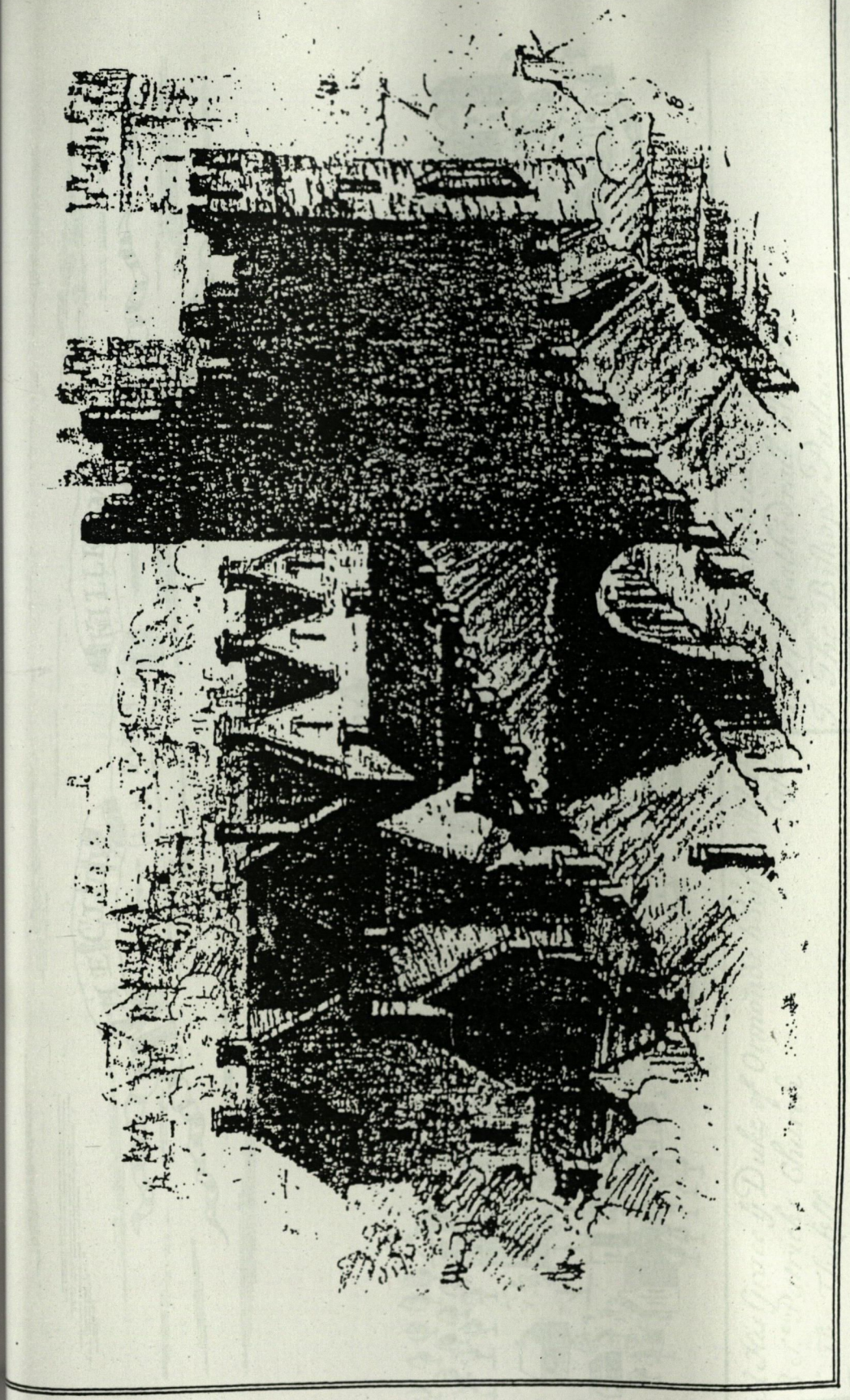


Fig. III, An undated illustration, either of the original College or an impression, showing the College facing onto John Street and occupying the site where the College of 1791 is now situated.

