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I.—*Address at the Opening of the Twenty-Eighth Session.* By the Right Hon. Lord Emly.

[Read Tuesday, 24th November, 1874.]

I CANNOT commence this address without first thanking you for having elected me your President. The names of the distinguished men who have held this office cast a lustre around it; and I count it no mean honor to be allowed to occupy this chair.

It has been usual to commence each new session with a review of the legislation of the year; and to point out errors and defects in existing laws with a view to their amendment. These suggestions have produced papers of conspicuous ability, which have been read and discussed at your meetings.

I propose, with your permission, to take on this occasion a different course. The effect of laws depend much on the dispositions of the people for whom they are made. The seed sown by the legislator, however good it may be, produces scanty fruit if the soil that receives is impregnated with distrust or discontent. No one who has even the most superficial knowledge of this country, can doubt that distrust and discontent have impaired the action of the wisest laws passed for her by Parliament; and the ground of this discontent is a deeply rooted conviction in the minds of too large a number of our people, that Ireland, as compared with the rest of the United Kingdom, is treated with injustice; and that, while Scotland basks in the full light and heat of Imperial favor, Ireland is treated as a step-child, and receives only the crumbs which fall from the tables of her more favoured sisters.

If the conviction of unjust treatment and unequal laws be founded on truth and fact, the inequalities and injustices complained of should be brought into the full light of day; our whole strength should be concentrated on a united effort for their removal. If, on

the other hand, this sense of injustice, in whole or in part, rests on fiction, not on fact, no better work can be done by our Society than to confront this fiction face to face with truth, and thus to dissipate a most mischievous delusion. This enquiry, if fairly conducted, may wound the susceptibilities of two opposite classes, who may be described as taking the optimist and pessimist view of Irish affairs—one portion may be unacceptable to one of these classes—another portion may displease the other class ; but those who will do me the favour to listen to the end, will, I trust, admit that the duty I have undertaken has been discharged impartially.

This, then, is the question I ask you to consider with me to-night—not whether the statute book contains any unwise laws—not whether there are unredressed grievances to be found in our social system—but whether Ireland suffers from wrongs and grievances not existing in the rest of the United Kingdom. There can be no more fitting time than the present for such an enquiry. Since I addressed you six years ago, we have passed through a revolution not the less real because it was peaceful ; with the merits or demerits of that revolution our Society has nothing to do. Our task is to record facts, not to discuss politics. On the enquiry I am about to enter, the Irish measures past during the last six years have obviously a momentous bearing.

I will commence with the laws which relate to religion. Upon the merits of religious equality, men may and do differ. Upon the fact that Ireland possesses it now more completely than either England or Scotland do, there can be no doubt.

Next in importance to the laws affecting religion, are those which deal with land. Before the Act of 1870, in the greater part of Ireland tenants were more liable to capricious eviction, and to the confiscation of the produce of their labour and their capital, than tenants were in England and Scotland. Landlords' improvements were generally made in Ireland by the tenant ; and, as your former President, Judge Longfield, truly said, "There was a natural dislike on the part of the tenants to see the value of their improvements go into the landlord's pocket, instead of their own." The law of 1870 has redressed the balance. Now the Irish tenant has greater security against capricious eviction, and for receiving the value of improvements made by himself, than the tenants of England or Scotland have. When the Irish Tenant League were agitating for a land act in 1850, the English tenants had a powerful champion in my lamented friend Mr. Pusey, who introduced into the House of Commons a tenants' compensation bill for England. Four years have elapsed since the Irish Land Act passed. The English tenants' grievances are still in the position they were in in 1850.

The value of the interest in their holdings conferred on the tenants of Ireland by the Act of 1870 is, in the opinion of the best statistician in Ireland, between seventy-five and seventy-seven millions.

Has this great boon conferred on the occupiers injured the owners of land ? I have received from the Landed Estates' Court the following return. The officers of that Court state : "The proportion of land of fee-simple tenure sold during the last three years, consider-

ably exceeds the proportion of like tenure in the preceding seven years; and that, without a segregation of the fee-simple, life estates, and terminable leaseholds, it cannot be relied on as a basis to calculate the rise and fall in the value of land." The figures given, however, clearly indicate that there has been no fall in the value of land since 1870.

ANNUAL RENTAL IN WHICH DECLARATIONS OF TITLE HAVE BEEN MADE AS WELL AS ESTATES SOLD.

Year.	Rental.	Comparison with average of seven years ended 1870.	Year's Purchase.	Comparison with average of seven years ended 1870.
1864	83,000	69,000	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{2}{3}$
1865	60,000		17 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1866	65,000		15 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1867	90,000		16 $\frac{2}{10}$	
1868	73,000		18 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1869	68,000		17 $\frac{1}{5}$	
1870	46,000	54,000	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{2}{3}$
1871	54,000		18 $\frac{2}{3}$	
1872	76,000	76,000	19 $\frac{1}{3}$	19 $\frac{1}{3}$
1873	87,000	87,000	20 $\frac{1}{2}$	20 $\frac{1}{2}$

But, over and above compensation for capricious eviction and security for investment, another advantage has been given to the Irish tenant. In the principal countries of Europe, and in the United States, the laws are less favorable to tenants than they are in Ireland. In Pennsylvania, for instance—and its land laws differ little from those of the other states—the same laws which existed in Ireland before 1870 govern the system of tenure; only the facilities of evictions are greater and more rapid. So also in France, Germany, and Belgium. But in the United States 80 per cent. of the occupiers are also owners of the land they occupy; in Prussia, 39 out of every 40; in Belgium, about 50 per cent.; in France, about 75 per cent. In all those countries, such is the desire to possess land, that no sacrifice, no economy, no toil, is considered too great to amass money for its purchase.

