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I.—A MEMOIR of the LATE JOHN KELLS INGRAM, LL.D., Sometime President of the Society.

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[Read 1st November, 1907.]

IN May last, at the first of our meetings which followed Dr. Ingram's lamented death, the President paid a just tribute to the memory of "one of our most distinguished members," and to "the great work which he did for Ireland in this Society." But the observations then made were, necessarily, confined to a brief and passing reference; for the occasion was not appropriate to such a considered notice of Dr. Ingram's career, and particularly of his connection with the Statistical Society, as it has long been our custom to devote to the commemoration of those who have been most conspicuously associated with the Society's work. Since the name of Dr. Ingram must always be held in reverent remembrance amongst us, not merely as one of the most eminent in the list of our Presidents, but as that of, perhaps, the most distinguished authority on economics who has ever adorned the roll of our Society, it has been thought desirable that something in the nature of a formal memoir should be prepared for our Journal. It is hardly needful to remark that, in consenting to become the medium for such a tribute as we desire to pay to Dr. Ingram's memory, I have no pretension whatever to speak with authority on the value or permanence of those weighty contributions to the history of social and economic science by which his name is likely to be most enduringly remembered. Were the passing of such judgment the proper task of the writer of this memorial notice, the Society must have looked elsewhere for its author. But I conceive my function to be the more limited one of combining with a brief record of the main facts of Dr. Ingram's life, an account of his work in this Society, and of the part he took in founding it, together with a statement of the purpose and substance of those

important contributions with which, from time to time, he enriched our Journal. In endeavouring to comply with the wishes of our Council, it is impossible to find a more apt precedent for the form of such a notice than that which was supplied by Dr. Ingram himself in his memoir of the late Dr. Neilson Hancock; a memoir which, though it defies imitation in the justness of its proportions, and the lucidity of its exposition, may fittingly become the model for all our future attempts to appraise the work of our worthiest members.*

JOHN KELLS INGRAM was born near Pettigo on the shores of Lough Erne on July 7th, 1823. He was descended from a family of Scottish extraction, and of the Presbyterian creed, which had settled in the County Down sometime in the seventeenth century. But his grandfather, who was the founder of a considerable linen factory at Glenanne in the County Armagh, had conformed to the Established Church, and it was in the Rectory of Templecarne, where his father, Rev. William Ingram, was then serving as curate, that the subject of this notice first saw the light. Dying prematurely, when John, his eldest son, was but six years old, Rev. William Ingram left his family of five children to the care of his widow, by whom they were brought up, and to whose anxious and self-denying determination to give her children the best possible education, her son always gratefully attributed no small share of his academic success. Among the sonnets published by Ingram in the evening of his days, are two entitled "A Filial Tribute," in which he makes a noble acknowledgment of his indebtedness to the enlightened care of his mother, whose "laborious widowed days" had early given him the boon of classical scholarship. The boy was sent at an early age to Dr. Lyons' school at Newry, and it was from that seminary that, in May, 1837, he matriculated at the University of Dublin, while still in his fourteenth year, and entered upon his long and intimate association with Trinity College. There is no need to dwell here upon the successive steps in his academic career which, after being marked by all the highest undergraduate distinctions, and a brilliant degree in mathematics, culminated, in 1846, in his election to a fellowship. But a

* No attempt is made to deal in this memoir with certain aspects of Dr. Ingram's public activity which are too remote from the work of the Statistical Society to be appropriately noticed here at any length. Of these the most important is his lifelong connection with the Royal Irish Academy, of which institution he was President from 1892 to 1896. Some account of his work there will appear in the Report of the Council of the Academy for 1907-8.

word should perhaps, be said at this point on the genesis of those remarkable verses by which Ingram's name is most widely known. For it is scarcely too much to say that on the morrow of the publication of "Who Fears to Speak of '98," produced though it was almost as an unconsidered trifle, and on the spur of the moment, the young graduate of Trinity College awoke to find himself famous. The circumstances under which this poem was written, which bear a strong resemblance to those attending the composition of the noble "Lines on the Burial of Sir John Moore," a generation earlier, by another gifted graduate of Trinity College, have been told in the public press, on the authority of the late Dr. G. F. Shaw, S.F.T.C.D. Ingram, though his immediate acquaintances and associates included several who were closely in touch with the Young Ireland movement in its earlier stages, and whose own sympathies with the United Irishmen were probably warmed by the fact that his grandfather had raised in the County Armagh, in connection with the Volunteer movement, a corps known as the Lisdrumhur or Mountnorris Volunteers,* was not himself a member of the Young Ireland fraternity. But, like most young men of his standing, in the winter and spring of 1842-43, he was much pre-occupied with the ideas which had begun to find vent in the columns of the *Nation*, through the brilliant pens of Thomas Davis and his friends. One night in that year, so Dr. Shaw told the tale, Ingram had spent the evening in conversation with three friends. Dr. Shaw himself, and the two brothers, Thomas and John O'Regan.† "After much talk about the rising of 1798, Ingram withdrew to his bedroom, leaving his friends in the outer room. He spent the night in composing the poem, and on the following morning he showed it, with a good deal of diffidence, to Dr. Shaw. On the same afternoon he dropped the verses into the letterbox of the *Nation* Newspaper," in whose twenty-fifth number it appeared on April 1, 1843.‡ How far Ingram's

* Mention is made of this corps as commanded by "Captain" John Ingram, in a valuable lecture, by Dr. Francis C. Crossle, entitled "Further Notes on the History and Locality of Newry," published in *The Newry Reporter* of March 31, 1906. On January 21, 1903, there was sold, in London, by Messrs. Glendinning a medal of the "Lisdrumhur Volunteers, 1780," but no example of it occurs in Mr. Day's remarkable collection of Volunteer Medals, lately on view at the Irish International Exhibition.

