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Chapter 8

Four Events of Seminal Importance in the Development of Edmund Rice's Teaching Brotherhood in the Period 1831 to 1880

8.1 Introduction

Edmund Rice and his Institute of Teaching Brothers were faced with four major challenges and decisions during the years 1831-1880, which, if injudiciously handled, could have resulted in the failure of the aims and objectives of his order, as outlined in the Papal Brief of 1820. The first challenge was the dilemma for the Brothers concerning their participation in the National School System of 1831. The second challenge was the perennial problem of the adequate funding and income of the Brotherhood related to the on-going pay-school problem. Thirdly, there was the open hostility and dishonour shown to Edmund Rice in his declining years by his immediate successor and by a certain small number of the brothers. The fourth challenge was precipitated by the Maynooth Decrees dispute of 1875 between the Irish Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Brothers. The root of this antagonism towards the person of Edmund Rice was due to the fact that some brothers, mostly from the Cork community, who felt that their rule and way of life owed much more to the tradition and philosophy of St. John Baptiste de la Salle rather than to the actuality of their foundation by Edmund Rice and his guiding and inspiring spirituality and idealism.

8.2 The National School System of 1831 and its Difficulties for Edmund Rice's Brotherhood

The years 1824 to 1831, in relation to the educational commissions and reports that emanated from the state establishment in London and Dublin, must have created a feeling of confusion for Edmund Rice, as he endeavoured to understand the reaction of the Irish Catholic bishops to these official proposals and pronouncements. The pronouncements of

the Irish bishops on the education of Irish Catholics seemed at times to harmonise totally with his own principles on the subject and which received clear and unshakeable expression in the daily curriculum of his schools. In the First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry issued in 1825, the Catholic bishops made it clear that :

> ... in the Roman Catholic church, the literary and religious instruction of youth are universally combined and that no system of education which separates them can be acceptable to the members of her Communion.[1]

In other words, Catholic religious doctrines, practices and beliefs formed an integral part of the exposition and content of every lesson in every subject, where it was deemed apposite. Education in its truest Christian sense does not allow for the separation or segregation of Christian beliefs and principles from the locality of human knowledge. Other major religions including Judaism and Islam acknowledge in their principles of education that mankind has a divinely created nature and this divinely inspired spirit of mankind is central to the natural development of man's character and knowledge. On this basic concept of man's divine nature, the beliefs of the Catholic bishops and those of Edmund Rice and his followers coincided identically.

It was a cause of much concern and anguish to Edmund and his followers to find that Archbishop Murray and other Catholic prelates were willing to compromise on this basic principle by their willingness from 1825 onwards to accept state-sponsored proposals of inter-denominational education, which would mean "literary instruction, which would include all forms of literary material and moral education, excluding only those matters likely to raise denominational scruples."[2] In effect, this meant that general instruction of a non Catholic nature could be given to Catholics, when their numbers were small in an inter-denominational school. Religious, as opposed to secular instruction, however, had to be treated separately and be given by a Catholic priest or Catholic lay-teacher, approved of by the local bishop. Likewise, the type of religious texts to be used in these separate religious class-periods had to have the

approval of the clergy of whatever religious denomination to which the pupils adhered. This left the nature and content of material in the text books of the secular subjects open to he approbation of the State authorities which was considered by many to be a most dangerous concession to make in the case of Catholic children. In general, the content of most of the secular subject text books, from the advent of the Kildare Place Society in 1811, down through the later proselytising societies as one could expect, was not designed to meet Catholic doctrinal tenets. These textbooks, emanating from an English tradition were Anglophile in their presentation and content. Some Catholic Book-Society publications were used by the Commissioners for National Education in the early days of the Board.[3]

The various reports of the British parliamentary commissions on Irish education, from that of the 1824 Commission, Sir Thomas Spring-Rice's Commission in 1828 to Thomas Wyse's proposed scheme of 1830, down to the final and definitive scheme of Edward Stanley in 1831, made concessions to the petitions and demands of the Catholic bishops for powers of veto on the material used in the text-books of secular subjects in the periods of 'combined instruction.' It must be stated, however, that in the case of then National Board school publications, Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin had a power of veto over all National Board publications.[4] What concessions might be granted to the Catholic bishops to approve of the texts for separate Catholic religious instruction, would in the general scheme of importing secular knowledge, carry little weight in the malleable minds of immature children, who would be constantly subjected on a continuous daily basis, to secular and other material projecting a particular religious slant or emphasis on the information contained in the texts. This non Irish and non Catholic attitude of approach to the presentation of secular subject matter in the classrooms, could not be considered ideal to the Catholic ethos of education, which sought to have an all embracing effect and influence on the teaching and subject matter of every subject taught. The Brothers

themselves felt that the early National Board approved texts when they became available, deserved their criticism on two counts. Firstly that they "contained a religious bias in the stories and poems contained therein, and secondly, that these texts lack an Irish dimension in their content."[5] Brother J.A. Hoare, Superior General of Edmund Rice's Institute in 1868, reinforced the Brothers' early views of the 1830s that the school text books of the National Board were unsuitable for the education of Catholic children in National School. In a letter of 9 March 1868, which he wrote to the secretaries of the Powis Commission, he said *inter alia*:

> ...The class-books of the National Board, considered in relation to Catholic teaching do not supply to Catholic youth references to religious or moral subjects in conformity with Catholic doctrinal, not to speak of certain books amongst them which, it is much to be feared, are calculated to impress their minds with sceptical or rationalistic views.[6]

James W. Doyle, Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, who was regarded as holding liberal views for his particular era, while joining in the general episcopal condemnation of the Kildare Place Society in 1820 for granting some of its funds to other more active proselytising societies, was unambiguous in his support for multi-denominational education, subject to safeguards in the teaching of religious doctrine. He believed that children of Protestant and Catholic denominations should be educated together, provided certain religious safeguards were put in place. His perception of the situation was, that if children of different faiths were going to have to live together as adults, then they should not be separated as children. He summarised his view as follows :

> I do not see how any man, wishing well to the public peace, and who looks to Ireland as his country, can think that peace can ever be permanently established, or the prosperity of the country ever well secured, if children are separated, at the commencement of life on account of their religious opinions. I do not know any measures which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting children at an early age and bringing them up in the same school, leading them to commune with one another and to form those little intimacies and

friendships which often subsist through life.[7]

Perhaps Bishop Doyle was a prophet born before his time in his appreciation on the benefits of non-denominational education as a *sine qua non* for social religious and political harmony among all the religions and racial traditions of the entire population of Ireland.

This viewpoint of Bishop Doyle, however sincerely held, appears to conflict with the later statements and views of Archbishop Hale of Tuam, and in particular, with the five demands of the Irish bishops in their statement of 21 January 1826. The demands of the bishops for exclusive jurisdiction over the selection of books for the separate religious instruction of Catholics seems fair enough. But their demand for veto rights over books for 'common instruction' seems to undercut the degree of tolerance Bishop Doyle would like to have seen in operation, if we are to take his liberal views at face value. The absolutist and fundamentalist views of the bishops on the indivisibility of the secular and religious in Catholic education already referred to, is seen by Akenson, "as a disparity which makes sense." However, the Catholic prelates were really engaged in a collective bargaining process.[8] Akenson concludes that :

> ... in public they (the bishops) stated their demand for a Catholic system of education, underwritten by government money. In private they admitted that they would be satisfied with a system of combined literary instruction and separate religious instruction.[9]

For Edmund Rice and his Brothers, such apparently unacceptable considerations or politic stratagems, perhaps deemed necessary by the bishops, could not be contemplated or countenanced at any price. Edmund Rice's commitment to his concept of Catholic ideology and practice were immutable.[10]

It would appear that Edmund Rice's appraisal of what was on offer from the National School System, proposed by Stanley and based on Rice's own individual educational philosophy, was more narrowly focused

than the views of Archbishop Murray and his episcopal colleagues, with perhaps the exception of Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam. Archbishop Murray was satisfied with the general outline of Stanley's proposals in return for his participation in the National Education System. It is true that Catholics got two seats on the Board of Commissioners to administer the 1831 National Education System.[11] By any scheme of equitable reckoning, Catholics represented almost 4/5 of the Irish population of 7,767,401 in a census taken on 15 December 1831.[12] Even by 1831 standards, a more equitable proportionality might have been considered in view of the fact that it was the vast bulk of catholic children who would pupil these schools. Yet they only received 2/7 of the membership of the National Board. The two leading Protestant ecclesiastics on the Board, were Archbishop Richard Whately, the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, newly appointed to that post on 20 October 1831,[13] and the leading Dublin Presbyterian clergyman and school-administrator, Rev. James Carlile. Rev. Carlile, as Resident Commissioner, had a somewhat greater in-put on the day to day operational aspects of the National Education School system, than had Archbishop Murray or Commissioner Blake due to his particular office.[14] Thomas Kelly, a Catholic, was secretary to the Board and was in overall daily control of the functioning of the secretarial aspects of the Board. The publication of the textbooks of the Board was a co-operative exercise between all those parties represented on the board. Rev. Carlile, with the consent of the other Commissioners including Archbishop Murray, began the work of compiling a Book of Scriptures for use by pupils of all religious denominations in the Board's schools. The study of this book was not compulsory for pupils but its use was warmly recommended by the Commissioners. Archbishop Murray was consulted, as were the other Commissioners, by Rev. Carlisle on each new half-page of the scripture text before that section of it went to the printers.[15] Rev. Carlile was a native of Scotland and with his Presbyterian religious affiliation, it might not be expected that he would have had any deep understanding of, or perhaps, empathy for native Irish Catholic

susceptibilities while not being biased in anyway. Dr. Whately, was English-born, and was affable and friendly in the manner in his contacts with Archbishop Murray over a period of twenty five years. He was not committed to any anti-Catholic bias in his dealings with the Board.[16] This could also be said of Rev. Mr. Carlile,[17] although J. D. Fitzpatrick would appear to take the opposite view.[18] They soon got down to producing secular text-books which could hardly be regarded as being either particularly Irish or Catholic in outlook. But then, they were not intended to serve that purpose. They soon transferred their activities to the production of secular text books, some of which had a 'perceptible moral bias', or so it was perceived.[19]

Lord Stanley's instructions as outlined in his speech to the House of Commons on 9 September 1831 and his final written version of those same instructions to the Duke of Leinster published in the Dublin Gazette of 8 December 1831, served as the written constitution of what came to be known as the Irish National System of Education. The contents of the article in the Dublin Gazette were published officially in the Parliamentary Papers of 1831-32, with the attestation of the Irish office, dated 23 February 1832.[20] Stanley's thinking and his subsequent plan for education did not incorporate any strikingly new ideas from those already proposed, debated and reintroduced by the many parliamentary and royal commissions in the previous quarter of a century.

That his proposals received an initial welcome and a successful implementation in their original non-denominational form, if only for a limited period, was due to a number of specific factors. The strong personality of Edward Stanley himself, when moved to action on the troublesome and recurring question of Irish education was an important factor. He had the full support of the Prime-Minister Earl Grey. Ireland was Stanley's bailiwick and he could solve its problems as he saw fit.[21] In 1833, he carried the Church Temporalities Bill which reduced the numbers of Anglican dioceses in Ireland from 22 to 12 and used the

money saved to augment impoverished church benefices. He also levied a tax on Established Church benefices whose annual income was over £200, to be applied in lieu of church rates. The Irish Board of Works, currently responsible for the building of schools, was another successful creation of Stanley's Irish policies.[22] The striking devotion of Irish persons to some form of education for their children was clearly shown in their willingness to support indigenous schools at a personal cost which far outweighed their limited and meagre resources to bear such a burden. This Irish trait also worked in Stanley's favour in having his proposals initially accepted and implemented. The Catholic bishops, in spite of their natural preference for the ideals of a purely Catholic denominational education system for Catholic children, were prepared to go along with Stanley's proposals of a state funded undenominational school system, if only to outmanoeuvre and negative the inherent dangers of state funded education of a proselytising nature.

Faced with a *fait accompli*, Edmund Rice had to make a decision as to whether his schools would enter the National system. All his fundamental Catholic beliefs were instinctively opposed to this non-denominational concept of what his understanding of the principles of a true Catholic education should be. His Brothers shared the same view. The only positive aspect from Edmund Rice's perspective was that the six Brothers' schools which the Brothers' General Chapter of 1831 permitted to enter the scheme on an experimental basis for a limited period, were accepted by the Board on the personal recommendation of Edward Stanley himself.[23] This acceptance by the Chief Secretary for Ireland pleased Edmund Rice on the grounds that a leading minister of the Crown was willing to accept the Christian Brothers, rather than exclude them as he could have done because of their illegal existence under the 'monastic clauses' of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. But there the joy of the situation ended for Edmund Rice. His Brothers had developed their own highly specialised form of Catholic education and they had seen the efficacy of its merits constantly proven among

their pupils over a period of almost thirty years. The State was also aware of its fundamental divergence from a non-denominational system of 'Common Instruction' from the evidence of Brother Bernard Dunphy to the 1825 Commission of Irish Education Inquiry in his detailed submission on the nature and pedagogic methods used successfully in the schools of the Brothers.[24]

Lord Stanley's plans for an Irish education system, as embodied in his letter to the Duke of Leinster, raises questions as to why his guidelines were embodied in letter form rather than in the more normal and usual format of a legal statute. It is possible that he feared resistance from the Protestant churches whose non-co-operation would certainly jeopardise, if not kill off, any realistic expectations that the plan would be successfully implemented. The need to balance the possible conflicting ecclesiastical opposition or prejudices of the different Irish Churches to his plans was a risk that was difficult to calculate. The plans themselves were more or less experimental in so far as they were largely based on the principles of the discredited Kildare Place Society and various other proposals which have been put forward by the 1825 Commission and Spring-Rice's report of 1828, which never got as far as the implementation process. If the experiment failed, then it was easier to withdraw it than repeal formal legislation. Furthermore, the commitment of the Prime-Minister, Earl Grey, to the parliamentary reform bill and the political volatility of the situation in the Commons, made it almost impossible to ensure that any Irish educational legislation would succeed in swiftly clearing that hurdle.[25] Thomas Wyse's Bill[26] introduced with Stanley's approval[27] on 29 September 1831 never got a second reading due to the Reform Bill crisis.

Edmund Rice and his Institute of Teaching Brothers were not alone in their fears and misgivings concerning Stanley's plan. The reception which greeted the National System of Education was far from enthusiastic. With the notable exception of Archbishop Whately, the

authorities of all non-Catholic denominations were almost unanimous in their opposition to the new system of education.[28] Not surprisingly the chief opposition to Stanley's measure came from the authorities - the Established Church. On the surface, it seemed that their objections were based on the refusal of the government to allow any Scripture teaching, except from the book of agreed extracts. These extracts, were in one respect an improvement on the Kildare Place system, since a teacher now had the liberty to provide his own commentary.[29] In the House of Lords, the Archbishop of Canterbury insisted that Protestant children must be introduced to the whole Bible as "the sole rule of life."[30] Hostile petitions poured in from Anglican interests in Ireland until the matter ended by the defeat in the Lords of Lord Wicklow's motion of censure "inasmuch as the Bible is practically excluded from schools."[31] Anglican opposition ran deeper than the surface opposition to the exclusion of Bible teaching. The existence of the Anglican Establishment itself was in peril. From the recognition of the principles of mixed education or non-denominational education, it would seem only logical and worse still, inevitable, until such controls were introduced into the workings of government itself at all levels.[32] The Kildare Place Society for all its weaknesses at least had the benefit of total Anglican control of its board. The National Board only gave Anglicans three members while Catholics and Presbyterians had a parity of two members each.[33]

In January 1832, a meeting of Anglican clergy and laity was held in the Rotunda Rooms, Dublin to protest against Stanley's measures.[34] In February 1832 the Protestant Primate, Archbishop Beresford and fifteen of his bishops signed a long protest in which they stated that:

> They did not affect to conceal their grief at beholding the clergy of the Established Church deprived of the trust committed to them by the legislature of superintending National Education, and deciding to forego the advantages of such a system.[35]

Anglican preference for denominationalism was shown by the foundation of the Church Education Society in 1839 "for the purpose of affording to children of the Church instruction in the Holy Scriptures and

in the catechism and other formularies of the church under the direction of the bishop and parochial clergy."[36] The Anglican Primate Archbishop John Beresford made repeated pleas to Sir Robert Peel which failed to produce any government subsidies for the Society. Many Anglican parents sent their children to the National Schools because of their perception of the higher standards of teaching and of equipment in these schools.[37] The Society struggled on relying on private subscriptions and benefactions. It also got the support of the Kildare Place Society who agreed to train their teachers in the Kildare Place Society's Model School in 1847.[38] In 1854, the Church Education Society took over the operation of all the Kildare Place schools.[39] Phillips gives the following table of statistics in relation to the schools of the Church Educational Society and their popularity.

	Year	No of Schools	Pupils	Subscriptions
Col. 1	1839	825	43,000	£8500.00
Col. 2	1850	1,882	108,450	£38,000
Col. 3	1859	1,700	80,000	£40,000

Note: Columns 1 & 2, Phillips Vol. III, p.311[40]
Column 3, Church Education Society[41]
Column 3 is quoted in the Daily Express of 21 September 1859.

By 1859, there were only 138 National Schools under the management of Anglican clergy.[42] The Anglican church was clearly divided on this issue, as were the parents of the children. The Primate Archbishop Beresford, fearing that the church would fall between two stools on the issue of providing adequate religious instruction for the children under its care. He decided in 1860 on educational grounds to leave his clergy free to continue their separate schools where financially possible, or to amalgamate them on the best possible terms with the National Board, where separate viable finance was not feasible.[43] By 1890, most Church of Ireland parochial schools had amalgamated with the National Board.[44]

The religious principles and beliefs of the Presbyterian Church were even more deeply grounded on the study of the Scriptures than those of the Anglican Church. They were equally, if not more vehemently, opposed to the newly devised system of National Education. In 1833, the Ulster Synod of the Presbyterian church expressed a preference for denominational education, and demanded freedom for school managers to make their own arrangements for the study of Scripture.[45] Negotiations on the subject made no headway and many Presbyterian schools were withdrawn from the National Board. In 1838, a compromise was arrived at whereby religious instruction could take place during school hours, provided that parents could withdrawn their children from these religious instruction classes if they wished.[46] In addition the Orange Order was equally opposed to the National School System.[47]

The Catholic church appeared to be the only religious group prepared to give some kind of favourable reception to Stanley's system. The reason for this was that Stanley guaranteed the end of state-aided proselytising schools. It allowed catholic clergy the freedom to visit the schools to impart separate Catholic religious instruction, even if only on one day per week. Furthermore, the control of education was to be taken from the Established Church, which had exclusive control of it until that time. The Board represented all the denominations including the Catholic church and henceforth would have control of the National System of Education. These four concessions were considered to be a reasonable trade-off price for the disadvantages of the system which did not allow Catholic bishops to have any control in the training or appointment of teachers, or the right to veto the books used by the pupils. Archbishops Crolly of Armagh, Murray of Dublin, Slattery of Cashel and Bishop Doyle (J.K.L.) of Kildare and Leighlin were the most prominent supporters of the system and along with most of the other Irish Bishops accordingly co-operated with the National Board in establishing national schools in their dioceses.

Among the Catholic prelates, Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin was the most powerful and influential member of the Irish Bishops. He was the most optimistic regarding advantages that the scheme offered to Catholics. He was supported in his view by Archbishops Crolly of Armagh and Slattery of Cashel. He joined the Board of Commissioners of the scheme at its inception.[48] Daniel O'Connell hailed the new arrangements as a "boon" which would permit the growth of an educated Catholic electorate.[49] Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam, the final member of the quartet of Irish Catholic Archbishops, was the foremost opponent of the scheme. He feared interference by the state in the responsibilities of the Catholic bishops and he forbade his clergy to co-operate with Board.[50] Other Catholic bishops were not as vehemently supportive of the National School system as Dr. Murray, or as virulently hostile to it as Dr. MacHale. The main factor in this absence of absolute support for the Board's schools by the Catholic bishops was Rome's desire to control Catholic education. Archbishop Murray requested each of the other bishops to put their opinions on record in March 1838. Of the seventy six bishops who replied only two including Mac Hale opposed it.[51] Most decided to reserve judgement on the scheme and give it a fair trial. It was not until the Synod of Thurles in 1850, presided over by the new Catholic Primate, Archbishop Paul Cullen, some twenty years later, that the bishops condemned the 'mixed system' of non-denominational education and opted instead for separate schooling facilities for Catholics.[52]

The attraction of a fixed grant under the scheme each year towards elementary education, in Catholic parishes, which for the most part, were very impoverished, was very tempting.[53] The building of churches and places of worship in addition to financial support for the clergy was an almost impossible burden on most impoverished Catholic parishes. To add to that, the cost of building and equipping a school, if only of a poor structural standard, in addition to paying teachers' wages, was almost

beyond the capabilities of many parish priests. The time allocated for separate religious instruction, was in the opinion of many bishops adequate, if not ideal.[54] The support of the scheme by Archbishops Murray, Crolly, Slattery and the prominent Bishop Doyle, among the less influential bishops in addition to the more enthusiastic endorsement of the Liberator himself, Daniel O'Connell, was enough to carry the waverers.[55]

The financial position of most of the Brothers' schools was extremely difficult with the exception of the North Monastery in Cork, which in 1834 had been left a sizeable bequest of £10,000 by Dr. John Barry.[56] Any finance which the Brothers needed had to come from the voluntary pennies of the poor children whom the Brothers taught gratuitously. If the poor pupils could not provide the odd penny, nothing more was made of it. These impoverished people were prepared to provide the proverbial widow's mite to help the Brothers continue and expand their work. The financial situation of the Brothers could hardly be expected to continue on this ad hoc basis. A fixed yearly grant from the National Board would have been a boon to the hard-pressed Edmund Rice. The conditions required for affiliation to the system were, however, utterly repugnant to his religious and educational principles and ideals. He could not, in justice or friendship, turn his back on the efforts of Archbishop Murray, a member of the New National Board. Dr. Murray was the key churchman and friend to whom the Brothers turned on many occasions in the early years of their Institute for the practical help, support and encouragement, which was so vital to its continued survival. It was Archbishop Murray who invited the Brothers to Dublin in 1811. It was he who brought back the copy of the De La Salle Rule from Paris, in 1817, on which Rice largely structured his new Institute. It was Dr. Murray, also, who had secured for the Institute the Papal Brief of Approbation in 1820. In addition Dr. Murray also held at bay, through his contacts in Rome, the hostile and very damaging, but totally unsubstantiated allegations of Bishops Walsh and Kelly of Waterford against Edmund's Congregation in

the 1820's. It would have seemed very disloyal and ungrateful if Edmund Rice were now to renege on the friendship and support of Archbishop Murray by not making some gesture of support in this new cause to which the Archbishop was so committed.

It could be suggested that Edmund Rice had higher religious principles than the Bishops and was in fact claiming the higher moral ground in relation to the question of affiliating his schools to the National Board. The remit of the Bishops in the totality of their pastoral care embraced matters of a social, economic and political as well as a religious nature. Edmund Rice and his followers for their part had set themselves objectives much more narrowly focused and enshrined in rules of a strictly defined character. The educational principles of the Brothers were set out as the provision of a strictly Roman Catholic structure of education for poor boys, based on a purely Catholic denominational ethos and methodology. They made no apology for their system and permitted no watering down or emasculation of its fundamental principles and were prepared to sacrifice themselves and their resources to provide an educational structure for their pupils. This structure was provided cost free and in accordance with their motto of *Pro Deo et Pro Patria*, for God and Country. Their service to country was, as the Institute later spread to other lands overseas, an inculcation of loyalty and devotion to the national aspirations of the various countries and continents in which the Brothers conducted their schools.

In these circumstances, Edmund Rice decided that he had little option but to give the new National School system a fair trial. Edmund Rice was opposed to nondenominational education per se. It conflicted with the rules and philosophy of his institute. At the second General Chapter of the Congregation in 1831, the assembled Brothers debated the matter. Opinions were very divided on the issue. One Brother present at that assembly has left us his impressions:

> It is a beautiful engine for good or evil. Many persons with confiding dispositions received the system

> as a boon to the country and a great improvement on all the previous proselytising systems, that had existed, and therefore had no hesitation in adopting it. A numerous section entertained many hopes and fears concerning it and were content that it should get a trial. Several, considering the source from which it emanated, and the experience of former attempts by those in the ascendancy to pervert the faith of the people of Ireland, viewed the system with extreme disgust and kept aloof from it.[57]

The whole basic concept on which the National System was based, namely a rigid separation of secular and religious instruction, was anathema to Edmund Rice's most cherished principles of a truly Catholic education. The Brothers, however, decided that six of their eleven schools in Ireland would affiliate to the National Board of Education for a trial period. The schools in question were the O'Connell School at North Richmond Street, Mill Street, Dublin, St. Patrick's and Mount Sion Schools in Waterford, Dungarvan, Co. Waterford and the school at Ennistymon, Co. Clare. The Brothers made application for affiliation to the Board for these six schools, but the officials who looked after the day-to-day running of the system were unsure how to handle these applications, as they had no precedents to be guided by for schools run by monks applying for affiliation.[58] The evidence of Rev. James Carlile the Presbyterian Minister, who was the most active member of the original board, in evidence before the House of Commons in 1837 explained this difficulty and sought guidance from London as to how to deal with the matter :

> ... we had a communication with Lord Stanley, and the unanimous opinion of all present, his Lordship included, was that it was desirable we should receive these schools, to bring them under our rules.[59]

This tacit official recognition of the Christian Brothers and their schools, contrary to legal enactments banning their existence, brought some relief to Edmund Rice that his teaching institute as a congregation of religious bound by vow would not be dissolved and his schools closed. But that was as far as his feelings of relief went. The Brothers gave a five year trial to the new system in the six schools which applied for

grants. The third General Chapter met in 1836 and the Brothers spent much time in detailed discussion and evaluation of the system from their particular religious and pedagogic points of view. The minutes of these discussions are preserved in the archives of the Brothers' Generalate in Rome.[60] It was a well informed discussion with factual first hand evidence of the scheme by the Brothers from their experience in operating it. The advantages of participating in the scheme were listed. These were exclusively of a monetary and material nature and included the small annual capitation grants, the free supply of school text-books, writing materials and furniture. The negative side of the scheme was the rigid division of religious and secular education to which the Brothers could not reconcile their primary apostolate as Catholic educators. The Brothers involved in the schools affiliated to the system, confirmed that they had discarded the system of four days per week devoted to secular instruction and one day to religious instruction. They could not adhere to such principles which they regarded as educationally and professionally unsound and unrealistic as Catholic religious educators. This was on the surface a dishonest approach by the brothers to the rules of the board. They were, caught in a principled dilemma, whether to abandon their rule or try to reconcile a situation, which was for them, in fact irreconcilable.

In fact the Brothers were admitting that they were not adhering to rules, to which they had agreed in advance and were in fact participating in a form of dishonest or fraudulent behaviour, which left them with feelings of guilt and demoralisation. The subterfuges which they used to avoid detection and exposure by the Boards' Inspectors, while teaching religion during periods of prescribed secular instruction have been assimilated into local folklore. Evidence presented to a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1837 on National Schools, referred to a sliding panel in the classroom doors of the Brothers' school in Dungarvan, Co. Waterford, which enabled the Brother within to change his subject from religious instruction to secular, depending upon the

identity of the person espied outside.[61]

The Brothers at their general Chapter of 1836 complained about the contents of the text-books, approved and supplied by the National Board. The Chapter discussions centred on the possibility of reconciling the system with the fundamental ideals of the Congregation. In the Rules and Constitutions of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland (1832), these ideals were stated as followed: "... The spirit of this Institute is an ardent zeal for the instruction of children; for rearing them up in the fear and love of God ..."[62] This was no less the stated aim of national schools, although pursued by a different philosophical methodology.

The Brothers at the 1836 Chapter decided that any reconciliation between two so diametrically opposed systems and underlying philosophies was impossible and the following resolution was proposed and carried unanimously by the participants:

> As it appears to us, after a calm and impartial examination of the subject, that a connection with the Board of National Education under the conditions and sacrifices by which it is at present maintained would ultimately prove fatal to the religious as well as to the professed object of the Institute, we ordain and strictly enjoin for the remedy of the past as well as for the prevention of future evils:
>
> First - that no connection whatsoever shall be formed henceforth with the Board of National Education, or with any other Board or association, without the concurrence and approval of a General Chapter;
>
> Second - that a Committee of five deputies be appointed by the Chapter to make strict enquiry into the funds and resources of those houses which are at present in connection with the Board ; and that in those cases in which it can be proved that adequate means for the subsistence of the community either actually exist, or can be supplied, the connection can be dissolved at the termination of the present half-year, when the outstanding salary of the Board will be received for that period;

> Third - that whilst we tolerate for the present the maintenance of the connection on the part of a house, whose funds will not permit an immediate separation, we render it imperative on the Directors and communities of such houses to use every legitimate means which zeal and prudence can suggest, to provide from other sources, a substitute for the salary of the Board, and thereby enable themselves to regain the characteristic discipline of the Institute without which its spirit cannot be perpetuated.[63]

Some thirty five years later, in 1870, Brother J.A. Hoare, the Superior General gave a summary of the Brothers' dissatisfaction with the National Board in his evidence before the Powis Commission:

> The classbooks of the National Board, considered in relation to Catholic teaching, do not supply to Catholic youth, references to religion or moral subjects in conformity with Catholic doctrine, not to speak of certain books amongst them which, it must be feared, are calculated to impress their minds with sceptical or rationalistic views.[64]

Brother Hoare in his evidence to the Powis Commission continued :

> ... The religious element is its chief characteristic. The Brothers make use of religious emblems in their schools; they begin and terminate the day's business with prayer; they frequently recall the attention of the children to the holy presence of God; they daily give catechetical instruction to the children in Christian Doctrine; they usually inculcate moral or religious truths in the reading class, if the lesson admits of it ... From this it is evident that religion is the leading principle, nay the very spirit, which guides and directs the whole educational system.[65]

With reference to the National Board, Brother Hoare referred to the very different principle which underpinned the educational philosophy of that Board:

> The system of the National Board is based on a very different principle. It gives to secular instruction the first and chief place. The rules of the Board do not allow a religious emblem to be exposed in the school room and incidental teaching of doctrinally-based religion is directly prohibited. 'It is for Patrons and Managers to determine whether any, and if any, what religious instruction should be given in the classroom', thus practically teaching the children that religion is a matter

> of secondary importance and may be even laid aside altogether at discretion.[66]

Within a few short years, only one Christian Brothers school, that at Ennistymon, Co. Clare remained connected to the National Board, a position, which led to a condemnation of that situation at the General Chapter of 1841. The Ennistymon school was situated in a remote and sparsely populated area and it would appear that sufficient local finance could not be obtained to secure its continuing existence without the grant from the National Board. Therefore the choice was a stark one for the Superior and Community in Ennistymon, either to forego the grant or close the school for insufficiency of basic funds.

It was not clear whether by omission or oversight, Dr. Murray, the Archbishop of Dublin, a staunch and long-time friend and supporter of Edmund Rice and his Institute, was not informed in advance that the Christian Brothers intended to withdraw from the Board. It was discourteous to say the least, that the Archbishop was not informed of the decision of the 1836 General Chapter of the Brothers, which stated as follows

> It is agreed unanimously to sever connection with the Board as soon as possible, since a connection with the Board of Education under the conditions and sacrifices by which it is at present maintained would ultimately prove fatal to the professed object of the Institute.[67]

It would appear that the Brothers' disconnection was not communicated to the Board either, but was in fact, discovered by Inspectors on their inspection of several of the Brothers' schools. In July 1837, Mr. McDermot, a Board Inspector for the Dublin District, wrote to the Board informing it that the Brothers had disconnected their Mill Street school from the Board.[68] A similar situation arose in the case of the Mount Sion school, when the Waterford area inspector, Thomas Flynn, wrote to the Commissioners on 25 August 1837, informing them that the school had been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Board, without the reasons for such withdrawal having been communicated in person to

him. It was stated that Mr. Rice himself would give his reasons to the board in due course.[69] Edmund Rice wrote to Archbishop Murray on 4 June 1837, informing him of the decision of the 1836 General Chapter to disconnect from the Board as follows:

> I have to inform your Grace that at our last Chapter it was decreed that such of our houses as could do without aid from the Board of Commissioners of Education should withdraw from the connection at the termination of the month of March in 1837 which, however, was not done until some short time ago.
>
> The consequence is that the whole of our Institute is disconnected from them with the exception of three houses, viz. Dungarvan, Ennis and Ennistymon, which the Chapter considered unable to do without the aid. If this step should be disagreeable to your Grace, I should be very sorry for it.[70]

Donald Heron, in an article in Irish Educational Studies states that the House Annals of Nth Richmond Street school in Dublin records that Archbishop Murray "took offence at this want of courtesy" in not being informed of the Brothers' disconnection from the Board.[71] The Brothers continued to receive support in general from Archbishop Murray in their ongoing financial difficulties, particularly in relation to their reluctant decision to establish some pay schools in some of their establishments. The Archbishop even supported their appeal to Rome to seek dispensation from their basic rule of gratuitous or free instruction of the poor to enable these pay schools to be established.[72] Brother Michael Riordan, however, who became Brother Rice's successor as Superior General, was a fierce opponent of the pay school issue and soon in his regime closed the two pay schools in operation.

Heron, quoting Normoyle, refers in his article to the disenchantment of the Brothers in general and of Edmund Rice in particular to their apparent lack of success in Ireland as regards the paucity of the number of their schools when compared to the growing numbers of schools affiliated to the National Board of Education in Ireland. The number of schools so affiliated came to the total of 1,051 in 1837.[73] In 1837, the

Secretary of the National Board, Thomas Kelly, stated in evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Commons that in 839 schools out of a total of 1,051, the "agreed Scripture lessons approved by Archbishop Murray and the other Irish bishops as being of a satisfactory religious nature, but non-denominational in doctrinal matters were in use."[74] Heron suggests that in this large number of schools, the parents of the pupils therein appeared to be satisfied with the agreed form of religious instruction considered appropriate for Irish school children by Irish Catholic bishops and during which non Catholic children were present. This was a source of great disillusionment for Edmund Rice and his Brothers.[75]

It cannot be denied that non denominational education was anathema to Edmund Rice's single denominational school ethos and principles. That principle was the foundation stone on which Edmund Rice's Teaching Institute was based, and for which he had received papal approval in 1820. He found it difficult to reconcile his position with that of the Irish Catholic bishops. The bishops approved of a non denominational primary school system with an inbuilt provision for multi denominational Scripture lessons. This dichotomy between the papal view on the necessity for a Catholic educational system with that of the Irish Catholic bishops and their support for the National Board structure of education left Rice and his companions bewildered. The declaration of the 1836 General Chapter of the Brothers made this clear. They could not bridge the gap which existed between their rule and school ethos which was approved by Rome with the position adopted by the Irish bishops.

Heron, quoting the history of the Institute, suggests that the success of the National School system with its vast number of schools and pupils led Edmund Rice to wonder whether his apostolate of Catholic education to the poor male youth of Ireland was misplaced, and that perhaps he should transfer his activities to England to serve the needs of poor

emigrant Irish children there.[76] Heron is correct in his assessment of Edmund Rice's thinking but it is the view of the writer of this work that he does Edmund Rice an injustice. There was no way that Edmund and his followers, with their meagre financial resources and very limited personnel, could hope to compete with or emulate the State financed system of the National Board schools where the salaries of the teachers and grants for school building costs and the provision of free school books were provided by central government funding. Money has always been a deciding factor where voluntary self sacrifice in financial terms is forced to compete with similar ventures which are state subsidised.

This caused Dr. Murray some degree of annoyance, and he who had been such a generous benefactor to the schools of the Brothers in Dublin, uncharacteristically withdrew his annual gift of £40 to the Brothers school in Hanover Street. Despite the great number of schools, totalling over 1,000, which were attached to the National Board, the following comment by the educational historian Akenson is of some significance. He makes the following statement: "the withdrawal by the Brothers from the Board of National Education was the first crack in the wall of approval for the national system."[77] Up to the time of his death in 1852, Archbishop Murray of Dublin was the last great supporter of the schools of the National Board. New episcopal appointments and the changing situation in Ireland led to a new discussion and new perceptions on the principles of non denominational education for children. Archbishop Cullen of Armagh, who had been newly appointed to that post by Rome in 1850, was the most fierce opponent of the multi denominational education system in Ireland. He fought this principle at the Synod of Catholic Bishops held in Thurles in 1850 and won the day.

The outbreak of nationalist and liberal rebellions in many European countries in 1848 compelled the Catholic church to take a firmer and more centralised control of the education of Catholic children.[78] The anti-clerical, anti-establishment thinking behind this outbreak of liberalist

ideas and philosophy forced the pope, Pope Pius IX, the former Cardinal Mastai, who had been elected in 1846, to lead a reactionary movement in the church against state or any external control or influence in the field of Catholic education. Pope Pius IX issued an Encylical on 8 December 1864 denying any state the right to interfere in the education of Catholic children and forbidding the 'mixed principle' which underpinned the Irish National School System.[79] The Irish bishops at their Synod in Thurles, Co. Tipperary, in 1850, had presaged by almost fifteen years the educational principles contained in Pius IX's Encyclical on Catholic Education although the reasons and circumstances were not the same in either case. Archbishop Paul Cullen, Rector of the Irish College in Rome, who had been appointed Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland in 1850, in succession to the late Archbishop Crolly, lost no opportunity to denounce the National Board and refused to accept a seat on it as a Commissioner.[80]

The Brothers had made a difficult decision in withdrawing from the National Board. They lost a source of vital and regular finance for the administration of their schools and were left for almost a hundred years dependent on the generosity of the Irish people for the support of their primary schools, which in most cases survived and prospered. They had shown themselves to be a group of religious educators, motivated solely by deeply-held religious principles. Financial considerations, however expedient and necessary to their work, could not take precedence over principle. Nor could the Brothers accept episcopal arguments in favour of non-denominational education and the payments accruing from it. There can be no comparison between the Bishops and the Brothers on this issue - no question of the Brothers appearing to take the higher moral ground. The responsibilities of the two groups were fundamentally different. The role of the Bishops encompassed a very wide pastoral remit in all its aspects. The provision of state grants by the National Board to parish schools, freed the bishops from levying payments on poor parishes for both the upkeep of a religious community, the Brothers,

and for the upkeep and running expenses of these schools - funds which they, the bishops felt were needed urgently for other purposes. The Brothers' rule and objectives were more clearly and narrowly defined and could not include issues of a political or wider nature, as that required of the Bishops. The spirit of sturdy principled independence displayed by the Brothers on this issue, as well as on other matters, such as the pay school controversy of the period 1838-41 and the demands of the Irish bishops which arose from the Maynooth Decrees Dispute of 1875-1879, did not always earn them the gratitude, or even the friendship, of many members of the Irish Hierarchy, or endear them to the diocesan clergy, in whose parishes they conducted their schools.

The brief association of the schools of the Christian Brothers with the National Board of Education was a very useful experience in that, the Boards' inspections of these six schools provides us with independent evidence of the high standards of pedagogic competence shown by the Brothers and the high educational standards reached by their pupils. This written evidence can be found in the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the plan of Education in Ireland 1837[81] and in the Inspectors' Report Books.[82] These reports contain a very great level of praise and recognition of the high standards of achievement by the pupils of the Brothers in all the subjects of secular instruction. They also contain some deprecatory comments from opponents of the Brothers' system of education and its physical organisation. It is worthwhile to quote briefly a number of these official inspectoral comments and also the views of visitors to the schools, since it was permissible for a member of the public to view the actual operation of any school within the National Board System, a right which still exists in all national schools.

Captain William Wellesley visited one of the Brothers schools in Dublin. He thought that the Brothers were Catholic priests because of their clerical-like-attire. He found a prayer card hanging near a fireplace

in a school room "very objectionable" because it had an image of the Virgin Mary on it.[83] An official inspector threw a copy of Archbishop Butler's catechism, which he found on a desk, onto the floor saying "that has no right to be here."[84] A visitor, presumably non-Catholic, had to be ejected forcibly from Mount Sion for speaking against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, in front of the pupils.[85] Inspectors' Report Books on two Dublin schools, North Richmond Street, and Mill St for 1836 make interesting reading. In the case of North Richmond Street, the number on the rolls was given as 600 boys. The subjects ranged from Arithmetic, Geography, Geometry through to Mensuration and Book-Keeping. Religious instruction each day amounted to a half-hour in the morning and one hour in the afternoon. Monitors were used to teach catechism to the children in the middle school (classes). The school consisted of four large classrooms, each under the control of 'a monk'. In the case of the Mill Street school, the number of pupils was given as 350. Catechism was taught each day for an hour, with oral explanations given by the Brothers. The religious side of education was clearly emphasised. The Inspectors' general observations on this school concluded as follows :

> A good deal of general knowledge is imparted at these schools in an agreeable manner by the teachers in whom we saw more openness than in some other places.[86]

Rev. George Dwyer, Anglican Rector of Ardrahan, Co. Galway, an inveterate visitor to a great number of schools run by the National Board, recorded that he had visited 120 national schools, but of these, twenty schools, administered by Brothers and Nuns were privately conducted, not being directly connected to the Board. He visited the North Richmond Street schools which he regarded as the head-house of the Christian Brothers. He regarded this school where pupils were taught as a National School, which it was, until its disaffiliation from the National Board on 31 March 1837.[87] Attached to it, and in effect part of it, was a teacher-training college for young men, (most likely monitors) who intended to join the Brotherhood. This part of the school he regarded as

a Model School, not to be confused with the National Board Model or teacher-training school in Marlborough Street His final comment, having visited several other such schools of the Brothers such as those in Cork and Ennis, was that they were part of a general system "that is very superior."[88] The Rev. Dwyer also referred to the provision by the Brothers of their own class text-books, who had them printed by their own printer at No. 9 Camden Street.[89]

The preparation and printing of a comprehensive set of school text-books in many subjects by the Brothers for use in their schools as early as 1828 was a magnificent educational achievement in itself. Not everyone was impressed by the work of the Brothers in producing and publishing school texts, as a comment from an Inspector of National Schools indicated :

> the books of the Christian Brothers are not such as they can sanction in a National School for general instruction.[90]

The Rev. George Dwyer was not in the least put-off by such matters as the type of text books used in the Brothers' schools. When giving evidence to the 1837 Select Committee of the House of Lords, he was asked for an opinion as to what were the best schools he had observed in his travels. The following quotation was his considered opinion in reply to the question.

> I would say the most perfect schools I have observed in my life were the schools in Mill Street Dublin and the North Monastery in Cork; (both conducted by the Brothers) the most extraordinary progress I ever saw made by children, the most admirable adaptation of the information to be communicated, to the particular bent and genius and disposition of the child, a sifting and a searching of what the future destination of the child was, and an application of instruction to that destination - a most curious eliciting and drawing forth and development of the powers of children.[91]

This evidence alone from a clergyman of the Established church, is in itself a complete testimony to the outstanding contribution of Edmund

Rice and his Brothers towards shaping the philosophy and structures of 19th century Irish educational theory and practice. Not alone are the principles of good pedagogic methodology eminently displayed in modern educational terminology, but a natural and inbuilt career guidance evaluation of the pupils potential life-skills and career prospects also formed part of the teaching process. The Rev. Dwyer concluded that he found himself amazed at the large numbers in the classrooms of the Brothers schools who were drawn there "because the peculiar reputation and sanctity of the schools attracted them from ten to fifteen miles distant."[92] The Brothers, even at that relatively early stage of their development as a teaching brotherhood, had achieved a perfect and natural balance of the sacred and the secular in their imparting of knowledge. A religious, moral and practical formation was given to the students which developed their potential, equipping them for their wider role in life.

It was not only Rev. George Dwyer in his unofficial role as 'inspector' and 'evaluator' of the system of education of the Christian Brothers that conferred the accolade of distinction and excellence on their achievements. A National Board Inspector, John F. Murray, officially recorded his impressions of the North Richmond Street school:

> It is quite enough for an inspector to say that he observes in this excellent institution everything to admire and nothing to condemn ... The inspector does not know whether to admire most the military precision with which the children are regulated and controlled, or the amazing proficiency manifested in all those branches of knowledge in which they are so ably and so benevolently instructed. The inspector abstains from giving any suggestions as he cannot see how the present excellent management of the schools could be improved by anything coming from him.[93]

Even the negative official attitude to the work of the Christian Brothers and the Presentation Sisters was in itself a compliment to the excellence of the education they provided. The perception of the students' parents was shown by their support of the Brothers and nuns, as they sent their children in increasing numbers to their schools. Roger

Ingham reported to the 1837 House of Lords Select Committee that he thought that the presence of Christian Brothers and Presentation Sisters in many of the big urban schools was the biggest hindrance to these schools becoming undenominational:

> I should say that for the present, till other Protestants of superior rank interfere in the management of the schools, the very fact that such persons are the teachers will keep Protestants out.[94]

Further on in his evidence, Ingham stated that if country masters were properly trained in Model Schools -

> they will become masters of great ability so that eventually they will compete with the Christian Brothers, who now are very able teachers, and it will no longer be necessary to maintain the same connection with the Christian Brothers' Schools and Presentation Nunneries, which can at present be hardly avoided in the south of Ireland, as they are so completely in possession of education there.[95]

These comments were of course made prior to the withdrawal of the Brothers' schools from the National Board System in 1836. It is no exaggeration to suggest that the Brothers' Schools made an impact on the National Board in relation to the excellence of their pedagogy and educational principles and in the actual daily conduct of their schools, out of all proportion to their numbers, during the span of six years during which they were connected with the Board. Gillespie the historian of the Brothers in England, makes a very valid point when he suggests that:

> In retrospect, one can say that the Brothers did not stay long enough in contact with the National Board to give its extreme non-sectarianism time to mellow ; or to do what almost every other religious education group did - so bend, change or ignore the Rules of the Board, so that what was intended as a non-denominational school became in practice denominational. Quite a number of convent schools, influenced more by episcopal opinion remained in contact with the Board and by the late 1850's there were 112 convent schools in the state system.[96]

The Brothers in contrast to their opting out of the National Board System, joined enthusiastically in the state sponsored and subsidised

system of Intermediate Education, a system of payment by results brought into existence by the Intermediate Education Act of 1878.[97] It might appear puzzling at best, or contradictory at worst, that the policy of the Brothers in having respected the National Board System of 1831 for the reasons already given, should wish to embrace the Intermediate Education System of the state. To the Brothers, there was no rational comparison between the two systems. The 1831 National Board System implicitly implied an endorsement of educational methodology, the use of prescribed text-books for the most part and an nondenominational nature to the basic ethical values of the system with separate and very distinct religious education. On the other hand intermediate Education System enshrined no such restrictions, but merely, devised a system of course content syllabi in various subjects, no inspectoral system but rather a clear examination system, properly monitored and examined, for which payment was made to schools on the results of the students. There was no comprise of religious value of methodology involved. This act permitted 'Schools other than National Schools'[98] to participate in the Intermediate Scheme of Education. The statistics of the number of passes and exhibitions, book-prizes and medals won by the boys of Christian Brothers schools under the Intermediate Education Board from the mid 1880's to 1924 make very interesting reading.[99] They are documented proof of the efficacy and excellence of the educational methodology of the Christian Brothers.

8.3 Edmund Rice and the Second Pay School Controversy within his Institute 1836 to 1841

Since the earliest days of his Institute, Edmund Rice was concerned about the financial security of the Brothers, as had been amply demonstrated by the events in the Carrick-on-Suir and Dungarvan houses from 1810-1820. As early as the 1820s, Edmund Rice had suggested the erection of a number of pay schools. These would operate alongside the free schools, and the income of which would help to ensure the financial stability of the adjoining free schools, whose pupils

were almost destitute and could make no contribution whatsoever to their education. These pay schools would give an opportunity to those parents who could pay some small stipend for their children's education, to make a contribution which would enable the Brothers to cater for increasing the number of poor pupils in the free schools. These pay schools offered the same range of subjects and facilities as those offered in the non-pay schools. There was no question of a system of educational apartheid being established, in which the pay school pupils would be treated any differently, either in the matter of their social standing or educational treatment by the Brothers, from that of their poorer fellow pupils in the free schools. In fact the pay school would be subsidising greater facilities for the poor by way of extended school-room accommodation and free school books. Nor was it the intention of Brother Rice to put more talented teaching Brothers into these pay-schools with a consequent decline in the pedagogic or organisational skills of the Brothers, who would man the free schools.

A major obstacle stood in the way of Edmund's scheme to utilise the relatively better off pupils to subsidise the education of the poor and destitute. When the Papal Brief of 1820, '*Ad Pastoralis Dignitatis Fastigium*' was issued to Edmund Rice's Institute by Pope Pius VII, on 5 September 1820, the Brothers made the vow of Gratuitous Instruction,[100] which was part of the rule of the De La Salle Brothers. How could this definitive and binding vow be reconciled with fee-paying schools? It became a divisive factor among the Brothers from 1820 to 1824, when Edmund Rice dropped the issue to avoid dissent and conflict among the members of his Institute. But as long as inadequate finance for the schools remained an abiding and worrisome problem, which it did, the problem of keeping open their existing schools became even more pressing. The withdrawal from the System of the Brothers' six schools added to the financial crisis through the loss of their national board grants. Thus, the problems of finance became much more dire and critical.

The issue of pay schools arose again after 1836, and the Brothers gradually divided into two factions on the issue. Edmund Rice and the remnants of his early companions took the more liberal line of allowing for the admission of a number of free-schools where conditions warranted it and where the inviolable principle of gratuitous instruction for the poor was not threatened or compromised. Edmund Rice would not proceed with this line of thinking without the requisite papal approval,[101] and if possible the support and understanding of the opposing intransigent faction, led by Brother Michael Paul Riordan of the Cork community. Brother Riordan's hard-line attitude in support of a solely gratuitous system was one which, he knew, bound them by vow and from which there could be no dispensation, whatever the financial difficulties. Brother Riordan could afford to be rigid in this matter as the Cork community was financially secure due to the Barry legacy.[102] Edmund Rice had other difficulties with his Cork community, including their refusal to submit their annual accounts to Brother Rice and his assistants for annual audit.[103]

Before summoning his final Chapter in 1838, Edmund Rice was determined once more to consult the Brothers on the pay-school question.[104] It seemed to him that the erection of a number of pay-schools was the only solution to "the painful dissipating and dangerous alternative of perpetual begging,"[105] an annoyance to everyone especially the clergy. The 1838 Chapter by a majority decided that two pay schools should be opened at Mill Street and Hanover Street in Dublin, where the financial situation of the two communities and their schools was desperate.[106] The Brothers wished to have papal approval for this decision.[107] The experiment was for a trial period and would be assessed at the 1841 Chapter. Archbishop Murray of Dublin had often expressed his support of the concept of some pay schools as providing a much needed solution for middle class people, who did not need through financial necessity to avail of free schools. To Edmund Rice, the

Archbishop had once made the following remark:

> I see schools for the poor, schools and colleges for the rich at home and abroad; but for the middle class - too poor for colleges and too-proud for poor (free) schools - I see no provision made. The pay-schools will fill the gap and I shall be rejoiced.[108]

Edmund Rice was now almost 76 years of age. He was not in robust health. He had suffered personal tragedy in his married life before entering the religious state. His concern for the health and material comforts of his invalid daughter, still living in care, near Carrick-on-Suir, would no doubt, always be part of his innermost thoughts. His life and personal fortune was spent tirelessly and selflessly dedicated to the education of the poor of Ireland. He had been at the helm of all the activities connected with the foundation and development of his religious Institute from 1806 to 1838 and had endured all the hardships, trials and disappointments, such an undertaking would impose. Edmund Rice felt the time had come to hand the responsibility for the continued welfare and development of his Brotherhood into fresher and more vigorous hands. He resigned from the office of Superior General at this 1838 General Chapter. Brother Michael Paul Riordan of the Cork community of the North Monastery was chosen to succeed him on the fifth ballot by a majority margin of one vote.[109] Edmund Rice had been hoping that Brother Austin Dunphy, one of his earliest collaborators, would have been chosen to succeed him. Active canvassing, most unusual in any form of canonical election, was undertaken by the Cork Brothers and their supporters to push for the election of Michael Paul Riordan. Their efforts were successful. The result or validity of this election[110] was later appealed to Rome but the result was upheld in a Papal Rescript.[111]

Fr. Peter Kenney, Edmund Rice's Jesuit adviser and long-time friend, wrote of Michael Paul Riordan's election:

> The entire course of this proceeding was a sequel of acts either absolutely invalid or so grossly irregular as to render ... application to Rome quite necessary ... only to remark, finally, that the errors committed in the election ... appear to be the effects of precipitation and

ignorance.[112]

Normoyle gives another interesting side-light into the validity of the election. It would appear that Brother Dunphy, a candidate for election, through some oversight, whether voluntary or involuntary, failed to vote for himself on the fourth ballot, which would have seen him elected and Michael Paul Riordan defeated.[113]

Brother Michael Paul Riordan was an avowed opponent of the pay-schools. For him accepting money from a Government agency such as the National Board or directly from the parents in fee-paying schools was one and the same problem:

> ... If we were to attach ourselves to the National Board we would lose our characteristic as a religious body and merge into merely secular schoolmasters and by adopting pay-schools our love for the poor would eventually cease.[114]

Again the question arises, did Brother Michael Paul Riordan have a higher or deeper understanding of the basic rule of the Institute which prescribed free or gratuitous instruction of the poor and as such appeared to have taken the higher moral ground on the issue over the founder of the Institute Edmund Rice. The answer is not one of higher morality, but rather one of a more practical understanding of the financial realities of the situation. It was more a difference in approach to the question between the two men. Rice, the practical businessman and entrepreneur before he entered the religious life, saw that a temporary deviation from the exact principle of providing free education for the poor by allowing some pay schools, could in the long run provide free education for a greater number of the poor youth with extra funds, than he could provide without them. Riordan on the other hand, from a narrower, if 'more perfect' perspective, felt that the end, however desirable, could never justify the means, in this case - a deviation from the rule to allow for pay-schools. Edmund Rice was of one mind with Archbishop Murray that the children of the middle classes and artisans were falling between two extremes - not being wealthy enough to be able

to afford expensive schools and being too proud to be educated with the poor. Hence they would get no Catholic education, a source of concern to both Murray and Rice. Brother Riordan, knowing full well Archbishop Murray's attachment to the National Board, through his membership of it as a commissioner, and also his predilection for pay schools for the middle class Catholics, decided to move the Christian Brothers headquarters in North Richmond Street, Dublin to his home base in Cork in 1839. He returned the headquarters of the Brothers' to Dublin in 1853, when his friend, Archbishop Paul Cullen, was transferred from Armagh to Dublin as Archbishop in 1852.

The preparations for opening the pay schools in Mill St and Hanover Street Dublin went ahead quickly after the 1838 general Chapter until Brother Bernard Dunphy and Brother Ignatius Kelly, Directors of Hanover Street and Mill Street respectively received directions from the new General, Brother Riordan, to suspend their preparations and not to open the pay schools until they received his permission. There is little doubt that Brother Riordan believed that the general Chapter had gone beyond its powers in sanctioning pay schools and wrote to Rome to that effect. He received a reply that indicated approval of his viewpoint.[115] Matters were not that simple and bad feeling had arisen with certain Brothers, who felt Brother Riordan was over-riding the democratic majority decision of the 1838 Chapter on pay schools. Archbishop Murray was also perturbed as he approved of the Chapter decision. Brother Riordan took advice from Fr. Peter Kenney, who advised him to let the schools open for a trial period to see how matters would evolve and to assuage the opposition to his decision. The two schools opened and the boys attending were charged £1 per quarter.[116] The school in Mill Street was not long in operation until Brother Riordan replaced Brother Ignatius Kelly, the Director with a new appointee, a Brother Patrick O'Flaherty, whose opposition to the pay school concept was well known.[117] The displaced Brother Kelly became a prominent figure of opposition within the Brotherhood to Brother Riordan and suffered much on that account

as his frequent and numerous transfers from house to house in the period 1840-41 seem to indicate.[118]

Before the change of the Mill St and Hanover Street Directors took place, seven Brothers including Edmund Rice, or so it appeared, sent a memorial to Cardinal Franzoni, Prefect of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, on 23 July 1840 requesting permission to continue existence of the pay schools as an essential means to the Institute to enable them to continue their work for the Catholic education of the poor.[119] Archbishop Murray added a paragraph in his own hand in support of the petition, of which there is no record in the Archives of *Propaganda Fide*, although a copy of the document exists in the Dublin Diocesan Archives.[120] The seven Brothers' signatures were in the same hand-writing, with only that of Archbishop Murray was different.[121] It would have been unusual for Edmund Rice, with his logical and orderly mind, not to have signed his own name to the pay school petition. A further and most extraordinary document or memorial was sent to Rome by eight Brothers including 'Edmund Rice'[122] complaining of "the lack of peace, concord and brotherly charity which had beset the Institute since the election of Brother Michael Paul Riordan." They spoke of a spirit of intrigue and ambition within the Institute by a group of Brothers, whose efforts had resulted in the unfair and uncanonical election of Brother Riordan, as the successor of Edmund Rice in the office of Superior-General. The petitioners sought the removal of Brother Riordan, whom they described as 'a stone of scandal' and requested a Papal Brief annulling the appointment and authority of Brother Riordan and requesting Pope Gregory XVI to appoint in his place, the oldest associate of their founder, Brother Edmund Austin Dunphy of the Limerick Community.

The papal authorities sought the advice of Archbishop Murray on the character and qualities of Brother Riordan. The Archbishop said he would need time and engaged in correspondence with Brothers of the

Dublin Communities, which clearly proved to him the severe undercurrent of disharmony which existed among the two factions within the Institute.[123] It is unclear what specific attitude Archbishop Murray took on the matter in his letter to Rome, except that he obviously kept in mind that non-recognition of Brother Riordan might cause a scandal and split within the Brotherhood. This, if it occurred, would damage his wider concern of zeal for the greatest possible facilities for the Catholic education of his flock. Archbishop Murray could not permit this situation to occur.[124] So it must be concluded that he championed the status quo, but not before he added his appeal to that of December 1839, requesting permission for the Brothers to be allowed to conduct pay schools for those pupils, whose parents could afford to pay. Fr. Peter Kenney was appalled[125] 'to find, that, Edmund Rice, his friend of over thirty years would lend his name'[126] to such a reprehensible memorial to Rome against his new Superior-General, and was greatly grieved that matters had deteriorated to such an extent within the Brothers. Eventually the Holy See, on Archbishop Murray's advice, confirmed Brother Riordan in his office as Superior-General. It also agreed to Archbishop Murray's petition on pay schools in Feb. 1841[127] a permission refused to the Brothers some eighteen months earlier. The reason for this papal approval of Archbishop Murray's petition was due no doubt to his recognised eminence, with a tradition of excellent pastoral achievement and experience over twenty years.

A General Chapter of the Brothers met in August 1841. Archbishop Murray sent them a copy of his Rescript from Rome, granting permission to the Brothers to organise pay schools.[128] Simultaneously, Brother Riordan learned of the Memorial sent to Rome 'seeking his removal on the grounds of his invalid and uncanonical election.' He sought by letter from each of the house Directors, the names of those which appeared on the Memorial. None of those involved in "The Memorial Issue" were elected to the Chapter. Edmund Rice, the Founder, was not invited to attend.[129] Brother Riordan, in a letter to Monsignor Paul Cullen of the

Irish College in Rome 'excused' Edmund Rice's 'signature' on the memorial, believing as he did "that the ex-Superior had been labouring under imbecility of mind for some time before he went out of office (1838) and had been so ever since."[130] The Chapter decided to ignore the Roman Prescript to Archbishop Murray and decided to close the two pay schools.[131] The Chapter was annoyed at the *volte face* of Cardinal Franzoni who, three years earlier, in February 1839, advised them to stand firm in their vow of gratuitous instruction of the poor.[132] Archbishop Murray wrote to Cardinal Franzoni appealing this decision.[133]

The conflict became more open when Brother Francis Ryan, one of the supporters of the Mill Street pay school, removed furniture from the school and with the moral support of some like-minded Brothers from the Hanover Street pay school, opened a pay school without Institute permission at 4 Camden Street, Dublin.[134] These Brothers, with the help of some sympathetic priests sent a supportive appeal to Rome. It was signed by the seven priests stationed in the Westland Row parish,[135] and had the active support of Very Rev. Dr. Meyler,[136] Vicar General and parish priest of the Hanover Street area. The Brothers involved sought approval to leave the Brothers' Congregational jurisdiction, but remain as teaching religious under allegiance to Archbishop Murray.[137]

Hearn,[138] one of the earliest chroniclers and recorders of the early history of the order was himself an opponent of the pay-school principle. In spite of this, he set down with admirable clarity the advantages and disadvantages of the pay school problem in an open and fair manner. Those favouring the scheme argued:

> (i) Provision would be made for middle class children, for whom no provision was made and who were unwilling to go to the poor or free schools and were too poor for acceptance in the existing fee paying schools.
>
> (ii) Many postulants for the Congregation could be secured and recruited from this class of pupil.
>
> (iii) Fees thus secured would support the Brothers

and the poor schools and eliminate the necessity for begging.

(iv) The Brothers would still be enabled to instruct at least as many poor children as they would without pay schools, but in a manner more creditable to themselves.[139]

The opponents of the pay school principle among the Brothers had arguments of equal cogency, grounded, as they believed, in canonical legality:

(i) Pay schools were in direct conflict with the Papal Brief of Pius VII in 1820, which embodied the spirit of the Institute and its founding brethren.

(ii) The number of middle class pupils who would avail themselves of the fee or pay schools offered would be few and far between.

(iii) The more efficient teachers among the Brothers would be appointed to the pay schools, with a consequent neglect of the education of the very poor ; hence, there would be a class distinction among the Brothers ; and among the pupils each group taught.

(iv) Necessary changes of the Brothers from school to school would be made more difficult.[140]

Another articulate opponent of the anti pay school group was Fr. J. P. Cooke, a Waterford diocesan priest on the staff of Bishop Foran. He felt that the Brothers, if they were guilty of any wrong-doing in the eyes of Archbishop Murray, it was not the question of the pay schools that lay at the centre of the dispute, but rather their decision to sever their connection with the National Board, of which the Archbishop was such a strong advocate. Fr. Cooke, writing to Fr. Tobias Kirby, Rector of the Irish College in Rome on 11 April 1842, felt that it was sad to see men suffering for their dedication:

being encouraged (i.e. the Brothers) by an Irish Pastor to introduce a novelty into their rules which is calculated to make their young men more ambitious of acquiring the learning that will be necessary for pay schools, than of cultivating the humble self-denying and self-devoting virtues that would fit them for the arduous constant and painful task of educating the poor ... If Ireland is to be Catholic and religious in the next

> generation, it is not to Dr. Murray or to his Board that I look for it under heaven. It is to the diffusion of the Christian Brothers or to schools like theirs ...[141]

Also among the anti-pay school lobby group was the influential Bishop Nicholas Foran of Waterford and Lismore, who sent an anti pay school Memorial to Rome in October 1842.

In conclusion, Brother Michael Paul Riordan was true to his principles of accepting neither subventions or finance from the State or from fee-paying schools. His uncompromising statement already quoted in this section,[142] is a fitting epitaph to his commitment and dedication to this principle. He closed down the Hanover Street pay school in 1844. This event had a further significance in that it took place in the year in which the Founder, Edmund Rice died. Brother Rice had been a supporter of the pay-school principle for almost twenty years. Money never became a contentious issue for the Brothers again. Their entry to the 1878 Intermediate Scheme of Education on a payment by result basis, created no crisis of principle for them under their Rules and Constitutions since it was not linked to any form of non denominational school system as was the National Board System of 1831.

8.4 The De La Salle Connection and its Impact on Edmund Rice's Congregation 1829 to 1845

The difficulties, which Edmund Rice and his early followers encountered in the years 1806 - 1820 in endeavouring to draw up a Rule and Constitutions for this new type of male semi-religious order of Teaching Brothers, were solved to a certain degree by the interest of Archbishop Murray, who was then Coadjutor Archbishop to Dr. Troy of Dublin. Edmund Rice had been following the basic rules and constitutions of the Presentation Sisters, founded in Cork by Nano Nagle in 1775. He made temporary modifications to suit the particular needs of his own educational philosophy, elementary as it might have been at that early stage of his undertaking. The pupils of the Brothers were for the most part uncouth and undisciplined boys, requiring different teaching

skills and techniques to those required for the education of girls.

Edmund Rice improvised as he went along in those early years. His methods of instruction were honed by the day to day experiences which confronted himself and his colleagues in their daily struggles in the classrooms to impart basic religious and secular instruction, to boys who had no educational background at all. His own personal experiences in the hedge school in Moat Lane in Callan, which he attended in his early years and the more classical learning which he received in his time at Burrell Hall, in Kilkenny city, stood him in good stead. Edmund Rice's early form of pedagogic methodology and schoolroom organisation was one of improvisation, supported by practical daily experience. Pure theoretical philosophy in the skills of imparting knowledge in the classrooms of the type of children that Edmund set out to teach was a luxury in which he could not indulge in his very early days as an educator. But with time, experience and a study of the works and systems of contemporary educators, Edmund Rice and his brothers became very skilled, successful and innovative practitioners in meeting the educational and social needs of their pupils.

Educational methodology and classroom technique was only one aspect of Edmund Rice's difficulties. His life as a religious devoted personally to the service of the poor in the work of Catholic education also needed a formalised structure. Archbishop Murray, returning to Dublin from Paris in 1817, brought Edmund a copy of the Papal Brief of Pope Benedict XIII - "*In Apostolicae Dignitatis Solio*" issued to the De La Salle Teaching Brotherhood in France in 1725 and also a set of Rules and Constitutions under which these French Brothers operated their schools and lived out their vocations as vow-bound religious educators of the poor male youth of France. Edmund Rice and his early followers, with little pedagogic knowledge examined the De La Salle Rule in great detail. They found it in many respects most suitable to their particular requirements, since the French Brothers were similarly engaged in the

gratuitous instruction of the poor. The De La Salle Brothers were supra-diocesan in structure. They had a Papal Brief of recognition, their own central government in Paris under an elected Superior-General and took five major vows of Poverty, Chastity, Obedience, Perseverance and the Gratuitous Instruction of the Poor. Various adaptations of particular rules and practices of the French Rule would be needed by Edmund Rice and his Brothers to meet the specific requirements of the educational, political, social and cultural differences of the situation in Ireland, which contrasted considerably with those obtaining in France. When due consideration and reflection had been given to these changes and variations from the French Rule, Edmund Rice submitted his Rule and Constitutions to the Holy See through Archbishop Murray in 1819 and received papal approval in 1820.[143]

Brother Michael Paul Riordan, Brother Joseph Leonard and Brother Baptist Leonard of the North Monastery community in Cork City were very reluctant to affiliate fully with Edmund Rice's Society in Mount Sion. It was only when the local Bishop John Murphy, exercising his local diocesan jurisdiction, required the community to vest the monastery and school property solely in his name and required certain rights in relation to the election of a house director or superior, that the members of the Cork community, slipped away secretly to Mount Sion to regularise their affiliation to Edmund Rice's Congregation. This in effect removed them from Bishop Murphy's direct diocesan control, as they were now members of a Pontifical Congregation. They brought with them to Edmund's Society some degree of mental reservation with regard to the applications and structures of the rules of the new Congregation which they had joined. This reservation or absence of full commitment to, and approval of, the structures of the Institute which they joined was to have a disedifying and disuniting influence on the Institute in the years ahead. Their spirituality and mental outlook as Catholic religious had strong nationalistic overtones,[144] as witnessed by their protest to the British Government in 1829 concerning the 'monastic clause of the

Emancipation Act.'[145] These different perceptions of the ethos and spirit of the Institution by Brothers Michael Riordan, Joseph Leonard and Baptist Leonard were never evident in the attitudes and outlook of Edmund Rice and his earliest followers.

These three Brothers of the Cork Community were uncompromising in their attitudes on many issues, such as the pay schools question. They had a wealth of talent and energy which they deployed very effectively in the production of Irish Catholic text-books for their pupils, in direct contravention to, and competition with, the text-books approved by the Rules of the National Board. Details of these text books are outlined in the next chapter. These Brothers had a strong inclination to seek power and to influence policy and thinking at the highest levels of authority within the Brotherhood. They refused for some years to submit their house accounts to their Superior-General for approval, for which refusal they had no canonical right or justification.[146] They used the affinity of the Brothers' constitution with that of the De La Salle Constitutions to force through the appointment of two extra assistants to the Superior-General at the 1829 General Chapter, which was not provided for in the Brothers' Brief of 1820. Brother Joseph Leonard, one of these two new 'assistants' took it upon himself to engage in lengthy and frequent correspondence on the internal and private affairs of the Irish Christian Brothers with Frere Guillaume, Superior General of the De La Salle Brothers in Paris.[147] He sought advice and guidance from Frere Guillaume which he then presented to various members of the Irish Brotherhood, without consulting Edmund Rice. This advice he presented as the correct and authentic interpretation of Edmund Rice's Constitutions, which in his opinion, were a slightly modified version of the De La Salle rule. Who better should know every nuance in the De La Salle rule than the Superior-General and members of that order? But then, Edmund Rice's Irish Christian Brothers were, however, neither French nor members of the De La Salle Brotherhood.

The Congregation or Institute which Edmund Rice founded was regarded in Rome as a distinct and separate religious Society, and totally independent of any other similar organisation within the church. Nevertheless, Brother Joseph Leonard and some of his Cork colleagues were born and reared in Cork where the upper class Catholic merchant families regarded their commercial connections with France and their Francophile traditions as prerequisites for social respectability and acceptance. Thus it seemed natural to them to look towards the French Brothers, whose success in the field of Catholic education was already hailed and recognised as a success in universal church circles. Frere Guillaume, the De La Salle Superior-General, to be fair to him, urged the dissidents to be loyal to their own Superior and not to grant permissions contrary to Brother Rice's wishes. Edmund Rice, however, felt compelled to write personally in October 1829 to Frere Guillaume, pointing out that one of his brothers, Brother Joseph Leonard had written many letters to Frere Guillaume concerning the affairs of Brother Rice's Institute. Brother Leonard had shown the replies to many other Brothers, but not to his Superior-General. With gentle tact but subtle irony, he requested that Frere Guillaume's replies to any such letters received from Brother Leonard, should, while he, Brother Rice, was still in office, be sent through him "in order that I may not lose the benefit of any salutary advice you may be pleased to give him."[148] Brother Rice in a courteous but firm manner made it clear to his French counterpart that he was the supreme authority within the Congregation of Irish Christian Brothers.

The constant interference of Brother Joseph Leonard, using advice supplied in an innocent and helpful manner by Frere Guillaume, and, in particular, the foisting of the appointment of two extra assistants to the Superior General contrary to the Constitution of the Society, led Edmund Rice to resign his position as Superior-General at the 1829 General Chapter. He knew the aim was to undermine his position as founder and his authority as Superior-General. This undermining went on over the next three years. Although Edmund Rice, by acclamation, was forced by

the Chapter members to withdraw his resignation, he knew that efforts were afoot by those opposed to his leadership to limit his powers and make him subservient to some future and more radically composed General Chapter. He had been forced to call the 1829 Chapter against his better judgement. The next important Chapter was the Decennial General Chapter of 1831-32 and he wished this assembly to deal definitively with any doubts and misunderstandings in connection with the Rule.

Brother Baptist Leonard took over the role of agitator and provocateur upon the death of Brother Joseph Leonard in 1832. The minutiae of the form of convocation as to what Brothers could attend the Chapter and cast their votes led to copious and lengthy correspondence between Edmund Rice and Frere Anaclet, the newly elected Superior General of the De La Salle Brothers[149] and with the Jesuit priest Fr. Charles Aylmer, S.J.,[150] of the Hardwicke Street Chapel in Dublin and Fr. Charles Stuart, O.S.A.,[151] the Augustinian Provincial of John Street Chapel in Dublin. Chapter 13 of the Positio[152] outlines clearly in tabular form the distinctive Constitutional and Rule differences between the Christian Brothers and the De La Salle order which emerged from the decennial Chapter of 1832[153] and left no room for future doubt or misconstruction, or for innocent external advice or guidance from the De La Salle mother house in Paris. The 1832 Chapter, in a series of Articles,[154] clearly defined the importance of Daily Mass in the religious lives of the Brothers contained in Chapters III, VI and XIII. Other subjects, examined and defined in depth as they related to community religious life, included small extracts from the Scriptures and in particular Marian devotion. The importance of prayer in the Brothers' lives was also dealt with; and the spirit of austerity of the lifestyle of the Brothers was clearly delineated. The virtuous formation of youth is defined as the end or pivotal object of the Institute. Document 9,[155] of Chapter 13 defined most clearly the total commitment of the Brothers to the instruction of their pupils in the principles of religion and Christian piety

and the methods by which this was to be undertaken by catechetical instruction and the preparation of their pupils for the reception of the Sacraments.

The pro-De La Salle propaganda of the Cork Brothers is evident from the following extract in O'Connor's Cork Directory 1833:

> The individuals who conduct these schools belong to a society which, before the French Revolution of 1792 (sic) possessed numerous houses throughout the Continent of Europe. Pope Pius VII extended the advantages of this Society to the United Kingdom, and since that period thirteen establishments had been founded in Ireland, and three in England. Though their rule is the same, their internal government is quite distinct from that of their continental confreres ; their superior must be a native of and a resident in this realm. The system of instruction in the Peacock Lane (North Monastery) and Sullivan's Quay Schools is formed on the most novel and improved mode of induction by reason and had repeatedly elicited the warmest approbation from many of the best informed and most intelligent among our fellow-citizens. Public examinations are held each year in the month of March.[156]

8.4:1 The impact of the Presentation Sisters' Rule on Edmund Rice's Institute

The Christian Brothers, from the time Edmund Rice and his first group of followers took their first vows in the oratory of the Presentation Sisters in Hennessy's Road, Waterford on 15 August 1808,[157] followed to a greater degree the rules of the Presentation Sisters, founded in Cork in 1775 by Nano Nagle. The Presentation Sisters had adopted as their religious rule that of *Les Filles des Ecoles Charitables du Saint Enfant Jesus* founded in the Paris suburb of St. Germain in 1670 by a Franciscan priest of Rouen, the Abbe Nicolas Barre, for the religious instruction and training of poor girls in rural France in the late 18th century.[158] These schools spread rapidly in the following decades to the French provinces of Champagne, Lorraine and Picardy. Bishop Francis Moylan of Cork, through the good offices of the Abbe Edgeworth in Paris,

received information on the work of these nuns and their founder.[159] Dr. Moylan proposed to use their rule as a template or role-model for Nano Nagle and her Sisters in religion, subject to adaptations and changes more suited to Irish conditions in the late 18th century.

It is necessary to revert at this juncture to the details of the foundation of the Presentation Sisters by Nano Nagle to elucidate the influence her Rule had on Edmund Rice in formulating the rules of his Institute. After her death in 1784, Nano Nagle's sisters in religion appealed through Bishop Moylan to the Holy See to have their Institute granted papal status and recognition. Bishop Moylan entrusted this work of drawing up formal rules and a Constitution to a Cork Franciscan, Fr. Laurence Callanan in 1791. The Sisters requested Fr. Callanan to change their official title from Sisters of the Charitable Instruction to that of Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Pope Pius VI in recognition of Bishop Moylan's approval of the Society and in anticipation of a completion of Fr. Callanan's work on the rules, granted the Sisters papal approval in the form known as the '*decretum laudis*' on 3 September 1791.[160] Fr. Callanan's draft of the new rules and constitutions were completed by 1793. Bishop Moylan submitted the proposed new rules and constitutions of Nano Nagle's Sisterhood to Rome in 1800 and petitioned for their speedy approval. Minor adjustments were made to various rules, but the major ones were (i) the request of the Conference of the Irish Bishops that solemn vows would be taken by the Sisters[161] and (ii) the Sisters' own request for *clausura* or enclosure, on the lines of that enjoined upon the Ursulines and other female religious orders.[162] Nano Nagle would never have sought this for her followers. The very rule of enclosure enjoined on the Ursulines was what motivated her to found a group of nuns, who would teach the poor, visit the sick, the poor and the dying in their homes, in other words, religious women whose works would not confine them within convent walls.[163] The long awaited Papal Brief of approval of Pope Pius VII - the '*decretum approbationis*' of the Sisters of the Presentation of the Blessed

Virgin Mary was issued in Rome on 9 April 1805.[164] Their rule was the one which Edmund Rice followed and adapted slightly to the needs of his own particular group of religious Brothers.