No facilities have been given by Parliament to English and Scotch occupiers to enable them to purchase land. In Ireland, on the other hand, this boon has been conferred on the tenant—the Landed Estates Court affords special facilities to him for the purpose of enabling him to purchase. Money on easy terms is advanced to him by the Treasury. The same facilities are afforded by the Irish Church Commissioners to the occupiers of church lands. The number of purchasers under this latter body will be probably about eight thousand. Under the Landed Estates Court the number of purchasers has been only three hundred and thirty-eight. The little use made of so great a privilege, arises from certain legal details. A legal committee of your Society is at present considering them. I have no doubt when these obstacles are removed the purchasers will be numerous.

Here, again, the landlords will share the advantages conferred on the tenants. When there are many occupiers desirous of purchasing their farms, the number of years purchase given for land will be increased. In France small portions of land often bring forty years' purchase.

No one, therefore, comparing our land laws with the land laws of Great Britain, can deny that the Irish tenant has been placed by Parliament in a better legal position than that of English and Scotch tenants.

I come now to the Civil Service. No doubt government patronage used to be unjustly distributed, and the Irish did not get the share they were entitled to of employment in public offices. Within the last three years, open competition has been established to every government department except the Foreign Office. In the examinations held during the two years, ending the 30th of June, 1874, while Ireland, according to her population, would have gained one-sixth of the places competed for; out of 12 first class clerkships, she has gained 3; out of 180 second class, she has gained 30; out of 600 excise appointments, she gained 324. Candidates for the civil services are specially trained for examination; and the training given in the Three Kingdoms is probably of much the same character. The results I have mentioned show pretty clearly that, where the education is equal, we need not fear competition with the English and the Scotch.

But I hear some devout believer in the unfairness towards us of the Imperial Parliament, cry out that I am evading the points in which that unfairness is manifest. No Englishman who comes to visit us fails to be reproached with the taxation without representation which prevails in our country; and with the excessive amount of taxation wrung from our poverty by the Imperial treasury; and with the inequality, as compared with England and Scotland, of the aid given from Imperial sources to our local taxation.

The first of the complaints can be disposed of in a few words. I maintain as strongly as anyone can do, the necessity for reforming our county government. All admit the work of Parliament to be excessive. Some of that work ought to be transferred to local bodies. Private bill legislation, the dealing with short railways of the nature of feeders, aid to some branches of education—are among the subjects of which a transfer might properly be made. In order to fit it to deal with such questions, there must be a popular element in our county government. But there is more, not less, of this element in Irish counties, than in the counties of England and Scotland. The English magistrates and the Scotch heritors dispose of county taxation absolutely. With us the presence of associated cess payers at the baronial sessions brings in a certain, though very inadequate, amount of representation of the popular element. Ireland, then, in this particular, is better, not worse off than the rest of the United Kingdom.

I come now to taxation. Here, at all events, in the popular belief, a grievance of a gigantic dimensions exists. We have been robbed by a wilful and corrupt breach of the Union financial settle-

ment. While a stream of gold is constantly flowing from the Imperial exchequer in aid of the local taxation of Great Britain, a most unequal proportion of such aid is grudgingly dealt out to Ireland. Has this widely-spread conviction any foundation in fact? The first question relating to the breach of the Union settlement has only an historical and speculative interest.

In the "Report on the state of the Public Accounts between Great Britain and Ireland," drawn up by our secretary, Dr. Hancock, the glory and the mainspring of our Society, the following propositions are clearly proved: 1. That the separate debt at the time of the Union, with which Ireland ought not to be charged, was £218,996,802: 2. That the excess of the net revenue of Great Britain, from the Union to 1817, the time at which the two exchequers were united, after paying the interest on her own separate debt, and providing the annual contribution fixed by the Act of Union, viz., seven and a-half times the net revenue of Ireland for joint expenses, was sufficient to redeem the whole separate debt of Great Britain, and leave a surplus of, according to one calculation, eighty-seven millions, according to another twenty-five millions. At present, while no Irish tax is higher than the corresponding British tax, Ireland is excepted from the following taxes paid in Great Britain, which produced in 1872 £3,800,612:—

Inhabited House Duty	...	...	...	£1,263,059
Land Tax	...	...	...	1,111,506
Excise Licences:				
Carriages	...	...	£524,993	
Dogs	...	...	281,986	
Armorial Bearings	...	...	84,361	
Patent Medicines	...	...	7,139	
				898,479
Railways	...	...	...	527,568
				£3,800,612

The Irish tax on dogs is only half the English, and is applied to local purposes.

The Act of Union, while it provided for equal taxation between the two countries, made this equal taxation expressly subject to such particular exemptions or abatements as circumstances might appear from time to time to demand. Obviously, our comparative poverty, the result of a policy which, though now abandoned, has left its paralyzing effects upon our industry, forms a just ground for these exemptions.

The question as to whether the Imperial Treasury contributes as large a proportion to our local taxation as it does to the local taxation of Great Britain, is one of the highest and most practical importance. If we, the poorest part of the United Kingdom, are aided less than our richer neighbours, a clear proof of gross injustice is made out against the Imperial Government. If, instead of redressing those old wrongs which wrung the life-blood from our country, they, out of the Treasury, filled by the tax-payers of the

Three Kingdoms, refuse to give the Irish tax-payer as large a proportion of assistance as they give to England and Scotland, instead of redressing wrongs, they continue and intensify them.