† Both Scholars of Trinity College, and subsequently dignitaries of the Church of Ireland.

‡ I have followed Dr. Shaw's account of the matter, as told in the *Irish Times* of May 2nd, 1907; but it must be said that Dr. Ingram's own recollection of the circumstances did not in all respects confirm it. In particular he was always positive that he had never shown the lines to anyone until he had sent them to the *Nation*.

mature opinions were affected by the sentiments which inspired "The Memory of the Dead," is a question which has often been discussed, but which need not be debated here. His point of view was sufficiently defined, as late as 1901, in the prefatory note to his volume of "Sonnets and other Poems," in which these, his earliest verses, found a place. Enough to say that this noble requiem of the men of '98 at once took its place as the anthem of their political successors, and that for more than sixty years this youthful burst of fervid enthusiasm has made the name of Ingram familiar to thousands of his fellow-countrymen, to whom those graver efforts of his maturer pen which it is our especial business to consider this evening could scarcely have made direct appeal.

Within a year or two after his election to a fellowship of Trinity College had for the first time left Ingram leisure to turn more than a casual thought to public affairs, and especially to those social needs of his fellow-countrymen which to the close of his long life never ceased to engage his earnest interest, the Dublin Statistical Society was founded. And the fact that with Ingram there has passed away the last of those who were directly and immediately concerned in the first inception of our Society, renders it not unfitting that I should here advert briefly to the origin and early history of this association, which has just attained its sixtieth birthday.

"The Statistical Society of Dublin," to borrow words used by Ingram himself, in those remarkable "Considerations on the State of Ireland," which formed the first among his contributions to our Journal, "commenced its career in that most disastrous period of the recent history of Ireland, the famine of 1847. It was the pressure of the social problems then imperatively demanding attention, that led its youthful founder—Dr. Neilson Hancock—to attempt the establishment of such an institution." Hancock and those who, like Ingram, were immediately connected with him in the project, thought that by bringing together earnest-minded Irishmen to discuss these problems in a calm and scientific spirit, they might contribute something towards their satisfactory solution. It may be added that to the gravity of the circumstances which thus attended the birth of our Society, Ingram was wont to attribute the peculiarly real and vital character of its proceedings, and the spirit of earnest inquiry which, in his judgment, has marked from the commencement its discussions of the most important questions affecting the condition of this country.

It was in such a spirit, and with such objects as these, that in the month of October, 1847, at a meeting held in Dr. Hancock's rooms in Trinity College, the ten gentlemen attending it, among whom Ingram was one, resolved, "that

it is expedient to form a Society in Dublin for promoting the study of Statistical and Economical Science to be called "The Dublin Statistical Society." To give effect to this resolution a provisional council of fifteen was appointed, which included names so eminent, and still so familiar, as those of Sir Robert Kane, whose well-known book on the Industries of Ireland was then a quite recent publication; Captain Larcom, R.E., afterwards Sir Thomas Larcom, and Under Secretary at Dublin Castle; Isaac Butt, Q.C., subsequently so well known a figure in our political history, but then most familiar to the public through his recent lectures in the Chair of Political Economy in Trinity College; Dr. William Cooke Taylor, eminent as a statistical writer; Dr., afterwards Judge, Longfield; Professor Charles Graves, subsequently the well-known Bishop of Limerick; Professor George Allman; Mr. Jonathan Pim; and Surgeon, afterwards Sir William, Wilde. To us of a younger generation, who have so long profited by the zeal of our present indefatigable secretary, it is pleasant to add that, joined with Dr. Neilson Hancock in the office of secretary, was Mr. Lawson's father, afterwards so eminent as Mr. Justice Lawson, and one of the most distinguished among our Presidents. It will appear from this enumeration that the provisional council thus formed was a complete microcosm of the Statistical Society as it has been known to the public for sixty years; its members representing every ingredient in the special studies and interests which have ever since engaged its attention.

