

Growing up in Ireland: Constructions of Gender and Childhood 1800-1860

Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy at
University of Dublin, Trinity College

Mary Hatfield

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or all the library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgment.

Summary

This project examines cultural constructions of childhood and the experiences of children in Ireland from 1800 to 1860. The thesis addresses how understandings of children's needs changed over time, how educational provisions affected the structure of family life, and the role of the child within the family. It focuses specifically on the construction of bourgeois childhood as a category of aspiration and experience. The middle classes had a disproportionately large role in shaping the definition of a 'good' childhood and the standards of parental care during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. It considers whether Irish childhood was a distinct experience or if it followed a similar cultural trajectory as constructions of childhood in European and American contexts.

Historians of childhood in Britain agree that in the late eighteenth century, childhood was an ambiguous concept with definitions and expectations differing by region, gender, class, and religion. By the end of the nineteenth century this uncertainty was to some extent resolved as childhood was consolidated and institutionalised through state legislation on children's labour, education, and welfare. Although this general trend may be applicable to Ireland, the earlier introduction of a national education system, an increasingly influential Catholic middle-class, and polarised sectarian divisions suggest that Irish society was distinctive in some ways from British chronologies of modern childhood.

There has not yet been a major work which examines the lived experience of Irish childhood and the conflicting cultural ideologies shaping expectations of childhood in the nineteenth-century. The historiographical focus on institutionalized childhood, illegitimacy, and child abuse has provided valuable insight into aspects of Irish education, religiosity, and family life. However, the scholarly trend of focusing on dysfunctional aspects of childhood in society may provide a distorted view of more normative childhood experiences. This research develops a broader understanding of childhood against which these extremes can be contextualized.

The thesis chapters are organised thematically with a loosely chronological development covering different stages of childhood. It begins with medical interventions during pregnancy, infancy and toddler stages, moving then to education at home and bourgeois religious efforts to reform Irish family life.

Chapter three examines how the principles of gender and class informed children's fashions and dress during early childhood between the ages 3 to 7, proceeding then to two chapters on the education of adolescent girls and boys between the ages of 11 and 17. The chapters dovetail over a sixty-year time span, tracing different rates of change, in areas such as medical care, education, and religious constructions of childhood, and outlining key ideas about the development of the child from infancy to adulthood. By 1860, the end point for this thesis, we can see a distinct consolidation of ideas about Irish children and childcare.

Permissions

The use of images, text, and photographs throughout this work has been granted by the various institutions cited. These images are meant for personal study and are not to be reproduced without the permission of the holding institution.

Abstract

This thesis examines cultural constructions of childhood and the experiences of children in Ireland from 1800 to 1860. At the beginning of the nineteenth century childhood was a fluid concept with a variety of meanings and responsibilities dependent on class, gender, and religious identity. By 1860 the idea of what childhood was supposed to be had been consolidated to a large degree by the middle classes, who rejected the lavish opulence of the aristocracy and the economic dependency of the working classes to create their own brand of child-rearing.

The project explores ways in which adults dealt with children, particularly within the family and in educational institutions across the island of Ireland. This holistic approach towards the middle-class child's social world utilises medical and educational literature, religious tracts, personal correspondence, school archives, and material culture sources. It facilitates an understanding of gender roles, children's participation in middle-class domesticity, and the use of education by middle-class families to shape a cultural narrative of childhood. This project considers normative discourses of 'ideal' Irish childhood, critically assessing the diversity of childhood experiences and ways in which child and society confronted each other.

Acknowledgements

This PhD was funded by the Government of Ireland Irish Research Council Postgraduate Scholarship and the Trinity College Dublin, Department of History Postgraduate bursary. Additional research and travel expenses were supported by the Grace Lawless Lee fund and the Trinity Trust. Thank you.

I would like to thank the staff of the Early Printed Books and Manuscripts department in Trinity College Dublin, especially Simon; the Linen Hall Library, Belfast, the National Library of Ireland, and the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland. Also, the staff in the special collections of University College Cork, National University of Ireland Galway, and Queen's University Belfast. I am grateful to Aíne McHugh and Kathleen Fitzgerald IBVM at the IBVM (Loreto) Institute & Irish Province Archives; Sr. Máire Kealy, at the archives of the Dominican order at Sion Hill, Susan Hood at the Representative Church Body library, Alex Ward from the National Museum of Ireland; members of the Ursuline Order, Blackrock, Cork; and Peter Lydon at the Wesley College, Dublin for graciously allowing me to access their institutional archives.

Special thanks to fellow-travellers for their suggestions and help; Jerome Devitt, Stephen Furlong, Sophie-Marie Hingst, Leah Hunnewell, Sarah Hunter, Neasa McGarrigle, Fionnuala Walsh, and Mai Yatani. Also, the wonderful facilities in the Long Room Hub provided much needed space and support during the writing up stage; thanks to Jane Ohlmeyer, Caitriona Curtis, Sarah Dunne, Sarah Barry, and Aoife King for facilitating such an enriching research environment. Additionally, Patrick Geoghegan and Carole Holohan offered thoughtful feedback and advice on the project at various stages of completion.