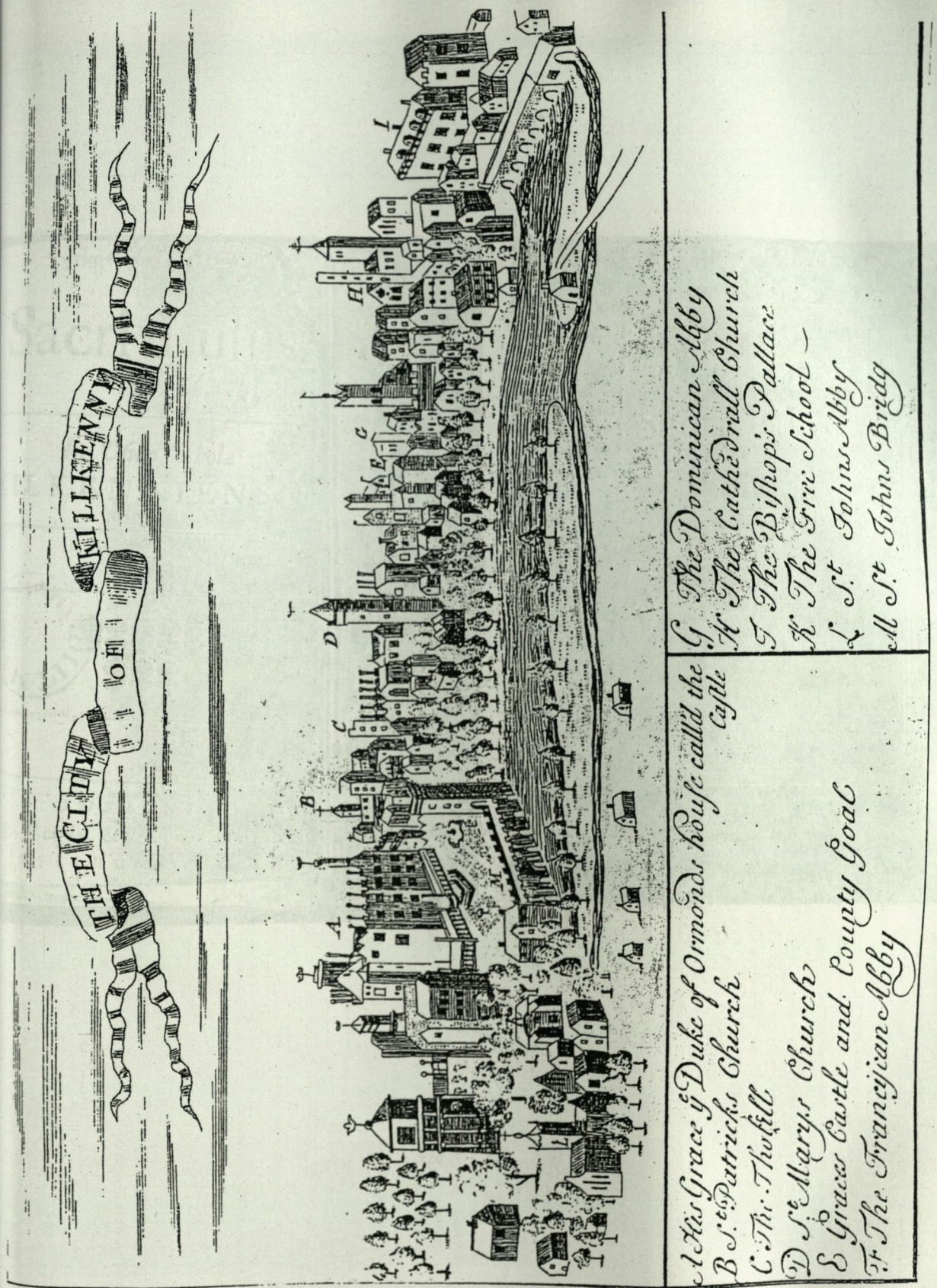
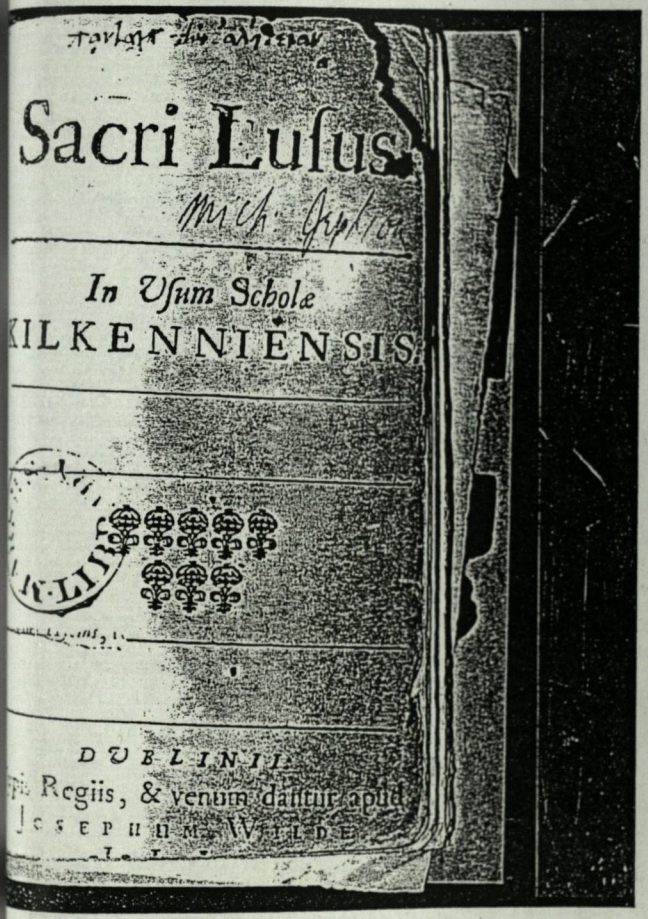