The provisional committee lost no time in getting to work. The members at once assembled to arrange for a preliminary meeting at which the Society should be formally constituted; and accordingly the first meeting was held on November 23rd, 1847, in the Royal Irish Academy's then premises at Grafton Street; the chair being taken by Archbishop Whately whose earlier fame had been won in the field of economic investigation, and who had long been conspicuous for his zeal in promoting the study of political economy in Ireland. At this meeting it was resolved "that a society be established to Dublin for promoting the study of Statistical and Economical Science, to be called the Dublin Statistical Society"; and eighty-one gentlemen, whose names were attached to the circular convening the meeting, were constituted original members of the Society. Dr. Whately, the then Archbishop of Dublin, was elected first President of the Society, with Dr. Longfield and Captain Larcom as Vice-presidents; and a Council of twelve was appointed, which with a Treasurer, and two Secretaries, practically reproduced the original Provisional Committee. The List of Original Members, still preserved in the Society's minutes,

testifies, by the varied distinction of the names comprised in it, to the excellent auspices under which our Society was thus launched on its career. Its leading members were admirably representative, as the names already quoted suffice to show, of all that was most eminent in the Dublin of that day, in the fields of letters and of science, of the learned professions and of practical affairs; whilst among its rank and file were many destined to take an active and distinguished part in the history of their country in the latter half of the nineteenth century, though as yet their names were in most cases unfamiliar to the wider Irish public. Included in the list of original members are to be found as many as three future Lord Chancellors, Napier, O'Hagan, and Law; judges and lawyers so eminent in their day as Chief Justice May, Denis Caulfield Heron, and John O'Hagan; and men of letters and learning, such as Torrens M'Cullagh and Sir Samuel Ferguson. Of the actual founders and first council of the Society all have passed away, Ingram having been the latest survivor; but of the original eighty-one members, two distinguished names still appear upon our rolls; though Charles Hare Hemphill and Thomas Moffett were of course without the honourable designations which they now wear when first they joined the Statistical Society.

Fortunate in the occasion of its birth, which was one peculiarly favourable to the development of the ideas which animated its founders, the Society was especially happy in having at hand for the most important position connected with it one who not only held a foremost place among the economists of his time, but who, by the eminence of his position and the force of his versatility, was able to confer distinction on the work of his colleagues in accepting the office of President. The late Archbishop Whately may fairly be termed the pioneer of the systematic study of Political Economy in this country; and no choice could have been more appropriate than that of the distinguished prelate who, having himself held the Chair of Political Economy in the University of Oxford, had, on the very morrow of his arrival in Ireland, made it almost his first business to found and endow a professorship of that science in the University of Dublin. Dr. Whately was distinguished by a zeal not to be surpassed by any layman for economical and statistical inquiry; and in the days when he became President of this Society the study of Political Economy was at a height of popularity among English thinkers from which it has since in some degree declined. It is doubtful whether any prelate could be now found who would be ready to aver, as did Whately in his first Presidential address here, that "next to sound religion, sound political economy is most essential to the well-being of society." Archbishop Whately retained the

Presidential Chair from the date of the foundation of the Society until his death some sixteen years later, and by the interest which he continually displayed in its work greatly contributed towards gaining for the Society the status to which within a few years it attained among the intellectual centres in our city.

In all that pertained to the work of inaugurating the Society, and of organizing its functions, so as to subserve immediately and effectively the objects for which it was founded, Ingram exhibited the liveliest interest; and, except Hancock, whom he always spoke of as its founder, no one took a more active executive part. The minute books show how regular was his attendance at the meetings of the Council, to which he was continuously re-elected each year down to 1857, when he was nominated a Vice-President; and during three of those years, 1854-56, he acted as one of the Secretaries. But while no one was more active than Ingram in contributing to the building up of the Society, in securing recruits, and in pressing into its service those who could most usefully contribute to its discussions; while his wise counsel and sedate judgment were always at the disposal of his colleagues; it was eminently characteristic of the man that he suffered more than sixteen years to elapse before he himself came forward as a contributor to its public proceedings. It may well be doubted whether any man of equal intellectual attainments, and with an equal interest in practical affairs, ever possessed in such large measure as Ingram what has been aptly called his singular capacity for self-effacement. No one ever exhibited less of the desire to shine. He was far happier in stimulating others, often much his inferiors, to the best exertions of which they were capable, than in drawing public attention to the results of his own always patient and exhaustive investigation of the problems which attracted him, or in courting the admiration which his remarkable gift of orderly statement and lucid exposition invariably excited whenever his modesty was so far overcome as to induce him to come forward. When the responsibility of his office as President compelled him to take a foremost part in the actual public business of the Society, as well as in the more private conduct of its affairs, no one in the whole roll of our Presidents could vindicate with more dignified authority his title to the highest place, as none could rival him in the thoroughness of his mastery of the problems which he undertook to demonstrate. But for by far the greater part of the long period of his association with our work here Ingram was not merely content, but preferred, to use his own language in reference to another institution of which he was an active supporter, that his services to the Society should be mainly ministerial.

But this habitual reticence and reluctance to play the more

conspicuous part which he was so well qualified to fill certainly did not arise from any lack of enthusiasm for the Society and its objects, to the importance of which he never lost an opportunity of testifying. His view of our proper functions is admirably expressed in one of his papers read here :—"Invited to co-operate in the formation of the Society, I have all through its history followed its progress, and observed its working. Time, as it passes, has but confirmed my belief of the benefits it is fitted to confer, and has actually conferred, on this country in enlightening opinion, and thus ultimately contributing to shape legislation. So long as it follows the wise policy it has hitherto pursued, so long as it excludes from its discussions the disturbing element of party politics, and treats the questions that come before it in a scientific spirit, so long it will continue to do like good service in the future, and will deserve the support of all right-thinking and patriotic Irishmen."