To men in the religious life, accustomed to the rich spiritual and theological approach of Fr. Callanan's Presentation rule, the De La Salle Rule, adapted for the most part by Edmund Rice for his Institute from 1820 onwards must have appeared somewhat jejune. The De La Salle rule reflected the social environment of 17th century France, the ecclesiastical structures of the period and the low status of the poor schoolmasters, who constituted the first members of the French Brotherhood.[165] Apart from the explicit theology of the chapter on the spirit of the Institute, the French rules were largely legalistic in tone.[166] In adapting the De La Salle rules and procedures to their own needs, the Irish Brothers made profound changes, as their French counterparts acknowledged.[167] It is a historical fact that John Baptist De La Salle, a secular priest and canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Rheims, was moved by an awareness of the need for Christian schools for the poor. This awareness led him logically to conclude that he should found a religious Brotherhood to conduct such schools.[168] John Baptist De La Salle's educational philosophy eschewed the restrictive classical learning of the grammar school system in favour of the more elementary, basic and every day subjects of a secular and practical educative nature. His philosophy, however, was imbued with a deep sense of religion and spirituality. The French brothers disavowed the prevalent form of classical education, reserved for the sons of the well-to-do urban classes in the Cathedral Grammar Schools. Consequently their efforts to cater for the rudimentary education of the poor without teaching Latin led to De La Salle's brothers being maliciously referred to in clerical circles as the *'fratres Latinae ignorantes.'*

> By contrast, the history of the layman, Edmund Rice as a Founder, is that of an attraction to religious life, preceding awareness of the apostolic character of the vocation to religious brotherhood.[169]

This difference is reflected in the spirit of the Institutes they founded. Ninety four of the De La Salle Constitutions were incorporated in Edmund Rice's original submission of his Rule to Rome in 1819. These included technical details of community structures, government structures and those connected with school work. Rules that reflected the harmony of spiritual values shared by Edmund Rice and John Baptist De La Salle were included. Those Constitutions, however, which concerned details relating to the personal direction of Brothers in their Community lives and matters of conduct, were not included. The wording of twenty four De La Salle Constitutions were altered by Edmund Rice's Brothers and sixty six new rules were added to Edmund Rice's Rules and Constitutions.[170] The 1832 General-Chapter rules involving the object or end of Rice's Institute and those which dealt with the Spirit and Pious Exercises differ radically from those of the De La Salle Constitutions.[171] In the revised Chapter 1 of The Christian Brothers' 1832 Constitutions there is no discernible De La Salle influence.[172] In the final analysis, it might be said that the De La Salle influence on the Institute of Edmund Rice was more in the sphere of education than in matters of spirituality.[173]

Because of the many letters received from the Cork Brothers and their supporters, many of the De La Salle Brothers themselves came to regard the Edmund Rice's Institute as a branch of their own congregation. Evidence for this view is provided by Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, Canon of St. Peter's, Westminster in his Diary on Topics concerning Education and the Church.[174] Dr. Wordsworth visited Catholic schools in France in 1844 and spent some time in the De La Salle School and Monastery at 165 Rue Faubourg St. Martin in Paris. He spent some time with one of the Brothers, Frere Nicolas, learning all he could about the De La Salle Brothers and their work on a daily basis for the education of the children of the poor in the Christian faith. On his return to London Canon, Wordsworth received a letter from Frere Nicolas giving the address of their branch establishment in London as follows :

> St. Patrick's School, Tudor Place, Tottenham Court Road under Brother Kelly, Director of the Brothers of

the Christian Schools.

In fact this school was run by the Brothers of Edmund Rice and its Director or Superior was none other than Brother John Aloysius Kelly of the Irish Christian Brothers.[175]

Edmund Rice's Institute had its own administration, rules and specific spirit based on his own spiritual principles and practices. The document, containing the De La Salle rule given to Brother Rice and his followers in 1817 for their consideration, formed a considerable portion of the Rules and Constitutions of the Irish Christian Brothers. Their assembly in Mount Sion in August 1817, composed of the directors of the established Irish houses of the Brothers unanimously resolved:

> to adopt a style of government, similar to that outlined in the French Brief of Pope Benedict XIII - "*In Apostolicae Dignitatis Solio*" of 1725,[176] but with rules and constitutions suited to the peculiar nature of these countries and to the genius of the people.[177]

The final comment on this contrived confusion of identity between the Irish Christian Brothers and that of the De La Salle Congregation is fittingly expressed in the words of Edmund Rice himself. Following a visit he made in 1832 to the De La Salle Generalate and Novitiate in Paris, Edmund reported

> We saw much that edified us in the French Novitiate and in the Communities of the brethren. The difference in race, customs and environment is so great, that few of the French regulations and practices can with advantage be introduced into our Novitiate. The practices and methods of training in our own Novitiate are better adapted to our country and to the character of the Irish people than any others.[178]

8.5 The Death of Edmund Rice, 29 August 1844

The nine year period 1835 - 1844 prior to Edmund Rice's death were years of anxiety and frustration for the founder arising out of a number of incidents over which he had no direct control and which exacted a heavy toll on his health, both mentally and physically. It is recorded in the

history of the Institute that while physically frail, his mind was still active and alert. Neither had he lost the keen sense of business acumen and legal probity which had distinguished and characterised his earlier career as a highly successful and reputable Waterford businessman in the last two decades of the 18th century.[179] Increasing old age and the expanding burdens of leading a growing religious society with all the concomitant responsibilities that these duties placed on him, did not make the quality of his daily life any easier to sustain. His inner spirituality and his indomitable commitment to see through to the end the noble endeavour which he had undertaken never weakened, even when physical frailty almost made those duties incapable of fulfilment.

The abortive and unhappy events which brought the Brothers' foundation in Gibraltar between 1835 and 1837[180] to an inglorious withdrawal in 1837 left Edmund with a sense of failure in his efforts to promote Catholic education to which he had totally committed himself. True, the success of the work of his Brothers in England was a great encouragement to him. The arrival of the Brothers in Preston 1825,[181] Manchester 1826,[182] and Soho,[183] London in that same year, was of particular significance to Edmund Rice, as these three locations were the major areas of concentration of the emigrant Irish poor in England in the early 19th century.[184] It was to serve these poor Irish, the poorest of the poor that primarily brought Edmund Rice's Institute to England. The strict emphasis of the Brothers to the parish Catholic Committees who invited them to come to these three areas, was that their teaching of the poor was to be completely gratuitous.[185] The term 'gratuitous education' was in itself a principle held to be in direct opposition to the view prevalent not only in the 19th century but even to the present time that people seldom value or fully appreciate what is given free of cost.[186]

There were some bright and promising events for Edmund Rice in regard to the English Mission in the period 1826-1840. Applications to establish schools and communities of the Brothers in England came to

him in increasing numbers. Applications came from the Jesuits in Wigan, Lancashire; from Fr. J. Laurenson, Wardour Castle, Shaftesbury, Wiltshire; from Fr. Francis Murphy, St. Patrick's Liverpool; from the Countess of Caermarthen for Brothers for the Highlands of Scotland; and from Ambrose de Lisle (Philips) for Leicestershire.[187] Edmund Rice felt that the situation in which he found himself was anomalous to say the least. The 1836 General Chapter which he called to consider the question of the continued connection of the Brothers in Ireland to the National Board System[188] decided to sever all the connections between them and the Board. This decision left the Brothers in very poor financial circumstances. This was in strange contrast with the favourable financial incentives offered to the Brothers by local parish committees in England, to entice them to set up schools in that country.

In England itself, where no state provision was made for elementary schooling on anything like the same national basis as that of Stanley's 1831 Irish National Education System, energetic local committees of Catholics in various English towns and cities[189] aided by the remnants of the wealthy Catholic nobility in London,[190] were prepared to collect and fund on a private basis, schools for Catholics of the poorest social background. Edmund Rice must have considered that the future of his Brotherhood might just possibly lie outside Ireland and indeed expressed that view.[191] There were new foundations of the Brothers in Sunderland in June 1836, in December 1837 in Park Place, Liverpool and a second London school at Red Lion Street, Wapping in 1837.[192] The English mission was thriving and continued to do so during the lifetime of Edmund. The Brothers, however, had withdrawn from all their English schools by 1880.[193]

The handling of various issues can often prove divisive in religious orders and large corporate bodies. This leads to the inevitable clash of personalities and ideas among those working in any such structure and can make inter-personal relationships less than harmonious. So it was

with Edmund Rice's Institute which made Edmund's last years less happy and contented than they otherwise would have been. The efforts of the Cork community and especially of Bros. Joseph and Baptist Leonard to limit Edmund Rice's powers had been partially successful in forcing the 1829 Chapter to invalidly elect two extra assistants to the Superior General. These extra numeraries were removed at the General Chapter of 1832.[194] Edmund Rice resigned at the General Chapter of 1829 partly on health grounds, but mainly because of a growing inscient feeling within him that the old harmonious atmosphere of his early years in the company of his earliest followers who understood him and his objectives was disappearing from within his Brotherhood.[195] This mutual respect and camaraderie was being replaced by a hostile and challenging element to his authority within the Institute. It was largely inspired and led by the Brothers Leonard from Cork with an input from the De La Salle Generalate, which although not intended to be disruptive, was having that effect within Edmund Rice's Institute.[196]

At several junctures in the story of Edmund Rice, the question of his physical and 'mental' health arises, but unfortunately, important and possible corroborative documentation is singularly lacking. The following quotation from the Positio Super Virtutibus outlines the situation

> Would that there were more facts and details than rumours about the state of Edmund's health in his late sixties and early seventies. No more speedy evil exists, said Virgil, than rumour. Shakespeare called it a pipe, blown by surmises, jealousies and conjectures. Was it mere empty headedness that led certain persons to spread the rumour that Edmund Rice was insane or at least senile? Was jealousy of Edmund's undeniable and recognised greatness the cause? Was the underlying cause a certain littleness of soul on the part of Brothers, who not occupying the centre of the stage, felt discontented with their subordinate role? Why would any normal person, much less a religious, wish to belittle a man of God, in his old age, who had done so much for the children of Ireland and England, and for the poor and underprivileged?[197]

It is true and factually recorded that Edmund Rice became unwell in

late October - early November 1828 and returned to the country for some months to convalesce.[198] The reasons for such an illness are easy to see. He was almost 67 years of age. The stress of the previous eighteen months including the apostasy of Brother William Halley of the Preston community and his conversion to the Anglican religion, despite his later reconciliation with the Catholic church and the Christian Brothers, was a difficult burden to bear. Any unfavourable publicity could have wrecked his first venture into the English mission.

The difficulties of securing a site for the new Dublin model school in North Richmond Street was also a trying business. The attempts of Brothers Patrick and Joseph Leonard, in particular Brother Joseph, to force Edmund's hand into holding a 'General Chapter' in 1829 were compounded by Joseph Leonard's letters[199] to Frere Guillaume, the De La Salle Superior General, suggesting that Edmund was '*egare*' (bewildered) and "that he is completely incapable of attending to the affairs of the Institute."[200] Edmund Rice's concern about the final outcome of all the pre-Emancipation Act negotiations, aimed at preventing the Act from destroying his beloved Society, did not help his general mental anxiety or the state of his physical health.

The 1830s saw the introduction of Stanley's National System of Education for Ireland and the resulting conscientious problems of principle connected with it from the point of view of the opposing fundamental philosophy of the Brothers, in regard to its implementation, caused great unrest and disquiet. Their withdrawal from the System in 1836 was followed immediately by the re-emergence of the pay school issue as a natural consequence of the financial difficulties inherent in the Brothers' severance from the funds of the National Board. The difficulties that the principle of pay schools provided for a religious group whose vows, authorised by Papal Brief, committed their membership to the gratuitous education of the poor, were not lost on Edmund Rice. He was torn between the need for financial viability for his schools and the

possibility of doing more for the poor, had he the means. The fundamental question arose whether the obtaining of these funds by means of pay schools could be reconciled with his vows to the poor? Edmund Rice decided that he had borne the burden of leadership and the responsibilities that went with it for long enough. He finally resigned his office on 24 July 1838 on the opening day of the General Chapter of that year. He stood up while the standing orders for the Chapter were being decided on and announced his resignation, briefly referring to the infirm state of his health and the impossibility of his continuing in the high and responsible office in which the Society had placed him.[201] The Brothers present were deeply moved when they recalled his achievements as the founder of their Society, but his resignation was accepted.[202]

Edmund Rice should have been free from worries of an administrative, financial or personal nature in relation to the affairs of his Congregation from this point on and allowed to make "special preparations ... for his final account".[203] But it was not to be. His decision to resign and its acceptance by the Brothers signified the end of an era. The new age within the Brotherhood had an inauspicious start. The election of Michael Paul Riordan as successor to Edmund Rice was one of dubious validity and its legality and circumstances were recommended to Rome for a judgement on the position. This was the advice of Archbishop Murray with the concurrence of the Jesuit priest, Fr. Peter Kenney, Edmund's long time friend and adviser.[204] This controversy and the ill-feeling it brought with it did not add to Edmund Rice's peace of mind. The Chapter rejected Edmund's thinking on the need for pay schools but permitted two to function on a trial basis for three years at Hanover Street and Mill Street in Dublin. He also had to face the legal worries arising out of bequests which he made to individuals and charities in his earlier years in Waterford. The bequests which he made, or debts which he incurred had to be paid from monies which he had invested in lands, property or in guaranteed securities, the interest

acquired being used in annual stipends or in personal annuities.[205]

Bryan Bolger, a Dublin architect and close friend of Edmund Rice, was responsible at his request in 1828 for securing the site in North Richmond Street, Dublin, which was to be used as the Brothers' Generalate or Head House. It also served as a Novitiate, Model School and general school for the poor children of the area. The site was obtained at a yearly rent of £55 and a sum of £210 as 'consideration money.'[206] The financing of this ambitious project was a major challenge for Edmund Rice. Lack of funds caused the building work to be stopped on various occasions. In 1832, Daniel O'Connell voted £1,500 from the funds of the Catholic Association to help pay for the 'schools' and residence.[207] Bryan Bolger gave a loan of £1,000 at 5% per annum on a mortgage bond, signed by Edmund Rice as Superior General and Brothers Austin Dunphy and Patrick Ellis as Assistants.[208] The interest was paid half-yearly until mid 1834.[209] Bryan Bolger, on his death in 1836, bequeathed his entire estate of approximately £8,000 in trust "for educating and clothing poor boys and for no other purpose whatever."[210] It must be recalled that Edmund Rice's Institute was an illegal organisation under the unrepealed Statute of 1791, which specifically forbade any person 'to found, endow or establish any Society of persons bound by monastic vows'.[211] The Penal Clause of the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act did nothing but add to its illegality.[212] In consequence, the Christian Brothers could not lawfully receive a bequest or legacy and the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, aware of this situation, pursued the Brothers for almost one hundred years in respect of such bequests,[213] unless some subterfuge had been used by not naming the Brotherhood or having them avoid receiving any bequest directly. Caution and prudence were needed to allow the Brothers to receive bequests without naming them directly and thus not fall foul of the law.[214]

Bryan Bolger's will of 1834 named Archbishop Murray, Edmund Rice

(Brother Ignatius) and Michael Dunphy (Brother Bernard) as Trustees and Residuary Legatees and Brother Myles Ignatius Kelly as administrator of the estate.[215] John Bolger, a nephew of Bryan, contested the will on the grounds that small pecuniary legacies left to himself and other relatives were no substitutes for the injustice they suffered in being denied possession of the vast sum of the money which his had uncle left.[216] Another nephew, James Bolger, who had an equal type of claim added to his grievance, that he had done physical work on the actual building of North Richmond Street, for which he had not been paid. These claimants brought the whole issue before the Court of Chancery and the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests.[217] The latter demanded, in October 1838, through the authority of the Court of Chancery, detailed financial statements from each of the Brother's houses, details of their property and how it was acquired and personal details of the lives and finances of Brothers Edmund Rice, Michael Bernard Dunphy, Patrick Ellis, Austin Grace, Francis Thornton, Bernard Duggan and Ignatius Kelly.[218] These matters dragged on much to the annoyance of the new Superior General Brother Michael Paul Riordan and his Council. The issue came to a head when the Charity Commissioners filed a Bill against Edmund Rice and Michael Bernard Dunphy for the sum of the debt of £1,000 granted by Bryan Bolger in 1832 which had not been paid.[219] Edmund Rice felt he had no option in law, having received legal advice, that he would have to pay the residue of this money. The only way he could do this was by a Deed of Mortgage on the house and schools at North Richmond Street Although it was the property of the Congregation, for legal reasons already outlined, it was vested in the names of Edmund Rice, Austin Dunphy and Myles Kelly.

The Superior General issued a prohibition on 11 June 1840 forbidding these three Brothers from mortgaging the Nth. Richmond Street premises.[220] They ignored this order[221] as they regarded it as a strong command and not a precept of obedience.[222] Archbishop Murray and Fr. Peter Kenney S.J. concurred with this view to the considerable

annoyance of the Superior General. Edmund and his friends were caught from two sides: legal threats from the Commissioners of Bequests and the religious vow of obedience and respect for superiors. If the worry of this matter was not enough to bring a complete breakdown of health, both physical and mental, to the frail and aged Edmund Rice, nothing would. Yet he stood up to the physical strain of travelling from Waterford to Dublin on this legal business and his mind and mental faculties were perfectly capable of identifying the issues and the consequences of his actions. These actions of Brother Rice tend to contradict the rumour of Brother Joseph Leonard, made in late 1828 that he was '*egare*' - lost, off course, crazy.[223]

In spite of his resoluteness of spirit and physical courage, however, legal and other affairs were beginning to take their toll on his health. Rheumatism was a big problem for him. Writing to Brother Austin Dunphy in Limerick on 10 Feb. 1839, he said -

> My head is gone to pieces, I can be of no further use to you. I am obliged to set off to Dublin (from Waterford) this evening to see Brother Francis Thornton on legal matters. It's well if this work does not kill me.[224]

Edmund Rice and Austin Dunphy were together in Dublin in July and August of 1840 in connection with the business affairs of the Nth. Richmond Street premises and the legal intricacies of the Bolger bequest. They intended to stay with Brother Bernard Dunphy, who was house director at Hanover Street but who was unfortunately ill with cancer.[225] There was a shortage of spare beds in Hanover Street for the visitors and Brother Bernard sought a loan of two extra beds from Nth. Richmond Street. Brother Michael Paul Riordan refused the loan of the beds for the founder and one of his oldest confreres.[226] Beds had to be hired and paid for locally.[227]

Evan at this late stage in Edmund Rice's life, he was again the subject of misrepresentation and injustice in an episode that again, at the risk of repetition, deserves mention as it impinges to no small degree on

his failing health. On 23 July 1840, a memorial signed by eight teaching Brothers in Dublin with Edmund Rice's name included and describing him as Founder of the Brothers was sent to the Archbishop's House complaining that the decision of the 1838 Chapter to allow two pay schools to operate was being negated by Brother Riordan, the Superior General.[228] It was a hand written document, with the writer signing the names of all eight Brothers including Edmund Rice, who at 78 years of age was retired and was not residing in Dublin. Archbishop Murray added his recommendation to it. It was never sent to Rome and is in the Dublin Diocesan Archives.[229] On 30 July 1840, a similar memorial with the same eight signatures was sent to Rome to Cardinal Franzoni. This memorial also included allegations of the invalid election of Brother Michael Paul Riordan and also accused him of abuse of power and the unjustifiable use of the vow of obedience inflicted on the Brothers in regards to actions that were neither just nor charitable.[230] Cardinal Franzoni was shocked at the allegation and asked Archbishop Murray, to investigate the matter, having sent him a copy of the 'Memorial.' It has since been proven scientifically that the signature of Edmund Rice was a forgery.[231] When Brother Riordan was informed of this act of disloyalty he wrote to his friend Dr. Paul Cullen, the Rector of the Irish College in Rome as follows :

> I do not by any means censure the ex-superior for the part he has taken in these disedifying matters, as he has been labouring under imbecility of mind for some time before he went out of office and has been so ever since.[232]

The legacy of Brother Joseph Leonard's rumours of Edmund Rice's imbecility of 1828 still lingered on. Edmund knew nothing of the forgery and had no part in it. As for 'imbecility' and 'mental senility', Edmund in two codicils to his will in September and October 1840 most cleverly assigned lands valued at £2,800 in Counties Kilkenny and Waterford, which were his very own personal property, to (Brothers) Myles Kelly, Austin Dunphy, Mark Thornton and Patrick Ellis jointly, and in their private, personal and non-religious legal capacities. These Deeds were enacted to enable the continuing income of these lands to be used for

the future needs of the Institute.[233] In this way, he continued to foil the designs of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests.

The final calculated belittlement shown to Edmund Rice was perpetrated on him by his successor, Brother Michael Paul Riordan, at the ordinary decennial Chapter called in 1841. Edmund, thinking as founder that he had a right to attend any Chapter of the religious order which he had founded, entered the chapter-room, only to be told by his successor, Brother M.P. Riordan, that by a Prescript of the 1831 Decennial Chapter, ex-superiors and assistants could only attend the Chapter at which they formally resigned.[234] This information, which had slipped his mind, could have been conveyed to him in advance, to avoid embarrassing him. The authors of the Positio[235] appear to believe that it was deliberately withheld to achieve that very purpose in a very final manner. He left the room quietly, and his exit marked the end of his official links with an organisation which he had founded and administered for almost 40 years.[236]

The years 1841 to 1844 were spent by Edmund Rice in his first beloved foundation, the monastery at Mount Sion in Waterford City. His health from 1841 until June 1842 alternated between periods of relative physical health and mobility for one of his age, and periods when he was confined to his room or to the house. In these periods of reasonable good health in 1841 he travelled, accompanied by a Brother, as far afield as Limerick and Ennistymon to visit his friends Brothers Austin Dunphy and Joseph Mulcahy who were the Directors of the houses in those two centres. These two Brothers were the only two surviving members of the assembly, in the chapel of the Presentation Convent in Waterford on 15 August 1808, who had taken their first vows with Edmund Rice and who had remained loyal to him to the end.[237] By Christmas Eve of 1841 he was very ill and confined to bed. His successor, Brother Riordan circulated all the Brothers' houses with the sad news and requested prayers for his happy death.[238] By early 1842, he had recovered

significantly to visit the classrooms with the help of a Brother, where his presence was welcomed by Brothers and pupils alike.[239] When greater feebleness prevented him from ambulatory excursions into the school and around the grounds, the House Director, Brother Joseph Murphy purchased a bath or wheel chair for him.[240]

From June 1842 until his death in August 1844, he was confined to his room. His friend Bishop Nicholas Foran of Waterford visited him regularly. Many of the local clergy and the leading citizens of Waterford also came to pay him short courtesy visits. His gratitude for the kindness shown to him by these visitors was warmly expressed by him.[241] His sight began to fail. Occasionally, various Brothers and novices came to read pious books and tracts of Scripture for him which pleased him greatly. Among the Brothers who liked to perform this small act of kindness for him were two who were later to succeed him as Superiors-General of the Congregation, Brother Aloysius Hoare, the third Superior-General from 1862-1880 and Brother Anthony Maxwell, his successor from 1880-1900. Brother Maxwell was only a novice at this time from 1842-1844.[242] Edmund Rice was ever conscious of the need to prepare himself for death, lest as he used to say "the call may be sudden and the time for supplication past."[243] The call came on 29 August 1844, when having received the Last Sacraments, he died. He was dressed in the habit of the Congregation he founded, with a rosary and crucifix in his hands. His earthly remains were visited and venerated by his fellow brethren, and the local people of Waterford who had for many years regarded him as the greatest benefactor of their city. He was buried beneath a simple metal cross in the Community Cemetery on 31st August 1844, following a solemn Requiem Mass in the Community oratory, at which Bishop Foran presided, in the presence of many of the clergy, his beloved Brothers and the leading citizens of Waterford.

Bishop Foran organised the celebration of a Month's Memorial Mass in the Cathedral on 1 October 1844, to which the public and many

dignitaries were invited, including the great Irish Apostle of Temperance, Fr. Theobald Mathew. In a thronged Cathedral, Fr. Richard Fitzgerald, the Cathedral Administrator, preached a most moving tribute. A short excerpt from it aptly sums up the life and achievements of Edmund Rice:

> I have not come here to speak a formal panegyric. Were I so rash I would insult his memory. I am relieved, emboldened, even forgetting my incompetency, when I look around and witness the stupendous monument he has left behind. It were impossible to estimate the blessings that have accrued to Society through the agency of these educational establishments that have been reared by his piety, his energy, his zeal. His charity has not been confined to his own land ; it went beyond the seas, and has been felt in the sister country and in distant colonies ... Need I say that he stands not in need of the genius of the sculptor or the painter ; for as long as gratitude shall find a place in the Irish heart, as long as religion shall be reverenced among us, as long as civilisation shall be prized, as long as sterling patriotism shall be accounted a virtue, the name of Edmund Ignatius Rice shall be held in benediction.[244]

A quotation from one of the leading journals of the day, quoted by McCarthy, is perhaps a more revealing and relevant tribute to the man and his educational achievements:

> Edmund Ignatius Rice bequeathed to his country a Religious Congregation racy of the soil. His vigorous intellect, his energy, his integrity, his tenacity of purpose in the pursuit of his grand ideal, were qualities which won the admiration and respect of all who came into contact with him. He first laid the foundation of an education system for the Catholic children of the working classes of Ireland. There is not perhaps one among the roll of illustrious Irishmen more conspicuous for public usefulness than Edmund Ignatius Rice.[245]

The recognition Edmund Rice received during his life and the eulogies paid to his work and memory after his death seemed rather strangely to have made little impact on some members of his Institute, including his successor Brother M.P. Riordan, who viewed the work of their Founder from a different perspective. They seemed disposed to downgrading the achievements of their inspired founder to a minor role in the history of the Brotherhood. Brother Riordan and his First Assistant

Brother P. M. Murphy, who was also Edmund's Superior in the Mount Sion House at the time while Edmund was living out his last year in this life, had visited the De La Salle Generalate in 1843. On their return to Waterford in September 1843, Brother Murphy wrote: "It was a great comfort for us to see the tomb of our venerable founder the holy Father De La Salle."[246] Earlier that year there was advertised for sale a book with the title The Life the Venerable J.B. De La Salle, Founder of the Christian Schools - by the Christian Brothers.[247] It was a translation from the French edition of Pere Garreau S.J. and is attributed to Brother M. P. Riordan himself. The final chapter is entitled "An account of the Rise and Progress of the Society in Ireland."[248] This could not have been published without Paul Riordan's permission. A further indication of this devotion to De La Salle is shown by an entry in the Nth. Richmond Street Community account-book dated 21 June 1843: "Printing 4,000 copies of an engraving of the Venerable De La Salle - £2.0.0."[249] In June 1845, less than a year after Edmund Rice's death, an additional 100 copies were ordered at a cost of 16s.6d.[250]

Perhaps the most appropriate conclusion to be drawn from the less than favourable view of Brother Riordan and others to their late founder, Brother Rice, in contrast to their approbation of Jean Baptiste De La Salle is to quote the scriptural axiom - "A prophet is not without honour except in his own country and in his own house."[251] Edmund Rice himself did not accept this De La Salle interference and influence in the working of his Institute, as is evidenced by his gentle but effective rebuke to Frere Guillaume, the De La Salle Superior General in a letter dated 16 October 1829.[252]

> I understand that one of our Brothers (Brother Joseph Leonard of the Cork community) has had very many letters from you about our Institute, some of which he has shown to other Brothers, but he has thought well of not showing any of them to me; however I must say I never asked him to do so, as I considered it his duty to have done it himself without being asked. This, I mention, in order that in any future communication you may have with him, whilst I am in

> office, you perhaps will have the goodness to let it come through me in order that I may not lose the benefit of any salutary advice you may be pleased to give him. The two resident Assistants will read this letter, and I doubt not, unless I shall have some reason to change my mind, but a copy of it and your answer will be laid before the Brothers at the next General Chapter, as it may do us some good.[253]

The above quotation from a four page letter of Edmund Rice to Frere Guillaume, Superior General of the De La Salle Brothers, makes clear the independence of his Institute from that of the French Brothers and warns off Frere Guillaume from further interference in the affairs of the Irish Christian Brothers. The Irish Brothers, because of the Francophile element among them, adapted the '*Signum Fides*' crest of the French brothers as their own. It was not until 1921 that a distinctive crest was designed for the Irish Christian Brothers and Edmund Rice 'rediscovered' as Founder.[254]

8.6 The Maynooth Decrees Controversy 1875 to 1880

In the autumn of 1875, a Plenary Synod of the Irish Church, the second convened since the Reformation, was held at Maynooth College, the National Seminary which had opened in 1795. Cardinal Paul Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, was deputed by the Holy See to summon the Synod and preside over its deliberations. He had presided over the First Plenary Synod held in Thurles in 1850, when he was Archbishop of Armagh. The sessions of the Synod lasted from Monday, 30 August 1875, until Monday, 20 September 1875.[255] Many aspects of ecclesiastical and church discipline were deliberated upon with the intention that the Irish church would be brought into full conformity with the Decrees of the First Vatican Council of 1870.[256] The deliberations of the Maynooth Synod were published early in 1877. As many as 367 decrees in all were passed.[257] The Christian Brothers read with dismay the ten decrees that were binding on "Brothers who conduct schools."[258] These decrees, Section xxxiii, Nos. 302-311, were to be found on pages 133 and 134 of Acta et Decreta Synodi Plenariae Episciporum Hiberniae

Habitae apud Maynutiam 1875.[259] The Synod of Thurles in 1850 had not issued any directives concerning the Brothers.[260] On the contrary, it is of interest to note that in the twenty six years following the Synod of Thurles up to 1876, the Brothers were actively encouraged to establish their schools in every part of Ireland. This was largely due to the influence of Dr. Paul Cullen, who came from Rome to Armagh as Bishop in 1854. His dislike of the National Schools System and his views on the provision of purely Catholic denominational school coincided with the views of the Christian Brothers. During Dr. Cullen's 26 years of episcopacy in Armagh and later in Dublin, the Brothers opened 62 schools throughout Ireland.[261] Brother John Austin Grace, Superior or Director of the Nth. Richmond Street Community had some suspicion that the Brothers and their Institute might come up for discussion by the bishops at Maynooth. He wrote to Frere Patrick, the Assistant to the De La Salle Superior-General in Paris in 1875, querying the extent to which French priests could interfere in the management of their schools, since the Irish Brothers' Papal Brief of 1820 was largely based on the De La Salle Papal Brief of 1725. Frere Patrick replied that the French clergy had no other rights in regard to their schools except in the direction and supervision of the weekly class conducted by the Brothers in the local parish church.[262]

Brother Grace's fears were well founded. He received a letter on 5 September 1875 during the Synod from Cardinal Cullen[263] requesting him to forward a copy of the Brothers' Papal Brief of 1820. Brother Louis Hoare sent the Latin version of the Brief to Cardinal Cullen.[264] Nothing further was heard from the Bishops until the decrees were published in 1877, over a year later. The Decrees came as a shock to the Brothers, but to some extent the Brothers should not have been surprised at what the Decrees had in store for them. There had always been a certain tension between bishops conscious of their local powers and authority and the major religious orders, such as Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines and Jesuits, who were governed by their Superior Generals, and who, while subject in some degree to local diocesan

regulations, were equally determined to uphold their rights and privileges because of their papally approved universal character and constitutions.[265]

Disputes between local bishops and religious orders have often arisen, based on the old theme of jurisdiction versus privilege or exemption.[266] The Irish bishops were no strangers to these inter-clerical jousts as is evidenced from a complaint they made to Rome in 1873, to *Propaganda Fide*, concerning alleged abuses in the use of property and money by the regular clergy in Ireland. The bishops listed the main religious orders involved in this matter as Franciscans, Carmelites, Capuchins, Augustinians, Dominicans and Jesuits.[267] In the reply dated 31 August 1873, *Propaganda Fide*[268] informed the Irish bishops that it intended to work through the respective Superior-Generals of the religious orders complained of "to look into the complaints, and where necessary to restore or strengthen discipline".[269] It was in effect a clear and unambiguous instruction to the Irish bishops that where members of the regular clergy were concerned, Rome would deal directly with their Superiors-General and not through the local bishops.

The situation was somewhat similar in England in the late 1860s and early 1870s, where Cardinal Manning of Westminster found himself in dispute with the English Jesuits. The Cardinal was antipathetic towards them on such diverse matters as preventing the Jesuits with their classical type of education from establishing schools for the middle classes in London. He felt that such schools should include science subjects on their curricula to cater for those classes engaged in industry and commerce.[270] Likewise Manning opposed the setting up of a Jesuit run university at Prior Park in Bath, in favour of a Catholic University College at Kensington in London in 1874 which would be affiliated to London University.[271] In their dispute with the Jesuits over their right to open schools without episcopal permission, Cardinal Manning and Bishop Vaughan of Salford appealed to Rome and won their case in

1881.

It did not seem to occur to the Irish bishops that Rome might be equally protective of the Irish Christian Brothers who, in strictly ecclesiastical terms, were laymen with simple vows. Although the Brothers might not have the full canonical advantages enjoyed by the established religious orders, they had the status of a Papal Congregation or Institution of Pontifical Right, awarded by Pope Pius VII in his 1820 Brief.[272] The bishops hoped that any reforms they planned for lay religious, such as the Christian Brothers, would be upheld by Rome, the centre of clerical power within the church. If such were the hopes of the Irish bishops, they certainly miscalculated on the outcome of the dispute and the determined and formidable opposition of the Brothers to these decrees. The introductory paragraph to these ten decrees binding on 'Brothers who conduct schools' began with the rather innocuous Decree No. 302.

> Among the outstanding glories of the Catholic Church which are worthy of praise we must surely speak of those orders of Religious men who devote themselves to the instruction of youth, in the spirit of knowledge and piety. In order, however, that the good which by the assistance of God, emanates from their labours, may be more and more increased, we decree that the following be observed.[273]

There followed a list of regulations which the Brothers read with shock and dismay. The opening Decree read : "*Invigilent Episcopi*: Let the Bishops watch that the approved Constitutions and Rules of the Brothers be well observed."[274] The bishops, it would appear, were claiming for themselves rights of authority, supervision and visitation over the Brothers, despite their Papal Brief as a Congregation of Papal Status. They even included the full text of the Brothers' Papal Brief Ad Pastoralis Dignitatis Fastigium in the appendix of their book of Synodal decrees.[275] As a result they could not later claim they had acted in ignorance.

The Brothers were greatly depressed by these decrees, which put in their very best light, appeared to be a vote of no confidence in them as

religious and as Catholic educators.[276] The Brothers summed up the decrees briefly but succinctly as follows: firstly, that episcopal visitation was going to be forced on them;[277] secondly, that inspection of their schools in both secular and religious subjects was going to be taken from them;[278] thirdly that their rights to hold property as guaranteed by a Papal Rescript was to be ignored[279] and fourthly, that they were no longer to be trusted to handle money.[280] In short, the "rights of the Church or the Parish" to quote Decree 309 "were to be protected," but not the rights of the Brothers. Brother Grace summed up the reaction of the Brothers : "In these decrees, the priest is everything, the poor Christian Brother is nothing. From first to last there is scarcely a good word for us."[281] The Brothers could scarcely believe that these synodal decrees had emanated from a body of men, who so often down the years had eulogised the Brothers' Schools as ideal Catholic schools, and for whom the Brothers had stretched their manpower to breaking point to provide new schools in various Irish dioceses at the urgent request of their bishops. The Brothers could scarcely credit that these attempts to constrain them and their work could have been approved of by Cardinal Cullen, the champion of their former Superior General Michael Paul Riordan who had died in 1862. It was Cullen who had encouraged them from 1850 onwards to open new schools in opposition to National Board Schools and who in his evidence on oath to the Powis Commission in 1870 had stated that

> the Brothers are among the best teachers in Ireland, and I think it is a very great reproach to an enlightened Government to exclude such men - and such deserving men - from any grant from the State, or adopt any system that would exclude them.[282]

Brother Hoare sent a letter of protest to Cardinal Cullen and the bishops in which he stated that the action of the Synod led him to conclude that the bishops had lost that confidence in the Institute which they formerly had, although the Brothers were not conscious of any failure or neglect on their part to carry out the duties they had voluntarily undertaken. He concluded by saying that he could see the Institute disintegrating, with its unity of action destroyed and any good it may have

achieved in the past, or might yet effect, being lost within a few years.[283] Brother Hoare sought an interview with the Cardinal which was granted on 11 April 1877. He was accompanied by Brothers Anthony Maxwell, Second Assistant and by Brothers Austin Grace and Patrick Walsh, Consultors to the Superior General.[284] Brother Grace reported that the meeting with the Cardinal and his Vicar General was friendly. Cardinal Cullen attempted to tone down the sharp edges of the Decrees and the implied criticism of the Decrees against the Brothers. He held out no hope of the Decrees being relaxed, however, and suggested that simple submission was the only course open to the Brothers.[285]

Brother Hoare, who was generally regarded as a gentleman, reported by circular to his communities the following day on the meeting and suggested in God's name that they should submit to the inevitable.[286] This letter was received with dismay and then anger. He was bombarded with protests, some questioning his personal integrity,[287] threats of resignations and closures[288] and finally demands for an appeal to Rome.[289] There was a groundswell of opposition from among the Brothers against the Decrees, which in the opinion of many, were incompatible with their vows, and others threatened to leave rather than be bound by them. In this troubled atmosphere, Brother Hoare reluctantly decided to appeal against the Decrees and their contents to *Propaganda Fide* in Rome, but out of courtesy informed Cardinal Cullen of his intention. The Cardinal, although surprised, replied that he had no objection saying, "that Rome is open to all her children from whatever country they come."[290] The Brothers were now committed to their only hope of justice and redress, which lay in Rome.[291]

Many members of the regular clergy sympathised with the Brothers and advised them on how to prepare their case, stressing that written reports and rebuttals of the Decrees alone would not suffice. They suggested that the Brothers send emissaries to Rome to answer in person any questions which might be put by *Propaganda Fide*. Brother

Hoare chose two Deputies. The first was Brother Anthony Maxwell,[292] son of an eminent barrister. Brother Maxwell, it appeared, had his father's analytical traits and the astuteness and tact that of necessity go with it. He was Brother Hoare's second assistant and was aged 58 years.

Brother Hoare chose Brother Austin Grace,[293] one of his Consultors, and Superior of Nth. Richmond Street Community, to accompany Brother Maxwell. Brother Grace's knowledge of the Generalate and its business over many years gave him experience of the affairs of the Institute, which few outside of the General Council would have had. His evidence before the Powis Commission on Education in 1868 showed that he was a competent advocate and spokesman, who did not become harassed under pressure. Only his age of 77 years was against him in undertaking such an arduous journey to Rome and the mental and physical stress attached to this vital mission. Brother Grace prepared a selection of 'Testimonies' in favour of the Christian Brothers and their schools from the many newspaper reports he had collected over the years. These 'Testimonies'[294] had been made by Prelates and Clergy, by Noblemen and Gentlemen, by Government Commissioners and by the Public Press. It must have appeared strange to *Propaganda Fide* that some of the same Irish bishops, who up to a short time previously had highly praised the work and dedication of the Brothers in their schools, sometimes under oath, during the Kildare Education Commission 1854 and the Powis Commission of 1870, should now within the space of a few short years, seriously question the religious spirit and teaching ability of the Brothers.[295]

Father T. Matthews, parish priest of Drogheda and a friend of the Brothers recommended the name of Canon Filippo De Angelis as the most able Roman Advocate to present their case, adding, however, that he "was something of a money-grabber."[296] Brothers Grace and Maxwell left Nth. Richmond Street on the morning of 12 October 1877 for Rome,

carrying with them the Brothers' case[297] against the Maynooth Decrees and copies of Brother Grace's "Book of Testimonials".[298] The Brothers arrived in Rome on Friday 2 November 1877. Blake, writing on Brother Austin Grace, gives a most detailed account of the daily events in the lives of these two Brother-Deputies and the assistance and support they received from representatives of the many Irish members of the major religious orders based in Rome. Some few aspects of the Brothers stay in Rome need mention. The slowness, even procrastination, of major judicial bodies such as *Propaganda Fide* in their examination and evaluation of the issues involved in this dispute, as in all such cases, must have been a cause of great strain and frustration to Brothers Grace and Maxwell. The death of Pope Pius IX on 7 February 1878[299] and the inevitable transfers of Roman Curial personnel, particularly of their friend Cardinal Franchi, to new duties, filled the minds of the Brothers with unease, if not alarm, as to the possible outcome of their case.

The Brothers got some consolation from their anxiety in Rome. From the opinions of their supporters in the major Religious Orders they learned that *Propaganda Fide* cherished its power over local bishops, and that any move on the part of local Hierarchies that seemed to deflect authority away from Rome was rigorously investigated.[300] Simply put, it was a case of Ultramontanism versus Gallicanism.[301] The Brothers were heartened to realise that what Rome approved of, Rome defended. The Brothers' Brief of 1820 came from Pope Pius VII and not from the Irish bishops. Cardinal Cullen did not assemble the Irish bishops to consider the Brothers' Appeal until late January 1878 and to present their reply to *Propaganda Fide*. It was drafted by Bishop Patrick Moran of Ossory, subsequently Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, Australia, and a nephew of Cardinal Cullen. The list of 'faults' of the Brothers was generally exaggerated, or based on isolated incidents, so that the Brothers and their Advocate in Rome, Canon De Angelis had little difficulty in refuting them. These 'faults' included the claims that many Brothers left the Institute, which showed that the Institute was not well conducted; that in

many schools the Brothers received the clergy with bad grace; that the Brothers' schools could not maintain the standards of the public (national) schools; that young Brothers, almost boys, took charge of classes without being properly trained as teachers and that the Brothers produced religious books without the approval of the local bishop.[302] It took Canon De Angelis until June 1878[303] to get a copy of the Bishop's reply to the Brothers submission, which the bishops had received in December 1877.[304]

In May 1878, Bishop John Scandella, Vicar Apostolic of Gibraltar arrived in Rome to report on his 'diocese'. He was a past pupil of Brother Patrick O'Flaherty in the Brother's first school in Gibraltar which ended unsuccessfully in the mid 1830's.[305] Bishop Scandella[306] had just succeeded in getting a Community of the Brothers from Ireland, led by Brother Stanislaus O'Brien[307] to staff both the primary and secondary boys' schools in Gibraltar catering for five hundred boys.[308] When he heard of the Maynooth Decrees and the Brothers' plight in their regard, he made swift to take up the case on behalf of the Brothers with *Propaganda Fide*, with individual Cardinals and with the Holy Father Leo XIII, himself.[309] He argued that if anything happened to deprive him of the presence of the Brothers in Gibraltar, then five hundred of his children would be on the streets or in the hands of proselytisers. This was a vital presentation of the facts, which could not but impress the justice of the Brothers' case.[310] Cardinal Cullen returned to Dublin, in June 1878, an ill man, with his case against the Brothers unresolved. The slow process dragged on through the summer and autumn of 1878 and finally on 3 December 1878, *Propaganda Fide* and the group of Cardinals examining the case found unanimously in favour of the Brothers.[311] On 8 December 1878, Pope Leo XIII signed their decision,[312] which was conveyed in a laconic telegram to Brother Hoare in Dublin from Brother Grace, the text of which read. "Case decided, no change, no innovation, the future as the past."[313] Brothers Grace and Maxwell were received in audience by Pope Leo XIII on 8 January 1879 and returned to Dublin on

10 February 1879 to a heroes' welcome from the Brothers in Dublin.[314]

The joy of the Brothers was short-lived, for at the meeting of the Irish bishops held on 17 February 1879, the Bishops decided to appeal against *Propaganda Fide*'s decision in favour of the Brothers.[315] Archbishop McGettigan of Armagh and Bishop Patrick Moran of Ossory were to travel to Rome to represent the bishops.[316] A number of events in Ireland at this time, when contrasted, make very interesting reading. The great disappointment of some of the bishops at the loss of their case in Rome, but more particularly the attitude and actions of some of the parochial clergy, and in particular in the Diocese of Cloyne in Co. Cork, led them to engage in a campaign of letter writing to provincial newspapers,[317] denigrating the Brothers and their work. These letters written by anonymous priests were less than fair or just in terms of how they portrayed the facts of the situation. They alleged ignorance against the Brothers in both religious and secular knowledge. The disedifying events in Mallow initiated in March 1879 by Archdeacon O'Regan, the parish priest, with the tacit approval of his bishop, led to the Brothers leaving the town quietly. The town people, on the other hand, took part in scenes of public rioting and protest.[318] The Brothers themselves kept a low profile during this newspaper controversy and took no part in it whatever.[319] The Brothers had their defenders, among them the editors of the newspapers "The Nation",[320] "The Cork Herald",[321] "Saunders' Magazine",[322] and their past pupils including the secretary to the Lord Mayor of Cork, Mr. D. F. Giltinan.[323]

In May 1879, another Royal Commission on Education began taking evidence in Ireland. Towards the end of May, Dr. James Creed Meredith, the Secretary of the Rosse Commission on Endowed Schools,[324] invited Brother Grace to attend to give evidence in person as he had done so capably at the Powis Commission in 1868. Due to ill-health and his age, he being seventy nine years of age, Brother Grace declined and sent his sub-superior Brother Louis Swan instead. The Report of this

Commission published in 1881, gives the most interesting facts provided by Brother Swan, who taught the most senior classes at Nth. Richmond Street school for many years. Brother Swan's evidence appeared to disprove the newspaper allegations that the Brothers were ignorant of the secular knowledge which was essential to any classroom teacher. Brother Swan outlined the professions and occupations which his pupils from "the humbler classes" had achieved in life :

> Some pupils have gone on to other institutions and colleges, but others have not been to any other school than mine. My list comprises twelve clergymen with eight or nine preparing for the church as clerical students, twelve physicians or surgeons, three solicitors, two architects, four architects' draughtsmen, nine artists, two civil engineers, one geologist, one chemist, two in the Indian Civil Service, nine in banks, fourteen in Railway Clerkships and sixty in Commercial Enterprises, the total annual income of sixty clerks amounts to £10,800 annually. Most are employed in the city and are very much prized. The rank and file, to use a military phrase, go to trades.[325]

Mr. Keys Moore, Scholar at Trinity College Dublin, visited seven Brothers' schools around the country. The extract quoted here from his Report to the Rosse Commission, must have pleased the Brothers, while simultaneously demolishing Bishop Moran's accusations against the Brothers and their schools :

> It is a special feature of the schools that the pupils take the liveliest interest in their studies, and the intelligence and eagerness to answer, shown by them at an examination, is truly gratifying, and proves that a due balance is maintained between mechanical and intellectual teaching. The school buildings are by far the best of those which I have inspected - the rooms are lofty, spacious and well furnished and the out-offices are constructed according to the most approved methods - a thing which is sadly neglected by other Boards. The Christian Brothers seemed to me, more than any others, to have studied the science of teaching, and their ability, as teachers is of the highest order.[326]

The Brothers had to answer the bishop's appeal against the decision of Propaganda Fide of 3 December 1878 and prepare their case for

Rome to again confront Archbishop McGettigan of Armagh and Bishop Moran of Ossory. Brother Maxwell was again sent to Rome, but on his own, as Brother Grace was considered too infirm to travel. Brother Maxwell gave Brother Grace a copy of the Bishops' Counter-Appeal and asked him to draw up appropriate answers[327] and to send the answers to him in Rome. It was sent to Rome and translated into Italian by Canon De Angelis, the Roman Advocate whom the Brothers again hired.[328] Brother Hoare sent a full report on the expulsion of the Brothers from Mallow by Arch-deacon O'Regan, without his bishop's permission, to Cardinal John Simeoni, the new Prefect of *Propaganda Fide*.[329] This no doubt helped *Propaganda* to fully understand Irish diocesan clerical opposition to the Brothers. Fr. O'Callaghan, OP, the Prior of the Dominican Basilica of San Clemente in Rome, and later to become Bishop of Cork, wrote to Brother Grace in Dublin informing him that the Irish bishops had been given 'a terrible berating' by Cardinal Bartolini at Propaganda for re-opening the case against the Brothers.[330]

Brother Maxwell wrote to Brother Grace noting that on this occasion it seemed to be Propaganda versus the Irish bishops rather than the bishops versus the Brothers.[331] Matters dragged on in their usual Roman way. Sir Patrick Maxwell, the famous barrister-brother of Brother Anthony, prepared a brief for Propaganda on the legality of individual Brothers being entitled to hold property as Trustees - an opinion, which completely satisfied *Propaganda* on the question of Brothers holding property.[332] The year 1879 passed and no decision was given. After the usual exact but dilatory processes, *Propaganda Fide*, on 23 February 1880, issued a full and comprehensive judgement in favour of the Brothers.[333] Brother Maxwell cabled Brother Grace as follows "No change - everything as you would wish."[334] The Maynooth Decrees Controversy had finally been won by the Christian Brothers.

In conclusion, two points need to be made. As a result of the papal decision, diocesan clergy were more wary of interference with Brothers'

schools, and did not attempt to precipitate another Mallow situation. They did not welcome new foundations from the Christian Brothers, but sought out diocesan congregations such as the Presentation and Patrician Brothers, where they felt it necessary to have religious-run schools in their dioceses. These religious would be subject to their absolute diocesan control. This proved no disadvantage to the Brothers, who undertook their educational work to Irish emigrants in Australia and New Zealand.

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[1] First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1825 (400) XII. 1. p.1.

[2] Donald Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 97.

[3] Minutes of the Commissioners of National Education Ireland (MCNEI), 19 January 1832 and 26 January 1832 (National Library of Ireland).

[4] Sean Griffin, "Archbishop Murray and the Episcopal Clash", Recusant History, Vol. 22, No. 3, May 1995, pp. 370-348.

[5] Donald Herron, "The Christian Brothers' Disconnection from the National Board, 1836", in Irish Educational Studies Vol. III (Dublin: U.C.D., 1983), No. 2, p. 40.

[6] Letter of Brother J. A. Hoare, Superior General, to the Secretaries of the Powis Commission, Dublin, 9 March 1868, Powis Commission Report (1870) Vol. III, pp. 83-84.

[7] Second Report of Evidence from the Select Committee on the State of the Poor in Ireland HC 1830 (654), vii, pp. 426-427 quoted in Queen's Belfast 1845 - 1949: The History of a University Vol. I, by T. W. Moody and J. C. Beckett (London: Faber and Faber, 1959) p. lvi

[8] Donald Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 96.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Christian Brothers' Educational Record 1895, p. 411.

[11] Donald Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 117.

[12] Moody, Martin and Byrne, A New History of Ireland Vol. III, p. 311.

[13] Ibid.

[14] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, p. 246.

[15] Ibid.

[16] J. W. Fitzpatrick, The Memoirs of Richard Whately (London: Richard Bentley, 1864) pp. 164-165.

[17] Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XXIII, 1953 edition, pp. 557-558. The article in this volume portrays a more liberal and pluralist attitude on the part of Dr. Whately to

Catholics than do many other specific character assessments of the prelate, for example, J. D. Fitzpatrick in his volume Edmund Rice, pp. 248-249 and p. 254.

[18] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 248-249 and 250.

[19] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 253-254.

[20] Copy of a Letter from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Edward Stanley, to the Duke of Leinster on the formation of a Board of Commissioners for Education in Ireland, HC 1831-32, (196) xxiv.

[21] Donald Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 107-108.

[22] Ibid.

[23] J. W. Kavanagh (A Catholic Layman), Mixed Education: The Catholic Case Stated (Dublin: Mullany, 1859), p. 233.

[24] *Vide* ref. 206 Ch. 7 of this thesis.

[25] Lord Grey to Lord Anglesey, the Lord Lieutenant, 16th August 1831., PRO Northern Ireland, T.1068-30 (copy).

[26] William J. Bradley, "Sir Thomas Wyse: Irish Pioneer in Education Reform" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Dublin, 1947), p. 88.

[27] Journals of the House of Commons XXXVI, pt. II, p. 879; A Bill for the Establishment of Parochial Schools, and the Advancement of the Education of the People in Ireland, HC 1831, (286) i.

[28] Walter A. Phillips, History of the Church of Ireland Vol. III (London: Macmillan, 1933), p. 311.

[29] Norman Atkinson, Irish Education: A History of Educational Institutions (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1969), p. 95.

[30] Hansard 3, xii. 89.

[31] Ibid., xii. 583.

[32] Atkinson, Irish Education, p. 95.

[33] Ms. 5529, National Library, Dublin.

[34] Phillips, History of the Church of Ireland Vol. III, p. 310.

[35] Ibid.

[36] "Church Education Society," Daily Express, 21 September 1859, Larcom Ms. 7649, National Library, Dublin.

[37] Archbishop Beresford to Sir Robert Peel, 8th November 1842, Addison Ms 40518, f.142. British National Library, London.

[38] *Vide* ref. 32 above.

[39] Memorandum of the Educational Endowments Commission 1884 Ms. 5626, PRO Dublin.

[40] Phillips, History of the Church of Ireland Vol. III, p.311.

[41] *Vide* ref. 32 above.

[42] Circular letter of the Rev W.A. Wellock, 1859, Larcom Ms. 7648, National Library, Dublin.

[43] Letter of Archbishop John Beresford in the Daily Express, 23 Februry 1860, Ms. 7651, National Library, Dublin.

[44] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, p. 247.

[45] *Vide* ref. 30 above.

[46] Powis Commission Report 1970 Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 47 seq.

[47] Walter Phillips, History of the Church of Ireland Vol. III, p. 247.

[48] Minutes of the National Commissioners 1 December 1831 Ms. 5529, National Library, Dublin.

[49] O'Connell Correspondence, Vol. I, p.342, *vide* Ch. 7 ref. 52 of this thesis.

[50] Thomas Wyse, Notes on Education Reform (Waterford: C.P. Redmond & Co., 1901), p. 44.

[51] Sean Griffin, "Archbishop Murray of Dublin and the Episcopal Clash on Interdenominational School Scripture Lessons Controversy, 1835-1841" in Recusant History Vol. XXII, No. 3, May 1995, p. 380.

[52] Archbishop W. J. Walsh of Dublin, Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1890), p. 31.

[53] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education", p. 71.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., p. 94.

[57] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I (Dublin: Published by the Christian Brothers at the Bray Printing Co., Ormond Quay, 1958-61), p. 193.

[58] Irish Statute, 31 Geo. III, c.32 July 1791, in strict legal terms schools run by religious orders were illegal under this Act and U.K. Statute, 10 Geo. IV, c.7 April 1829 (Catholic Emancipation) - under this Act the Brothers themselves were an illegal organisation.

[59] J. W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education, p.233.

[60] Minutes of the 1836 Chapter of the Christian Brothers, Archives of the Generalate, *Via Maglianella*, Rome.

[61] Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the plan of Education in Ireland 1837,(543-1), VIII, Pt. ii. 1, p. 745.

[62] The Christian Brothers, Rules and Constitutions 1832 (Dublin: Printed for the Brothers by Joseph Bundell, 1832), Article 12, Ch. 11.

[63] Minutes of the 1836 General Chapter, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[64] Powis Commission Report, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commission from 12th March to 30th October 1868; 1870 (c.611) XXVIII. Pt. iii. 1. pt. 83.

[65] Powis Commission Report 1870, Report as at ref. 46. above.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Positio, CH. XV, p. 537 - Roman ref. Generalate Archives, General Chapter Decrees 1836 CFC/G. F. 0644.

[68] Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education, (Ireland), Vol. VII - Returns furnished by the National Board, HC 1870 (c. 6 / vii), xxviii, pt. 5, section xiv, p. 466.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Murray Papers, Edmund Rice to Dr. Murray, 4 June 1837, Dublin Diocesan Archives, 33/5, 16.

[71] Donald Heron, "The Christian Brothers' Disconnection from the National Board, 1836" in Irish Educational Studies, 3, 2 (1983), p. 47.

[72] Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 308, footnote no. 19.

[73] Report from the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the progress and operation of the new plan of education in Ireland, HC 1837, (485), ix, 190.

[74] Ibid.

[75] History of the Institute Vol. I, p. 271.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Donald Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 204.

[78] Norman Atkinson, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Dictionary of National Biography Vol. V, article on Paul Cullen Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, pp. 277-278.

[81] Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the plan of Education in Ireland, 1837, (543-11) VIII, pt. ii. 1.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid., p. 823.

[84] M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 276.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Minutes of Evidence 1837 as at ref. 65 pt. ii p.887, above.

[87] Donald Heron, "The Christian Brothers' Disconnection ...", p. 44.

[88] Minutes of Evidence 1837, pp. 1197-1198.

[89] Ibid., p. 1199.

[90] Application Book of the National Board, Register 2.c, p. 67 as quoted by M.C. Normoyle in a Tree is Planted, p. 275.

[91] Minutes of Evidence 1837 as at ref. 65 above, p. 1245.

[92] Ibid., p. 1246.

[93] J. W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education, p. 420.

[94] Minutes of Evidence 1837 as at ref. 65 above, p. 795.

[95] Ibid.

[96] William Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880 (Bristol: the Burleigh Press, 1975), p. 140.

[97] U.K. Statute, Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878 41 and 42 Vic. c.66, 16 August 1878.

[98] Ibid., p.7: Article 35. 2. For the purposes of this rule a school shall mean any educational institution (not being a national school) which affords classical or scientific education to pupils not exceeding 18 years of age....

[99] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", Appendix 9, pp. 601-609.

[100] Edward A. Fitzpatrick, La Salle, Patron of All Teachers (Milwaukee U.S.A.: Bruce Publishing Co., 1951), p. 129.

[101] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", ref. 3, p. 145.
"A number of religious orders of nuns engaged in teaching the poor gratuitously, such as the Ursuline Sisters, applied to Rome for permission or dispensation to take fee-paying pupils where very poor local financial circumstances, would have forced them to scale down their efforts for the poor or might even force them to close down completely. The opponents of these fee paying adjuncts of religious orders catering by rule for the poor particularly orders of nuns came in time to be identified with the education of the well-to-do and the materially prosperous sectors of society as a result of these temporary dispensations. This view still holds in Irish society today in regards to certain orders of priests and nuns."

[102] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 94. (i) "The Cork Community of the Brothers were financially more secure than other houses as a result of an unchallenged financial bequest of £10,000 to the Brothers in the will of a Dr. Barry in 1834; (ii) Moreover the North Monastery Community in Cork was unusual in many respects. Its members consisted of a group of talented but very individualistic men who were very principled and who acted more like single personalities than members of a community. This was demonstrated in the cautious and even perhaps devious manner, in which they, as individuals, broke free of Bishop John Murphy's Diocesan administration and affiliated themselves on a one by one basis to Edmund Rice's Institute in Mount Sion. One of their members, Br Michael Augustine (Austin) Reardon, a qualified architect, refused to join Edmund Rice's Institute, preferring instead to remain under Bishop Murphy's diocesan control in 1826. He, in fact, began the separate religious group know as the Presentation Brothers. The Presentation Brothers today quite rightly regard Edmund Rice as their Founder although this was not always the case. The Cork Community who affiliated to Edmund Rice's Institute and in particular Brothers Joseph and Baptist Leonard, blood brothers were very impressed and inspired by those elements of the De La Salle rules and constitutions which had been accepted by Edmund Rice and incorporated into his Papal Brief of Foundation, granted in 1820."

[103] Ibid., pp. 88-89. "Br. Joseph Leonard, one of the two newly elected extra Assistants forced upon Edmund Rice at the 1829 General Chapter to limit Rice's power as superior General (a decision which in retrospect was found to have been at variance with the Rules and Constitutions of the Institute, adopted in Jan 1822) looked more to the influence and thinking of the De La Salle components in the Christian Brothers' Rules than to the personal spirituality which Edmund Rice himself had incorporated into his own Institute. This was due to the fluency in French of many of the Cork Brothers, many of whose families had trading connections with France. It seemed natural to them to look on themselves as Irish members of the greater De. La Salle religious family, which was already an accepted success within the church."

[104] Positio, Ch. 16, Document. 7, pp. 598-599.

[105] Edmund Rice to Brother P.J. Murphy, 22 January 1828, Rice Letters 1810-1840 (115 letters in all) in the Generalate Archives, Rome.

[106] Minutes of the 1838 General Chapter, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[107] Positio, Chronology, p. XLIX.

[108] The Christian Brothers, The History of the Institute Vol. I, edition 1958-61, p.303.

[109] Positio, Ch. 16, p. 585.

[110] Ibid., p. 587.

[111] *Propaganda Fide* Archives Rome, ref. LDSC, Vol. 20, f 1075, cited in W.L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, p. 146.

[112] Positio, Ch. 16, p. 587.

[113] M. C. Normoyle, The Roman Correspondence: Treating of the Early Years of the Institute 1803-1844 (Dublin: The Christian Brothers, 1978 for private circulation), pp. 190-193.

[114] Michael Paul Riordan to Mons. Paul Cullen 11th March 1843, Cullen correspondence, Irish College, Rome, No. 779.

[115] *Propaganda Fide* Rome, Brother Riordan's letter to Rome, ref. APF SRCI, 1839-1842, Vol. 27, ff. 112-113, 11 July 1839. Reply from Rome to Brother Riordan ref. LDSC 1839, Vol. 322, ff. 841-42, dated 13 August 1839. The Roman reply indicated that they should strictly keep to a vow of gratuitous instruction.

[116] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, pp. 266-269, 302-308 and 337-339, on the pay school issue.

[117] William L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, p. 147.

[118] The Book of Changes 1832-1843, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[119] *Positio*, Memorial to Cardinal Franzoni, Prefect of *Propaganda Fide*, Rome 23 July 1840, Ch. 18, Document No. 7, p. 667. Copy located in Dublin Diocesan Archives, Christian Brothers File No. 17.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Positio, Ch. 18 Document 8, pp. 670-674. Roman Reference - Memorial to the Sacred Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*, Dublin 30 July 1840 - ref. APF, SRCI, Vol. 27, ff. 267-268.

[123] Positio, Ch. 18, p. 644.

[124] Ibid.

[125] Ibid., Document 10, p. 676 - extract from a letter of Fr. Peter Kenney to Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin, Clongowes Wood, Co. Kildare, 21 January 1841, located in Dublin Diocesan Archives, Christian Brothers File No. 18.

[126] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p.119. Bro. Blake makes the point "that the style of the memorial and its contents, some contrary to facts known to Edmund Rice raised suspicions in recent years as to the authenticity of Edmund Rice's signature on the anti-Riordan Memorial to Rome. Following an exhaustive series of scientific comparative handwriting tests it has been proved that the signature of Edmund Rice was a forgers. This conclusion was attested by handwriting experts in Ireland and Mr. Arthur C. Brooks, a Dr. Rocco Paceri of Rome and FBI office in Washington DC." William Gillespie also confirms these finding in his volume The Christian Brothers in England, footnote 36 p.147.

[127] Positio, Ch. 18 Document No. 11, pp. 677-678, Title - Rescript of the Sacred Congregation granting permission for the opening of pay-schools and sent to Most Rev Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin, Roman ref. APF, LDSC, 1841, Vol. 325 f.149-150.

[128] Ibid.

[129] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England, p. 148.

[130] Riordan to Cullen, 15 November 1842, Cullen Correspondence No. 754, Archives, Irish College, Rome.

[131] Brother P.J. Murphy, Assistant to Brother Riordan to Fr. Tobias Kirby, Vice Rector, Irish College, Rome 13 April 1842, Kirby correspondence No. 77, Archives, Irish College, Rome.

[132] *Vide* ref. 96 above.

[133] Archbishop Murray to Cardinal Franzoni 12 February 1842 quoted in the Christian Brothers Education Record 1965, pp. 13-13.

[134] (i)Rev. Dr. W. Myler PP.,VG., to Mons. Cullen Irish College Rome, Archives, Irish College Rome; (ii) Book of Changes 1832-43, Generalate Archives, Rome; and (iii) House Annals Christian Brothers' Schools Synge St., Dublin.

[135] Roman ref. APF. SRCI, 1839-42, Vol. 27, f567, quoted in the Christian Brothers Record 1965, pp. 11-12.

[136] Rev. Dr. Myler to Mons. Cullen Rome 10 February 1842, *vide* ref. 134 above.

[137] W. L. Gillespie, *The Christian Brothers in England*, pp. 149-150.

[138] Bro. Joseph Hearn was an Assistant to three Superior-Generals in the period 1840-1880. His papers include two historical Mss. of 1860, (i) Foundations and Establishments, a two volume set on annals of the Congregation, with details of each house; and (ii) Government and Novitiate, a history of the central government of the Congregation and its houses of formation for novices.

[139] M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 319.

[140] Ibid.

[141] J. P. Cooke to Tobias Kirby, 11 April 1842 (Kirby Correspondence No. 76, Archives, Irish College, Rome) cited in M. C. Normoyle, The Roman Correspondence (Dublin: The Irish Christian Brothers for private circulation, 1978), pp. 299-300.

[142] *Vide* ref. No. 115 above.

[143] Positio, Ch. 8, Document 14, pp. 257-262. The Papal Brief, *Ad Pastoralis Dignitatis Fastigium* is quoted in full in Latin in this document.

[144] Report of Select Committee of House of Lords 1837 on Irish Education, p. 797. R. Ingram, Esq., reported finding a book of an "objectionable" nature in the Brothers' School in Cork: "...I found a class reading in one of the schools a book which on looking at it proved to be a pamphlet on Irish destitution....Looking at the Preface and a great many portions of it seemed really to be a pamphlet in favour of repeal. It was saying 'Let the motto of every Co. Cork man be: don't give up the Repeal, and we must conquer;' and there were exposures of the names of all the absentee Proprietors in the county....There did not appear to be any consciousness on the part of the Brother that he was doing wrong (sic), for he gave me one of the pamphlets at once, which I too away with me."

[145] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 222-223 and Positio, Ch. 12 Document 12, pp. 421-422.

[146] D. S. Blake, The Christian Brothers, p. 88.

[147] Positio, Ch. 12, Document 13, pp. 423-424.

[148] De La Salle Generalate Archives, Rome, 16 October 1829.

[149] Positio, Ch. 14, Document 14, pp. 527-528.

[150] Positio, Ch. 14, Documents Nos. 6 (iii), p.514 and 8(ii), p. 519.

[151] Ibid., Documents Nos. 6 (ii), p.513 and 8(ii), p. 518.

[152] Ibid., Ch. 13, pp. 438-452 and Ch. 13, Documents Nos. 1-19, pp. 453-483.

[153] Ibid., Ch. 13, pp. 482-483 and Appendices.

[154] The Rules and Constitutions 1832.

[155] Positio, Ch. 13, Document 9, pp. 467-468.

[156] A Christian Brother (Jerome Hennessy), A Century of Catholic Education (Dublin: Browne & Nolan, 1916), p.28.

[157] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 164-165.

[158] T. J. Walsh, Nano Nagle and the Presentation Sisters, p. 106.

[159] Ibid., p. 139.

[160] Ibid., p. 137.

[161] Ibid., p. 176.

[162] Ibid., pp. 173-175.

[163] Ibid., p. 109.

[164] Ibid., p. 179.

[165] Positio, Ch. 13, p. 440.

[166] Ibid., pp. 440-441.

[167] Ibid., p. 440.

[168] Ibid.

[169] Ibid., pp. 440-441.

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Ibid.

[173] Ibid.

[174] J. W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education, Appendix L, pp. 421-422 (The Canon Wordsworth Report).

[175] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 99.

[176] History of the Institute Vol. I, p. 34.

[177] Ibid.

[178] A Christian Brother (Mark McCarthy), Edmund Rice and the Christian Brothers, (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1926), p. 313.

[179] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I (Dublin: Bray Printing Co., Ormond Quay, 1958-1961), pp. 390-393.

[180] Positio, Ch. 15, pp. 539-546.

[181] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, pp. 17-20.

[182] Ibid., pp. 20-24.

[183] Ibid., pp. 22-24.

[184] Ibid., p. 24.

[185] Ibid.

[186] James Murphy, The Education Act of 1870 (Newton Abbot, Devon: David and Charles, 1972), p. 10.

[187] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, pp. 65 & 216. The letters from England requesting Christian Brothers Schools are still extant and in the Mss. Collection, Letter - Books, Vols. I & II in the Generalate Archives, Rome.

[188] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, p. 259.

[189] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, p. 24.

[190] The Morning Chronicle London, 15 April 1829 and 23 April 1829, cited in W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, p. 69, footnotes 28 & 29.

[191] The History of the Institute Vol. I, p. 271.

[192] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, pp. 65-71.

[193] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880 (Bristol: The Burleigh Press, 1975).

[194] Positio, Ch. 14, p. 496.

[195] Ibid., Ch. 12, pp. 380 & 384.

[196] Positio, Ch. 12, documents 1-9, pp. 401-415 and document 14, pp. 425-429 - all given in the appendices.

[197] Ibid., p. 392.

[198] Ibid., p. 393.

[199] Ibid., Documents Nos. 6, 7 & 8, pp. 409-413.

[200] Ibid., Document No. 6 (in French), pp. 409-410.

[201] Ibid., Ch. 16, p. 585.

[202] The History of the Institute Vol. I, p. 264.

[203] Ibid., pp. 393-394 (letter of Bro. Austin Grace, Dublin 1844).

[204] Positio, Ch. 16, p. 587.

[205] Ibid., Document 13, p. 607.

[206] Ibid., p. 611.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Ibid., p. 612.

[210] Ibid., p. 611.

[211] British Statute, 31 Geo. III, c. 32, June 1791.

[212] U.K. Statute, 10 Geo. IV, c.7, sections xxvi-xxxvii, 10 April 1829, Berkeley Library, T.C.D.

[213] W. J Walsh, Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics, Appendix L, pp. 393-398.

[214] M. C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 343.

[215] Positio, Ch. 17, pp. 611-612.

[216] Ibid., p. 612.

[217] Ibid., pp. 612-613.

[218] Ibid., p. 613.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Ibid., p. 616.

[221] Ibid., Document No. 7, pp. 629-631.

[222] Ibid., Chapter 17, pp. 612-618 and ref. 18 of that chapter, viz. Letters of Fr. Peter Kenney S.J. to Dr. Murray, 21 January 1841. Dublin Diocesan Archives, File CB No. 18.

[223] *Vide* refs. 194 & 195 above.

[224] Positio, Ch. 18, Document 666.

[225] Ibid., p. 642.

[226] Ibid.

[227] Ibid.

[228] Ibid., p. 643.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Ibid.

[231] *Vide* ref. 122 above.

[232] Positio, Ch. 18, No. 17, p. 687.

[233] Ibid., p. 646.

[234] Ibid., Ch. 18, No. 16, pp. 685-686.

[235] The authors of the Positio are given in the Appendices of this thesis in facsimile form from the Volume itself.

[236] Ibid., p. 648.

[237] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, p. 324.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Ibid., p. 325.

[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid., pp. 326-327.

[242] Ibid., p. 327.

[243] W. M. McCarthy, Edmund Ignatius Rice, p. 524.

[244] Ibid., p. 429.

[245] Ibid., p. 420.

[246] M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 410.

[247] The Christian Brothers, The Life of the Ven. J.B. De La Salle, Founder of the Christian Schools (Dublin: William Powell, 1843).

[248] Ibid.

[249] M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 410.

[250] Ibid.

[251] St. Matthew's Gospel Ch. 13 v.58, The Holy Bible, revised standard version (2nd ed. Yew York: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1971), p. 1034.

[252] Positio, Ch. 12, Document 14, pp. 425-429, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[253] Ibid., p. 429.

[254] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 31, footnote 78, p. 55.

[255] P. J. Walsh, William J Walsh Archbishop of Dublin (Dublin and Cork: the Talbot Press Ltd., 1928), p. 26.

[256] The New Catholic Encyclopaedia Vol. XV (London: Caxton Publishing Co., 1912), pp. 303-309. Contains a brief account of the First Vatican Council, 1870.

[257] Archdeacon O'Regan PP Mallow Co. Cork in a letter to the Cork Herald 9 April 1879.

[258] The Decrees of the Maynooth Synod as quoted in W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, Appendix D, pp. 209-210.

[259] The Decrees of the Synod of Maynooth 1875, printed in Dublin 1877 - (Dublini: Typis J. M. O'Toole et Filii, 7 Great Brunswick St., 1877).

[260] Donal S. Blake, "John Austin Grace (1800-1886) Educator," (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1986) Vol. 2 Ch. 7, footnotes and references on p.633. ref. 66 i.e. "The Bishops in answer as to why no rules were made by the Synod of Thurles 1850, for the Brothers replied, that it was not necessary since they were located in so few dioceses at that time. The Brothers' advocated in Rome, in 1878, Canon Filippo de Angelis refuted this by stating that "The Brothers had 15,880, pupils in their schools in 1850 located in 14 dioceses", Roman ref. APF, SOCG, 1878, Vol. 1, 1008, f.1272.

[261] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers etc.", Appendix 10(b), p. 611.

[262] Frere Patrick FSC, Paris to Austin Grace Dublin, 6 July, 1875. Grace Letter Catalogue, No. 250, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[263] Cullen to Grace 5 September 1875, Grace Letter Catalogue N.254, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[264] Ibid., No. 255, Hoare to Grace.

[265] E. R. Norman, The English Catholic Church in the 19th Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 69-109, (Ecclesiastical Administration).

[266] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

[267] Roman ref. *Propaganda Fide*, APF Acta 31 August 1873, Vol. 244, f.161. This is an incorrectly filed year reference as research undertaken for this thesis in Rome in the Archives of *Propaganda Fide* in the *Piazza di Spagna*, found this document in Vol. 244 of the *Acta et Decreta* for the year 1876 although the actual letter is dated 31 August 1873.

[268] *Propaganda Fide* was the Papal Congregation founded in Rome in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV to oversee 'the foreign mission' areas of the church. In countries such as England and Ireland where Catholics were being persecuted for their faith, the local Catholic Churches were also placed under the authority of Propaganda Fide. In 1908 Pope St. Pius X, in his Brief "Sapienti Consilio" restored the Hierarchies, or Conferences

of National Bishops in Ireland and England up 'the normalisation of conditions permitting Catholic freedom of worship and organisation.' The affairs of the Churches in these two countries was returned to the two Roman Curial Congregations, i.e. the Congregation for the Clergy and the Congregation for Religious, who would have supervised them down through the years had local circumstances been different. - Vide Luke Connaughton, A-Z of the Catholic Church (Leigh-on-Sea, England: Kevin Mayhew Ltd., 1980), pp. 155-156.

[269] Michael O'Reilly, "The Renewal of the Church in Great Britain and Ireland after Emancipation," in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum* 1622-1972 Vol. III, Pt. 2, 1815-1972 (Rome: Herder, 1976), p. 215.

[270] Vincent Alan McClelland, Cardinal Manning: His Public Life and Influence, 1865-1892 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 51-53.

[271] Ibid., pp. 104-114.

[272] Pope Pius VII, "Ad Pastoralis Dignitatis Fastigium" (Dublin: Printed for the Christian Brothers by Joseph Blundell, Nelson Lane, 1832).

[273] Decree 302; translation as in Circular Letter of Bro. Louis Hoare, 5 April 1877 (Synod of Maynooth Files, SM-2(i), Generalate Archives, Rome).

[274] Decree 303, *vide* ref. 253 above.

[275] Ibid., ref. 258 above.

[276] This was the initial of Brother Austin Grace to these Decrees - ref. Appendix 35: Initial Reaction of Austin Grace to *Invigilenti Episcopi* (Ms.) SM-1(i) Generalate Archives Rome. The Brothers in derogatory but justifiable manner referred to all the decrees collectively as *Invigilenti Episcopi* i.e. decree 303.

[277] Decree 303, *vide* ref. 254 above.

[278] Decree 303, *vide* ref. 254 above.

[279] Decree 308 and 309, *vide* ref. 254 above.

[280] Decree 310, *vide* ref. 254 above.

[281] *Vide* ref. 254 above, Appendix 35.

[282] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. 3, p.1265.

[283] Louis Hoare, Superior General to the Bishops of Ireland 2 April 1877 in Maynooth Decrees File, SM-4(ii), Generalate Archives, Rome.

[284] North Richmond St., Community Annals 1826-1986 (section dealing with the period 1828-1880 were written by Bro. Austin Grace himself). These Annals are referenced as Annals Ms and this reference is filed as Annals Ms. 11 April, p. 216.

[285] Ibid., pp. 216-217.

[286] Circular Letter of Brother Hoare, 12 April 1877-SM-1(i), Generalate Archives, Rome.

[287] File SM-3, Generalate Archives containing 95 letters written in the period 13-17 April 1877 of which 90 contained vehement protests against the Maynooth Decrees.