Fig. IV, Panorama of Kilkenny taken from Henry Pratt's, *A Map of the Kingdom of Ireland* c.1705.



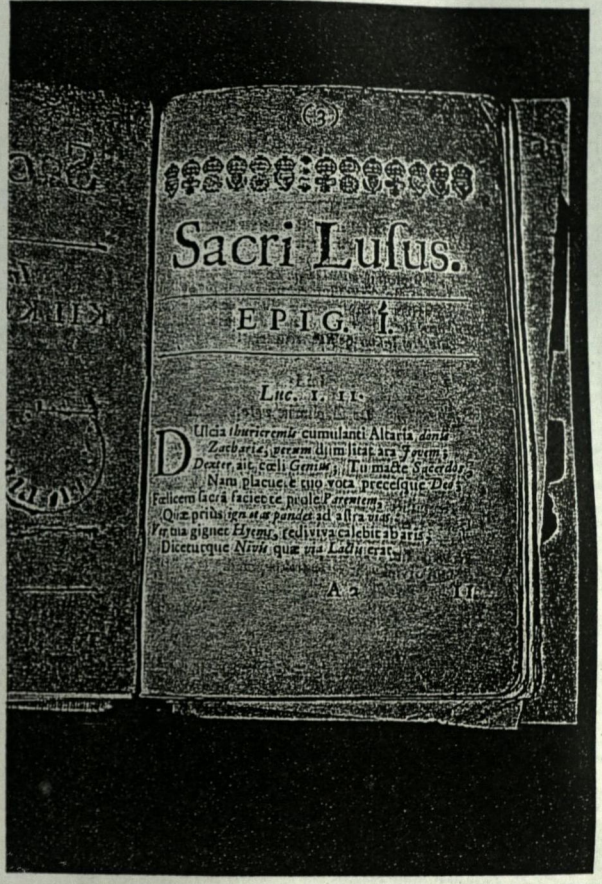


Fig. V, The title page and first pages of *Sacri Lusus in Usum Scholae Kilkenniensis* (c.1676), (with the permission of the Governors and Guardians of Marsh's Library, Dublin).