If Ingram had any criticism to pass on the early stages of the Society's activity, it was, perhaps, that, as was natural enough in the circumstances of the time, the bent of our work was mainly in the direction of the discussion of purely economic problems, as distinguished from those social questions which appealed so strongly to his own sympathies. The influence which Ingram exerted in the organization of our Society is, I think, especially noticeable in the degree in which its functions were developed on the side of social inquiry. Nothing was more noticeable by those who had the honour of his acquaintance than the ardour of his humanitarian zeal. It was probably a result of those ideas on the ultimate problems of human existence, which, though only publicly avowed in later years, are known to have dominated him from early manhood, that he lost no opportunity of exhibiting his conviction of the social perfectibility of humanity. Yet it was in no spirit of abstract idealism, but on the contrary, from the point of view of the most concrete practicability, that he consistently approached the discussion of social and economic problems. Thus it was that he was continually urging on his associates here, what he as constantly enforced in his written addresses, that the special province of this Society is not to occupy itself with "dilettante statistics, collected with no special purpose, and tending to no definite conclusion." Rather is it, he considered, its true office "to apply itself, in the spirit of earnest inquiry, to the most important functions affecting the condition of our country." Nothing, in his opinion, contributed more to that decline in the position and authority of the science of pure political economy which marked the last quarter of the nineteenth century than the tendency which had exhibited itself at the beginning

of that period to isolate the economic phenomena of society from all the rest, and to consider its material aspect apart from its intellectual, moral, and political aspects. As he vigorously insisted in his address as President of the Section of Economic Science and Statistics, at the meeting of the British Association in Dublin in 1878, "the study of the economic phenomena of society ought to be systematically combined with that of the other aspects of social existence," and he was never slow to denounce the excessive tendency to abstraction which marred the utility of the then prevailing school of English economists. It was, doubtless, this conviction which led him to welcome, as he did very heartily, that expansion of the province of the Statistical Society by the inclusion of Social Inquiry, which was the result of the stimulus given to that branch of economic investigation in Ireland by the meeting of the National Association for the promotion of Social Science in Dublin in 1861. And it is perhaps worthy of remark that it was not until the purview of our Society had been thus extended, so as expressly to include Social Inquiry, that Ingram came forward as an active participant in its discussions. Nothing, indeed, can better illustrate the side of economic inquiry which most attracted him, than the list of the titles of his papers printed in our Journal, which were devoted to such subjects as "Our Irish Poor Law System"; and "The Organisation of Charity and the Boarding out of Pauper Children." * And these it is now time to consider.

It is entirely characteristic of the strong practical sense which Ingram joined to his remarkable gifts of philosophical analysis and exposition that the first of his papers in our Journal is concerned with the social problem which forty years or so ago was pressing most seriously on public attention. It was his conviction, that the true function of the Statistical Society is to address itself in a practical spirit to the urgent social necessities of the country, rather than to indulge in any vague generalities of social science. "It has seemed to me," he observed accordingly, in the address with which, as one of our Vice-Presidents, he opened the seventeenth session in 1863, "it has seemed to me, that I should best imitate the antecedents of the Society, and best reflect the earnest character of its discussions, if I addressed myself to some of the most important questions arising out of the condition of the country." In 1863 the social phenomenon which most exercised attention was the spectacle of the emigration which ever since the Potato Famine had been steadily removing so many of our

* For a full list of Dr. Ingram's contributions to the Society's Journal, see the Appendix to this paper.

fellow-countrymen to other lands. Ingram's "Considerations on the State of Ireland" are accordingly mainly conversant with the emigration problem, more particularly as it affected the land question, and as it was in itself affected by the operation of the Irish Poor Law. Forty years ago emigration was still at its height, and our publicists were even more busy than they are now with speculations as to the effects of its further progress, and the possibility of stopping or retarding it. On the latter point Ingram took the view of a strict political economist, believing the emigration movement to be entirely a question of wages, and regarding it as one which in its effects on the social state of Ireland must, in spite of its manifest drawbacks, be regarded on the whole with satisfaction. Ingram wrote, of course, with a full and fresh memory of the catastrophe of 1846, and to the mind of anyone so writing certain considerations which are not so easily realised at the present day were forcibly present. Having pointed out that the continued strength of a movement which had received its first impetus from the stress of unendurable privation was the inevitable result of the higher wages obtainable by the Irish peasant both in England and in America, joined to the new and cheap means of locomotion which the era of steam had brought within his reach, Ingram proceeded to state, in a passage which is worth recalling, some of the considerations which mitigate the drawbacks of emigration:—