[288] Ibid., Letter of Brother Stanislaus O'Flanagan, Mount Sion, 16 April 1877.

[289] Ibid., Letters of Brother Dominic Burke and Brother Titus Moylan, North Monastery, Cork, both dated 15 April 1877.

[290] Annals Ms. 6 October 177, pp. 217-318.

[291] Ibid.

[292] Christian Brothers Educational Record, 1906, pp. 1-42, - a biography of Bro. Richard Anthony Maxwell, 1819-1904.

[293] D. S. Blake, "John Austin Grace", Vol. 2, Ch. 7, ref. 114, p. 639.

[294] Testimonies in favour of the Christian Brothers and Their Schools (Dublin: W. Powell Printer, 1877) 76 pages.

[295] Bishop Moriarty Killarney to Bro. Hoare Dublin 14 February 1869 quoted in Testimonies, p.13.

[296] Fr. T. Matthews DD, Drogheda to Austin Grace Dublin 9 October 1877, Grace Letter Catalogue No. 283, Generalate Archives, Rome

[297] The original ms version of the Brothers' case is in the Maynooth Files, S.M. 4-A in the Generalate Archives in Rome. This ms. was re-drafted a number of times from its earliest composition in early October 1877 until its final draft, translated into Italian, was presented to Propaganda Fide on 4 December 1877.

[298] *Vide* ref. 294. above.

[299] Frank Korn, From Peter to John Paul II: An Informal Study of the Papacy (Ohio, USA: Alba Books, The Society of St. Paul. 1980), pp. 81-87 - an assessment of the Papacy of Pius 1X, 1846-1878.

[300] D. S. Blake, "Austin Grace," Vol. 1, Ch. 7, p. 276.

[301] Hugh McLeod, Religion and the People of Western Europe 1789-1970 (Oxford: Oxford University, Opus Books, 1981), p. 47.

[302] Roman ref., *Propaganda Fide*, APF: SOCG, Vol. 1008, ff. 1165-1175 - Being the Observations of the Bishops of the Province of Dublin on the Memorial of the Superior of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland presented to *Propaganda Fide* on 2 November 1877. The Italian translation at ref. APF Acta, 1878, Vol. 246 ff. 272-279.

[303] D. S. Blake, "Austin Grace," Vol. 1, p. 290.

[304] Ibid., p. 279.

[305] Desmond Rush, The Man and His Times (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1981), pp. 99-103 - The Brothers' first mission to Gibraltar.

[306] George Hill, The Rock of Contention (London: Robert Hale, 1974), pp. 392-394 - Bishop Scandella's pioneering educational activities in Gibraltar.

[307] Book of Changes Ms. 1878, 6 January 1878, Brother Stanislaus O'Brien from North Richmond St., to Gibraltar as Superior, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[308] D. S. Blake, "Austin Grace," Vol. 1, pp. 289-290.

[309] Archives of *Propaganda Fide* APF Acta 1878, Vol. 246, f.271.

[310] Ibid., this contains Bishop Scandella's *Relatio Status* defending the Brothers case against the Maynooth Decrees. Copy in SM-7(ii) Generalate Archives Rome.

[311] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education in Nineteenth Century Ireland", unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University College Cork, 1977, p. 387.

[312] "Ex aed. Vat. 8 December 1878, PP Leo X111, B. Agnozzi, Segretario," APF, Acta 1878, Vol. 246, f.271.

[313] SM-7(vii), Generalate Archives, Rome.

[314] Annals Ms. Feb 1879, p. 229.

[315] Emmet Larkin, The Roman Catholic Church and The Creation of the Modern Irish State 1876-1886 (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan 1975, 1975), p. 11.

[316] D.S. Blake, "Austin Grace," Vol. 1, p. 304 and D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 387.

[317] There are nine volumes of newspaper clippings referring to the Maynooth Controversy in the Maynooth File-SM, in the Generalate Archives, Rome. Some of these newspapers include the Cork Examiner, Cork Herald, Cork Constitution, The Tipperary People and some Irish and English National Dailies including Freeman's Journal (Dublin), The Irish Times (Dublin), The Daily Mail (London) and The Times (London) among others.

[318] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", Ch. 9, pp. 387-403.

[319] D. S. Blake, "Austin Grace", Vol. 1, p. 304.

[320] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 398.

[321] Editorial, Cork Herald, 9 April 1879. Quoted in the History of the Institute Vol. III, pp. 185-186.

[322] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", pp. 397-398.

[323] D. S. Blake, "Austin Grace," Vol. 1, p. 304.

[324] The Endowed Schools Commission Report 1881, Chairman Earl of Rosse - hence title The Rosse Commission.

[325] Rosse Commission: Evidence, The Rev William Aloysius Swan, 28 May 1879, Vol. 2, pp. 220-225. Q.6533-6613 (British Sessional Papers, HC Vol. XXXV, 1881, T.C.D. Library).

[326] Rosse Commission Report 1881: Vol. II, Appendix B, p.263.

[327] D. S. Blake, "Austin Grace", pp. 309-311.

[328] Ibid.

[329] Ibid., p. 315.

[330] O'Callaghan Rome to Grace Dublin, 15 June 1879. Grace Letter Catalogue No 348, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[331] Maxwell Rome, to Grace Dublin, 20 June 1879. Grace Letter Catalogue No. 349, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[332] D. S. Blake, "Austin Grace," Vol. 1, p. 313.

[333] Ibid., p. 315.

[334] Ibid., p. 314.

Chapter 9

The Pedagogic System of Edmund Rice's Brotherhood in the 19th Century - its evolutions, development and implementation

9.1 Introduction

The decision of Edmund Rice in 1802 to abandon his successful career as a prosperous and respected Waterford businessman and entrepreneur and to devote his life to the schooling and education of the poor and illiterate male Catholic youth of Waterford was received with almost disbelief. This course of action by Edmund Rice was perceived by his friends and acquaintances as nothing short of a mental aberration. This course of action, they believed, was brought about by the personal tragedy he had suffered some thirteen years earlier which had been occasioned by the untimely death of his young wife and the severe medical disability of his young daughter Mary. It seemed illogical for a wealthy man of forty years of age to seek to undertake a course of action and a mode of life which had not the remotest connection with his current occupation, for which he had no training, and of which he had not the slightest experience. It is true that he had some expertise in the training of young apprentices, whom he employed to serve their time and learn the skills required in the conduct of his provision-merchant's business.

Those young men would, at least, have had some level of elementary education and a disposition to learn their trade and advance in life. To embark on a career, or more aptly a vocation, to offer the basic rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, allied to a religious and moral education, to the undisciplined and illiterate youth, who roamed and even terrorised the citizens of Waterford on their streets, appeared nothing short of ludicrous.

Edmund Rice was not taken aback by the well-intentioned cautionary

exhortations of his friends to abandon such an impossible and imprudent venture.[1] Like many of the heroic souls who had gone before him, he had been through a journey of sorrow and grief of inner personal strife and retrospection. His dawn of inner peace brought was about by prayerful and spiritual reflection had led him to a decision from which he would not be deflected. It was based on the words of Holy Scripture "If any man would come after me, let him deny himself and take up his Cross and follow me ... for what does it profit a man to gain the whole world and forfeit his life."[2] He was determined to succeed and would learn how to cope and adapt his very considerable mental and physical talents to this new but very essential challenge.

9.2 The Early Years, 1804-1826

The memory of his early school days in Moat Lane Hedge School in Callan (1771 to 1777) was of great help to him. There the emphasis in the practical work of teaching had been focused on the fundamentals of reading, writing, spelling, grammar and arithmetic, in which he had been well grounded.[3] The teaching practice of the hedge school teacher in Callan had been one in which the teacher had been oblivious of the economy of his time and labour. He could have achieved a greater overall result for his daily labour had he considered the feasibility of undertaking the simultaneous teaching of boys of the same standard of knowledge. The pupils there, however, were taught 'individually' and "the day was spent almost entirely in rehearsing and writing."[4] The basics of reading, writing and arithmetic were the foundation stones for Edmund Rice upon which further knowledge could be laid.

His experience as a student of Mr. White in Burrell Hall School in Kilkenny, from 1777 to 1778, gave him an insight into broader methods of teaching skills which the wider range of subjects, would necessitate. The curriculum in private schools of this type included English, Writing, Grammar, Arithmetic, Book-Keeping, Mathematics, Globes, Maps, Drawing and Dancing and in special cases the study of Latin, Greek,

French, Music and Fencing.[5] Edmund Rice acquired proficiency in most of these subjects, which can best be judged from the personal records of his skills in the penmanship of his many letters and in his aptitude for figures and the keeping of accounts - records of which are still extant.[6] Fitzpatrick states:

> ... He was so deeply impressed by the system of education at Burrell Hall that he made it the basis of the system of educational pedagogy which he evolved and which he had in operation from the beginning of his career as a religious educator of youth.[7]

In the development and practice of their skills as teachers, Edmund Rice and his early companions made arrangements firstly to provide for suitable grading of their pupils on the basis of equality of standards attained, secondly, to provide for adequate supervision of the processes of learning and thirdly, for individual attention to those pupils in need of it. There was a detailed scheme of work and activity in order to develop habits of industry and the avoidance of time-wastage. Emulation was encouraged by periodic examinations and prize givings and most importantly, kindness and sympathy were to be shown at all times to the pupils. These latter two qualities were likely to be the most lacking in their poverty-stricken and deprived family and social backgrounds. In a letter written to Archbishop Bray of Cashel on 9 May 1810, Edmund Rice set out his system of pedagogy and class-room techniques.[8] There were twenty-four points listed in this letter. They are of some importance in that they encapsulate the earliest record of the initial principles of the methodology of instruction used by Edmund Rice in his schools and the educational philosophy underlying those principles. These initial principles are quoted in full hereunder:

(1) Our Schools open at 9 O'clock in the morning, at which time the business of the masters, who attend punctually, commences.

(2) The boys we instruct are thus classified :

(a) Those who are sufficiently advanced to read tolerably well, and others who are learning arithmetic, grammar etc., occupy the upper room.

(b) The lower room is for such as are taught reading, spelling, and writing on slates.

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

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

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

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

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

(8) When the clock strikes twelve, the Angelus and Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity are recited with a

few other devotional prayers. The boys are then dismissed, and the school closes until one o'clock.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(24) We have a clock in each room, and every time it strikes a moments silence is observed all over the room; then each boy makes the Sign of the Cross, says one Hail Mary, and makes a pious aspiration which lasts about a minute. All then bless themselves and resume work.[9]

Blake[10] makes four interesting observations on the above quoted document in relation to firstly Corporal punishment, secondly the use of school libraries, thirdly the unashamedly Catholic ethos of Edmund Rice's schools and fourthly the influence of catechised and literate children through their bringing home of library books to their mainly illiterate parents with uplifting and edifying results. It is clear that the use of corporal punishment in the early years of Edmund Rices' schools was the exception rather than the rule as the 1845 manual of school government definitively specified.[11] This was in contrast with the rather robust incentives to learning of the masters in the 'public schools' of England and Ireland at that time and even later, when caning and other physical punishments were the general rule for failure at lessons, rather than the exception.

The second half of the 19th Century saw an unfortunate increase of corporal punishment in Christian Brothers schools.[12] This caused successive superiors general to issue letters to all schools reminding them of the founders wishes, and the injunctions of the 1845 and 1865 Manuals and requesting that these rules be strictly adhered to.[13] The Brothers unfortunately earned a rather unenviable reputation for departing from this early eschewal of corporal punishment by a more vigorous and aggressive use of the leather-strap towards the end of the 19th century and on through to the opening decades of the 20th century. They were not alone in this over-zealous recourse to corporal punishment. It was almost the norm in most boys' schools and colleges. Their denigrators and antagonists, however, used this stick with which to beat them, if not to put too fine a pun on words, largely as a result of the Brothers' success in securing the best grades for their pupils in the entrance examinations to the Universities, the professions, the Civil

Service, banking and commerce, etc. Success can inspire jealousy and frustration among those not so fortunate. That the Brothers departed at all from their Founder's early philosophy on the need for corporal punishment was regrettable and is one of the very few aspects of their work with which any reasonable fault can be found. In fairness not all the Brothers by any means leaned towards excessive use of corporal punishment. My own personal experience both as a pupil at first and second level during the period 1944 – 54 in O' Connell School Dublin, and my career as a teacher in two Christian Brothers' secondary schools in Dublin from 1958 to 1991 leaves me in no doubt, that the absence of corporal punishment in Brothers' schools was more the rule than the exception.

The Christian catechesis of the pupils of Edmund Rice's schools laid a firm foundation for large numbers of their pupils down through the years who faced an increasing and more aggressive form of secular liberalism in many aspects of their lives in the later 19th and the 20th centuries. These pupils for the greater part as adults, remained loyal to the strong religious principles, inculcated in them by the Brothers in their educationally formative years. As evidenced by their overwhelming membership of Catholic lay organisations such as the Society of St. Vincent De Paul, the Legion of Mary and numerous Catholic parish societies and charitable organisations.

Edmund Rice was keenly aware of the value of catechetical instruction. It was not sufficient for the children to know their catechism verbally to perfection, but rather that it should be understood by his pupils and applied as the basic rationale on which their daily lives should be lived. The moral and spiritual education of his pupils was his primary concern as an educator. All other branches of knowledge of a secular nature followed on naturally and from this. In his letter to Archbishop Bray, Edmund Rice stated:

> ...The half-hours explanation of the Catechism I hold to be the most salutary part of the system. It is the most

> laborious to the teachers ; however if it were ten times what it is, I must own we are amply rewarded in seeing such a reformation in the children.[14]

'*Pro Deo et Pro Patria*' could aptly be described as the cornerstone of the philosophy of education pursued by the Christian Brothers. The philosophy behind this motto can fairly be said to have served the worship of God and the well-being of Country, not only in Ireland, but in those many foreign lands to which the Brothers felt called to pursue their specific mission or apostolate. The creation and use of school libraries as a formative educational tool in the hands of young boys made Edmund Rice, a pioneer in this field of pedagogic practice. The Kildare Place Society also provided library facilities for their pupils.[15] This use of library books both in school and at home, had an influence on the minds of young boys, and through them on their parents and others not so fortunate to have had education in their youth. This had an incalculable influence on Irish social life that is difficult to quantify. A number of national and provincial newspapers and periodicals of a particular political, nationalistic or cultural bias received an enormous boost to their circulation from among this growing army of literate pupils of the Brothers' schools. Very little, if any research has been done on the close connection between an increasingly literate population and the growth of provincial newspapers of a particular political or nationalistic hue in an Ireland of increasing political, social and cultural turmoil in the ongoing 19th century.

Such then was Edmund Rice's early system of education, a blend of the secular and the sacred. The late Prof. Timothy Corcoran S.J., a long time professor of education at University College Dublin paid the following tribute to Brother Rice's system:

> The school regulations of the Irish Christian Brothers, fully developed by 1810, are of great value as showing how the traditional hedge-school practice concerning religious instruction and the basic school arts was standardised and improved for use in the new and larger Catholic urban schools. This was done entirely on Irish lines.[16]

It was clear that the system of pedagogy outlined by Edmund Rice as delineated in his letter to Archbishop Bray consisted of a combination of four practices of methodology. The first was the one to one system where the lack of ability to progress in a particularly slow pupil required the master to deal on an individual basis, if only for a very short period, with the difficulties of that particular pupil - item no. 3 in the list.

The second was the monitorial system first developed by Andrew Bell (1753-1832), i.e. a system of mutual tuition by the pupils of each other. This mutual or monitorial system as it came to be known was further refined and elaborated on by Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) and it was formally introduced into schools in Limerick[17] and Cork.[18] This monitorial system was of primary importance in the system of education operated by Brother Rice.[19] It can only be presumed that either Edmund Rice or one of his earlier followers perhaps Brother Patrick Ellis,[20] a former Professor of Mathematics in St. John's College, Waterford or Brother Patrick O'Flaherty,[21] a former teacher of Christian Doctrine, Grammar, Latin and Greek in Dublin, both educationalists in their own right, had learned of the benefits of the newer and more streamlined Lancasterian methodology. They made use of its obvious advantages in their system of pedagogy. It is also possible that the Brothers use of Monitors had been developed from the Presentation Sisters' Rule submitted to Rome for approval in 1793, well before the Lancasterian system made its appearance in Cork in 1806 – 7.[22]

> ... Over each class [of ten or twelve] the mistress shall appoint one of the advanced and most regular Scholars as a Superintendent, to watch over the others, to keep them in order, make them give an account of their lessons and catechism, inform her of absentees, and acquaint her of any impropriety they may be guilty of in or out of school.[23]

This system of monitorial assistance was used by Teresa Mulally in her lay school which operated in Dublin in the 1770s.[24]

The third system of methodology combined in Edmund Rice's system was that of the simultaneous method of instruction used in the giving of catechetical instruction to the more senior pupils as outlined in principle number 7.[25] This final component of Rice's pedagogic methodology, the simultaneous method, had been in use by the De La Salle Brothers in their French schools for almost a century with great success. It was adopted as the basic principle of pedagogic methodology by the Christian Brothers when they became familiar with its use, following advice and guidance from the De La Salle Brothers in Paris.

Fourthly the use of books in the school library would have played an important role in the ongoing process of both pedagogy and literacy both within the school itself and in the home environment. In effect Edmund Rice's methods of teaching were a distillation and amalgam of practices that had been pioneered and used by earlier educators. The evidence of Brother Bernard Dunphy, given in a sworn statement to the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry in 1825, in the absence of Brother Rice, who was ill, gives us a clear picture of the system of educational methodology used by the Brothers in all their schools at this time. His evidence is reported as follows:

> ... The School in Hanover Street East (Dublin) was opened in 1814; it contains in four apartments between 400 and 500 children, all of whom except two or three, are Roman Catholics. Mr. M. B. Dunphy is the Director, having been appointed by Mr. Rice, under the inspection of the Roman Catholic Titular Archbishop of Dublin. There are also three other teachers, who are Brothers of the Congregation. The system of education is prescribed by Mr. Rice and the persons assisting him and is the same in all schools established under this Institute ...[26]
>
> In the first or lower school, the children are very young and are taught merely the alphabet and words of two syllables, the prayers of the Roman Catholic Church and the small Roman Catholic Catechism. In the second school, the children are taught words of three syllables, and progressively to read the Catechism, and to write - in the Third, they are taught reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic and in

the Fourth, the same course is pursued, with the addition of English grammar, book-keeping, navigation, algebra and geometry. Some of the boys in this school are eighteen years of age and there are a few sailors still older who are learning navigation .

The Roman Catholic Catechisms are also taught in all the schools. There are four of these Catechisms in use, the Small Catechism, the Abridgement of the Catechism, the General Catechism and Fleury's Historical Catechism. The Evangelical Life of Christ and Reeve's History of the Bible are read in the Third and Fourth Schools and sometimes in the Second. There is no copy of the Sacred Scriptures in any of the schools ... The very few Protestants who may have occasionally been in the schools are not required to attend this exercise.

... The children are chiefly of the class of tradesmen, labourers, servants and clerks and some are advanced considerably in arithmetic and a few in geometry. All who are able, which is stated to about one half of the number in the school, pay one penny a week, which is put into the general fund and given back again in the shape of rewards. The school opens at ten in the morning and the children during the time of attendance in this as well as in the other schools of the confraternity we have visited are kept in good order, and the masters seldom have recourse to corporal punishment.

Mr. Dunphy states that although the first objection of the Congregation is to the education of poor children and instruction in the Roman Catholic religion, they are not prohibited from giving literary instruction to Protestants .. they endeavour to teach charity and goodwill to all mankind, without distinction of religion.[27]

Brother J.E. Carroll writing on the theme of "Providence and the Growth of the Congregation of Edmund Rice" in September 1975 says :

... Edmund Rice made North Richmond St., Dublin, a school for training his Brothers (i.e. a Model School). For a time it was a training college for Catholic lay teachers also, probably the first Catholic Training College in Ireland.[28]

In a footnote, Brother Carroll gives his source as the sworn evidence of Brother John Austin Grace before the Powis Commission on 10 June 1868.[29] There is some further evidence of the practice of the Brothers in

Mount Sion, of training monitors beyond the level of the duties the Brothers required of them in their schools. The Kildare and Leighlin Diocesan returns of 1824 imply that something like this was the case. A Catholic Free School in Carlow town was conducted by a Mr. Wholohan who was "trained at Waterford at Mr. Rice's school."[30] He had used the same system of school organisation and textbooks, which Brother Rice had described in his letter of 1810 to Archbishop Bray of Cashel.[31]

The Brothers saw themselves as educationalists and their religious ideals enabled them to develop a religious educational system, as distinct from the clerical administered seminaries, or the schools of the National Board. The Brothers' schools served the educational as distinct from the purely ecclesiastical needs of the communities in which they worked. The classical academic tradition of the seminaries, run by the secular clergy were geared to prepare students for their initial education on the road to the priesthood. It is true that other students attended these schools for the classical elements of education which were required by those intending to pursue careers in medicine and law. Edmund Rice's system was totally different in that it was aimed at producing laymen "who would be useful to themselves, to their families and to society."[32] On the surface, this appears to be a worthy but unexceptional claim. It was also the desired outcome of the National Board and its structures, as outlined in the text of Lord Stanley's letter of October 1831 to the Duke of Leinster.[33] Managed by laymen with religious vows, the primary objective of the Brothers' schools was to educate children who would be good lay Christians.

The essential difference between the educational philosophy of the National Board, as outlined in Stanley's letter and his proposals, and those of Edmund Rice's Christian Brothers can be summarised as follows. Stanley proposed a combined literary education for pupils of all denominations and a separate religious instruction for each denominational group within the school.[34] Edmund Rice's philosophy, on

the other hand, embodied the philosophy of the Irish Catholic bishops as clearly expressed by Bishop James Warren Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin in his submission to Spring-Rice's House of Commons Select Committee in 1830.

> It is a rule with me, and with all the Bishops of the Catholic church, that literary instruction ought always be united with religious instruction; in fact, we make the teaching of religion the first consideration in the education of youth.[35]

This was the essential difference between Rice's system and that of the National Board and it was nonetheless unique in it's own way, in that era for its differences. It was a system that had a specifically Catholic ethos as its core value. Daniel O'Connell, in his address at the laying of the foundation stone of Rice's Dublin Model Schools in North Richmond Street on 9 June 1828, before an assembly of over 100,000 citizens of Dublin, made the following statement in reference to Rice's new school and it's philosophy. Standing on the newly laid foundation stone, O'Connell spoke as follows:

> I expect much good from this school and the teaching of Brother Rice's brotherhood. Never was sound Catholic teaching more needed than at present. The education the Government gives us is not genuine. It contains a grain of good quality with a bushel that is spurious. Education to be suited to this country must be Catholic and Irish in it's tone, having for it's motto "Faith and Fatherland". All engaged in education of the young should remember that "as the twig is bent, so the tree inclines".[36]

O'Connell had added a new dimension to Rice's educational philosophy - one which embodied national and cultural values native to the Irish. This can be described as The '*Pro Deo et Pro Patria*' philosophy of the Christian Brothers, to which they have unashamedly remained faithful since their foundation. The '*Pro Patria*' element of their philosophy was never totally confined to Ireland but became synonymous with the loyalty due to the national and cultural ethos of those overseas countries to which their educational missionary work took them. Many prominent leaders of countries in the Antipodes, including Mr. Brian

Bolger, formerly Prime Minister of New Zealand, and Mr. Paul Keating, formerly Prime Minister of Australia, along with many of the Prime Ministers of the various Australian states were past pupils of the Christian Brothers' schools in their respective countries. Ireland itself has had more than its fair share of Presidents and Taoisigh (Prime Ministers) who were past pupils of Edmund Rice's schools.

It is not possible to use the current terminology of first and second level schools to describe the schools operated by Edmund Rice's Institute in the period prior to 1878, the year of the passage of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act. The age range of the pupils in each class varied widely.[37] The initial age at which a pupil presented himself for education in a Brothers' school determined to a large extent the class into which that pupil was admitted.[38] The speed at which a pupil progressed in the subjects being taught to him was another factor in his progression up the educational ladder in the school.[39] Ability, assessed on progress, determined the rate of a pupil's advancement.[40] The range of subjects which were offered to a student was also determined by a student's ability to understand and benefit from the material being taught to him.[41] The range of subjects offered in any school was also dependent on the abilities and knowledge of the teaching Brothers in that school to teach that specific subject.[42] Care was also taken through continuous classroom observation and assessment by the Brothers to recognise the individual pupils' aptitude towards a particular vocational or post school work situation.[43]

Edmund Rice adopted the Presentation Sisters practice of classroom organisation and pedagogy from 1804. The division of pupils in Nano Nagle's system was made not according to age, but to attainment.[44] Edmund Rice used this system when he opened his first school in 1802 in the converted stable in New St., but when he moved to Mount Sion in 1804 he used a two room system. The lower room contained those learning to read, while the upper or second floor housed the more

advanced pupils.[45] This system lasted until about 1820. When extensions to the school buildings in Mount Sion were undertaken in 1816[46] and at Hanover St. East in Dublin in 1817,[47] a second 'two schoolroom system' was set up in each case. There appears to have been an interaction or borrowing of ideas and practices in the 1830s and later between the various school management systems, as individual schools experimented with various pedagogic approaches, retaining and improving them, if they were successful or discarding others if they were deemed unsuitable. This is true in relation to the activities of Edmund Rice's Brothers and also to the Lancasterian approach of the break-away group of his Brotherhood, known as the Society of Presentation Brothers in Cork city, and in regards to the systems used by The Kildare Place Society and others in the period 1832 to 1845. The educational ideas of English educators such as Stowe[48] and Wilderspin[49] also influenced the pedagogic approach of the Brothers. Kent contrasts and evaluates these variations and permutations of pedagogic practices and class room organisation and techniques in his thesis on Edmund Rice's educational ideas.[50]

9.3 The Compilation of the Christian Brothers Manuals of School Government, 1845 to 1865

While accepting that the Brother's educational system was at no time static during the nineteenth century, it is still possible to outline a general framework, which remained relatively unchanged until the later decades of the century. Edmund Rice's letter of 1810 to Archbishop Bray[51] and Brother Bernard Dunphy's sworn evidence before the 1825 Royal Commission[52] give a reasonably factual account of the development of the schoolroom techniques of the Brothers. When the Brothers severed their connection with the National Board at their General Chapter of 1836,[53] they saw the need more than ever of a uniform system of school text books and classroom methodology, if they were to compete with this very extensive state sponsored system of National Education and survive. Writing in 1862, Sir Alexander McDonnell,[54] Resident

Commissioner of the National Board made the following observations:

> ... The competition which exists between the National Schools and those of the Christian Brothers is wholesome, generous, and productive on the whole, of good. It is certain that the establishment of the National System immediately excited the Brothers to improve their schools, which were at that time greatly inferior to what they are now. It is equally certain that the present excellence of these schools furnishes one of the strongest incentives to the teachers of the National Schools in their neighbourhood to endeavour to surpass, or at all costs, not to fall short of the excellence of the Christian Brothers' schools.[55]

There would also have been a use in the Christian Brothers' schools of the text books published earlier by the Kildare Place Society, prior to 1820, in so far as these books were generally considered to be educationally sound.

> ... These early textbooks and lesson materials were carefully compiled to avoid controversy. They were produced cheaply and combined messages of Christian morality in a refreshingly attractive style.[56]

This situation in relation to the use of the Kildare Place Society lesson books and school materials in Catholic schools changed from 1820 'amid heated allegations' that the Society's principles of non-interference in denominational differences had been seriously comprised."[57] Work had begun by the Brothers to produce their own textbooks as early as late 1827 to early 1828, when a few elementary Readers and Spelling Books were introduced.[58] These schoolbooks were advertised in the Waterford Chronicle of 23 January 1828.[59] No copy of these early school texts of the Christian Brothers remains extant. The books generally used in the Brothers' schools were books published by the Catholic Book Society.[60] Other books were used which, according to The History of the Institute, were considered safe and free from doctrinal error or anti-Catholic bias.[61] Reeves History of the Bible, Voster's and Goff's Arithmetics and Hawney's Mensuration were in common use in the Brothers' schools.[62]

The books specified by the National Board were used by the six schools[63] of the Brothers while they were affiliated to the National Board. When disaffiliation from the Board took place in 1836, the Brothers were determined to provide their own books to meet the spiritual needs of their schools which they hoped would surpass the books of the Board.

Initiatives by the Brothers to provide a uniform system of classroom methodology was considered to be a matter of some considerable importance. The General Chapter of 1841 took steps to implement such a system. To supplement the work of producing new text books already begun,[64] the General Chapter of 1841 adopted the following resolution :

> ... That the Superior shall appoint four or five Brothers to visit the schools in their own localities every year with a view to collect all the information in their power as to the best methods of teaching. After such visits, as many of them as can conveniently do so, shall meet and digest the information and draw up a report, in order to assist the Superiors in compiling a Government of the schools...[65]

This committee worked assiduously over a four year period which culminated in the publication in 1845 of A Manual of School Government.[66] The principal authors were Brothers Joseph Hearne and Bernard Duggan.[67] In its introduction it was stated that it (the Manual) was intended chiefly for the 'Junior Members of the Society",[68] but it was put to the senior brothers in very diplomatic language that they should also make use of it:

> ...The Seniors will recognise in this work many of their own suggestions the fruits of their experience and reflection ; and may, probably, perceive some useful matters in addition, which might have escaped their reading or observation... but let its merits be patiently tested.[69]

The concluding paragraph of the Preface in the Manual unequivocally pays tribute to the De La Salle philosophy of education contained in their publication *Conduite des Ecoles Chretiennes*[70] and the use, adoption and adaptation of its ideas and principles, which the authors of the Christian Brothers' Manual of School Government 1845 incorporated into

the compilation of their publication, and for which Brother Rice's colleagues give due credit and recognition to their De La Salle Brethren in the following quotation.

> ... In conclusion, it is right to add, that the first part of the "Conduite des Ecoles" of the Christian Brothers of France, has occasionally supplied materials for this book; but the Second part, or moral government, of that excellent treatise, has almost entirely been adopted in this work.[71]

The 1845 Manual of School Government of Brother Rice's Brotherhood contains 32 Chapters with explanatory notes and appendices, totalling 224 pages. It is perhaps a unique volume in terms of its contribution to the evolution and development of a structured philosophy and pedagogic framework of education directed exclusively towards the provision of a specifically Catholic and Irish system of general education at primary and post primary level. The Kildare Place Society produced a handbook for the teachers in its schools in 1825.[72] Some twenty years earlier, the Christian Brothers' Instruction Manual contained similar educational principles and pedagogic practices. The Presentation Sisters' School Regulations of 1793[73] also included such general principles of educational theory and practice. Various individual scholars including such writers as David Stowe[74] and Samuel Wilderspin[75] produced works on various aspects of the theory and practice of education before the publication of the 1845 Brothers' Manual. Nor can we omit to mention the contribution of Andrew Bell[76] and Joseph Lancaster.[77] Dr. Andrew Bell co-founded with Joseph Lancaster the National Society in London for establishing Free National Schools for poor children in England in the early 19th Century. Their method of teaching was the monitorial system, whereby the elder and more educationally advanced pupils were given the task of teaching the younger pupils. This monitorial system was called the Lancasterian method in educational terminology and it finally developed into the Royal Lancasterian Society.

None of the publications of these organisations or individuals was as

complete or comprehensive as the 1845 Brothers' Manual of School Government.[78] It included a fully detailed programme of school organisation which included classification of the pupils by ability and not age, class timetabling, subject content, development and progression of subject material, practical examples of the approved methods of teaching each subject on the curriculum, the training of monitors and their use in the school room, general principles of pedagogic practice and the basic principles of educational theory underpinning them and the presentation of vocationally oriented subjects. It was in effect a manual of pedagogic training and practice for young Brothers beginning their training as class room teachers. Many aspects of its philosophy and practical guidance would have had validity on the curriculum of teacher training programmes up to the middle decades of the 20th Century. The authors of the Manual claimed that their compilation was the digest of the teaching experience of the Brothers over the previous forty years. An upgraded and more modern edition of the 1845 Manual was published in 1865. It included the most recent advances in educational philosophy and classroom practices up to that time, but it was more definitive and advisory in tone than the 1845 Manual.

> ...Upon them (experienced Brothers) it would be superfluous to urge its utility, as they must be aware that there can be no uniformity in the mode of teaching in the absence of an approved system of education, authorised as the standard for the schools of the Institute.[79]

School manuals such as the *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits,[80] the *Conduite d'Ecoles* of the De La Salle Brothers[81] and the Manual of School Government of Edmund Rice's Institute of 1845 (1st edition)[82] and 1865 (2nd edition)[83], were not so much a planned blueprint for a pre-designed teaching programme as a collection and distillation of the accumulated wisdom of those who had operated the system for many years. The work of each teaching congregation was initially a pioneering enterprise in that it comprised a combination of the teaching philosophy of earlier educators, plus the trial and error aspect of the particular aims it sought to achieve. As the work developed and progressed mistakes were

made and then remedied. This experimental approach proved beneficial in that the end result produced a synthesised system that had been proven to meet the educational aims of its practitioners in a utilitarian and pragmatic context. Utilitarianism and practicality rather than purely speculative, philosophical and educational theory had to take priority in the scheme of things. Stability and routine became necessary as the system evolved.

The first forty years of the pedagogic practice and experience of the Christian Brothers could be regarded as the end of the pioneering or experimental stage of their work in this regard which terminated with the publication of the 1845 Manual of School Government. After this initial stage, experimentation and new methods became less acceptable. As the Brothers were frequently changed from one school to another, there was a greater need for a uniform system of education to ensure continuity of instruction regardless of the teaching location of the Brothers. The following quotation from the 1865 edition of the Manual makes this point quite clear in relation to the necessity for a uniform or common system of pedagogy in all their schools and an adherence to agreed syllabi material.

> ...Caprice and love of novelty are but too apt to engage young persons in a perpetual round of experiments - 'each upstart fancy of today expelling that of yesterday'; - and moreover, that in cases or change or removal of Brothers, the most serious inconveniences must generally result, until a perfect uniformity in the details of our system is established.[84]

The bulk of the educational system outlined in the Manual is built around the four Readers published by the Brothers. "The work is divided into four parts, based on our four Reading Books. These four parts comprise one complete system."[85] The rest of the volume is taken up with the methodology of teaching the more vocationally orientated subjects, such as book-keeping and architectural drawing which were provided for the more senior pupils.[86] There are also chapters on prayer, premiums and correction for the consideration of the young teacher. The

manual is idealistic about the furnishings and equipment of the school rooms in that it proposed furniture and equipment that was beyond the expenses that the Brothers could afford. The physical circumstances, however, and the absence of adequate and regularly injected finance into the smaller provincial schools of the Brothers in mid-nineteenth century Ireland, forced the Brothers in those schools to improvise as best as they could to meet the ideals set down in the Manual. Unsuitable buildings and very little adequate equipment was more the norm, rather than the ideal, in the smaller rural schools, outside the large school centres in Dublin and Cork.

It is a worthwhile exercise to highlight a number of aspects of the manual in the hope that a general picture of the Brothers' school system can be obtained from these few examples. A reconstruction of a Brothers' school in an Irish provincial town in the 1850s, based on the Manual, is possible.[87] The school would have had two Brothers and 220 pupils. It would have been a two storey building, with 120 pupils in the lower ground floor school room and 100 pupils of more advanced standard in the upper storey room. The average age of the pupils in the upper room would have been higher than that of the pupils in the lower school room. It is reasonable to assume that the whole range of pupils' ages from six years to fourteen years and even higher was present in both rooms. Brother Austin Dunphy in his evidence to the Royal Commission of 1825, makes the following point :

> In the fourth school, i.e. the most senior class, in addition to the ordinary subjects of spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic, which are continued to be taught at the senior level, English grammar is added, along with Book-keeping, navigation, algebra and geometry. Some of the boys in this school (Hanover Street East, Dublin) are 18 years of age, and there are a few sailors still older, who are learning navigation.[88]

The word 'school' in the above context is taken to mean a classroom of pupils pursuing similar subjects at a similar level. The upper age of pupils in many schools created a problem in relation to matters of discipline in the management of classes.

> ... Boys of over 20 years of age were quite common in the junior classes of the Brothers' schools in New Ross, Co. Wexford and elsewhere. This age inequality was almost destructive of discipline, for it opened the door to exhibitions of bravado, unrest and emotional instability. Strict equity in administering punishment was very difficult to achieve.[89]

It depended on circumstances that differ from case to case and was further complicated by such imponderables as the particular personality, sensitivity and concept of judgement and guilt of the individual Brother concerned. In effect, the grading of the pupils in Christian Brothers Schools was based on knowledge and ability rather than age, as a child might start schooling at any age between six and twelve years of age.

The activities of the average school room of any Brothers' school, at this period in the mid nineteenth century, would have been very busy by any standards. A description of any lower grade school room in terms of physical dimensions and furniture and the educational programme provided within it would have been as follows: the standard dimensions of the room were 14 feet in height, 40 feet in length and 30 feet in width. The principal furniture consisted of eight benches, and a long seat at the back of the room for the most junior children. Each bench accommodated twelve pupils and the first two benches were reserved for monitors. There were, therefore, twenty four pupils acting in some capacity as monitors and teachers of their younger or less advanced school fellows. At the front of the room was a raised desk for the Brother, flanked by two smaller desks for 'general monitors'.[90] The boys' benches were eighteen feet long and about three feet apart. The class was divided into two divisions with about sixty pupils in each. The upper school room would have had a similar layout.

A bench of twelve pupils formed a class - the principal unit for teaching. The classes were usually taught standing in a semi-circle. The semi circle was marked on the floor and at each semi circle a blackboard was provided and a large slate was suspended with the names of the

pupils in that class. It was also used to keep a record of successes and failures in work assignments, which the Brother could observe on his regular visits around the classes. The timetable was arranged so that standing classes and those which needed seating for their work alternated with each other. No boy was permitted to remain standing in any class for longer than 45 minutes. It is likely that the Brothers borrowed this class room structure from other earlier systems such as Bell, Lancaster and the Kildare Place Society Schools. The following would be regarded as a typical time table for any Brothers' junior school.

9.00 a.m. School Opens.

9.30 a.m. Morning Prayers ; absentees noted ; Spelling.

10.15 a.m. Lessons inspected ; absentees sent for ; late boys called to account ; inspection of face and hands ; requisites sold.

10.25 a.m. Writing ; Monitors write on boards ; writing inspected.

10.50 a.m. Boys to yard in two divisions ; five minutes for each division.

11.00 a.m. Catechism tasks examined by first set of monitors.

11.15 a.m. Reading and spelling lesson during which school pence (voluntary) may be collected.

11.45 a.m. Singing class during which pupils remain seated.

12.00 a.m. Angelus, Religious instruction and prayers.

12.30 a.m. Acts of Contrition, Faith, Hope and Charity ; 3 Pater Nosters and 3 Aves, after which pupils go to yard in two divisions.

1.00 p.m. Rudiments of Arithmetic in classes.

1.45 p.m. Writing and Arithmetic in desks.

2.15 p.m. Spelling in classes.

2.55 p.m. Litany of the Blessed Virgin, etc. and Salve Regina.

3.00 p.m. All to be dismissed. [91]

Much of the class teaching and examination was done by the monitors through the method of having the pupils memorise and repeat

the lessons, prayers, spellings and new words. This method was familiarly known as rehearsing. Efforts were made to prevent this method from becoming a boring routine through a variety of question and answer techniques. The Manual urged avoidance of any practice that "disgusted the monitors and occasioned an irksome listlessness in the boys."[92] Each pupil, except the twenty four most junior pupils, had a slate and all boys were provided with readers and other books in accordance with their progress. The pupils were expected to prepare the next reading lesson as homework. A brief extract from the manual will illustrate the method for teaching reading.

> ... When the reading classes are formed, each class monitor announces the lesson for the day, all classes reading the same book have the same lesson for that day and are limited to that, as one affords abundance of exercise during the prescribed time. The monitor dictates the words at the head of the lesson ; each boy spells a word in his turn from the book. This is done thrice successively ; they then close their books, and the monitor dictates the same words, which the boys are required to spell. The last boy then reads a sentence, pitching his voice so as not to be heard beyond his class. The monitor should insist chiefly on four things in his instructions and corrections:
>
> firstly, that each boy read distinctly and leisurely ;
>
> secondly, that he pronounce every word correctly ;
>
> thirdly, that he make the proper pauses ;
>
> fourthly, that he place the primary accent on qualifying words.
>
> These form the basis of good reading. Higher degrees of perfection will be attained in proportion as the taste of the scholars becomes more refined and their judgement more mature.[93]

The Class monitor would be taken to be the most senior monitor by experience and knowledge, who would be allocated by the Brother to take charge of a group of pupils.

When the pupils progressed to higher classes, they exchanged their

writing slates for specially prepared headline and other writing copy books, on which they wrote with pen and ink. A report of the 1860 lists eight different kinds of copy books that were produced by the Brothers for their schools. No. 1 : Initiatory ; No. 2 : Initiatory ; No. 3 : Large-hand ; No. 4 : Round-hand ; No. 5 : Bold Current-hand ; No. 6 : Small-hand ; No. 7 : Wide-ruled Transcription ; No. 8 : Narrow-ruled Transcription.[94] Much of the individual Brothers' teaching day was spent ensuring that the complicated timetable was kept moving through the use of a special wooden signal instrument, received from the De La Salle Brothers,[95] in teaching the monitors and in supervising and inspecting the monitorial teaching of the pupils.

It is of interest to note that the Decennial Chapter of the Institute of Edmund Rice's Brotherhood was held in the Cork Community House in 1841 under the chairmanship of the Second Superior General, Brother Michael Paul Riordan. An account of its proceedings is given in the History of the Institute. The proceedings of this Chapter are given in historical format rather than in verbatim form, hence no reference is made to the acquisition from the De La Salle Brothers of the wooden class signal instrument.[96] It was commonly thought to have been made of two pieces of flat planed wood, one, the longer piece, being approximately one foot in length, four inches in width and one inch in thickness. The second piece of wood was of the same dimensions, except that it was only six inches in length and was joined to the bigger piece by a piece of leather fixed to the ends of both pieces of wood, which enabled it to be flicked in the air. Thus the smaller piece struck the larger piece away from the end at which it was held. This produced a sharp staccato wooden sound, which was in effect the signal. There is no extant model of this wooden signal \ clapper. The above account of this signal \ clapper is the verbal recollection of some very elderly Brothers whom the present writer consulted on the matter and cannot be considered more historically accurate or sourced than hearsay or vague mental recollection.

The 1841 Chapter passed a resolution requesting the Superior General to appoint four or five Brothers in their own teaching localities to visit all their schools in their areas to collect all the information they could in regard to the best methods of teaching in use in these schools. This information, thus collected, was collated at central headquarters, to form a manual of government for the schools of the Brothers. This resulted in the first Manual of School Government which was published in 1845. Its contents was put into practice as the ideal *modus operandi* for use in all the Brothers schools. Another resolution of the 1841 Chapter prescribed

> that the mode of instructing the children by question and answer, is particularly recommended to the Brothers of the Institute. Declamation should be studiously avoided as being productive of no good.[97]

About one fifth of the pupils were in effect Monitors and their use in this role of teaching the other pupils was central to the smooth operation of the whole pedagogic system. The Manual stresses that it is by means of the monitors that the Brother class master can successfully teach the entire group of pupils and carry out his wishes, by improving the whole school together.[98]

The following is the full quotation from the 1845 Manual of School Government for the training and duties of monitors in the Christian Brothers' Schools:

> (1) Monitors should be well trained in their respective duties and be able to answer correctly questions relating to the manner of teaching, keeping order in their circles and elsewhere, treating ill-conducted boys etc.
>
> (2) They should frequently be spoken to concerning the state of the school and the improvements which might be made in the manner of discharging their duties. They should be stimulated by every possible means to zeal and efficiency, as, on their exertions, the good order and proficiency of the classes will, in a great measure, depend.
>
> (3) The following rules have been found useful.

They should be read over or repeated in the presence of the whole school, or questions asked of the monitors concerning them, whenever the state of the school would seem to require it. Once a week might not be too often.

(i) never speak to any boy without necessity

(ii) not to permit them to do so to each other

(iii) speak only in an undertone to an individual

(iv) should any boy not stand precisely at his place, he should warn him by pointing to his feet.

(v) if the class becomes unmanageable, the monitor should hold his hand up, or both hands crossed on his breast, in order to draw the attention of the master in the room to his circumstances. If a monitor himself neglect his duty, he should be reported by the monitor of order. If disorder occur in a class, without the evident fault of the monitor, the boys of the class only should be reported.

(4) A master will waste time, and fatigue his mind by excessive watchfulness in preserving order, and thus render himself incapable of teaching the classes. This would be obviated by having an elevated position in each school (room) for the monitor/general, who, without interfering much with his own business, might report any irregularity that may occur. When this cannot be conveniently be done, a monitor of order might be appointed for each hour of the day. The report might be examined at the end of each exercise (class period) and a few of those, who disturb order, be punished by fines or slaps. One great advantage of having this kind of superintendence is that business will go on more regularly and steadily on account of the expectation that conduct will be the subject or inquiry; nor will the order of the school be liable to disturbance from the presence of an occasional visitor. Should disorder become great or general, a master should not, of course, wait for these stated times. A sound of the signal and discontinuance of business for a moment or two will generally have the effect of restoring regularity. Everything depends on the boys' knowing that the master is determined to enforce it. A word from such a one is sometimes sufficient.[99] (The master in the above context means the Christian Brother)

The monitors themselves were specially graded and formed into

three groups of eight to each of the eight classes of non-monitor pupils. No monitor was teaching for more than one hour per day. An Inspector on behalf of the 1825 Commissioners on Education in Ireland and who knew the Brothers' system was asked whether it was modelled on those of Lancaster and Bell. He replied "It is a compound of both with some additions from other systems of education."[100] Brother Austin Dunphy in his sworn evidence to the same commission, when asked was the system the Brothers used strictly the Lancasterian in nature, replied: "No I believe not; as far as I can recollect what I have heard of the Lancaster system, there is a material deviation from it, we use books occasionally; the system of Lancaster did not take in books".[101]

Brother Dunphy explained that he was speaking from memory. His recollection on the matter, however, was not quite accurate as the Lancasterian system used tablets or wall charts to teach reading and spelling.[102] Brother Dunphy also pointed out that the Kildare Place Society used text books in their schools.[103] The additions to the Brothers' methodology became more extensive when they obtained a copy of the De La Salle educational manual, the *Conduite des Ecoles Chretiennes* and other school text books of that Congregation.[104] They received these French texts through the good offices of Brother Rice's brother, Fr. John Rice who was in Paris in 1825. The impact of the *Conduite des Ecoles Chretiennes* in matters of pedagogic theory and practice on the thinking of Edmund Rice's Institute was quite considerable. Brother Austin Dunphy was so impressed by the contents of the *Conduite* and its possible adaptation to the Irish Brothers system that he wrote to Frere Guillaume, the Superior General of the De La Salle Brothers on 8 May 1826: "I am convinced from reading your *La Conduite*, that your school system far excels that of any adopted in this country."[105]

In its early years, the De La Salle system also made use of senior pupils as '*Repetiteurs*', but on a more limited scale than the Irish Brothers used monitors in their schools. This was due to two factors. The larger

numbers of De La Salle Brothers and the bigger sizes of their classes geared their system more efficiently to the operation of the simultaneous teaching method, which gradually over the years, has become the standard teaching practice in almost all schools today. Edmund Rice's Brothers had been founded almost a century later than the De La Salle Brothers. They were fewer, therefore, in number and were engaged in trying to establish a system of Catholic education on a gratuitous basis for countless numbers of poor deprived Irish Catholic children. The efforts of the Irish Brothers were handicapped in that the political, religious and social environment of the Ireland in which they were founded was hostile to their very existence as part of a conscious official policy of opposition and suspicion, designed and implemented by the Anglican Church and State. In the later decades of the 19th Century, during the Maynooth Decrees Controversy, the Brothers of Edmund Rice were subjected to hostility and disapprobation from members of the Irish Catholic Bishops for the principled stand they took on their rights as formulated in their Papal Rescript.

Griffin in Educational Studies makes the following comment:

> "Nevertheless, the prospect of Catholic participation in any evolving State plan for education was increasingly promising. The appointment of the 1824 Commission of Education Inquiry was a direct response to Catholic demands, representing an opportunity for the government to weave Catholic opinion into the emerging educational consensus."[106]

It is true that the De La Salle Brothers' Schools suffered suppression and closure during the chaos of the French Revolution and its immediate aftermath, for a period of some ten or more years. Irish Catholics, on the other hand, had known nothing but official suppression, suspicion and denial of their basic religious and civil freedoms for almost two and a half centuries. The followers of Edmund Rice were few in number. In 1829, when obliged to register under the Catholic Emancipation Act, there were but 55 Brothers in all, located in 14 communities, three of which were in England.[107] Due to the large groups of ignorant children anxious for and

needing basic Catholic education, a paucity of members of his Institute and very limited resources, Brother Rice's Institute had no option but to make a greater use of the monitorial system of mutual instruction. As far as possible, especially in the cities and larger towns where a third and fourth school room existed, the Irish Brothers adopted the De La Salle method of simultaneous instruction of their pupils.[108] The Christian Brothers, taking all their schools in to account, both the larger and smaller schools, could in fact, be said to have been operating a combination of the old Hedge or Pay School system of 'one to one' individual tutoring, the simultaneous methodology of the De La Salle system and the mutual monitorial system of Lancaster and Bell. However, for the first sixty or seventy years, it can be stated that the monitorial system was the major educational element of the Brothers' pedagogic practice.[109]

It is of interest to note briefly the use made by the Brothers of their monitors. A 'monitor of order' was appointed daily or even on an hourly basis.[110] There were two general monitors - one for each division of the school room. In some cases these were permanent positions. These two monitors appear to have been assistant teachers or young men preparing to become teachers. Their role was to supervise and teach the monitors and also to teach the pupils. The Manual does not specify, however, details of their role.[111] Each of the two divisions in the room had three groups or classes of monitors - four in each class of pupils. The programme of work in the first school, i.e. the junior classes of pupils was as follows :

> Programme for the Three Classes of Monitors in the First School
>
> 'Classes' in this context indicate a group of four monitors simultaneously teaching a group of twelve pupils of the same level of ability.[112]
>
> 9.00 a.m. First and second class examined in the Catechism by the master (Brother) or principal monitor.
>
> 9.30 a.m. First class taught reading by the master.

Second class taught arithmetic by the general monitor. Third class teach reading.

10.00 a.m. The master hears the reports of the third class who are then examined in spelling by "two monitors" until 10.15 a.m.

11.00 a.m. First class examine catechism. Second and third class study grammar and geography.

11.15 a.m. First class teach reading. Second and third class read for the master until 11.45 a.m.

12.00 a.m. Steady monitors teach prayers. The other monitors are taught catechism by the master.

12.30 p.m. First and Second class taught ciphering.

1.00 p.m. Second class teach reading. First class taught ciphering by the general monitor.

1.45 p.m. Second Class write or cipher.

2.00 p.m. Second Class examined in, or taught arithmetic by the general monitor.

2.15 p.m. Third Class teach reading. First and Second class taught rudiments of arithmetic.[113]

It should be noted from the above horarium or class timetable of the classes of monitors that no monitor spent more than one hour teaching other non-monitor pupils per day.[114] The above table also shows that the master (Brother) spent about three hours per day teaching the monitors. This of necessity would have left him with what might regarded as less than sufficient time to spend actually teaching the non-monitorial pupils, who would have numbered about four fifths of the general pupils. One Brother, however, could scarcely have made any impression on 120 pupils of different abilities and knowledge had he attempted to spread his efforts and skills over such a wide-ranging and disparate group. The monitorial system for all its cumbersomeness and intricacy of operation left every pupil, both monitor and non-monitor pupil alike with some level of achievement in all the basic subjects every school day. The Manual was conscious of this disproportionate time spent by the Brother in teaching the monitors and the danger of neglect of the general body of

the pupils and made provision for its avoidance.[115] Another approach to reduce the dangers of over-emphasising the time given to the teaching of monitors at the expense of the general group of pupils was suggested by the Manual, which advised the Brothers to teach the monitors one week, what they (the monitors) were to teach the pupils the following week.[116]

A number of educational commentators were less than enamoured of the use of monitors as an effective method of class room pedagogy and made this view clear in their writings. Horace Mann, an educationalist, who toured Germany and parts of England and Ireland in 1843, considered that: "at least nine tenths of the monitorial schools that I have seen would suggest to me the idea that the name 'monitorial' had been given by way of admonishing the world to avoid their adoption."[117]

Scott Coward in his evidence to the Powis Commission in 1870 gave a first-hand account of the operation of the monitorial system in the Christian Brothers' schools in 1860 and his report is scarcely laudatory, but rather highly critical of the entire system.

> ...(The monitorial system) is visible in its most efficient form in the lower classes ... ranged around a little boy whose educational superiority to his pupils cannot be measured by more than a few pages of the lesson book they themselves are reading ... Nine tenths of the pupils left to the little monitors, who, ... spend half of the time either in the listlessness or activity which are peculiar to boys of that age. They cannot possibly concentrate the attention of the boys on their work and, most frequently, join in the distraction which seizes their little minds.[118]

9.4 Corporal Punishment in the Brothers' Schools in the Period 1810 to 1870

The first reference to corporal punishment within the early school system of the Christian Brothers is made by the founder himself in his letter to Archbishop Bray of Cashel on 9 May 1810.[119] In this long letter which contains the twenty four elements of his system of pedagogy,

Edmund Rice lists at number nineteen in his twenty four elements a reference to corporal punishment. It is hardly coincidental that corporal punishment and his philosophy as to its use should appear so far down the list in the elucidation of his school priorities. His statement is simple and unambiguous on the matter: "Unless for some very serious fault, which rarely occurs, corporal punishment is not allowed."[120] The enunciation of this principle by Edmund Rice, while his Institute was less than four years in existence, gives some indication of the thinking of an almost middle-aged man, who had no previous skill or experience in teaching and even less so, in the control and formation of young boys and teenagers. As a successful business-man the training of his apprentices would have hardly required the use of corporal punishment. For that reason, one can suppose that such an idea was far from the mind of a man used to dealing with the reasonably mature and disciplined young men whom he accepted as apprentices.

The general attitude to discipline in the Christian Brothers' school system was, by Victorian standards, remarkably free of harshness.

> ... A Brother is expected to be a person who works for love and who evokes love. The more mildness, affection and kindness appear in his advices and remonstrances, the more they (the pupils) will profit by them.[121]

From the beginning, Edmund Rice and his early companions, inspired by the Christian virtues of love and compassion, took a stand against flogging and other forms of ill-treatment of boys. In the earliest outlines of his system which is essential to re-emphasise, Edmund Rice wrote thus to Archbishop Bray: "Unless for some very serious fault, which rarely occurs, corporal punishment is not allowed."[122] By 1814, the brothers could claim to manage their pupils more through love than fear, and had removed "as far as possible, everything like corporal punishment from their schools, a plan which was found to answer the best purposes in the formation of youth."[123]

With the growth in the numbers of schools and the corresponding increase in the large numbers of pupils from poor and socially deprived backgrounds, it was only natural that the Brothers should give a good deal of attention to the problem of school discipline, particularly in view of the complicated internal workings of the monitorial system. The Manual of School Government of 1845 contains a large section on discipline and on the various methods required for correcting different kinds of pupils.[124] The subject is introduced by the following observation:

> ...The correction of the children is one of the most important things performed in the schools. In performing it, the greatest circumspection is necessary, that it may have a beneficial effect on those who receive it, as well as on those who witness it...[125] The Brother is encouraged to act towards his pupils "with mildness and at the same time with firmness."[126]

> The master becomes insupportable when the burden which he imposes on the scholars is too heavy; when he enjoins, commands or requires anything harshly, imperiously or passionately; when he urges the performance of anything precipitately, and requires with equal rigidity the execution of minor as of important matters; when he refuses to listen to the excuses the children may have to offer in their own justification; in fine, when, not knowing himself, he knows not how to compassionate the infirmities of children, so that when he reprimands or punishes them, he does so in as rude and unfeeling a manner, as if they possessed neither reason nor sensibility ...[127]

> Should a master frequently, and for trivial faults, reprimand or punish the children, he would alienate their affections from him and render his instructions not only useless, but odious. Such severity would also cause disedification and injure the characters of the schools. Excessive severity would, moreover, spoil the children, by rendering them intractable and inattentive; while too much lenity, on the other hand, would subvert the discipline and order of the school. To avoid both extremes, the master should steer a middle course, by judiciously uniting in his conduct, as has been already observed, mildness with firmness ...[128]

The use of premiums or rewards is enlarged upon in the Manual

> ...Nothing is more capable of exciting emulation among children, or has a more beneficial influence on

their conduct than the judicious distribution of premiums. The prospect of reward is a powerful stimulus to the discharge of duty, and, considering the constitution of human nature, one of the most unobjectionable that can be used.[129] Premiums produce the following good effects. They cause great regularity and attention on the part of the children ; they create an interest in the school in the minds of the parents ; and they create a kindly feeling between the Master and the scholars, which may be made productive of the most happy results.[130]

The Manual recommends a weekly bestowal of merits for progress that may have been made, or for general attendance and regularity, and once or twice yearly at the end of term-time or vacation. A certain value is recommended to be attached to each of those merits but it was thought desirable that the boys should esteem them less for their intrinsic worth, than for being a mark of their master's esteem.[131] Reference is also made in the Manual to "Correction by Words",[132] "Correction by Penances",[133] "Correction by Tasks",[134] and lastly "Correction by Slaps".[135] In the fourth category, the causes for which slaps may be given and the manner of giving them are outlined as follows:

Slaps on the hands may be inflicted for many causes; as, for not being attentive at the lessons, at the prayers or catechism; for talking or being idle at school; for not obeying immediately the signal; for having been too late and for many other causes.

Article 20: Generally, a master ought to give no more than one slap, but never no more than two severe or heavy slaps at the same time. Slaps agitate the hand, and should not be inflicted on the right hand, as they would prove a great obstacle in writing. A boy having sore hands might be given a penance; he should not of course be slapped; nor should the slapper be much used in very cold weather. When a boy is about to be slapped for talking, playing in school, or looking about him at prayers or the catechism, the master should tell him that it is not for having talked, or having been playing, or looking about him, that he is going to be punished, but for not having studied his lesson, or for not having prayed respectfully...

Article 21: The slap should be given on the palm of the hand and on no other part of it. If they boy should

> draw back the hand to evade the slap, he should get two instead of one. The boy should be prevented from indulging in any decent or unbecoming contortions of the face or body, before or after he has been slapped. He should also be prevented from crying aloud or murmuring, and should he persevere having been warned of its impropriety, he should get another slap.[136]

Expulsion from the school is the ultimate sanction against a pupil and the reasons for such a course of action are outlined in detail as follows:

> ...Expulsion from school is the last of all punishments. A master should have recourse to it when all his efforts for the amendment of the guilty had been tried in vain. He should never expel a boy but for a very serious and considerable fault; and should always consult before having recourse to this extraordinary punishment.
>
> Boys whose morals are corrupt, and whose conversation and example may draw others into vice; such as have proved incorrigible and show no signs of amendment; such also, as, through the fault of their parents, are frequently absent for light and trivial causes, should be expelled.[137]

Advice is also given as how the Brother should take into consideration the characters and dispositions of the children and their home circumstances before imposing any form of correction or punishment.[138]

The general attitude of the Brothers to discipline and its implementation was one remarkably free of harshness, when contrasted with Victorian standards of floggings and ill-treatment of boys, particularly in prestigious English Public Schools, and for almost trivial offences and transgressions by the pupils. In the concluding the subject of discipline the Manual states :

> ...that the children should respect and fear the master and his presence should inspire them with seriousness and gravity : these are the effects of firmness. They should love their master, their school and its exercises: these effects are produced by mildness.[139]

The early Brothers were greatly influenced by the De La Salle Brothers from whom they received two important instruments of a disciplinary nature. Firstly, there was the wooden signal, clicked by the master or general monitor to indicate silence, or change of class or some other such instruction. Secondly, a leather slapper or *ferula*, was sent to Ireland by the French Brothers at Brother Austin Dunphy's request.[140] The approved strap was 13 inches long, 1 ¼ inches wide and ¼ inch in thickness. It was to be used only on the hand. In the early nineteenth century, the use of the strap seems hardly to have been regarded as corporal punishment at all. In comparison with the school floggings of the period, this is understandable.[141] In spite of this aversion to the use of corporal punishment, it seems inexplicable that Brother Dunphy writing to the De La Salle General in Paris, requesting the leather slapper or *ferula* and almost in the same breath saying:

> ... The youth of this country are indebted to you. We have, from your example banished all corporal punishment from our schools. Other masters are beginning to take the hint from us. I assure you, you have done no small good even in the example you have given us in this.[142]

The Manual is very clear with regard to the "slapper" and its use was viewed unfavourably -

> ... Blows are a servile form of chastisement and degrade the soul. They ordinarily harden rather than correct and blunt those fine feelings which render a rational creature sensible to shame. If a master be silent, vigilant, even and reserved in his manner and conduct, he need seldom have recourse to this sort of correction.[143]

The Brothers were warned not to act on the advice of parents who requested severe chastisement of their children in school, on the grounds that these requests were not normally made seriously. "The natural love and tenderness of parents for their children soon contradicts their language. A master should, therefore, take advantage of the dislike almost all parents have to beating their children in school."[144] The Brother was encouraged rather to enlist the support of the parents in getting their

children to do homework.[145]

The Manual contained the theory on discipline and corporal punishment, but on occasions, the practice in the school room was not in keeping with it. Visitation Reports of the period would indicate that the rules on punishment were observed by a majority of the Brothers, with some exceptions. Phrases such as "slapping use freely"[146] and Brother M. P. Riordan's Circular Letter of 1851 speaks about the evils of the use of excessive corporal punishment.[147] It is a little surprising, in view of the widely held opinion of many people that the Brothers used excessive punishment, to find that no government educational inquiry of the nineteenth century, of which, from 1806 to 1898 there were nine,[148] found any fault with the Christian Brothers for harshness in the treatment of the pupils in their schools. On the contrary, it is remarked with some astonishment, in view of the huge class sizes that "the children are kept in good order and the masters seldom have recourse to corporal punishment."[149]

The main concern of the Brothers in their educational philosophy was the formation of their pupils as good and committed Christians. Their Rule put it as follows :

> ... The end of this Institute is that all its members labour in the first place for their own perfection ; and in the second, for that of their neighbour, by a serious application to the instruction of male children, especially the poor in the principles of religion and Christian piety.[150]

For this purpose the school day in a Brothers' school was encompassed with religious activities with the deliberate intention of permeating the atmosphere of the school room and the minds of the children. The day in school began and ended with prayer when the school room clock struck the hour, silent prayers were said by all. Other prayers were said with all kneeling. One pupil acted as reciter and another as the responder. Prayerful interior participation by the pupils was the object of these prayers.[151] Every morning school period ended

with a 30 minute class of religious instruction or catechetical explanation by a Brother. The younger pupils spent a lot of time in memorising prayers and doctrinal formulae. The question and answer method was used for the purposes of giving religious instruction as it was considered less sermonising and boring in content and approach and more participatory for the pupils. The methodology of catechising was required to be simple and conversational in manner. The children were urged to speak and participate as much as possible, with the discursive style of the teacher being actively discouraged.

It is frequently argued that the good teacher speaks as little as possible and actively encourages the opposite response for his pupils. The Brothers were conscious of this well-proven pedagogic dictum. It was only with senior pupils that the Brother's own religious experience and conviction could be shared with his pupils in a formal discursive way.[152] Personal experience of God through one's prayer life was far preferable for even senior pupils than a cold impersonal intellectual approach.[153] By the 1840s the Brothers had a detailed Religious Syllabus in operation, geared to the capacities of their pupils at the different age levels. It covered such topics as prayer, the truths of faith and morals, and the reception of the Sacraments. The 1845 Manual lays down general principles of methodology such as clear and suitable language within the range of capacity of the children.[154] The use of interesting and relevant stories from the life of Christ, the Apostles and Saints of the Church, and Gospel Parable stories were favoured, rather than an abstract or theoretical approach to an understanding of doctrine and belief.[155] The Manual has a detailed approach and curriculum of religious and catechetical instruction for all four schools, covering over seventy-five Articles and thirty-one closely printed pages.[156]

9.4:1 The developing Catholic Ethos of the Brothers' Denominational Schools from the 1830s onwards and the impingement of the Queen's Colleges Act of 1849 on that ethos and structure

It was the religious formation of the Brothers in the noviciate, their strict adherence to the religious and catechetical programme of their schools, coupled with their own personal devotion to prayer, the Sacraments and charitable outside activities, that produced the singularly Catholic ethos of their schools. This Roman Catholic ethos which pervaded the entire school day both, in relation to the teaching of religious and secular subjects, was carried back to their homes by the pupils. This provoked the ire and hostility of some Protestant commentators. In 1832, J.E. Gordon M.P. referred to the Brothers' system as "about as exclusive and mischievous as it is well possible to conceive."[157] Another M.P., J.C. Colquhoun, explained in 1838, that the Catholic system used by the Brothers had nothing to do with the cultivation of the mind. He claimed that by the word education in all its applications, Roman Catholics meant:

> ... gathering children into rooms, which they facetiously call schools, in which they are under the charge of a priest or a monk ; and the object of those saintly Gentlemen is to make them commit to memory catechisms and long prayers, to repeat the "Hail Mary" ... and thus developed into full force the passions of terror and superstition.[158] Such schools are preparing only ready instruments for the priest's domination.[159]

Even liberal Protestants were prepared to look with suspicion on a system in which 'the inculcation of popish tenets forms the chief feature'[160] and in which they are sure that 'intellectual education will be made secondary to theological instruction.'[161] In contrast, the attitude of the officials in government was on the whole, favourable, but they, as a group were concerned mainly with secular teaching.

In official circles, the absence in Ireland of schools of an intermediate level of education had been deeply felt since the foundation of the Queen's Colleges in 1849.[162] Three Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway were founded by Sir Robert Peel's government but were denounced as "godless colleges" by Daniel O'Connell. Most of the Irish Catholic bishops, with the exception of Archbishop Murray of Dublin and

some others, also condemned them as such at their Synod of Thurles in 1850.[163] The Thurles Synod of the Bishops 22 August to 10 September 1850, in its Statute no. 5, "declared that these three colleges were to be avoided by faithful Catholics because of grave and intrinsic dangers due to their nondenominational nature."[164] As a result the growth of the three colleges, incorporated in 1850 as the Queen's University,[165] was to be very limited.[166] A university system, in addition to the long established Trinity College in Dublin was now in place. The Protestant Endowed Schools comprising Diocesan Schools 1570, the Royal Schools of Ulster 1608, the Erasmus Smith Schools (1669) and Kilkenny College (1685) amongst others, founded over a period of almost three hundred years going back to the early years of the reign of Elizabeth I were regarded as inefficient and unable to provide a satisfactory education of a level of pre-university entrance standard. In November 1854, the House of Commons petitioned the Queen to set up a Commission : "to inquire into the endowments, funds and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purposes of education in Ireland, and the nature and extent of the instruction given in such schools, and to report their opinions thereon."[167]

9.5 The Kildare Educational Commission of Inquiry 1855, and its evaluation of Edmund Rice's Schools

The Commission was set up by an Act 18 and 19 Vict. c. 59 of the British Parliament on 23 July 1855[168] with Charles W. Fitzgerald, Marquess of Kildare, as President and was known as the Kildare Commission. Its remit was very wide with full legal powers to summon witnesses to give evidence under oath, to subpoena documents, books, records, etc.[169] The Committee worked until 1 February 1858. According to a contemporary record: "this inquiry was the most protracted, the most searching and also the most expensive on record, resulting in four bulky volumes at a cost of £5,201."[170] The Commission revealed a mass of abuses and demonstrated the existence of an amount of funds, which, if properly administered on the principles indicated by the majority of the Commissioners, would go far to meet the educational needs of the

middle classes.[171] In August 1855, the Commission held public courts in the chief towns of all the Irish counties. In these courts they examined the masters of the principal schools, received evidence from magistrates, land-owners, the mayors and leading citizens, clergy of all denominations, trustees of schools, and other persons interested in particular endowments.

Because some of the Christian Brothers' schools had some small endowments, particularly, the North Monastery in Cork, those schools were examined by the Commission and they received very favourable reports. Brother Bernard Duggan gave evidence on behalf of the North Monastery, which was reported on by The Freeman's Journal in 1855. It is worth quoting to show the high standards of education provided by the Brothers. The Commission in its report stated:

> The Christian Brothers, have a small endowment of less than £400 annually from a bequest of the late Dr. John Barry and well do they apply it ... they apply themselves to work ably and zealously and educate in the proper sense of the term some eleven hundred children, with an endowment of less than £400 per year. The Commissioners visited these admirable schools, which comprise the higher branches of mathematics, algebra, mensuration, the use of globes, architectural and mechanical drawing, designing and music, with other branches of education suited to practical purposes. So surprised was Mr. Cole of the Government School of Design, with the ability of the pupils of the senior classes, that he requested some of their drawings should be sent to Marlborough House in Dublin for exhibition. Dr. Graves in his examination of Mr. (Brother) Duggan says - 'having myself examined the boys in your school instructed in algebra and geometry, I found them to possess a very sound knowledge of both these departments of mathematics.'[172]

Mr. John Fagan, M.P., said, in the course of his evidence, that the people of Cork had the greatest confidence in the youths who were educated in the schools of the Christian Brothers.[173] Whenever the principal of a mercantile establishment in the city wished to employ a

young person, he invariably looked for him in the aforementioned schools.[174] Mr. John Francis Maguire, M.P. was equally complimentary of the schools, adding "that the Brothers not alone educated the boys but fed the poorest of them." Visiting the schools during the Famine in 1847, Mr. Maguire,

> ...saw hundreds of miserable, ragged and starving children, who before they received from the Brothers, the only food which they would be likely to receive that day, and who were visibly withering before his eyes before they ate their meal, quickly revived under its salutary influence. He knew that the distribution of this food by the Brothers to the pupils and others in fearful times had saved hundreds of human lives.[175]

Mr. Richard Dowdall, a Presbyterian Alderman of Cork expressed his entire approval of the system of education imparted in the North Monastery Schools. "This success of the schools" he said, "was due to the union of religion and secular instruction." Alderman Dowdall had accompanied the Marquis of Lansdowne, (a friend of the Brothers from near Carrick on Suir, who many years earlier had sent a petition to London from the Protestant people of that town, supporting the Brothers exclusion from the penal clauses of the 1829 Emancipation Act) on a visit to the North Monastery. The Marquis was so impressed by the knowledge of chemistry and natural philosophy displayed by one pupil that he presented him with a gift of five pounds to purchase scientific apparatus. The pupil in question later became the distinguished chemist, Professor W. K. Sullivan.[176]

The Report of the Kildare Commission commented very favourably on the Brothers' schools in Cork, Limerick and Tralee. In regard to the North Monastery the summary of the report makes the following statement:

> Our Assistant Commissioner reports very favourably of the school ... All the teachers are Christian Brothers and they receive no remuneration for their labours, but are supported out of the general funds of the order, the rules prohibiting any members from possessing private property. About one half of the pupils pay 1/2d per week, but, with this exception, all

> are free. There were present at the time of inspection, 918 pupils, all of whom were Roman Catholics ... The children answered admirably in the course of instruction, which included mensuration and geometry, besides the ordinary branches of English education. The instruction given in drawing in the Christian Brothers' schools was the best we found in any schools we visited.[177]

The Limerick Brothers' schools received a similar report:

> ... the state of education is noticed as excellent. Several of the pupils could draw very well; their writing was generally unexceptionable; and the answering in Euclid, mechanics, arithmetic, and all the ordinary department of English education, including dictation, was of a very superior order.[178]

The Commissioner's Report made the following interesting observation regarding the Tralee C.B.S., Co. Kerry:

> We also found that shorthand was taught in the Christian Brothers' school in Tralee ; and the proceedings of the Public Court which we held at that place were reported for a newspaper by a school boy of about twelve years of age.[179]

Further commendations of the teaching of various subjects in the Brothers' schools were made in the report of the Kildare Commission. The Commission approved on the method of writing taught in the Brothers' schools.

> We think it right to record our approbation of the method of tuition in the art of writing pursued in the schools of the Christian Brothers. The first line in the page is an ordinary engraved headline. The second is blank, the third and each alternate line in the rest of the page exhibit a faint tracing of the headline. This method forcibly draws the attention of the pupil to contrast his own copy with the model proposed for his instruction ... in thus retracing his steps, he not only observes his errors, but learns how to correct them.[180]

The Commissioners were also anxious that the elements of book-keeping be taught by the method of double entry, whether the pupils were destined for commercial careers or not. They reported that "this branch has been successfully taught in the schools of the Christian Brothers in the city of Cork to such pupils as are seeking to qualify

themselves for the situation of clerk."[181] In regard to mensuration and the great practical utility attached to it, the Report observed that "the Christian Brothers have found that there is a considerable demand for instruction of this kind ; fifty nine boys were learning it under them in their Cork schools."[182] Under the heading 'Aesthetic Culture', the observations of the Brothers in general, and of Brother Bernard Duggan in particular, on the efficacious results of teaching moral and religious songs daily to the pupils, as a means of educating neglected children, were noted by the Commissioners in their report.[183] The Commissioners were highly critical in their Report of the schools they visited and did not spare adverse criticism of certain schools where they found weaknesses and inefficiencies. The schools of the Brothers, by contrast, were singled out for admiration and praise. The Assistant Commissioner, Arthur Sharman Crawford, attributed the efficiency of the Brothers' schools to "the excellence of their system, the training of the teachers (Brothers) and their zeal in the cause of education."[184]

A final comment from the Report of the Kildare Commission on Endowed Schools in Ireland, as it impinged upon the work of the Brothers' schools, which it inspected, is as follows:

> The boys educated in the Christian Brothers' Schools have, in general, attained an unusual degree of proficiency in the different branches of learning in which they are instructed. The superiority of these schools is doubtless in a great measure to be ascribed to the extraordinary personal influence exerted by the teachers over the pupils - an influence based on the distinction that these teachers have devoted their lives to the cause of education for no private or personal reward, but solely in the discharge of a sacred and self-imposed duty. In addition to this cause, the Christian Brothers who teach in the schools appear to have been remarkably well trained for the business of instruction, not merely that they are themselves good scholars, but that they have acquired great aptitude in the art of teaching, and no ordinary skill in devising the most efficient method for the organisation and discipline of this school.[185]

The above quotation is a tribute to the contribution of the work of the

schools of the Irish Christian Brothers to Irish education from no less a personage than Dr. Frederick William McBlain, an Assistant Commissioner of the Kildare Commission. In regard to the pupils of the senior classes, the Final Report says:

> We have observed that in schools where the teachers take the greatest interest in the progress of the scholars, and where the standard of instruction is highest, the attendance in the senior classes is unusually large. We have before us one Return - that of the Brothers in North Richmond St., Dublin - from which it appears that, in a school deserving this commendation, out of 644 pupils in attendance, 188 were between the ages of 12 and 18 years.[186]

This official approbation contrasted very starkly with the Report on the state-endowed Central Model School in nearby Marlborough St., the headquarters of the National Board where it was stated "that the general attainments of the highest classes in the Boys' school are comparatively low - lower than I supposed."[187] This quotation was Blain's personal report to the commission in respect of the Marlborough Street establishment.