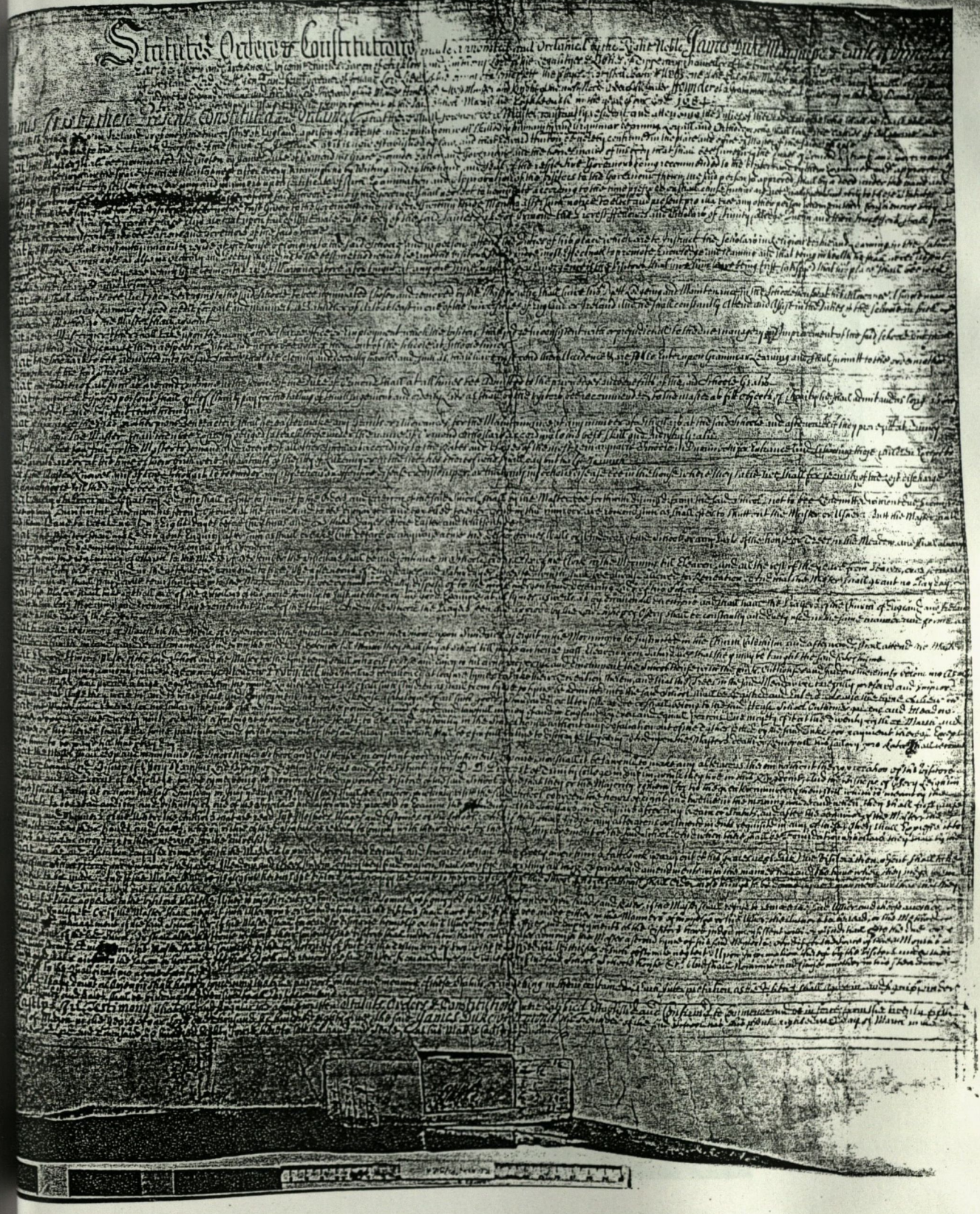


Fig. VI, The Charter and Statutes of Kilkenny College, 1685, TCD MUN P1/518a.



THE COLLEGE at Kilkenny.

Fig. VI, An engraving of Kilkenny College by J. Greig from an original drawing by G. Holmes (undated).