"It is something gained towards a rational view of the emigration to understand that it is quite independent of the volitions of landlords or governments—a natural effect of natural causes; and that, therefore, to lament it will be no more effectual than to lament the flowing of the tide. But I say further that we cannot reasonably regard it with anything but satisfaction. For those who go, it means comparative ease and comfort. For those who remain it means higher wages and more continuous employment. I think those persons who honestly deplore the emigration do so under the influence of a very common illusion, arising from the softening effect produced by distance in social retrospect as in physical landscape. While intensely alive to the immediate material inconveniences and moral pain which the emigrants feel in leaving their homes, they forget the far worse miseries which lie but a little way behind us in our national history. They forget the terrible picture of chronic destitution given by the Commissioners of 1834, and repeated without any alleviation of its gloomy tints by the Devon Commission of 1845. They forget the 83 per cent. of our rural population who, in 1841, were found dwelling in wretched cabins unfit

for human habitations. Nay, surely, they forget the awful crisis of the famine itself.”*

But while Ingram thus felt it necessary to combat the pessimist view of emigration, and was bold enough to dissent from those who deplored the movement of the population as a national calamity, he was even more emphatic in his disagreement with those optimists who imagined that emigration, if it continued to progress at its then rate, would be “sufficient of itself, and without any change of our social institutions, to secure the future prosperity of Ireland.” Strange as it may appear in our ears to-day, there were persons in 1863 who believed that emigration had put an end to the land question, and that doctrine was held with sufficient conviction by responsible persons to oblige Ingram to spend some time in refuting it. In a passage marked by a far-sighted presage of problems now familiar, but then barely contemplated by the more thoughtful observers of economic conditions, he pointed out the difficulties with which the Irish agricultural interest must inevitably be faced by the extension of competition. That difficulty he stated concisely in this form: “There is a rising rate of wages in Ireland, which increases the cost of production of home commodities; concurrently with this, there is an intense and growing competition on the part of foreign producers, which will more and more have the effect of limiting the rise of prices.” Everyone who has had to do with agriculture in this country in recent times will appreciate the justice of this statement as applied to the economic experience of the last thirty years. Having thus stated the problem, Dr. Ingram proceeded to seek its solution, and having devoted some vigorous sentences to what we should now regard as the somewhat superfluous refutation of the views of those who in 1863 asserted that the land question was settled, he proceeded to indicate two measures as essential to the well-being of the country:—“first, a thorough adjustment of the laws relating to land to the new conditions of production and competition, so as to provide perfect security for capital employed in agriculture; and, secondly, a complete assimilation of the Poor Laws in the several parts of the United Kingdom.” It is the second of these suggestions which mainly occupied the remainder of the address, and which in a further paper read before this Society in the following year, Ingram developed in his “Comparison between the English and Irish Poor Laws with respect to the conditions of Relief.” In view of the recent report of a Vice-regal Commission on our Irish Poor Law System, Ingram’s

* “Considerations on the State of Ireland,” Journal, Vol. IV., p. 17.

comparative statement is of very considerable present interest, and may be consulted with profit as being not merely absolutely judicial in method, but a perfectly accurate outline of the law in each country as then administered. He pointed out clearly the fundamental differences, particularly with respect to giving out-door relief to able-bodied persons, in the systems prevailing in the two countries, all of them differences, as he insisted, to the disadvantage of the Irish as compared with the English poor. We should not now, perhaps, be prepared to adopt Ingram's main reason for desiring an assimilation of the English and Irish systems. His opinion was that the small farmers of Ireland who clung so tenaciously, as so many of them still cling to-day, to uneconomic holdings which could not be properly cultivated, might be turned into farm labourers working for a daily wage, like the corresponding class in England; thus opening the means to that amalgamation and enlargement of holdings which was then the favourite method for the improvement of Irish agriculture. But this view, however obsolete it may now appear, was shared by men of such weight as Sir George Cornewall Lewis, and other writers of the time, and in days long before the passing even of the Land Act of 1870 had a good deal to recommend it. Ingram's proposals on this subject, doubtless, had one sufficient infirmity, which must inevitably have proved fatal to their adoption had they been seriously entertained by the statesmen of the day—that they left out of account the Irish peasants' inalienable attachment to the land, and to the family holding. But, however experience may have refuted the practicability of these suggestions, it yet remains true that Ingram's summary of the differences between the English and the Irish Poor Law has still a close bearing on the question of the improvement of the administration of the latter, which now occupies public attention. Despite a few changes in the law, the report of the Viceregal Commission shows that the Poor Law System, and the conditions of relief in Ireland remain, broadly speaking, much the same as they were forty years ago, and no better primer could be put in the hands of anyone desiring to study the question than Ingram's lucid analysis of the two systems.

Ingram's next contribution to our Journal, likewise delivered from the Chair as a Vice-President's address, was also closely connected with Poor Law administration. His paper on "The Organization of Charity and the Boarding Out of Pauper Children," read in 1875 at the opening of our Twenty-Ninth Session, together with the "Additional Facts and Arguments" relating to the latter topic, by which it was followed in the succeeding year, excellently exhibit his close sympathy with the needs of the very poor, and

his practical and enlightened views as to the best means of contributing to those necessities. Both papers were prompted by the growing dissatisfaction then existing both in respect of the working of private charity and of the operation of the public system of Poor Law relief. It was felt, as he observed, that "on the one hand the action of private charity needed to be concentrated and systematized, so as to defeat attempts at imposture, and prevent the overlapping of different agencies taking up the same ground; and that on the other, the mechanical hardness and uniformity of the Poor Law system required to be tempered and adapted to individual cases by personal and sympathetic knowledge of the circumstances of the poor." Such principles of action were not so well understood thirty years ago as they happily are to-day; and Ingram's insistence on the duty of "exercising on the poor through personal and friendly intercourse a strong though gentle influence, tending to assist their efforts, rectify their habits, and rebuke their vices," as well as on the importance of guarding against the waste of charitable funds by bringing public and private action into a relation of mutual assistance, enforced a principle which at that time was far from being sufficiently understood or acted upon.