This is so serious a matter, that I must ask you to allow me to discuss it at some length.

The net revenue of the United Kingdom for the year ending 31st March, 1871 (excluding repayments and income tax under schedule E, Public Salaries), was £60,675,512

The portion of above net revenue derived from Ireland, giving her credit for the taxes on consumable articles, so far as consumption took place in Ireland, and could be ascertained, £6,105,602

The contribution of Ireland was therefore, at the time of the recent and complete analysis of the subject in 1871, £38,051 above one-tenth of the Imperial revenue.

Making allowance for the remission, in 1874, of £480,000 levied on houses in Great Britain; by adding one-tenth, £48,000, the contribution of Ireland, is still only £86,051 above one-tenth of the Imperial revenue, while £636,122 less than one-ninth of the Imperial revenue.

The population of the United Kingdom in 1873 may be estimated at 32,442,000, and that of Ireland at 5,337,261—very nearly one-sixth.

THE LOCAL OBJECTS PROVIDED FOR PARTLY OUT OF IMPERIAL AND PARTLY
OUT OF LOCAL RATES.

	TOTAL.	Charged to Imperial taxes.	Charged to Local sources.
GREAT BRITAIN.	£	£	£
Police	2,813,000	608,000	2,205,000
Education	3,519,000	1,570,000	1,948,000
Poor Relief	8,565,000	244,000	8,322,000
	£14,897,000	£2,422,000	£12,475,000
IRELAND.			
Police, one-half only (other half taken as representing stand- ing army)	493,000	411,000	82,000
Education	616,000	547,000	69,000
Poor Relief	930,000	77,000	853,000
	£2,039,000	£1,035,000	£1,004,000

The sums spent on Police, Education, and Poor Relief :

In Great Britain £14,897,000.
In Ireland 2,039,000

Of these sums there was paid in aid from the Imperial taxes :

In Great Britain	...	..	£2,422,000
In Ireland	...	...	1,035,000

Allowing for the Budget of 1874 adding £600,000, one-half instead of one-fourth charge of police in Great Britain, and £170,000 to pay rates on government property in Great Britain, this further grant from Imperial taxes to Police, Education, and Poor Relief will be :

In Great Britain	...	...	£3,192,000
In Ireland	...	...	1,035,000

In this calculation, only one half of the the Irish police has been taken as representing the proportion of police to population that, exists in England and Wales ; the remainder of the Irish police, looked upon as an Imperial force, are virtually to be charged as part of the standing army.

The local taxation in Ireland levied by rates is 3s. 6d. in the pound.

If the Imperial Treasury aided Ireland in police, Education, and Poor Relief only in the same extent in proportion to population as it does in Great Britain, the aid would be only one-fifth of £3,192,000, or £638,400, instead of £1,035,000, or £396,600 less ; and the local rates would be raised from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 1d.

If Ireland only got back in proportion to her estimated contribution to the Imperial Exchequer, she would only get one-tenth of the £3,192,000, or £319,200 ; instead of £1,035,000, or £715,800 less, and the local rates would be raised from 3s. 6d. to 4s. 7d. in the pound.

The separate Civil Establishments, other than Police, Education, and Poor Relief, if maintained at their present rate, would cost,

For Great Britain	...	...	£4,219,000
„ Ireland	...	...	1,542,000

If Ireland got back out of Imperial taxes only one-fifth (in proportion to population) of the British grants, she would only get £844,000, or £698,000 less ; and if this was made up out of local taxation, and added to the increased rates already referred to as arising from Police, Education, and Poor Relief, the rate would be raised from 4s. 1d. to 5s. 2d., making, on the existing average rate of 3s. 6d., an increase of nearly 2s. in the pound.

If Ireland got back out of Imperial rates only one-tenth of the British grants from Imperial taxes for separate civil establishments (i.e. in proportion to her contribution to Imperial revenue), it would be £421,900, or £1,120,000 less than the present amount of £1,542,000 ; and if this deficiency were made up out of local rates, it would raise them from 4s. 7d. (the increased rate already referred to, as arising from Police, Education, and Poor Relief, on the basis of this mode of contribution according to share of revenue paid) to 6s. 3d. in the pound, very nearly double the existing rate of 3s. 6d. in the pound.

Two other instances of unequal treatment were insisted upon in Parliament during the last session :

1st. That Ireland has a less extended franchise than that of Great Britain.

2nd. That all sheriffs in Ireland are appointed by the crown, while some few towns in England appoint their own sheriffs.

As to the franchise, it is sufficient to say that the county franchise in Ireland was lower than the county franchise in England until 1867, and is the same now.

The borough franchise is also the same in principle, being given to every tenant who pays poor-rates. It would certainly not be a popular measure to withdraw exemptions from poor-rates for the purpose of increasing the number of persons entitled to the franchise.

I do not believe that a single petition was presented to Parliament in 1868, objecting to the franchise as then proposed to be fixed, or that there is any popular desire now to have it altered.

As to sheriffs. Appointment by popular bodies, of officers having the nomination of Grand Juries, and therefore concerned in the administration of justice, seems a doubtful advantage. Uniformity would be better arrived at by abandoning the power in England than by introducing it into Ireland.