9.6 The Range of Subjects taught in Edmund Rice's Schools, the methodology used in this process and its evaluation by the Brothers' own inspectoral system

The Kildare Commission on Endowed Schools of 1857-58 totally vindicated the educational principles of the Christian Brothers and their system of pedagogic methodology. The Manual of School Government of the Christian Brothers published in 1845 played a formidable role in this record of official approval of praise for the school work of the Brothers. It must be stressed that the teaching of religion and its accompanying catechetical instruction, based in a Catholic orientated ethos, did not detract in the slightest from the highest quality of secular education provided by the Brothers in their schools. Religious instruction in their schools was less possessive of teaching-time than in the Bible Schools, where the only form of reading allowed was from the Bible.[188] The De La Salle system had daily Mass included in the school time-table for every

pupil.[189] Nine tenths of the school day in Christian Brothers' schools was spent in teaching those subjects which would enable their poor pupils to earn a decent and lucrative livelihood in the work place. Brother M.P. Riordan, the Second Superior General put the matter succinctly and realistically in 1856 when he said in a circular letter to all his Brothers:

> The children and the parents will give us their preference, if the secular education we impart be equal to what is given, in other schools, but not otherwise.[190]

The Brothers concerned themselves principally with teaching those secular subjects which had a relevance to the post-school world of the work place. The basic requirements in the secular education of the poor necessitated an emphasis on the teaching of 'the three R's'. The Manual makes the underlying philosophy of this emphasis quite clear:

> In Arithmetic, matters of practical utility for the purposes of life should be preferred to speculative researches into the realms of science ... The Master's object should be to make the pupils practitioners rather than theorists.[191]

In the study of book-keeping, the importance of the practical application of the theory and knowledge gained in the class room and its direct relevance to the needs of the work place is stressed rather than a more speculative approach to the study of the subject

> The master should be very concise in his explanations and avoid introducing idle and extravagant variations on possible but most improbable cases. Such pedantry serves only to bewilder and dishearten the scholars and to consume unprofitably his own and their precious time.[192]

It was this practical emphasis in their system that led the Brothers to introduce such subjects as book-keeping, mechanics and navigation into their curriculum for senior boys. Concerning the most senior classes or 'Fourth School,' the Manual makes the following observation:

> The Fourth, or most advanced school consists of those who are perfecting themselves in reading the 'Fourth or Literary Reader' and in the knowledge of the higher branches usually taught in the schools of the Institute. The trade or business for which each boy is destined should now be ascertained : if for any of the

building trades, he should be taught geometry, mensuration and architectural drawing; if for mercantile or shop business, he should be taught abridged methods of calculation, book keeping and to write a neat and legible hand... Here it is expected that the scholars become practically pious, by a devout compliance with all the duties and a regular and frequent reception of all the Sacraments.[193]

Figures are appended for the percentage of Brothers' pupils in Ireland and England who studied the various subjects on the curriculum for the year 1854:[194]

Table 1 outlines the ages of the pupils as reported by the Brothers to the Kildare Commission, 1858.

Percentage of pupils	Age of Pupils
25%	Between 6 and 9 years
50%	Between 9 and 23 years
25%	Aged 12 Years and over.
80%	Sequel Second, Third and Fourth Books.

Table 2 lists subjects studied by the pupils.

Percentage of pupils	Subjects
80%	Writing
40%	Rudiments of Arithmetic
30%	Proportion and Higher rules
30%	Grammar
40%	Geography
10%	History
2.5%	Book-Keeping
7%	Geometry and Trigonometry
3.5%	Linear Drawing
3.5%	Mensuration
4.5%	Globes
1.5%	Algebra
0.5%	Navigation
3.5%	Mechanics

The Brothers' own statistics in relation to the practice of religion of their pupils - not submitted to the Kildare Commission, indicated that twenty four per cent of their pupils received Holy Communion on a monthly basis.

Concerning mensuration the Manual comments as follows :

Geometry is the ground work of mensuration and it is in learning the latter that are seen the utility and

> application of the former ... Being advanced to that part of mensuration which treats of timber measure and artificer's work, the best practical illustration that could be given them of its use is, to make them take the scale of measuring tape and measure the school floor, windows, doors, hall, or other such objects as are convenient, and calculate their dimensions and the cost of the workmanship and materials at given prices. Thus are they both taught and trained.[195]

The terms "taught" and "trained" are very significant. This practical approach to training in useful subjects of work-related experience shows to a certain degree, the non-practical aspects of other subjects, such as the classics, which were then regarded as the ideal subjects of any true education. The 1878 Intermediate Education Act (Ireland) had as its basis the more academically inclined subjects with no provision for the utilitarian 'hand and eye' practical subjects, which provided many pupils with a ready passport into the realities of the work place to earn a good livelihood. Would the 1878 Act had catered for these technical and practical subjects! The Brothers' system would have shone forth here also, as they did in the examination results of the subjects permitted by the 1878 Intermediate Education Act. The Manual of School Government of 1845 laid down practical structures for the teaching of mensuration along with the subjects of linear and architectural drawing.[196]

The Discovery Methods so emphasised in modern educational methodology, were not unpractised by the Brothers in their pedagogy as early as 1845. From the Second Book onwards, the Manual urged the use of 'Lessons on Objects' or 'Object Lessons' each week in the following manner:

> Lessons on objects form a very interesting and useful exercise. They create habits of observation, supply children with an extensive knowledge of words and afford them much amusement. At a later period they facilitate the learning of composition - the names, qualities and uses of any objects, forming distinct parts into which the piece to be composed may be divided. Thus a piece of glass may be shown to them. They readily perceive that they can see through it ; - that it is hard, cold, smooth and sharp at the edges; that if it fell

> on the ground it is easily broken; and that its use is for windows, bottles, glasses etc.[197]

The use of variety in the planning of object lessons showed that the Brothers had a reasonable knowledge of child psychology. This would also have been true of the National School System. Constant stimulation of the child's mind by new ideas and concepts were reinforced through weekly repetition. An examination at the week-end further strengthened what had been learned during the week.[198]

The Manual concludes its advice on the use of objects in the teaching process with a warning, that all teachers will recognise as a valid admonition:

> The children should, in these lessons, be made as much as possible their own teachers ... though not solely left to themselves. One of the greatest defects in using this teaching method with objects, and indeed every branch of knowledge, is, that masters generally speak too much, their pupils a great deal too little. To teach children well, they should be made to speak almost everything ; the master almost nothing.[199]

A system of nationally recognised and uniformly monitored examinations, as we now know them, did not exist in Ireland in the first seventy eight years of the nineteenth century. Public examinations were held annually in various schools. The word 'public' indicated that the public, or rather those persons, both clerical and lay, who had an interest in education, were invited to attend while the teachers put their pupils through a programme of oral, written and practical examinations. Sometimes distinguished visitors were invited and requested to examine the students in selected portions of the syllabus. Sometimes, the pupils themselves undertook to examine themselves in question and answer type sessions in largely rehearsed and prepared segments of their courses. The aim of these so called 'public examinations' was to impress parents and prospective parents, but more so local philanthropic personages who might be so impressed by the scholarship displayed by the students as to make a financial contribution to the funds of the schools. It was purely a public relations exercise and the Brothers took

part in it in their schools for the reasons outlined above.

Hennessy in his book A Century of Catholic Education outlines vividly such a 'public examination' of the pupils of the North Monastery in Cork. The choral music provided by the pupils under the direction of Brother Bernard Duggan and the science experiments relating to the nature, cause and varieties of combustion, the diffusion of gases and the properties of oxygen, nitrogen and hydrogen, demonstrated by the senior science students under the direction of the renowned Brother James Dominic Burke[200] greatly impressed the audience.[201] Local bishops often presided at those annual school 'public examinations' which were thoroughly reported in the local newspapers. The presiding bishop or distinguished visitor often used the occasion to put forward his own views on educational matters. In 1864, Bishop Keane of Cloyne presided at such an examination of the Brothers' school in Fermoy, established a year earlier. He eulogised the work of the Brothers, saying " it (the examination) was an exhibition of knowledge which would do credit to many more mature establishments."[202]

The Brothers themselves were not content to leave their schools to apricate in the aura of this superficial laudatory atmosphere that was synonymous with these annual 'public' examinations. The Brothers' schools were subject to a searching and critical examination on a yearly basis by the Visitor, a member of the General Council of the Superior General. Nothing escaped the eye or attention of these annual Visitors from the Superior Generalate's office. This process began in the late 1830s, but became fully structured following the publication of the Manual of School Government in 1845 and thereafter. Nothing escaped the eye or attention of these annual Visitors. The teaching and its quality was thoroughly appraised, school discipline, progress by the pupils in their studies, the very atmosphere of the school was subjected to close and searching scrutiny. If flaws or defects of any kind, however trivial, were observed, then they were noted and reported on. Any of the

Brothers in the school, including the Director or Head Master, could be transferred for some inefficiency. The Brothers were seldom left complacent about their personal religious observances or their teaching duties in the school room. No state sponsored public examination could have ever had the immediate repercussions or severe consequences of these visitations.

In 1855, the Visitor noted about one school:

> Both Brothers inefficient in school ... no advanced classes, school ill-looking and disorderly ... This state of things calls for a reform.[203]

The result of this report brought about a transfer of one of the Brothers concerned and his replacement by a more efficient Brother. Another Visitor's report on a different school resulted in the following laconic comment: "the Director (head master) is a drag on the schools rather than any assistance."[204] The offending Brother was immediately transferred and the following year's visitation noted: "the schools much improved in efficiency since last year, but want a better supply of requisites than the timid Director gives."[205] If one school room had efficient monitors another was criticised for "very poor monitors - all filthy."[206] Only rarely did any school get a uniformly good report. St. Patrick's CBS in Manchester was fortunate in this regard in its visitation in 1849.[207] This strict annual visitatorial inspection by the Brothers themselves on the work of their own Brothers and schools, led the Superior General and his Assistants to regard as unnecessary and superfluous any proposed regular government inspection of their schools later in the century.

The laudatory comments of the Assistant Commissioners of Education Arthur Sharman Crawford and Dr. William Frederick McBlain, in respect of the Brothers' system of education, sharpened the focus and demands of the Catholic clergy led by Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin who had been translated from Armagh in May 1852. These Catholic Episcopal demands hinged on the principles of Catholic education, on

Catholic principles, Catholic masters and the use of Catholic school-books."[208]

Cardinal Cullen's ideals of education coincided with those of the Christian Brothers, whose powerful patron he became. His pastoral letters on education constantly denounced neutral schools and praised those of the Christian Brothers. He eulogised the Brothers' system of fully integrating religious and secular instruction and denounced the National Board System for excluding all men, bound by vows, i.e. the Christian Brothers, from participating in their system with all the concomitant financial subsidies attached thereto. Archbishop Cullen concluded that this veto by the National Board on the participation of members of male religious teaching Brotherhoods "was proof of the anti-Catholic spirit of the Board and of its determination to prevent Catholic instruction as much as possible."[209]

At no time had the Brothers such powerful patronage as that of Archbishop Cullen. His predecessor's (Archbishop Murray) pragmatic view in earlier years of the possibility of Ireland healing its wounds through mixed schools, was a futile dream of the past for Archbishop Cullen. The true advocate of mixed education was Bishop James Warren Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin.[210] He was the most articulate spokesman among the Irish Catholic Bishops for the ideal of mixed education. Archbishop Murray was more concerned with the pragmatic possibilities that the National School system might offer for the education of Catholic children.[211] Gillespie, the historian of the English Province of the Christian Brothers, says of Archbishop Cullen :

> He came as a symbol of the new Ireland and his spirit of anti-English Irishness and anti-Protestant Roman Catholicism was very much in tune with the spirit of the General Council of the Brothers at this time.[212]

During the episcopate of Archbishop Cullen in Dublin from 1852-1878, thirteen new Brothers' schools were opened in his archdiocese and forty nine other such schools throughout Ireland.[213] In contrast, the

Brothers gradually closed down all their schools in England by 1880. The Brothers teaching there were transferred to Ireland.[214] This withdrawal from England by the Brothers was due mainly to the unsatisfactory nature of the financial arrangements between the Brothers and the Catholic parish committees, who would not transfer the ownership of school buildings or the finance from them solely to the Christian Brothers. This marked an unhappy ending to the English mission of the Brothers in the 19th Century. They returned to England again in the early decades of the 20th Century under different circumstances and still remain there to this day in the successful pursuit of their calling.

9.7 Cardinal Cullen, James Kavanagh and the 'controversy' surrounding Kavanagh's 'anonymous' criticism in 1859 of the National School System.

With Cardinal Cullen's approval, a book was published in 1859, entitled The Catholic Case Stated : Principles, Working and Results of the System of National Education By a Catholic layman.[215] The layman - author was James W. Kavanagh, a Catholic, who for 24 years had been the Head Inspector of National Schools. In his book, James Kavanagh exposed what he came to perceive personally as the faults of the National School system in its operation and contrasted in turn the highly successful system of education operated by the Christian Brothers and other religious orders. He used the Kildare Commission Report of 1857-58 to laud the teaching systems of the Christian Brothers in their nation-wide schools, the schools of the Franciscan Brothers and the Patrician Brothers in the west and the schools of the Presentation Brothers in South Munster.[216] Kavanagh quoted the evidence of Mr. Stephens in 1855 to the Kildare Commission which spoke of the excellence of the Brothers' schools and the threat to the numbers attending national schools arising from them.[217] Commissioner Hughes QC also praised the work of the Brothers' schools in similar vein.[218] He went on to mock the "falseness of Stanley's letter", "praising a system as one from which should be banished for ever the suspicion of proselytism."[219] Kavanagh

attacked the sectarian nature of the system's school text books and the interference with the Catholic religious instruction of that minority in Ulster Protestant National Schools. The book generated much controversy which spilled over in the columns of the newspapers.[220] Modern historians generally regard Kavanagh's criticisms as unsound and biased and very denominational, when his official views should have conveyed the opposite position.

Kavanagh was regarded as a hero by supporters of the Catholic church's denominational educational policy and as a hostile and biased commentator by the 'pro-mixed-education lobby.' The educational historian Akenson, does not express too high an opinion of Kavanagh's book because of unsustainable bias.

> This volume (Kavanagh's) contained nearly 450 tightly packed pages of data upon the faults of the Irish National System of education. It was filled with considerable misinformation as well as with a good deal of useful material, but the accuracy or inaccuracy of Kavanagh's case was less important than the effect the book was to have. Overnight, it became the educational source-book of the Catholic Hierarchy.[221]

Griffin also gives a most interesting analysis of the 'unpredictable' character and career of James Kavanagh[222] Griffin also details the "inexplicable and almost irrational" behaviour of Kavanagh in seeking to have James Rogers, a Catholic, unjustly dismissed from his position of Master of the Glasnevin Model Industrial School in 1857.[223] This incident serves to illustrate the less than reasonable attitude and outlook of Kavanagh in some aspects of his public career.

The Catholic bishops pressed on with their campaign for changes in the National System to make it acceptable to Catholics. A system had been worked out in England in 1847 between the Government and the Catholic Poor Schools Committee,[224] by which financial aid could be given to Catholic schools. The Irish bishops hoped for a similar formula for Ireland, where Catholic children were the largest denominational group of school-going age. Cardinal Wiseman and the Privy Council in

England had worked out a system by which the government recognised Brothers of Catholic Religious Orders as teachers in English schools.[225] In evidence before the Powis Commission (1870), T.W. Allies, Secretary of the C.P.S.C. (Catholic Parochial Schools Committee) stated that the Marist and Xaverian Brothers were in receipt of state funding in their schools and that the De La Salle Brothers had also applied for funding.[226] For reasons of policy, the Irish Christian Brothers in England did not apply for funding. The hostility of the Brothers to seeking any grants from the government had been established by their experience of the Irish National School System of 1831 and their partial participation in it until 1836. The growth in the number of national schools in Ireland had risen from 789 schools in 1833 with 107,000 pupils on the rolls[227] to 5,600 schools with over 800,000 pupils in 1860. The state grant to these schools had risen from £25,000 in 1833 to almost £294,000 in 1860.[228] These figures indicate the great growth in the National School System of education.

In the 1850s, the English government had become increasingly concerned about the need for economy and efficiency in the public service generally. In the area of education, government commissions had been set up in England and Scotland in 1858 and 1864 respectively, to inquire into the funding of elementary education. Both commissions, the Newcastle Commission in England and the Argyll Commission in Scotland had both reported by the mid 1860s.[229] One of the most significant outcomes of these Commissions was the introduction of a system of 'payment by results' in elementary schools in England and Scotland. The Newcastle Commission report for English elementary schools favoured denominational schools and argued cogently for it.[230] Encouraged by this development, Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin, created a Cardinal in June 1866 by Pope Pius IX,[231] led the Irish bishops in addressing a letter to the Right Hon. E. Cardwell, M.P. Chief Secretary for Ireland outlining Catholic educational grievances.[232] Within three months, the bishops received a reply from Cardwell, which contained a

firm refusal of the requests of the bishops contained in their memorial. The bishops met again and considered the government's refusal, listing fifty three points of rebuttal of the government position. They listed the unbiased and favourable reports of government officials in favour of denominational schools such as those of the Christian Brothers, singled out for special comment in the Kildare Commission Report.[233] The Prime Minister Lord Palmerston rejected this second letter from the Irish bishops. He saw no reason to depart from the principle of mixed education for Ireland to which the English government was so committed.[234] The bishops had lost another round in their battle to change the non-denominational character of the system of Irish elementary education beginning with the Catholic educational initiatives from the early 1820s onwards.

9.8 The Powis Commission of Inquiry into the State of Primary Education in Ireland, 1868, its recommendations, and the Christian Brothers' rejection of them

The year 1867 had been a troubled one in Ireland with the Fenian Rising and the spread of Fenian outrages to English cities. The Earl of Derby (the former Edward Stanley), the Prime Minister since June 1866, felt that the time was opportune to take another look at the whole vexed question of elementary education in Ireland. This decision may have been motivated by the strong condemnation of the Irish Catholic bishops, individually and collectively, against the oath-bound Fenian secret Society.[235] In January 1868, a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the State of Primary Education in Ireland, was appointed, with fourteen Commissioners of which seven were Protestants and seven were Catholics. It was under the chairmanship of the Earl of Powis.[236] The Commission, like its predecessors, had wide ranging powers to take evidence under oath, to compel witnesses to attend, and to produce any documentation required. It sat for two years until 1870 and produced a very thorough report, in which it listed 129 recommendations. The first two related to the proficiency of children in primary schools.

Recommendations Nos. 4-7 stressed the importance of the role of management. Other recommendations dealt with such matters as school buildings and sites, legislation relating to school attendance and school fees, the questions of local and government contributions for the maintenance of schools and the possibility of local authority involvement in them.[237] This Powis Commission proposed the introduction of a system of 'payment by results' in addition to a basic salary. This was put into effect in 1872.[238] As regards funding generally, it recommended that the local contribution should amount to at least one third of the state grant.

This Powis Commission was a watershed in the development of Irish primary education in the 19th century. It undertook an exhaustive enquiry into all aspects of Irish primary education and recommended that henceforth, primary education in Ireland should be recognised as being denominational and based on a local management system. Three of the Commissioners refused to sign the final report on the principle that it was destructive of the principles of unified (non-denominational) education which had been the fundamental purpose of the 1831 National System of Education. The report of the Powis Commission consisted of eight volumes, which were printed in five parts.[239] The Christian Brothers refused to become involved in the proposals of the Powis Commission and opted to remain outside any State-sponsored system as heretofore.

The reasons for this refusal to agree to the proposals of the Powis Commission were the same in principle as those which led the General Chapter of Affairs of the Christian Brothers in Nov 1836 to withdraw their six schools from affiliation to the National Board in 1837.[240] Brother J. A. Hoare, the Superior General, gave a similar reply to the Powis Royal Commission on 9 March 1868 in response to the Commission's query to him as to why Edmund Rice's Brotherhood were prevented from being connected to the National Board of Education in Ireland.[241] The evidence of Brother J. A. Hoare to the Powis Commission, and that of Cardinal

Cullen, in regard to the school curriculum, the training of young Brothers as elementary school teachers, their requirements for admission to the Institute as fully professed Brothers and the success of the Brothers' system *vis-à-vis* that of a particular school, the National School at Westland Row, Dublin, is fully set forth in Blake's study of the Christian Brothers as educators in nineteenth century Ireland.[242]

9.9 Conclusion

It might appear inconsistent to conclude the chapter with some further comments and observations on the Powis Commission of 1868 in relation to the general title of the chapter.

> The Commission was a landmark in the history of elementary education in Ireland. It attracted a great deal of attention, it's investigations were most comprehensive and exhaustive and its reports were for many years of immense importance in the discussion of educational proposals.[243]

The recommendations of the Powis Commission led in due course to the abandonment of the monitorial system operated by the Brothers until the 1880s, hence the Commission had an impact on the pedagogic system of the Brothers.

Two comments arise out of the findings of the Powis Commission of 1870 which referred in an adverse way to the work of the Christian Brothers Schools and which this thesis cannot allow to go unchallenged. The initial recommendation in the report criticised the progress of the children in National Schools as being "very much less than it ought to be". It continues with this comment: "In Church educational schools, i.e. non-national convent schools, and the Christian Brothers schools, the result is not very different."[244]

This criticism was difficult to support in view of the standards of work and scholarship achieved by the pupils of Christian Brothers' schools. The evidence of the Kildare Commission and of earlier official reports and inspections of the Brothers' schools provide clear testimony to their

excellence. The Manual of School Government of the Brothers, published in 1845 and updated and revised in 1865, was incomparable for its thoroughness and excellence both in regard to the subjects on the curriculum offered to pupils of their schools and to the methodology to be employed in teaching those subjects and in evaluating the progress made by the pupils. The system of annual visitorial inspection by the Brother Visitors already detailed, ensured that the highest standards were met and that deficiencies in any matter were highlighted and rectified immediately.

J. W. Kavanagh's volume, although it is viewed as biased by many modern scholars, provides some degree of evidence of the very wide disparity between the standards of teaching and pupil progress in the National Schools *vis-à-vis* the high standards of achievement of both pupils and teachers to be found in the Brothers' schools. Kavanagh's evidence is supported to some extent by the findings of various sub-commissioners in their evidence to the Commission.

There were fourteen full Commissioners and ten Assistant Commissioners in the composition of the Commission. Of the fourteen full Commissioners, seven were Roman Catholic and seven were Protestant.[245] One of the Assistant Commissioners, J. E. Balmer, in a supplementary report commented on the generally low standard of knowledge and efficiency in the lower classes of the Christian Brothers' schools. He acknowledged, however, that the higher classes were very well taught.

> The reading was bad in these lower classes, and many of the boys were not able to read at all, while in the higher classes the boys read with intelligence and were better taught than boys of the same age in other schools.[246]

Yet another Assistant Commissioner, P. J. Coward found that:

> The children attending the convent and Christian Brothers' schools read better than those of a similar stage of advancement in the National Schools.[247]

Coward later added:

> The reading of the children attending the convent and Christian Brothers' schools was better than I found it elsewhere, which is due to the members of these bodies being of a better class of society, or their more careful study of the rules of reading.[248]

In the case of the latter comment by Coward, two inferences may be drawn form them. Firstly, the social superiority of the class of society from which the nuns and brothers came from had a beneficial effect on their pupils, a rather new concept of the time being the importance of social strata in the provision of education. The other inference was the more thorough training and preparation of the nuns and brothers as efficient teachers. The evidence would seem to point to Coward's inference of better teacher training which the brothers received as presented by them in their submissions to the Commission.[249]

It must be remembered that the Brothers got no state funding from the National Board for their efforts between 1836 and the publication of the Report of the Powis Commission in 1870, by way of teacher salaries, costs of school books and the provision of class room equipment. Cardinal Cullen, in his evidence to the Commission, referred to the sum the Brothers had spent from their own resources on their schools, i.e. £154,000.[250]

The Powis Commission produced figures which showed that only a minority of teachers had received any formal training.[251] The Powis Commission pointed out in 1870 that only one third of the national teachers in the country had received formal training and it was also critical of the quality and duration of the courses provided.[252] The Commission, among other recommendations, on the supervision of trainee national teachers, urged that residential denominational training colleges be give State aid under certain conditions.[253] These recommendations of the Powis Commission were not implemented by the Government during the 1870s, despite pressure from both the Catholic and Anglican churches. Cardinal Paul Cullen, Archbishop of

Dublin, established a male residential Catholic teachers' training college in 1875 at St. Patrick's, Drumcondra under the direction of the Vincentian Fathers. A similar institution for female Catholic trainee national teachers was instituted by him at the Mercy Convent, Baggot Street, Dublin in 1877 under the direction of the Sisters of Mercy. Neither of these colleges received any state grant for a period of some 6 to 8 years after their establishment.[254]

Meanwhile, the problem of the quality of national teacher training continued into the 1870s and early 1880s. Lord Carlingford, the former Mr. Fortescue, and Sir Michael E. Hicks-Beach kept a correspondence going with first the Lord Lieutenant, and then the Secretaries of the Commissioners of National Education. These gentlemen recommended that some scheme be devised to remedy the teacher training situation. Hicks-Beach, writing in November 1874 said:

> It would be a source of deep gratification, if, with the valuable assistance of the Commissioners of National Education, some practicable and reasonable scheme could be devised to remedy 'a state of things', which is such a serious obstacle to maintaining at the highest standard the education of the Irish people.[255]

Mr. Fortescue, as he then was, suggested on 19 June 1876 important measures to the Commissioners "to remedy the evils which even then were militating against the advancement of good education in the country."[256]

The figures of untrained teachers, who were 'certified' and receiving grants from the Commissioners had reached some 4,396. Within a few years, this figure had risen to 6,284, then to 7,067, or 66% of all certified teachers. By 1883, of the 7,907 Roman Catholic certified national teachers, only 2,142 or 27% of the total were trained. The Protestant figures were better in that 52% of them were trained, representing a figure of 1,412 out of a total of 2,714.[257]

The British Government decided in 1883 to fund denominational

teacher training colleges and made provision for this policy in its estimate

Colleges for Teacher training

England and Wales - £110,500 to support 42 colleges with 3,150 students

Scotland - £27,000 to support 7 colleges with 851 students

Ireland - £7,755 to support 1 college with 220 students[258]

In the case of Ireland, the college in question was the Central Model School Training College in Marlborough Street, Dublin. The two Catholic colleges at Drumcondra and Baggot Street were not affiliated to the National Board until 1884.[259]

The new Christian Brothers' novitiate and training College, built between 1887 and 1903 at Marino, Dublin, remained outside the grant system of the National Board and thus received no state aid. In view of these statistics and official comments, there must have been some small grain of truth in Kavanagh's book in regard to teacher training under the National Board. The Brothers' system was set up and functioning from the time of the publication of their 1845 Manual of School Government.

Brother John Austin Grace, on behalf of the Brothers, and at the request of the Commission, provided thirteen pages of the most exact information on the Brothers, their Rules, Constitutions, numbers of school, pupils, locations of schools, school books used, teacher-training and experience of the Brothers etc. which is recorded in the Miscellaneous Papers Section of the Final Report.[260] Not merely were the thirteen subjects and their course content pursued by the Brothers in their prescribed training given in full,[261] but also specimen examination papers and copies of past final examinations were given.[262] The brother had to pass the final examination after completing eleven years of classroom training prior to his profession as the age of twenty five or over. A copy of the curriculum for the Brothers on the concepts,

principles and practices of school management was also provided by the Brothers to the Commission. This should be of interest to contemporary Irish primary teachers still in service who were trained up to the 1960s.[263] The Brothers were officially thanked by the Commissioners for their speedy and comprehensive provision of all the documents the Commissioners sought from them.[264] Brother Grace himself gave evidence before the Commission and was thoroughly examined in person on the issues of teacher training of the Brothers and other related matters by the Commissioner on 10 June 1868 and 17 July 1868. His evidence amounted to eighteen pages of material.[265]

It was the evidence of Cardinal Cullen on the recruitment, spiritual formation, teacher training and formal examinations in classroom techniques and general pedagogy that clearly contradicts the Powis Commission remarks on the lack of proper teacher training as far as the Brothers were concerned. Cardinal Cullen refers to the 60 schools, 225 school rooms, 391 teaching Brothers and their 26,871 pupils in the most clear and unequivocal terms and lists the excellence of the spiritual and pedagogic training of the Brothers.[266] It was a fitting climax to a period in the history of the Institute. The initial training and school programme of the Brothers could be summarised in 24 short points for Archbishop Bray of Cashel in 1810 by the founder Brother Edmund Rice. Cardinal Cullen in his evidence to the Commission stated:

> Their schools are conducted in a most admirable fashion and most economically for the country. Indeed the State contributes nothing whatsoever to the support of their schools ... The training of teachers is a most important thing with the Christian Brothers. I think they keep their young men ten or eleven years before they allow them to become permanently Christian Brothers, and they are all that time under training ... So that there is every reason to be satisfied with the way in which these are conducted, and with the proficiency of the pupils who attend them, whilst the country is saved a very great outlay by the labours of those good Brothers.[267]

It is perhaps interesting to note that the strict belief of Cardinal Cullen

in the essential efficacy of a purely denominational type of education with the constant intermingling of religious and secular values and principles might to some extent have been influenced by his own personal experience as a boy while attending the Quaker School, founded by Abraham Shackleton at Ballytore, Co. Kildare,[268] his native place. The Quakers as a group were liberal and non-doctrinal in their beliefs, and like the Catholics refused to be bound by the conditions of the National School System of 1831. In consequence, they received no State funding for their schools. Some individual Quakers, like Bewley and Jacob, however, were supporters of the Kildare Place Society in its early years. It is likely that some Quakers would have exercised enough personal principle to send their children to National Schools. Cardinal Cullen's position appeared rather strange in view of his own early education in a Quaker school. One can only conclude that his strong anti-Protestant educational bias against Catholic children attending non-denominational schools had its basic origin in the years which he spent in Rome in an Ultramontanist atmosphere during his time as Rector of the Irish College, prior to his appointment as Archbishop of Armagh in February 1850.

The Brothers made their own case admirably in the presentation of their own written 'Returns' to the Commission regarding the personal qualities needed in aspirants to the Brotherhood, their noviciate training and their professional teacher-training and qualifications. In relation to the admission of young postulants already referred to at references 248 to 250, the Brothers' Return states:

> Members are usually admitted between the ages of fifteen and twenty five years. They should be of decent family, of irreproachable character, and must be recommended by a clergyman, or a Brother, to either of whom they must be personally known. Called to live in Community, and to be engaged in the work of instruction, they should have social dispositions, sound judgement and zeal, together with sufficient knowledge or capacity to acquire.[269]

Reference is then made regarding the necessity to enjoy good health, hearing and eye-sight. An account of the noviciate training of the

Brothers is then given:

> During the early stages of their course, the novices are under the immediate direction of a novice master, who gives them daily regular instructions on their various duties and trains them to discharge with efficiency the obligations of their state ; they likewise receive from him and from other members of the community regular lectures on the different branches usually taught in the schools; the novices themselves also devote a considerable portion of each day to the study of these subjects and they are obliged to lecture each other alternately upon them, under the immediate superintendence of their master, in order to train them to give similar lectures when they are placed in charge of schools.[270]

> Before being admitted to life-membership of the Institute candidates must be at least 25 years of age and are required to undergo a probation period of annual vows for a period of at least eleven years. They are then sent into the schools under supervision and are given a programme of studies intended to qualify them as teachers. They must devote the hours of study appointed by the Rule in preparation for their final examination as teachers, before being accepted for Final Profession.[271]

A printed list of the following thirteen subjects required for teaching was attached with the details of the studies in each subject listed under that subject. These included Orthography, Reading, Writing, Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, Geometry, Mensuration, Algebra, Book-keeping, History and Christian Doctrine. The last subject, Organisation and Methods included the theory and practice of imparting knowledge and the methods for teaching all the subjects as prescribed in the Manual of School Government, 1865 edition.[272]

It is unlikely that any fair critic could regard the school curriculum of the pupils in Christian Brothers' schools to have been deficient in material, content or subject. The same could be said of the efficiency and thoroughness of the Brothers' system of spiritual formation, and their training as teachers. The Final Report of the Commissioners took a cold and dispassionate view of all the systems of elementary education in all

their various aspects. The very first article listed in the Commissioners' Report was pessimistic and somewhat inexplicable in the extreme.

> ... that the progress of the children in the national schools of Ireland is very much less than it might be. That in Church Education Society Schools, non-national convent schools and Christian Brothers' Schools, the result is not very different.[273]

This judgement in regard to all the categories of schools listed is difficult to accept in view of the depth of evidence presented by learned churchmen of different denominations, eminent and honourable sub-Commissioners and others, where the spot assessments and inspections of various schools appear to be at variance with the conclusion quoted above. It is perhaps a measure of the frustration felt by the Commissioners at the amount of money spent on National School Education in Ireland since the inception of the scheme, some forty years earlier. Education, it may be claimed, can never be properly funded in that it is impossible to scientifically or economically assess the price of non-material items in terms of the social, cultural or spiritual values attached to them. It may well be claimed that the sums of money spent by the Commissioners of National Education over the period of the forty years at issue was inadequate to provide the returns expected from such a vast constituency of illiterate and uneducated school children from deprived backgrounds. Social, economic, cultural and educational deprivation, which was the norm of the home backgrounds of the vast majority of Irish school children, could hardly be regarded as being conducive to the receptivity of knowledge and school learning which better home circumstances could supply.

The fact that the Christian Brothers' schools received no state grants by their own decisions could not have been regarded as a positive element in this unsatisfactory situation. That they achieved the level of success with their pupils that they did was due more to the sacrifices of the Brothers themselves than to any beneficence or sympathy on the part of the British Government in Ireland and its agencies.

The greatest handicap of the Brothers' schools was lack of manpower and finance. Manpower shortage was the more critical drawback. The monitorial system which the Brothers operated in their schools had within it the seeds of its own weakness and inefficiency. A system which required one Brother to take care of up to and often over one hundred children and provide them with the basics of an elementary education was well nigh impossible. The Commissioners' own judgement of the Brothers' monitorial system typified the cold realities of the situation

> It is quite impossible that the Brother ... can attend to so many children ... The majority of the pupils must be left to the care of the monitors, many of them very young, and requiring themselves to be looked after, quite as much as their little charges ... This was the result not of neglect but of system.[274]

> In a word, judged by the higher classes alone, the teaching and results are excellent, judged by the whole school, the system breaks down for want of teaching power.[275]

The monitorial system, successful to an extent in the early days and for its time, was maintained beyond its useful life and in effect became a relic of the past. The Commissioners felt it was only the top classes, the monitors themselves, who were being well-educated, because they alone were constantly in direct contact with the Brothers. Due to the Powis Commission Report, it is more than probable that the Brothers began to employ pupil-teachers when they could afford it.[276] The General Chapter of the Brothers held in 1880 "recognised and duly authorised this change" in their pedagogic practice.[277]

Matters had progressed a long way from Edmund Rice's humble converted two roomed stable, the location of his first school in New Street, Waterford, in 1802. From 1832, North Richmond Street was becoming cumbersome and congested, as the Superior General and his three Assistants and the Novices also resided there. In addition, the Brothers who were 'professors' or tutors of the teacher-training programme and their student teachers lived in the house. To these three

distinct groups living in the North Richmond school must be added the normal complement of teaching Brothers.

The General Council of 1880 added a fourth Assistant to the Superior General, Brother Dominic Mc Donnell. He was given the task of seeking more spacious accommodation for the Superior, the Generalate, the Noviciate and the teacher-training component of the Congregation. The Brothers purchased the former home and lands of Lord Belvedere on Drumcondra Road, Dublin, from the then owner, Mr Coffey.[278]

The Brothers took possession of Belvedere House in February 1874. They added extra floors to the building to meet their needs. The Superior General and his staff, in addition to the Noviciate and the Brothers' Training College, moved to this new location. An elementary school was built in the grounds as a teaching school for the Brothers in teacher-training. By 1883, there were 300 boys on the roll of this school.[279] In July 1878, Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, purchased the former Earl of Charlemont's estate of 310 acres at Marino. Cardinal Cullen's successor, Archbishop McCabe, arranged with the Brothers to purchase Belvedere House and school from them in 1883 for the purpose of establishing a Catholic Male teachers' Training College. The Belvedere site became known as St. Patrick's Teachers' Training College - a function which it still fulfils today.[280] Archbishop McCabe paid the Brothers £3,000 for the Belvedere site in Drumcondra, and the Brothers, in turn, paid the Archbishop £6,148 for the Marino site and Lord Charlemont's house.[281] In various stages between 1887 and 1903, they built a beautiful granite edifice on this elevated site to house their Generalate, their Novitiate and the Brothers.[282] St Mary's, or the Marino Institute of Education, is still a College of Education for teachers today, and is linked to the School of Education at the University of Dublin.[283]

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[1] J.D Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp.82-83 and 108-109 and M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, pp. 37-42.

[2] The Holy Gospel according to St. Mark, Ch. 9, verses 34-37 in The Living Bible (Wheaton, Illinois: Tynedale House Publishers, 13th printing, 1974), p. 834.

[3] Ibid., p. 41.

[4] Ibid., p. 40.

[5] Ibid., p. 44.

[6] Ibid., pp. 44-45.

[7] Ibid., p. 45.

[8] Letter of Edmund Rice to Archbishop Bray, 9 May 1810. The original letter is in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Cashel and Emly in Thurles, Co. Tipperary, while a copy of same is in the Archives of the Brothers' Generalate in Rome.

[9] Ibid.

[10] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education in Nineteenth Century Ireland", unpublished M. Ed. thesis U.C.C., 1977, p. 22.

[11] Manual of School Government 1845, p. 192.

[12] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers" etc., p. 538.

[13] Letters of the Superiors Generalate Archives, Rome, p. 150. Letter written by Brother M. T. Boylan, November 1900, quoted in Blake's M. Ed. thesis pp. 538-539.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Kingsmill Moore, An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education, pp.40, 60, 293-294.

[16] T. Corcoran, Education Systems in Ireland (Dublin: University College, 1928), p. xxi.

[17] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 174-175.

[18] D.S. Blake, The Christian Brothers and Education in 19th Century Ireland, p. 85.

[19] As at ref. no. 9 above, principle no 12, p. 550.

[20] D.S. Blake, The Christian Brothers and Education in 19th Century Ireland, pp. 33-34.

[21] Ibid., pp. 34.

[22] See Chapter 6, ref. 86.

[23] School Regulations of the Presentation Sisters 1793. Excerpts from the rules cited in "The Educational Ideas of Edmund Rice Founder of the Presentation and Christian Brothers 1988," by John E. Kent (unpublished M.Ed., thesis, University College, Cork), pp. 357-359.

[24] Burke Savage, A Valiant Dublin Woman, p. 65.

[25] As at ref. no. 9 above, principle no. 7, p. 550.

[26] First Report of the Commissioners of Education Enquiry 1825, (400) xiii.i, p. 85.

[27] Ibid., pp. 85-86 – Summary. Actual evidence is contained in Appendix to the report, pp. 749-758.

[28] J.E. Carroll, "Providence and the Growth of the Congregation of Edmund Rice," in the Souvenir Booklet of the Rice Seminar Waterford 1975 (Waterford: Mount Sion Past Pupils Union, 1975).

[29] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. III, Minutes of evidence taken before the Commission from 12th March - 30 October 1868, Vol. XXVIII, Part. III, Minute 9427, p. 375.

[30] Martin Brenan, Schools of Kildare and Leighlin 1775-1835 (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son Ltd., 1935), pp. 430-431.

[31] Letters of Edmund Rice to Archbishop Bray, 9 May 1810. Writing in September 1975, J.E. Carroll, in an article entitled, "Capital Providence and the Capital Growth of the Congregation of Edmund Rice", says: "Edmund Rice made North Richmond Street a school for training his Brothers. For a time it was a training college for Catholic lay teachers also, probably the first Catholic Training College in Ireland". In a footnote he gives his source as the sworn evidence of Brother Austin Grace before the Powis Commission, 10 June 1868.

[32] School Government being a Manual of Education as a Science and an Art (Dublin: Compiled by the Christian Brothers and printed by W. Powell, 10 Essex Bridge, 1865), p.10. This is commonly referred to by the Brothers as The 1865 Manual of School Government.

[33] Letter of Lord Stanley to the Duke of Leinster, October 1831 taken from Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland Vol.I (1834-1845 inclusive) (Dublin: G. and J. Greerson for H. M. Stationary Office, 1851), pp. 2-4.

[34] Ibid., pp. 2-3.

[35] Report from the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the poorer classes in Ireland H. C. 1830, vii, (667), 426.

[36] Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 214.

[37] Christian Brothers Manual of School Government (Dublin: William Powell, 1845), Ch. 3, p. 12.

[38] Ibid., Ch. vi, p. 18.

[39] Ibid., Ch. vi, p. 24.

[40] Ibid., Ch. ix, p. 44 footnote.

[41] Ibid., Ch. x, pp. 57-62.

[42] Ibid., Ch. xi, pp. 63-69.

[43] Ibid., Ch. vi, p. 24.

[44] John E. Kent, "The Educational Ideas of Edmund Rice Founder of the Presentation and Christian Brothers (unpublished M.Ed., thesis, University College, Cork, 1988), p. 149.

[45] Ibid.

[46] M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 60.

[47] General Free School for the Instruction of Poor Boys in Hanover Street East, Dublin Diocesan Archives.

[48] David Stow, The Training System, Moral Training Schools and Natural Seminary for preparing Trainers and Governesses (London: Longmans, 1854), in Trinity College Library.

[49] Samuel Wilderspin, Early Discipline Illustrated or the Infant System (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1834).

[50] John E. Kent, The Educational Ideas of Edmund Rice, pp. 149, 173.

[51] Letters of Edmund Rice to Archbishop Bray as at reference 8 above.

[52] First Report of the Commissioners of Education Enquiry.

[53] *Vide* ref. no. 58, Ch. 8.

[54] Sir Alexander Mc Donnell (1794-1875) and John S. Crowe, A Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1928), p. 137.

[55] A. Mc Donnell, "Notes on Education July 1862," Larcom Ms. 7605, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

[56] Sean Griffin, "The Catholic Book Society and its Role in the Emerging System of National Education", 1824 – 1834 in Irish Educational Studies Vol. II, 1992, p. 83.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Advertised in the Waterford Chronicle, 23 January 1828.

[59] The Waterford Chronicle, 23 January 1828, as quoted in Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 213.

[60] Catholic Book Society, 5 Essex Bridge, Dublin, founded 1827, Dublin: Almanac, General Register of Ireland, 1844 (Dublin: Pettigrew and Oulton, 1844), p. 308.

[61] The Christian Brothers' History of the Institute Vol. 1 (Dublin: Bray Printing Co., 1958-1961), p. 437. Brother William Gillespie - author of the Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880 (Bristol: The Burleigh Press, 1975) and an acknowledged Historian of the Congregation of the Irish Christian Brothers, sounded a cautionary note on the accuracy of this History, its uncritical approach and its reticence in dealing with matters considered controversial of disedifying, pp. 212-213.

[62] D.S. Blake, The Christian Brothers and Education, p. 127.

[63] See ref. 51, Ch. 8.

[64] J. D. Burke, A History of the Institute Vol. I (Dublin: Published privately for the Christian Brothers, 1934), p. 438. Brother James Dominic Burke became the official historian of the Institute in 1887 and with other Brothers of the Education Committee began to publish annually an educational periodical for private circulation among the Brothers. Periodicals devoted to educational matters were almost unknown at this time. This periodical was known as the Educational Record. It contained articles of various aspects of the history of the Institute and of such copies as educational principles and methodology. Each Volume contained a necrology of recently deceased Brothers. It outlined accounts of the various pedagogic practices in the various countries in which the Brothers were teaching. All the articles until 1891 were contributed anonymously. Thereafter, contributing Brothers put their names to their own articles. Brother Burke himself began to write the history of the Institute in 1890 and published it in Parts each year in the Education Record during the years 1890 to 1902. The material he published on the history of the Institute was abstracted from these volumes and published privately by the Brothers in 1934 in 3 Volumes as the History of the Institute.

[65] General Chapter Notes 1841, Generalate Archives, Rome. A copy is also in the Dublin Diocesan Archives.

[66] A manual for School Government, being a complete analysis of the System of Education pursued in the Christian Schools. Designed chiefly for the Junior members of the Society (Dublin: Published by the Christian Brothers and printed by William Powell, 68 Thomas Street, 1845).

[67] D.S. Blake, The Christian Brothers and Education, p. 158.

[68] See ref. no. 66 above.

[69] The 1845 Manual of School Government, preface, p. 3.

[70] *Conduite des Ecoles Chretiennes*, Revised Edition (Paris: *A La Maison Mere Les Freres Chretiennes De La Salle*, 1837).

[71] The 1845 Manual of School Government, pp. 5-6.

[72] The School Masters Handbook (Dublin: Bentham and Gardiner, 1825).

[73] John E. Kent, School Regulations of the Presentation Sisters 1793 (Excerpts from the 1793 Rules) in "The Educational Ideas of Edmund Rice," Appendix 1 pp. 357-359.

[74] David Stowe, *vide* ref. 98 of this chapter.

[75] Samuel Wilderspin, *vide* ref. 99 of this chapter.

[76] Andrew Bell, (1753-1832) Dictionary of National Biography Vol. II (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1908), pp. 149-152.

[77] Joseph Lancaster, (1778-1838) Dictionary of National Biography Vol. XI (London: Smith Elder & Co., 1909), pp. 480-483.

[78] See ref. 66 above.

[79] Manual of School Government 1865, p. iv. The same title, publishers, printers etc. as the 1845 Manual (see Ref. 113 above) but the year of publication was 1865.

[80] Rev. Richard F. Littledale and Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton S.J., Article on the Jesuits', *Ratio Studiorum* in the Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. XV (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910-1911), pp. 337-347.

[81] See ref. no. 52 of this chapter.

[82] See ref no. 66 above.

[83] See ref. no. 79 above.

[84] Manual, 1865 edition, p. iv.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Mark Mc Carthy, Edmund Rice and the Christian Brothers, p. 482. "...From the earliest years the Curriculum of the Christian Brothers' Schools was never limited to merely elementary subjects or standards. The term 'Christian Brothers' School' never denoted a primary school only. It always meant a school in which there were primary and secondary departments, and in this it differed in no way from schools generally designated Secondary, for they, as a rule, have a primary department...."

[87] Manual 1845, The reconstructed description of the school, its teachers, furniture and programme is culled from information in this volume.

[88] First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland 1825, pp. 85-86. The actual evidence is contained in Appendix to Report of Commissioners on Education in Ireland 1825, pp. 749-759, Trinity College Library.

[89] Patrick Donovan, The Christian Brothers in New Ross 1849-1949 (Wexford: The Wexford People Newspaper, 1951), pp. 79-80.

[90] See Manual, 1845, for a description of 'general monitors,' p. 17.

[91] Manual, 1845, pp. 33-34.

[92] Ibid., p. 31.

[93] Ibid., p. 46.

[94] History of the Christian Brothers Vol.II (Dublin: Bray Printing Co., 1958-61), p. 384 - original 1860 records of returns are preserved in the Generalate Archives in Rome.

[95] Details of the acquisition and use of this wooden signal instrument can be found in the Minutes of the 1841 General Chapter in the Generalate Archives in Rome.

[96] The Christian Brothers, The History of the Institute Vol. I (Dublin: Bray Printing Co., 1958-61), p. 321.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Manual, p. 24.

[99] The Christian Brothers, Manual of School Government (Dublin: William Powell, 1845), Ch. xxvi, pp. 204-205.

[100] First Report on the Commissioners on Education in Ireland H. C. 1825, 400, xii, p. 614.

[101] Ibid., p. 754.

[102] John E. Kent, "The Educational Ideas of Edmund Rice", pp. 162-163.

[103] Ibid., p. 163.

[104] See ref. no. 52 of this Chapter.

[105] Quoted in William L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England, p. 28, footnote No. 9.

[106] Sean Griffin, "The Catholic Book Society and its role in the emerging system of National Education, 1824-1834" in Irish Educational Studies Vol.II, 1992, p. 82.

[107] A Return of the Notices or Statements which Pursuant to the Provisions of the Act 10 Geo. 1V, c.7 etc. Ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, June 1830, p. 10.

[108] W.L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880, pp. 28-29.

[109] Ibid., pp. 28-29. The Brothers continued to use the monitorial system in England till they left the English Mission in 1880. By that time, with the advent of a greater number of trained teachers becoming available, the monitorial system became unacceptable and out-dated. The Brothers would neither accept state subventions or inspections of their schools from the various financial schemes made available for such purposes by the authorities, nor would they employ lay teachers to assist them.

[110] Manual, 1845, Ch. xxvi, p. 205.

[111] Ibid., pp. 19-24.

[112] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, pp. 26-27.

[113] Manual,1845, pp. 19-25.

[114] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 162.

[115] Manual, 1845, pp. 20-24.

[116] Ibid., pp. 52-53. Returns preserved in the Generalate Archives in Rome.

[117] Horace Mann, Report of an Educational Tour in Germany and Parts of Great Britain and Ireland (London: Cowrie, 1846), pp. 57-58.

[118] Powis Commission, 1870, Vol. II, Report of Assistant Commissioners 1870, (c.61) XXV111. Part. iii, p.153.

[119] Letter of Edmund Rice to Archbishop Bray, 9 May 1810.

[120] Ibid., Point No. 19.

[121] Manual, 1845, p. 201, Article 12.

[122] Rice to Bray, 9 May 1810 - Regulation 19, Cashel Diocesan Archives.

[123] Grosvenor to Dunn, Preston, Lancashire, 24 June 1814. Miscellaneous letters, 1810-1874, Generalate Archives, Rome

[124] Manual of School Government, 1845, Chapters xxiii to xxv, pp. 187-204.

[125] Ibid., Article 1, p. 187.

[126] Ibid., Article 2, p. 187.

[127] Ibid., Ch. xxiii, No. 3, p. 188.

[128] Ibid., Ch. xxiii, No.4, p. 188.

[129] Ibid., Article 25, p. 186.

[130] Ibid., Article 26, p. 186. Premiums in the context of references Nos. 163 & 164 were taken to mean gifts of books and religious pictures etc.

[131] Ibid., Ch. xxiii, Article 28, pp. 186-187.

[132] Ibid., Article 7, p. 189.

[133] Ibid., Article 9, p. 189.

[134] Ibid., Article 14, p. 191.

[135] Ibid., Article 19, p. 192.

[136] Ibid., Articles 19, 20 and 21, pp. 192-193.

[137] Ibid., Articles 23 & 24, pp. 193-194.

[138] Ibid., Ch. XX1V, Articles 1-14, pp. 194-198.

[139] Ibid., Ch. 23, Article 5, p. 188.

[140] Details of the wooden signal instrument and of the leather slapper are to be found in the Minutes of the 1841 General Chapter in the Generalate in Rome.

[141] For detailed confirmation, see J. Pinchback and M. Hewitt, Children in English Society - From the 18th Century to the Children Act 1948 Vol. 2 (London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 347-365 and 391-413.

[142] Austin Dunphy to the De La Salle General, July 28, 1826 (De La Salle Generalate Archives, *Via Aurelia*, Rome, Ref. EN 655-1, dossier 1. Copy also in Christian Brothers Generalate Archives, Rome).

[143] Manual, 1845, Ch. 23, Article No. 22, p. 193.

[144] Ibid., Article No.18, p. 192.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Notes on Visitations in 2 Ms. Volumes for the years 1848-1861 - not in order in Generalate in Rome.

[147] Ms. Copy of Circular of Brother M.P. Riordan, dated 1851, in Generalate in Rome.

[148] Susan M. Parkes, Irish Education in the British Parliamentary Papers in the Nineteenth Century and after 1801-1920 - Guides to Sources in the History of Education, No. 5 (Cork: History of Education Society in association with Cork University Press, 1978), Reports pp. 9-14.

[149] First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825, (400) X11.1 p. 85.

[150] Letter of the Irish Bishops to the Right Hon. Edward Cardwell M.P., Chief Secretary of Ireland, Dublin 18 March 1860. Printed as Appendix to "Catholic Education - Report of a Meeting of the Clergy of Dublin 18 December 1867."(Dublin: James Duffy, 15 Wellington Quay, 1868), pp. 85-114.

[151] History of the Brothers Vol. II, p. 358.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid., Vol. III, p. 201.

[154] Manual, 1845, Ch. XXIII, Article 1 and Article 5, pp. 146-147 and 148-149.

[155] Ibid., Articles Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 147-148.

[156] Ibid., Chapter xxii, Articles 1-75, pp. 146-177.

[157] J. E. Gordon, "Education In Ireland," Six letters to the Chief Secretary of Ireland (London: Richardson, 1832), Letter 4, p. 32.

[158] J.C. Colquhoun, The System of National Education in Ireland (Cheltenham: William Wright, 1838), p. 64.

[159] Ibid.

[160] H. D. Inglis, A Journey Throughout Ireland Vol. I (London: Whittaker & Son, 1834), p. 65.

[161] Ibid.

[162] Colleges (Ireland) Act 1845, 8 and 9 Vict., c. 66, 31 July 1845.

[163] Susan M. Parkes, as at reference 181 above, p. 46.

[164] A New History of Ireland Vol. VIII - A chronology of Irish history to 1976. A Companion to Irish History, Part 1, ed. by T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p.328.

[165] Susan M. Parkes, Irish Education, p. 46.

[166] Ibid.

[167] James Godkin, Education in Ireland - Its History, Institutions, Systems, Statistics and Progress from the Earliest Times to the Present (London: Saunders Otley & Co., Dublin: Alex Thom, 1862), pp. 142-143.

[168] Ibid.

[169] U.K. Statute, 18 and 19 Vict. c.59 of 23 July 1855 establishing a Parliamentary Commission of Her Majesty appointed to inquire into the endowments funds and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purpose of education in Ireland, Kildare Commission 23 July 1855.

[170] James Godkin, Education in Ireland, p. 143.

[171] Ibid., pp. 146-147.

[172] Kildare Commission, Report 1857-1858. House of Commons 1858 (2336) XII (Dublin: Trinity College Library).

[173] Freeman's Journal, 1855 - undated newspaper cuttings.

[174] P.J. Hennessy, A Century of Catholic Education (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1916), p. 64.

[175] Cork Examiner, 1855 - Undated Newspaper cutting in the North Monastery Files.

[176] P.J. Hennessy, A Century of Catholic Education, p. 65.

[177] Crone's Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography, William Kirby Sullivan 1820-1890, Scholar, born in Cork and educated by the Christian Brothers in Cork and Dublin - later Professor of Chemistry in Fr John Henry Newman's University in Dublin 1855 and subsequently President of Queen's College Cork at the time of his death in 1890.

[178] Endowed Schools Ireland, Commissioner's Report (Kildare Commission, 1858), p. 131.

[179] Ibid.

[180] Ibid., p. 199.

[181] Ibid.

[182] Ibid., p. 213.

[183] Ibid.

[184] Ibid., p. 216.

[185] Quoted in History of the Institute Vol. II, p. 254.

[186] Quoted in W.J. Kavanagh (A Catholic Layman) Mixed Education - The Catholic Case Stated (Dublin: Mullany, 1859), p. 247.

[187] Kildare Commission Report, p. 24.

[188] Quoted in Kavanagh, The Catholic Case Stated, p. 247.

[189] "As soon as children are capable of reading the Bible, no other book is used in the School," in National Education, a new and practical system of instruction capable of effecting the reformation of all mankind. A 16 page pamphlet issued by Education (London: William Clarke, 1834), Rule XV. Quoted in W.L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, p. 38.

[190] *Conduite des Ecoles Chretiennes*, 1837 edition, Ch. xvi, pp. 83-91.

[191] Circular Letters of the Superiors General, 1821-1930 (Dublin: Dollard Printers, 1934), p. 11.

[192] Manual of School Government, 1865 edition, p. 230.

[193] Manual, 1845 edition, p. 137.

[194] Ibid., p. 63.

[195] Report prepared by the Brothers for the Endowed (Kildare) Schools' Commission, 1854, copy in Generalate Archives.

[196] Manual, 1845 edition, pp. 140-141.

[197] An Appendix to this thesis will provide the statistical evidence of the successes of the Brothers' Schools in the Intermediate Examinations for the period 1879-1924.

[198] Manual, 1845 edition, p. 47.

[199] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[200] Ibid., p. 48.

[201] Daniel V. Kelleher, James Dominic Burke: A Pioneer of Irish Education (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988).

[202] P.J. Hennessy, A Century of Irish Education, p. 139.

[203] History of the Christian Brothers Vol. III (Dublin: Bray Printing Co., Ormond Quay, 1958-1961), p. 23.

[204] Visitation Ms. 1848-1861, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[205] Ibid.

[206] Ibid., quoted in W.L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, p. 44.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Ibid.

[209] Pastoral letters of Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin, Freeman's Journal, 10 November 1859, quoted in W.L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers, p. 164.

[210] Catholic Education: Report of a meeting of the Clergy of Dublin held at Marlborough Street, 18 December 1867 (Dublin: James Duffy, 15 Wellington Quay, London: 22 Paternoster Row, 1868), p. 9.

[211] Sean Griffin, "Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin and his Contribution to Elementary Education in Ireland, 1823 – 1841". Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Dublin, 1992, p. 139.

[212] William J. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880 (Bristol: The Burleigh Press, 1975), p. 164.

[213] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education in 19th Century Ireland", unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, U.C.C., 1977, p. 200.

[214] Ibid., and Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880, pp. 136-183.

[215] J.W. Kavanagh, (A Catholic Layman) Mixed Education - the Catholic Case Stated (Dublin Mullany, 1859).

[216] Ibid., p. 246.

[217] Ibid.

[218] Ibid. Note: The Christian names for the four Commissioners, Messrs. Andrews, Hughes, Graves and Stephens are not given in Ireland in the 19th Century – Abbreviate of Official Publications, Arthur Maltby and Jean Maltby (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), Vol. 4, p. 170.

[219] Quoted in the History of the Institute Vol. II, p. 349.

[220] A Collection of pro and anti Kavanagh Pamphlets and Newspaper Cuttings was collected by Brother John Austin Grace in 1860 and is located in the Allen Library, O'Connell Schools, North Richmond St.).

[221] Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 299-301.

[222] Sean Griffin, "The Glasnevin Experiment, 1847-1887: A Case Study of Official and Religious Involvement in an Industrial Model School", Irish Educational Studies Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1989, pp. 44-45.

[223] Ibid., pp. 42-45.

[224] A Committee set up by the English Catholic Vicars Apostolic in November 1847 as the official negotiating body for seeking Government aid for Catholic Schools.

[225] W.L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880, p. 143.

[226] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. IV, pp. 1132-1133.

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[228] Ibid.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Catholic Education, Report of a Meeting of the Clergy of Dublin, p. 12.

[231] A New History of Ireland, ed. by T.W. Moody et al., p. 318.

[232] Catholic Education, Report of a Meeting of the Clergy of Dublin, Appendix 1 to this report.

[233] History of the Institute, Vol. II, p. 358.

[234] Ibid.

[235] A New History of Ireland, p. 336, Archbishop Cullen of Dublin and p. 338, Bishop David Moriarty of Kerry.

[236] Aine Hyland and Kenneth Milne, Irish Educational Documents, p. 121.

[237] Ibid. A summary of the main recommendations of the Powis Commission can be found in this volume, pp. 120-127.

[238] Aine Hyland and Kenneth Milne, Irish Educational Documents, pp.128-136.

[239] Susan Parkes, Irish Education in the British Parliamentary Papers in the 19th Century and After 1801-1920. Guides to sources in the History of Education, No. 5. (Cork: University Press, 1977), p. 13.

[240] Normoyle, A Tree Is Planted, pp. 208-209.

[241] Powis Commission Report Vol. III, p. 83.

[242] D. S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education in 19th Century Ireland", unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, U.C.C., 1977, pp. 205-225.

[243] History of the Institute Vol. III, p. 201.

[244] Akenson, p. 313.

[245] Blake, p. 205.

[246] History of the Institute Vol. III, p. 206.

[247] Ibid., p. 207.

[248] Ibid.

[249] Powis Commission miscellaneous papers, pp. 85-86.

[250] Powis Commission Vol. IV, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Commissioners from 24 November 1865 to 29 May 1869, (C.6III), XXVIII. Minutes of Evidence of Cardinal Cullen 24 February 1869, p. 1231.

[251] Hyland and Milne, Irish Educational Documents, p. 121.

[252] Ibid.

[253] Ibid.

[254] Ibid.

[255] Ibid., p. 140.

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[257] Ibid.

[258] Ibid.

[259] Ibid., p. 138.

[260] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. VIII, Miscellaneous Papers Vol. XXVIII, Part V, pp. 85-94.

[261] Powis Commission miscellaneous papers, pp. 85-86.

[262] Ibid., p. 86.

[263] Ibid., p. 87.

[264] History of the Institute Vol. III, p. 204.

[265] Powis Commission Vol. III, Evidence taken before the Commissioners between 12 March 1868 and 30 October 1868, 1870 (C611) XXVIII, Part iii, pp. 370-385, and pp. 591-592.

[266] Powis Commission Miscellaneous papers, p. 91.

[267] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. IV, Evidence taken before the Commissioners from 24 November 1868 to 28 May 1869. Evidence of Cardinal Cullen 24 February 1869, p. 1231.

[268] Dictionary of the National Biography Vol. V (1960 ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 277.

[269] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. VIII, Miscellaneous Papers, p. 85.

[270] Ibid.

[271] The Christian Brothers, School Government Being a Manual of Education as a Science and an Art (Dublin: W. Powell, 10 Essex Bridge, 1865).

[272] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

[273] Donald Akenson, p. 313.

[274] Powis Commission Vol. II, p. 315.

[275] Ibid., p. 503.

[276] Donal Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education in 19th century Ireland", p. 255.

[277] Minutes of the General Chapter of 1880, Section 4 quoted in Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England 1825-1880, p. 177.

[278] The History of the Institute Vol.III, pp. 434-435.

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[280] Ibid., pp. 435-436.

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Chapter 10

The School Text Books of the Christian Brothers as a response to those of the National Board and their influence on the growth of Nationalism in 19th Century Ireland

10.1 Introduction

The topic covered in this Chapter is one which has many facets. It is possible to treat the subject of the compilation of school text books by the Christian Brothers in the 19th century as the subject matters of a thesis in itself. The political, religious and educational background in Ireland in the early 19th century against which Edmund Rice founded his Institute of Brothers of the Christian Schools, could hardly be described as conducive, if not even neutral to the aims and objectives of his teaching Brotherhood. The historical situation in Ireland in the period 1800-1829 shows a clear domination and control of the political, religious and educational structures of the country which was run by an English colonial administration in Dublin Castle. The administration had the total acquiescence and support of its consanquinal religious fraternity of the Established Anglican Church. The entire system of government in all its facets was geared towards the preservation of the Union with Britain and the safeguarding of the rights and privileges of the Protestant minority population of Ireland, who enthusiastically supported that Union and all it stood for.

The majority Irish Catholic population of Ireland could be falsely encouraged by promises of political, civil and religious liberties, more apparent than real, when circumstances required such remedies. As long as the Irish people remained docile and subservient to English requirements in Ireland and directed their efforts to their economic situation, rather than to political aims, then the status quo would be maintained. If the Irish by a course of agitation, sought to redress the imbalance in their political, civil or religious rights *vis-à-vis* the privileged

position of their Protestant fellow countrymen, then small concessions could be made grudgingly with the greatest possible economy of tolerance and good will within the expediencies of political compromise. The Union of Ireland with Britain had been passed in 1800[1] on the back of the promise of Emancipation for Catholics, which, not surprisingly, did not materialise until 1829. There never was a firm commitment to the principle from either the Crown itself or its political structures. The Penal Laws against the political civil and religious rights of the majority Catholic population of Ireland had been watered down in terms of their greatest and most blatant severity from the late 1780s onwards. This was largely due to the political climate of the Ulster Volunteer situation in Ireland, the efforts of the Catholic Committee and the dangers of French revolutionary thinking, as exemplified by the colonial revolt in North America.

The legislative remissions were grudgingly conceded, and in some cases, the reliefs granted were more than compensated for by restrictive conditions, which left Catholics, particularly in relation to the operation of Catholic administered schools, in a worse situation thereafter, than before. Two or three examples of this 'claw-back' mentality are sufficient to illustrate the point. The Act, known as 31 Geo. III, c.32 of 24 June, 1791[2] allowed Catholic clerics or religious to teach school upon taking the prescribed oaths of abjuration, declaration and allegiance but they were forbidden 'to found, endow or establish any school, Academy or College.' They also needed to have their status as teachers recorded by a Clerk of the Peace of the Quarter Sessions and to secure a licence to teach from the local Anglican bishop. Two years later in 1793, the Act known as 33 Geo. III, c.21,[3] removed the objectionable aspects of the 1791 Act in relation to the oath of abjuration of papal authority and substituted for it a more acceptable oath of allegiance for Catholic teachers. Papal resistance to the revolutionary French situation was a very useful lever to England in ensuring the loyalty of the Catholic population of Ireland. The 1792 Act of Sir Hercules Langrishe, the

Catholic Relief Act - 32 Geo. III c. 21,[4] removed *de jure*, the clause requiring a Catholic teacher to obtain a licence from the local Anglican bishop. In 1800 a heavy window tax[5] was imposed, however, on all non-state owned schools, which had not been licensed. This tax was intended to help provide finance for England's war with France, but it showed de facto, that a licence removed by law was not in fact removed at all.

It is of interest to note the situation in which Father Peter Kenney, S.J. the Founder of Clongowes Wood College, Clane, Co. Kildare found himself in the early months of 1814. Mr. Denis Scully, a Catholic lawyer acting on behalf of Fr. Kenney applied to the Anglican bishop of Kildare, Dr. Lindsay, for the necessary licence.[6] The bishop himself was unsure of the situation but referred the letter to his Diocesan Registrar, Rev. Rawdon Greene. Rev. Greene in turn advised Fr. Kenney to obtain a certificate from the Minister and Church Wardens of the Anglican parish of Clane of his suitability and qualifications "to keep a school for Roman Catholics."[7] On 6 June 1814, Rev. Rawdon Greene, the Diocesan Registrar informed Fr. Kenney that the Minister (Rector) of Clane had refused to give the Recommendation, upon which Mr. Kenney's licence was to be granted, and hence the bishop, Dr. Lindsay, could not grant the licence.[8] So much for the legality of Langrishe's Catholic Relief Act of 1792 of some twenty two years earlier. Fr. Kenney still went ahead and opened his Jesuit College in 1814, thus running the risk of having to pay the heavy window tax under the Dublin Fiscal Act of 1800.[9] The ultimate stages of the Napoleonic struggle in Europe was, however, hardly the appropriate time to pursue this matter in view of Ireland's considerable help in achieving the final allied victory of 1814 at Waterloo. All this was known to Edmund Rice who was a personal friend and confidante of Fr. Kenney.

The Roman Catholic Relief Act 1829 (10 Geo. iv, c.7)[10] - passed on April 13 1829 and more familiarly known as the Catholic Emancipation Act granted Catholics the right to be elected as members of Parliament.

The Penal Clauses which were included in it in sections xxvi-xxxvii,[11] however, contained draconian measures in relation to the gradual suppression of the Jesuits and other orders and congregations of Catholic male religious and those bound by monastic or religious vows. The penalties included transportation for life for those who were convicted of breaking or contravening the relevant sections of this Act. The detailed clauses and penalties which affected communities of male religious also included Edmund Rice and his newly founded Institute of Brothers, laymen bound by monastic vows. Edmund's dilemma in this regard has been detailed already in this study.[12]

A variety of events of an educational and religious nature in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the first thirty years of the nineteenth century brought the question of the provision of adequate structures for the elementary education of the poor of Ireland and in particular that of Catholics to the forefront of the government's political agenda. The controversial pastoral letter of Bishop Thomas Hussey of Waterford in 1797 provoked a very bitter response from the authorities of the state and more particularly of the Established Church.[13] It did, however, outline in clear detail the almost total deprivation of the native Irish Catholic population of any reasonable or acceptable form of structured Catholic educational facilities. Bishop Hussey was very conscious of the threat of proselytism to the faith of the poverty stricken children of his flock, who might be enticed to attend the Protestant schools that were available. Thomas Orde's educational proposals of April 1787[14] resulted in the 1791 Commission of Irish Education Enquiry. The report of the Commission was not published until 1858, perhaps because of the radical nature[15] of some of the recommendations contained therein.

The educationalist Richard Lovell Edgeworth re-opened the Irish education question with the publication of his book Practical Education (in three volumes) in the autumn of 1798.[16] Through his personal efforts,

a select committee of the Irish House of Commons was appointed in February 1799, of which Edgeworth himself was granted membership. The select committee passed six resolutions which they hoped the House would permit to be included in an education bill.[17] This was agreed in late February 1799 and the bill received a first reading on 28 March 1799 with an undertaking that a second reading would be given to it the next day.[18] This never happened and the bill was dropped precipitously. The reason for this has never been revealed. The political agenda of the Tory Prime Minister, William Pitt, and his principal supporter in Ireland, Lord Castlereagh, obviously took precedence in promoting the forthcoming union bill, which proposed the legislative union of Ireland and England within the London Parliament.

The United Kingdom Parliament after 1800 took over responsibility for Irish education armed with a wealth of informative material on the Irish educational system. The Parliament ignored the problem until 1806 when the Ministry of All Talents under Lord Grenville as Prime Minister, at the request of Sir John Newport, MP for Waterford and Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, and Archbishop William Stuart of Armagh, the Anglican Primate, proposed that a statutory commission of inquiry on Irish education be created.[19] This was agreed to.[20] It was to function under the Act of the Irish Parliament of 18 April 1788.[21] This Act had empowered the then Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Buckingham, to appoint a Commission of Irish Education Enquiry, which sat from 1788 to 1791, but whose report was never issued. The matter of Irish education was going to be dealt with solely as an Irish matter, and the answers provided would be treated as solely applicable to Ireland. In effect Irish educational policy was evolving in isolation from English politics, as was also the situation in Scotland. This was apparently going to be the political *modus operandi* of the Government and Parliament as far as Irish problems in the main were concerned. Sir John Newport's Commission of 1806 had eleven Commissioners, six appointed by the Irish Lord Lieutenant and five by the Commissioners of Charitable

Bequests.[22] The Commissioners were largely composed of Protestant clergy and laity. They worked from October 1806 to October 1812 and produced fourteen reports, pursuant to an Act of George III, passed back in 1803.[23] The fourteenth and final report deserves a brief mention, because it greatly influenced Irish educational practice during the following century.

The 1806 Commission was of the opinion that the opportunities for education among the poor were insufficient. The Commissioners suggested that a permanent body of education commissioners be created to bring order out of the chaos of "ill-taught and ill regulated schools that plagued the Kingdom."[24] The initial duties of these new Commissioners, if and when appointed, would be to enquire more closely into existing establishments, and thereafter to administer parliamentary grants, using them to create new schools where necessary, which would be under their control. In effect, this created a structure for massive state intervention in education. The Commissioners were of the unanimous opinion that if any scheme of education for the lower classes was to be acceptable and successful, whatever its other merits might be, it would have to incorporate as its fundamental principle, that its structure and form would have to be non-denominational. They stated:

> We conceive this to be of essential importance in any new establishments for the education of the lower classes in Ireland, and we venture to express our unanimous opinion, that no such plan however wisely and unexceptionally contrived in other respects, can be carried into effectual execution in this country, unless it be explicitly avowed, and clearly understood, as it leading principle, that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the particular religious tenets of any sect or description of Christians.[25]

A fourth suggestion of the Commissioners concerned the curriculum of such proposed schools. The new Commissioners, if and when appointed, were to have control over all texts used in their schools, and they were also to draw up selections of extracts from the Scriptures, containing religious and moral instruction of a general sort. The volume

of sacred extracts was apparently to be used during normal class room hours. The Commissioners felt it would be:

> the best preparation for that more particular religious instruction which it would be the duty, and we doubt not, the inclination also, of their several ministers of religion to give, at proper times, and in other places, to the children of their respective congregations.[26]

The stage was set for the circumstances which were to complicate relationships between the Catholic bishops of Ireland and the State authorities on proposed structures of elementary education and the curriculum for almost the next century. The principle behind the question of religious instruction in the national schools of Ireland and the even more fundamental matter of the non-denominational nature or otherwise of these schools was clearly enunciated. The schools were to be non-denominational. Ordinary classroom instruction in the secular or literary subjects was to be kept separate from the area of specific doctrinal or catechetical religious instruction.

This Board of Education of permanent Commissioners proposed by the 1806 Commission, was established by the Irish Endowed Schools Act of 1813, to direct royal schools and to supervise all other schools.[27] The events of the years 1792 - 1816 in regard to the foundation by voluntary bodies of Protestant denominations of such institutions as the Association for Discountenancing Vice, the Kildare Place Society, 1811 and the more militant Protestant Evangelical and Bible Society Schools of later years have already been commented upon earlier in this study. A further Commission of Irish Education Inquiry was set up in 1824 as a response to Catholic irritation at their exclusion from the Lord Lieutenant's School Fund set up in 1819.[28] The M.P., William Parnell, had appealed to Parliament on behalf of the Catholics, for funding to assist poor Catholics in erecting schools, but in reality the fund became another establishment prerequisite.[29] The fund which amounted to £3,250 in 1819 and rose to £15,000 in 1825/26[30] was used largely to promote Protestant Bible Schools.[31] By 1825, only twelve of the 481 grants made went to Catholics.[32] Catholics were expected to provide the

site for any school they wished to establish, then produce a substantial local contribution and then vest it in the Anglican Minister and Church Wardens of the local Anglican parish.[33] Bishop James Warren Doyle, the Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, justifiably irked by such requirements of the three Commissioners of the Lord Lieutenant's School Fund, who had been given no specific instructions as to how to administer the fund, and in fact could do whatever they liked,[34] objected to these conditions stating that:

> No Catholic can build a school to be thus disposed of; and yet it is most confidently and officially stated in Parliament that this fund is equally accessible to Catholics and Protestants.[35]

The choice of religious text books, for scriptural reading proposed in the 1825 Commissioners' Report, was still unsatisfactory as far as the Catholic bishops were concerned. On 23 January 1826, Archbishop Murray of Dublin, on behalf of the Irish bishops, sent six resolutions to the 1825 Commissioners which they, the bishops, had unanimously adopted two days earlier. The fourth condition is of importance in the context of the subject-matter of this chapter, in that the bishops wished to have jurisdiction, as far as Catholic children were concerned, over firstly, the selection of "books for separate religious instruction and secondly, veto rights over the choice of books for common (secular/literary) instruction."[36] The rejection of the 1825 Commissioners Proposals by the Catholic bishops, led to Sir Thomas Spring-Rice's House of Commons Select Committee of 1828, the report of which, in relation to the religious books issue and the choice of secular/literary text books, was little if no improvement on the demands of the Catholic bishops.[37]

Political events in Ireland, involving Daniel O'Connell and the New Catholic Association and the by-elections of Waterford in 1826 and Clare in 1828, changed matters considerably. O'Connell's election and disqualification as M.P. for Clare, his re-election and the consequential Emancipation Act of April 1829, focused the attention of the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, the Home Secretary, Sir Robert Peel,

and Edward Stanley, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, on the vexed and continuing unsolved problem of the provision of an acceptable structure of Irish elementary education. Sir Thomas Wyse's educational proposals for Ireland, were largely adopted by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Edward Stanley. They were subsequently presented as Stanley's System of National Education for Ireland in 1831. The ongoing difficulties concerning the choice and control of the school text books, both of a religious and secular nature to be used in Stanley's National School System was never satisfactorily resolved as far as the Brothers of Edmund Rice's Institute were concerned. They took the only course logically open to them. They produced and published their own text books. Their success in the compilation of an extensive range of school text books, for use in Catholic schools and by others, will be detailed in a further section of this chapter.

10.2 The 19th century school text books of the Irish National Board of Education

It is of importance in dealing with the above topic, specifically from the point of view of achieving an accurate chronological treatment of the types of books used in Irish schools, to go back to the later decades of the 18th century. This reversion is necessary to try to ascertain what kind of literary material was in use in the Hedge or Pay Schools. The numbers of these schools increased very rapidly during the latter half of the eighteenth century, due to physical conditions favourable to the spread of education. These favourable physical conditions can be ascribed to the immense growth in the population of urban but particularly of rural Ireland and to the gradual relaxation of the Penal Laws. The real credit must be given to the people themselves who were determined to have their children educated, after such a long period of deprivation in this regard. "The strong passion for education" stated Mr. John Leslie Foster, in a letter to the Secretary of the Board of Education in 1811, "which ... mark(s) the lower classes of our people ... assures us, that if we do not assist them, instructed nevertheless they will be."[38]

The Second Report of the 1825 Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry (Abstract of Parish Returns of 1824 from Protestant and Catholic parish clergy) published in 1826/27 give an accurate and almost identical set of figures for the number of schools operating in their parishes and the number of pupils receiving instruction therein. The total number of schools for the whole country came to 11,823 with an average daily attendance of 561,000 pupils.[39] P.J. Dowling in his volume, The Hedge Schools of Ireland, which can be described as an authoritative work on the subject, postulates that about 2,500 of these were charitable and private foundations, or connected with one or more of the Protestant Education Societies. The remainder, he claims, were independent Pay Schools or Hedge Schools, as they were more familiarly known, "that is schools conducted by private individuals for their own profit and at their own risk."[40] Dowling further claims that:

> the total number of schools under Catholic teachers was over 8,000 and of these not less than about 7,600 were independent Pay Schools under lay teachers, the remainder being usually schools attached to religious bodies or 'supported by the Collections and Subscriptions of the Roman Catholic inhabitants of certain parishes and under the superintendence of Roman Catholic priests.' A number of these independent Pay Schools were town schools and city 'academies' but the vast majority of the Pay Schools were truly Hedge Schools, and it was to these that the education of the great bulk of the population was entrusted.[41]

Dowling also claims that "the standard of work done in the Hedge Schools was higher than that done in any other school of equal social status."[42] He attributes this to a more extensive curriculum, and the more liberal nature of the attainments of the hedge school master. The three R's were standard in all schools, "while other subjects found their way into the curriculum according to local needs and the level of academic knowledge of the individual teacher."[43] These subjects could include history, geography, surveying, book-keeping and navigation, not unlike the range of subjects offered in the schools of Edmund Rice's Institute of

Christian Brothers. Latin and mathematics were taught. In Irish speaking areas, instruction was in the vernacular. One might reasonably speculate on what text book material was used to accommodate the teaching of this wide range of subjects. The difficulties in providing some form of standardisation of school text books, and the practical difficulties of purchasing and providing them, was apparently one which was not exclusive to the hedge school masters. The Report of the 1825 Commission of Irish Education Inquiry and its preceding one, the 1806 Commissioners of the Board of Education, pre-empted in Ireland Stanley's plan of 1831. This pre-emption was inclusive, not only in their support for state-funded non-denominational national or elementary schools, but in the arrangements made for separate secular and moral education as opposed to purely doctrinal catechetical instruction.