The addresses of which I have just given some account were, with the exception of the Memoir of Dr. Neilson Hancock already adverted to, the only papers actually read by Ingram before this Society; but they do not exhaust his contributions to the Journal. For the years 1878-1880, which embraced the period of his Presidency, were marked by two addresses which had much to do with the enlargement of his position as an economist from one of local eminence to one of European reputation. Ingram's election to the principal honour in the disposal of the Society did not come until after thirty years of continuous attention to its interests. But when he was at length induced to accept the Chair, his nomination was one which may be said without exaggeration to have been fraught with important results, not only to the Society, but to Ingram's personal career and ultimate performance. The occasion was one of exceptional interest, since his election took place on the eve of the visit of the British Association to Dublin in the autumn of 1878; when his selection for the Chair of our Society, by placing Ingram in a position of prominence in the economic world, marked him out as the natural occupant of the position of President of the Section of Economic Science and Statistics at the meeting of the Association. It was in this capacity that he delivered that remarkable address on "The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy," which may be said to have placed this modest and retiring student and

observer at one bound in a foremost position among the economic thinkers of the time, and to have launched him on that career of activity in the literature of economics and sociology, the principal fruits of which are the "History of Political Economy" and the "History of Slavery and Serfdom."

At the moment when Ingram's address was delivered the study of political economy in Great Britain was in a distinctly unsatisfactory position. Its title to recognition as properly scientific in its character, and in particular its claim to form a part of the work of the British Association, had become the subject of serious dispute. In the language of Ingram himself, "some of the cultivators of the older branches of research but half recognized the right of Political Economy and Statistics to citizenship in the commonwealth of science, and it was not obscurely intimated that these studies would do well to relinquish pretensions which could not be sustained." It was in these circumstances that Ingram, believing that a serious crisis in the history of economic studies had been reached, which demanded the gravest attention of everyone interested in them, came forward with that remarkable vindication of the true functions of economic science, which not only commanded at the moment the admiring attention both of his immediate hearers and of the wider audience of economists at home and abroad, but which may fairly be said to have profoundly affected the subsequent course of economic investigation. For Ingram's eminently practical mind was far from being content with such a vindication of the past achievements of economic science as that with which many men of more popular gifts, but of less intellectual independence, might have successfully sought the plaudits of their scientific associates. He saw that in the indictment thus framed, exaggerated though it was, there were some counts upon which enlightened public opinion might not unjustly return an adverse verdict. It was characteristic of Ingram's cool judgment, and clear-sighted recognition of unpalatable facts, that his method of encountering what he termed "a crisis in the history of economic science, which was apparent on the face, not merely of English, but of European thought" was to grapple at once, and vigorously, with the weaknesses which the attack disclosed, to show in what respect the charges brought were well founded, and to indicate the nature of the reform in the character of economic studies which was needful to restore the science to its proper place in the field of systematic investigation. Accordingly the special purpose of the address on "The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy," is to consider the main objections then urged against the science. These the author defined to be

four: first, the attempt to isolate the study of the facts of wealth from that of other social phenomena; secondly, the metaphysical or viciously abstract character of many of the conceptions of the economists; thirdly, the abusive preponderance of deduction in their processes of research; and, fourthly, the too absolute way in which their conclusions were then conceived and enunciated. It was in the first of the objections thus stated that Ingram recognised the most dangerous foe to the proper influence of economic science. His sense of the intimacy of the relation between economics and sociology has been already noted in another connection. The point is one on which he never lost an opportunity of insisting. The question of the relation of economic studies to the general body of human knowledge, he considered to be the most radical and vital that could be raised respecting them, and the question upon the answer to which, more than upon any other, the future of those studies depended. Ingram, while he utterly refused to accept the then prevalent suggestion that, by its contribution to the industrial triumphs of the nineteenth century, political economy had already discharged its office, and could have no place in the social tasks of the future, was convinced that the study of the economic phenomena of society ought to be combined much more systematically than was then the habit of economists with that of the other aspects of social existence. "The most characteristic fact," he remarked, "about what is well called the social system, is the consensus of its different functions; and the treatment of these functions as independent is sure to land us in theoretic and practical error. There is one great science of Sociology; its several chapters study the several faces of social existence. One of these faces is that of the material well-being of society, its industrial constitution and development. The study of these phenomena is one chapter of sociology, a chapter which must be kept in close relation to the rest." It accordingly appeared to Ingram, and this was perhaps the proposition most strongly enforced in this illuminating address, that the most serious error of the economists of the middle period of the nineteenth century, had been the error of isolating their study. That error appeared to him to constitute a signal danger to the future utility of the science; and he did not shrink from asserting his belief that either as a fruitful branch of speculation, or as an important source of practical guidance, political economy would cease to command attention, unless it were linked in close connection with the general science of society, unless, in fact, it should be "subsumed under and absorbed into Sociology."