In my desire for equality I voted this year for the Irish Sheriffs' Bill; but I should not be disposed to do so again. No one, I imagine, would desire in all respects to assimilate our laws to those of England. No one, for instance, would wish to introduce the English Poor Law into Ireland. To do so, would be about as wise as it would be to bring the plague over if it happened to break out in London.

I have gone now, with one exception to which I will presently refer, through the alleged inequalities of which public opinion here generally complains. I fear that I have drawn largely on your patience; but it was obviously necessary to exhaust the subject—to give not only conclusions, but the reasons and facts on which they are founded. I invite criticism. If I have fallen into errors, let those errors be shown.

Lord Bacon insisted on the duty of ministers to tell truth to the king. The very end and object of our Society is to tell truth to the people—"to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature"—to place a true picture of our social condition before the people; and thus, preventing them from wasting their energies in fighting against imaginary grievances, to concentrate their force upon the removal of every real obstacle to their progress. The people, through ignorance or prejudice, are often mistaken; as a soldier whose arm has been shot off fancies that he feels pain in his fingers, they believe in the existence of wrongs which have been redressed.

But deeply-seated discontent rarely exists without a reason; and I do believe that we have one remaining grievance, so paralyzing and so ubiquitous that until it is removed we cannot keep pace with Great Britain in progress.

I know no better way of taking the full measure of the height,

and depth, and width of this grievance, than by comparing our condition with that of Scotland.

Take first agriculture—the business which most concerns us.

In the 17 years ending 1873, cattle increased in Scotland 14 per cent. ; sheep, 25 per cent. ; our cattle in the same period increased at the same rate, 14 per cent., and sheep, 18 per cent. ; but in Scotland this increase of live stock was accompanied by an increase of 60,246 acres of corn, or 4 per cent., and of 83,099 acres, or 12 per cent. of green crops ; while our green crops increased only 2 per cent., and our corn crops have fallen off 26 per cent.—no less than 740,356 acres. And I beg you to observe that during this great increase of produce there has been a decrease of the numbers employed in agriculture. In 1861, there were 372,247 agricultural workers in Scotland. In 1871 there were only engaged 270,008 in agricultural pursuits. This decrease of 37 per cent. of producers, accompanied with the large increase of produce I have already shown, indicates an increase of skill which in agriculture has, I imagine, no parallel. But the manufacturing and commercial population of Scotland have increased in the same decade—the one 38, the other 6 per cent. How is it with us ? The Irish Census Commissioners have not made their final report on the Census of 1870 ; but through their kindness I am enabled to state that while, through a change in the form of the Census, the total of the workers in Ireland will appear to be greater in 1871 than in 1861, it really is less, and that the commercial and industrial classes were fewer in 1871 than they were in 1861.

What is the cause of this difference ? What is it that, with its blighting influence, produces this inferiority at home, and follows our emigrants abroad ; and, notwithstanding their wit, quickness of apprehension, and intellectual power, leaves them so often hewers of wood and drawers of water, under the superintendence of Scotchmen, originally of a class in life no higher than their own ? Why is it that in Manchester so few of the Irish who have emigrated there have risen to wealth ? Why does the Scotch drawl so often sound in our ears in the city of London, and the Irish brogue so seldom ? Why are Scotch stewards, Scotch gardeners, Scotch directors of business houses, sought after so eagerly and prized so highly ?

The answer—the obvious and true answer—is on all your lips. The Irish people are not deficient in natural gifts, but they have not the opportunity of cultivating them. Their education is scandalously and lamentably inferior to the education of the rest of the people of the United Kingdom. I ventured this year to draw attention in my place in Parliament to the deficient training of the Irish teachers. I showed that every educational authority in every country maintained the impossibility of teachers being properly trained without passing at least two years in a normal school, or, as is preferred in Scotland, at a university ; that two-thirds of the Irish teachers never entered a normal school, and that the remaining third were trained, not for two years, but only for five months. The results on education of this deficient training, I described on the authority of gentlemen whose duty it had been to inspect, not Irish only, but English and

Scotch schools. I may mention that one of the most distinguished of these gentlemen, now occupying a high position in the direction of Scotch education, informed me within this few days, that in his report to the Royal Commission on Irish education, he had much understated the inferiority of Irish to Scotch schools and teachers. Some gentlemen connected with the National Board have questioned my conclusions. All I can say is, that if they are not correct, either the consent of the world as to the necessity of training must be founded in error, or else, in addition to all their other high gifts, the Irish people must be endowed with a capacity of teaching without being taught how to teach, possessed by no other people in the world.

But I have referred to my speech, not for the purpose of discussing these questions, but in order to introduce to your notice a letter from Sir Charles Gavin Duffy, which it elicited. Sir Charles was twice Prime Minister of Victoria, the most flourishing of our Australian colonies. He, at all events, is not likely to be prejudiced against his fellow-countrymen. Here are his words :