The key to success in this plan lay in central control over the use of texts in these schools, which would ensure a standardisation of content. More importantly, it would ensure their sectarian neutrality by which nothing in any book that would be chosen, would threaten the views of any particular religious denomination. Therein lay a fundamental weakness in the scheme. In attempting to offend no one sectarian group of pupils in their religious beliefs, the cultural background of these same pupils would have, of necessity, to be excluded. This cultural background in its widest context, would have to embrace the cultural, linguistic, social and even racial origins, of the pupils. This aspect of education has an equal validity and claim to inclusion on a school curriculum as has the mere imparting and imbibing of knowledge. This exclusion, when artificially contrived, leaves a philosophical curricular and developmental imbalance or perhaps even a vacuum in the very essence of true education which is well nigh impossible to redress. The lowest common denominator, however necessary it may be to get a system into operation, can never be an acceptable, worthwhile, or motivating principle in any aspect of true human activity or endeavour. However imperfect or unsatisfactory the accompanying circumstances may be,

compromise can never take the place of true principle. This could never be acceptable as the rationale for a true and inclusive system of education. Its negative influences could not but distort the true values of a system, which seeks to liberate the hearts and minds of mankind with knowledge. Many systems of education have been forced to compromise on similar grounds down through the centuries in colonised areas, where the dominant racial or political authority has felt threatened by the growth of local cultural and ethnic differences. These spurious causes, whether they have been of a particular political or religious nature, have left the historical systems of education they sought to distort unacceptable to even those whom they sought to serve. This in effect was what the Christian Brothers as educationalists, committed to the wider concept of education, could not support from either the viewpoint of philosophy, organisation and structures or the choice of text books prescribed by the Commission of the Board of National Education for Ireland. Their withdrawal from the system in 1836 was more than fortuitous for Irish education, culture and nationalism. It left them to develop a system in tune with native Irish values. It may have left them penniless, without any government funding for their impoverished schools, but with a more 'core-value concept' of what their true aims and objectives were as educators and, more importantly, the freedom to pursue them.

When one sees the range of school books used in the different schools up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that the Commissioners of 1811 recognised the necessity of central control in this respect. The rule of thumb or simplest guideline for the choice of school books that were used in the hedge schools was that anything which could help pupils to read was used. Hely Dutton listed the books most often used.[44] They were:

History of the Seven Champions of Christendom

History of Montelion, Knight of the Oracle

History of Parismus and Parismenes

History of Irish Rogues and Rapparees

History of Freeney, a Notorious Robber

History of the Most Celebrated pirates

History of Jack the Bachelor

History of Fair Rosamund and Jane Shore

History of Donna Rosina, a Spanish courtesan

Ovid's Art of Love

History of Witches and Apparitions

The Devil and Dr. Faustus

Moll Flanders

New System of Boxing

Other evidence suggests that the following books were also used.[45]

A History of France

Clarissa Harlowe

Castle Rackrent

Buffon's Natural History

Baron Munchausen

Boyse's Pantheon

Universal History

Life of Baron Trench

Dutton regards the text The History of Freeney[46] as being inappropriate on the grounds that it appeared to eulogise the criminal activity of highway robbery. In the case of Fair Rosamund and Jane Shore, Dutton regarded these two persons as being nothing more than "street girls of dubious virtue."[47]

Other books of a less objectionable nature were used, like the so-called 'chap books.' These included The Natural History of Domestic Animals, a copy of which, according to an advertisement in the copy

itself, was "presented to St. Andrew's Parochial Lending Library by the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland."[48] Other books in this category included Byron's Narrative; The Dangerous Voyage performed by Captain Bligh; Tales for Youth in Thirty Poems; A Picture of the Seasons; The Brothers of Consequences with a short account of Savings Banks; Views of the Creation and Travels in the Interior of Africa By Mungo Park.[49] An interesting feature of Mungo Park's books was the inclusion of illustrations of an African town,[50] the death of the author himself,[51] and a man and his dog.[52] The National Board did not use illustrations in their school texts until almost 50 years later. These books were sold in cities and provincial towns and villages by travelling merchants, which left their supply, distribution and availability very patchy and uneven.

The Kildare Place Society, after its establishment in 1811, set out to provide a comprehensive set of school books which would not be objectionable in any way to the religious or moral sensibilities of its pupils. They had to take cognisance of the fact that the aim of the Society, both initially and in practice, was to provide a non-denominational structure of education with Bible reading as the core of its literary and philosophical curriculum. When sufficient Bibles were produced, the Kildare Place Society had next to turn its attention to producing secular text books including The Dublin Spelling Book; the Dublin Reading Book and Questions on the Dublin Reading Book. The Kildare Place Society set up a Cheap Book Department in 1816.[53] By 1825, the Society had produced fifty two titles, including such topics as voyages and world wide travelogues, books on rural economy, and books on scriptural topics.[54] Donald Akenson regarded this book publication enterprise as a valuable and necessary exercise in the establishment of schools, a fact which seemed to have been overlooked by other English educational societies.[55] These publications pointed the way very clearly to the National Education Commissioners, when they began their work in 1831.

Edmund Rice, when setting up his Teaching Institute and in the early years of its existence, was faced with the same problem regarding suitable text books for his schools. Rev. George Dwyer, the Protestant Rector of the Parish of Ardrahan in Co. Galway and a keen observer of the educational scene in Ireland in the early years of the National Board, in the course of his observations and studies, visited some 120 Catholic schools throughout Ireland administered by nuns and Brothers, which were connected to the National Board. His visits to many of the schools of the Christian Brothers, and in particular to the Model School in Nth. Richmond Street in Dublin, left him with a very high regard for the general educational system of the Brothers, to which he testified in his evidence for the 1837 Select Committee of the House of Lords.[56] Regarding the text books used by the Brothers, Rev. Mr. Dwyer had this to say:

> I saw that most of their selections were not books printed by order of the Board. The Brothers of Christian Instruction (sic) have a printer of their own, and the works and placards for their schools are printed at no. 9, Camden Street, Printers to the Brothers of Christian Education.[57]

The text books referred to were a series of class books prepared by the Brothers between 1826 and 1828, and advertised in the Waterford Chronicle, January 23 1828 as follows :

> Spelling Lessons and Reading Lessons:
>
> The patrons, managers and superintendents of schools for the education of poor children are respectfully informed that a series of spelling lessons and reading lessons, containing select matter from Natural History and Moral Instructions founded on the principles of the Christian Faith have been published for 'The Religious Brothers of the Christian Schools' and are now on sale at the schools at Hanover Street, Mill Street, James's Street and Jervis Street, Dublin; Mount Sion Schools, Waterford; Peacock Lane School Cork; Clare Street Schools, Limerick; and at other schools of the Institute in this Country and in England.[58]

That these books of the Christian Brothers were in use in schools, other than those run by the Brothers, is clear from an 1837 Report of the

Select Committee of the House of Lords. "Other books used in some schools were those of the Brothers .... supplied with the very best kind and all these at the lowest prices."[59] An Inspector of the National Board noted however that according to the Rules of the Board: "the books of the Christian Brothers are not such as they can sanction in a National School for general instruction."[60] Since all books in the National Schools had to have the approval of the Board and these official text books were supplied free of charge, they were inevitably the unavoidable choice of most teachers. In regard to the books of the Christian Brothers, published between 1826-28, the historian of the Institute in the late 19th century, Brother James Dominic Burke (1834 - 1904) seemed unaware of the existence of these early books of the Brothers, when he wrote, "Up to the year 1840 or 1841, the Brothers had no school books of their own."[61] It is surprising that despite various searches and inquiries, no extant copies of these early texts have been found and yet all the existing evidence of the time of their publication and thereafter points to their existence and use in the schools. The same is true of the books of the Catholic Book Society. Since they were probably paper-backed, it is not surprising that they easily disintegrated in the hands of the children and were lost to posterity. Leaving aside for the moment the doubts regarding the early schoolbook publications of the Brothers, there was a period from 1806 to 1826, when the early schools in Dublin, Co. Waterford, Cork, Limerick and those in England had to have some uniform system of school texts. During this twenty year period the Brothers used The Small Roman Catholic Catechism; The General Catechism; The Abridgement of the Catechism; The General Catechism and Fleury's Historical Catechism. Other religious works used in the schools included The Evangelical Life of Christ and Reeve's History of the Bible.

Certain books were regarded with the utmost suspicion by the Commissioners of the Education Enquiry of 1825 and their successors in the National Board. A text in point was A Sketch of Irish History[62] or The History Catechism, as it was better known, because of its question and

answer format. It had a very pro Irish nationalistic religious and political bias. Its critical attitude to English rule in Ireland and to the Established Church was to say the least, very extreme, as was its approach and presentation of historical fact. A copy of this book found in a teacher's desk in the Brothers' Hanover Street School in Dublin, left Brother Bernard Dunphy in the awkward situation of explaining its presence in the school at all. He vehemently denied its use as a school text book in his evidence to the 1825 Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry.[63] In the absence therefore, of any set of standardised school text books equally acceptable to the various organisations involved in Irish elementary education in the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was only natural that the defect would be remedied. Its remedy, however, depended totally on the educational philosophy and principles of those groups or organisations which established and ran their different schools. It is necessary therefore to examine in some extent this educational rationale as it affected the compilation of school books.

Edmund Rice's educational philosophy was based on the spiritual principle of the total and selfless commitment of his Brothers, to the salvation of the souls of their pupils, through a system of gratuitous instruction of these poor children, rooted in a deep Catholic doctrinal ethos. This ethic would pervade all aspects of their school instruction whether of a religious or secular nature. Edmund Rice made no apology for this philosophy. His commitment to it led him to abandon the brief attachment of six of his schools to the National Board System in 1836, to the grave financial disadvantage of his struggling Institute. He was freed, however, of the need to compromise his principles of Catholic denominational education and of the restrictive conditions of that system in general and of its unacceptable school text books in particular.

The pastoral letter of Bishop Thomas Hussey of Waterford in 1797, to which reference has already been made,[64] and the bishop's concern for the spiritual safety and salvation of the souls of the poorest children of

his flock, was a very motivating influence in the evolution of Edmund Rice's religious vocation to the apostolate of the gratuitous education of the poor, and to the development of the educational principles by which this could be achieved. The example of the selfless devotion and dedication of Nano Nagle's Presentation Sisters in Waterford to the poor uneducated girls of that city was another landmark in the evolution and development of Brother Rice's vocation and philosophy.

The 1845 Manual of School Government of the Brothers Schools[65] covers in great detail the essential aims and objectives of the Brothers in the establishment of their schools and the ethos, system of management and pedagogic principles by which they were to operate. On the other side of the Irish educational equation were the State schools of the Established Church, the Schools of the Protestant Bible and Evangelical Societies and the large number of lay-administered Pay Schools to be found in goodly numbers in many cities, towns and villages in Ireland. The 1831 National School System was an effort to bring some order and control into this amorphous mass of educational bedlam and uncertainty. His policy approach to this problem was in no way novel or original.

The Commissions of 1806 with their Fourteenth Report of 1812/13 in addition to the 1825 Reports of the Commission of Education of that year provided Stanley not only with the genesis of an elementary educational structure, for Ireland, but the practical implementation of such a system in full detail. The system would be a non-denominational system to be ensured by combined literary instruction for the different denominations. Stanley's letter to the Duke of Leinster, in which he announced his proposals, reveals the central tenets of the National School System and it throws light on the forces which operated in the compilation of the reading books for National Schools. "Care should be taken not to interfere with the particular tenets of any description of Christian pupils."[66] The main aim was to unite in one system children of different creeds. The scheme was designed not to fall into the trap, which with time and

design had overtaken the Kildare Place Society of alienating the Catholic Church. Non-denominationalism was a very important factor when the books of the Board were being compiled. Conversely, the Brothers of Edmund Rice's Institute saw the importance of denominationally orientated books from the opposite view point.

The study of school text books is one of the surest methods of ascertaining how an actual system of education worked, be it an elementary level or a higher level. It enables educational historians to observe the attitudes which were portrayed in the class-room. The American educationalist, J.A. Nietz says : "... an analysis of the actual text books used the past will reveal a truer history of what was actually taught in the schools than a study of the education theories."[67] Some research has been done by Goldstrom,[68] Whelan[69] and Alwall[70] on the reading books used in 19th century Irish schools. Goldstrom's studies are mainly centred on the school text books of the Irish National Commissioners of Education, but he does include some research on the reading books of the Christian Brothers. He does not, however, take into account the revisions in the National Board's school books. Some of these changes were of a major nature. Whelan's study does take the school books of the Christian Brothers into account, but these texts like those of the National Board were revised from time to time. Whelan, like Goldstrom, ignores those revisions. Alwall, on the other hand, does study the text books of the Irish Commissioners of National Education used in the 1850s, but not the revised texts available after 1873. The text books of the Christian Brothers were used in the Brothers schools in England in the nineteenth century and in other Catholic schools there, but Alwall chooses not to include them in her study. She concentrates on the religious contents of the text books she examined, but excluded any consideration of the social, political or economic themes contained in them.

Very little research has been done on the religious, social, political

and economic content of the school books of the Christian Brothers in the 19th century, which would form a complete subject-topic on its own. The object of the study of the Brothers' text books in this chapter can only be of a limited nature, in so far as they sought to replace the text books of the State system which did not measure up in religious and moral content and presentation to the basic educational philosophy of the Brothers' School system. The completion of a compilation of school books by the Commissioners for Irish schools could not be accomplished overnight. Thus the Commissioners, in the person of James Carlile, a Scottish Presbyterian school teacher in Dublin and one of the Commissioners involved in the day to day operation of the system, had no other recourse but to make use of the books of the Kildare Place Society, where they were found to be suitable and acceptable, which was generally the case.

Some text books compiled and published by a Roman Catholic Society were permitted to be used.[71] The Roman Catholic Society involved was the Catholic Book Society which had been founded in 1824 by Archbishop Murray with the support of Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association and others, with the following aims :

(1) to furnish to the people of Ireland, in the most cheap and convenient manner, useful information on the truths and duties of the Christian Religion.

(2) to supply all classes of persons, satisfactory refutation of the prevailing errors of the present time.

(3) to assist in supplying to schools throughout Ireland, the most approved books of elementary education.[72]

The books adopted from the Catholic Society, were the Catholic Spelling Books and Reading Tablets, but even these were censored by James Carlile. The Catholic Society itself had omitted material from its own books, which it wished the National Commissioners to approve for use in their schools. The matter omitted "contained some doctrine respecting the Virgin Mary."[73] The Commissioners themselves resolved:

"That Books and Tablets be taken from the Catholic Book Society according as they may be wanted."[74] The Commissioners followed up this resolution by requesting the Society to have "in readiness" the following requisites:

> 200 copies of sets of Tablets No. 1, (b) 500 copies of sets of Tablets No. 2 (c) 500 copies of sets of Tablets No. 3 and (d) 1000 spelling books in four parts.[75]

These books of the Catholic Society were to be issued to the schools at half-price, the National Board paying the other half. The Rev. Carlile, upon receiving these books, according to his own testimony,

> went over them carefully and everything which appeared to countenance any particular doctrine of the Church of Rome I directed to be altered.[76]

The books of the Kildare Place Society did not seem to require anything major in the matter of censorship to Mr. Carlile's way of thinking. The Catholic Book Society 'censored' its own books before submitting them to the National Board and achieved a coup in having any of them accepted. By 1819, the Kildare Place Society had published twenty seven school texts of a more secular nature than those of the Bible Societies in Ireland and England. By 1825, the Society's output of books had reached one million and this increased to 1,464,817 in 1831, when they also had a lending library established for school with seventy nine volumes on offer.[77] They covered a broad range of topics and became the early models or fore-runners of the books of the National Board. The National Board Commissioners requested by letter to the Committee of the Kildare Place Society, that an arrangement similar to the one made with the Catholic Book Society be entered into, whereby they would supply the Board with books and school requisites in their possession.[78] They also issued a stern warning to the schools affiliated to the Board that these schools should furnish themselves forthwith with the necessary school books which they lacked, as no grant would be paid when such books were lacking in these schools.[79] The Commissioners obviously felt that there was a sufficient supply of approved books available to enable each school to equip itself adequately in this regard.

Despite the plentitude of books available to the schools, the Board in keeping with its nondenominational principles, felt that the compilation and publication of its own textbooks was the ideal solution to this question. The books accepted from the Catholic Book Society on the one hand, and those from the Kildare Society, already repeatedly accused by Catholics of open proselytising on the other,[80] could hardly be claimed to be nondenominational. By September 1832, the Commissioners resolved that the First Reading Book and Second Reading Book, which had been compiled by Dr. McArthur, who was married to a niece of Rev. Mr. Carlile, be sent to the printers.[81] Rev. James Carlile, became a key figure in the work of compilation and publication of National Board school text books. He was a Scots Presbyterian Minister, who ran a school on Ormond Quay, Dublin with five assistant teachers, all of the Presbyterian persuasion, in addition to his clerical responsibilities. Mr. Carlile was one of the seven Commissioners appointed by Mr. Stanley in 1831. He became a most influential member of this group, since he was granted the position of Residential Commissioner. This was a full time paid position, "analogous to that of the permanent head of a department."[82]

By April 1833, The Third Reading Book was added to the former two.[83] In the Commissioners' report of 1834, the first of the issuing of annual reports, the Commissioners announced that four more lesson books were available.[84] By 1850 the Commissioners had 41 titles on their list,[85] made up of ten readers, four anthologies of secular and sacred poetry, The Agricultural Class Book, Lessons on the Truth of Christianity and manuals on needlework and accountancy. The reading books were comprised of nine elementary class books for reading and a book entitled The Art of Reading which dealt with the mechanics of reading. The authorship of these school text books for the National Board was largely the work of Mr. Carlile and the teaching staff at his Ormond Quay School. The overseeing of the publication of the suitable text books for the schools affiliated to the Board was one of Mr. Carlile's primary

responsibilities, and he cannot be accused of neglecting this duty. The Christian Brothers, for their part, perceived an element of sectarianism and anti-Catholic bias in some of the text books of the National Board, which they were obliged to use in those of their schools affiliated to the Board. The view which they held on these school books, contravened, they believed, the express instructions of Stanley himself on his claim that the National School System was non-denominational though sectarian in character.[86] Very few topics of a particularly Irish national, racial or historical nature found their way into any of these many school text books. For this reason, the Christian Brothers at their General Chapter of 1836 could not find any legitimate reason for remaining with the National Board in view of their perception that National Board schools texts expressed anti Catholic and pro Protestant sectarianism which were so out of character with their own specific educational values and principles. Not merely was the non-denominational rationale of the National Board System anathema to their cherished beliefs of a strongly denominational Christian system of education, but also the methods by which regulations were being interpreted, and biased text books being foisted on the schools. The decision of the Brothers to disaffiliate from the system was nothing less than reasonable and logical from their educational view point and philosophy.

The Rev. James Carlile, the Resident Commissioner of the Board, was appointed to compile, edit and publish the early books of the Board. He explained his methods before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1837 as follows:

> The mode of compilation was this. I had a school under my management in which I had four of five teachers.[87] I brought them together, consulted them upon the subject and suggested a plan for the formation of the books ... Some of them undertook the compilation of them ... They were all revised by myself.[88]

It caused little wonder that this 'Scottish Junta', as Kavanagh labelled it, was the source of much criticism later on for producing school books

that were regarded as being un-Irish and non-Catholic for the vast majority of Irish school children, who were both native Irish by race and Catholic by religion. Rev. Dr. James Carlile was Resident Commissioner of the National Board from 1831 - 1839.[89]

The position or influence of Most. Rev. Dr. Richard Whately, Anglican Archbishop of Dublin (1831-1863) and members of his immediate family in the compilation, editing and publishing of many of the books of the National Board cannot be ignored.[90] Richard Whately[91] was born in London in 1787. He was an excellent scholar of logic and a skilled theological writer. He settled in Oxford after his marriage in 1821, taking up at first a position as Bampton lecturer in 1822. He later became professor of political economy at Oxford in 1829. He only held this position for two years prior to his Church appointment as Anglican Archbishop of Dublin. His best known religious volume was his Handbook of Christian Evidences, published in 1837. He was appointed a Commissioner of the National Board in 1831 and actively promoted his views on non-sectarian religious instruction in Irish schools. The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Daniel Murray, though not in agreement with Whately on theological and other issues, reached a *modus vivendi* with him, as both were Commissioners of the Board and both supported the of practical application of a system of mixed or non-denominational secular instruction in Irish National Schools. Dr. Murray's successor in the Dublin Archdiocese, Dr. Paul Cullen, who later became a Cardinal, would have nothing to do with mixed education and opposed Dr. Whately on almost every issue of an educational nature.

James W. Kavanagh, a supporter of Archbishop Cullen's campaign in favour of Catholic sectarian education, and a bitter antagonist of the National System of Education, of which system he was a one time Chief Inspector, outlines in his volume, Mixed Education, a list of the Reading Books of the National Board, their authors and editors.[92]

Title of Books	Author or Editor

First Book of Lessons	Rev. Mr. Carlile and his Scottish Assistants.
Second Book	Rev. Mr. Carlile and his Scottish Assistants – edited by Archbishop Whately and Family
Sequel No. 1 to Second Book	Archbishop Whately and Family
Sequel No. 2 to Second Book	Archbishop Whately and Family
Third Book)	Rev. Mr. Carlile and his Scottish Assistants -
Fourth Book)	Edited by Archbishop Whately and Family
Supplement to Fourth Book	Archbishop Whately and Family
Fifth Book	Rev. Mr. Carlile and his Scottish Assistants.

The readers produced by the National Board had little that was distinctively Irish in them, apart from a few poems by Anglo-Irish authors and a few descriptive pieces on places of Irish scenic beauty. Even some of these were expunged by Archbishop Whately, leading Sir Graham Balfour to comment :

> So far was the exclusion of the national spirit carried in the early text books of the National Board, that in 1838, Dr. Whately struck out the line of poetry 'Breathes there a man with soul so dead.' Nor would he permit the children to hear that 'Freedom shrieked when Kosciousko fell.' In music the inducement is almost incredible, but in the whole music manual in use in the schools in 1864 there was not a single Irish air.[93]

Brother James Dominic Burke,[94] a pioneer among late nineteenth century Christian Brothers for his educational innovations and inspirational teaching methods in the North Monastery School in Cork, writing about the same time as Balfour, commented caustically on the same subject although one may regard his views as partisan :

> The exquisite music and melodies of our country are banned as disloyal, or are superseded by the dullest English strains hung in large tablets upon the walls. In the whole series there is little more reference to Ireland than Peru, Siberia, Morocco, or New Zealand ... Descriptive lessons on Irish scenery, such as 'The Lakes of Killarney' and 'The Giants Causeway' were struck out by Archbishop Whately and his family, in order to make room for a modest account of the languages into which His Grace's works have been translated.[95]

The Fourth Reader, issued by the National Board, issued in 1842, contained only two direct references to Ireland in a total of 339 pages. The first reference is as follows "but a great proportion of the inhabitants of Ireland are Roman Catholics."[96] The second is a reference to the

cancellation of the National Debt of Ireland "... if abolished (the Irish National Debt), the English Nation would not be relieved of the burden; since it would be only robbing one set of Englishmen for the benefit of another set."[97] The word 'National' in the term 'National Schools' referred quite obviously to the English Nation in that Ireland was an integrated part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having no territorial legislature for the island of Ireland[98] and "that the National Board was trying to implement the policy brought about by the Act of Union of 1800, not just as a political reality but as a union of hearts and minds."[99] The newspaper, The Nation, the organ of the Young Ireland Movement of the 1840s and of which Thomas Davis was one-time editor, viewed the books of the National Board in a very critical light.

> There is little national education in Ireland; less than in any civilised country, save Poland. The political and social history of our people, and of their ancient laws, habits and institutions, is not alone untaught in any recognised and systematic manner, but there is a careful suppression of it in all elementary books of education ... They (the books) are English in spirit as much as in language ... very useful and respectable in their proper place they certainly are, but that place is not in Ireland.[100]

The Readers of the National Board, to their credit, were well printed, well illustrated and well bound. They only cost a few pence, and in some cases, pupils received them *gratis*. They were in use for over 70 years sometimes being passed not only from brother to brother or sister, but from parent to child.[101] In theory, the Commissioners claimed to have no objection to managers of schools using reading books of their own choice, providing they were sanctioned by the Board beforehand. But this was not practicable, because pupils at the annual inspection were examined from the Boards' books and the teachers themselves were "tested for their classification by their acquaintance and familiarity with the Boards' books."[102] Another factor in the more general use of the Boards' schoolbooks was that there were very few, if any, books on the market at such a low price. These books were the first such school books on the market. While they were not solely religious in character and

stressed no particular denominational beliefs, they also, in fairness, contained much useful knowledge. The fact that these school reading books had little Irish content in them, enabled them to be used in a widespread manner in other English speaking countries such as England itself, and also in Canada and Australia.[103]

J.W. Kavanagh, ex-Chief Inspector of the National Board, writing in 1859, spoke of the impact of these Readers on the mass of the Irish people These school books were being studied at home and in school and by successive generations of school children, and their parents. As such they exercised an influence second only in extent to that of the Catholic catechism.[104] Dowling, writing almost a century later, regarded these Readers as being unsuitably graded by modern standards. He believed that they were too difficult for the age ranges of the pupils for which they were intended and the subject matter in many of them was less than interesting or stimulating for the interest level of the boys and girls of the mid-nineteenth century.[105] Dowling also takes issue with the Readers on the grounds that they were 'carefully edited' to omit anything that might tend to provoke a spirit of nationality.[106] Difficult as they were for pupils, they contained, according to Dowling, much valuable prose and poetry selected with care and discrimination. These books found some support in later years. The 1916 Proclamation Signatory, Thomas McDonagh, who as a poet and lecturer in English at University College, Dublin, held a 'high opinion' of the Sixth Reading Book of the National Board.[107]

10.3 The text books of the Christian Brothers as a necessary substitution for those of the National Board

The religious publications of the Board provoked the strongest response from the Catholic Bishops of Ireland and a sense of grave alarm among them, on the grounds that they (the Bishops) had affiliated their schools, albeit reluctantly in the case of some individual bishops, to the National Board, on the clear understanding, that the principle of

combined literary instruction, and separate religious instruction would apply in all schools of the Board. Yet within the space of a few years, four 'Christian textbooks' had been sanctioned for the use of the schools, during secular instruction, all written by Protestants. These books included (1) Sacred Poetry, a selection of the works of Isaac Watts, June and Emily Taylor and others, (2) Scripture Extracts approved by the Catholic Archbishop Daniel Murray but repudiated by his colleague Archbishop John McHale of Tuam "as being tainted with anti-Catholic leaven",[108] (3) Archbishop Whately's Lessons on the Truths of Christianity and (4) Whately's Lessons on Christian Evidences[109] approved with alterations by the Catholic Archbishop Murray. The Catholic bishops, despite Archbishop Murray's reassurances to them, presented the following resolutions to the Lord Lieutenant in 1840:

> (1) That no Books or Tracts whatsoever, for the Religious or Moral Instruction of the Roman Catholic pupils, shall be admitted into a National School without the previous approbation of the Four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland.
>
> (2) That every book used in the school for the Religious or Moral Instruction of the Roman Catholic pupils shall be composed or selected by the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese.[110]

Rome, consulted by the Irish bishops on the actions of the Board, issued a Papal Rescript in 1841 containing the following advice in relation to the issue of the text-books:

> That all books which contain any noxious matter either against the Canon, or the Purity of the Sacred Scriptures, or against Doctrines of the Catholic Church, or Morality, ought to be removed from the schools.[111]

When two of the above 'Christian textbooks', i.e. Lessons on the Truth of Christianity and Lessons on Christian Evidences were removed from the list of approved textbooks by the Board as a result presumably of the representations of the Catholic bishops, Archbishop Whately resigned from this Commissionership of the Board in protest.[112] It might seem that Archbishop Whately had ultimately hoped that by including his 'Christian textbooks' as subject matter in the programme of the Board set

aside for secular instruction he might woo Irish Catholics away "from the errors of their ways." This opinion is borne out from an extract taken from his memoirs. In relation to his Scripture Extracts, he says :

> But these extracts contain so much that is inconsistent with the whole spirit of Romanism that it is difficult to suppose that a person well acquainted with them can be a thorough-going Roman Catholic ... The education supplied by the National Board is gradually undermining the vast fabric of the Irish Roman Catholic Church.[113]

It was quite regretful that a system of education, designed in all fairness by Edward Stanley to provide for basic school instruction on purely non-denominational lines, could have been so purposely frustrated and diverted from its original objectives by the actions, however sincerely undertaken, by men of the calibre of James Carlile and Richard Whately. Nor does the acquiescence, based on practicalities, of the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Daniel Murray, however highly motivated his intentions might have been, in what turned out to be a system in integrated education, and likewise those of Bishop James W. Doyle [114]of Kildare and Leighlin, deserve exculpation in this whole business of the establishment of a System of National Education for Ireland.

The Christian Brothers on the other hand, it would appear, could never be credited with naiveté or adherence to practicalities, financial or otherwise, in regard either to the basic non-sectarian nature of Stanley's system or to the methods and means by which it would be implemented. They were suspicious of its general aims and objects from the very start because of its patent incompatibility with their own clearly defined philosophy of what a true Christian education should encompass as viewed from their commitment by religious vows to the gratuitous instruction of the socially and educationally deprived male Catholic youth of Ireland. Their total dedication to this noble ideal could in no way allow for any compromise with any other system which did not conform to their principles. Their reluctant agreement to permit six of their schools to affiliate to the National Board of Education for a trial period, was solely

undertaken as a gesture of their affection for and goodwill towards Archbishop Murray, who had been their friend and protector for many years. Their withdrawal from the system without the prior courtesy of notifying the Archbishop, who was an advocate of the National School System, earned them his stern disapproval. Hitherto Archbishop Murray had been a close friend and admirer of Edmund Rice and a generous contributor to the funds of the Brothers' schools in Dublin. Upon the Brothers' withdrawal from the National Education System, in most uncharacteristic fashion, Dr. Murray immediately withdrew his annual donation of £40 to the Hanover Street School.[115] The Brothers withdrawal from the system, according to Donald Akenson "was the first crack in the wall of approval."[116]

In the circumstances already outlined in the previous pages, it is easy to appreciate why the textbooks of the Christian Brothers which began to be published about the year 1840, should have received years later such a wholehearted and uncritical welcome from the Irish Bishops. Not merely were they thought of as being "of superior arrangement for imparting elementary instruction" by the authorities of Catholic schools, but rather more simply because reading material in non-Catholic books was often offensive to Catholics.[117] The problem still remains in respect of the existence of the 1828 Elementary Readers and Spelling books of the Brothers.[118] The work of producing school text books was begun in earnest by the Brothers in 1840. The books generally used in the Brothers' schools prior to the publication of their own texts were usually the books published by the Catholic Book Society[119] already referred to and other books which, according to The History of the Institute[120] were considered safe and sound.

Reeve's History of the Bible was used as a reader in many schools. The Arithmetics of Voster and Goff, and Hawney's Mensuration were also commonly used. The Use of the Globe by Keith and Simpson's Euclid were also used. Chesterfield's Letters to his Sow was used as a

reader in some schools. In the junior classes Reading made Easy and Carpenter's Spelling Book were used.[121] The grave dissatisfaction of those Brothers, who were teachers in the six Brothers' Schools affiliated to the Board until 1837 and in the case of CBS Ennistymon, Co. Clare, until some years later, with the Books of the National Board was clearly expressed by the Superior General, Brother J.A. Hoare in his evidence before the Powis Commission in 1868 :

> The class books of the National Board, considered in relation to Catholic teaching, do not supply to Catholic youth references to religion or moral subjects in conformity with Catholic doctrine, not to speak of certain books amongst them which it must be feared, are calculated to impress their minds with sceptical or rationalistic views.[122]

The Brothers were determined to replace National Board textbooks to produce for their schools books of the 'highest religious and national' tone.[123] Norman Atkinson remarks about the Brothers of the nineteenth century: "Much more revolutionary than their religious instruction was the way in which secular instruction was impregnated with nationalism through the use of their own text books."[124]

It was in the North Monastery of the Christian Brothers in Cork, or Peacock's Lane as it was first known, that the work of compiling the new Christian Brothers' text books began. The Cork group of Brothers, despite their uncertain and staggered affiliation to Edmund Rice's Institute in the mid 1820s, were an unusually talented group of men. It is true that some of the Brothers of this community, especially the blood brothers, Bros. Joseph and Baptist Leonard and Brother Michael Paul Riordan had a disruptive and disuniting influence on the peace and harmony of the Institute from the General Chapters of 1829 to that of 1841. But having said that, they brought many talents with them to the Congregation in the latter half of the 19th century. Their greatest contribution to the work of the Institute and to its educational attainments was in the field of compiling and producing the now famous school textbooks of the Christian Brothers. These early Cork Brothers, especially

Brother Michael Paul Riordan, brought with them a Catholicism with strong nationalist overtones,[125] as witnessed by their protest to the British Government in 1829 concerning the monastic clause of the Emancipation Bill.[126] This concept of undefined nationalism would have found little sympathy in Rome, where the Papacy was struggling against the results of the nationalist rebellions which broke out in many European countries in 1848. These individual talents of the Cork Brothers found a productive and successful expression in their work of producing good Catholic and educational school texts. Paul Riordan was the prime-mover in this project and worked enthusiastically and efficiently in getting the school book project off the ground. He was ably assisted by Brothers Bernard Duggan, John Wiseman, a relative of the great English Cardinal Wiseman, and by the young author and playwright, Brother Gerald Griffin.

Brother Bernard Duggan[127] was a good French scholar and translated a number of the De La Salle book series from the French into English including such books as Duties of a Christian and Christian Politeness, to which latter book, he added some original chapters of his own composition. Brother John Wiseman produced English Grammar, Arithmetic, Mensuration and Geography books.[128] He also took an active part in the controversy that engaged the minds of many scholars in the 1850s concerning Charles Darwin's Theory of Evolution and the traditional acceptance of the Bible's approach to the creation of mankind. Brother Wiseman's stance was a defence of the traditional fundamentalist Bible position on the issue and he wrote a book Geology in its Relation to Revealed Religion.[129]

The most famous members of the team of textbook compilers among the Brothers was Brother Gerald Griffin,[130] poet and novelist, who died in 1840 when he was only 37 years old. He had spent but two years of membership of the Christian Brothers, whom he joined in North Richmond Street, Dublin in 1838. Gerald Griffin was born in Limerick in

1803. His talents led him to have high hopes of pursuing a literary career. He went to London in 1823 to write plays in a revolutionary and dramatic style for the stage. His "*Noyades*", an opera completely in recitative, was produced in 1826 at the London Opera House. He wrote the successful Hollandtide Tales in 1827 and followed this with Tales of the Munster Festivals in three volumes, also in 1827. His finest novel, The Collegians, appeared in 1829. Dion Boucicault, the French-Irish playwright staged this novel as a successful play under the title The Colleen Bawn. Sir Julius Benedict, a German born naturalised Englishman, turned the novel and play into the grand-opera The Lily of Killarney which was successfully staged at Covent Garden Opera House in London in 1862.

Gerald Griffin also wrote a number of lyrics "touched with his native melancholy."[131] He wrote to his parents in 1833, speaking of his doubts about the usefulness and personal fulfilment of a literary career for him and his growing thoughts of entering the Church. He also mentioned his desire, with all his faults, to do the will of God, if that was what God required of him. His attraction to the life of the Christian Brothers was inspired by the work of the Brothers in Sexton Street in his native Limerick during the 1833 cholera epidemic. He read in the Limerick Chronicle an account of how the Brothers had turned over their schools for use as hospitals,[132] and with the help of two local ladies, who later became Sisters of Mercy, nursed the sick and dying and prepared the patients for the Last Sacraments. This corporal work of mercy and charity, performed by the Brothers to the cholera-stricken people of his native Limerick city, stirred the spark in the heart of Gerald Griffin to enter the Institute of Edmund Rice in the North Richmond Street Novitiate in 1838. Gerald Griffin took the religious name of Brother Joseph. He was transferred to the Cork North Monastery in 1839. He was apparently happy in the religious life of the Brothers. He conveyed these sentiments in a letter to a friend in London, stating that he was a great deal happier in the hum-drum routine of teaching basic English spelling to poor Cork boys than he was "when roving about your great city, absorbed in the

modest project of rivalling Shakespeare and throwing Scott in the shade."[133] Brother Gerald Joseph Griffin had to be enticed to take an interest in the preparation of the new Readers being then prepared for the schools by the Cork Community. He helped in the compilation of the Literary Class Book and wrote the many Scripture Lessons to be found in the Second and Third Readers. He wrote a poem in praise of Nano Nagle, foundress of the Presentation Sisters, to whom the Brothers in general, and Edmund Rice in particular, owed so much of their early religious inspiration and spirituality. The poem was entitled It was the Garden of Christendom tended with care. Brother Griffin caught the dreaded typhus and died in the Cork house of the Brothers on 12 June 1840 aged 37 years. His death was lamented in many of the literary magazines of the day.[134]

Brother Michael Paul Riordan, Second Superior-General, had by 24 July 1838[135] translated three works from the French, Twelve Virtues of a Good Master, The Christian Teacher and the Life of the Venerable Jean Baptiste De La Salle. The 1845 Manual of School Government, which became the handbook of pedagogic training for the young Brothers of the Institute for many years, and which was later revised in 1865, was the joint work of Brothers Joseph Hearn and Bernard Duggan. The Brothers had their own Catholic publisher, one William Powell[136] of Thomas Street. He was also the printer of all the early books of the Brothers, both school textbooks and religious works, and the two editions of the Manual in 1845 and 1865.

Brother Austin Grace, Director of the Nth. Richmond Street Model Schools and later to become famous during the 1875 Maynooth Decrees Controversy, also took part in the compilation and preparation of a number of School Expositors[137] or Spelling Books during this period in the mid 1840s. Brother Austin Grace, writing from Nth. Richmond Street, Dublin, to Brother Joseph Hearn in Carrick-on-Suir,[138] referred to the favourable reviews which the First, Second and Fourth Books of the

Brothers had received from the Dublin newspaper The Freeman's Journal. Brother Grace also referred in his letter to the great advantages that the use of uniform textbooks would confer on all the pupils of their schools and not least on the novices and young Brothers, who would have been well trained in their use and be familiar with them, in whatever schools to which they might be sent or transferred.[139]

Many other Brothers, besides those named above, took an active part in the compilation and preparation of these school text books, both by way of transcribing, collating and gathering material used in the school texts. The virtue of humility, allied to the anonymity rule, precluded any individual Brothers' names from appearing on the legend of any individual textbook as being the author of that particular book. All the school books bore the legend "By the Christian Brothers" or "By the Brothers of the Christian Schools." This practice unfortunately cloaked in anonymity the very great scholarship and pedagogic skill displayed by so many Brothers, whose very considerable talents, would have earned them well-deserved recognition had they practised their skills as identifiable laymen outside the monastic enclosure. The late Brother Austin McDunphy,[140] Librarian of the Christian Brothers' College of Education in Marino, did in fact identify almost all of the individual Brother-authors of those school texts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Again, however, the list was intended for the private records of the Brothers and not for public circulation.

At this juncture in this study, reference must be made to two or three further facts. All the Readers including the Fourth, known as the Literary Class Book were produced by the North Monastery Community in Cork,[141] and to which the second Superior General, Brother Michael Paul Riordan, while he lived there in the 1840s and early 1850s, gave his untiring practical assistance and enthusiasm.[142] A complete list of each of the school textbooks of the Christian Brothers, classified by subject, name and date of publication is included among the Appendices at the

end of this thesis. These books came to 51 in number and were published between 1840 and 1876,[143] two years prior to the introduction of the Intermediate Education Act (Ireland).[144] The textbooks of the Brothers were welcomed most enthusiastically by clergy and laity alike, both from the pulpit, and in the Catholic Press. Archbishop John McHale of Tuam, eulogised these school books and recommended their universal use to the flock of his large diocese in his Pastoral Letter of 1841.[145] The newspaper The Nation praised the school books of the Brothers for their use of native Irish writers, their treatment of the history and geography of Ireland, to which Irish boys had never before been exposed, and which were not to be found in the school texts of the National Board. The article in The Nation concluded as follows:

> ... It is a pity that any impediment should exist to the introduction of such admirable books into the National and other mixed schools - a race reared up upon intellectual food, so strong and healthy, would be good men and good citizens.[146]

The praise of these school books was not confined to the nineteenth century, nor was their use limited to that period either. Several editions of the various textbooks were produced with revisions, enlargements and improvements, where possible, even into the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century. The writer of this thesis has good reason to remember using these same text books at both primary and second school level, in the study and later in the teaching of the English and Irish languages. These text books were more costly to purchase than those of the National Board, which received state subsidies in relation to the production and costs. In consequence, the Brothers' text books like all items paid for by the individual, were treated with greater respect than those obtained *gratis*, and for that reason they were kept all the longer. What one pays for, one respects and cares for. Not only were the Brothers' school books used in Ireland, but they had a widespread sale in England also, particularly in English Catholic schools.

The British Government's first Catholic Inspector of Schools, Thomas W. Marshall, in his 1849 Report[147] approved of the Brothers' books in

general but felt that the Readers were too difficult for pupils and advocated instead the books of the Irish National School Board. The editor of The Tablet[148] attacked this view and suggested that the books of the Irish National Board for all their vaunted systematic and methodised type of instruction added nothing towards the true end of education. For some years the Brothers in London acted as distributors of their books to various English booksellers for sale to non-Christian Brothers' schools. In the period 1849 to 1855 they sold over £600 worth of these books.[149] They were widely advertised and enthusiastically reviewed in English and Irish periodicals because of their Catholic sentiments. In areas like Manchester and Liverpool, they were seen as fostering the spirit of Irish Nationalism among the large Irish emigrant ghettos.

The Annual Charity Sermon for The O'Connell Schools, Nth. Richmond Street was preached in 1842 by the eminent historian, Rev. Dr. Miley of St. Mary's Catholic Pro-Cathedral in Dublin. The first edition of the Third Geography had just been issued by the Brothers. The eminent preacher read portions of it from the pulpit. He concluded by saying:

> If the Christian Brothers had done no other service than to write and publish that book (holding the Geography Book up in his hand) they would be entitled to the gratitude and support of all true hearted Catholics.[150]

Cardinal Wiseman and many other distinguished men of piety and scholarship also praised these school text books, in particular, the Fourth Reader or Literary Class Book.[151]

It is fitting to conclude this section with a quotation which still has a validity in today's times, as it was merited, when first published. The Dublin Tablet, commenting on the text books said:

> When we consider the series of class books which the Brothers have produced containing literary merit of a high order with a religious spirit of which no other books of the same class furnish the least example, we feel it wholly impossible to give fitting expression to the

gratitude which the Catholics of Ireland owe to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[152]

10.4 The Christian Brothers and their role in the development of Irish nationalism 1838 to 1921

10.4:1 Introduction

A certain myth, or perhaps enigmatic quality, has surrounded the role of the Irish Christian Brothers in the development of Irish Nationalism in the minds of many scholars, historians, politicians and political commentators in the current era of modern scholarship and research. The average thinking Irishman, who, if he has been educated by the Christian Brothers, or if not, having had the benefit of the opinions of his friends and acquaintances who were so educated, would feel instinctively that it was the attitude, training, outlook and general approach of the Brothers to all things Irish, that was responsible for the foundation of the Irish State in 1921 and for the continuing support of the Irish Nationalist tradition and for things Irish. The truth of the situation lies somewhere in the middle ground between the complex intellectual uncertainties which face the investigative historian on the one hand and the simplistic view of the average thinking man in the street on the other. An evaluation of this whole difficult problem would merit, in itself, an exhaustive study of the many and varied aspects of the question. Such a study has been undertaken by an Australian Christian Brother, Barry M. Coldrey in his published PhD thesis entitled Faith and Fatherland - The Christian Brothers and The Development of Irish Nationalism, 1838 to 1921.[153] Coldrey's work is very detailed and offers a fair perspective on the issue.

10.4:2 An initial assessment of the problem

Among modern historians and commentators on this subject, there appears to be little unanimity or agreement on the role of the Christian Brothers in the growth and development of Irish Nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries. The current political and military situation in Northern

Ireland has made it a delicate and difficult situation on which to offer any definitive explanations on the many problems which continue to face the inhabitants of that unhappy place. The principle of the least said in the historical context the better might appear to be the wisest course of action. It must be borne in mind that a reiteration of past historical facts in the Ulster situation tends to inflame passions on both sides of the ethnic and religious divide. This in turn strengthens the resolves of both groups to hold firmly to their past traditions. It would seem that both groups in Ulster have become prisoners of their past history and intransigence and it would be a bold commentator who would seek to single out for mention, less eulogise, the activities of those, whose past actions had led to the present entrenched positions.

It is not surprising therefore that Barry Coldrey mentions in the introduction to his book that:

> The most significant and recent studies of aspects of Irish nationalism, its progress and the role of the Catholic church in Irish society have scarcely mentioned the role of the Christian Brothers.[154]

An examination which he undertook of a representative sample of ten major studies (not listed) of Irish Nationalism and Irish Catholicism, published in the 1970s and 1980s, revealed that they did not refer to the Christian Brothers at all, or only in the most marginal way.[155] The historian Thomas Bowden in his book, The Breakdown of Public Security; The Case of Ireland 1916-21 was of the view that Irish resistance to British rule and its driving force was "organised militant Catholicism linked with nationalist republicanism and dedicated to physical force."[156] According to Bowden, one religious institute in particular had fused these two strands of Irish nationalism in its teaching, namely the Irish Christian Brothers. Bowden held the view that from their earliest days, the Christian Brothers had linked 'religiosity and nationalism', 'faith and fatherland' and the 'rosary and the gun' and this linkage was the vital connection between revolutionary action and fundamental belief.[157] He described the Christian Brothers as the 'elusive pimpernels' of the Easter

Rising of 1916 and The War of Independence 1919 to 1921.[158] This view of Bowden would be regarded by fair minded historians and political commentators as an extreme view which was in no way borne out by the facts of the situation. That would also be the view of the writer of this thesis, who will attempt to give his opinion on the subject.

It is difficult to treat such an emotive topic objectively, when proponents of the case who support the importance of the role the Brothers played in nurturing Irish nationalism, make exaggerated claims as to the validity of their theories. The Centenary Souvenir of St. Mary's CBS, Clonmel, Co. Tipperary claimed in 1960 in its editorial that:

> it could be well said that the insurrection of 1916 was a Christian Brothers' Easter Week. Almost all the leaders of that heroic uprising and the glorious years that followed had been pupils of the Christian Brothers ... From the Brothers, the 1916 leaders learned their love of freedom and their desire for freedom and their desire for nationhood and the Gaelic way of life.[159]

In more recent times, in the context of the current Northern Ireland conflict, an anonymous writer to the Manchester Evening News made a similar sweeping and unsubstantiated assertion, but from a point of view hostile to Ireland and the Christian Brothers. This writer asserted:

> that soon after their establishment in 1802 the Brothers 'seized control' of the education of working class and lower middle-class Catholic boys and 'consistently injected the venom of hatred into their young minds,' thus keeping the feeble flicker of Irish resistance alive during the nineteenth century. The Brothers were mainly responsible for the Gaelic cultural revival of the early twentieth century through the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884) and the Gaelic League (1893); in fact they were 'the hidden persuaders' of the Easter Rising of 1916 and the War of Independence of 1919-1921.[160]

These extreme viewpoints from opposite sides of the political spectrum, while historically and factually unsustainable in their entirety, have some elements of actual reality within them. C.S. Andrews, a past pupil of Synge Street C.B.S., Dublin, a man involved prominently in both the Easter Rising and the War of Independence, and later a senior civil

servant in the new Irish State, wrote the following comment in more restrained language on the role of the Christian Brothers in those momentous events:

> Without the groundwork of the Christian Brothers' schooling, it is improbable that there would have ever been a 1916 Rising, and certain that the subsequent fight for independence would not have been successfully carried through. The leadership of the IRA came largely from those who got their education from the Brothers and got it free.[161]

Rev. F.X. Martin, O.S.A., a modern Irish historian, made a somewhat similar assertion to that of C.S. Andrews in the late 1960s:

> The leaders who emerged in 1916 and the subsequent years were largely past pupils of the Christian Brothers Schools ... Due recognition has not yet been given to the Irish Christian Brothers for their part in the nationalist struggle, particularly for their unqualified support of the Gaelic revival.[162]

An attempt to answer the following questions might throw some light on the role of the Christian Brothers in an evolving nationalist Ireland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Did the Brothers attempt consciously to undermine British rule in Ireland? Were they involved, and if so, to what extent, in the nineteenth century nationalist movements of the Young Irelanders, the Fenian Rising and the Irish National League? Were they involved in the politico-cultural movements of the early twentieth century, the Easter Rising and the subsequent War of Independence, and if so, to what degree? Were the Brothers as individuals, or as a corporate body involved in political events? If so what was the attitude of their higher authorities to such involvement, if any? It must be remembered, as a basic starting point in relation to the above hypothetical questions, that the fundamental and unalterable commitment of the Brothers was to their own personal sanctification. This they sought to achieve through their apostolic service to the salvation of the souls of poor male youth. It was to the poor that they were totally committed, both in relation to their education and socio-economic empowerment. This work they willingly undertook for no personal reward or monetary gain, but only to serve the Lord through this missionary

activity. Christian education of the poor and ignorant, given at no financial cost to the children for the love of God, was their main aim and objective. If in the performance of that duty, their work of education and the Christian principles of faith, truth and social justice which underpinned it, led them to influence the moral, social, cultural and political ideologies of the pupils whom they taught, then that was what the inevitable and desirable consequence would be. Nor should they have sought to draw back from or apologise for the consequences of their highly motivated and much sought after system of Christian education.

It is difficult to evaluate in precise detail the extent to which any system of true education can be said to exercise a distinctive influence over the pupils who are socialised within it. This of course excludes the extremist social and political ideologies to which various educational systems have been shackled down through the centuries and even to modern times in Europe and China. It is true that a significant number of the past pupils of the schools of the Christian Brothers in Ireland were associated to a lesser or greater degree with the evolution of the spirit of nationalism in nineteenth and twentieth century Ireland. This political socialisation, evident among these Christian Brothers' past pupils, may have any number of logical and reasonable explanations, rather than the postulation that the Brothers themselves were the prime movers in the process.

The location of the schools from which these pupils came may have had more than a random bearing on the case. The city of Dublin, the centre of British administration in Ireland, was a natural location for the growth of groups of people, who found themselves disadvantaged socially, politically, economically and culturally from the fruits of a society and a political structure from which they were excluded on grounds of race, religion and culture. The social and economic deprivation of the mass of the Catholic poor and deprived lower classes of the city was a ready breeding ground for discontent and even revolution, which would

find expression in some form or another.

That the Brothers provided a system of Christian education which tried to uplift, ennoble and improve the lot of these deprived sections of the Catholic community which they tried to serve, based on principles of Christian social justice and equality, might be construed as the vehicle which enabled and empowered this inequality and dissatisfaction to find expression. If the Brothers, through the educational philosophy and pedagogic organisation of their school system, gave hope and encouragement to their pupils to strive for a better standard of social and economic prosperity for their pupils, was it not their duty to do so? The national consciousness of the people in many of the major rural locations in Ireland in which the Brothers founded their schools was already strong.

It is undeniable that the social class factor was of critical importance in the growth and development of Irish nationalism. The Brothers gave free education, at both primary and secondary level to the children of Catholic parents who were unemployed and to those of the Catholic lower middle classes in the urban centres of Ireland. If education and the knowledge and opportunities for personal advancement, along with the social and economic progression which it conferred, were to mean anything, then there was only one direction in which the pupils of the Brothers' schools could advance. That was upwards. If the existing barriers and man-made obstacles of the ruling classes made that progress and advancement impossible through normal and lawful promotional structures, then it became inevitable that means would have to be sought, unlawfully or otherwise, to sweep away those barriers, which cut off man's natural right to equal opportunities with everyone else. It was these pupils of the Catholic and nationalist poorer classes and lower-middle classes who provided this stimulus in the growth of Irish nationalism. The Brothers may well have articulated and intensified the expectations of their pupils in a deprived colonial environment, but they did not necessarily create the values to which their pupils aspired.

Education received a great boost in Ireland in the nineteenth century through the establishment of the National School System of 1831 and the later Intermediate system of 1878. In addition the trojan and unsubsidised nation-wide work of the Christian Brothers and the other orders of nuns and religious Brothers must not be underestimated. Nor must it be forgotten that Sir Robert Peel provided the nucleus of a third level of university education by the establishment of the Queen's Colleges in 1845. Barry Coldrey puts the point of all this promotion of educational opportunities in nineteenth century Ireland into cold perspective. He says:

> In Ireland's essentially colonial situation, education at the higher levels necessarily created new needs, opportunities and expectations which could not be realised within the existing political, economic or social order. In a colonial situation education is inherently revolutionary.[163]

Modern studies on the Northern Ireland political, social and economic crisis, linked to the particular religious influences and background of that situation, have tended to emphasise that the findings on political socialisation are based on the crucial role of the family and the community in defining a young person's political stance. When the street violence and sectarian strife of the early years of the Northern Ireland troubles began in the late 1960s, many commentators tended to blame the denominational school system of that province for the violent behaviour of young people on the streets. This in turn led to many efforts, which are still continuing, to de-sectarianise the school structures at all levels of education. This belief, misguided or otherwise, is based on the premise that multi-denominational education for all children would reduce, if not remove, the religious, cultural and social barriers between children and their parents. It also presupposes the promotion of tolerance, harmony and understanding, especially between children of different faiths, in the formative years of their character growth.

Within a few years, however, systematic study has shown that the

schools had very little influence on the socio-political behaviour of their pupils or on their political views. The schools as community based centres in effect mirrored or reflected the values of the community they served and in most cases reinforced those values.[164] In so far as it is possible to define and evaluate school influence in the socio-political environment of the school pupil and contrast it with the home or community influence, most commentators consider that it is the home or community influence which is the more important. On political views the principal line of agreement is between parents and children rather than between teachers and students.[165] It would thus appear that the most important aspects of political behaviour are acquired in childhood. The family would therefore be the central agent in the socio-political formation of children's views and ideals in this regard. Early impressions are lasting, and behaviour and ideological motivation in later life is based upon these initial foundations. The parents are in effect the socialisers and it is the children who are socialised and to use the term, not in its pejorative context, conditioned to the social and political judgements of their parents.

In nineteenth century Ireland, the influence of the school on the social and political patterns of the pupils' ideology and behaviour may have been somewhat different from the possibility of a similar influence in the conditions of the late twentieth century. Education for the native Irish Catholic population, who formed the vast bulk of the population of the country, had been very unstructured and largely unobtainable by them due to the political and religious circumstances of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. When it did become officially available through the National school system and through the work of the Christian Brothers and other Catholic Teaching Orders of male and female religious, it was highly prized. The dedication of the people to the Hedge School phenomenon, and the sacrifices they made to avail of it, is ample proof of the Irish love of learning. Schools had high prestige. This was equally true also in the case of the Christian Brothers and other religious run

schools. One might ask the following questions, which are of some significance in this evaluation of the role of the Christian Brothers in the growth of Irish nationalism. Who were the Brothers and from what socio economic background did they come? The answers to these questions throws some considerable light on the kind of men they were and "the inherited social and political baggage" which they carried with them into the religious life and into their role as teachers of their co-religionists and fellow countrymen.

There is an old Irish *seanfhocal* or adage in the Irish language which goes thus, "*Briseann an duchas tri shuilibh an chait*," i.e. the cat's nature breaks out through its eyes or more commonly, what the cat knows from its nature, the cat does. The same proverb is true of the human condition. One can only be what one's human nature and characteristics dictate. So it was with the social, economic, religious, cultural and political background of those men who answered the call of God to follow in the footsteps of Edmund Rice's educational apostolate of the Christian Brothers. By and large, the young men who followed the call to be Christian Brothers were the sons of the small tenant farmer class of rural Ireland in the early nineteenth century and thereafter. True there were exceptions. The founder himself was from a prosperous farming background. Many of the original Brothers were mature men who had achieved some degree of fame and prosperity as bankers, businessmen, architects, teachers, engineers, pharmacists and the like. These early Brothers were professional men or semi-professional men in an era when advancement up the social and economic ladder was won on personal merit and not patronage. The vast bulk of the later aspirants to the Brotherhood were men of solid respectable small farming backgrounds, who were not blind or indifferent to the poverty and social deprivation of their neighbours and fellow-countrymen.

That they could be blind or indifferent to the inequality of living standards and civil rights imposed by a State system of government on

the majority of their co-religionists would have been less than naïve on their part, while a minority of their fellow inhabitants, through circumstances of religious and political differentiation enjoyed relative prosperity and unfettered social and political opportunities. This appreciation and understanding of the unjust inequalities in the lives of their neighbours and fellow countrymen was what inspired many of them to answer a call to the religious life of service. This they believed was the remedy to this situation. They felt it could be achieved through the ministry of Edmund Rice's educational apostolate. They never forgot their childhood memories of scenes of poverty, destitution and despair, experienced by their friends and neighbours. This alone would explain the dedication of the Brothers to bring about the redemption of their fellow countrymen from want, ignorance and deprivation through the uplifting influences of education. Education was to be the key that would free the Irish people from their religious, social, economic and not least, cultural disabilities.

The Brothers were not alone motivated by a higher religious calling to this noble work, but perhaps by a more natural and instinctive understanding and appreciation of the role they could play in this process. If their philosophy, educational methodology and school organisation required them to highlight the glories of the ancient cultural and literary heritage of their race and to extol the virtues of a people who had brought Christianity and learning to Britain and Europe in ages past, then they would not shirk from extolling with pride those virtues. The glories of their past history and the acknowledgement of the recent wrongs inflicted on them as a race and as a people could not conveniently be overlooked or forgotten. Those aspects of their heritage made them what they were. It was this attitude, as natural to the Brothers as it was to the poor they served, that inspired more than anything else whatever influence has been claimed on their behalf, in the growth of Irish nationalism among their pupils and past pupils. The Brothers had no difficulty in identifying themselves in every facet of their endeavour with

their pupils, who were of the same race, culture, and background from which they themselves sprang.

The early members of the Brothers' Community at the North Monastery in Cork were a unique group of men of multi-faceted talents. They were not of the usual tenant class social background but representative of the professional banking and business classes. In consequence, they brought all their talents and the skills and acumen of their early secular occupations to the religious life of the community. They were strongly nationalist in their political views, as is evidenced from their addendum to the registration form they were obliged to lodge with the Clerk of the Peace as part of the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act.[166] They had none of the servility or docility which was expected of their newly emancipated Catholic co-religionists. This community was the headquarters of the group of Brothers who produced the first text books of the Christian Brothers and particularly the four Class Readers. Brother T.J. Wiseman, was a qualified civil engineer before he entered the Institute at the age of thirty one years.[167] The Brothers began their text book production in 1840. The public reception and perception of these school books was controversial to say the least. School text books, because they were a simplified version of knowledge, reflected closely the values and attitudes of the individuals who compiled them, tempered to a certain extent by the requirements of the market place.

The Brothers' text books reflected their values and the sub-culture of Irish society, of which they were a part. It is not surprising that there should be such a marked contrast between the school books of the National Board and those of the Brothers, since the ethos, not merely religious, but social, cultural and ethnic of the two groups were at such opposite ends of the politico-educational spectrum. The school books of the Brothers were regarded in some quarters, notably that of the establishment authorities, as containing material which was undesirable and even harmful. The energy, education and abilities of the Cork

Brothers provided the initiative and drive necessary to produce these books. The members of the community appeared to have possessed a Catholicism which had strong nationalist overtones. It was these nationalist principles, expressed in a multi-faceted way that pervaded quite an amount of the material in their text books and their manner of presentation. This led to the Brothers being accused of a latent, if not an open attitude of subversion to the established order of the State and its institutions.

The educated classes of all religious persuasions were establishing schools and preparing resource material in England and Ireland in the late 1830s and 1840s, but particularly in Ireland. Text books and wall charts were in great demand as part of the wider socio-educational plan to educate the children of the urban working classes and rural youth, whom it appeared were tending towards irreligion, drunkenness, violence and even sedition. A change for the better in the socio-economic environment of these deprived sectors of the community, both in England and Ireland, was of a greater immediate priority than the provision of education as a long term solution to the problem. The more equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity was not seen, or was chosen to be overlooked, in this new climate of benevolence towards the poorer classes by those who held the reins of powers and influence. Those religious who gratuitously undertook the education of the poor, be they religious Brothers or Sisters, were men and women of strong religious feelings with a keen sense of the prevailing environment of social injustice and inequality. Such was Edmund Rice and his early confreres.

Bible Societies and other philanthropic groups provide Bibles and quasi-secular subject text books with a particular religious bias. These 'readers', if one can call them that, played a crucial role in their educational undertakings. Textbooks were expensive and in short supply and the ill-trained teachers placed a great reliance on their use to make up for their own lack of knowledge and pedagogic inefficiencies. In

religiously divided Ireland, the Commissioners of National Education provided a series of cheap textbooks for the children of the poorest classes, who attended their schools. They were 'neutral' in their approach to the presentation and imparting of knowledge to avoid offending the religious sensibilities of the pupils for whom they catered. Their textbooks deliberately omitted any reference to Catholicism, the religion of the vast majority of their pupils, and excluded any mention of Irish culture, geography, history or mythology, which was the natural inheritance of Irish children whom they taught in their schools.[168] The Brothers on the other hand had no such inhibitions. Their schools were openly confessional catering for the Catholicity and Irishness of their pupils, with which their own personal and nationalist background and convictions readily identified.

The Brothers wanted textbooks which both reflected and reinforced their teaching and their educational philosophy in its widest sense. The shape and context of the Brothers' textbooks naturally tended to have a strong 'faith and fatherland' orientation. The main difference between the textbooks of the Brothers and those of the National Board System was their 'Irish' quality. The Brother-compilers of these schoolbooks in the North Monastery Cork, were imbued with a spirit of assertive nationalism, a linking of faith and fatherland which was quite natural for them. The pupils of National Schools would never have discovered in their textbooks that the Young Ireland Leader, Thomas Davis, informed the astonished audience of the Trinity College Historical Society in 1840 "that Irishmen did have a country of their own".[169] There was much in common between the ethos of the Young Ireland Movement in the 1840s and the contemporary teaching of the Christian Brothers, 'a nationality of the spirit as well as of the letter.'[170] The textbooks published at that time by the Christian Brothers reflected the same concept of nationalism as that enunciated by Thomas Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy in The Nation, the newspaper of their Young Ireland movement with one major and crucial exception. The Brothers never espoused or encouraged the

physical force element of that nationalism, because of their religious commitment to the principles of Christian love of one's neighbour and the forgiveness for wrongs which follows as a divinely ordained consequence of that primary Christian precept.

The arrival of Archbishop Cullen in Armagh in 1850 to replace the Archbishop McEvilly, who had died the previous year, was a great boost to the Christian Brothers. He came from Rome where he was rector of the Irish College. He became the symbol of a new Ireland and his spirit of anti-English 'Irishness' and anti-Protestant Roman Catholicism was very much in tune with the evolving educational philosophy of the Brothers, as displayed in the content and tenor of their growing list of newly published school books.[171] Shortly after Dr. Cullen's arrival in Armagh, he invited the Brothers to open a school there, which is still in existence today. Upon the death of Archbishop Murray of Dublin, Dr. Cullen was translated to the Dublin See from Armagh in May 1852.[172] During the remainder of his episcopate in Dublin, 1852-1878, the Brothers opened sixty two schools in Ireland, thirteen of them in the Dublin Archdiocese.[173] It would appear that Brother Michael Paul Riordan, the second Superior-General and his Assistants were having difficulties from the start of their period of office in 1838 in regard to the financial support of the Brothers' schools in England. By 1845 there were six schools of the Brothers in England. The Brothers did not own their schools or monasteries and had no long term contracts for their continued existence there. The finance for an individual school was provided by the local parish priest and his parish education committee. Brother Riordan became embroiled in continuous local disputes with various parish clergy over funding and permanency, which the Brothers would have had, if school property had been vested in them. This was the hope of the Brothers, which would have provided them with permanent financial security, but it was not forthcoming. By 1850, Brother Riordan and his Council had in fact secretly decided to withdraw from England, on a school by school basis, as the circumstances arose.[174] This decision was written in the Book of

Foundations[175] by Brother T.J. Hearn, one of his Assistants in 1860. Brother Hearn, one of the compilers of the famous School Manual of 1845, added a comment which showed his own thinking, and perhaps that of the Superior General:

> The English wish that any system adopted should be self-supporting. This is more earnestly wished for in that commercial country than faith, hope and charity. Will it pay is the important question for them ... They cannot bear to be dependent on Ireland to enlighten their ignorance ... Leave nothing to be done depending on Saxon generosity ... Do not trust the sense of justice that may be attributed to the English character.[176]

The withdrawal of the Brothers' from their schools in England took place mostly during Archbishop Cullen's episcopate in Dublin. The Brothers, freed from the requirements of English missions, were easily assimilated into the growing number of Brothers' schools in Ireland and further abroad. Dr. Cullen's ideas of Catholic education coincided fully with those of Brother Michael Paul Riordan, the Brothers' Superior-General, namely a Catholic education on Catholic principles, Catholic masters and the use of Catholic school books.[177]

Brother Thomas John Wiseman, a native of Macroom, Co. Cork and a relative of Cardinal Wiseman, entered the Brothers in Waterford in 1826 when he was 31 years old. A qualified civil engineer, he brought with him to the Brothers' Institute proficiency in Latin and Greek, an excellent knowledge of the Irish language and a profound knowledge of ancient and modern history. He was principally a scientist and mathematician. To these extensive qualities and abilities, he brought an Irish nationalist militancy. He was not an advocate of physical force in matters politic, but a pacifist in the mould of Daniel O' Connell.[178] A past pupil of Brother Wiseman, Edward O'Flynn, a Cork builder, recalled in later years, Brother Wiseman's influence on himself and his pupils in general.[179] O'Flynn was a pupil of the North Monastery School in Cork just after the Famine years. He recalled Brother Wiseman as an 'ardent patriot', who forcibly commented on 'unjust laws', which caused the forced emigration of so many of his pupils and past pupils in the

immediate post-famine era. Pupils who were about to emigrate, O'Flynn tells us, were interviewed by Brother Wiseman and given the farewell advice 'to be true to Faith and Fatherland.'[180] He ended his normal religious instructions with a few words on the concept of nationality and preached the value of unity among the Irish, recalling the English political principle of divide and conquer.[181]

The First Reader[182] of the Brothers was so basic that it could be scarcely held to have a point of view. The first lesson dealt with Christ's love for little children and the last lesson was a poem entitled 'Cushla ma Chree' which eulogised the beauties of Ireland and the bravery of her sons. Most of the lessons were based on a broad knowledge basis, not religious or nationalist in tone. The Second Reader[183] or Second Book of Lessons contained 154 lessons, all by anonymous Brother-authors and containing also an equal number of poems and pieces of prose.

The programme of inculcating patriotism with religion began in this Second Reader with these words :

> The people of Ireland are intelligent, generous and hospitable and remarkable for their ardent attachment to their religion and their country ... the Catholicism of the Irish people had been preserved in Ireland with a fidelity and constancy which have no example in the history of mankind.[184]

The Brothers' Third Reader[185] covered the Ireland of Pre-Christian times and legendary Ireland, its heroes figuring prominently in it. These included such epic characters as Cormac MacAirt and Conor MacNessa. The earlier Gaelic alternative names of Ireland such as *Eire*, *Banba*, *Fodhla* and *Juverna* were given in this text. Overall, this Third Reader had a larger proportion of its content devoted to subjects of native Irish interest. There were pieces on Irish music, the Siege of Limerick as described by Macaulay and two popular extracts on Irish scenery, on the Lakes of Killarney and the Giant's Causeway by Archbishop Whately. This had been expunged from the National Board's Third Book of Lessons.[186] Irish authors were well represented in the

Brothers' Third Reader. The poet and musician Thomas Moore, had eleven of his poems included, all national and religious in theme. Gerald Griffin, (Brother Joseph) had eleven items of a religious nature published, for example, 'The Seven Churches of Glendalough'. The works of Oliver Goldsmith, Aubrey de Vere, James Clarence Mangan and Edmund Burke also featured in the Third Book of the Brothers. Daniel O'Connell was eulogised as a great political figure in a reproduction from an illustrated London paper.[187] The Third Reading Book of the Brothers, originally published in 1843, was revised prior to 1867 and republished in two parts.[188]

Of the Christian Brothers' Readers, the Literary Class Book or Fourth Series of Select Reading Lessons[189] was by far the most controversial. It was intended to be sold on the open market, as well as used in the senior class of the Brothers' schools. It was compiled from prose and poetry extracts and also included excerpts from the speeches of famous statesmen and orators. In the preface, it was stated that that the purpose of this reader was 'to strengthen the moral energies' and 'to stimulate the feelings of the student.' In his evidence to the Powis Commission of 1870, Brother John Austin Grace referred to the purpose of the material in this way :

> I don't think the passages were introduced in order to convey history, though they contain references to historical facts. It was more for the purpose of elocution, and as specimens of a high order of eloquence, that they obtained a place in our class book.[190]

The emphasis on things Irish in this school book was the element of its greatest significance, and in consequence, controversy. Thirty-six of the two hundred and fourteen pieces of prose and poetry in the book were Irish in content. Narrative extracts on Irish geography, history and religion were included. These included articles on Fr. Theobald Mathew, Apostle of Temperance, Callanan's poem "*Gougane Barra*" in heroic verse, "Irish Missionaries" and "Ireland in the Ages of Faith." This Fourth Reader differed from the first three readers, in that lessons of a political

nature were included in it. There were lessons on Grattan, Flood, Daniel O'Connell, the Catholic Association and Catholic Emancipation. The book included a controversial lesson called "The Epitome of Irish History", Sir Jonah Barrington's eulogies on both Grattan and Flood and a poem by Thomas Moore 'On the Death of Grattan.' There was also a section in this reader entitled "Eloquence of the Pulpit, Senate and Bar" which was nothing less than an apologia by the compilers for the arguments they wished to put to their readers in support of their rationale for winning greater political, cultural and economic freedom to Ireland.

It was this semi-political use of educational material in the school books of 'gullible and susceptible young people and adolescents' and even mature adults to enhance and invigorate their spirit of racial and national identity and pride that provoked the resistance by the authorities to the book and its contents.[191] Callanan's poem spoke of "the wrongs which like thee to our Country have bound me." Another of his poems "The Mother of the Machabees" stressed death, rather than dishonour, in pursuing one's cause. Sir Walter Scott's "Love of Country" was also quoted in the textbook. Early Gaelic Ireland was referred to, to infuse a sense of pride into a race of people whose culture was submerged and kept in that condition for centuries. There was also reference to the arrival of St. Patrick in Ireland, his conversion of the island to Christianity and the return of the gift of that faith to dark age Europe by seventh and eight century Irish missionaries.

The use of language in this Fourth Reader and in the Third Reader was heavy, dull and over-ornate. The whole ambience of the Readers was sensitised with an aura of piety and nationalism. There was much specific and implied criticism of the British colonial and establishment policy towards Ireland in these school-books. These extracts included Whiteside's speech on The State Trials of 1844, Sheridan's bitter House of Commons attack on Warren Hastings, Bishop Doyle's letter to Marquis Wellesley querying "what tenets of the Catholic creed rendered Irish

Catholics unfit for freedom."[192]

The press reviews of these reading lessons of the Christian Brothers were by and large enthusiastically reviewed by provincial newspapers and The Young Irelanders' publication, The Nation. These local newspapers had an established nationalist bias already so they were in effect only preaching to the converted. Barry Coldrey gives a good synopsis of these favourable reviews in his book Faith and Fatherland.[193] All these school readers of the Brothers began to be revamped and revised both in regard to content and format post 1885. The Fourth Book of Reading Lessons or the Literary Class Book as it was otherwise called, was upgraded to become the Sixth Reading Book or Literary Class Book and a completely new Fourth Book of Reading Lessons and Fifth Book of Reading Lessons were published.[194]

Walsh[195] undertook a thesis devoted to comparative analysis of the Reading Books of the National Commissioners for Education and those of the Christian Brothers during the period 1831-90. He contrasts the two sets of school textbooks with regard to content, presentation, format and subject selectivity, bearing in mind the two exclusive and totally conflicting educational aims and philosophies of the National Board and the Christian Brothers. His analysis of the comparison and its conclusions were researched in depth and give a good educational analysis of the two diametrically opposed systems which he examined through their use of both sets of school text books. These two systems of education, that of the National Board and that of the Christian Brothers, provide in their own way, a mirror image of much of the political, cultural and racial thinking of Irishmen during the period in question. They also provide a clear back-drop against which the spirit of nationalism was re-kindled and revived. The Christian Brothers' text books with their cultural and nationalistic ethos and idealism did much to set the tone for the political confrontation, which passed firstly through a period of constitutional agitation, and then moved on inexorably to the events of Easter 1916 and

the Irish War of Independence, 1919 - 1921.

This section on the nineteenth century text books of the Christian Brothers would not be complete without some reference, however brief, to their compilation, and publication of history and geography text books. These particular school texts, perhaps, more than any of the others, drew the most ire and criticism from among those who did not share their concept of what a balanced educational curriculum should contain. A system of education, which through its school text books, deliberately ignored or downgraded the past historical and cultural roots and heritage of those whom it purported to educate, could hardly be described as a system which enriched its pupils with knowledge of a true and challenging quality. That this omission or distortion should have occurred deserves fair criticism and disdain. The National Board's strategies would have appeared to have achieved this situation even if not intentionally. In fairness, however, these were not the objectives of its originator, Edward Stanley. The Christian Brothers sought to redress this educational imbalance through the publication of their history and geography text books for their pupils. The end result has been categorised by some, as a remedy more extreme in its efficacy, than the malady, which it purported to cure.

10.4:3 The Teaching of Irish History by the Christian Brothers

The teaching of Irish history in particular, and to a lesser degree, geography, by the Irish Christian Brothers in the schools in the Ireland of the second half of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth has always evoked much passion and controversy both then and since.[196] The stand taken on this contentious issue largely depends on the historical, cultural and political perspectives of those who have commented on the subject superficially, or who have undertaken a more serious study of the problem. The pro-British Unionist viewpoint is one which sees the Christian Brothers with their undisguised racial, cultural and nationalist bias in the teaching of Irish history as the instigators who

motivated a group of disloyal revolutionary activists, whose 1916 Dublin Rebellion distracted the forces of the Crown from their warfare in the trenches of Flanders and Picardy. This was regarded as more evil still, because Britain - in its usual noble role - was in the desperate throes of fighting a heroic world war in the defence of the rights of small nations.