The views thus urged with so much clarity of statement, and so much independence of thought and judgment, were

enforced by a breadth of learning which, though never obtruded, was plainly apparent in the texture of his address. Both at home and abroad they met with a remarkable degree of attention and of acceptance, which their author modestly imputed to their correspondence with a spontaneous movement of European thought; but which was as largely due to the freshness with which they were treated and the singular lucidity which marked their exposition. In particular, those portions of his argument which insisted that the material aspect of society could not be isolated from its intellectual, moral and political aspects, made a strong appeal to the more thoughtful among the leaders of the working classes; and it is to the impression thus produced that we owe the address on "Work and the Workman," which was delivered before the Trades Union Congress in Dublin at its meeting in 1880, and which, having been accepted by our Council, like the address before the British Association, in lieu of a Presidential address from the Chair of our Society, has received a place in our Journal. In this paper Ingram develops on the practical side those ideas which he had urged from a more philosophical point of view in the earlier address, and he was manifestly interested in the opportunity thus afforded him of offering what he spoke of as "some considerations respecting the conduct of life and the actual dealings of men" to which the larger and less one-sided mode of economic study he had recommended appeared to lead. He accordingly set himself to a careful review of the then position and requirements of the working classes. For such a task he was, indeed, despite his scholastic habits and retiring character, admirably fitted, by virtue alike of the broad social sympathies with which he was endowed, and by the cautious sobriety of his judgment. Indeed the encomium which Ingram has himself passed on a characteristic of Adam Smith, viz: that "his admirable breadth of view renders the study of his work more fitted than that of the writings of any other economist to cultivate in theorists a philosophic, and in practical men a statesmanlike habit of mind," is eminently applicable to his own economic discourses. The thoroughly practical character of this address is seen in its definition of the three requirements of the working classes for the amelioration of their position, viz: adequate wages, a well-regulated home, and education. Perhaps it is in his emphasis on the second of these requisites, and especially in his insistence on the vital influence of family life, and the importance of the office of woman in the right ordering of society, that the characteristic bent of Ingram's views is best revealed. No study of the position of the workingman, he remarked, is complete which overlooks the fact that he is ordinarily the head of a family. "The

principal solace of a life of labour, nay, the principal source of human happiness generally, lies in the exercise of the domestic affections. It is the duty of the chiefs of the industrial world to do all that in them lies towards securing to the workingman the enjoyment of so great a blessing." The argument for the due limitation of the hours of industrial labour has never perhaps been more nobly illustrated than in the passage in which Ingram inculcates the practice of the domestic virtues among the working-classes "as the surest foundation of their civic and social worth. The workman needs, in his opinion, both in his own interests and in those of society, the fullest opportunity for "the habitual expansion of his domestic affections. For family life," he considered, "is not merely the source of the purest happiness, it is also the best school of the heart. The hardness and selfishness which the pressure of practical life too often produces is best tempered by the atmosphere of the domestic hearth, where we have in the most elementary and attractive form the lesson of living for others."

Ingram's tenure of office as President of our Society expired in 1880, and though he continued thenceforward to take an unabated interest in its proceedings, he did not feel called upon to engage further in its public discussions. It is characteristic of the man that his only subsequent contribution to our Journal was the Memoir of Dr. Neilson Hancock to which reference has already been made more than once. No one ever paid a higher regard than Ingram to the claims of friendship, and he readily undertook the task laid upon him of preparing a memorial of one of his oldest and most intimate associates, and one who, as he was fond of insisting, had a peculiar title to be considered as the founder of this Society. With this exception his work here may be said to have terminated with the close of his tenure of the Presidency; though he was then only on the threshold of the important work in the literature of economics which marked the last twenty years of his active career. His numerous contributions to the ninth edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*," which included notices of several of the most distinguished economists—Adam Smith, Turgot, Ricardo, and others; his "*History of Political Economy*,"* and "*History of Slavery and Serfdom*" all belong to this final period, and, as we all know, contributed to confirm and strengthen the reputation first established in the course of his work among us here.