“My Dear Lord Emly,

“I have just been reading the pamphlet containing your speech in the House of Lords on the state of primary education in Ireland. The state of primary education, I dare say, is bad enough ; but, trust me, it is not so deplorable and disastrous as the state of middle class education. For nearly twenty years my position in Australia brought under my notice a constant stream of immigrants from Ireland. To aid them in finding a career in the new country was a duty and a pleasure ; and they possessed, as a rule, nearly all the necessary qualifications for success, but one. They had natural intelligence, good conduct, and integrity ; but, in the great majority of cases, they had been taught nothing systematically or thoroughly. They had not got that sort of practical discipline, either at school or at home, without which success in life is hard to win. This deficiency was most notable in the middle class. When I asked a young man, tenderly reared, as we say, and bringing the best testimonials of personal character, what he had been taught, his answer, in the majority of cases, disclosed the fact that he had been taught nothing beyond the instrumental parts of learning. If I asked him how he had been employed, the probability was that he had been idling about his father's house for a year or two before leaving home ; of the practical business of life he had not learned a jot. In a country where men will pay liberally for skilled labour, or disciplined intelligence, where if you have learned any profession or pursuit thoroughly, you may confidently count upon living by it, a flood of young men, often singularly bright and genial creatures, come to offer themselves to a market that had no place or opening for them. At an age when young Scotchmen are earning a good income, and when young Americans have made a position in life, they were still in search of some short cut to that success, which is only reached by the road of useful training and steady industry. It is true that against all these difficulties some of these young men made

their way, slowly and painfully, to an honourable independence. But many of them sunk down into the labouring mass and disappeared; and a more tragical fate befell others, who became dissipated and hopeless idlers. I could not hope to realize to you the painful struggles I have seen; but once, when a dangerous illness brought me to death's door, I traced it to the distress and discomfort I had endured, day after day, in the labour to place a multitude of young Irishmen, who brought me letters of introduction from friends at home, and thought a letter of introduction was a substitute for training.

"In Australia, and, indeed, in nearly every civilized country in the world, Irishmen of natural brightness and intelligence are sweating under the heaviest tasks, whilst their overseers or employers are Scotchmen of the same class. I have never been able to discover any cause for this painful contrast, except the difference in education. Scotch boys are adequately and skilfully trained in the school and on the farm. Irish boys, as a rule, are not. The reformed land system of Australia has enabled thousands of Irishmen to become proprietors of small estates, from 200 to 2,000 acres, where they are prosperous in a pursuit which they understood. But most of these were tenant-farmers or farm-labourers in Ireland; a very small proportion of them belonged to the middle class. Scotchmen of both classes have made a much more conspicuous success. They become squatters or Crown tenants, and have obtained estates as large, in many cases, as the estates of the greatest proprietors in Europe. The main cause of this difference, was simply a better and more practical education. No one acquainted with the iniquitous laws which regulated education in Ireland will be surprised that it should be in a backward condition, for you cannot undo the work of generations at a stroke. But we have not done all that we might, and I cordially sympathize with your desire that we may do better. I beg you to be assured, however, that the most urgent need of amendment is in the training of the children of the middle class.

"Believe me,

"My dear Lord Emly,

"Very sincerely yours,

"C. GAVAN DUFFY."

Such, then, is our condition: primary education imperfect; intermediate education such as Sir Charles Duffy, after opportunities of testing it by its results for twenty years, which no amount of examinations could afford, describes it. As to university education, out of more than 4,000,000 of Roman Catholics, there are only 145 students in arts in the universities in Ireland recognized by the state.

I now, with your permission, propose very shortly to compare our condition, as to education, with that of Scotland.

In both countries, as a general rule, the children of the highest classes are educated in England. It is therefore for those below the highest class education has to be founded.

How is this duty fulfilled in each? The one distinguishing characteristic of Scotch education is, that it is eminently popular. It gives precisely the sort of training the parents desire for their children.

The English Royal Commission, presided over by the late Lord Taunton, and of which Lord Derby and Mr. Forster were members, express their conviction that ultimately the decision of whatever has to be decided as to education must rest with the parents, and that no step, with any chance of success, can be taken without the most careful consideration of their wishes; and it condemns some school endowments as useless, because they offer one kind of education and the parents wish for another. No such charge can be made against any Scotch school. Consequently, the money value of education being fully recognized, and the means of obtaining it being thoroughly in harmony with the national sentiment, there exists a fervent, absorbing interest in the schools, to which here there is no parallel.

The population of Scotland between 5 and 15, is 776,871; and of those, 541,995, or 70 per cent., are in regular attendance on schools. This is a number intermediate between the total on school rolls and the number attending school on the census day. It includes also those receiving home education. The Irish census gives the number on school rolls, and the number in attendance on the census day. Taking, then, this last number is a basis for Ireland, to compare Ireland and Scotland it is, therefore, necessary to make a reduction on the Scotch return, and taking the difference between those on the rolls and those attending inspection as a measure of the proper reduction, we get 60 per cent. as the number fairly comparable to the Irish number of 42 in attendance on the census day.

I cannot help remarking here the gross absurdity of not having the census of the Three Kingdoms taken under the same headings and with the same forms, and deploring the penury of the Treasury which so cut down the staff of the Census Office in Dublin as to render it impossible to have the returns of the census taken in 1871, completed at the end of 1874.

This, then, was the position of Scotland in 1871. Since then compulsion has been introduced there. In 1881 the proportion under instruction between 5 and 15 will be, not 70, but probably nearly 90 per cent.

The primary school-masters have an average salary of £77, the mistresses, of £40. Two-thirds of the masters, and one-half the mistresses have residences provided for them. The school pence amount to 50 per cent. of the teachers' salaries—raising the income, from all sources, of masters to £110, and of mistresses to £60.

Most primary schools have in them a superior class, where clever boys are prepared for intermediate schools or universities; and about 25 per cent. of university students are the sons of labourers and artizans, and have commenced their education at primary schools—one-third of the students at St. Andrew's College last year, came there direct from primary schools; and Mr. Shairp, one of the most eminent of Scotch university professors, whose name must be known

to many here as the author of the best essays ever written on Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keble, stated to a Royal Commission, now sitting, that it has been the one strength and honor of the Scotch universities to have drafted ability from the poorest.