One might reasonably describe this as a biased and one-sided viewpoint. It certainly lacks the magnanimity, logic or even charity, to have seen and appreciated the ultimate sacrifice made by many thousands of Irishmen, serving and dying in the trenches of the Western Front in 1914-18 for the rights of other small nations, while ignoring the nationalist plight and rights of their own nation. Britain has on occasions in the past, shown a benevolent and paternalistic view of her role in the wider world context as the defender of the weak and oppressed, while unfortunately suffering from that peculiar historical and political malady known as the imperial or colonial-power 'tunnel vision syndrome.' Sir Roger Casement's investigative work, as an agent of the Crown in the Belgian Congo in the early 20th century, in highlighting the scandals of the colonial exploitation of the peoples of the Congo, seemed most noble and laudatory. Yet it was extraordinary that this appeared in no way incongruous or out of consonance with the social, medical and economic inequities endured by the industrial workers in the mines, factories and industrial centres of Britain itself. The daily toil, hardship, drudgery, exploitation, physical work hazards and inadequate living conditions of those workers, who made Britain the world power which she undoubtedly was, were of little consequence to those who wielded that power. It was a matter of small import, to the privileged echelons of the ruling classes, if sacrifices had to be made by the working classes which were out of all proportion to the amelioration of their own personal and immediate benefit and welfare. The same might be said of social conditions in the world today, but it is none the less excusable for that.

That the majority of the people of Ireland, Catholic and nationalist,

subjects of the Crown and citizens of Great Britain, did not naturally comprehend and enthusiastically support their continued political and economic domination by their political rulers in London, was a source of incomprehension, bewilderment and not a little anger and frustration to the British establishment. That the Christian Brothers should seek to set the educational record straight for their pupils in Ireland by supplying them with the facts of their past history and the civil, political, cultural, economic and religious injustices which flowed from it, was also incomprehensible to those who viewed matters differently from the other end of the spectrum. The Christian Brothers were unique among nineteenth century Irish educationalists in that they taught Irish history as a major subject, and from their own text books. The principal theme of Irish history as they taught it, was that of Irish resistance to English invasion, of Irish suffering, resulting from English persecution, and of Irish struggle against English oppression. That is a fair judgement of their work in this field, and if fault is to be found with it, then in fairness it must be said that the Brothers did no more and no less than serve the true educational desires inherent in the social, political, cultural, racial and religious background and environment from which they themselves came. The cultural, social and nationalistic values and background of the Brothers was identical in all respects with the values and background of the pupils whom they strove to educate and uplift into a new consciousness of their intrinsic worth as Irishmen and Catholics.

Thomas Harvey, an Assistant Commissioner of the Powis Commission of 1868-1870, who inspected schools in central Leinster at a time when there were 25,000 pupils in the Christian Brothers schools in Ireland made the following sympathetic comment:

> The Brothers books for reading and history, impressed him as pervaded by a certain fervid nationality ... They had a tendency to make the children ardent lovers of their country and well acquainted with its sufferings.[197]

Until 1859, the Brothers did not have a history text book of their own. They used O'Neill Daunt's Catechism of Irish History,[198] which had been

offered to the National School Commissioners, as a possible school history text book, but had been rejected. This was not surprising for two reasons. O'Neill Daunt was a firm opponent of the school books published by the National Board and was also a well known nationalist.[199] Daunt's Catechism of Irish History had in fairness, an extremist pro-nationalist bias as can be gauged from a question on the reign of George II and the imposition of new penalties on Catholics.[200]

Brother T.J. Wiseman of the Cork Community of the Brothers, appreciating that there was no adequate manual of general history available for use in Catholic schools, and in particular for Christian Brothers' schools, with their nationalist philosophy, published his Historical Class Book in 1859.[201] He based his text book on Dr. Fredet's Ancient and Modern History because Fredet's book was "Catholic in tone", "religious in tendency," and its matter, arrangement and language were said to be "well selected" and "attractive."[202] The first two parts of Brother Wiseman's text book consisted of abridgements of Fredet's material on ancient and medieval history and modern history down to the American War of Independence. This section was approximately one third of the whole book. The following two thirds was Wiseman's own work, giving an account of English history from pre-Roman times to the reign of George III (84 pages). The third section then gave the history of Ireland from the arrival of the Milesians down to the achievement of Catholic Emancipation (109 pages). The contents of the fourth and most controversial part, Part 1, Outlines of Irish History was the subject of great praise by reviewers in nationalist provincial and other Irish newspapers.[203]

Leading Catholic clergy such as Cardinal Cullen of Dublin[204] and Bishops Keane of Cloyne[205] and Dorrian of Down and Connor defended the text books of the Brothers and in particular the Readers and Brother Wiseman's Historical Class Book. There was a prolonged and somewhat hostile examination of both Brother John Austin Grace[206] and the school

text books before the Powis Commission, 1868 – 1870, by William Brooke, a judge in Chancery and also a member of the Powis Commission. Brooke's fellow Commissioners did not share his hostile feelings to the 'subversive nature' of the Brothers' text books. Brooke himself presented his conclusion in a minority dissenting report of the Powis Commission in Vol. V of the Report.[207] Brother Grace certainly handled very efficiently Judge Brooke's sustained attacking form of questioning and was congratulated by another Commissioner, a person of no less distinction than Dr. B.M. Cowie,[208] a Presbyterian, "on the native talent of the compilers of the Brothers' text books." In 1875, the Scottish magazine, Fraser's Magazine, in an unsigned article, launched a fierce attack on the Christian Brothers' Readers as being "anti Protestant, anti English and potentially subversive."[209] The two books singled out for special attack was the Fourth Reader or Literary Class Book and the Historical Class Book. The Scottish reviewer echoed the views and comments of Judge William Brooke before the Powis Commission. In his view the Literary Class Book was a "first rate school manual for Fenianism" since all the more provocative extracts point to insurrection as "the approved method of asserting Irish independence."[210]

Another history text book from the Brothers, a Catechism of Irish History[211] was published in 1876, having been compiled by Brother J.M. O'Brien. It was based on the style of O'Neill Daunt's Catechism of Irish History. Again, while the language was simpler and less sophisticated than Daunt's work, to cater for the young children for whom it was intended, its emphasis was pro-Catholic, pro native Irish and anti-English in its sentiments and its form of historical expression. Brother O'Brien published a major historical work in 1905, The Irish History Reader[212] intended for the Senior Classes in the elementary and primary school. Again its sentiments were pro nationalist. Its concluding chapter entitled "The Lessons of Irish History" is an emotional appeal to the students to struggle for Irish-Ireland causes: a national parliament, Irish language revival, protection of native Irish industry and support for traditional Irish

ways.[213] It was nearly an educational or school based apologia for Arthur Griffith's social, economic and political movement known as '*Sinn Fein*' which was founded in the same year.

Brother T.J. Wiseman published his first Treatise on Modern Geography in 1842.[214] The aim of this school text was to provide a guide book for the poorer classes, who, by adverse circumstances or scanty earnings at home might be forced to emigrate. The information available in this book would provide them with a more certain knowledge of the countries to which they might have to go to in their search for more successful industry and remunerating labour.[215] The objective of the book which was generally enlarged in its eleventh edition, published in 1875, was clearly stated. It was to "counteract the ignorant aspirations on our Creed, not less contradictory in fact, than unchristian in spirit" which "pervade almost every existing geographical treatise in our language."[216] Moreover the text aimed to remedy the evil effects of these misrepresentations by a book of combined instruction in geography and history, without however, "yielding to the provocation of retaliatory abuse."

The contents of the book encompassed a comprehensive treatment of geography ranging from the physical geography of the world, to the treatment of all the Continents, with a special emphasis on Europe. Ireland was treated first in a thirteen page section and regarded as a separate nation. England and Scotland was treated separately also. The book was filled with factual and other 'esoteric' information. Irish historical and religious information was mostly contained in the footnotes. The tone of the book was consonant with Brother Wiseman's other publications and it projected a Catholic Irish nationalist image, which was intended to make its readers proud of their own country. Provincial newspapers lauded its academic excellence and suitability for Irish schools.[217] It was not referred to by the Powis Commission, but was later regarded in Unionist and Establishment circles as "a potentially subversive book,

arranged with a thorough sectarian design."[218] Fraser's Magazine in its continuing hostile evaluation of the Brothers' school text books singled out the Treatise on Modern Geography for critical mention. Coldrey describes the general tone of the article as denouncing the Brothers in the following terms: "a Jesuit arm engaged exclusively in the work of education" - and their text books in the following terms :

> The usual plan of the authors when they approach critical questions is to explain away what they cannot deny, to omit altogether what they cannot explain away and to fling the falsest accusations broadcast against all, whether Protestants or Liberal Catholics, who oppose Ultramontanism.[219]

10.4:4 The Teaching of the Irish Language by the Christian Brothers and their development of Irish language text-books

This section cannot be completed without some reference to the Brothers' support for the revival of the Irish language and the teaching of it in their schools. They co-operated with the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language founded by David Comyn in Dublin in 1876.[220] Brother J.A. Grace, for almost 40 years the Director of the O'Connell Schools, North Richmond Street was a fluent Irish speaker from his youth. He greatly facilitated the increasing enthusiasm for the teaching of the Irish language in various rural schools of the Christian Brothers.[221] The Commissioners for Intermediate Education in Ireland as a result of pressure from Irish MPs agreed to accept "Celtic" as an examination subject on 7 December 1878.[222] The pupils of Christian Brothers schools, slowly but surely over the following years, achieved the highest and most prestigious results in the subject.[223]

With the decline in support for the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language in the early 1890s, a new organisation, with broader aims and a more nationalist and comprehensive programme, known as the Gaelic League, was founded in 1893, by Eoin MacNeill, Douglas Hyde and Fr. Eugene O'Growney, the Professor of Celtic Studies in Maynooth College. The Brothers supported this new movement, in keeping with

their Gaelic and nationalist educational ethos. Two Brothers in particular merit special mention for their production of school text books and general works of grammar in the Irish language. Brother Jerome Fitzpatrick from Cork with the collaboration of Brother J.V. Casey produced no less than eleven text books for the teaching of the Irish language from 1895 onwards.[224] Brother Fitzpatrick, a gifted scholar was only nineteen years old when he began his work. In 1901, he published the Christian Brothers Irish Grammar, the first publication of its kind in this field. This work of Brother Fitzpatrick and Fr. Eugene O'Growney's Simple Lessons, published some few years earlier, laid the literary and grammatical foundation's for the Language Revival Movement, as they met all the then needs of the Gaelic League in its early years.[225]

Brother Fitzpatrick also published the famous Aids to Irish Composition in 1907, an invaluable work for the growing numbers of people caught up in this enthusiasm and support for the revival of the Irish language.[226] In 1908, he produced a simplified Irish Grammar, shorter in form and cheaper in cost for the use of beginners, for which his earlier 351 page grammar of 1901 did not cater.[227] In collaboration with Brother Casey, Brother Fitzpatrick published a booklet entitled Aids to the Pronunciation of Irish in 1905[228] and a full length Sequel to Aids to Irish Composition in 1907.[229] The ground work had been well prepared by no less a Gaelic scholar than Brother Jerome Fitzpatrick, who died prematurely at the age of 34 years in 1910.[230] Nationalism, through the school books of the Brothers, was rooted in firm ground.

10.4:5 Conclusion

The text books of the Christian Brothers, in their different subject categories, were compiled and published at critical and formative times in the evolution and growth of nineteenth century Irish nationalism. They laid a firm foundation of a movement which was not purely political in nature, but encompassed the much wider and more comprehensive

understanding of the true meaning of nationalism. Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary defines the word 'nation' as "a body of people marked off by common descent, language, culture or historical tradition."[231] Virtue's Simplified Dictionary defines the word 'nationalism' as "patriotic feeling, efforts or principles; devotion to the interests or glory of one's own country."[232] The Christian Brothers of Edmund Rice's Congregation stand in total vindication and with honour, in their commitment and devotion to the concepts of nationalism as expressed in these two definitions, by whatever standards of adjudication or evaluation may be applied to their efforts in that regard. Their educational philosophy and pedagogic principles can be readily identified with that spirit of common nationalism which bound them to their love of God and service to His people .In particular they felt called to serve that section of their co-religionists and fellow country men, who were most in need of the leavening influences of their sacred apostolate.

The Brothers took initiatives in providing leadership, inspiration and practical help for the most deprived and under privileged children of their race and religion, when it was neither safe nor opportune for them to do so. They provided a truly Christian education in the widest and most noble meaning of that word. They identified the difficulties facing the poor pupils they sought to educate in the uncertain political religious and cultural realities of Catholic Ireland in the nineteenth century. They met and overcame the challenges that confronted them in their difficult work. Their resources were far less than adequate for the mammoth task that faced them. These were but trivial inconveniences, when measured against their total personal commitment, zeal and enthusiasm for the work in hand. Their efforts in the compilation and production of a plethora of suitable school text books for their pupils was a major achievement in itself. Their success in this endeavour increased the efficacy of their work. Their text books laid the foundations for an Ireland, that successfully renewed its pride in itself, in its culture, in its history and in its language and traditions. This was truly an admirable achievement.

[1] British Act of Union, 39 and 40 Geo. III, c.67, 2 July 1800, and Irish Act of Union, 40 Geo. III, c.38, 1 August 1800.

[2] British Statute, 31 Geo. III, c.32, 24 June 1791.

[3] Irish Statute, 31 Geo. III c.21 (Hobart's Act), 9 April 1793.

[4] Irish Statute, 32 Geo. III c.21 (Langrishe's Act), 18 April 1792.

[5] Dublin Fiscal Act 1800 - quoted in P.J. Dowling, A History of Irish Education: A Study of Conflicting Loyalties (Cork: Mercier Press, 1971), p. 84.

[6] Ibid., pp. 83-84.

[7] Ibid., p. 84.

[8] Ibid.

[9] W.J. Fitzpatrick, The Life, Times and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin Vol. I (Dublin: M. Gill & Son, 1890), p. 235.

[10] British Statute, The Roman Catholic Relief Act, 10 Geo. IV, c.7, 13 April 1829. Known as the Catholic Emancipation Act.

[11] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 204-206.

[12] Ibid., pp. 204-220.

[13] Thomas Hussey, "Pastoral Letter addressed to the clergy and laity Waterford, 1797," to be located in (Pamphlets relating to Ireland, Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, ref. H.P., 719/6.

[14] Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 63-70.

[15] Ibid., pp. 71-74

[16] Ibid., p. 74.

[17] Journal of the Irish House of Commons, 22 February 1799 to 1 June 1799 (Dublin: Trinity College Library), p. 42.

[18] Ibid., p. 88.

[19] R.B. Mc Dowell, The Irish Administration 1801-1914 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), p. 234.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Irish Statute, Act 28 Geo. III, c.15, 18 April 1788.

[22] Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 76.

[23] U.K. Statute, 43 Geo. III, c.122, 1803.

[24] Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 77.

[25] Fourteenth Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland 1806 pursuant to Act 43 Geo. III, c.122, - View of the Chief Foundations with some general remarks: H.C.1821 (744) X1. 143, p.2. (original printed in 1812-13) 21, v.221.

[26] Ibid., p. 7.

[27] U.K. Statute, 53 Geo. III, c.107, 10 July 1813.

[28] Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 83.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., p. 84.

[31] First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825 (400) XII.1., p. 60.

[32] Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, pp. 84-85.

[33] Ibid., p. 84.

[34] First Report of 1825 Commissioners, p. 59.

[35] James Doyle, "Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin: An Essay on Education and the State of Ireland 1824" (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1800), pp. 50-51.

[36] Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 99.

[37] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

[38] Parliamentary Papers 1813-1814, Fourteenth Report of the 1806 Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, Vol. V, p. 342.

[39] Second Report of the 1825 Commissioners, published in 1826-1827, Vol. XII, p. 4.

[40] P.J. Dowling, The Hedge Schools of Ireland (Cork: Mercier Press, 1968), p. 42.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[43] Ibid., p. 43.

[44] Hely Dutton, Statistical Survey of the County of Clare with Observations on the Means of Improvement: Drawn up for and by the Direction of the Dublin Society (Dublin: Graisberry and Campbell, 1808), pp. 236-237.

[45] "An Irish Hedge School," Dublin University Magazine (Dublin: George Herbert, November 1862, and London: Hurst and Blackett, November 1862), p. 601.

[46] The Life and Adventures of James Freeney, commonly called Captain Freeney (Dublin: William Jones, 1792).

[47] Dutton, Statistical Survey, p. 237.

[48] The Natural History of Domestic Animals (Dublin: J. Jones, 1821), copy in the Allen Library, O'Connell School, Dublin.

[49] Mungo Park Travels in the Interior of Africa (Dublin: A. O'Neill, 1820).

[50] Ibid., p. 2.

[51] Ibid., p. 179.

[52] Ibid., p. 30.

[53] H. Kingsmill Moore, An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education (London: Macmillan, 1904), pp. 214-264.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 88.

[56] Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, 1837 (543-11) Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 1197-1198.

[57] Ibid., p. 1199.

[58] Waterford Chronicle, 23 January 1828, as quoted in M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 213.

[59] Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the progress and operation of the new plan of education in Ireland; 1837 (485) Vol. IX, 1. p.4367.

[60] Application Book of the National Board, Register 2c, p.67 as quoted in M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 275.

[61] A History of the Institute Vol. I, p. 436.

[62] A Sketch of Irish History compiled by means of Questions and Answers for the use of Irish Schools (Cork: 1815), Copy in Townley Hall Collection, Early Printed Books Section T.C.D. Library. ref. OLS.186. n. 40. No. 6. It is believed that this sketch of Irish History was written in the early 19th Century by an Ursuline Nun in Cork whose brother, a local priest, had it printed but for obvious reasons printed etc. anonymously.

[63] First Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, H.C. 1825 (400) XII, p.755.

[64] Chapter 6.2:1, ref. 50.

[65] The Christian Brothers, A Manual of School Government being a complete Analysis of the System of Education pursued in the Christian Schools (Dublin: William Powell, 1845).

[66] For the full text of Edward Stanley's letter of 1831 see the Powis Commission Report of 1870, ref. Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland) H.C. 1870, Vol. 1. Part 1, (c6) XXV111, pp. 22-61.

[67] J. A. Nietz, "Some Findings for the Analysis of Old Textbooks," History of Education Journal, Vol. III (Ann Arbor, Michigan U.S.A., published for the author by the University of Chicago, 1952), pp. 79-87.

[68] J.M. Goldstrom, The Social Context of Education 1808-1870 (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972).

[69] E. T. Whelan, "Primary School Readers in Ireland 1800-1870" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University College, Cork 1976).

[70] E. A. Alwall, The Religious Trend in Secular English/Irish Schoolbooks 1850-1861 and 1871-1880 (Lund, Sweden: CWK Gleerup for the University of Lund, 1974).

[71] Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the progress and operation of the New Plan of Education in Ireland 1837 (485) 1X. 1. p.42.

[72] First Report of a Catholic Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge throughout Ireland (Dublin: G. Crean, 1825), p. 5.

[73] Report of the Select Committee as in ref. No. 69 above, p. 43.

[74] Minutes of the Commissioners of the Commissioners of National Education Ireland (M.C.N.E.I), 19 January 1832, National Library Dublin.

[75] Ibid., 26 January 1832.

[76] Report of the Select Committee as at ref. 69 above, p. 43.

[77] H. Kingsmill Moore, An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education, as at ref. 52 above, pp. 245-251.

[78] M.C.N.E.I., 21 June 1832, as at reference 72 above.

[79] Ibid., May 28 1832.

[80] John Coolahan, Irish Education: History and Structure (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981), pp. 11-12.

[81] M.C.N.E.I., 27 September 1832, as at ref. No. 72 above.

[82] John Coolahan, Irish Education: History and Structure, p. 13.

[83] M.C.N.E.I., 18tApril 1833, as at ref. No. 72 above.

[84] First Report of the Commissioners of Education 1833 (published 1834), p. 1.

[85] An Analysis of the School Books published by the Authority of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (Dublin: Alexander Thom, 1853).

[86] See reference 66 above.

[87] James W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education: The Catholic Case Stated (Dublin: John Mullany, 1 Parliament St., 1859), p. 38. Kavanagh gives in perhaps somewhat prejudiced manner the names of Carlile's four teachers, fellow Presbyterians from Scotland: (i) Dr. Mc Arthur who was later to marry a niece of Mr. Carlile and later still became headmaster

and manager of the Central Model and Training Schools in Marlborough Street, Dublin; (ii) a Mr. Rintoul who became an Assistant-Professor in Marlborough Street; (iii) a Dr. Bilbie, a nephew of Mr. Carlile, and iv) a Mr. John Carlile, who was also reputed to have been a nephew of Mr. Carlile.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Dictionary of National Biography Vol. III, Article on the Rev. James Carlile, 1784-1854(1960 edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 1008-1009.

[90] James W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education: The Catholic Case Stated, p. 39.

[91] Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. XXIII, Article on Richard Whately 1787-1863, 1953 edition, pp. 557-558.

[92] James W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education: The Catholic Case Stated, p. 39.

[93] Sir Graham Balfour, Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898), p. 84.

[94] A Christian Brother/Brother Jerome Hennessy, A Century of Catholic Education (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1916).

[95] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, p433.

[96] Fourth Book of Lessons for the Use of Schools, Notes on Europe, (Dublin: Published by direction of the Commissioners of National Education at their office in Marlborough Street. Sold by R. Groombridge, London and Fraser and Co., Edinburgh, 1842), p. 4.

[97] Ibid., "On Taxes," pp. 243-244.

[98] W. M. McCarthy, Edmund Ignatius Rice and the Christian Brothers (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1926), p. 342.

[99] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education in 19th Century Ireland (unpublished M.Ed., thesis University College, Cork, 1977), p. 122.

[100] The Nation, 16 March 1844.

[101] P. J. Dowling, A History of Irish Education: A Study in Conflicting Loyalties (Cork: Mercier Press, 1971), pp. 121-122.

[102] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. I Part 1 (C.6.) XXVIII, 1, p. 433.

[103] Eileen Whelan, "Primary School Readers in Ireland, 1800-1870," (unpublished M.Ed., thesis, University College, Cork, 1976), p. 301.

[104] James W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education, p. 39.

[105] P. J. Dowling, History of Irish Education, p. 122.

[106] Ibid.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, ed. 1958-61, p. 433.

[109] The Synod of Catholic Bishops held at Thurles in 1850 condemned the use of these 'pseudo'-secular texts, which were in fact religious works of a Protestant doctrinal nature. Whately's books; Lesson on Christian Evidences and Lessons on the Truths of Christianity were removed by the National Board as approved books for 'its secular instruction classes'. Due to this pressure from the Catholic Bishops, Archbishop Whately resigned from the National Board in protest.

[110] History of the Institute Vol. I (1958-61), p. 436.

[111] Ibid.

[112] W. J. Fitzpatrick, Memoirs of Richard Whately D. D. Vol. II (London: Richard Bentley, 1864) pp. 139-140.

[113] Elizabeth Jane Whately, Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D. D. Vol. II (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1866), pp. 244-245.

[114] James Doyle, "An Essay on Education," p. 14.

[115] Donal S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education," p. 76.

[116] Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment, p. 204.

[117] W. L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England, p. 40.

[118] Waterford Chronicle, 23 January 1828, as quoted in Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 213.

[119] First Report of the Catholic Book Society, p. 5.

[120] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, ed. 1958-61, pp. 436-437.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. III, 1870 (C.611.) 28, XXV111, Part 3, p.83.

[123] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, ed. 1958-61, pp. 436-437.

[124] Norman Atkinson, Irish Education: A History of Educational Institutions (Dublin: Hodges & Figgis, 1972), p. 79.

[125] Ibid., pp. 96-97.

[126] J.D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 222-223.

[127] P. J. Hennessy, A Century of Catholic Education (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1916), pp. 157-169.

[128] Ibid., pp. 106-119.

[129] John Wiseman (A Christian Brother), Geology in its Relation to Revealed Religion (Dublin: William Powell, 1853).

[130] W.S. Gill, Gerald Griffin: Poet Novelist and Christian Brother (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, undated but circa 1940).

[131] Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. X, ed. 1953, p. 889.

[132] W.S. Gill, Gerald Griffin, p. 79.

[133] Ibid., p. 91.

[134] E.G., Dublin University Magazine, August 1840 (Dublin: William Curry & Co., 1840).

[135] Positio, Ch. 16, pp. 585-586.

[136] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education," Ch. 3, ref. 68, p.153. The Publishing and Printing Firm of William Powell expanded to with the increased volume of work commissioned by the Brothers and the kudos that went with being publishers and printers to such an esteemed institute. The name of the firm changed to Powell and McGlashan in 1846, to McGlasan and Gill in 1856 and to M.H. Gill in 1876. Today the same firm trades as a major Anglo-Irish Conglomerate Publishing House under the title Gill & Macmillan 1968.

[137] J. W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education, pp. 47-50. Kavanagh contrasted the Brothers' The School Expositor, with the volume, Complete Dictionary of the English Language, prepared for the National Board Schools by Dr. Sullivan. The Dictionary was found by Kavanagh to contain 'anti-Catholic' definitions.

[138] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, ed. 1958-61, p. 438.

[139] Ibid.

[140] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers and Education", p. 132.

[141] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, ed. 1958-61, p. 437.

[142] Ibid.

[143] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", pp. 132-137.

[144] U.K. Statute, Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878, 41-42 Vic., c52, 16 August 1878.

[145] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 138.

[146] The Nation, 16 March 1844.

[147] The Tablet, 25th October 1850.

[148] Ibid., 20th September 1850.

[149] Bro. Francis O'Loughlin, Account Books of British Sales of Christian Brothers' Test Books 1844-1855, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[150] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute Vol. I, ed. 1958-61, p. 438.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid., pp. 438-439.

[153] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland: The Christian Brothers and the Development of Irish Nationalism 1838-1921 (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1988).

[154] Ibid., Introduction, p.1.

[155] Ibid., Footnote No. 1, p. 276.

[156] Thomas Bowden, "The Breakdown of Public Security: The Case of Ireland 1916-1921" and "Palestine 1936-1939" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Manchester University, 1973), p. 74.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Ibid.

[159] St. Mary's C.B.S., Clonmel, Centenary Souvenir 1860-1960 (Clonmel: The Clonmel Nationalist, 1960), p. 17.

[160] The Manchester Evening News, 7 May 1971.

[161] C. S. Andrews, Dublin Made Me (Dublin: Mercier Press, 1979), p. 74.

[162] F.X. Martin, Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising Dublin 1916 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 153 & 195 & 250.

[163] Barry Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, p. 5.

[164] J. Malone, "Schools and Community Relations," in the Northern Teacher (Belfast, I.N.T.O. Northern Committee 1973, ii 1, p. 20.

[165] T. Tapper and B. Salter, Education and the Political Order: Changing Patterns of Class Control (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 32.

[166] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 222-223.

[167] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, pp. 54-55.

[168] J. M. Goldstrom, The Social Context of Education 1808-1870: A Study of the Working Class Reader in England and Ireland (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), pp. 1-2 & 67.

[169] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, p. 57.

[170] Ibid.

[171] W.L Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England, p. 164.

[172] A New History of Ireland Vol. VII, edd. by T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F. J Byrne, A Chronology of Irish History to 1976 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 329.

[173] J.D. Fitzpatrick, "The Founders Dream Come True," in Christian Brothers Record 1964, for private circulation, p. 81. A full list of new establishments for the period 1852 to 1880.

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[175] T. J. Hearn, The Book of Foundations 1860, ref. 12, 35-7, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[176] Ibid.

[177] Archbishop Paul Cullen's Pastoral Letters 28 July 1852, 1 December 1856 and 10 April 1859, Cullen Papers 121/4, Dublin Diocesan Archives.

[178] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, p. 54.

[179] O'Flynn Reminiscences, O'Flynn Mss. p. 4, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[180] Ibid.

[181] Ibid.

[182] The Christian Brothers, The First Book of Reading Lessons in Two Parts (Dublin: Bellew, Powell, 1843).

[183] The Christian Brothers, The Second book of Reading Lessons (Dublin: Bellew, Powell, 1843).

[184] Ibid., p. 70.

[185] The Christian Brothers, The Third Book of Reading Lessons (Dublin: Bellew, Powell, 1843).

[186] R.B. O'Brien, Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland 1831-1881 Vol. I (London: Sampson Low & Co., 1883-1885), p. 193.

[187] Christian Brothers, Third Book of Reading Lessons, p. 314.

[188] The Christian Brothers, The Third Book of Reading Lesson Parts 1&2, both published separately (Dublin: McGlashan and Gill, pre 1867).

[189] The Christian Brothers, The Literary Class Book or Fourth Series of Select Reading Lessons in Prose and Verse (Dublin: Powell, 1840).

[190] Powis Commission 1870, Vol. 3, (c.6 II.), XXVIII. Part iii, pp. 376-377. Brother J. A. Grace gave evidence on two occasions on 10 June 1868 - ref. above pp. 370-385 and on the 17 July 1868, ref. above pp. 591-592 - eighteen pages of evidence in total.

[191] Ibid., Powis Commission 1870 Vol. VIII, (c.6 VII.) XXVIII part 5. 916. p. 93 - Miscellaneous Papers which included the evidence provided by the Brothers of the statistics relating to the sales of this Reader and other readers of the Brothers.

[192] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, pp. 62-63.

[193] Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[194] Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[195] John Patrick Walsh, "A Comparative Analysis of the Reading Books of the Commissioners of National Education and of the Christian Brothers 1831-1900," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University College, Dublin, 1983).

[196] Barry M. Coldrey, "The Contribution of the Christian Brothers to the Development of Irish Nationalism" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Melbourne, 1985). Barry Coldrey gives a detailed examination in this work on the controversies of the teaching of Irish History by the Christian Brothers during this period.

[197] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. II (c.61.) XXV111, 381, p. 500.

[198] W.J O'Neill Daunt, Catechism of the History of Ireland: Ancient and Modern (Dublin: James Dully, 1845).

[199] Barry. M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, p. 120.

[200] W.J. O'Neill Daunt, Catechism, p. 124.

[201] T.J. Wiseman, Historical Class-Book: Comprising Outlines of Ancient and Modern History, abridged from Dr. Fredet's Ancient and Modern History with outlines of English and Irish History (Dublin: Powell, 1859).

[202] Ibid., Introduction p. iii, The 1859 edition had 588 pages. By 1873 Brother Wiseman's Book had gone into a 6th revised edition with 612 pages. Fraser's Magazine was very hostile to this particular edition. Fraser's Magazine February 1874, new series, ix(London: Longmans Green & Co., 1874), pp. 186-199.

[203] Barry M Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, pp. 115-116.

[204] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. IV (c.6 III), XXVIII pp. 1240-1261.

[205] Ibid., Vol. III, (c.6-11), XXVIII p. 678.

[206] Ibid., pp. 378 and 591-592.

[207] Ibid., Vol. V, (C.6V), XXVIII, part iv. 547.

[208] Cowie to Grace, 25 February1869, ref. PC, 5R-4, Generalate Archives, Rome.

[209] "The Christian Brothers and their Lesson Books," Fraser's Magazine, as in reference 201 above. Copies of this magazine are only to be found in the Library of University College Galway.

[210] Ibid.

[211] J.M. O'Brien, Catechism of Irish History (Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son 1876).

[212] J.M. O'Brien, The Irish History Reader (Dublin: M.H Gill & Son, 1905).

[213] Ibid., Introduction p. viii and pp. 338-340.

[214] T. J. Wiseman, A Treatise of Modern Geography: Also Copious Tables with an Appendix (Dublin: Powell, 1844).

[215] Ibid., pp. 45-58.

[216] Ibid., preface.

[217] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, pp. 146-147.

[218] Ibid., p. 148.

[219] Ibid., pp. 148-149.

[220] Ibid., pp. 156-157.

[221] Ibid., p. 159.

[222] Minutes of the Commissioners of Intermediate Education Ireland 7 December 1878, National Library Dublin.

[223] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, pp. 160-161.

[224] Ibid., pp. 168-169.

[225] Minutes of the Publications' Committee of the Gaelic League, 9 April 1903, Ms. 9806, National Library, Dublin.

[226] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, p. 170.

[227] Ibid., p. 171.

[228] Ibid.

[229] Ibid.

[230] Ibid.

[231] Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, revised ed. with supplement (Edinburgh: W & R. Chambers Ltd., 1979), p. 887.

[232] Virtue's Simplified Dictionary, Encyclopedic Edition (London: Virtue and Co., Ltd., 1938), p. 648.

Chapter 11

Conclusion : An Evaluation of the work and Influence of Blessed Edmund Rice and his Congregation on 19th Century Irish Education

11.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters of this thesis have attempted to trace the growth, development and influence of Edmund Rice and his confreres on the educational situation of the native Catholic population of Ireland in the nineteenth century. It can be fairly argued from the evidence presented, that the achievements of Edmund Rice and his Teaching Brotherhoods, both of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and their Presentation Brothers Confreres, were of major importance in the lives of the Catholic people of Ireland at many levels, not least in the spheres of education. They also played an influential role in the social, economic, cultural and political emergence of modern Ireland. An evaluation of an undertaking on the scale of Edmund Rice's apostolate for the education of the poor, must of its very nature be limited by the academic constraints of a work of this nature, and by the subjective perspectives and analysis of the writer of such a study. There are, however, sufficient events and achievements connected with the work of Edmund Rice for the Catholic poor youth of Ireland, to have justified the writer in undertaking a work of this nature and the conclusions reached on the subject in this chapter. The layout of this chapter in its many sections and sub-sections is designed to summarise and reiterate in an abbreviated format the main features of the educational undertaking of Edmund Rice on behalf of poor Irish Catholic male youth as fully outlined in earlier chapters.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries can be described

as the end of an era of intellectual enlightenment. It was an era which was followed by a limited and very gradual adoption and implementation of what was perceived to be radical and even revolutionary concepts of change in the sphere of political and social thinking. This new thinking was largely the product of the French ideologues and philosophers known as the Encyclopedists. They had their English counterparts in the persons of Thomas Paine and John Hobbs. The French revolutionary rallying cries of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity had given birth to a new political, social and economic understanding of what was the perceived social and political order in late 18th century Europe. The consequences of these revolutionary changes and the forms which they took, not only in Europe, but also in the British Colonies of North America, were momentous and shattering for those immediately involved in them. Ireland could not be expected to by-passed in the process, however remote and geographically isolated on the western edge of Europe she might appear to be. There was a profound change in the social and political milieu of the time. There was a spirit of challenge abroad to the old accepted order and to the verities. Ireland could not avoid these political and social changes in view of her place close to the centre of the British establishment. Ireland, whatever her perceived peripheral role in the scheme of things might be, was more than ready and entitled, to take her place in this onward human movement of social, economic and political progression and enlightenment.

The eighteenth century had been one of grinding economic poverty, religious persecution and officially sponsored deprivation of the political and civil opportunities for the vast majority of Ireland's native Catholic population. The political repercussions of the successful revolt of the English colonists in North America had compelled reluctant English administrations to offer limited forms of political and economic rights and gains which were to have short lived advantages for the Ascendancy-dominated Irish Parliament. Some of the members of this Irish Patriot Parliament, like Grattan, Flood, Gardiner and Parnell, had through

personal generosity and decency of spirit, achieved some slight degree of amelioration and toleration for the deprived Catholic majority population. This they achieved by way of a repeal of some of the Penal Laws. There was thus an element of hope in the plight of Irish Catholics. The hope of better times and more liberal basic civil freedoms for Catholics, of which they had been deprived for so long in the era of the Penal Laws, was furthermore promised to them in return for their support for the Act of Union. Such promises, however, so readily made were as easily broken. It was against this background, in the aftermath of the defeat of the 1798 Rebellion of Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen, that Edmund Rice set forth on a road from whence there would be no turning back for him.

11.2 Edmund Rice's motivation towards his mission in the sphere of Catholic Education

11.2:1 Edmund Rice's personal family tragedy leads to fortuitous advantages for Catholic educational structures in Waterford 1789 - 1801

The personal happiness and contentment of Edmund Rice, a successful and prosperous Waterford city businessman, happily married and awaiting with joyful expectation the birth of his first child in early January 1789, changed to tragedy, death, heart-break and bitter anguish. This transformation is hard to describe. The poet James Clarence Mangan in his poem, "A Vision of Connacht in the Thirteenth Century" describes the unhappy events in that troubled province in the stark but striking lines:

> I sought the hall, and, behold! - a change
>
> From light to darkness, from joy to woe[1]

This might reflect the feelings of Edmund Rice upon learning of the tragic injuries suffered by his young wife, incurred in a horse-riding accident. If this in itself were not cause enough for grief, he had also to endure the premature birth of a baby daughter, who was physically

disabled, followed by the almost immediate death of his wife. The personal sense of loss and grief, which up to that time in his life had been his only experience of sorrow on such a scale, might have left him an embittered man, resentful of the burden of misfortune and grief which was cast upon him. His faith in providence, though shaken by the immediate pain of his suffering, was strong enough to withstand the crisis. It was to lead him forward to new visions and thoughts of what his future life might hold for him. Shakespeare's lines from Julius Caesar, can be aptly applied to the situation in which Edmund Rice found himself, when his thoughts turned from inner grief to the more positive horizons which stretched out before him with the passing of healing time.

> There is a tide in the affairs of men
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows and in miseries
> On such a full sea are we now afloat
> And we must take the current when it serve
> Or lose our ventures.[2]

These lines fit the situation of Edmund Rice's life very clearly when he reached his post-grief crossroads. The 'flood' referred to in the quotation, in this writer's view, reflects the flood of grief in his personal life. The 'fortune' can only be construed as the good fortune of the poor and deprived Catholic male youth of Waterford, who were soon to benefit from the commitment and selfless dedication of his life, wealth and talents to their educational and moral regeneration. It is not possible to proceed to an evaluation of the contribution the Irish Christian Brothers made to nineteenth century Irish educational structures without adequately assessing the personality and character of the guiding and inspirational figure behind the whole endeavour.

11.2:2 An evaluation of Edmund Rice's personality and character

There was a greatness and dynamism in the character of Edmund Rice, which belies the rather gentle and retiring figure whose face adorns

the many paintings and pictorial images that adorn the walls of the many present day community dwellings of the religious Brotherhood, which he founded almost two centuries ago. A man of lesser mettle might well have sought consolation for the personal tragedy that befell his young wife and daughter by withdrawing from an active business schedule and from the social life which accompanied it. He might on the other hand have sought the transient dulling of his grief in the solace of alcohol. He might also have remarried and established another home and family. His successful business career, and social position would have enabled him to achieve his happy position once more.

Edmund was a sincerely devout and religious man who came from a family where obedience to, and acceptance of God's Will and His purpose in life for each individual were unquestioned. This unquestioning faith in God, expressed so simply by St. Paul "by faith we understand"[3] would have been familiar to Edmund Rice in his life in Waterford City, both before and after the tragic ending of his marriage. There, he was already known and respected for his charity to the poor and his care and concern for his less fortunate fellow citizens and co-religionists.

11.2:3 Influence of the Jesuits on the life of Edmund Rice 1789 - 1820

His contact with the Jesuit Fathers in Waterford and his membership of their Sodality of the Sacred Heart had a most beneficial influence on his return to active business after the tragedy. He adopted a more thoughtful and reflective view of this life and its transient pleasures. The Jesuits, with their particular dedication to the care of souls, provided Edmund Rice with many role models from among their sainted members. These early Jesuits suffered every form of human trial and adversity, but with their faith and trust in God, they triumphed over the frailty of the human condition. What better person could Edmund Rice have looked to for inspiration and guidance in all his troubles than the saintly man, Ignatius Loyola,[4] who was left wounded in body and soul after the Siege

of Pamplona in May 1521. The great Francis Xavier, who bade farewell to the pleasures of the world, with the words "Farewell Paris, Farewell Navarre, Welcome Eternity",[5] as he made his way to join St. Ignatius' Infant Society of Jesus in the early 1530s, also influenced the thinking of Edmund Rice at this time.

11.2:4 Qualities of Edmund Rice necessary for the success of his educational mission

Edmund Rice, with spiritual support from the Jesuits, advice and encouragement from his friend and parish priest Fr. John Power and his Bishop, Dr. John Hussey of Waterford, had the encouragement necessary to proceed with the choice that lay before him. The daunting work of struggling to engage the minds and hearts of the destitute Catholic street boys of Waterford in the unfamiliar surroundings of a class room, of which he had no experience and for which he had no training, must at times have filled him with despair for the success of the work to which he had set his mind and his resources. Despite the trials and obstacles he initially faced, he continued to strive to instil some basic principles of religious knowledge and secular knowledge in a group of ignorant and undisciplined youths. His patient acceptance of the daily provocations of inculpable ignorance, so evident in the poor boys who came reluctantly at first to his two room school in New Street, must have seemed like a task beyond his capabilities. His patience, tact, kindness and perseverance eventually won him respect and affection from his deprived pupils, whose lot in life he sought to improve and ameliorate. From there the seed of his endeavours took root. It blossomed into the two great teaching Brotherhoods which have become so familiar to all the people of Ireland.

In later years, a rural town would consider itself to be deprived or backward if it had not the benefits of a Community of Christian Brothers, catering for the educational needs of its male youth. Such was the influence that one man, Edmund Rice, had on the life of the people of

urban and rural Ireland over the next two centuries. Edmund used to an even greater degree his commercial skills and business acumen to get his fledgling teaching society off to a secure and steady start. His ability to enthuse his youthful charges, but more importantly his gifts of motivation in securing other young men of high educational calibre and character to join him in this Society of Teaching Brothers was in itself, a demonstration of the extra-ordinary organisational gifts and capabilities that Edmund Rice displayed in his life as a lay religious Brother.

Challenges to Edmund were but hurdles to be overcome. His humility and dedication to his ideal of providing a Society for the free or gratuitous instruction of the poor Catholic male youth of Ireland, did not deter him from fighting his cause, whether the opposition came from within the Catholic Episcopate or clergy, or from the State establishment. These were the qualities needed in a leader, an innovator and a motivator. His traits of character, his religious and educational philosophy, apparently unappreciated by Brother Michael Paul Riordan and the Brothers Leonard of the Cork Community, did much to mould the minds and attitudes of those Brothers, who down the years have followed in his path. Edmund Rice was a man for his times. Ireland and other countries have great reason to be grateful to his faith and idealism. The Jesuit spirit of sanctity, personified by Edmund Rice's adoption of the religious name of Ignatius, has been recognised by the Roman Catholic Church and was publicly confirmed by the beatification of Edmund Ignatius Rice in Rome on the 6 October 1996.

11.3 The educational philosophy and methodology of Edmund Rice's Schools

11.3:1 Quantitative and Qualitative evaluation of the success of Edmund Rice's schools in the first century of their establishment

If we are to judge in a quantitative way, the success of Edmund Rice's Institute from its earliest days, it can be gauged by pupil numbers

alone. The increase from the ragged one hundred or so pupils, who first attended his converted two room stable in New Street, Waterford, in 1802, to a figure of over 29,000 pupils in ninety schools in Ireland alone by 1900[6] is impressive by any standards, not to mention the Brothers' Foundations in Britain, North America, India, Australia and Africa.[7] A qualitative judgement or appraisal of the success of the Brothers as teachers, and on the careers or otherwise of their pupils, is not so easy to achieve. There are two bench-marks by which one can attempt such an evaluation. The primary aim of the Brothers was to provide a Christian education for their pupils based on Catholic principles and doctrine. This, they believed, would not only prepare them for a Christian lifestyle in a world, which even then, but more so towards the end of the nineteenth century, was gradually being taken over by liberalist and secularist philosophies. The basic principles of their philosophy would be to prepare their pupils for the greatest prize of human existence - eternal salvation. This primary aim of preparing pupils in a religious and moral way to face the spiritual strains and stresses of daily life as committed and practising Christians is a difficult matter to evaluate and comment upon.

11.3:2 Spiritual and educational achievements of Edmund Rice's pupils

If one were to take the number of clergy at both diocesan and religious order levels, who were past pupils of Christian Brother schools, that, in itself would be significant. In addition there were those who were to the forefront of Catholic charitable organisations, such as Frank Duff, the founder of the world wide organisation known as the Legion of Mary, and others who were leading figures in The Society of St. Vincent De Paul, The St. Joseph's Young Priests Society and The Knights of St. Columbanus, all pupils of the Christian Brothers. Bearing these facts in mind it is fair to say that the Christian Brothers could justly claim to have succeeded in their primary objective of preparing committed Christians for their proper role in society. One must not overlook the countless

thousands of their pupils, who lived out less prominent lives as good Christian husbands and fathers. These 'ordinary' men and women played a full part in the sacramental and religious life of their local parishes and kept firmly to the basic principles of loyalty to faith and fatherland, principles which had been instilled in them in their school days by the Christian Brothers.

The other aim of Christian Brothers' education was to provide their pupils with the academic and technical skills necessary to earn a rewarding livelihood. In this, they were highly successful. This objective can be measured more readily by the outstanding successes of the pupils of the Christian Brothers in the public examinations at Intermediate level,[8] in the later nineteenth century, resulting from the Intermediate Education Act of 1878.[9]

When Edmund Rice began his particular work for the education of the poor in Waterford in 1802, the Irish Catholic church was just emerging from the shadows of the rigorous persecution imposed on its existence and activities for a period of almost a hundred years. The hope of toleration of Catholics had barely been realised by the passage of a few, but still restrictive, Catholic relief Acts beginning in 1771 and ending in 1795. The expectations of Catholics for further reliefs, and the granting of full civil and religious liberties, were still based more on unfounded optimism than in reality. The Irish Catholic church authorities were primarily concerned with the re-establishment of the Church's moral authority, its administrative ecclesiastical structures and its physical presence, in the form of the provision of decent places of worship, than with other less urgent matters such as the provision of Catholic schools. The provision of Catholic schools was, without a doubt, a very important concern for the Catholic bishops. They were not financially equipped, however, to deal with all the expense and organisation that such an enterprise would entail on a parochial basis at national level. As such, they did not accord it the highest priority status in their scheme of things

in the early 19th century.[10]

11.3:3 Early 19th century dangers to Irish Catholic Children from Protestant Proselytising Agencies

It was only when the threat to the religious faith of Catholic children became abundantly clear to the bishops that this became a vital issue and Catholic education and its urgent provision at parish level became a top priority. The figures of 1,727 schools with over 100,000 children in the mid 1820s administered by non-Catholic education societies set the alarm bells ringing.[11] These societies included the non-sectarian Kildare Place Society, which became eventually connected with the more open Protestant proselytising societies, such as the Society for the Discountenancing of Vice. The London Hibernian Society and the Baptists were very much to the fore with their proselytising bible schools. The danger to the faith of Catholic children needed to be addressed as a matter of urgent priority. As a result, the problem of providing adequate Catholic schooling for Catholic children at risk from proselytism, grew into a matter of pressing importance in the dealings between the Catholic church and the English administration and its agents in Ireland from the middle 1820s onwards. The newly founded Catholic religious teaching orders of Christian Brothers, Patrician Brothers, Presentation Sisters, the Sisters of Charity of Mary Aikenhead and later the Sisters of Mercy of Catherine MacAuley, helped to stem this tide of proselytism and provide structures of Catholic education. The Catholic religious teaching orders were much sought after by the parents of the poorer and lower middle classes as an answer to the educational needs of their children.[12] They provided secure and sound religious education with accompanying skills for earning a living at a higher level of prosperity than could otherwise be hoped for.

Edmund Rice had formulated a structured system of pedagogic practice within the first eight years of the establishment of his first school in Waterford in 1802. This is evidenced by his long letter to Archbishop

Bray of Cashel in 1810, already referred to. Edmund Rice's system of pedagogy and the education principles underpinning it, was eclectic in character. His system was an amalgam of ideas and practices used in schools by other educational pioneers. It borrowed its main elements from the individual tutoring provided by the old Hedge School System of which he had personal experience in his youth in Moat Lane, Callan, are from his later experience in the school at Burrell Hall in Kilkenny, from the monitorial system devised by Andrew Bell which was perfected by Joseph Lancaster. Finally, he drew on the simultaneous method employed by the Brothers of the De La Salle Congregation in France. However mixed or jumbled together the substance of Edmund Rice's system might have been, "it was done entirely on Irish lines".[13] It suited admirably the needs of the particular educational situation in Ireland.

11.3:5 Range of subjects taught in Christian Brothers' Schools

Edmund Rice had sufficient personal and practical experience from his business days in Waterford to appreciate fully the skills required by male adolescents and young men to earn a decent livelihood. While religious and moral instruction was of vital importance in his scheme of education, the need for practical training to acquire such life-skills also had a very high priority in the order of things. The basic 3 Rs were taught, and with the passage of time, practical subjects such as mensuration, book keeping, technical drawing, navigation and mechanics were added to the curricula of the larger urban schools to meet the needs of the work place.

In this way, Edmund Rice's Brothers were considerably ahead of the educational thinking of the era, which limited to a great extent the parameters within which the curricula of schools operated. The Brothers, however, saw the need to combine the religious and secular elements of education with the more practical aspects of technology and job-orientated skills. Schooling along these lines with programmes of

instruction directed towards the needs of the work place raised the level of the prospects of decently paid employment being offered to the pupils of the Brothers' schools. These pupils were already severely restricted and restrained by poverty and social and economic deprivation. In this regard alone the Brothers can justly be acclaimed as pioneers in the field of curricular development of school programmes in nineteenth century Ireland. It is true that the private pay-schools provided work-related subjects in their curricula, but it was patchy and unstructured in comparison to the system of the Brothers as outlined earlier in chapter 4, sections five, six and seven.

Edmund Rice's system was a uniform system of well-tried principles and pedagogic practice. The First Report of the Royal Commission of 1825 could state that: "The system prescribed by Mr. Rice was the same in all the schools established by his Institute."[14] Edmund Rice's schools numbered about thirteen at this period before the expansion to England began in 1825, with the opening of the first school there at Preston, in Lancashire.[15] There was a logical strength in adhering to a system which had already proven its worth. This could in some respects be counter-balanced by strict adherence to a code of practice, which by the very uniformity and rigidity of its structure, might not be capable of accommodating local conditions. Different circumstances would require variation from the norm and a flexibility which could meet and take cognisance of these altered local circumstances and conditions. W. L. Gillespie, in his volume on the work of the Brothers in England, finds fault with this rigid adherence to uniform precept and practice in the Brothers' schools there, particularly in regard to their continued use of the monitorial system of teaching. By 1850, this was regarded as outmoded in English educational theory and practice. It had largely been discarded in English schools by the year 1870.[16]

11.3:6 Effects of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 on Edmund Rice's Institute

The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829[17] had granted to Catholics the right to sit in the British Parliament, subject to various oaths and declarations. The Act was seen as the lifting of the final millstone of Penal religious oppression from around the necks of the Catholics of Ireland. Yet strangely, eleven penal and restrictive sections, tagged on to the end of the Act, left male Catholic religious orders in Ireland in such a precarious and illegal situation that their existing right to remain was severely circumscribed and restricted. Their future was not even contemplated as being possible at all.[18] The feared words of 'banishment', 'forfeiture' and 'fines' appear in this Act despite the perceived liberality of Peel and Wellington towards, and tolerance of, Irish Catholics and their regular clergy.[19] Edmund Rice and his fledgling Institute of fifty five Brothers in fourteen religious houses felt near to despair. The penal clauses of the 1829 Emancipation Act classified them as being an illegal organisation having no hope of continuing in existence. The story of the deputations to London and the numerous petitions being sent to Parliament on behalf of the Irish Catholic male religious orders in general, and on behalf of the Christian Brothers in particular, have already been detailed in this thesis.[20]

The passing of the Act caused general rejoicing among Irish Catholics, but to Edmund Rice it brought neither satisfaction nor hope. The final speech of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, prior to the acceptance by that House of the Bill, was but a reiteration of what the deputation of Irish regular clergy had heard from the Duke himself in their interview with them five days earlier.

> You exist contrary to law. You may easily perceive that the people of this country are hostile to you.... The Penal clauses are only intended to prevent others from entering into such religious societies.[21]

Added to this were the comments in a letter from Daniel O'Connell to the Franciscan Fathers in Cork, dated 18 March 1829, for transmission to Brother Rice, that the implementation of the Penal clauses against Catholic male clergy and religious was not to be left to the quixotic or

prejudged whims of local magistrates or sheriffs in Ireland, but would, by law, be a matter for no less an authority than the Attorney General.[22] This gave little consolation to Edmund Rice in contemplating the future existence of his Institute. The history of the relationship between England and Ireland in the previous centuries had been so littered with broken promises by the English. The most recent event of this nature was the withdrawal of a promise of Emancipation in return for Catholic support for the Act of Union. It is reasonable to observe that only a person endowed with a sense of naiveté, could feel sanguine to any degree about the prospects of the non-implementation of the penal clauses of the 1829 Act in the light of previous experience. If there was no intention of implementing the eleven penal clauses of the act, then it is reasonable to ask why they were included ?

11.3:7 Stanley's Proposal of a system of National Education of 1831 and the reaction of response of Edmund Rice to it

The implementation of the System of National Education for Ireland in 1831 again posed problems for Edmund Rice, He was concerned about the illegal status of his order. He shared with his confreres the conscientious and moral objections with regard to the specific non-denominational nature of the proposed scheme of education. Edmund Rice regarded the National Education proposals as a denial of Catholic rights. The Irish Bishops in 1824 had sent a petition to the House of Commons requesting it "to adopt such measures as might promote the education of the Roman Catholic poor of Ireland in the most effectual way."[23] This was a plea for state aid for Catholic denomination education on at least a par with that being offered to The Kildare Place Society and other proselytising agencies.

Stanley, for reasons of political expediency skipped lightly over the request for State financial aid for denominational schools of any religious group, knowing full well the state resources that Anglican schools had received since the 1730s onwards. He argued this point on the grounds

that the Parliament could not be seen to support the educational structure of any one religious group, such as Roman Catholics, from public funds at the expense of any other group. This becomes his rationale for the non-denominational nature of his proposals for Irish education. Moral and literary/secular education would be combined and taught in common to children of all religions or none, while separate religious education would be provided by the clergy of the different Christian Churches or their nominees. Stanley, when introducing his proposals, in his letter to the Duke of Leinster in October 1831, to provide "a combined moral and literary and separate religious education," proclaimed that this would be a non-denominational system of education "from which should be banished even the suspicion of proselytism."[24]

11.3:8 The attitude of some Catholic Bishops to Stanley's Proposals for a System of National Education, 1831

Eminent Catholic churchmen of the calibre of Archbishop Daniel Murray of Dublin and Bishop James W. Doyle of Kildare & Leighlin could live with this compromise, while simultaneously believing they were not sacrificing their basic principles of a Catholic education for the majority Catholic people. Their position left Edmund Rice and his Brothers no happier or more convinced of the true educational value of this scheme of education in terms of a clear Catholic school ethos. It was to this aim that Edmund and his Institute were irrevocably committed. The comments of Bishop Doyle did nothing to assuage the strongly felt unease of the Brothers in regard to the non-denominational principle that pervaded the scheme and its practical day-to-day operation - "These terms are not perhaps the very best that could be devised, but they are well suited to the especial circumstances."[25] The reluctance of Edmund Rice and his confreres to join the scheme, or to have any connection with it, was not reflected in the support which the system received in general from Catholic parents who felt the need to secure free education for their children. Such an undertaking Edmund Rice with his limited

manpower and resources could not provide, even for a small fraction of the poor male youth of Ireland. If Archbishop Murray supported the scheme, then who were his flock to disagree with his judgements? The statistics provided in the Thirty-first Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland issued in 1864 give an interesting growth pattern in the number of schools under the Board's control and the number of pupils enrolled in them. A table of the statistics for every fourth year from 1833 to 1849[26] gives the following information:

Year	No. of Schools	Pupils on Rolls.
1833	789	107,042
1837	1,300	166,929
1841	2,337	281,849
1845	3,426	432,844
1849	4,321	480,623

With some degree of hesitation, and a great deal of reluctance, due mainly to meet the request of Archbishop Murray of Dublin, who had been such a staunch supporter of Edmund Rice and his Institute from its earliest days, Edmund Rice agreed reluctantly to affiliate six of his eleven schools in Ireland to the National Board system on a trial basis. Archbishop Murray, one of the Board's Commissioners, was anxious to give the system a fair trial and be seen to do so. The finance being provided by the Board to affiliated schools was very welcome. It assisted in lifting some of the heavy financial burden from an impoverished Catholic population, who were under severe strain to provide income for the Church in its post-penal struggles to build parish churches, train clergy and provide for their support. Bishop Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, on the other hand, was more thoughtful and philosophical in his approach to the whole question. He saw the possibility of integrated or mixed education as a useful exercise in removing inter-sectarian strife, suspicion and hostility from the daily lives of the ordinary people of Ireland, subject to religious safeguards.[27] The 1825 Commission had reported that the educational methods pursued in the Brothers' Schools:

> appeared to be ... capable of extension so as to admit the possibility of forming the basis of a system of education which might readily be made to comprehend

a great majority of the Roman Catholic children.[28]

It was clear, therefore, that the six Brothers' schools[29] which affiliated to the National Board on a trial basis, would have certainly fitted into the new National School system and added a prestigious status to the system. Evidence of this is found in the 1837 Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, which adjudged the Brothers' Schools as being among the finest schools connected with the Board.[30]

11.3:9 Protestant opposition to The System of National Education in Ireland

The Christian Brothers were not alone in their dissatisfaction at having some of their schools affiliated to the National Board. In fact the authorities of all non-Catholic denominations in Ireland were almost unanimous in their opposition to this new mixed or non-denominational system of education.[31] This Protestant opposition of both Anglicans and Presbyterians to the National Board was almost palpable. The pivotal role played in its daily operation by the Anglican Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Richard Whately, a Commissioner, and by Rev. James Carlile, a prominent Presbyterian preacher and school headmaster in Dublin, who was also the Resident Commissioner of the Board,[32] did nothing to lessen their opposition. In January 1832, a meeting of Protestants was held in the Rotunda, Dublin to protest against the New Education System.[33] In February 1832, the Anglican Irish Primate and fifteen of his Anglican Bishops signed a long protest against Stanley's' proposals in which they stated:

> ...that they did not affect to conceal their grief at beholding the clergy of the Established Church deprived of the trust committed to them by the legislature of superintending National Education and deciding to forego the advantages of such a system.[34]

In 1834, the Presbyterian Synod of Ulster declined to authorise its members to seek aid for their schools from the National Board.[35] The Orange Order in Ireland was as vehement in its opposition to the national

system.[36] The Church of Ireland formed its own Church Education Society in 1839 to provide Anglican denominational education for its children, funded by private subscriptions.[37] Thus by 1839, 825 Church of Ireland Schools were functioning outside the National Board System, catering for 43,000 children from private subscriptions totalling £8,500. By the middle of the century, this figure had risen to 1,882 schools with 108,450 children. It was aided by subscriptions that reached £38,000.[38] In 1860, the Anglican Primate, Archbishop Beresford, advised his clergy to amalgamate these schools with those of the National Board. Most of them had done so by the end of the nineteenth century.[39] This *volte face* on the part of the Church of Ireland was largely due to the fact that both the Presbyterian and Catholic schools within the National Board System had *de facto* become denominational in practice while *de jure* in official circles they were still regarded as non-denominational.

11.3:10 Withdrawal of Edmund Rice's six schools from the National Board Scheme and Archbishop Murray's reaction

Archbishop Murray of Dublin was greatly shocked and disappointed when the General Chapter of the Brothers in 1836 decided to withdraw their six schools from affiliation to the Board. They believed that the membership of their schools within the system was incompatible with, and completely negated and compromised their vows and principles as a Congregation of lay religious Catholic teachers. The deception and intrigue which they had to practice, while within the scope of the Board, to have their daily religious instruction in keeping with their '*ratio studiorum*' was anathema to them. In addition, they had to endure what they perceived to be the unacceptable and religiously slanted text books of the Board, coupled with the prohibition of the display of religious images and statues in the class room during secular instruction. All this became too much for them. Their scruples and integrity would not allow them to cheat on the Board, or bend the rules as other Catholic and Protestant teachers and managers of schools had done.[40] They were

bound by religious vows and they sought through their religious and public lives to embody the highest standards of personal and collective probity and integrity.

11.3:11 Catholic Episcopal hostility to Edmund Rice's Institute

Their independence of spirit and action was a luxury, which other religious orders of male and female teachers, could not afford, since they belonged to Societies or Congregations of Diocesan Right or Status and had to obey the directions of the local bishops. Edmund Rice had wisely sought Pontifical or Roman status for his Institute in 1820, which left it independent of the local bishops with regard to supreme authority and operational decisions, such as the transfer of Brothers from one school or diocese to another. Mary Aikenhead had likewise sought this status for her Irish Sisters of Charity.[41] The extra-diocesan structure of the Brothers as confirmed by the Papal Brief of Approbation, Ad Pastoralis Dignitatis Fastigium of Pope Pius VII, 5 September 1820,[42] which granted the Christian Brothers Pontifical status, was for a time a thorn in the side of the Irish bishops. They resented the independence of this group of lay-religious group of Brothers, functioning as if it were independently of the authority of the local bishop. This resentment was further fuelled by an unsuccessful attempt of the bishops to interfere in the jurisdiction and spheres of activity of the main exempt religious orders of priests in Ireland in 1870.[43] Their failure to achieve their position of power and dominance over the male religious orders in Ireland was due to Rome's refusal to grant them this authority.[44] The bishops thought that the Christian Brothers might be more easily handled. As a Congregation of 'only lay religious' they would never receive a favourable hearing from Rome against a united appeal from the Irish College of Bishops. They issued their Synod of Maynooth Decrees of September 1875, which were promulgated almost eighteen months later in April 1877. The Brothers were shocked at this ungrateful and arrogant attempt by their erstwhile champion and supporter, Cardinal Cullen, and his brother bishops to erode their rights as

guaranteed by their Papal Brief of 1820. The reaction of the Brothers was swift and decisive. The story of their two successful appeals to Rome against the actions of the Bishops, strengthened by the Mallow debacle of 1879, has already been examined in some detail.

11.3:12 Edmund Rice's proposal to have pay-schools in his Institute and adverse reaction to this, 1838 - 1840

The pay school controversy of the early 1820s, and which emerged again at the General Chapter of 1839 was one which caused unnecessary disharmony within the Christian Brotherhood. While the Papal Brief of 1820 made it clear that the Brothers' fourth vow was one of free or gratuitous education of the poor, the founder, Edmund Rice saw no inconsistency in seeking to establish some pay schools for those children of the middle classes, who from a certain degree of snobbery and false 'class pride' would not attend the same school as the children from poverty stricken and socially inferior home backgrounds. They were not on the other hand, of sufficient wealth and prosperity to be able to afford the expensive fee paying schools, run by some religious orders of priests such as the Jesuits at Clongowes Wood College, Co. Kildare or the Dominican Fathers' College at Newbridge in the same county. Some wealthy Irish Catholics also sent their sons to the prestigious Jesuit College at Stonyhurst in Lancashire and to the Benedictine Colleges at Downside and Ampleforth.

Moreover the curricula of the Irish colleges, above mentioned, were largely classical in subject content. Their attitude in relation to the existing political, social and cultural situation in Ireland at that time was Anglo-Irish and quiescent. They did not wish to disturb the established order of the country, favouring a status quo attitude, in contrast to the pupils of the Christian Brothers' schools. The parents of these wealthy Catholic families had a stake in maintaining the political, economic, social and cultural status quo. The curricula and educational approach of the costly colleges to which they sent their sons reflected these same

attitudes and values. But what of the fate of the children of the middle classes, of professional, semi-professional and commercial backgrounds, who were caught between the great affluence of their wealthy college educated co-religionists on the one hand, and the deprived social and economic background of the poorer classes on the other? It was to cater for this neglected group that Edmund Rice proposed that his Brothers should operate some pay schools, alongside their existing schools of gratuitous instruction for the poor.

For Brother Michael Paul Riordan, Edmund Rice's successor as Second Superior General, there could be no such clouding of the basic and fundamental vow of the Brothers to teach the poor gratuitously. There could be no deviation for him and for other Brothers from that principle. Edmund Rice argued that this uncatered for group of middle class Catholic Irish boys would be given a good sound Christian education, which would fit them for a more practical type of livelihood in business and commerce. The moderate tuition fees which they would pay, would help finance the opening of further schools for the free or gratuitous education of the poor. These pupils from a more literate and better social background might even join the Brothers and give the Institute an elevation in social prestige. Institutes and organisations that catered solely for the well being of the poor were not generally held in very high esteem by the wealthy and privileged. That there was a need for these pay schools was made clear by Archbishop Murray, who commented on the problem thus to the Brothers:

> ...I see schools for the poor, schools and colleges for the rich both at home and abroad; but for the middle class - too poor for colleges and too proud for poor schools - I see no provision made. The pay schools will fill this gap and I shall be rejoiced.[45]

The Chapter of 1838 granted permission for the opening of two pay schools in Dublin at Hanover St. and Mill St. on a trial basis. Brother Michael Paul Riordan, elected Second Superior General at the same

1838 General Chapter, felt that even the elected Brothers at a General Chapter had not the power or authority to supersede the rules of the Institute and the vows of the Brothers as confirmed by a Papal Brief. He was not going to be accused of running a two tier system of education side by side, one for the better-off classes and one for the poorer children. Such a situation would lead to the natural assumption that the best teaching Brothers would be allocated to the free schools and the less-gifted to the pay schools. Within less than two years, Brother Riordan closed these two pay schools, much to the chagrin of Archbishop Murray. Thus the Brothers finally and definitively committed their efforts and resources to the principle of gratuitous instruction of the poor exclusively.

This decision resulted in precarious financial situations for many of the Brothers' schools, which forced the Brothers to go questing for alms and financial help from local people. This was a task which they undertook after a day's work in school and which most of them detested. In most cases, very small sums were given willingly and with no small sacrifice were gladly given to the questing Brothers by a poor people. These people felt that their small donations were a help and an acknowledgement of the sacrifices and generosity of the Brothers for the well being of their children and the nation. As the nineteenth century progressed, the Brothers could show that through their dedication and particular educational philosophy, allied to an effective and proven system of pedagogic practice and excellent self-produced text books, they could and did achieve standards of scholarship and learning, both academic and practical, which far outshone the State system of National education, as evidenced in the Reports of Several Government Commissions.[46]

11.3:13 Refinement of Edmund Rice's pedagogic methodology 1845 - 1865

The Brothers produced and published A Manual of School

Government in 1845.[47] The aim of this book was to provide a fixed blue print for class room pedagogic practices, which would assist and guide the young trainee teaching Brother or his more experienced confreres in the correct and standard procedures for teaching in detail, the wide range of subjects provided by the Brothers in their schools' curricula. It was further revised and updated in 1865 under a slightly different title.[48] The wide range of subjects on offer to the pupils of the Brothers and the clear and exact methods to be observed in teaching them, as outlined in this school manual of pedagogic methodology, indicates that the school system of the Brothers was one which embraced education at both the primary and intermediate levels. Thirteen subjects in all are listed. They included Christian Doctrine, English reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, book-keeping, geometry, mensuration, architectural drawing, mechanics, navigation and music.

11.3:14 Introduction of the Classics and European languages into the curriculum of Edmund Rice's Schools

Latin, Greek and foreign European languages were not included in the programme at this stage. In the later decades of the century the Brothers catered for students wishing to study for the priesthood, the medical, dental, botanical, horticultural, legal and pharmaceutical professions by teaching European languages and the classics. The introduction of the programme and examination for Intermediate Education introduced by Statute in 1878,[49] made provision for these extra subjects and for the inclusion of the study of the Irish language which was described in the Act as Celtic.[50] The usual type of education at intermediate level was the classical education of the English and Irish Public Schools or Colleges with a similar classical emphasis in the non-boarding grammar schools. The Brothers were sufficiently progressive and forward-looking in their thinking to realise that the inclusion of job-related subjects of a technical and commercial/industrial orientation was also of great importance, if the schools were to equip boys to have job-related skills in the world of work outside school. The Manual of School

Government stresses that the pupils, because of their social and economic background and immediate prospects, should be "practitioners rather than theorists."[51]

11.3:15 Text books of the Christian Brothers' Schools

The publication of the Brothers' Readers and History Books from the 1840s and 1850s onwards made clear to all the twin aims of the schools of the Christian Brothers, which can be clearly defined as love of God and His Church, and a love of Ireland - the native land - Pro Deo et Pro Patria. The Schools of the Brothers were unapologetically Catholic and Irish in the sense of a pride in national culture, traditions and identity. The numerous text books of the Brothers proclaimed to their pupils and to the wider world that Irish Catholics had a religious faith and a cultural tradition to be proud of. This would not have been a characteristic of Edmund Rice's own upbringing but rather stemmed from the nationalistic rural background of most of his confreres. If, in those unecumenical times, non Catholics were suspicious of or hostile towards a system that basically promoted the sole doctrines of the Roman Church, then the Brothers did not feel demeaned by this reaction. They were, in fact, rather pleased that their system of education loudly proclaimed their fundamental Catholic ethos.[52] If in the political circumstances of the era, the virtues and values of Ireland's past history was to take the place of the text books of English schools, which naturally eulogised English history and England's past achievements, then so be it.[53] England and Ireland were different countries with all that implied.

The same was true of the Brothers' geography text books. The study of Ireland's geographical features in the Brothers' text-books replaced those of the English regions, of which Ireland had hitherto been regarded as a subordinate part. The nationalistic orientated Brothers' Readers, history and geography texts were seen by those of a nationalistic tradition to personify the beauty of Ireland, its history, its heroes, its

ancient mythological glories and the splendour of its natural scenery and physical features. The particular Irish bias of these texts was a complete contrast to the neutral and uninspiring text books, as viewed in a purely native Irish context, which were in Irish National Board Schools. The Brothers' felt justifiably satisfied at the success of their textbook undertaking, bearing in mind the cultural and social background of their pupils, for whom these text books were purposely designed.

An article written by Henry Mangan, a pupil of the O'Connell Schools in North Richmond Street, Dublin in the 1880s, for the O'Connell School Centenary Souvenir Handbook in 1928[54] gives a rare insight into the nationalist educational atmosphere of that school, which later produced many past pupils who were to the fore in Ireland's war for national independence. Many past pupils of the school and even some still at school took an active part in the Easter Rising of 1916. This love of God and of Country is still a proud tradition in that illustrious school, of which it was the good fortune of the writer of this thesis to have served on both sides of the desk, first as pupil and later as a teacher. This experience has enabled the writer of this thesis to obtain a first-hand view and a practical hands-on experience of the educational philosophy and pedagogy of the Irish Christian Brothers in general, and of his Alma Mater in particular, through personal involvement, and not merely as a purely academic observational exercise.

11.4 Evaluation and appraisal of Edmund Rice's Schools by Royal Commissions, and state officials

The high standards of secular instruction in such a wide range of subjects, achieved uniformly throughout the Brothers' schools, as attested to in the Reports of the Kildare and Powis Royal Commissions already referred to, had the effect of acting as an incentive to the State sponsored National Schools to improve their standards. This phenomenon was referred to by Sir Alexander McDonnell, Resident Commissioner of the National Board in a letter to his friend Larcom in

> ... It is certain that the present excellence of these schools furnishes one of the strongest incentives to the teachers of the National Schools in their neighbourhood to endeavour to surpass or at all costs not to fall short of the excellence of the Christian Brothers' schools.[55]

11.4:1 Expansion in the geographical spread in Ireland of Edmund Rice's Schools in the period 1850 - 1875

In the period 1850 to 1876, during the episcopacy of Cardinal Cullen, in Armagh from 1850-52 and subsequently in Dublin until his death in 1878, there was a remarkable expansion in the number of new Brothers' schools. Sixteen new schools were established in the Dublin Archdiocese and the remaining forty or so were scattered throughout rural Ireland. Thus the natural rivalry and competition between Brothers' schools and other schools, both of the National System and of other religious orders and those of private foundations, could do nothing but good for the general standard of Irish elementary education in the latter half of the nineteenth century in that it inspired a striving for higher standards by all these schools.

11.4:2 Irish Catholic Episcopal Support in the mid 19th Century for the single denominational Catholic school ethos as practised by the Brothers in an era of Papal concern at the spread of secularism and liberalism in Europe

The religious character of the Christian Brothers schools and the high moral and spiritual values which they sought to inculcate in their pupils, helped to no small degree to stem the growth of the philosophies of radical socialism and extreme forms of self centred and secular nationalism, that were a feature of changing social values in other European countries from the revolutions in Europe of 1848 and onwards. It may be claimed that Ireland was an intellectual backwater in terms of the evolution and development of modern socialist and political thinking in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This would appear

so, when contrasted to the developments in England and elsewhere, as exemplified by the socio-economic activities of Sidney and Beatrice Webb and the Fabian Society which was founded in 1884. These socialist views, if leavened with Christian teaching and values need not of themselves be regarded as objectionable or mutually exclusive from a purely catholic perspective, as described in the great socially inspired Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII entitled *Rerum Novarum*,[56] and that entitled *Quadragesimo Anno* of Pope Pius XI of May 1931.[57] Archbishop John MacHale of Tuam put forward a rather extreme ultramontanist view when he said that:

> ... Governments when they usurp the charge of schools always spread irreligious opinions. Such have been the unhappy results of state education in France, Belgium and other countries. Irreligion has spread and at the same time a spirit of socialism and nationalism.[58]

Mac Hale's view was of course conditioned by the absence of particular Roman catholic values and beliefs, even if the supporting philosophy of education was nationalist in outlook and objective.

11.4:3 Cardinal Paul Cullen's support of the Irish Christian Brothers' and their denominational system of Irish Catholic education 1850 – 1877

Cardinal Cullen, the leading Irish exponent of the Ultramontanist philosophy within the Irish Church, was very pro Irish in his political outlook and very anti-English in so far as the English financed Irish National School System of mixed or non-denominational character was concerned. This situation Cardinal Cullen would not accept under any pretext. These national schools though officially and *de jure* non-denominational in status, were in fact denominational by the less than honourable operation of the system by individual managers, both Catholic and Protestant.[59] In fact, demographic considerations within the national school system almost made it inevitable that a denominational spirit and ultimately practice would triumph over denominationalism in education. These unofficial denominational practices did not satisfy

Cardinal Cullen, who was opposed to the concept of mixed education on principle. In his evidence to the Powis Commission in 1869, he held up the Brothers' schools as models of high academic proficiency in the teaching of secular subjects. He praised their integration of Catholic doctrinal and religious tenets in the teaching and presentation of all the subjects, and their fixed practices of religious instruction carried on a daily basis. The Cardinal concluded his comments to the Powis Commission on the Christian Brothers' Schools with the following sentence: "The schools open and close with prayer, everything, in fact, is done to make the children good scholars and good Christians."[60]

11.4:4 The Maynooth Decrees Controversy of 1875 and its impact on relationships between the Irish Bishops and Edmund Rice's Institute

This eulogy of the Brothers, of their schools and of their level of teaching competence by the Cardinal, rang hollow in the ears of the Brothers with the passing of the 1875 Maynooth Synod Decrees, particularly Articles 302 – 311. This synod was chaired by their erstwhile champion and supporter, Cardinal Cullen.[61] The attempts of individual priests in the context of the Maynooth Decrees to denigrate the efficiency of the Brothers, as teachers was also an interesting phenomenon. It was a grossly inaccurate and unmerited reflection of the 'new attitude' of the Irish Bishops and their secular clergy to the long and fruitful work of the Brothers for the poor of Ireland as already testified to by Cardinal Cullen's own words to the Powis Commission. The Maynooth Decrees Controversy, in all its aspects, is fully detailed in D.S. Blake's scholarly PhD Thesis on John Austin Grace.[62]

11.4:5 The Political influence of Edmund Rice's Teaching Brothers and its impact on their pupils in Irish History, 1867 - 1921

Cardinal Cullen was also to the fore in defending the Brothers at the Powis Commission against the claim that their teaching of Irish history

was an incitement to armed rebellion against the Empire. The Cardinal claimed that few, if any, of the revolutionaries who had taken part in the Fenian Rising of 1867, had been past pupils of the Brothers. He thus implied that had they gone to any school, and not to the Christian Brothers' Schools, then these revolutionaries must have been the product of the State sponsored National School System where the history of Ireland was not seriously taught to any great degree.[63]

> I must add, what was stated by Mr. O'Reilly in a speech in Parliament, that the Christian Brothers' Schools had produced no Fenians, or scarcely one. This is a matter which is very creditable to them and I believe it is due to the good religious principles which they inculcate.[64]

The eminent Cardinal, had he been alive at the time, would not have been able to have made the same assertion, nor could Mr. O'Reilly M.P., in relation to the numbers of past pupils of the Christian Brothers, who were involved in the political and military movements leading up to the Easter Rising of 1916, and the subsequent Irish War of Independence.[65] The past pupils of Christian Brothers' Schools were to the fore among the leadership of the military movement that encompassed the struggle for Irish Independence in the years 1915-1921.