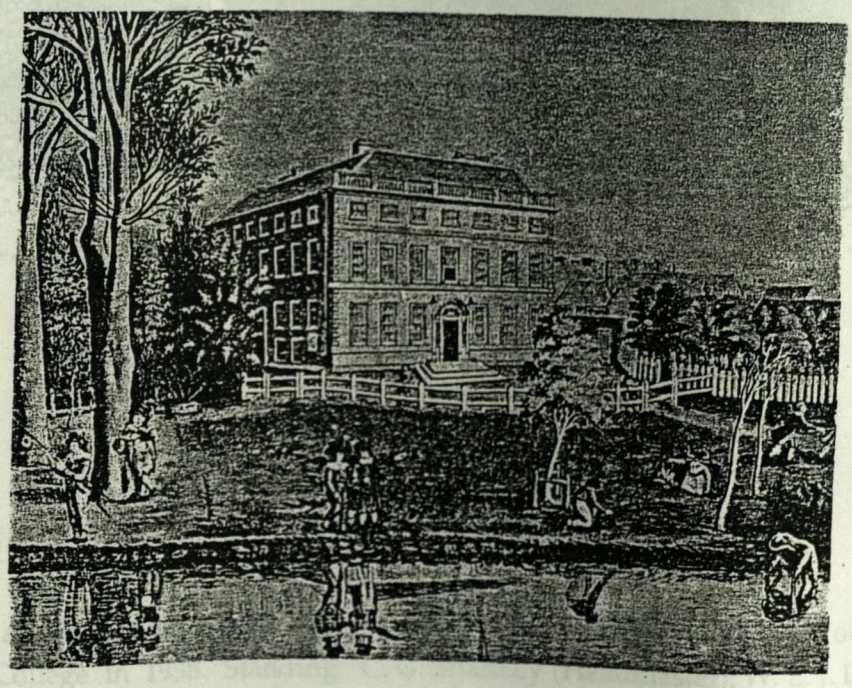


Fig. VIII, A water colour of the College by an unknown member of the Pack family (undated).



Fig. IX, A group photograph taken at the four-hundreth anniversary of the foundation of the College in 1938. Standing: C. G. Shankey (Headmaster), W. E. J. Dobbs (Author of a history of the College), Col. Fowler, Jeff Davis, Dr. Drennan, Rev. D. H. Chillingworth, Col. Benson, Dr. Alton. Seated: Jack Phair (Dean of Ossory), Dr. Thrift (Provost of Trinity College, Dublin), Rt. Rev. G. Day (Bishop of Ossory) & Archdeacon Becher.

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II. Official Publications
III. Primary Material (Printed)
IV. Secondary Material (Printed)
V. Journals
VI. Unpublished Works
VII. Newspapers
VIII. Internet Resources

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VII. Newspapers

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The Dublin Evening Mail

The Dublin Chronicle

The Irish Times

The Kilkenny People

Finn's Leinster Journal

Kilkenny Chronicle

Leinster Journal

Freeman's Journal

Irish Presbyterian

Kilkenny Moderator

The Independent Kilkenny Journal

The Hibernian Journal: or, Chronicle of Liberty

VIII. Internet Resources

Website of Kilkenny College:
http://www.kilkennycollege.com

Website of the Society of Jesus in Ireland:
http://www.jesuit.ie/irl/0home/frames.html

Internet genealogical information source:
http://www.dcs.hull.ac.uk/public/genealogy/royal/

Internet biographic information source:
http://www.biography.com

Architectural Dublin, Biography of William Robinson (1645 -1712):
http://www.archeire.com/archdublin/bio/robinson.htm

Books relating to British and Irish grammar and charity school:
http://www.r-alston.dircon.co.uk/school.htm

Medical College of Wisconsin information files:
http://chorus.rad.mcw.edu/doc/00913.html

The High School, Dublin web pages:
http://www.highschooldublin.com

Presentation Primary Kilkenny, history page:
http://homepage.tinet.ie/~presentationprimary/page_2-bg.html

The Head Masters of Kilkenny College, 1538 - 2001

Rev. William Johnston	1552 - 1557
Rev. Peter White	1557 - 1566
Rev. Dr. Edward Jones	c.1670 - c.1679
Rev. Dr. Henry Ryder	c.1679 - c.1683
Rev. Dr. Edward Hinton	c.1683 - 1702
Rev. Dr. William Andrews	1702 - 1714
Rev. Edmund Lewis	1714 - 1743
Rev. Dr. Thomas Hewetson	1743 - 1773
Rev. Dr. Richard Pack	1773 - 1781
Rev. Dr. John Ellison	1781 - 1793
Rev. Dr. Anthony Pack	1793 - 1810
Rev. Andrew O'Callaghan	1810 - 1820
Rev. Dr. William Baillie	1820 - 1842
Rev. Dr. John Browne	1842 - 1864
Rev. Dr. John Martin	1864 - 1874
Rev. James Maxwell Weir	1874 - 1890
Rev. George Baile	1893 - 1902
Mr. James Fisher Cox	c.1902
Rev. Thomas Pettipice	c.1903
Mr. W. A. Sheckleton	c.1904 - 1907
Rev. Dr. John Harden	1907 - 1914
Rev. Edward Seale	1914 - 1917
Mr. Gilbert Shankey	1917 - 1952
Mr. Gilbert Colton	1952 - 1979
Mr. Samuel McClure	1979 - 1996
Canon John Black	1996 -