There are 71 intermediate schools in Scotland, with 37 in burghs. They have endowments amounting to £14,650 a-year, and are all day schools. Their students are encouraged to study by bursaries and scholarships in the universities, amounting to £19,586 a-year—a large amount when compared with the endowments of the principals and staff, which are only £28,000 a-year. Imagine, if you can, what sort of impetus would be given to Irish education if the funds of Trinity College were so distributed. Exhibitions or bourses to be earned by merit, for the purpose of enabling the pupils of intermediate or primary schools to prolong their school course, or to advance to a higher grade of education, are the most fruitful of all means of using educational endowments. Under the Scotch Education Act, the intermediate schools are all transferred to the school boards. They are about to transfer the elementary classes in intermediate schools to primary schools, to which taxation can be applied, and to concentrate all the intermediate endowments on higher education. A Royal Commission is now sitting to inquire whether, now that the state has provided for the education of the poor, some of the old charity endowments may not be transferred to intermediate education. In Ireland, as you know, the report of the Endowed Schools Commission, made in 1858, has been buried in the Blue Book records of that year.

There is no fixed course of study imperative on all the scholars in Scotch intermediate schools, but separate and very low fees are charged for each separate subject—*e.g.* Latin, Greek, mathematics, modern languages, physical science—and the parent can choose what subjects his son shall learn. A poor man chooses only the number of subjects he can afford to pay for, and if he does not live near the burgh school, and cannot afford to pay for expensive lodgings, sends his son to a poor lodging, where he is maintained for little more than he would cost at home. Thus these schools are intensely national. They are open to all classes. Their average work was considered by Lord Taunton's Commission to be much better than the average work of even first class English schools. In Latin the boys made excellent general progress. What was learned of Greek was learned thoroughly and well. The little of mathematics that was professed was mastered by all. The results of instruction in English were excellent.

The same intensely national and popular character makes the influence of the Scotch universities felt throughout the whole country. To use the words of the admirable report made by Mr. Fearon, to Lord Taunton's commission :—"In every corner of Scotland—in the islands as well as the highlands—among the shepherds of the Grampians, and the fishermen of Argyleshire, as well as among the weavers of Paisley, and the colliers of Ayr and Dumfries, the influence of one or other of the four universities is keenly felt ; not merely through the connection of the parochial schoolmasters

(many of whom take university degrees), and the governors of their churches, with the universities, but because the cheapness and the elementary character of university instruction renders it accessible to a very large proportion of the population, and the desire to attend the universities is so strong and so active as to be a real cultivating force among the country population. The poorest rural school strives to prepare its pupils for intermediate schools or for the universities. Schools in general are better attended on account of the stimulus given by the universities to the desire for knowledge. The prospect of concluding his education with a university course, and of winning a competitive bourse, is present to the mind of every clever boy of every class—even the poorest—throughout the whole kingdom.

Such is the Scotch system—imperfect, as the ablest Scotchmen admit, in some particulars, but embracing the whole nation.

“It is hardly possible,” I quote from Lord Taunton’s commission, “to question the proofs of the great value of parental and of popular sympathy. Even the most skilfully organized system seems to be weak, where it fails to secure this sympathy; while a system with most imperfect organization, such as the Scotch, obtains, nevertheless, a remarkable success, by the sheer force it derives from this source. Before all things, the wishes of the parents and of the people must be met. With the people, what we do may be imperfect; without them we shall, probably, do little or nothing.”

In Ireland, the population between 5 and 15 was in 1871 1,368,642; 42 per cent. were in attendance at school on the census day. It is satisfactory to observe the increase since 1861, when only 30 per cent. of the same portion of the population were in attendance. Much of this increased proportion is probably due to the introduction of the system of payment by results.

I have already alluded to the defective training of the teachers of primary schools. Their average remuneration is, including gratuities: schoolmasters, £45 *os.* 9*d.*; mistresses, £39 7*s.* 7*d.* With very few exceptions, they have no residences provided for them. Until this year there was no superior class in primary schools, such as exists in Scotland. By a return, from 3,620, about one-half the whole number, of schools examined for results since the 30th of April last, it appears that there are seventeen in which Latin only, ten in which French only, is taught; seven in which Latin and Greek, four in which Latin and French, three in which Latin, Greek, and French, are taught. If you double this number, you have probably the number of schools in which there are higher classes analogous to those I have described in Scotland.

I need say nothing to you of the blessings this National system has conferred upon us. Under difficulties which seemed to be insurmountable,—in the face of opposition, now attacking one flank and now another—the framework of a perfect system of primary education has been constructed. It has penetrated into every nook and cranny of the country. It has so entwined itself round the hearts of the people, that nothing can uproot it.

But the defects I have pointed out, until they are remedied, must

prevent it from giving an education to its pupils equal to that given to the same classes in England and Scotland, and must leave our people in a condition of hopeless inferiority to that of the people of Great Britain.

The remedy seems simple and easy. If normal schools are allowed to be founded on the same principle, and with the same assistance that ordinary schools are founded, the same result which has followed in Great Britain will follow here. We shall be provided with trained schoolmasters. In order to keep them, when we have trained them, residences must be provided for them, and their salaries must be increased. We cannot reasonably ask that all this additional expenditure should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer. There must be some contribution from Ireland. The cost of erecting houses for teachers might, in my opinion, be properly defrayed from the surplus revenue of the disestablished Church.