11.4:6 Edmund Rice's Teaching Brotherhood in the context of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878 and the establishment of the Department of Education and Science 1899

The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1878 brought changes to the type of education which the Brothers' schools had offered up at secondary level until then. The new system, which was based on a payment by result basis, for pupils sitting the three levels, Junior, Middle and Senior Grades of the annual Intermediate Education Boards' Examinations. Additional prizes and exhibitions were offered in the various subjects for outstanding students' results. Prior to this, the Brothers had been free to teach their own curriculum without any outside interference. The Brothers alone decided on the contents of their subject

syllabi. Their syllabi were drawn up to give a broad and extensive range of knowledge suitable to the learning ability of the students in a wide range of academic and technical subjects. This system had a flexibility which was not fettered within the more narrow constraints of a restrictive and tightly fitting Intermediate Education Board examination syllabus. That is not to say that the Brother-Visitors, who conducted the annual visitation of the Brothers' schools and an examination of the students on the contents of their subjects taught to them, did not insist on high academic standards in all the subject-matter being taught. The professional needs of outside employers and the working requirements of the banking and commercial concerns, who employed the pupils of the Brothers, would accept only students of the highest ability and calibre.

In contrast, the new Intermediate System was based on a common set of rules and regulations and a common curriculum and syllabus if any school wished to have any share in the payment by result funding, provided by the English Parliament under the 1878 Act. The Brothers continued their connection with South Kensington Dept. of Science and Art for their junior pupils in such subjects as Drawing, Elementary Science - Natural and Experimental - and Manual Instruction,[66] largely due to the influence and efforts of Brother James Dominic Burke[67] of the North Monastery, Cork. The Brothers had not forgotten the vocational aspect of their education. They pioneered the work of teaching science, chemistry, physics, electricity and magnetism in their schools, long before the government established the Dept. of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in 1899. It was the work of the Brothers in this field, particularly in the North Monastery, that induced this Intermediate Education Commission to include science related subjects on the Intermediate Education Commissions' syllabi for the annual examination from 1902 onwards.[68]

11.4:7 Defects in the pedagogic system of the Christian Brothers arising from their approach to the Intermediate Education Act syllabus

In the rush for "results", a perennial problem which still affects pupils and teachers in the range and choice of subjects and aptitudes within the current Irish educational system for entrance to University courses, the 1878 Intermediate Examination system caused a similar situation to arise. There was an absence of proper and clear thinking in the choice of subjects for which students opted. Subjects which suited and benefited the pupils, were often cast aside in favour of other subjects which commanded more marks.

The range of subjects, from which the pupils of Brothers' schools could choose, depended on the ability of the Brothers in a particular school to teach that subject. There was also the disruption of the constant changing of Brothers from one school to another due to personal difficulties without due appreciation of the disturbance that transfers might cause to the pupils. This was an administrative short-coming still experienced in the staffing of many small rural schools of today. A Brother, competent to teach German efficiently, might be replaced with another who knew no German and who could perhaps be competent to teach French or Spanish only. This could cause chaos to the planned study schedule of the pupils who would have to forego their existing German studies and take up another language mid-way in their course. The bigger city schools in Dublin and Cork did not find this transfer upset such a problem. There was more than a possibility that another Brother in a large community would have a knowledge of the subject being dropped due to Brother transfers.

11.4:8 Christian Brothers Schools and the Controversy surrounding their use of corporal punishment from 1880 onwards

The question of corporal punishment is very often unfairly linked to the Christian Brothers and their schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both Manuals of School Government, published in

1845 and 1865 prescribe clearly that corporal punishment involving one slap on the hand, was to be used only very rarely, and then as a last resort and only for grave misdemeanours.[69] The coming of the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 and its syllabi and Examinations System led to an unfortunate increase in the use of corporal punishment in all schools and in some of those staffed by the Christian Brothers. This was due in no small measure to the inordinate pressure put on pupils and teachers to obtain the best results possible and the ultimate achievement of prizes and exhibitions. Competition between schools, in many rural towns and cities which had the good fortune to have both a Catholic Diocesan College and a Christian Brothers School, for example Ennis, Co. Clare, was often excessive and too greatly encouraged. This unfortunately led to the use of corporal punishment as an un-necessary physical inducement to pressurise the pupils to try to exceed even their own natural capabilities. It was a practice that could not and cannot ever be defended on educational or purely pedagogic grounds. It has left an unsavoury aspect to the reputation of the Brothers as educators to the detriment of the great contribution to the educational well-being of male Irish youth.

Corporal punishment was certainly not an acceptable motivation or rationale to get the best efforts from pupils within the true meaning of education. The human condition often allows excess of zeal rather than balanced judgement and good sense to dictate one's course of action in any given situation. Teachers like all others are but human and suffer from the defects of human error and frailty. The Brothers were no more guilty in this respect than teachers in other schools, who were equally pressurised by the demands of parents and many of the pupils themselves for those elusive high results. Corporal punishment was but one symptom of the many unthoughtful and repressive moves which characterised a less caring era, not only in terms of education, but in society at large as well. Fortunately that regrettable background to education has long since passed, only to be replaced for students and

teachers with a more modern phenomenon which produces mental stress, pressure, and even physical illnesses in the struggle to achieve premium quality examination results.

11.4:9 The development of University Education in Ireland and its impact on the Christian Brothers' and their students

The academic qualifications of teachers in the 19th century, both religious and lay, need some small elucidation. The provision of university education was a vexatious and contentious issue in Ireland in the nineteenth century. The opposition of the Catholic bishops at the Synod of Thurles[70] in 1850 to Peel's Queens' Colleges Act of 1845,[71] was largely on the grounds that these Colleges, like all branches of State financed education, were to be non-denominational in character and in organisation, teaching and social values. Archbishop John McHale of Tuam was in the vanguard of the attack against the 'godless Colleges.'[72] This approach of the government was bound to antagonise the Catholic bishops, who saw no hope of recognition or financial backing for any form of Catholic denominational education at any level.

The denunciation of the 1845 Colleges Act by Daniel O'Connell[73] and some other leading Catholic political figures, only added to the isolation mentality of the Catholic church on this issue and to their already outraged sense of grievance and discrimination. Trinity College,[74] Dublin provided for the needs of members of the Established Church, whether studying for the church ministry or for outside lay professional occupations.[75] A genuine effort had been made in the Catholic Relief Act passed by the Irish Parliament in 1793 to provide for the entry of Catholics to Trinity College Dublin. Clause or Article 7 of the Act withdrew the obligatory condition for Catholic students entering that college from taking the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and abjuration. Religious prejudice on the part of the Catholic Church of the financial and social considerations of those who might have entered the College, resulted in very few Catholic students enrolling. The Queen's College in

Belfast, with its non-denominational character and charter provided no doctrinal hindrances to the members of the Presbyterian Faith. Maynooth College[76] met the needs of training students for the Catholic diocesan clergy. Attendance at the Queens' Colleges in Cork and Galway was proscribed for lay Catholics and most definitely for members of Catholic lay religious teaching Orders.

The efforts of Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin to establish a Catholic university[77] in Dublin in November 1854, run by the Jesuits under the dominant and gifted personality of Fr. John Henry Newman, the English Oratorian priest, who was the most notable nineteenth century English speaking convert to Catholicism, was doomed to failure. Firstly, it failed to obtain a charter[78] and secondly, it could not attract adequate funding from a Catholic student clientele with the essential financial resources to pay the relatively high fees required for attendance thereat. Personality and policy differences between Archbishop Cullen, and Fr. Newman and some of Newman's Jesuit professorial colleagues led to the early demise of his embryonic third level Catholic college. In February 1873, the Prime Minister William Gladstone proposed a University Bill[79] in Parliament to open up the University of Dublin by making it a multi-college institution which would contain Trinity College, the three Queens' Colleges of the 1845 Colleges Act and a Catholic College. The bill was strongly opposed by Catholic and Protestant groups. It was defeated by three votes in the House of Commons on 12 March 1873, providing Gladstone with one reason for resignation as Prime Minister on the following day. In August to September 1875, the Catholic bishops at the Synod of Maynooth repeated their condemnation of the Queen's Colleges, as they had already done 25 years earlier at the Synod of Thurles in 1850. On this occasion, they included also a condemnation of Trinity College, Dublin in their decrees.[80]

In late June 1879, Earl Cairns, with the support of Benjamin Disraeli's Tory Government, introduced the University Education (Ireland)

Bill in the House of Lords.[81] It became law on the 15 August 1879, as the University Education (Ireland) Act[82] and it provided for the dissolution of the Queen's University and its replacement by a new, examining university called the Royal University, which was incorporated by Charter on 27 April 1880.[83] It did not provide lectures and could not be condemned as being denominational. It prescribed courses of study but set examinations and awarded degrees based on the results of the examinations. The Intermediate Commissioners of Education Ireland did not specify any particular qualifications for teachers of Intermediate pupils. The absence of study facilities for young Brothers in rural schools, who wished to increase or upgrade the knowledge of the subjects they were teaching became a problem for the Institute. If another Brother more knowledgeable in the same subject happened to be in the same community, he gave the benefit of his extra knowledge to the younger Brother after school. The situation was unsatisfactory as outlined by a youthful Brother Bonfil in Midleton, Co. Cork, who had no opportunity in 1878 to improve his knowledge of French.[84]

11.4:10 The Brothers' teaching qualifications at university level and its solution in the context of the Royal University in Dublin, 1880

After the conclusion of the 1880 General Chapter of the Brothers the new Superior General, Brother R.A. Maxwell wrote a circular letter to all the houses of the Brothers in which he introduced a New Programme of Studies, based on the First Arts Examination of the new Royal University and on the Senior Grade of the Intermediate Board.[85] He emphasised that the course of studies was 'an open course', recommending that each Brother should make progress on the course, in proportion to his health and talents. "To teach a subject well it is necessary to know it more thoroughly than the ordinary student." Hence a wise man said: "One should know ten times more than one has to teach."[86] In some small towns two or more Brothers had to teach the full range of subjects for the Intermediate Board Examinations, which was no easy feat, even

if teaching were to be in a narrow rigid exam-orientated manner. As a result of Brother Maxwell's suggestion, internal examinations of a new kind were set up among the Brothers and graded according to their level of difficulty. Certain Brothers were invited to set examination papers with a fixed time table, which were to be conducted in each house. The Brother Director was to act as superintendent of the examinations. At the end of the examination periods, which were usually held in April of each year, the completed scripts were sent to the Marino Novitiate and College in Dublin for correction and the award of grades.[87] A new edition of the Programme of Studies was issued in 1891. It contained details of the seven grades divided into eight sections and which comprised, Religion, Education (Theory and Practice), English, Mathematics, Science, Applied Science, Modern Languages and finally Latin. These courses were broader and more comprehensive than the Senior Grade of the Intermediate Examination, but not as detailed as the First Arts Programme.[88] Each year, the Superior General received a Tabulated Results Form of the Brothers' Examinations under this system.[89]

These courses were only intended as a temporary system until the Brothers could sit for the Royal University Degree Examinations, which they began to do in the 1890s. Other Brothers took summer courses in drawing, science, music and Irish. The science course were organised by such Institutions as the Royal College of Science in Dublin, the Faculty of Arts in London University and the Queens University of Belfast.[90] The drawing courses and other allied subjects were organised by the South Kensington Department of Science and Arts in London.[91] The Brothers were very successful in the results of these summer courses and tests and were awarded certificates of proficiency in the subjects which they had studied and mastered.[92]

No finalised figures are available for the number of Brothers who obtained their teaching qualifications or degrees from the year of the establishment of the National University and the Queen's University in

1909, or from the Royal University of Ireland, up to the time of its dissolution in the same year.[93] The Register of Diplomas of Teacher Qualifications of the Brothers was established by the then Superior General, Brother R. A. Maxwell, and his Council in 1899. This Register can be inspected in the Brothers' Generalate Archival Records in Rome.[94]

Although academically the Brothers may not have been holders of university degrees, their excellence as teachers and their knowledge and skill as pedagogic practitioners was accepted as outstanding, even by Inspectors and officials of the National Board, going back almost seventy years to the 1830s. These tributes came from such persons as John F. Murray, MA., MD.,[95] an Inspector of Schools who visited Nth. Richmond Street, from the Rev. George Dwyer,[96] an Anglican cleric and educationalist in the 1830s, and from Sir Alexander McDonnell,[97] a Resident Commissioner of the National Board in 1862.

Brother Dominic Burke's work in the field of technical instruction in the Brothers' North Monastery school in Cork City received very high praise from Horace Plunkett, Assistant Director of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Education, established by the authorities in Dublin in 1899, and by inspectors of the Department, in particular Major Meredith.[98] Brother Burke was invited to stage an exhibition of his achievements in the field of technical education in the schools of the Christian Brothers in Ireland at St. Louis, Missouri, USA in 1904. This exhibition was regarded as a resounding success for Brother Burke's projects which he exhibited there.[99] This was another 'first' for the success of the Brothers' educational thinking and pedagogic initiatives and practice.

The Irish Times commented very favourably on Brother Burke's pioneering schemes in Cork as exhibited at the St. Louis exhibition.[100] Brother Burke himself hoped that what he had accomplished would lay

the foundations for the future industrial development of Ireland by providing the skilled and trained manpower from the schools necessary for this development.[101] He also hoped that his programme would be soon put into operation in schools in all parts of Ireland.[102]

In 1903, the Irish Technical Journal also portrayed Brother Burke as a pioneer of technical education.[103] In an essay in this journal, the writer recalled that the late Dr. Preston, the Senior Inspector of Science Classes in Ireland, in Horace Plunkett's Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, recommended to all Irish schools which intended to set up technical instruction classes that they should follow strictly the model of Brother Burke's work in this regard in his two Cork schools, the North Monastery and St. Patrick's Place.[104]

In short, the work of Brother Burke and his collaborators in Cork became the pre-cursor and model for the system of vocational or technical schools established in Ireland by the Irish Vocational Education Act of 1930, passed by the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, the Parliament of Saorstat Eireann. In effect, the work of the Brothers in technical education laid the foundations stone for that successful branch of the Irish educational system of today.

The Christian Brothers were clear thinking educationalists who saw the possibility of extending their school-role beyond the classroom to the parents of their pupils. This is evidenced by their provision of school libraries, where pupils could borrow books and bring them home to read for their parents, who in many cases were unschooled and illiterate.[105] Evening and night time classes for young men and adolescents were another positive and pioneering work of the Brothers to spread the leaven of knowledge as far and as wide as possible.[106]

11.5 The Commitment of the Christian Brothers to the education of physically handicapped children and orphans

The Brothers did not confine their activities to those children who had the good fortune to enjoy normal health, without physical handicaps. They taught hearing and speech impaired boys in their Institution for this group of disabled pupils at St. Joseph's in Cabra, Dublin, which opened in 1857.[107] They took responsibility for homeless orphans and for children committed to their care by the courts for vagrancy and minor legal misdemeanours, at their Industrial Schools in Artane, Letterfrack, Co. Galway and at Salthill in Galway city.[108] These children were taught trades and crafts to enable them to earn a sufficient livelihood, when they came of age to leave these schools.[109]

11.5:1 The commitment of the Irish Christian Brothers' to the education of Irish emigrants overseas

The poor Irish emigrants and their children in the large industrial centres of Northern England were not forgotten by the Irish Christian Brothers either. Their schools in Preston, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds and London catered for the poor children of Irish emigrants. The Brothers followed the Irish overseas to Australia in 1842 to Newfoundland and mainland Canada in 1876, to New Zealand in 1876, and to the United States of America in 1888. They undertook missionary work in Calcutta in India as early as 1841. Irish emigrants to South Africa were catered for by Brothers' schools from 1895. The children of British garrison soldiers in Gibraltar were not forgotten either. Three Brothers went to that military outpost to open a school for them in 1835 to prevent them losing their Catholic religion or being won over to other Christian sects.[110] Their secondary teaching objective in Gibraltar was to provide these Catholic garrison children with basic skills in numeracy and literacy.

11.5:2 The contribution of the Irish Brothers in Ireland to an increased consciousness of the social, cultural and historical heritage of their students

In Ireland itself, the Brothers raised the social, cultural and national consciousness of a dispirited Catholic people to a new awareness and pride in their national identity by their approach to the production of Catholic Irish school textbooks. These school books reflected the distinctive characteristics of the native Irish race as a separate people culturally, socially and religiously from the different ethnic, social, cultural and religious values of those who governed them. The concept of pride in being Catholic and Irish was instilled into their pupils by the Christian Brothers as a natural attribute of their shared common background. The system of education both theoretical and practical, at primary and intermediate level which they pioneered in the 19th century has remained largely intact to this day. It has become merged over time to 1831 National System of Education which also changed over time to meet the changed social and political structures of Ireland. This changed 1831 National System of Education and the Christian Brothers' system evolved in the 19th and early 20th to form the basis of the present day Irish primary school system.

11.5:3 Conclusion

The object of this thesis has been to outline and evaluate in some considerable detail the origins, development, progress and achievements of the Brother Edmund Ignatius Rice and his confreres in the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland in their efforts to formulate a policy of Christian education for the gratuitous instruction of the poor male youth of Ireland in the nineteenth century. It is also the object of this study to examine the provisions they made to establish structures to implement that policy. That they succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of their founder Edmund Rice in the task they set themselves is a reasonable judgement. They succeeded in the face of bitter opposition on various occasions from the authorities of the Catholic church, who should have been their natural allies and supporters. They also faced hostility at worst, and indifference at best, from State officialdom which hoped to bring their efforts to

naught by denying them government finance and support. This was achieved by imposing conditions which the Brothers could not accept for conscientious and principled reasons of religious beliefs and practices.

Perseverance and commitment to an ideal, selflessly undertaken brings its own reward in the end. The practical difficulties, both in terms of finance and recruitment of personnel in the early years of Edmund Rice's apostolate to the poor, must at times have appeared insuperable. To one who pinned so much of his hopes on unquestioning faith and hope in God, there could have been no other answer to his trials and difficulties but a successful outcome. The words of Scripture in St. Matthew's gospel were the rationale for all the actions of Edmund Rice in the pursuit of his goal. "Suffer little children to come unto me" was the *raison d'être* of his teaching philosophy.[111] Edmund Rice and his Brothers were true to that Divine injunction. They brought to the poor boys of Ireland the gifts of faith, knowledge and teaching of Christ and His Church. Secular knowledge of an academic and technical nature were also provided to enable their students to rise above the levels of poverty and ignorance, which for the most part are the results of social and economic deprivation. Their success in this aspect of their work is reflected in the achievements of their past pupils in all walks of life.

> ... There is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune. Omitted, all the voyage of their life is bound in shallows and in miseries.[112]

This quotation from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, already referred to in section 11.2:1 of this chapter, holds true for Edmund Rice personally. He accepted the challenge and undertook single-handedly to establish a school system for the poor boys of Waterford in 1802, in the most dire circumstances and with such little apparent hope of success. Edmund Rice did not waste his life and his talents by letting them be "bound in shallows and in miseries."[113] The success of the Teaching Brotherhoods which he founded most certainly dispelled the "shallows and the miseries" of the lives of countless thousands of the poor male youth of

Ireland and of other lands. These young men benefited in a most dramatic way from his system of free and gratuitous Christian education for the deprived and underprivileged. This has particular validity in contemporary times when Christian values in education, and in life in general, seem to have little currency or value. The beatification of the Venerable Edmund Rice in Rome on 6th October, 1996 by Pope John Paul II is a fitting and timely tribute to the life and work of Edmund Rice and his followers, who gave their all to the Catholic people of Ireland in nineteenth century Ireland. Their idealism and dedication to the youth of Ireland can be accurately described as an apostolate undertaken willingly in a spirit of Pro Deo et Pro Patria - for God and for Country.

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[1] James Clarence Mangan, "A Vision of Connacht in the Thirteenth Century" in Exploring English 3: An Anthology of Poetry, ed. by James J. Carey and Augustine Martin (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan and the Educational Co., 1969) lines 37-39, p. 201.

[2] William Shakespeare, "Julius Caesar," in the Complete Works of William Shakespeare (London: The Rex Library, Murray's Sales and Services Co., 1973), Act 4, Scene III, p. 817.

[3] St. Paul, "St. Paul to the Hebrews," in The Holy Bible Revised Standard Version (2nd ed. New York: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1971), Ch. 4, V.3, p. 1250.

[4] "St. Ignatius Loyola S.J. 1491-1556," in Butler's Lives of the Saints, concise edition , ed. by Michael Walsh with a forward by Cardinal Basil Hume, O.S.B. (Tunbridge Wells, Kent: Burns and Oates, 1985), pp. 229-232.

[5] Ibid., pp. 298-402, St. Francis Xavier S.J. 1506-1552.

[6] D. S. Blake, The Christian Brothers and Education in 19th Century Ireland (unpublished M.Ed. thesis UCC 1977), appendix 10, pp. 613-614.

[7] Details of the expansion of Edmund Rice's Congregation overseas is given in the Appendices of this thesis.

[8] The success of the pupils of Christian Brothers' Schools in the State Intermediate Examinations for the period 1879-1924 is outlined in tabular form in the Appendices of this thesis.

[9] U.K. Statute, Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878. 41 and 42 Vict., c.66, 16 August 1878.

[10] Michael McKeown, "The Irish Education Scene: The Past," Christus Rex: The Journal of Sociology, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (April-June 1968), p. 85.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] T.J. Corcoran, Education System in Ireland (Dublin: University College Dublin, 1928), p. xxiv.

[14] First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland 1825, p. 85, quoted in M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 57.

[15] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 198-199.

[16] W.L. Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in Ireland 1825-1880, p. 29.

[17] U.K. Statute, Roman Catholic Relief Act, 1829, 10 Geo. 1V, c.7, 13 April 1829, Trinity College Library, Dublin.

[18] Ibid., Sections 26-37.

[19] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 204-205.

[20] Ibid., pp. 209-218.

[21] Ibid., pp. 218-219.

[22] The Christian Brothers, History of the Institute 1958-1961 Vol. I, p. 319.

[23] Michael McKeown, The Irish Education Scene, p. 86.

[24] Quoted in M.C. Normoyle, A Tree is Planted, p. 272.

[25] Michael McKeown, The Irish Education Scene, p. 86.

[26] The Thirty-First Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland 1864, p. vi (3496) H.C. 1865, xix. The number of rolls refer to all children who attended school at least once during the year and were thereupon enrolled as pupils.

[27] Second Report Walter Allison Phillips, A History of the Church of Ireland Vol. III (London: Macmillan, 1933), p. 311.

[28] First Report of the Commissioners of Education Inquiry, 1825 (400) x2. 1. P.91.

[29] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 72.

[30] 1837 Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the progress and operation of the New Plan of Education in Ireland with minutes of evidence given by John F. Murray, Head Inspector, and the Rev. George Dwyer, Rector of Ardrahan, Co. Galway. 1837 (543-1) VIII, pt II, pp. 1197-1198.

[31] Walter Allison Phillips, A History of the Church of Ireland Vol. III (London: Macmillan, 1933), p. 311.

[32] Donald Akenson, The Irish Experiment, p. 117.

[33] Walter A. Phillips, History of the Church of Ireland Vol. III, p. 310.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., pp. 310-311.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Mark McCarthy (By a Christian Brother), Edmund Rice and the Christian Brothers (Dublin: H.M. Gill & Son Ltd., 1926), p. 349.

[41] A Sister of Charity, The Life and Work of Mary Aikenhead (London: Longmans Green & Co., 1924), pp. 91-92.

[42] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", p. 26.

[43] *Vide* references nos. 237 to 243 in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

[44] Ibid., ref. 243, Ch. 7 of this thesis.

[45] Quoted in the History of the Institute Vol. I 1958-1961, p. 303.

[46] The Reports of the Kildare Commission of 1858 and the Powis Commission of 1870, outlined in earlier chapters of this thesis.

[47] A Manual of School Government being a Complete Analysis of the System of Education pursued in the Christian Schools designed for the Junior Members of the Society (Dublin: Christian Brothers & William Powell, 1845).

[48] School Government being a Manual of Education as a Science and an Art - compiled by the Christian Brothers (Dublin: printed by W. Powell, 10 Essex Bridge, 1865).

[49] U.K. Statute, Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act 1878, 41 and 42 Vic., c.72, 16 August 1878.

[50] M.C.I.E.I., 7 December 1878, National Library, Dublin.

[51] Manual of School Government, 1845, Ch. X1V, Section 10, Article 49, p. 109.

[52] W.L Gillespie, The Christian Brothers in England, p. 37.

[53] Ibid., p. 41.

[54] Henry Mangan, "Clio in Ireland," in The O'Connell Centenary Record 1828-1928 (Dublin: Printed at the sign of the Three Candles for the Christian Brothers, June 1928), pp. 62-62.

[55] Larcom Ms.7605, "Notes on Education" by A. McDonnell, 31 July 1862, National Library, Dublin.

[56] Leo XIII (Gioacchino Pecci), "*Encyclical Rerum Novarum* 15 May 1891," in The Oxford Dictionary of the Popes, ed. by J.N.D. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 311-313.

[57] Pius XI (Achille Ratti), "*Encyclicals Quadragesimo Anno* 15 May 1931 and Nova Impendet 2 October 1931," in the Oxford Dictionary of Popes, ed. by J.N.D. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 316-318.

[58] Michael McKeown, The Irish Educational Scene, p. 88.

[59] John Mescal, Religion in the Irish System of Education (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), p. 107.

[60] Powis Commission 1870 Vol. IV, Evidence of Cardinal Paul Cullen, 24 February 1869 (C.6111) XXVIII Part. iv, p. 1231.

[61] D.S. Blake, "John Austin Grace Educator 1800-1886: Educator" Vol. II (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull, 1986), Appendix No. 34, pp. 819-820 - *Invigilenti Episcopi* (Let the Bishops Watch). English Translation of Decrees Affecting Teaching Brothers, Maynooth Decrees 1875, Ch. XIII.

[62] Ibid., Appendix 37, pp. 825-826.

[63] *Vide* ref. 60 above - Ibid.

[64] Powis Commission Vol. IV, Evidence of Cardinal Paul Cullen, 24 February 1869, (C.6III), XVIII, part iv, p. 123.

[65] Barry M. Coldrey, Faith and Fatherland, Introduction, pp. 1-4.

[66] Daniel V. Kelleher, James Dominic Burke: A Pioneer of Irish Education (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), pp. 60-61 and 123-124.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., pp. 123-125.

[69] Christian Brothers, Manual of School Government, 1845 edition, chapters 23-25, pp. 187-203.

[70] Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Experiment, pp. 254-255. and A New History of Ireland Vol. VIII, Part 1 edited by T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne(Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 328.

[71] U.K. Statute, Colleges (Ireland) Act 1845, 8 and 9 Vic., c.66, 31 July 1845.

[72] Donald H Akenson, The Irish Experiment, p. 252.

[73] Irish Educational Documents Vol. I edited by Aine Hyland and Kenneth Milne (Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education, 1987), p. 317.

[74] Royal Charter of Elizabeth I, 3 March 1592, incorporating the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin in the site of the former Priory of All Hallows in the New History of Ireland Vol. VIII, Part 1, as at reference No. 68 above, p. 216.

[75] Irish Statute, 33 Geo. III, c. 21, Article no. 7, 1793.

[76] Irish Statute, Act for the better education of persons professing the popish or Roman Catholic religion 35 Geo. III, c.21, providing for establishment for Catholic Seminary 5

June 1795. The Royal College of St. Patrick opened in old existing building in Maynooth on 1 October 1795 and the foundation stone of the new buildings was laid by Earl Camden, the Lord Lieutenant on 20 April 1796 - in the New History of Ireland Vol. VII, Part 1, as at reference No. 68 above, pp. 288-289.

[77] New History of Ireland Vol. VIII, Part.1, p. 346.

[78] Susan M. Parkes, Guides to Sources in the History of Education, No. 5, p. 45.

[79] New History of Ireland Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 346.

[80] Ibid., p. 347.

[81] Ibid., p. 350.

[82] Ibid., p. 351.

[83] Ibid., p. 352.

[84] Daniel V. Kelleher, James Dominic Burke, p. 152.

[85] "Circular Letters of the Superiors General 1821-1930" (Dublin, Dollard 1934). Letters no.s 1-30 were written in the nineteenth century and include the Circular of 1880 which incorporates the New Programmes of Studies for the pedagogic training of Brothers in teacher training programmes.

[86] Kelleher, James Dominic Burke, p. 152.

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[91] Ibid., pp. 153-154.

[92] Ibid.

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[95] James W. Kavanagh, Mixed Education, p. 420.

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[98] Kelleher, James Dominic Burke, p. 165.

[99] Ibid., p. 168.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid., p. 169.

[105] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", No. 23, p.21 and No. 4, p. 22.

[106] J. D. Fitzpatrick, Edmund Rice, pp. 149-150.

[107] D.S. Blake, "The Christian Brothers", pp. 253-255.

[108] Ibid., pp. 255-268.

[109] D.S. Blake, A Man For Our Time: A Short Life of Edmund Rice (Dublin: Veritas, 1996), pp. 28-29. The spread of Edmund Rice's Congregations of Christian Brothers and Presentation Brothers overseas is illustrated in map form in this booklet.

[110] History of the Institute, Vol. I, pp. 218-241.

[111] "St. Matthew's Gospel," Ch. 19, V.14-15 in The Holy Bible revised standard version (New York: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1971), p. 1039.

[112] As at ref. 2 of this chapter.

[113] Ibid.

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English translation as in "Constitutions of the Congregation of Christian Brothers" (Rome : Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1972),pp. 163 - 167

"...Now, these pious laymen have proposed to themselves the following end, viz: the Gratuitous Instruction of poor children, in the rudiments of the Christian Faith, and whatever else may be adapted to their state and condition; and for the better establishing this salutary Institute, they have framed certain Rules and Constitutions, to be observed by them, which are but a little different from those of "The Brothers of the Christian Schools;" and have humbly laid them before the Congregation of our venerable Bredthren, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, who are charged with the affairs of the propagation of the Faith; in order thqt if found good, and adapted to the end of their Institute, they might be confirmed by the strength of our Apoltolical authority and approbation.

These rules or Constitutions are as follows,

1. That these Religious Brothers, being instituted under the protection of the Holy Child Jesus, and the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, his Mother, shall make it their princiipal care to teach children, particularly the poor, the things necessary for a virtuous and Christian life; and that the main end and spirit of their Institute, must be an anxious solicitude to educate youth according to the maxims of the Christian Law.

2. That they obey the Superior General, for the time being, by them elected; and establish themselves in those dioceses into which they are

admitted, with the consent of the Bishops, and under their authority.

3. The Brothers shall teach the children gratis; never accepting of anything as a reeward or retribution, either from them or their parents.

6. None of the Brothers shall aspire to the Priesthood, or to any ecclesiastical orders.

7. The Brothers can be admitted into this Institute, in the sixteenth or seventeenth year of their age, but they cannot be permitted to make their simple perpertual vows, until they have completed their one-and-twentieth year

8. The vows of the Brethren shall be thjose of Chastity, Poverty, Obecdience, firm Perseverance in the said Institute, and the Gratuitous Instruction of the poor.

11. Visitors shall be appointed by the Superior-General, for three years, and shall make their visitation once in each year: they shall require of the Director of each house an account of the receipts and expenditure, and at the termination of each visitation, will report to the Superior-General what they see necessary to be corrected in each house.

13. The Brothers shall not only teach the children reading, writing, orthography, arithmetic, but also the Christian and Evangelical precepts. They shall give Catechetical instructions, or read for them a pious book, for half an hour, each day of school; but on Sundays and holidays of obligation, they shall prolong the Catechism or Lecture, to the space of an hour, in the Church or in some place where they can be conveniently assembled..

These being diligently examined by the aforesaid Congregation, and having consulted our venerable Brother, the

Archbishop of Dublin, and the other Bishops of Ireland, who highly extolled this Society, and asserted that most ample fruits were reaped from it, the aforesaid Congregation of Cardinals humbly begged of us to design to approve this Institute, and the foregoing Rules: We, therefore, wishing to satisfy the desires of said Congregation, and of the Bishops of Ireland, and to further whatever should conduce to the good of the faithful and absolving, and considering as absolved only as to the obtaining the effects of these presents from all excommunications, suspensions, interdicts, and other ecclesiastical sentences, censures and punishments, incurred by the fact, or inflicted by a judge, for whatsoever reason, if they should lie under any; those persons, in whose favour we write, and consenting to the aforesaid petitions, by the advice of our said Brethren, we approve and confirm, with our express Apostolical Authority, this Institute, and the foregoing Rules or Constitutions, and all therein contained, and we thereunto add the authority of our Apostolic support ; and we also supply every defect, either in fact or law, decreeing that these presents are and shall be firm, valid and efficacious, and fully favourable to them; and that they are to be observed by all those whom they regard, or whom they will, in anywise, in future regard; and depriving any judges whatsoever, ordinary or delegate, even the Auditors of the Sacred Palace, and Nuncios of the See Apostolic, of judging or interpreting otherwise...

Given at Rome, from St. Mary Major's, under the Fisherman's ring, this fifth day of September, Eighteen Hundred and Twenty, in the twenty-first year of our Pontificate.

H. Card. Consalvi. "

APPENDIX 2

A Pastoral Letter of the Right Rev. Dr. Thomas Hussey to the clergy of the United Dioceses of Waterford and Lismore 1797.

Dearly Beloved Brethren in Christ.

In these critical and awful times, when opinions seem spreading over this island of a novel and dangerous tendency; when the remnants of old oppression, and new principles which tend to anarchy, are struggling for victory, and which in the collision may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake shakes all Europe, I felt no small affliction and alarm, upon receiving the superior command of the head of the Church to preside over the Catholics of these united dioceses, upon the death of your most venerable and ever-to-be-regretted prelate, your late bishop.

In the midst of these fears and alarms, it was a great consolation to me, to be assured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my spiritual care; and that their exertions were constantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum. That no part of Ireland was more exempt from turbulence and insubordination to the laws than this district; and that the memory of the illegal injustices and cruelties formerly practised in this country by men, who made religious distinctions a stalking horse for political purposes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the Catholic faith will produce its happy effects in mending and improving the morals of the flock, which I commit to your care respectively. Let me beseech you to attach yourselves to them, by frequently instructing and exhorting them, especially as often as you approach the sacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you, by such a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not

permit yourselves to be made the instruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulations, and possibly by other means, to make instruments of you over the poor, for their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your sacred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends, they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worst of times; they shared their scanty meal with you and with your predecessors, and thereby preserved a succession of spiritual pastors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwise, conformed to the errors of the nation, and imitated the conduct of the rich, who not only shut their doors against you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beasts, I should not be able to address the present respectable body of clergy under my spiritual authority. Such a consideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and, with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to instruct them in their duties, to restrain their errors and to correct their vices. 'Arguo, obsecra, increpa, in omni patiential, et doctrina.' Upon all proper occasions, speak to them the words of eternal life, without fear or deference towards the enemies of our holy faith. The pastor who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath lost the grace of his vocation , or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary shepherd described in the Scripture, who, upon seeing the wolf, runs away and abandons his flock an easy prey to him.

At the same time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the ministers of Him, whose kingdom is not of this world, I call upon you to stand firm against all attempts which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flocks from the belief and practice of the Catholic religion. Remonstrate with any parent who will be so criminal as to expose his offspring to those places of education, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted. If he will not attend to your remonstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ's body; if he still should continue obstinate, denounce him to the Church, in order that, according to Christ's commandments, he be considered as a heathen and a publican.

If, in any of your districts, the Catholic military frequent Protestant places of worship, it is your duty to expostulate with them and teach them how contrary to the principles of the Catholic faith it is, exteriorly to profess one faith and interiorly to believe another. That such hypocrisy, even in the eyes of the world, is mean and pusillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the sight of God. That the military garb they wear, implies a manly candour, which abhors such duplicity. That this manly candour is peculiarly the character of an Irish soldier, who ought not to be ashamed of openly professing the Catholic religion-the religion of Irishmen. Instruct them, that in all matters regarding the service of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey; but in matters regarding the service of the King of kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their perosnal religion is their own natural, uncontrollable, imprescriptible right, subject to the spiritual of the Catholic Church, and over which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In all temporal matters, they are subject to their temporal rulers. In all spiritual matters they are subject to their spiritual rulers. These two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematics, can never touch each other.

By the smallest declination they lose even their name. Guard them from being deluded by the hacknied phrase of liberality of sentiment. Surely, liberality of sentiment does not consist in holding all creeds, and all forms of worship to be equal? He who thus expresses himself is a latitudinarian, who despises all creeds-all forms of worship! The man of true liberality is he, who conscientiously believes, and scrupulously follows that creed and form of worship which is conformable to his conscience, yet lives in charity, in concord, in amity with all others of every religious persuasion. The man of true liberality is he who employs his conscience as the helm with which he steers, in his religious voyage, leaving others to steer theirs by a similar guide. The man of true liberality is he with whom a difference in religious opinions makes no

difference in social life-living in equal harmony with all, and frequently bestowing more kindness and more bounty upon those who differ from him in religious opinions, when they want it more, than upon those of his own communion. The man of true liberality is he, who, when raised above the rest to govern a great people, scorns to attend to the paltry distinctions of sect or party; spurns from his presence those interested advisers of a dangerous faction, who would dishonour him and abuse the sacred name of majesty, to enrish themselves; but, like a true patriot, raises to power and influence those whom, in his conscience, he thinks of most ability and integrity, to serve king and country. To sum up the whole, the truly liberal man is he who makes his religion the guide for his own personal and private conduct, and not a rule to guide, to govern, or to compel others to act against their conscience and their religion.

The many compulsory means lately employed (and several instances of them within this very diocese, not many days since) to drive the Catholic military to Protestant places of worship, alarmed the true friends to the king and his service, and every well wisher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable steps could not make proselytes of the Catholic military; it might, in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French scale, and, perhaps, in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their persecutors.

Oh, how different are the principles of a Catholic soldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exercise of his religion. He clearly convinces his countrymen that military valour is not inconsistent with religious piety; but that, on the contrary, they are natural allies. That, when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearless and intrepid in the midst of danger; his bosom glowing with this consideration, that his death upon his post promotes him to a superior post in eternity. The unbeliever, who sees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally shrinks from the danger of dissolution; or, if he seems to assume

courage, it is either the brutal insensibility of his temper, or an artificial mask, which he puts on to screen him from the contempt which is sure to follow cowardice. But, the courage and intrepidity of a true Catholic, in the discharge of his duty, is a calm, heroic intrepidity, which sees the danger in his road, but sees immortality beyond it. He marches courageously on, sure that if he falls, it is to rise again beyond the grave. But, when the unbeliever sees the danger, he sees nothing beyond it, and thinks that if he falls, that moment puts a final and fatal period to all his schemes of ambition, of fortune, of pleasure, and he sinks into eternal night, never-never to rise again. Surely such an impious ideal is capable of transmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly slave. Let me say all in one sentence. These sentiments of intrepidity, of fidelity, of honour, which high birth, and polished education of fidelity, of courage, and of honour, which the Catholic religion, if sincerely believed and piously practised, would inspire into the lowest in the ranks; and who, if his duty calls hims, would show a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Caesar, and as unsullied loyality and intregrity as those statesmen and generals, who regulate kindgoms, or who defend them.

In all your preceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politics of the world with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the Catholic religion; they have not the smallest connection with each other; the one is spirtual, the other is temporal; the one regards the transitory affairs of this world, the other the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the Catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes and all forms of governments, monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies; despotic or popular governments are not the concerns of the Catholic faith. It may well suit a small sect, to regulate its creed and form of worship, according to the shape and form of government of the limited boundaries should extend from the rising to the setting sun; which has been propagated and pronulgated from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from pole to pole, teaching the same doctrine,

administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the Redeemer, wherever man is found and God is adored. It is, therefore, called the Catholic or universal religion.

It may well suit the laity of your respective districts, to pursue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politics, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal; and their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times; if, even when religious penalties made them total strangers to their native land; if, when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks, and oppression in their hands, ground them down; when some of the most powerful men in the nation, declared in the senate, that they hoped to see the day when no Catholic would dare to speak to a Protestant with his hat on; when even the course of justice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers; yet, even in these provoking times, if the body of the Catholics remained inflexibly attached to their religion and their king, what have you to dread from their preceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitic religious penalties are removed, and the rest of them are in a state of progress to be totally removed? That, however, a junto, for their own interested or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles is already detached from the mountain's brow; and whoever opposes its descent and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours. The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask to divide, to disturb, to oppress it.

Make your flock sensible to the honour of being accounted a member of the Catholic communion; that they are not members of a

small sect, limited to that country where the sect itself was formed. They are members of a great Church, which has lasted more that one thousand seven hundred years, which flourished in every part of the habitable world. 'In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines terrae verba eorum:' and, that Christ has promised that it will flourish untill time shall be no more. 'Usque ad consummationem saeculi, portae inferi non praevalebunt adversus eam.' That, consequently, they should not be ashamed to belong to a religion, which so many kings and princes, so many of the most polished and learned nations of the world, glory in professing.

Remind them, that two centuries of persecution have tried in vain to pervert them; that the annals of the Church, the history of mankind, does not afford another example, like their, of perseverance in their religious principles. That we find, in the history of every other nation or people, that a much shorter time was sufficient, by penal restrictions of religion to gain over the people to the religion of the state; but that two centuries of persecuting laws, immense sums of money given by Parliament to gain over proselytes, and levied upon those very people whose creeds they thereby endeavour to purchase, left still the great body of the nation faithful to that spark which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the Catholic Church, and spread over this island; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundreths of this diocese, are still faithful and steady Catholics, notwithstanding what they and their ancestors suffered for their fidelity, and for which they are as unrivalled in the history of the Church, as insulated an exception to the prevaricating versatility of man, as the geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the world.

The portion of the Catholics of Ireland, which God has committed to my spiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, as my coadjutors and assistant, to aid me, by word and by example, to instruct and to feed, with the word of salvation and

with the bread of angels. It is a laborious, but it is also a meritorious and an honourable employment. It forms the strongest bulwark to the state, by being the best supplement to the laws, which, withour morals, are vain. A faithful discharge of these duties will form our crown and our glory, when, at the last day, the Supreme Pastor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.

APPENDIX 3

Licence to teach issued to Sr. Elinor Power, Presentation Convent, Waterford, 16th December, 1799 by Dr. Richard Marley, Anglican Bishop of Waterford.

Licence to Teach requested by Catholics under the of Irish Statute 21 and 22 Geo.111, C.62 27 July 1782 in favour of the Presentation Nuns, Waterford; - "Richard, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, To our well beloved in Christ, Miss Elinor Power, greeting, whereas you are presented to us by the Rev Thomas Keating, the Rev. John Power, and Peter St. Leger, Merhcant, all of the City of Waterford, as a fit and proper person to teach females, and keep a boarding School for the Education of females in the City of Waterford aforesaid, we therefore, confiding, as well in the Integrity of your morals and Honesty of you life and conversation, as in your skill and Ability in Instructing, or causing females to be instructed; Do by the Tenor of these presents Give and Grant unto you, the said Elinor Power, (in whose fidelity we confide,) full power and authority to keep a boarding School, and perform the office of School Mistress, to teach and Instruct, or, cause to be well and sufficently taught and Instructed, such females of the Roman Catholic profession, of said City, as now are, or shall hereafter be committed to your care, strictly enjoining and Earnestly Recommending it to you to pay the Greatest Attention, as well to the morals of such children as to teaching them the fear of God and keeping his Commandments. And we do by these presents Inhibit all other person or persons from teaching within the said City without our Licence or faculty, first to them for that purpose Granted, on pain of the Law and Contempt thereof. In Testimony whereof, we have caused the Seal of Our Consistorial Court of Waterford and Lismore to be hereunto affixed, this 16th day of December, In the year of Our Lord, One Thousand Seven hundred and ninety-nine- GEORGE FLEURY, Register." Original in Presentation Convent Archives, Waterford.

APPENDIX 4

Licence to teach issued to Rev. Garrett Connolly, St. John's Roman Catholic College, Waterford, 2nd April, 1819 by Dr. Richard Marley, Anglican Bishop of Waterford.

Rev Garrett Connolly's Licence to Teach Youth and keep a Boarding School in the Diocese of Waterford.- Richard, by Divine permission, Lord Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, to the Rev Garret Connolly of the City of Waterford, Roman Catholic Priest, greeting.

"Whereas, you have made application to us agreeable to the Statute in that case made and provided for our License or Faculty to teach Youth and keep a Boarding School in our Diocese aforesaid; We therefore presuming you are fully competent to perform the Office of a Teacher or Schoolmaster and confiding in the integrity of your morals, life and conversation do grant unto you full power and authority to keep a Boarding School Within our said Dioceses and to teach and instruct such Pupils as shall be committed to your care and cause to be paid the greatest attention as well to the moral as to the literary instruction of all your said pupils. And we do by these presents nominate, constitute and appoint you the aforesaid Garret Connolly a Licensed Teacher or Schoolmaster of our Diocese, aforesaid, during our pleasure you have first before us or our Commissary or Suffogate taken the oaths required by Law in this behalf. And we do also by these presents Inhibit all other persons from Teaching Youth or keeping School withing our Diocese aforesaid without first having obtained our License or Faculty for that purpose under pain of the Law and Contempt thereof. In testimony whereof we have caused the seal of our Consistorial Court of Waterford and Lismore aforesaid to be hereunto affixed this Second day of April in the year of Our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Nineteen.

Robert Sharp, Deputy Registrar
Richard J.(Surrogate) Hobson, M.A."

Added in pencil:-

Stamp and parchment	£1	15	0
Fee of Licence and Registering	£1	2	9
	£2	17	9
		10	6
	£3	8	3"

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NATIONAL LIBRARY OF IRELAND

Appendix 5.

Dublin

April 5th 1834

My Lords & Gentlemen,

In Compliance with your Orders given to us in the latter end of February We proceeded to the City of Waterford for the purpose of enquiring into the general Condition of the poor, the Circumstances which more or less affect that Class and the Institutions both public and private Established for their relief, and We now have the honor of laying before you the result of our Investigation –

On our arrival in Waterford being fully aware of the great responsibility entrusted to us, as well as the delicacy and importance of the business in which We were engaged We deemed it most advisable in the first instance to wait upon all the

the various authorities acquainting them with the nature of our Mission and the general objects of our Enquiry requesting them to afford us every assistance in their power –

The few first days of our Mission we occupied in visiting the different Institutions accompanied at various times by the Right Reverend Dr. Abraham, The Venerable Dean Lee, The Mayor, The Sheriffs, Mr. Scott Revd. Mr Dixon R. C. C. The Revd Martin Flynn R. C. C. Mr. Joshua William Grainyman Mr Davis and Mr. Chevoy (Members of the Society of Friends), and acquainting ourselves generally with the Statistics of this Town –

Having thus made ourselves perfectly Conversant with every thing that could in any way bear upon the Condition of the poorer Classes of this

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of all opinions, and of all grades of society to give us every information not only upon Charitable Institutions, but also on all subjects referred to in the Book of Instructions to the Assistant Commissioners. Having thus collected a very Valuable mass of Evidence and information We have endeavoured as clearly as possible to draw up a Report comprizing all that is of the most essential assistance to his Majesty's Commission We have divided our Report under the two following heads. —

Charitable Institutions with remarks attached to each and General Observations —

We have the Honor to be

My Lords & Gentlemen

Your most obt humble Servts

Patrick Francis Johnston

Edmd Moylan

Population 28,821.

Before entering upon the first pa[illegible] of our Enquiry namely – the Charitable Institutions We beg leave to premise a few observations on [illegible] present state of this Commercial City as regards [illegible] Trade, prosperity, and the general Condition of its population –

Advantageously situated on the South [illegible] of the Suir, a broad and navigable River, Waterf[illegible] possesses a noble and unequalled Quay of nearly a mile in length, close to which even at low Wate[illegible] Vessels of from 600 to 800 Tons may lie – It cannot but therefore surprize the Casual Observer, that with all these natural advantages (which at a Comparati[illegible] short period from the present time had rendered this the third City in Ireland) it should now prese[illegible] an appearance so little animated and stirring –

Two Causes have more or less had th[illegible] effect of diminishing the Employment of the poo[illegible] Classes; the first arose, from a sudden withdrawal Capital from a very flourishing Trade, the salting Victuals for the fleet and the West Indies – This too[illegible] place at the conclusion of the War – The second Cause is attributable to the introduction of Steam Navigation – Since that period Bacon has ceased to be prepared here for exportation and the Stock has in gen[illegible]

English markets -

The Exports amount annually to upwards of Two Millions stating in Value; Either is Conveyed the agricultural produce of Tipperary & Kilkenny and among the various objects and Commodities of Traffic may be mentioned, Beef, Butter, Grain, Hides, Tallow and Pork - It would be supposed from so large an Export as this that Waterford was progressively increasing in size and in wealth but on more minutely scrutinizing the state of its Mercantile Interests it will be found that this is a deceptive view of the Case and that Capital has not been accumulated by the Merchants at all commensurate with these flattering appearances.

The general Condition of the labouring Classes in the immediate Vicinity of Waterford has within the last few years been perceptibly improved partly owing to the residence of several of the Landed proprietors on their Estates, and partly to the making a new Road to Tram and the Building of Quays together with some other Works carried on by the Commissioners for improving the Port and Harbour - Much might still be effected in the opinion of some intelligent Individuals by Cutting a Canal (a work which was contemplated some years ago) between Waterfo

[illegible] for the purpose of draining a large, level marshy tract of Country belonging to Mr Fox Lane - This useful [illegible] were it carried into operation would not only render an important and immediate benefit to the whole Community, but also as we understood afford Employment to all the unemployed about Waterford and its Neighbourhood for two or three years at an outlay of £7,000 -

The greater portion of the labouring Class subsist almost entirely upon Potatoes yet within a short period past the Consumption of Wheaten bread has considerably increased, and the dislike to Oatmeal even in the Charitable Institutions we visited is passing away - Their habits of Cleanliness order and regularity as well as their Clothing and sense of propriety have perceptibly undergone a change for the better, but especially amongst females, the difference is striking, remarkable arising in a great measure from the reduced price of manufactured Goods & the universal use of Cotton

The Cottages likewise have undergone great improvement within the last 3 or 4 years, principally owing to the exertions of the agricultural Associations by whom premiums are awarded for clean Cottages - much however in our opinion remains still to be done in this Way which can only be effected by the Landlords themselves -

Having made these few observatns upon the Circumstns which exercise an indirect influence upon all the Interests connected with the City of Waterford We now proceed to the first subject of our enquiry the existing Charitable Institutions

Observations.

The evil of "Street Begging" which appears to us so closely connected with the enquiry into the Mendicity Asylum, has particularly engaged our attention: first in the hope of ascertaining the number of persons depending on this mode of life; and next that we might make a calculation, as to the probable amount of money imprudently and indiscriminately given to this class, and which, we believe, finds its way into the Coffers of the Dram seller. But after enquiring of various persons long resident in the City of Waterford and

and failing to derive from them, the particular information required, we obtained a return from the Collector of Excise; to enable us to Compute the quantity of Spirits retailed, and our Calculations, upon Conferring with many persons Competent to form a just opinion on this Subject, were considered to be much within the actual amount.

For our Calculations upon the Consumption of Spirits and our remarks thereon, we beg to refer the Commissioners to our general Report.

As regards the number of strolling beggars we have ascertained there are in Waterfo at least 100 - This estimate is made by taking into account the number who surround the different Chapels on Sundays - at the larger 40 at least assemble, allowing to the other three 45 and for occasional Stragglers 15 the aggregate will be found to be 100 -

Each of these, receive at least 6c per day making a total of £2. 10. per day, or £17. 10. 0 weekly, - This sum is more than at present supports nearly three times that number of

25 mendicants in the Asylum after defraying all its Expenses

Protestant Schools

Amongst the schools Established for the Gratuitous Education of youth the first to be described is that formed by Bishop Jay and called The Boys Blue School supported by a bequest made in the year 1707. By good care and management of the property the funds increased and in 1808 a second Act of Parliament enlarging the powers of a former one was procured, enabling the three Trustees the Bishop for the time being, The Mayor and the Dean to hold out further encouragt for Boys to come to the School by lodging and boarding them.

This Institution formerly a day School was situated in the City with the approbation however of the Court of Chancery, about the year 1812 it was removed to Granbetown a short distance from Waterford, Previous to this change the number of Scholars Contemplated by the will did not attend, The funds of this Charity are considerable they have increased from about £400 a year to about £1300 a year and at this present moment 56 Boys are receiving ~~Instruction~~ on Bells System in reading writing

the Commencement of each year, by the Bishop for the time being on the recommendation of the Mayor Sheriffs and any three Aldermen. The boys are dieted by a contract with the Master (at 5/4 per day) who resides in the House and superintends their Instruction by the Usher. An apprentice fee of £8 is paid with every boy on his leaving the School, and being Indentured to a Trade, New Clothes are presented to each Scholar on his entrance, once a year, and at the period when he has completed his Education and is about to leave the Establishment, We are required to say but little on this Charity the Corporation Commissioners having very fully entered into an examination of its funds management and general State the only observation which strikes us in viewing its efficacy is the disproportionate number of officers as compared with the number of its Scholars.

The Blue School for protestant Girls

24 Children are clothed and Educated principally by an Annuity of £60 paid by the Corporation on Acct of £900 left by a family of the name of Mason they live with their parents & attend every day Sundays excepted

to

and useful instruction.—

Parochial School in Peter Street. Sixty six Boys and about 60 Girls from the ages of five to fourteen assemble here every day and receive Instruction They are taught on Bells system. The Expenses of the Establishment are about £90 per Annum £50 of which the Clergy have volunteered to pay leaving the remainder to be provided by the contributions of the public and Charity Sermons at which Collections are made in the several Churches of the City.—

Waterford School of Industry.— We found in this Establishment Thirty eight Girls of all persuasions but mostly protestant receiving Instruction upon the Lancastarian Principles Their Education appeared well attended to owing in some degree to the benevolent Interest taken in this school by members of the Society of Friends, the annual expense £60 raised by Subscriptions and Donations.

Waterford Commercial School Has only been established four or 5 Months we found however from 50 to 60. Boys had already been entered

on

Child pays 2/6 per quarter, Instruction is given them in reading, writing Book keeping Geography, History, Mensuration, & Navigation;

Infant School — The object of this Institution is to receive poor children from two to seven years of age, who are running about the Streets and to instruct them in the general rudiments of learning in such a manner as not only to amuse but create a desire for further knowledge. There are now in the School 100 Children the funds are raised by Subscriptions and Donations The Expenditure last year was about £35 including a Salary of £20 to the Mistress — —

Sunday School — About 500 boys and girls of the Protestant persuasion, the greater number Scholars of the different Establishments above mentioned assemble after Church in a Large Room on the Mall and receive Religious Instruction from different Ladies residing in this City who give their attendance for that purpose

Protestant Orphan House 18 girls and 9 Boys are supported here by voluntary Subscription & Charity Sermons amounting to about £280 per annum the average expence of supporting each child has been for the last few

of the Institution. the Salary of Master and Mistress is £45 besides lodging and living.

Roman Catholic Schools

Rices School. (A Monastic Establishment) Schools in the parish of Trinity without in the City of Waterford was instituted in the year 1804 for the gratuitous instruction of poor boys by Mr Edmund Rice who has expended about £1000 on the Establishment, the greater part his own property and the remainder derived from private donations The building is about 130 feet long and 30 wide there are apartments in it for 16 of the brothers. also 4 School Rooms Capable of containing 1600 boys three of which are set apart for the use of day Scholars. the fourth for men and boys of the Labouring Classes who come in the evening after work to receive Religious instruction. The Schools are open every day in the week from ½ past 9 till ½ past 2. Children of 8 years of age and under are admitted and kept until they have attained the age of 14 and longer if necessary. they are provided with books slates ink and slates and paper gratuitously the pronunciation

and

Expense of the Establishment as a Reward for good Conduct and regular attendance in the Schools. The instruction is on the Lancasterian System. The boys are taught Reading. Writing. English Grammar. Geography Arithmetic. Book Keeping. Geometry Mensuration Navigation and Surveying. After School business is over they are taught Catechism. A Library of Religious Moral and Historical works is attached to the School The Religious works are chiefly The Sincere Christian Instructed from the written word by Doctor Hay. The poor christian instructed from the written word by ditto - Gobinets Instructions for youth. Mannings moral entertainments. Reeves History of the old and New Testament, Grahams &c abridged and other Books. They are lent out on Sundays gratuitously as a Reward for good Conduct and attention to School and the Librarian endeavours to give each boy the book most suited to his disposition or that which he may be most in need of. about 500 boys daily attend and about 300 are annually received. The greater number who leave the schools go to trades under their father or others some to Merchants offices. Some to shops many to sea, others go to Sea and others join the Army

The Funds of this Establishment consist of £100 per annum from Houses and Land the property of Mr. Rice together with Subscriptions and Donations collected in the City and Neighbourhood amounting to between £90 and £100 from persons of all Religious denominations and an Annual Grant of £50 from the Commissioners of Education — The expenditure formerly exceeded the Income; but for the last two years they have been enabled to keep within the limit of the Income

Schools — At the Ursuline and Presentation Convent nearly 600 poor girls are instructed. About two hundred Female Children are annually admitted into each of these Schools but how many remain to Complete their Education the Community were not able to inform the assistant Commissioners —

An Establishment for the education of 200 boys and girls supported by donations and voluntary Contributions is attached to the R. C. Chapel in St. Patricks Parish in which the fundamental principles of the Christian Religion and of useful instruction are imparted —

These two Schools receive a grant of about £22 pr Annum from the Board of Education but have not as yet required any Books from them —

On all Sundays the Children of the Roman Catholic persuasion meet after Last prayers in the Chapels for the purpose of receiving Religious Instruction from their Clergymen —

Orphan House: supported upon the Interest of a Sum of £1530 invested in Bank Stock, with Donations and Subscriptions — In this Establishment we found 60 Children educated and maintained at the average expense of £9-0-0 per year - and when apprenticed a fee of from £5 to £7 is given to each boy. The Average income is about £650 —

School of the Society of Friends — Munster Provincial School —

This Establishment being within a Mile of Waterford we visited it and finding that it was admirably Conducted we have inserted at whole length an account furnished us by that amiable and enlightened Gentleman Mr. Joshua William Strangman —

Newtown School was established in 1798. by the Society of Friends residing in the Province of Munster for the purpose of affording a religious and guarded Education to Children of its Members who were in low or necessitous Circumstances. Soon after its establishment many Friends in Comfortable Circumstances being desirous that their Children might partake of the advantages and benefits afforded by the Institution, it was Concluded that they also should be admissible, but that the poor and necessitous and those Considered suffering Cases, should at all times have a priority of admission —

The School has accomodation for 45. Boys and

41 Boys and Eight Girls – There is a Male and female Superintendant – The former has charge of the farm and purchasing provisions &c – The latter the House Keeping Department – There is one Teacher for instructing the Boys and a female Teacher for the Girls – A young Man who does not reside on the Premises also attends at stated periods to give Instruction in Latin.

The School is supported by Subscriptions and likewise by payments made annually for each of the children – The average cost of the children varies from £20 to £24 per child contingent upon the prices of provisions, clothing &c – The estimated full cost of a Boy is this year £25, and of a Girl £16. – For every child admitted into the School a certain sum (at present for a Boy £12.12.0. – for a Girl £10. –) must be paid annually by its parents or friends, or by the Monthly Meeting to which it belongs – and if the parents are of ability it is expected that they will pay as much more as their circumstances will admit – and instances are not uncommon where persons who have had children educated at the School at the low rate and having in subsequent years therein in the world have paid up the difference –

The course of Education was for many years confined to a simple, yet plain good English Education, comprising spelling, reading, writing

Arithmetic

Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, use of the Globes, Book Keeping, Astronomy, History and the Mathematics, the Girls are also instructed in sewing, knitting, marking and domestic economy - within these few years past the French and Latin Languages have also been introduced with advantage - and such of the boys as have attained a suitable proficiency in English and whose friends can defray the additional expence, are instructed in either or both those branches - After a little time I should hope that all the children without distinction whose capacities are suited for it may be instructed therein - There is a small philosophical apparatus - such as an Air-pump - Galvanic Battery - Electrifying Machine, Microscope Telescope &c which are exhibited and explained two evenings in the week during the winter Months - Also a lending library in charge of a President and a Committee of six chosen from among the Boys, likewise a little Cabinet containing specimens of Shells, Minerals &c.

It is exceedingly desireable that Children should be reinstomed to habits of order, method and regularity, and also the value and right employment of their time and talents and likewise that they should be made fully and thoroughly to understand and comprehend and practically to apply the knowledge they have acquired -

Considerable attention is paid in endeavouring to instil into their minds the tenets of the Christian Religion

Religion, the existence, and attributes of the great Creator, the necessity of living in love and good Will and doing good to their fellow creatures of every shade and Colour,

It should be remarked that no distinction is made among the Children as to food, Clothing or any peculiar privelege - whether they are paid for at <u>full</u> Cost or at <u>low</u> rate but all are upon an equality, - and treated alike

Waterford City April 1834

Chart-sheet of Protestant Schools The Quaker School Roman Catholic Schools and Protestant Almshouses

Protestant Schools.	Number of Scholars	Master or Mistress	Funds	Remarks.
Free Boys	56	One Master One Usher	£1300 per year property	Live in the School and Boys dieted at 5/ each By Contract.
Parochial Girls	24	Two Mistresses	£60 Annuity and Subscription	Day School.
Free School Lady Street	126	One Master One Mistress	£90 — Subscription	Boys 66 Girls 60 } 126 In Separate Schools Day School.
Parochial School Infantry	35 Girls	One Mistress	£60 Ditto	Day School
Parochial School	100	One Mistress	£35 Do.	Day School.
Parochial Female School	50 to 60	— —	2/6 per Quarter paid by each Boy	Day School.
Sunday Schools	500 Boys and Girls	By Ladies	None	
Protestant Quaker School	27	One Master One Mistress	£280	Boys 9. Girls 18 — 27 Average each about £4

Society of Friends

Quakers School	49	Two Masters and One Mistress	£1180	Rents Subscriptions and Profit of Farms

Roman Catholic Schools.

Free School	from 500 to 600	12 Masters	£250	Mr. Rices property £100 Grant for Board — 50 Subscription — 100 250 Day Schools.
Convent Schools	600 Girls			
Patrick's School	200 Boys and Girls		£22 derived from Board of Education Mrs. Subscription —	Day Schools.
Unitarian Orphan House	60 Boys and Girls	Master and Mistress	£650	Rent of Money and Subscription Average Cost £9 —

Protestant Schools Almshouses

	Number of Females	Rent	Remarks.
Mrs Butlers Houses	20 12 and 8	£84	Rents and Interest of a Sum £1000 and stock.
Mrs Fleming's	8	—	Interest on £150 —
Female Orphan Houses	17	£68	£4 per Annum to each
Mrs Irwin	12	£32	The Funds of both Establishments much more considerable
Female Orphan House	10	£53	Coals are given
Female Orphan House	12	£45	
Mrs Chevers	12 Females	£45	Rent from Lands
Sir Jos. Palliser's Poor Women	25 16 Men 9 Women	£20	12/6 to each and Coals

Bequests.

Miss Perrins	£37-12	For reduced Gentlewomen
Miss Price	£16-10	For Good Debtors —
Mr Terry	£25	Interest of £500 for Coals to be distributed, but not for some years —
Alderman Miles	£50	Interest of £1200 for Bread and weekly distribution
Mrs Fisher	£8	Interest of £200 Do

House of Industry	357	£3038	0
Mendicity	215	900	0
Fever Hospital	156	496	18
Lepers Hospital	426	1099	14
Magdalen Asylum Hospital	50	300	0
Lying in Hospital	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Gaol Prison	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Dispensary	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Appendix 6

The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, the General Chapter of 1829. Internal Dissension within the Institute & the De La Salle Connection 1827–1830.

> "would have said more, but that [he] had consulted with several friends of the Bill who had dissuaded him from saying much, lest the enemies of the whole measure might endeavour to make the clauses affecting religious societies more operative and severe" (38).

Edmund's greatest hope was that those penal clauses would not be implemented. Daniel O'Connell had written to say that the iniquitous laws were "unexecutable", and that while "it is almost impossible that any prosecution should be initiated ... it is quite impossible that any prosecution should be successful" (39).

Br Leonard had informed Frère Guillaume about the danger a fortnight before the Chapter, but expressed the hope that, like other crueller laws which remained on the statute book, this one would not be enforced (40). The potential danger did not, however, lead him and his Cork friends to manifest greater solidarity: when a form of protest against the Act was drawn up in Chapter to be used by all communities, the Cork group decided to use one of its own composition (v. doc.12 *infra*).

Much information concerning the Chapter's proceedings, after the decision about the new Act, can be gleaned from the correspondence with Frère Guillaume. Br Leonard and his friends, despite being told months before about the French practice, which they seemed so keen to follow in other respects [(41); v. doc.13 *infra*], would have liked Edmund to preside but make no contribution to the debate, lest "he ... influence many of the brothers to think like him". In January 1830, Frère Guillaume made it quite clear both to Edmund and to Br Leonard that this would be wrong:

> "Why would not the Superior, who best knows the needs of the Institute and has more experience and knowledge than any other member, have the same right?" [to propose a motion or to speak] (42).

A similar attempt was made to limit Edmund's power to make decisions by alleging that, in the French Institute, the Superior General "was obliged to abide by the majority of the votes of his Assistants, whether he approved of the measure to be adopted or not". To Edmund this doctrine appeared so inconsistent with the nature of a Religious Superior that he expressed his doubt about its correctness and declared against it, pending further information (43).

Although Br Leonard had been told that for Assistants to live apart from the Superior General was against article 4 of the French brothers' Bull of approval, two extra Assistants were elected during the assembly of 1829 and they did live apart from Edmund. Edmund mentioned in his letter to Frère Guillaume that after this election "some of the brothers were told that, in a communication with one of our brothers, you expressed surprise that, having so few subjects at present we should nevertheless think of having four Assistants"(v. doc.14 infra).

> "This important communication had been suppressed and it was only by chance that I became aware of it after the separation of the Chapter deputies. Had we known your attitude on this matter we would not have made such a mistake" (44).

This secretiveness in Chapter disturbed Edmund, and he mentioned it in his courteous letter to Frère Guillaume.

> "I understand that one of our brothers has had very many letters from you about our Institute some of which he has shown to other brothers, but he thought well of not showing them to me. However, I must say I never asked him to do so, as I considered it was his duty to have done it himself without being asked. This I mention in order that in any future communication you have with him while I am in office, you will perhaps have the goodness to let it come through me, in order that I may not lose the benefit of any salutary advice you may be pleased to give him" (v. doc.14 *infra*).

It would be difficult to phrase that more delicately. Edmund was a Christian gentleman to his fingertips.

As usual Br Leonard was able to throw the blame for concealment on someone else -- the First Assistant. He even suggested that Edmund had colluded with the Assistant in that concealment! (45)

The various developments in the Chapter had caused Edmund great anxiety: the enemy must have seemed to be not so much the British authorities as the members of his own household. He felt that no good was being produced by the assembly,

> "but on the contrary, ... the seeds of independence with the principles subversive of religious discipline as well as the old and good order were sown in it" (46).

He was saddened by the introduction of changes of diet and the more genteel soutane of expensive woollen cloth, especially at that time of financial stringency (47)

> "when for want of means of support, we could not take a postulant into the novitiate and were obliged to suspend the work on the new building, now half finished, and for want of which four brothers are obliged to sleep in one chamber detached from the house, exposed to the suffocating heat of the summer and the pinching cold of winter"(v. doc.14 *infra*).

When, at the Chapter, a clause was inserted into the Rule of Office of the Superior General to the effect that "he must always be governed by the majority vote of the Brother-Assistants", Edmund, according to the account sent to Frère Guillaume by Leonard, "before the end of the Chapter ... said he did not know if he were obliged to follow it".
The unnecessary and invalid election of extra Assistants signified for Edmund that a majority wanted to impose checks on the Superior General's authority, and he felt he could not go along with the changes introduced. He therefore resigned his position as head of the Society he had founded and nurtured at so great a cost. Br Leonard reported to Frère Guillaume "our very dear Brother Ignatius gave us a great deal of edification by asking us most earnestly to accept his resignation (v. doc.15 *infra*). He had held his position for seven and a half years, and as his health is much better now, we refused to accept his resignation " (48).

Leonard wrote after the Chapter to say that Edmund "has gone so far as to give instructions to some Brother-Directors to consider as worthless the statutes of the Chapter". In his letters of October and December 1829, Edmund gave his French counterpart straightforward evidence of his reasons for doubts about the validity of what had happened at the Chapter. He sincerely wanted advice about his doubts and his problem, and he demonstrated his sincerity by obeying the French Superior General's recommendation to implement the decrees, whatever he thought about them, for the sake of giving good example [(49); v. doc.16 infra]. By contrast, Br Leonard was able to prove to his own satisfaction

-- hoping also to convince his correspondent -- that he himself was in the right all the time and had nothing but the highest motives, in trying to weaken the position of the Founder.

It is painful to picture, much less analyse, the mind and heart that lay behind the letters of poor Br Leonard. He was a very sick man, of course (v. doc.17 *infra*), anxious to use to the full all the talents that were his. One can hardly imagine him ever enjoying peace of soul. In the Leonard-Leahy correspondence, the extent of the dissensions between him and others, in particular his religious Superior, arouse pity in the reader. In these letters he was free of all the restraints of formality or religiosity he assumed when writing to the French Superior General. His extremes of language reveal the depth of his feelings, and, perhaps, his profound sense of frustration, and determination to make his mark. Edmund's tolerance, goodness, kindness and humility were lost upon him (v. docs.18&19 *infra*). Br Leonard looked forward to being of some importance again in the Chapter of 1832: "one week at lecturing our would-be task masters is all I look for" (50). "Is life worth preserving", he asks his priest friend, "under such circumstances as those in which I am placed?" (51). He admits he found it hard to pray, even for those good friends of his who died. He would even go so far as to say: "It sometimes occurs to me in my solitude that when a man is not only useless but becomes a burden to society, it should be deemed an act of heroic virtue that he commit suicide" (52). If only he could have made real the prayer he discovered in the Brief of Pius VI and wrote to Frère Guillaume about: "Live Jesus in our hearts for ever"! (53) How much happier his last years might have been. It would have broken Edmund's heart if he had been able to see the correspondence posterity is able to read. Br Joseph Leonard died on Palm Sunday 27 March 1831.

Chapter 12

Document 1

Extract from a letter of Br Assistant Austin Dunphy to the De La Salle Superior General. Waterford, 8 May 1826.

FSC, EN, 655-1, D.1, no.1. (CFC/G, F.0231).

Edmund's priorities in this letter are spiritual. Through excellence of teaching, the children could be weaned away from the proselytising agencies. But the best spiritual formation and training available for the brothers themselves was a *sine qua non* for ensuring such excellence. This line of thought lies behind the request put to the French Superior General. The letter illustrates the close cooperation between Edmund and his Assistants.

> ...You who have been chosen, I may say by Almighty God, to preside over and govern an Institute, the object of which is to give children a moral and religious education gratuitously, will feel pleased on hearing, that in this country a Religious Society has been established for the gratuitous Education of poor boys. It will, I am sure, be a further satisfaction to you to learn, that the Society has adopted your Brief and Common Rules, as far as they could be observed in this country; and that our late Holy Father, Pius VII, approved of and confirmed the Institute by a 'Brief' bearing date 5th day of September, 1820. In the year 1817 there were only six houses of the Institute in Ireland. The Bishop of the Diocese in which the brothers lived, was their Superior. Having no Superior General of its own, the Society was divided into separate small bodies, and hence its progress has been slow from its foundation in this city in the year 1804 by Mr Ignatius Rice, who is Superior General at present, to the period above mentioned.
>
> All our houses and schools are supported by our own limited means and by donations from pious Catholics. Great efforts have been made by the English Government to pervert

Chapter 12, document 1, contd.

the Catholic youth of this country. Vast sums have been given by the British Parliament to various Protestant Associations for the Education of the Catholic children of Ireland ... This money is all put into the hands of Protestants in order to bribe the poor children, and to seduce them from the Catholic Faith. The country is infested with Protestant schools. Not one shilling will the Government give the Catholics for the purpose of educating their poor, although there are 10 Catholics in this country to one Protestant. From this statement you will see we have great difficulties to contend with. We must rest our success on the assistance of Almighty God and the excellence of our schools above theirs ...

Our Superior General and his Assistants reside in this city but they intend to remove the seat of Government to Dublin after a short time ... Feeling diffident from our own inexperience and being convinced that none is so capable of advising us on this subject as you, our Superior General, Rev. E. Ignatius Rice, has ordered me to write this letter to you, requesting you will be pleased to communicate to him such information as you deem necessary and useful on this matter ... I hope you will oblige us with your advice as soon as you conveniently can ...

N.B. Please direct your letter to Mr Edmund I. Rice, Christian Schools, Waterford, Ireland.

Chapter 12, document 2, contd.

without first obtaining a Rescript from the Holy See for the purpose? We might and would follow your practice had we known it, but can we now rescind that which we have adopted? We don't wish if we can possibly avoid it to have recourse to the Holy See after the confirmation of our Institute for any Rescript ...

Chapter 12

Document 3

Extract from a letter of the De La Salle Superior General to Brother Assistant Austin Dunphy. Paris, 9 August 1826.

FSC, EN, 655-1, D.1, no.5. (CFC/G, F.0231).

A presumption, followed by a false imperative and a suggestion which might lead to an invalid decision, plus some confusion between custom and legal obligations, produces a recipe for further confusion. Edmund's way of adhering to written documents from Rome until they were officially altered was the safest procedure.

> ... Je présume que vous serez bientôt dans le cas de convoquer un Chapitre Général: de toute nécessité il se composera, suivant l'article 13 de notre Bulle, de trente frères profès tant anciens que Directeurs, si vous en avez ce nombre. Ce sera le moment d'examiner si vous devez adopter notre manière de procéder dans l'élection des Supr. et Assistants. Vous pourrez consulter des Docteurs pour savoir s'il est nécessaire de recourir au St Siège, ou si, ayant adopté nos usages connus et inconnus au moment de la formation de votre Institut, vous ne pouvez pas, sans autre formalité, vous conformer à celui que nous suivons dans les élections, quoique par ignorance vous vous en soyez écartés dans votre première assemblée.

Chapter 12

Document 4

Extract from a letter of Edmund Rice to the De La Salle Superior General. Waterford, 19 August 1826.

FSC, EN, 655-1, D.1, no.6. (CFC/G, F.0231).

Edmund was a man for others: this letter was written mainly to ensure that Br Joseph Leonard regained his health, but Edmund also availed himself of the chance to get more detailed knowledge of matters essential for the welfare of his Institute, so that the effects of unjust laws of long standing on the disadvantaged children of his country might be eliminated, and souls brought closer to God.

> As (Br Leonard) is in France, I would wish he should avail himself of your kindness, and the present opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of those matters so very necessary for us. I should wish, even for the sake of his health, to have him remain there for two months ....
>
> We are almost ashamed to be so troublesome to you but our anxiety to secure the welfare and stability of our little Society would not suffer us to remain indifferent to the important points which are contained in this and in my former letters. We are, like you, a Society of laymen, forbidden by our Brief to aspire to Ecclesiastical Orders, having in view the education of children, especially the poor, and engrafted on your Bull itself. We are inexperienced, and naturally look upon you for the reasons just mentioned, above all others, as best calculated to advise and instruct us.
>
> The poor people of this country want education very badly. Among the many cruel laws, which were enacted against the Catholics of Ireland since the Reformation, there was one, which forbade any Catholic to teach school or even to be a tutor in a private house, under pain of transportation for life! His being detected in the act of teaching anyone, subjected him to this terrible punishment without even the

formality of a trial. It is not yet forty years since this cruel law was repealed; it was in force for an entire century, and you will judge it must have great power in demoralizing the people. Once more apologizing for the trouble I have given you.

Chapter 12

Document 5

Extract from a letter of Br Joseph Leonard to the De La Salle Superior General. Cork, 29 October 1827.

FSC, EN, 655-1, D.2, no.3. (CFC/G, F.0232).

The first extant intimation that Edmund intended holding a meeting of the brothers in 1828 to discuss two changes, the implementation of which, without permission from the Holy See, would contravene article 3 of the Brief, and hence render invalid any decrees and elections based on such changes. All too often some of Edmund's colleagues, lacking his experience in legal matters, mistook personal desires for lawful procedures.