The life of a scholar and a student, even when he belongs

* It is probably a unique circumstance in the case of a work on Political Economy that this volume has been translated into as many as ten languages, including Japanese.

to that type of scholar who is able and willing to emerge from time to time from his study, and to take a useful part in the practical activities of the world, does not present much material for biographical narrative; nor would it be appropriate in such a notice as this to seek to touch upon the private life of one to whom the privacy of home had a peculiar sanctity.* Neither is it necessary to dwell here upon that side of Ingram's career, which had the first and strongest claim on his time and attention, his work in Trinity College. Suffice it to say on this head that his interest in those social questions which so strongly appealed to him never detracted from the character he had early won as the most laborious and assiduous of dons, any more than it diminished his reputation as a scholar of exact, profound, and varied learning. Of the position he enjoyed in this respect it is enough to say that the praise accorded to him at his death,† of "probably the best educated man in the world," was felt by those competent to express a judgment in such matters to be no exaggerated encomium. Anyone who looks for example through his contributions to *Hermathena*, in which "Notes on Greek and Latin Etymology in England," and on "Latin Lexicography," are interspersed with papers on "Bishop Butler and Mr. Matthew Arnold," and who remembers that the writer of these fruits of exact and scientific scholarship is one with the author of the work on "The Weak Endings of Shakespeare,"—which established a new and decisive test of the chronology of Shakespeare's plays,—and of certain papers read before the Dublin Philosophical Society, which prove Ingram to have possessed exceptional capacity in the widely different field of pure geometry, may readily judge whether such praise was overstrained. While those who would understand how lightly all this weight of learning could be borne, will find delightful illustrations of Ingram's refined literary taste in the addresses on Shakespeare and on Tennyson

* It is proper, however, that a memoir such as this should record the more essential particulars of Ingram's career. It should therefore be stated, that among other distinctions conferred on him, in addition to that of Vice-Provost of Trinity College, to which he attained in 1898, and which he resigned on June 17, 1899, was that of President of the Royal Irish Academy, an institution in which he took a lively and a life-long interest; that he was President of the Library Association of Great Britain, at its meeting in Dublin in 1884; and that he was one of the Trustees of the National Library of Ireland. He was also a Member of the Board of Visitors of the Science and Art Museum from 1891 until his death, and was President of that body from 1900 to 1904; and was a Member of the Commission for the Publication of the Ancient Laws and Institutions of Ireland. Ingram married, July 23, 1862, Madeline, daughter of James Johnston Clark, D.L., of Lurgantogher, Co. Londonderry. He died at his residence, 38 Upper Mount-street, Dublin, on May 1st, 1907.

† By Dr. R. Y. Tyrrell, S.F.T.C.D., in an appreciation which appeared in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, May 1, 1907.

which he delivered as *Dublin Afternoon Lectures* in 1863-4. But to appraise Ingram's work in these directions is not our function. Our gratitude is due, and will always be sincerely rendered, not so much to the great scholar, or even to the authoritative exponent of economic doctrine, as to the public-spirited citizen who, profoundly desirous of ameliorating the lot of suffering humanity at large, and more particularly of elevating the moral and material condition of his countrymen, found in this Society, which he so largely contributed to establish, an important agency for the accomplishment of these great objects of his earnest solicitude and sagacious contemplation. As no one has ever given a more admirable or a more stimulating example of how to aid the Society in its peculiar work, so no one has ever provided a more apt definition of its special functions than that with which Ingram closed one of his addresses from our Chair:—

“The members of this Society do not, as such, seek to intrude into the province of the politician. Our business is to discover and demonstrate, by the application of scientific principles, the legislative action appropriate to each phase of society, and each group of economic conditions. At what precise time, and in what particular form, our conclusions shall be adopted in practice, is a question of political expediency, which those who are acquainted with the varying exigencies of public life can determine better than we. But it is encouraging to know that in endeavouring, by our researches and discussions, to overthrow error and to establish truth, we are labouring at no unpractical—no hopeless—task; that any wise suggestion developed here may one day become a beneficent reality, a living agency for good; and that thus, without sitting in the councils of the State, or mingling in the strife of parties, we may, each of us, do something towards the improvement of the institutions of our country.”

APPENDIX.

The following is a list of Dr. Ingram's contributions to the Journal of this Society.

- *I. November 18th, 1863. "Considerations on the State of Ireland." An Address delivered at the opening of the Seventeenth Session. Vol. IV., p. 13.
- *II. February 10th, 1864. "A Comparison between the English and Irish Poor Laws with respect to the Conditions of Relief." Vol. IV., p. 43.
- III. November, 1875. "The Organization of Charity and the Boarding-out of Pauper Children." An Address delivered at the opening of the Twenty-ninth Session. Vol. VI., p. 449.
- IV. January 18th, 1876. "Additional Facts and Arguments on the Boarding-out of Pauper Children." Vol. VI., p. 503.
- †V. September, 1878. "The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy." Being the Introductory Address delivered in the Section of Economic Science and Statistics of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its meeting in Dublin in 1878. Vol. VII. Appendix.
- †VI. September, 1880. "Work and the Workman." An Address to the Trades Union Congress in Dublin. Vol. VIII., p. 106.
- VII. January 22nd, 1889. Memoir of the late William Neilson Hancock, LL.D., Q.C. Vol. IX., p. 384.

* These papers were subsequently issued together with some verbal and other corrections, in a separate pamphlet, entitled *Considerations on the State of Ireland*, Dublin, E. Ponsonby, 1864.

† These Addresses, delivered during Dr. Ingram's term of office as President, were accepted in lieu of Presidential Addresses, and as such appear in the Journal. Both were issued as separate publications by Messrs. Longmans in London, and by E. Ponsonby in Dublin. A French translation of *Work and the Workman* was published in Paris in 1881.