There remains the question of compulsory attendance. In Scotland, every parent is bound to teach his children between the ages of five and thirteen, reading, writing, and arithmetic. If he fails to do so, he is, on conviction, liable to a fine of £1, or to 14 days imprisonment. A certificate of ability to read and write, and of a knowledge of arithmetic, granted by a school inspector in favour of any child, exempts the parent from prosecution.

In the province of Groningham in Holland, another system of inducing parents to send their children to school was tried with such great success, that in a short time the number of scholars was increased by one-third. Every parent was obliged to pay for each of his children between the age of six and twelve, school fees whether they attended school or not.

I am convinced that either direct compulsion, or some such substitute as I have described, must be introduced here.

Our primary schools then, however unsatisfactory their state is now, without difficulty may be made equal to any in the world.

I turn now to intermediate education. For the mass of the people of Ireland, endowed intermediate education does not exist. I have described the intermediate education of Scotland. In England there are 700 endowed intermediate schools. Of these, five can be distinctly credited with training boys for the universities. Their total net income, including exhibitions, is about £277,000 a year. In endowed superior schools (and all endowed schools in which a foreign language is taught are classed as superior), there were in Ireland in 1871 but 2,625 male and female pupils. Of these pupils I give the religious classification in the Census Commissioners' words :

Roman Catholics	...	...	...	108
Protestant Episcopalians	...	...	...	1,877
Presbyterians	...	...	...	640

The income of these endowed schools amounts to £41,350 a-year.

There are no other endowments for intermediate education in Ireland; so if it were not for unassisted voluntary efforts, 108 would be the whole number receiving intermediate education, out of more

than four millions of people. Can we wonder at the consequences as described by Sir C. G. Duffy, of such entire neglect on the part of the state of one of its most imperative duties.

Country.	Population.	Attending	Endowed	No. in each
		intermediate	schools.	100,000 of
In Scotland ...	3,360,018	...	12,500	... 375
„ England ...	27,712,266	...	40,000	... 144
„ Prussia (of whom 45,503 in classical schools) ...	18,476,500*	...	66,136	... 358
„ Ireland for a por- tion of the popu- lation ...	1,260,588	...	2,518	... 199
„ „ for the re- mainder of the population ...	4,141,933	...	108	... 2

These facts require no comment.

The university question is too burning a one to be discussed here. It is sufficient to give the number of university students in proportion to population, in

England	...	...	1 in 5,800
Scotland	...	...	1 in 1,000
Germany	...	...	1 in 2,600
Ireland { Protestants,	...	...	1 in 1,000
{ Catholics,	...	...	1 in 26,500

While the hope and the desire for university education animates every cottage in Scotland, exciting its inmates to sacrifice and exertion, not one inhabitant out of more than four millions of our population, from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, is influenced in any one of his acts or aspirations by the presence of the two universities existing side by side in this city. You cannot change the people. Fair fruit, in what they consider an unwholesome dish, are like to rot untasted.

Our answer, then, to Irish discontent must be, that there does exist a grievance, the magnitude of which cannot be over-estimated; that in education we are not on a level with the rest of the United Kingdom. The first step to improvement is to realize our inferiority—not to delude ourselves by vague phrases about Irish genius and Irish capacity; but to believe and know that we are wallowing in the plain beneath, while our fellow-countrymen, with energy that never flags, are climbing up the heights of knowledge and of culture. Every gentleman present here to-night can bear witness to the truth of my statement. We all know that there are thousands of young men in our towns, upon our farms, growing up in lazy indolence, a burden to their parents, who if they had received the education their equals are receiving in Scotland, would at this moment be in receipt of good salaries, and in the discharge of useful duties.

The mere money value of Scotch education to Ireland would be an addition of hundreds of thousands to the annual income of Irish families.

The law which gives the supremacy to educated intelligence is universal. M. Duray, who was minister of public instruction a short time ago in France, stated that all over the Continent the young North German, or the young Swiss of Zurich or of Basle, is seizing, by reason of his better instruction, a confidence and a command in business, which the young men of no other nation can dispute with him.

Then, what are we to do? What are we to do to gain a place in the advancing competition of the world? We must do what England and Scotland, already so far ahead of us in education, are doing. We must reform our educational system, where we have one. We must create one in those branches where it does not already exist.

Their educational motto is

"Nil actum reputans, dum quid superasset agendum."

They are acting on the principle enunciated the other day by Dr. Lyon Playfair, that elementary schools are nothing but places where the tools of education are put into the hands of children. They must be shown how to use those tools for their own purposes in life. That can only be done in secondary, and in schools higher than the mere elementary ones. I have pointed out to you the simple, yet vital, changes our primary education requires. I rejoice at the step, already taken, of encouraging higher classes in those schools.

As to secondary education, I know no way that it can be so efficiently, and yet so easily reformed, or rather established, as that suggested by a memorial presented in the beginning of last year to the Prime Minister, from Limerick. It may be supposed to avoid successfully those religious difficulties which statesmen have feared to encounter, for it was signed by the Bishops, both Catholic and Protestant, and by the Deans and Archdeacons of both communions. It was signed also by the Lieutenants of the Counties of Limerick and Kerry, and by the principal noblemen and gentlemen, without distinction of creed or of party. I will read it to you :

"TO THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

"We have learnt that it is the intention of her Majesty's Government to submit to Parliament a measure for the reform of the University system in Ireland.