> ... C'est l'intention du f. Ignace de tenir une assemblée à Pâques qui vient, afin de délibérer la nécessité d'élire deux assistants (outre les deux qu'il a à présent), qui l'aident de leurs conseils quand il sera nécessaire. Un autre objet de l'assemblée sera à décider s'il faut donner suffrages, ou le pouvoir de voter, au même nombre de ff. profès qu'il y a de directeurs dans l'Institut, quand on va élire un Supr. Gnl. Notre Supr. Gnl. n'est élu que pour 10 ans, et comme il dépend de lui de retenir en office les ff. directeurs qui le rééliraient, il nous semble que chaque entrée par laquelle l'ambition pourrait se glisser à ces offices devrait être bien fermée. C'est sur la manière dont ils s'acquittent de ces offices que dépendent beaucoup de biens ou beaucoup de maux. Vous me pardonnerez franchement, mon très cher frère, quand je vous prie de me donner vos opinions touchant ces choses; votre grande expérience vous en fournit les moyens. Je ne puis avoir point de motif en cherchant l'information excepté le désir sincère que j'ai de préserver ci-après notre Institut des cabales dont l'histoire nous donne des exemples parmi les ordres religieux.

Chapter 12

Document 6

Extract from a letter of Br Joseph Leonard to the De La Salle Superior General. Cork, 29 December 1828.

FSC, EN, 655-1, D.3, no.7. (CFC/G, F.0232).

Edmund's sickess may have made it difficult for him to transact business (les affaires) but his will was strong enough to focus on "les projets qui regardent le bien de l'Institut" -- more than likely the calling of a General Chapter out of due time to legislate on the two points he considered as belonging to the competence of Rome (cf. doc.5 *supra*).

> ... Vous joignerez votre douleur avec celle de tous nos ff. en apprenant que notre très cher Frère Ignace le Supr. Gnl. est dans un état très pitoyable. Il a l'esprit si égaré qu'il n'est pas capable de s'appliquer point du tout aux affaires de l'Institut. J'avais besoin de passer le mois de Novre. à la maison où lui et ses Assistants demeurent, et je découvris l'étendue de sa maladie. Mais je trouvai qu'il était disposé à s'opposer aux vues des deux assistants sur tous les projets qui regardent le bien de l'Institut. Il leur disait même très souvent qu'il n'écouterait point de remontrance de leur part, et qu'il ne fut pas obligé de suivre leur avis, à moins qu'il ne fût agréable à ses propres opinions. Il y a longtemps qu'il a l'esprit ainsi déreglé, mais c'est que les ff. ignoraient.
>
> Avant que je partisse de la maison, les ff. assistants vinrent à la résolution d'assembler les ff. en chapitre à Noel; même ils envoyèrent des lettres à cette fin à plusieurs Directeurs mais nous avons reçu une lettre la semaine dernière, d'un des assistants, disant que notre très cher frère Ignace y était opposé et qu'il niait aux assistants le pouvour d'assembler les ff. Si tous les ff. étaient convenus de la nécessité d'un chapitre, les ff. assistants ont-ils le pouvoir, ou chacun d'eux a-t-il le pouvoir, de l'assembler? C'est la

Chapter 12, document 6, contd.

troisième fois qu'il a promis de tenir une assemblée sans nous permettre de le faire.

Il me semble que sa maladie sera d'une très longue durée. C'est avec grand chagrin que je prévois les maux qui résulteront à l'Institut s'il continue dans l'état où il se trouve à présent. Je crains que l'aversion qu'il a à rencontrer les ff. n'influera sur les deux Assistants à agir contre leur propre jugement, en déférence à ses opinions. Peut-être que c'est mon anxiété qui est trop grande. Mais je connais bien les sentiments de mes ff. qu'ils me justifient dans ces craintes ....

P.S. Notre confesseur est arrivé de Limerick. Il dit qu'il y rencontra notre cher frère Ignace, et qu'il a l'esprit presque tout égaré. Il est âgé de près de soixante-dix ans.

Chapter 12

Document 7

Extract from a letter of the De La Salle Superior General to Br Joseph Leonard. Paris, 22 January 1829.

FSC, EN, 655-1, D.4, no.1. (CFC/G, F.0233).

Advice based on the De La Salle Bull (art.11, the same as art.9 of the Society's Brief), which states that a General Chapter can be called by the Assistants when it is a question of deposing a Superior General for: heresy, incontinence, homicide, mental imbecility, infirmity of old age, squandering the goods of the Institute, or any enormous crime. Despite the picture of Edmund painted by Br Leonard, Frère Guillaume had his doubts.

La maladie de votre Supr. Gnl. met votre Institut dans une position bien critique; je prie le Seigneur du plus profond de mon coeur de le prendre sous sa sainte protection et de le préserver de tout danger.

Dans un cas pareil nous savons bien ce que nous aurions à faire; nos règles ont prévu la possibilité de ce mal et en ont indiqué le remède. Vous le trouverez dans le onzième article de la Bulle de Benoît XIII à la fin de notre règle commune, et à la page 24 de la règle du Gouvernement. Vous y verrez que dans ce cas le droit d'assembler le chapitre est dévolu aux Assistants; et si le bien de l'Institut le demande il faut qu'ils aient le courage de contradire le sentiment du Supr., qui doit être compté pour bien peu de chose si son état de dérangement d'esprit et de décision d'agir est bien constaté -- qui ne nous paraît pas évident, même par les expressions de votre lettre.

Mais si les Assistants de votre Supr., entrant dans ses vues refusent d'assembler le chapitre général, il ne vous

Chapter 12, document 7, contd.

reste d'autre ressource que de prier le bon Dieu de leur ouvrir les yeux, et de leur adresser vos représentations respectueuses. It faut bien se donner de garde de faire des cabales et de rompre l'union et la charité. Ce mal serait plus dangereux que le premier lequel, quelque grand qu'il soit, aura un terme, puisque votre Supr. n'étant nommé que pour dix ans, il faudra bien qu'il assemble le chapitre quand ils seront écoulés, afin de pourvoir au gouvernement de l'Institut soit en le confirmant dans cette place, soit en lui donnant un successeur. Or, je présume que ses dix années ne tarderont pas à être écoulées, si toutefois elles ne le sont pas déjà.

Chapter 12

Document 8

Extract from a letter of Br Joseph Leonard to the De La Salle Superior General. Cork, 28 March 1829.

FSC, EN, 655-1, D.4, no.2. (CFC/G,F.0233).

The opposition to Edmund was largely engineered in and orchestrated from the North Monastery community, which seemed quite unaware of the generous treatment and inspiration the Cork Committee had got from Edmund in the early days. If the carping exemplified in this extract could be written to an outsider, what, it may be asked, was the character of the information Joseph Leonard and his colleague exchanged with the Irish brothers?

> ... Dans ma dernière lettre j'avais dit que notre très cher f. Ignace, le Supr. Gnl., fut affligé d'une maladie d'esprit, et qu'il partit de sa maison à Dublin au commencement du mois de novembre. J'ai le plaisir de vous faire savoir que sa santé est beaucoup meilleure, mais nous ne sommes pas assurés qu'il a l'esprit parfaitement établi. Nous trouvons avec de grands regrets qu'il a envoyé des manifestes à presque toutes les maisons de l'Institut, afin que les frères changent le régime très pauvre et déjà trop maigre qu'ils usent. Il envoie ces ordres sans l'avis des ff. Assistants. Je suis bien convaincu que ces instructions ont remué beaucoup de mécontentement parmi les ff. Ils disent qu'ils sont aussi économiques que possible, et que c'est au chapitre général des ff. qui a le pouvoir d'abolir un système trop étroit et qui est établi plusieurs années; particulièrement quand on ne peut montrer un seul sou d'extravagance. Nous voyons que notre très cher f. Ignace n'a point l'idée de retourner chez lui -- ni ne s'est-il porté à recevoir le conseil des ff. Assistants; au contraire, il rejette tout ce qu'ils lui disent, quoiqu'ils s'adressent à lui peut-être trop doucement quand l'intérêt de l'Institut exige de la fermeté de leur part.

Chapter 13

Document 8

The Rule "Of the end of this Institute", as in the "Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Religious Brothers". Chap. 1, art. 1, p.1. Dublin, 1832.

The Rule of the Presentation Nuns enlarges on the method of fulfilling the end, while the De La Salle Rule limits the end to the Christian education of youth.

The Presentation Nuns' Rule	Edmund Rice's Rule
	The end of this Institute
The Sisters admitted into this Religious Congregation,	is that all its members labour,
besides the principal and general end of all religious orders,	in the first place,
such as particularly attending to the perfection of themselves in the way of the Lord,	for their own perfection;
must also have in view what is the particular characteristic of this Institute, that is,	and in the second, for that of their neighbour,
a most serious application to the instruction of poor female children in the principles of religion and Christian piety.	by a serious application to the instruction of male children, especially the poor, in the principles of religion and Christian piety.
In undertaking this very arduous but meritorious task, the Sisters whom God is graciously pleased to call to this state of perfection shall encourage themselves etc...	

continues -->

Chapter 13, document 8, contd.

Edmund Rice's Rule	The De La Salle Rule
The end of this Institute	La fin de cet Institut
is that all its members labour,	
in the first place,	
for their own perfection;	
and in the second,	
for that of their neighbour,	
by a serious application	
to the instruction of male children,	est de donner une éducation
especially the poor,	chrétienne aux enfants
in the principles of religion	et c'est pour ce sujet
and Christian piety.	qu'on y tient les écoles
	afin que les enfants y étant
	sous la conduite des maîtres
	depuis le matin jusq'au soir
	ces maîtres leur puissent
	apprendre à bien vivre
	en les instruisant les mystère
	de notre sainte religion
	en leur inspirant les maximes
	chrétiennes, et ainsi
	leur donner l'éducation
	qui leur convient.
	(Chapter 1, no.4, p.1)

Chapter 13

Document 9

Extracts treating of the virtuous formation of youth as in the "Rule and Constitutions of the Society of Religious Brothers", Chapters I, II, VI. Dublin, 1832.

The coming of Edmund Rice was a sign of springtime, a new flowering after a long winter of persecution. His mission was to interpret the compassion of Jesus for the youth of Ireland: they were like abandoned sheep, without a shepherd. He became their father.

a. "The end of this Institute is ... that all its members labour ... for the [perfection] of their neighbour, by a serious application to the instruction of male children especially the poor, in the principles of religion and Christian piety."

b. "It is a duty incumbent on the Brethren each day of school, to have the children taught the catechism; and also, on these days to explain it to them, each in his turn, according to the order observed."

c. "[The Brothers] are, in the explanation of the Christian doctrine, to speak in a simple and familiar manner, adapting their language to the age and capacity of their hearers, avoiding every thing abstruse or difficult, which might embarrass themselves or the children."

d. "... the spirit of this Institute is an ardent zeal for the instruction of children; for rearing them up in the fear and love of God; enabling them to preserve their innocence, if they have not already lost it; preserving them from sin; and impressing on their minds the utmost horror of it, as well as of every thing else that tends to deprive them of the purity of their conscience."

Chapter 13, document 9, contd.

e. "But, above all things, the Brothers are to recollect, th the instruction of the children in piety and religion, is th great and main end of their Institute. This is to be their first and principal care in regard to their pupils. They wi therefore, teach them the necessity of morning and evening prayer; they will instruct them in, and cause them to commit memory, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed, Confiteor, Commandments of God and of his Church, Seven Sacraments, an other useful matter. They will also instruct them in the Catechism and the serving of Mass ..."

f. "They shall be careful that the children be instructed in the Christian Doctrine, for half an hour each day of school s particularly that they be taught to dispose themselves for receiving worthily the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist."

Chapter 13

Document 10

The Rule treating of the Spirit of Faith as in the "Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Religious Brothers". Chapter 2, no.2, p.2. Dublin, 1832.

To be noted: the completion of the quotation from Job in Edmund's Rule; and the significant final sentence, stemming from his own spirit of detachment and retirement, which he inculcated in his brothers.

Edmund Rice's Rule	The De La Salle Rule
The spirit of this Institute	L'esprit de cet Institut est
is that spirit of faith, which	premièrement un esprit de foi
inspires its members	qui doit engager ceux
	qui le forment
to view nothing	à ne rien envisager
but with the eyes of faith,	que par les yeux de la foi;
to do nothing	à ne rien faire
but with a view to God,	que dans la vue de Dieu
and to ascribe all to God;	à attribuer tout à Dieu,
at all times entering into	entrant toujours dans
the sentiments of holy Job:	ces sentiments de Job:
"The Lord gave" to me,	Le Seigneur m'avait tout donné
the Lord hath taken away" from me;	le Seigneur m'a tout ôté
"as it hath pleased the Lord.	il ne m'est rien arrivé
so be it done;	que ce qu'il lui a plu,
blessed be the name of the Lord! "	
and also, into other like sentiments,	et en d'autres semblables
so often expressed	si souvent exprimés
in the sacred writings	dans la Sainte écriture
and by the mouths	et dans les bouches
of the ancient Patriarchs.	des anciens Patriarches.
Thus will they preserve	
the spirit of holy disengagement.	

Chapter 13

Document 11

The Rule regarding the motivation of all actions of the Brothers as in the "Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Religious Brothers". Chapter 2, no.3, p.3. Dublin, 1832.

Edmund Rice synthesizes three De La Salle Rules, to make a harmonious whole, and bases his advice on the Scriptures.

Edmund Rice's Rule	The De La Salle Rule
	Les Frères de cette Société animeront toutes leurs actions de sentiments de foi et, en les faisant, ils auront toujours en vue les ordres et la volonté de Dieu qu'ils adoreront en toutes choses et par lesquels ils auront égard de se conduire et de se régler.
The spirit of their Institute teaches the Brothers to have a continual watch over themselves, never to perform any of their actions through any natural or human motive or through custom; but to animate all their actions with sentiments of faith — doing all for God, doing them because God so wills and commands;	Ils s'étudieront à avoir une continuelle vigilance sur eux mêmes pour ne pas faire, si leur est possible, une seule action naturellement, par coutume ou par quelque motif humain; mais ils feront en sorte de les faire toutes par la conduite de Dieu, par le mouvement de son esprit,

Chapter 13, document 11, contd.

and having always in view
His greater honour and glory,
according to the sentence
of the Apostle, I Cor. 10:31.
For this end, therefore,
they shall always place
a guard over all and each
of their senses,
that they may not err by them;
but that, in using them,
they may act according to
the holy will of God.

et avec l'intention
de lui plaire.

Pour cet effet,
ils s'appliqueront à avoir
une grande retenue
des sens
et à n'en faire usage que dans le
besoin, ne s'en voulant servir
que selon l'ordre
et la volonté de Dieu
[Chap. II, nos. 4,5,6; pp. 3-4]

Chapter 13

Document 12

The Rule treating of the practice of the presence of God, as in the "Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Religious Brothers". Chapter 2, no.4, p.3. Dublin, 1832.

Edmund's resolve was to live a Christ-centred life, through a spirit of prayer, of recollection and purity of intention, whilst forming Christ in the hearts of the young. His Rule here is an adaptation of two articles from the De La Salle Brothers' Rule.

Edmund Rice's Rule	The De La Salle Rule
They shall make the presence of God the object of their particular attention;	Ils feront, le plus qu'ils pourront attention à la sainte présence de Dieu
and shall, from time to time, renew in themselves a sense thereof.	et auront le soin de se la renouveler de temps en temps, étant bien persuadés qu'ils ne doivent penser qu'à lui et à ce qu'il leur ordonnne: c'est à dire à ce qui est de leur devoir et de leur emploi.
They are to erase and banish from their minds those vain and foolish thoughts which would impede and obstruct them in this holy employment, --an employment of such main importance,	Il éloigneront de leur esprit toutes les idées et les pensées vaines qui pourraient les distraire de ses applications qui leur sont très importantes

Chapter 13, document 12, contd.

and without which,	et sans lesquelles
they can neither	ils ne peuvent
acquire	ni prendre
nor preserve	ni conserver
the spirit of their Institute.	l'esprit de leur Institut.
	[Chap. II, nos. 7,8, p. 4]

Chapter 13

Document 18

Rule of the spirit of the Institute regarding its apostolate of youth, as in the "Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Religious Brothers", Chapter 2, no.12, p.6. Dublin, 1832.

The nuance of difference between the two texts is the more remarkable for their similarity in construction.

Edmund Rice's Rule	De La Salle Rule
... the spirit of this Institute	L'esprit de leur Institut
is an ardent zeal	consiste dans un Zèle ardent
for the instruction of children;	d'instruire les enfants
for rearing them up	et de les élever
in the *fear and love* of God;	dans la *crainte* de Dieu
enabling them	de les porter à conserver
to preserve their innocence,	leur innocence
if they have not already lost it;	s'ils ne l'ont pas perdue,
preserving them from sin;	et de leur donner
	beaucoup d'éloignement
and impressing on their minds	et une très grande horreur
the utmost horror of it,	
as well as of every thing else	pour tout ce qui
that tends to deprive them	pourrait leur faire
of the *purity of their conscience*.	perdre la pureté.
	(Chapter II, no.9, p.4)

Chapter 13

Document 19

The Rule treating of the method to be adopted by the Brothers so that they may attain the two main purposes of their Institute, as in the "Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Religious Brothers," Chapter 2, no.13, p.6. Dublin, 1832.

Edmund Rice's Rule	De La Salle Rule
In accordance with,	
and to acquire	
and preserve in themselves	
this spirit of their Institute,	Pour entrer dans cet esprit
the Brothers shall always manifest	les Frères de la Société
a love of holy retirement,	
and strictly observe it,	
as far as it is	
compatible with their state;	
they shall seek	s'efforceront
by holy recollection and prayer,	par la prière,
	par leurs instructions,
to draw down this spirit from God;	
and by their watchfulness	et par leur vigilance et leur
and good conduct in the Schools,	bonne conduite dans l'école,
they shall labour	
to procure the salvation	de procurer le salut
of the dear little ones	des enfants
confided to their care;	qui leur sont confiés,
thus extending the kingdom of Christ,	
and advancing more and more	
the Divine honour.	en les élevant dans la piété
	et dans un véritable esprit chrétien
	c'est-à-dire selon les règles
	et maximes de l'évangile.
	(Chapter II, no.9, p.4)

APPENDIX 7

Diary extract of Canon Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of St. Peter's, Westminster, on the 'Confusion as to whether Brother Rice's Institute was the' Irish Branch of the De La Salle Congregation.

On returning to Paris from St. Denis, we walked to No. 165, Rue Faubourg St. Martin, a very large building with an oblong court, which is the central institution, or Maison Mere, as it is called, of the Society of Christian Brothers (Freres des Ecoles Chretiennes), which has extended itself over the greater part of the Christian world, and has for its special object the primary instruction of the male children of the poor in the Christian fiath, as also in reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, and history. This Society was founded by J.B.De La Salle, Canon of Theims in the 18th century, I think, and its rule (we asked in vain for a copy), which resembles in several respects that of the Jesuits, received the approval of Pope Benedict ZIII.

In may important points, however, this congregation differs from all religious orders, none of the brethren being Preiest. They are at no time compelled to take the vow of fraternity, and are not allowed to do so before they reach the age of twenty-five years; though beofre this time they may bind themselves twice for three years service at a time. They enter their Normal School, which is in this central institution, at about sixteen years of age for two years, which is their noviciate. At nineteen they may become Teachers, if properly qualified, having passed a year in seeing how Teaching is carried on in the schools. The freres are placed, as it were, in a middle position between the University of France and the Clergy; and thus, especially at the present time (1844), their Society is a very important one. Their schools are under the inspection of the University, and they are paid by the communes in which they are established; and such is their repute at present, that not less than 130 communes in France are making applications to this central school for freres, to organise and conduct schools for primary instruction in those

places. The payment which they receive from the municipal corporations amounts to 760 francs (about 30%) for each Frere per annum. They never send from the central school fewer than three together, to form an establishment; and often one sees these religieux with their long coarse black cloth gowns, large white bands, (for the neck), and large triangular hat, walking through the streets of Paris, sometimes with a small band of scholars, sometimes without; but I have never met them in less number than two together.

Though they are paid by the communes and inspected by the University, they never enter any parish without the express sanction of the Cure and the Bishop, and thus in this Association we behold what is a rare sight in France, the Church and the State co-operating with one another in promoting the work of Christian instruction.

We were made very welcome by one of the inferior brethren, who said that he would endeavour to procure us every facility for our enquiries in the institution; but first, he said, he must learn what were his superior's commands on that subject. After some short delay we were introduced to one of the assistant brethren, Frere Nicolas, who passed with us about an hour, giving us full replies to our inquiries with respect to the Society.

I do not think that I have mentioned another point of difference between this of the Christian Brothers and other religious orders that its general does not reside at Rome. Their rule is to rise at half past four o'clock in the morning, and the day is passed in prayer, meditation, attending mass, instruction in schools, recreation, and meals, for which two latter items very short time is allowed. The recreation is walking and speaking in turn upon some religious or moral subject, silence being the ordinary rule both out of school and in it.

With respect to school-time, they maintain order and attention,

not by oral interposition (which is very rare in school and still more so in church) but by pointing to certain printed rules which are hung up in the school-room, having first gained attention by the use of a little hand-signal, and then directing the attention of the offending pupil to that particular rule which he has infringed. This practice, which would be worthy of observation in all countries, is specially so in France, where there seems to be a very general license to talk at the full height of the voice, almost in any place and at any time. The system seems very well calculated to train the scholars in the spirit of prayer, great care being taken to teach them prayers by heart applicable to every occasion of life. The same may be said of the catechism. On entrance into the school for lessons, the scholars make the sign of the cross, bow to the crucifix (and also to the master), and say an Ave. The masters, on entering the school-room, bow to the crucifix, say a short private prayer, and read the New Testament while the boys are assembling. The school begins with prayer, and every hour of school lessons one of the boys pronounces aloud the following words-"Souvenous pous que nous sommes en la sainte presence de Dieu." Then a temporary suspense of all school business ensues, to afford time for certain mental prayer, which the scholars have been taught by the Masters. A reflection, as it is called, is read at the morning prayer, and is commented on by the Master in a practical style. There is a regular priere de soir, followed by a reflection in the same manner. There is a prayer used in the school daily for the king; also every Saturday, and on vigils and certain other holidays, particular prayers are said. It may further be remarked , as indicating the spirit of this institution, that every day, as soon as the scholars have left the school, the Masters assemble in it, and kneel down and join in certain prayers, the first being said by the Inspector or Chief Master; "Vive Jesus dans nos coeurs!" to which the others reply," a jamais." Besides these prayers, whenever it is possible, the scholars attend Mass every day.

The rules for the Masters to teach good behaviour by their

example are very well worthy of notice. The corrections of the scholars consists of *penitenees and punitious;* the former are, keeping a boy standing, or on his knees, or in an ignominious place; the latter are *pensums* (i.e. impositions), or rarely, the use of a leather thong on the hand. Frere Nicolas concluded his account of their operations by giving us a striking history of their success in their *evening schools* for *adults,* which have been recently established, and which seem to have had an extraordinary effect in checking all tumultuary dispositions in the common people who belong to them, as was recently proved on a very striking occasion. When a great part of the lower orders of Paris were banding together for revolutionary purposes, and parading the streets of the metropolis in tumultuous mobs, none of the Members of these adult schools, he assured me, took any part in those insurrectionary movements.

I cannot close this short account without adverting to the principle of deference of every Member of the order to those who are above him, and of all to the superior.

I received after this visit a letter from Frere Nicolas giving the address of their Branch Society in London as follows: "St. Patrick's Schools, Tudor Place, Tottenham Court Road; Brother Kelly, Director of the Brothers of the Christian Schools." - *Diary in France mainly on Topics concerning Education and the Church, by Christopher Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of St Peter's Westminster, pp.*

From. W.J. Kavanagh (A Catholic Layman) Mixed Education: The Catholic Case Stated T. Mullany, Dublin 1859.

APPENDIX 8

Extract from J.E. Gordon: "Practical Observations on the First Report of the Commission on Irish Education" (London: Richardson, 1826), pp. 31-33.

"...We are next introduced to 'The Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland, ' as an association which 'deserves peculiar notice.' The schools under this brotherhood emanated from the head of the order, A Mr. Rice of Waterford, and are all of the most exclusive description, commencing instruction in the catechism and the prayers of the Roman Catholic Church, as soon as they begin the alphabet. The religious and controversial character of the instruction dispensed, is hinted at by the Commissioners in the gentle intimation, that ' it is not unusual to advert to what the teachers conceive to be the errors of the Protestant religion.' In reference to the library department the Commissioners admit that 'there are some books in the list that ought not be put into the hands of children,' a double set for example of Pastorini's Prophecies; but then 'it is right to state, that Mr. Dunphy says they were never sanctioned by the Archbishop or any of the Priests, and that he gave directions for their being recalled last spring.' It comes out also, that there was another book not returned by Mr. Dunphy which proves to be the celebrated Irish historical catechism 'published for the use of schools, and marked Christian schools, Hanover Street East,' a work which the Commissioners say is 'calculated to keep alive every feeling of hostility to Protestants;' but it is mentioned as an extenuating circumstance, that 'it had not been used to any extent in the schools as a class book.' 'We might justify our censure of this work,' say the Commissioners, 'by quoting extracts from it, but we forbear, trusting that a better system and a kindlier feeling towards each other among every class of Christians will at no distant period exclude all books of an offensive nature from every institution in Ireland.' All very liberal; but we should be curious to know how much of this sort of Millineal sentiment would have been excited by the discovery of an abridgement of Fox's Martyrology, published for the

schools of the Kildare Street or Hibernian Societies. In the room of meeting with a forbearance to quote, it is far more likely that we should have been treated to a fac-simile of the book.

It was hardly to be expected that the Commissioners should be very explicit about the origin of these schools, and they will not probably thank us for letting out the secret, that the two largest on the list, containing no fewer that 1500 scholars, were originally established upon the same principle which is recommended as the basis of the new system. It is however the fact, that the schools in Limerick and Cork, now under brotherly direction, commenced upon the liberal foundation of partnership without principle, and ended in the natural result of religion without the Bible.

The plan of education pursued in the schools under this fraternity, is perhaps the most intolerant and mischievous which any individual or society has attempted to make under the disguise of christian instruction, and nothing could be more hopeless, in a human sense, than the task of attempting to eradicate the peculiar impressions which are burnt into juvenile feeling by the operation of the system. There are about 6000 orthodox larva in these poisoned receptacles, and the queen bee it seems is still in vigorous operation."

APPENDIX 9

The Christian Brothers and National Education: Statement of the Christian Brothers setting forth the reasons that had prevented them from placing their schools in connection with the National Board. (Letter forwarded to the Powis Commission, March 9, 1868, by Bro. J.A. Hoare, Superior-General).

"Christian Brothers' Schools
North Richmond-street, Dublin,
March 9th, 1868

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your favour of 29th ult., requesting, "that the Christian Brothers should, if they think it right, furnish the Commissioners with a statement in writing, setting forth the reasons which have, up to the present time, prevented them from placing the schools over which they have control in conncection with the National Board". In reply I beg leave, on behalf of the Christian Brothers, to state there is no objection whatever to give the information sought for.

The great object which the Institute of Christian Brothers proposed to itself is the education of youth, especially the poor, according to the spirit and principles of the Catholic Church.

The motive which induced the members of the Institute to engage in so responsible and arduous an undertaking was the deplorable ignorance of the children of the poor, resulting from the penal enactments of times past affecting the education of Catholics.

In devising a System of Education to carry out their object, the

Brothers were guided by the conviction that they should ever keep prominently before the mind of youth the supernatural end of their creation, and that their sojourn in this world is but a preparation for the next; consequently that education in its true and proper sense should not be limited to secular instruction alone, but must extend to and include, because of its paramount importance, the religious also. They therefore determined on a scheme of education, in which the religious element should be the leading feature.

The system of the National Board is based on a very different principle. It gives a secular instruction the first and chief place. The rules of the Board do not allow a religious emblem to be exposed in the school-room and the incidental teaching of Catholic doctrine is directly prohibited; which in the non-vested schools the inculcation of Catholic religious truth, even at the time set apart for religious instruction, is altogether excluded, if the patrons so desire it. "It is for the Patrons or Managers to determine whether any, and if any, what religious instruction should be given in the school-room," thus practically teaching the children that religion is a matter of secondary importance - and may be even laid aside altogether at discretion, - whereas the pursuit of secular knowledge is constantly advocated and, as far as possible, enforced by the periodical examination of Inspectors.

In the school-course of the Christian Brothers, the religious element is its chief characteristic. They make use of religious emblems in their schools; they begin and terminate the day's school business with prayer; they frequently recall the attention of the children to the holy presence of God: they daily give catechetical instruction to the children in the Christian doctine; they usually inculcate some moral or religious truth in the reading class, if the lesson admit of it; they assemble the children on Sundays and holidays for special religious instruction, and they establish school libraries for the circulation of religious, moral, and carefully selected literary works. From this it is evident that religion is the

leading principle, nay, they very spirit which guides and directs their whole educational system.

To assist them in carrying out their plan, the Brothers prepared a series of class books, in which, wherever practicable, the same religious element is found.

The class books of the National Board, considered in relation to Catholic teaching, do not supply to Catholic youth references to religious or moral subjects in conformity with Catholic doctrine, not to speak of certain books amongst them which, it is much to be feared, are calculated to impress their minds with sceptial or rationalistic views.

But, besides the total absence of the Catholic element from the system of the National Board, there is another scarcely less important objection; and that is the power which the Commissioners of National Education possess of changing, from time to time (with the sanction of the lord Lieutenant for the time being), the fundamental rules of the Board, - a power which enables the said Commissioners and Lord Lieutenant to enact laws that may be completely at variance with the principles of the Christian Brothers and to which laws, consequently, they could never submit.

When the National system was first introduced into country, some friends of the Institute, for whose opinions the Brothers entertained very great respect, recommended them to avail themselves of the pecuniary advantages which the new system offered; accordingly some five or six of their establishments were placed in connexion with the Board of Education. Willing to give the system the fullest trial, the Brothers continued this connexion for a few years; but finding the conditions and restrictions it imposed would ultimately prove fatal to the main object of their Institute, a special meeting of the Brothers was held in the year 1836 on the subject, at which it was resolved after mature

deliberation, to withdraw the schools from connexion with the Board.

Finally:- As the Institute of Christian Brothers was established solely for the education of Catholic youth; as the primary object of the Brothers is the religious instruction of their pupils; and, as the experience of more than sixty years attests the fact that the system which they have devised is, in their judgement, the best adapted to this proposed; - for these reasons the Christian Brothers considered that they ought not continue in connexion with a system which is based upon so different a principle which they believe to be unsuited to the true educational requirements of a Catholic population.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,

J.A. HOARE

George A.C. May and D.B. Dunne, esqrs., Secretaries,
Offices of Primary Education Commission,
Sackville-street, Dublin.

APPENDIX 10

Corporal Punishment: Extracts from "A Manual of School Government" by the Christian Brothers (Dublin: William Powell, 68 Thomas-street, 1845). pp.187-188; 192-193.

1. - The correction of the children is one of the most important things performed in the schools. In performing it, the greatest circumspection is necessary, that it may have a beneficial effect on those who receive it, as well as on those who witness it.

2. - Experience, as well as the doctrine and example of the saints, prove, that, to govern well those committed to our care, we must act towards them with mildness, and at the same time with firmness. The art of governing a school well is comprised in the judicious union of these two qualities in the master: for should he, on the one hand, act too absolutely, though with zeal, yet this zeal would not be according to science, as St. Paul says, and he would become not only disagreeable but insupportable to the children. If, on the other hand, he overlook their faults, and suffer them to do as they please, he will soon have his scholars disorderly and wicked. Firmness, then, should not degenerate into severity, nor mildness into remissness.

3. - The master becomes insupportable when the burden which he imposes on the scholars is too heavy; when he enjoins, commands, or requires anything harshly, imperiously, or passionately; when he urges the performance of anything precipitately, and require with equal rigidity the execution of minor as of improtant matters; when he refuses to listen to the excuses the children may have to offer in their own justification: in fine, when not knowing himself, he knows not how to compassionate the infirmities of children, so that when he reprimands or punishes them he does so in as rude and unfeeling a manner as if they possessed neither reason nor sensibility.

4. - Should a master frequently, and for trivial faults, reprimand or punish the children, he would alienate their affections from him, and render his instructions not only useless but oduous. Such severity would also cause disedification, and injure the character of the schools. Excessive severity would moreover, spoil the children by rendering them untractable and inattentive; while too much lenity, on the other hand, would subvert the dicipline and order of the school. To avoid both extremes, the master should steer a middle course, by judiciously uniting in his conduct, as has been already observed, mildness with firmness.

5. - The children should respect and fear the master, and his presence should inspire them with seriousness and gravity: these are the effects of firmness. They should love their master; they should love the school, and the exercises of the school: these effects are produced by mildness.

6. - Correction may be given in five different ways: -
by words; by penances; by tasks; by slaps; by expulsion.

<u>Correction by Slaps; the Causes for which Slaps may be given; the Manner of giving them.</u>

"19 - Slaps on the hands may be inflicted for many causes; as, for not being attentive at the lessons, at the prayers, or catechism; for talking, or being idle at school; for not obeying immediately the signal; for having been too late and for many other similar causes.

20 - Generally a master ought to give no more than one slap, but never more than two severe or heavy slaps at the same time. Slaps agitate the hand, and should not be inflicted on the right hand, as they would prove a great obstacle in writing. A boy having sore hands, might be given a penance; he should not, of course, be slapped; nor should the

slapper be much used in very cold weather. When a boy is about to be slapped for talking, playing in school, or for looking about him at prayers, or at the catechism, the master should tell him that it is not for having talked, or for having been playing, or for looking about him, that he is going to be punished, but for not having studied his lesson, or for not having prayed respectfully, etc.

21 - The slap should be given on the palm of the hand, and on no other part of it. If the boy should draw back the hand to evade the slap, he should get two, instead of one. The boy should be prevented from indulging in any indecent or unbecoming contortions of the face or body before or after he has been slapped. He should be also prevented from crying aloud or murmuring, and should he persevere after having been warned of its impropriety, he should get another slap.

22 - The master ought not, if possible, slap any boy immediately before the time of dismissal from school. A slap should never be so heavy as to cause any marks of it to appear on the child's hand. Blows are a servile species of chastisement, and degrade the soul. They ordinarily rather harden than correct, and blunt those fine feelings which render a rational creature sensible to shame. If a master be silent, vigilant, even, and reserved in his manner and conduct, he need seldom have recourse to this sort of correction.

APPENDIX 11

A list of the school books of the Christian Brothers prior to the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878.

ENGLISH:

1. "The First Book of Reading Lessons in Two Parts".
   (Dublin: Bellew, Powell, 1843).

2. "Sequel to the First Book of Reading Lessons" (OR PART TWO).
   (Dublin, Bellew, 1848).

3. "Second Book of Reading Lessons".
   (Dublin, Bellew, Powell, 1843).

4. "Third Book of Reading Lessons"
   (Dublin, Bellew, Powell, 1843).

5. "Third Book of Reading Lessons, Part I"
   (Dublin, McGlashan & Gill, pre-1867).

6. "Third Book of Reading Lessons, Part II".
   (Dublin, McGlashan & Gill, pre-1867).

7. "The Literary Classbook" or Fourth Series of Select Reading Lessons, in Prose and Verse").
   (Dublin, Powell, 1840).

8. "The Literary Classbook, with Biographical Supplement".
   (Dublin, McGlashan & Gill, pre -1871).

9. "The School Expositor".

(Dublin: Powell, 1850).

10. "An Introuduction to the School Expositor".
(Dublin: Powell, 1850).

11 "A School Grammar of the English Language".
(Dublin:McGlashan & Gill, 1846).

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY:

12. "Historical Class-Books Comprising of Ancient and Modern History Abridged from Dr. Fredet's. 'Ancient and Modern History', With outlines of English and Irish History".

13. "Catachism of Irish History"
(Dublin: Gill, 1876).

14. "A Treatise on Modern Geography; Also Copious Tables with an Appendix"
(Dublin: Powell, 1844.)

15. "First Book of Modern Geography".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, Powell, 1846).

16. "Second Book of Modern Geography".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, Powell, 1846).

17. "Problems on the Use of Globes, with Introductory Questions on Astronomy".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill , 1876).

ARITHMETIC:

18. "The Arithmetic, Part I".
(Dublin: Powell, pre-1852).

19. "Key to the Two Parts of the Arithmetic".
(Dublin: Powell, pre- 1852).

20. "A Treatise on Arithmetic".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1870).

21. "Key to a Treatise on Arithmetic"
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1870).

22. "Arithmetic Tablets".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1860).

23. "Arithmetic Tables".
(Dublin: Gill, London: Burns & Oates, 1870).

24. "Arithmetical Exercises, Part I".
(Dublin: Gill, 1875).

25. "Arithmetical Exercises, Part II".
(Dublin: Gill, no date).

Mathematics (other than Arithmetic):

26. "Practical Questions in Mensuration for the Monastery School, Carrick-on -Suir".
(Waterford: Kelly, 1840).

27. "The Practical Measurer" (or "A Treatise on Mensuration, with a Key").
(Dublin: Powell,1852).

28. "Mensuration".
(Dublin: Bellew, pre- 1864).

29. "Key to Mensuration, with Demostrations, Part II".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, no date).

30. "A Practical Algebra for the Use of Schools".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1870).

31. "An Introduction to Practical Alegbra".
(Dublin: Gill; London: Burns & Oates ; Liverpool; Philip, 1875).

32. "A Treatise on Algebra".
(Dublin: Gill, 1869).

33. "Key to an Introduction to Algebra".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, pre-1874).

34. "Key to a Treatise on Algebra".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1870).

35. "The Rudiments of Plane and Spherical Trigonometry".
(Dublin: Gill, 1875).

36. "Treatise on Trigonometry, Plane and Spherical".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, pre-1875).

37. "Euclid's Elements".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1861).

BOOK -KEEPING:

38. "A Commercial Arithmetic in Two Parts"
(Dublin: Powell, 1855).

39. "A Commercial Arithmetic in which the Rules are deduced from Scientific Principles and the Exrecises are adapted to Modern Mercantile Business, in Two Parts".
(Dublin: Powell, 1866).

40. "Book - Keeping (Both by Double and Single Entry).
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1860).

41. "Key to Book-Keeping".
(Dublin: McGlashan & Gill, 1861).

RELIGIOUS:

42. "The Life of the Ven. J.B. de la Salle, Founder of the Christian Schools, with a Historical Sketch of the Institute in the Present Time".
(Dublin: Powell, 1843).

43. "The Christian Teacher" (A Spiritual Anthology of French, Italian, and English Authors - Abridged and in part translated by the editors).
(Dublin: Powell, 1845).

44. "A Treatise on the Duties of a Christian towards God" (Originally written by the Ven. De La Salle, Founder of the Christian Schools - translated into Englsh and Considerably enlarged).
(Dublin: Powell, 1848).

45. "Geology in it's Relation to Revealed Religion".
(Dublin: Bellew, 1853).

VARIOUS:

46. "Christian Politeness".
(Dublin: Fowler, pre-1860).

47. "A Manual of School Government".
(Dublin: Powell, 1845, Revised 1865, Dublin: Powell).

48. "A Short Catechism for the Use of the Junior Classes of the Catholic Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Cabra".
(Wexford: THE PEOPLE Newspaper Ltd. , 1876.).

49. "A Short Catechism of Christian Doctrine for the use of the Deaf and Dumb".
(Dublin: St. Joseph's Cabra, 1873).

50. "Epheta Readers" (For the Deaf and Dumb).
(Dublin: St. Joseph's Cabra, c.1870).

APPENDIX 12

Occupation of Parents of O'Connell School pupils, 1831 and 1900. (Compiled from School Registers.)

Comparison between occupations of parents of pupils in O'Connell School, North Richmond St., Dublin in 1831 - the first year that pupils were registered in the school - and 1900.

(Note: The accusation has been sometimes made that with the coming of the Intermediate System in 1878 the Brothers were inclined to select their pupils from a more well-to-do back-ground. In an attempt to put this statement to the test, I selected the occupations of the first hundred parents listed in the School Registers for each of the years 1831 and 1900. While the findings may not be conclusive, yet they give an insight into the social history of Dublin during the nineteenth century).

1831	**1900**
15 Labourers	10 Clerks
9 Carpenters	9 Policemen
6 Clerks	8 Labourers
6 Coachmen	7 Civil Servants
6 Shoemakers	5 Blacksmiths
6 Tailors	4 Engine Drivers
5 Blacksmiths	4 GPO Clerks
4 Bricklayers	4 House Painters
4 Grocers	4 Tailors
4 Porters	3 Butchers
3 House Painters	3 Drapers
3 Sailors	3 Drivers
2 Coopers	2 Carpenters
2 Dairymen	2 Carriers
2 Glassblowers	2 Coal Merchants
2 Lamplighters	2 Commercial Travellers
2 Musical Instrument Makers	2 Grocers
2 Plumbers	2 House Agents
2 Slaters	2 Insurance Agents
2 Watchmen	2 Railway Porters
1 Attorney	2 Shoemakers
1 Brazier	1 Baker
1 Cook	1 Builder
1 Cork-cutter	1 Caretaker

1 Gardener	1 Farmer
1 Hatter	1 Ganger
1 Huckster	1 Gardener
1 Peace Officer	1 Groom
1 Printer	1 Hairdresser
1 Sawyer	1 Herdsman
1 Soldier	1 House-owner
1 Spring-maker	1 Leather Cutter
1 Stonecutter	1 Librarian
	1 Plumber
	1 Prison Warden
	1 Publican
	1 Shipwright
	1 Storeman
	1 Timekeeper
100	100

APPENDIX 13

Intermediate Examination Results in the Christian Brothers' Schools (1879-1924).

Note: Although the scope of this Thesis does not extend into the twentieth century, results are supplied in the following tables and graphs for the whole period the system was in operation. This is to enable the reader to make his own comparisons between nineteenth and early twentieth century achievements of the pupils of the Christian Brothers' Schools.

Sources:

1. The following pamphlets published annually by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland;

a) Extracts from Reports of the Examiners

(Dublin: Alex. Thom & Co. Ltd. , 87-89 Abbey St. , -The Queen's Printing Office)

b) Results of the Examinations

(Dublin Ponsoby & Murphy, University Press; Ponsoby & Weldrick, 116 Grafton St.)

c) Exhibitions & Prize-Lists

(Pre-1892: Ponsoby & Weldrick, 116 Grafton St. , Posr-1892: Browne & Nolan, Nassau St.)

2. Christian Brothers' Sources

a) "The Irish Intermediate System"

(Christian Brothers' Educational Record 1893,pp. 207-249);

b) "The Irish Intermediate System 1879-1924"

(Christian Brothers' Educational Record 1926, pp.130-141.

c) Results Pamphlets issued by various schools, especially those issued by North Monastery, Cork, and O'Connell School, North Richmond St., Dublin.

A) Table showing the number of times that medals were won by pupils of the Christian Brothers' Schools for obtaining first place in all Ireland in the various subjects of the Intermediate Examinations:

Subjects	No. of medals times no. of medals won.
Greek	2
Latin	2
English	22
Irish	51
French	9
German	2
Italian	3
*Modern Languages	16
Mathematics	2
First Place in Grade	4
Drawing	30
Music	3
Commerce	13
Physics	58
Chemistry	64
History and Geography	8
Arithmetic	29
Algebra	36
Geometry	12
Trignometry	14
TOTAL	**380**

*(Some years Modern Languages were grouped; then the medals were awarded for the highest aggregate marks in two languages.)

B) Composition of Prizes awarded for the highest marks in the Grammar Section of Languages:

Subjects	No. of composition prizes awarded
Greek	11
Latin	59
English	104
Irish	365
French	100
German	21

Italian	13
TOTAL	**673**

C) Total Intermediate Passes for each Christian Brothers' School (1879-1924)

(Names of places as entered in Intermediate publications, nineteenth century, e.g. Kingstown (Dun Laoghaire).

No.		1st Year Entered.	Prep.	Jun.	Mid.	Sen.	Total
1	Armagh	1880	60	195	41	11	307
2	Athy	1879	149	364	76	15	604
3	Ballinrobe	1879	66	203	83	37	379
4	Belfast	1879	608	1,321	311	147	2,387
5	Brunswick St., Dublin	1882	208	293	48	7	556
6	Cahirciveen	1894	13	96	23	3	135
7	Callan	1882	62	191	62	12	327
8	Carlow	1880	130	336	68	16	550
9	Carrick-on-Suir	1881	139	382	91	29	641
10	Cashel	1880	40	147	33	9	229
11	Charleville	1881	131	435	135	63	764
12	Clonmel, P. and P.	1881	211	560	129	47	947
13	Clonmel, St. M	1881	85	139	16	4	244
14	Cork, Nth Monastery	1879	1441	3527	925	497	6390
15	Cork, C.B.C. College	1889	336	840	324	182	1682
16	Dingle	1879	88	255	70	32	445
17	Donaraile	1885	60	138	27	4	229
18	Doon	1894	11	80	36	28	155
19	Drogheda	1879	211	622	116	55	1004
20	Dundalk	1880	384	916	206	58	1564

21	Dungarvan	1881	181	431	99	36	747
22	Ennis	1881	239	557	135	26	957
23	Enniscorthy	1883	192	288	75	20	575
24	Ennistymon	1880	59	210	89	40	398
25	Fermoy	1879	178	380	77	21	656
26	Glasnevin, Dublin	1887	283	606	120	28	1037
27	Gorey	1880	40	124	30	11	205
28	James's St., Dublin	1881	445	856	162	48	1511
29	Kells	1880	117	210	52	23	402
30	Kilkenny	1880	194	545	146	68	953
31	Kilrush	1879	111	444	125	48	728
32	Kingstown (Dun Laoghaire)	1880	123	247	63	26	459
33	Limerick	1879	676	1581	437	172	2866
34	Lismore	1879	54	19	47	22	321
35	Marino, Dublin	1893	249	369	68	7	693
36	Maryboro (Portlaoise)	1880	95	222	63	22	402
37	Midleton	1880	246	535	72	25	878
38	Mitchelstown	1879	116	306	72	10	504
39	Monaghan	1881	87	184	29	4	304
40	Monasteravan	1885	56	142	29	5	232
41	Mullingar	1881	203	576	101	18	898
42	Naas	1880	69	159	42	15	285
43	Nenagh	1879	171	418	99	21	709
44	New Ross	1880	106	186	56	25	373
45	Newry	1880	309	613	135	74	1131
46	Omagh	1880	155	428	153	84	820
47	Portarlington	1900	30	97	42	11	180
48	Richmond St., Dublin	1879	1662	3939	1031	558	7190
49	Synge Street	1880	797	1730	423	231	3181

50	Thurles	1880	164	407	154	86	811
51	Tipperary	1880	242	613	141	44	1040
52	Tralee	1881	180	668	169	61	1078
53	Tramore	1888	57	91	24	3	175
54	Tuam	1879	172	303	62	15	552
55	Tullamore	1880	-	109	29	13	151
56	Waterford	1879	441	1034	204	65	1744
57	Waterpark College Waterford	1893	209	409	161	86	865
58	Westland Row	1880	478	752	147	38	1415
59	Westport	1882	163	322	101	16	602
60	Wexford	1880	236	511	117	49	913
61	Youghal	1880	168	570	126	52	916

APPENDIX 14

Table ages of pupils and subjects studied in Christian Brothers' schools (1854).

% OF PUPILS:	AGE OF PUPILS AND SUBJECTS STUDIED:
25	Between 6 and 9 years
50	Between 9 and 12 years
25	Aged 12 years and over
80	Sequel second, third and fourth books
80	Writing
40	Rudiments of aritnmetic
30	Proportion and higher rules
40	Grammar
40	Geography
10	History
2.5	Book-keeping
7	Geometry and trigometry
3.5	Linear drawing
3.5	Mensuration
4.5	Globes
1.5	Algebra
.5	Navigation
3.5	Mechanics
20	Monthly communicants

(North Richmond Street Annals).

APPENDIX 15

Superiors-General and Assistants of the Congregation of Christian Brothers 1822-1880

Dates of General Chapters	Superior-General	First Assistant(s)	Second Assistant(s)
Jan. 1822	Edmund Ignatius Rice.	Patrick Ellis	Austin Dunphy.
Apr. 1829	Edmund Ignatius Rice.	Joseph Leonard.	Joseph Murphy.
Dec.1831	Edmund Ignatius Rice.	Francis Thornton	Austin Dunphy.
Dec.1836.	Edmund Ignatius Rice.	Francis Thornton.	Baptist Leonard.
Jul. 1838.	Michael Paul Riordan.	Francis Thornton.	Baptist Leonard.
Jul. 1841.	Michael Paul Riordan.	Joseph Murphy.	Joseph Hearn.
Jul. 1851.	Michael Paul Riordan.	Joseph Hearn.	Aloysius Hoare.
Jul. 1861	Michael Paul Riordan.	Joseph Hearn.	Aloysius Hoare.
Apr. 1862.	James Aloysius Hoare.	Joseph Hearn.	Anthony Maxwell.
Jul. 1871	James Aloysius Hoare	Joseph Hearn and Dominic McDonnell.	Anthony Maxwell
Apr. 1880	Richard Anthony Maxwell	Austin Grace, Luke Holland and Joseph Butler.	

* The election of these additional Assistants was contrary to the Brief of 1820 and against the wishes of the founder, Edmund Rice. Joseph Leonard died in 1831 and in the same year Joseph Murphy ceased to act as an Assistant.

APPENDIX 16

The Maynooth Decrees of 1875 and their impact on the Christian Brothers.

(The following Articles made direct reference to the Christian Brothers and their schools.)

302. Among the outstanding glories of the Catholic Church we must surely speak of those orders of Religious who devote themselves to fostering the intelligent and piety of youth. In order , however, that these benefits which, by the constant help of God, flow from their work, may increase all the more, we lay down the following regulations.

303. The Bishops should be vigilant that the approved Rules and Constitutions of the Brothers are faithfully observed.

304. The Superiors of the Brothers should see to it that the Brothers are well-versed in the art of teaching and that the boys entrusted to their care are given the best possible education both in matters that pertain to Religion and in those that pertain to the secular sciences.

305. An agreement between the Parish Priest and the brothers concerning the support to be provided for them and all other matters relating to the temporal administration of the school, should be carefully drawn up and this should be faithfully observed both by the Parish Priest and by the Brothers.

306. On Sundays the Brothers should br prepared to help with the teaching of Catechism under the direction of the Parish Priest.

307. The Parish Priest, either personally or through a vicar, and all priests delegated to this task by the Bishops, shall have the right to visit any school of the Brothers to instruct the pupils in Christian Doctrine, at a

suitable time, and to examine them in the religious and secular sciences in a manner and at a time aproved by the Bishop.

308. The sites and buildings of parachial schools, the care of which is entrusted to the Brothers of this kind, together with profits that accrue from these, shall be handed over to a number of trustees, one of whom shall be the Bishop and the others are to be approved by the Bishop.

309. If there are any sites, buildings or properties attached to the schools which are now possessed by the Brothers under their own name, it seems fitting to us that, as soon as convenient, new titles or deeds be drawn up, accurately and according to civil law, in the name of three or more trustees,as outlined above, so that the rights of the church and the Parish should remain safe.

310. It is for the Bishop, either personally or through a priest delagated to him, to keep watch on the income and expenditure of the parochial schools entrusted to the care of the Brothers.

311. The Brothers should not collect alms from door to door except with the permission of their own Bishop and of the Bishop of the place in which collections are taken. This permission should not, we consider, be given except in writing and covering a short time. The Brothers should not make collections without a socius.

(Translation from Latin, privately approved by Dr. T.P. Cunningham, Professor of Canon Law, Maynooth College, 1973. translation from *Acta et Decreta Synodi Plenariae Episcoporum Hiberniae apud Maynutiam 1875* (Dublin, 1877) pp. 133-4).

APPENDIX 17

First School - Dimensions and Arrangement -
Extract from the Manual of School Government 1845 pp. 18 - 19

The schools should each be 14 feet in height, and 40 feet in length by 30 in breadth. These dimensions will admit of 3 fee space to each of 8 desks, 18 feet long, leaving 10 feet from the upper end of the school to the first desk, and passages of 6 feet round three of the walls. Each desk will accommodate 12 boys, and a seat along the lower end 24 of the smallest, making in all the 120 boys for the first school. Three sets of monitors, eight to each set, occupied the first two desks. All the scholars form two divisions; first and second, sixty in each, ; for which numbers are painted around the walls. Each class contains twelve boys.* The first or alphabet class is stationed at the lower end; - The other classes ascend progressively at each side to the upper end. Each division is supplied with tablet lessons corresponding to the Frst Reading Book. Children may be admitted into the school at the age of five or six years. Such as are learning the First Book should not be allowed the use of any other book, and shouldl not be taught anything else while learning it, except whatever religious information can be imparted to them with it; -as, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Creed, Confiteor, Acts of Faith, Hope and Charity; Ten Commandments, Precepts of the Church, and Seven Sacraments. If the system adopted in this work for teaching the First Book be strictly followed, the children will learn one lesson each day, or four lessons a week, (Friday is devoted to repetition of the lessons of the four previous days); or the entire of the First Book, consisting of seventy lessons, in about eighteen weeks. This has been found practicable in a school of one hundred boys, conducted by one Brother.

* Where schools have not the specified dimensions, the number of boys in each class must be in proportion to the space in the passages, or the length of the desks.

APPENDIX 18

School Furniture

Extract from 1845 School Manual p10.

One large desk for the master at the centre of the upper end of the school, elevated on a platform; and two smaller desks, one at either side of the master's for the general - monitors with a stool to each.

Eight desks, each eighteen feet long, for the boys.

A raised stool from which the master may give lectures and signs for the exercises. This stool should be about two feet higher than the desk-stools, and be ascended by one or two steps : a drawer under the seat might be found useful.

APPENDIX 19

Monitors

Extract from the 1845 School Manual pp. 204-205

1. Monitors should be well trained to their respective duties, and be able to answer correctly questions relating to the manner of teaching, keeping order in their circles and elsewhere, treating ill-conducted boys, etc.

2. They should be frequently be spoken to concerning the state of the school, and the improvements which might be made in the manner of discharging their duties. They should be stimulated by every possible means, to zeal and efficiency, as, on their exertions, the good order and proficiency of the classes will, in a great measure, depend.

3. The following Rules have been found useful.

They should be read over or repeated in the presence of the whole school, or questions asked the monitors concerning them, whenever the state of the school would seem to require it. Once a week might not be too often.

I. Nevern speak to any boy without necessity.

II. Not to permit them to do so to each other.

III. Speak only in an undertone to any individual.

IV. Should any boy not stand precisely at his place, he should warn him by pointing to his feet.

V. If the class become unmanageable, the monitor should hold his hand up, or both hands crossed on his breast, in order to draw the attention of the master to the circumstance. If a monitor himself neglect

his duty, he should be reported by the monitor of order. If disorder occur in a class without the evident fault of the monitor, the boys of the class only should be reported.

4. A master will waste time, and fatigue his mind, by excessive watchfulness in preserving order, and thus render himself incapable of teaching the classes. This would be obviated by having an elevated position in each school for the monitor-general, who, without interfering much with his own buiness, might report any irregularity that may occur. When this cannot conveniently be done, a monitor of order might be appointed for each hour of the day. The report might be examined at the end of each exercise, and a few of those who disturb order punished by fines or slaps.

APPENDIX 20

Correction in General

Extract from 1845 School Manual pp 187-188

1. The correction of the children is one of the most important things performed in the schools. In performing it, the greatest circumspection is necessary, that it may have a beneficial effect on those who receive it, as well as on those who witness it.

2... we must act towards them with mildness and at the same time with firmness. Firmness, then, should not degenerate into severity nor mildness into remissness.

3. The master becomes insupportable when the burden which he imposes on the scholars is too heavy....

4. Should a master frequently, and for trivial faults, reprimand or punish the children, he would aleniate their affections from him, and render his instructions not only useless but odious. Such severity would also cause disedification, and injure the character of the schools. Excessive severity would, moreover, spoil the children, by rendering them untractable and inattentive; while too much lenity, on the other hand, would subvert the discipline and order of the school.

5. The children should respect and fear the master...They should love their master; they should love the school and the exercises of the school: these are produced by mildness.

6. Correction may be given in five different ways:-
by words; by penances; by tasks; by slaps; by expulsion.

19. Correction by Slaps

Slaps on the hands may be inflicted for many causes; as, for not being attentive at the lessons, at the prayers, or catechism; for talking, or being idle at school; for not obeying immediately the signal; for having been too late, and for many other similar causes.

20. Generally a master ought to give no more than one slap, but never more than two severe or heavy slaps at the same time. Slaps agitate the hand, and should not be inflicted on the right hand as they would prove a great obstacle in writing. A boy having sore hands, might be given a penance; he should not of course, be slapped; nor should the slapper be much used in very cold weather. When a boy is about to be slapped he should be given the reason for the punishment.

21. The slaps should be given on the palm of the hand and on no other part of it. If the boy should draw back the hand to evade the slap he should get two instead of one...

22. The master ought not, if possible, slap any boy immediately before the time of dismissal from school. A slap should never be so heavy as to cause any marks of it to appear on the child's hand. Blows are a servile species of chastisement, and degrade the soul. They ordinarily harden than correct...

APPENDIX 21

Papal Decree of Pope Pius XI, 10th June,1922, affirming the New Constitutions of the Brothers of the Christian Schools adopted at their General Chapter in 1921.

DECREE

Our Most Holy Lord, by Divine Providence Pope Pius Xi, in an audience granted to the Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Religious, on the tenth day of June 1922, having carefully considered the memorial of the Superior General and hid assistants of the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland, usually called Christian Brothers, whose principal house is situated in the Archdiocese of Dublin: and having considered especially the suffrage of the Most Eminent and Most Reverened Cardinals, who preside over the same Sacred Congregation, and who in full meeting in the Vatican, on the ninth day of the same month and year, examined the subject carefully: has designed to approve and confirm definitely the afore-mentioned new Constitutions written in Latin, and enlarged and revised in the General Chapter of the aforesaid Religious Institute, and now offically amended as contained in this copy , of which the original is preserved in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation; the former Constitutions that were approved on the fifth day of September 1820, being now abrogated; as by virtue of the present Decree he approves and confirms, as above, the new Constitutions, so His Holiness likewise abrogates the old Constitutions: the jurisdiction of the Ordinaries, in accordance with the Sacred Canons being preserved.

Given at Rome from the Secretariate of the Sacred Congregation of Religious on the tenth day of June 1922.

From the Constitutions of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland (Christian Brothers ,1921). Rome: Vatican Polyglot Press, 1923.

A short commentary on the sources used in this thesis.

History and the passage of time can obscure fact and reality with myth, untruth and misrepresentation. The writing of this thesis has been undertaken to dispel the myths and to provide an impartial and factual re-evaluation of the contribution of Edmund Ignatius Rice and his Christian Brothers to the philosophy and structures of nineteenth century Irish education. This thesis does not seek to denigrate or disavow the efforts and achievements of other systems of education which existed in parallel with that of Edmund Rice. These other systems catered for Irish men and women who followed a different religious, political and cultural tradition from their fellow countrymen. This minority group of Irish educationalists have every reason to be proud of the efforts they made to provide for the non-Catholic affiliations of their pupils. There is no conscious effort in this thesis to demean or undervalue the educational standards and successes which they achieved.

Some comment is necessary in relation to the background material on which this thesis is based and on the documentary research which was undertaken by this writer in the course of his studies both in Ireland and in Rome. On 25 September 1834, the British Parliament by writ of the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Bathurst, established a Commission of Enquiry into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland. Commissioners were appointed to undertake the task.[1] Each county was to be surveyed by Local Crown officials. The first Report was published by Parliament in 1835. Another volume was published in 1836.[2]

With reference to the First Report of 1835, a number of counties were either not surveyed, or if surveyed, the reports concerning them were not included in the final published Report. Among these "missing counties" was the County and City of Waterford. While undertaking research into this deficiency regarding Waterford, the writer of this thesis discovered a

manuscript reference number in the Archives of Waterford City Corporation. Further research in the Manuscript Section of the National Library in Dublin in regard to this manuscript reference number revealed a hitherto unpublished manuscript No. 3288[3] of twenty three pages, written by two Dublin Castle civil servants, Messrs. P. F. Johnston and E. C. Moylan. This manuscript was in fact the missing report regarding Waterford City and environs as required by the 1834 Parliamentary Commission. It is not clear why these gentlemen undertook a visit to Waterford City and conducted their survey. It is possible that they were the officials in Dublin whose duty it was to collate the reports from each county when they were returned to Dublin on completion. When it appeared that the Waterford report was missing or not forthcoming, either they took the duty upon themselves or were ordered to do so. It is a matter of great regret that their written report on Waterford was not included in the printed 1835 Parliamentary Report. It found its way instead to the National Library Manuscript Collection where it has remained, unpublished, since. This manuscript report of Messrs. Johnston and Boylan comments very favourably on the work of Edmund Rice in Mount Sion and on its benevolent effects on every aspect of Waterford City and the lives of its citizens. It is the first official report relating specifically to the foundation school of Edmund Rice's Mount Sion in 1834.

Sources of research in Rome - February to March 1995:

The research undertaken by this writer which underlays the foundations of Chapter Five of this thesis may appear to be excessively detailed in comparison with the preceding chapters and those which follow it. It was the critical events of the years 1802 to 1822 that enabled Edmund Rice to found two congregations in the church, the Christian Brothers and later the Presentation Brothers. Had the events of 1817 to 1820 in Waterford and their consequences in Rome turned out differently, then a less felicitous result might have ensued and a different story might have been recounted.

The availability of the Positio Super Virtutibus, a work of pivotal importance in promoting the cause for the beatification and hopefully canonisation of Edmund Rice in the near future, was of critical importance to the work of research that this thesis required. There are very few copies of it available and those are only accessible to the Provincial Superiors of the Christian Brothers, to the Generalate Staff in Rome and to the Vatican Congregation for the Causes of Saints. The documentary and archival material in the Positio is of a quality of scholarship and research that is quite unique. Until 1983, the process of the Roman Catholic Church for promoting the life and achievements of a deceased member was essentially adversarial, rather like a law trial. The Promoter of the Faith, or Devil's Advocate (*Advocatis Diabolis*) was the prosecutor who tried to prove that the person nominated for beatification or canonisation was not a saint. The Advocate of the Cause (*Advocatis Causae*) was the attorney for the defence of the merits and virtues of the person being put forward. The Cardinals of the Congregation for the Promotion of the Causes of Saints were in effect the jury, hearing and evaluating all the available evidence, material, spiritual and medical, connected with the case and presented by both advocates. The Cardinals made a recommendation to the Pope on the matter and it was he who made the final decision.[4]

Changes in the procedure for beatification or canonisation were made by the Pope John Paul II and the relevant Vatican Congregation in 1983.[5] These changes were aimed at streamlining, modernising and hastening what had become a very onerous, burdensome and time-consuming process. The basic change in the procedure was from an adversarial approach to one which was principally historiographical in nature. The local bishop first sets up a panel of church historians and theologians in his diocese to gather all the facts on the life and achievements of the deceased person. When these local experts have collected all the available local material, written, oral and anecdotal, on the life of the person concerned, the

bishop sends all this material to the Congregation for the Promotion of the Causes of Saints in Rome. One of the relators or senior staff of the Congregation, a priest of reputed scholarship, gives the task of turning the local bishop's material into a scholarly biography of the deceased servant of God to a Roman Church lawyer who is usually a priest.[6] When the process is complete, the relator himself adds an introduction which is called an *informatio*.

If the deceased has been deemed a martyr, having died in defence of Christian virtues, then no medical miracles are required for beatification or canonisation.[7] If such is not the case, and martyrdom is not in question, any physical miracles involving restoration to health of a person with an incurable, terminal illness associated with the deceased, or obtained through his or her intercession, are examined by an international panel of medical experts (*Consulta medica*), many of whom are not of the Christian persuasion or of any religious affiliation, for that matter.[8] These miracles are cures which medical science, after detailed examination, cannot explain as medical or natural physical phenomena.[9] One miracle is required for beatification and one further cure or miracle is required for canonisation.[10]

In the case of Blessed Edmund Rice, one such supernatural cure was admitted as evidence of his qualification among all his other virtues and achievements for his beatification. Edmund Rice's beatification ceremony was performed on Sunday 6 October 1996 in St. Peter's Basilica, Rome by Pope John Paul II. Edmund Rice was also given a place, a date and appropriate liturgical prayers in the Universal Calendar of Saints of the Roman Catholic Church on the 5 May of each liturgical year.

The Positio was the work of the Postulator of the Cause of Edmund Rice, the late Father Dermot Cox, O.F.M., assisted by such eminent scholars as Father Peter Gumpel, S.J., the late Brother M. C. Normoyle,

Brother Dominic Taylor and Brother Donal C. Blake. The Positio has not been made available heretofore to scholars and researchers into the life of Edmund Rice and his work in the field of Catholic education. It was quite a rare and exceptional privilege for a lay student, as is the author of this thesis, to have been offered unrestricted access to its knowledge which helpfully enabled him to produce a balanced and equitable treatment of the subject matter of this thesis.

Other research work for this thesis, carried out in the Archives of *Propaganda Fide* in Rome and in other places, necessitated detailed examination of many original documents which are of a sensitive nature and are not normally available for public scrutiny. These documents contain unsubstantiated allegations of impropriety in the personal lives of some of the people named within them. It would not have added to the veracity or scholarship of this thesis to have quoted verbatim from these documents. It was necessary to balance accuracy, knowledge and veracity in examining this material. It is to be hoped that the correct balance was struck, allowing for human frailty in this as in all other fields of human endeavour.

Further research undertaken by the writer in the Archives of Propaganda Fide at the Piazza di Spagna, Rome, revealed the misfiling of a document for the year 1873. A letter from Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, on behalf of the Irish Bishops, concerning alleged abuses by named male Religious Orders in Ireland in the use of money and property, was sent to *Propaganda Fide* in May of 1873. The reply from Propaganda Fide to the Irish Bishops was written on 31 August 1873, informing the Bishops that the Holy See would deal directly itself with the matter through the Superiors General of the Orders concerned.[11] The writer located this document in Volume 244 *Acta et Decreta* for the year 1876 and not 1873 where it should have been located (see chapter 8). The author also discovered in Propaganda Fide files a lost Circular Letter dated 1880 written by Brother

J.A. Hoare, the Superior General of the Christian Brothers to the members of his Congregation urging them to put behind them "their sore feelings towards the Irish Bishops" in regard to the Maynooth Decrees Controversy. Brother Colm Keating, the Superior General of the Christian Brothers (1990 - 1996) has testified in writing to the gratitude of the Brothers to the author of this thesis in regard to the finding of this document.

The Presentation Brothers' Archives in their Generalate at Mount St Joseph's, Blarney Street, Cork, were unfortunately less comprehensive than those of the Christian Brothers Generalate at *Via Maglianella*, 376, Rome. The author spent some three weeks in Rome in February-March 1995 researching these archives which were fully and freely made available to him.

Sources of research in Waterford.

In relation to research material which the author consulted on the educational facilities available to the children of Waterford City in the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries as outlined in Chapter 4 of the thesis, certain ambiguities became apparent in the material. Each local historian, in collating his material and presenting his finished work in book form, has worked and written from a different historical, political and social perspective, as one might expect. The seven books on the history of Waterford City and County, which were consulted, have, each in turn, a particular emphasis or slant depending on the individual aims, objectives and attitude of the author when they undertook their projects. These seven authors also write from a mental attitude formed and influenced by the age in which they lived and coloured to a certain extent by the educational, religious and cultural background from whence they came.

Pure historical facts, however, insofar as they can be verified as being accurate, leave little room for anything more than formal repetition. It is the

inferences drawn from their reputed causes and effects that gives the historian or student scope for a wide range of interpretative values, not all of which can be justified or accepted. But that is the very nature of historical writing and evaluation. The authors which have been consulted for this thesis in a study of Waterford City, particularly in the time frame 1788 - 1838 and up to present times insofar as they appeared relevant, include the books of Charles Smith writing in 1746, Rev. R.H. Ryland, 1824, Joseph Hansard 1870, P.M. Egan 1894, Edmund Downey 1914, Patrick C. Power 1990 and William Nolan and Thomas P. Power 1992. Their histories of Waterford County and City are of a general kind in the nature of the historical facts they present. A Parochial History of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore was written and published by V. Rev. Patrick Canon Power in 1912. The same author wrote a more extensive history of the diocese itself in 1937. It was obviously written from an ecclesiastical and religious perspective. Canon Power's approach to the subject and the judgements and inferences he draws from historical facts reflect in a very balanced way a Catholic churchman's view of the history of his native city and county.

It must be stated, however, that the historical content of most of these local histories were not written with any in-depth information or comment on the development and growth of structures of schooling or education, which is the central theme of this thesis. References to the foundation of schools and to the existence of educational establishments in the city and county of Waterford in the period 1750 to 1850 are only treated peripherally in the context of the general history of the area. Archival material is also difficult to come by for the same period. The archives of the Catholic Diocese of Waterford and Lismore are deficient for the first seventy years of the period in question, largely due to the religious and political climate in Ireland at that period. From the date of the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth I by Pope St. Pius V by his Papal Bull 'Regnans in Excelsis', down to the year

1908, the affairs of the Catholic Church in Ireland and England were dealt with by the Papal Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, commonly known as Propaganda Fide, whose primary responsibility was for church development and governance in 'missionary lands'.

Sources from Catholic Diocesan Archives

With reference to research in the Catholic Diocesan Archives certain deficiencies in the material available were encountered. The climate of religious persecution and harassment of the Catholic Bishops and clergy of Ireland, particularly during the Penal Era of the 18th century, left little opportunity or scope for bishops or clergy to keep meticulous or even acceptable church records. Fear of discovery and the absence of fixed diocesan chancellery offices in an era of active persecution makes it clear that matters could not be otherwise. Single copies of each Catholic Bishop's '*relatio status*' i.e. the written account of the state of his diocese required every four to five years by the Roman Curial Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, were the norm. Duplicates were not kept. The Archives of most Irish Catholic diocese at this time were in much the same disorganised state as that of Waterford and Lismore. It was not until 1908, in the pontificate of Pope St. Pius X that the affairs and business of the Catholic Church in Ireland and England were returned to the normal care and direction of the Papal Secretariat of State and the Curial Congregation for Bishops.

Various local voluntary societies such as the Waterford and South East of Ireland Archaeological Society, established in the late 19th century, and the more recent Old Waterford Society have through their periodical publications and journals provided more source and reference material, as did the collections of Old Waterford newspapers which are far from complete for the period under study. The archives of the religious orders of Brothers and Nuns, subsequently located in Waterford, provide some

interesting material from an educational perspective. It was the British Parliamentary Commissions on Irish education and their published reports, however, dating from 1809 to 1921 and which number 86 in total, that produced the most revealing and detailed information on the structure and operation of the schools and educational establishments of Ireland in general, and of Waterford in particular, to which this thesis is directed.

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[4] Andrew M. Greeley, An Occasion of Sin (London: Judy Piatkus Ltd., 5 Windmill Street, 1992) p. 76.

[5] Ibid., p. 77.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., p. 78.

[11] A.P.F., Acta, 31 August 1873, Vol. 244, f.161 (Rome: *Propaganda Fide* Archives, *Piazza di Spagna*).

Important note re Pagination of the Bibliography Section of the Thesis
The pagination of the entire Bibliography Section does not follow the thesis text in correct numerical sequence, due to the fact that the text of the original submitted Chapters Ten and Eleven has not been returned to the writer by the University for revision, correction, and resubmission.

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b Official printed documents and reports.
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d Newspapers, magazines, etc., 19th century.
e Pamphlets, pre-1900.
f Other 19th century sources.

Part II: Secondary sources 20th century:

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b Newspapers, magazines, etc.
c Books of reference.
d Unpublished theses.
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ii Miscellaneous Letters - a set of 42 letters, 1810 - 1874.
iii Lisbon Letters - Copies of 16 letters, 1828 - 1831, of Brs. Joseph and Baptist Leonard to Fr. PJ Leahy, OP, Prior of Corpo Santo, Lisbon.
Originals in Dominican Archives, Tallaght, Co. Dublin.
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v Letters of Br. JA Grace, 1850 - 1879.

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ii Kirby Correspondence Collection.

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iii Walsh Letters 1817 - 1821.

iv Kelly letters 1821 - 1825.

v Fr. Garret Connolly's licence to teach 1819.

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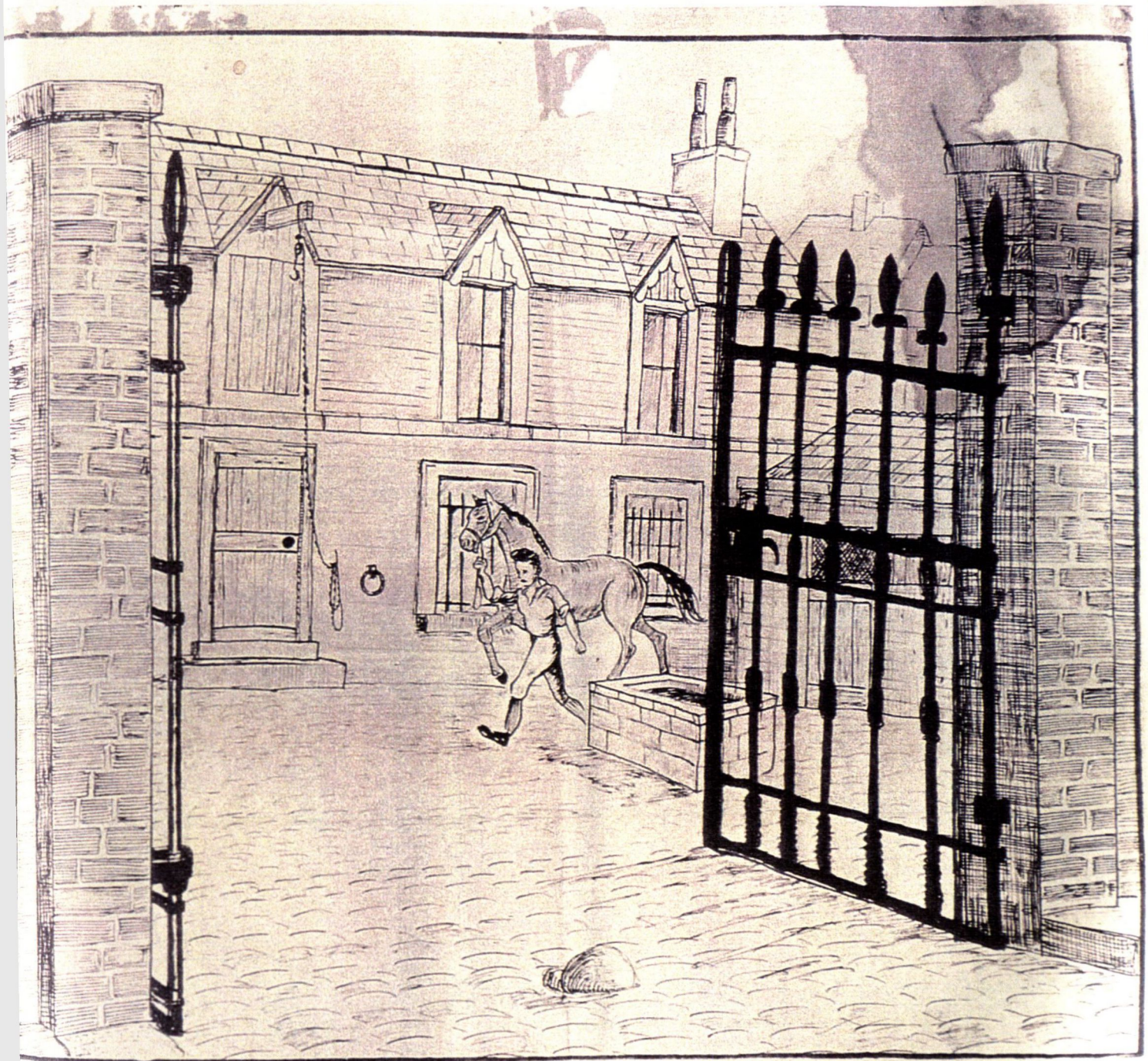

The Livery Stables at New Street, Waterford, where our Founder opened his first school.

According to tradition the Founder and his early companions lived on the premises pending the completion of the new monastery at Mount Sion.

(Courtesy of Prof. J.V. Rice, School of Higher Education, T.C.D.)