"Being well acquainted with educational wants of this country, we feel it to be our duty to represent that no measure of educational reform that does not deal with intermediate education can be satisfactory. Experience proves that university education produces but little effect upon the intellectual development of a nation, unless those who partake of it are furnished beforehand with suitable preparatory instruction.

"Adequate means of obtaining such preparation do not exist in Ireland, most certainly not in the southern provinces. A considerable portion of the resources which might be employed in supplying the want we have pointed out remains unapplied; and even if these resources were utilized, they would be insufficient.

"In the county and city of Limerick there are no endowments in operation for the purpose of imparting secondary instruction; and yet the youth of Limerick have to compete with the youth of England and Scotland, in which countries intermediate education is richly endowed.

"We therefore earnestly pray that, by the application of those principles which have been found to work successfully in Great Britain, the intermediate educational endowments of Ireland may be rendered more generally available.

"And as a means of promoting the efficiency of all intermediate schools, we further earnestly recommend that a Board of Examiners, whose impartiality would be above suspicion, and with sufficient funds at their disposal, may be appointed to hold, in the principal Irish towns, periodical examinations of the pupils of the intermediate schools, and that bourses sufficient to support them during the rest of their educational career may be awarded to a fixed number of those who obtain the highest places at these examinations.

"The example of Prussia shows that such examinations can be of a kind for which special preparation, or cram, is of no avail. There, as appears from the official reports on education, examinations exhibit the slowly ripened fruit of a regular and constant industry throughout the whole school course."

Our object should be, not to create new schools, but to utilize those which already exist. Our intermediate endowments are greater than the intermediate endowments of Scotland. They, with £11,000 a-year, educate 12,500 pupils; we, with £41,350 a-year, educate only 2,625 pupils. Their schools offer education to their whole people; ours offer it to only one-fourth of our people.

1. Our first step should be to make all the endowments, not limited by private donors, national.

2. Our intermediate education should be placed under the charge of either a new board, or one already existing; and we should offer to all existing intermediate schools, which conform to rules, and adopt the cursus laid down by this board, and submit to inspection, the opportunity of having their pupils periodically examined.

3. This board should have at its disposal a sufficient sum to endow two sets of bourses or scholarships, to be competed for—one set by pupils early in their course, to maintain them until its completion—the other, by pupils at the leaving examination, to enable them to pursue their studies at a university, or at schools such as exist in Prussia for technical and scientific training, leading to business, as the universities lead to the professions.

4. Local bodies, such as corporations and boards of guardians, should have the power of contributing, under stringent conditions, to found new intermediate schools or to aid existing ones. I say boards of guardians, because at present the governing bodies of counties do not represent the ratepayers. There is a precedent for such local contributions in the 21st and 22nd Geo. III., c. 28, which provides that Grand Juries may contribute to the diocesan intermediate schools from the county rates; and an important committee of the House of Commons, in 1838, recommended that the government should build new academies, and that the Grand Juries should present for the repairs of the buildings, and for the support of the teachers. These recommendations have remained a dead letter. They show, at all events, how long a want has been recognized which never has been supplied. Probably those who have prevented its being supplied are among the most loud and insolent in

their denunciations of Irish indolence and Irish incapacity—"Go therefore now and work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks."

I omit all reference to university education, and I have told you the reason why. The Scotch universities, developing, accommodating themselves more and more to the genius of the Scotch people, and to the desires of Scotch parents, will go on interpenetrating the whole nation from Abbotsford to the Orkneys with educational life and intellectual energy.

That source of life and energy must for the present be denied to us. You, even such as differ from me, will permit me to express my deep and heartfelt conviction that the greatest misfortune which has happened to Ireland during the last twenty years—more than cattle plagues; more than failures of crops; more even than disaffection—was the rejection last year of the University Bill. I speak not of its details, but of its leading principle. The power of Government can repress disaffection—the wisdom of Parliament may remove its causes—the recuperative powers of nature redress material losses—but the depriving one generation after another of the mainspring of their intellect, who can cure?

Many a gifted nature; many a poor boy in our national schools, endowed by God with genius which man has doomed to be uncultivated, will till the ground in our colonies, or work in our factories, or lounge in idleness at home, who if that bill had passed would have risen to eminence. Enforced want of culture, and consequent indolence, will make many a man a discontented plotter against the Queen and the constitution, who if the gates of advancement that bill opened for him had not clanged in his face, would have been a loyal and useful subject—a credit and a strength to his country. All this he might have become while residing in a college conducted on the principles of his religion—if a Catholic, in the Catholic University, or in Carlow College; if a Presbyterian, in Magee College. Feeling as I do, I could not pass the subject by. You will pardon the expression of my convictions. Neither do I inquire into the causes of the rejection of the University Bill. They have been much misrepresented.

It is a hard destiny; but we must accept it. We cannot recall the past. For a national university, endowed with ample rewards of learning, we must wait. Let us then with only the more energy strive for what we can attain; let us, who by the very name of our Society, are the servants of truth, tear up by the roots those delusions as to injustice, which depress the minds of so many of our countrymen. Let us confront with fact the erroneous statements, with such persistent reiteration instilled into their minds; so shall we best concentrate the energy, the genius, the eloquence, so often wasted on imaginary grievances, upon this one gigantic, all-prevailing, paralyzing inequality, which so long as it lasts must destroy the springs of national prosperity, and make every Irishman who compares his position with that of his fellow-subjects in Great Britain, discontented.