The greatest debt is to my supervisors Professor David Dickson and Dr. Ciaran O'Neill who gave of their time, expertise, and knowledge to the project. The process of writing a thesis was made enjoyable because of their kind supervision and generosity.

Many thanks to those people that opened their homes to me on research trips; Joe Bardwell, Ríona Nic Congáil, Dónal Ó Sabhaois, and Padmini Parathasarthi. Cecilia, Pat, and Thomas in Sligo gave me a home away from home for writing and thinking. Likewise, Niamh Taggart, Edel Ní Churraoin, and Stephen McVerry graciously hosted me for any reason, research-related or otherwise. None of these ideas would have gotten off the starting block without the help of my family; Karen, Anne, Tom, Vincent, and Mary Catherine. Thanks for everything, it is impossible to put into words the value of the support you have provided so generously.

This thesis is dedicated to my father, James Hatfield. He did not get to see it in its completed form, but was the single greatest factor encouraging its inception.

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	iii
Summary	v
Permissions.....	vii
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Figures.....	vi
List of Tables.....	viii
Appendices	ix
Abbreviations	x
 Introduction.....	 11
The history of childhood and the historian.....	14
Irish historiographical developments.....	20
Who are the Irish bourgeoisie?.....	26
Gender studies, feminism, and children.....	35
Chapter organisation.....	38
 1 Chapter One: Medical men, negligent mothers, and malleable children:	
medical discourses of childhood.....	43
1.1 The mind of the child	47
1.2 Paediatrics and the emergence of professional medicine.....	54
1.3 Negligent mothers: pregnancy and heredity	62
1.4 Parenting and the supervised child	73
 2 Chapter Two: Religion, sectarianism and the Irish child	 79
2.1 Missions to the Irish.....	83
2.2 Untameable Catholics.....	89
2.3 Education and the authority to teach	106
2.4 Educating the child body.....	114

3	Chapter Three: Fashioning childhood: gender, dress and manners	125
3.1	How should we dress the children?	132
3.2	Age, gender, and fashion	138
3.3	Schools, uniforms, and clothing	151
4	Chapter Four: Schooling young gentlewoman: girlhood education and the experience of boarding school	163
4.1	Irish female education provisions	166
4.2	Educating Girls - debates on the purpose of female education	172
4.3	Irish Catholic educational models	181
4.4	Student experiences in the convent boarding school	189
4.5	Convent school curriculum	193
4.5.1	Public exhibitions	203
4.5.2	The space of the convent school	206
4.5.3	Student vocations	209
5	Chapter Five: Schooling little gentleman: Irish boys' bourgeois and elite school	217
5.1	The landscape of boys' education	222
5.1.1	The Royal Schools	227
5.2	Modern methods for the mercantile classes	232
5.3	Classical v. Modern: curriculum and class	241
5.4	The purpose of boys' education -cultivating manners and masculinity	255
5.4.1	School exhibitions	268
5.4.2	The government of schoolfellows	272
	Conclusion	281
	Appendices	293
	Bibliography	295
	Primary Sources	295
	Secondary Sources	314

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Donegal Sabbath School Certificate. Source: Uncatalogued, Pollard Collection, Trinity College Dublin.

Figure 2.2 Illustration from *The cottage fireside*, Family reading at the table, Source: Abigail Roberts, *The cottage fireside*, 1821.

Figure 2.3 Frontispiece illustration, Mother with two children, Source: *The peep of day*, 1865.

Figure 2.4 Illustration, Jesus teaches the little children, Source: *The peep of day*, 1865.

Figure 2.5 Kildare Place Society publication, *The Dublin reading book*, 1830.

Figure 3.1 Richard Rothwell, 'The mother's pastime,' 1845. Source: National Gallery of Ireland.

Figure 3.2 Richard Rothwell, 'The Very Picture of Idleness,' 1842. Source: V & A Museum, London.

Figure 3.3 White infant gown, circa 1820s. Source: National Museum of Ireland, Decorative Arts and History Collections.

Figure 3.4 Christening cloak, cream-coloured linen, satin lined, with embroidery. 135x59cm. Source: National Museum Of Ireland, Decorative Arts and History Collections.

Figure 3.5 Older boys outside the school, Connemara. 1892. Source: Tuke Collection, National Photograph Archive of Ireland, Dublin.

Figure 3.6 Lithograph by Forester & Co., Dublin. Source: *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science* XLVI, 1868, 57.

Figure 4.1 Location of Dominican, Loreto and Ursuline convents in Ireland 1800-1860. Source: compiled by author.

Figure 4.2 Home locations for boarders attending Ursuline Boarding School, Sligo, 1856, 1858. Source: Compiled from M. St Dominic Kelly, *The Sligo Ursulines: The First Fifty Years, 1826-1876* (Sligo: 1987). 112-13.

Figure 4.3 Programme of music performed at the Loreto Convent School, Omagh. Source: *Freeman's Journal*, August 13, 1863.

Figure 4.4 Rathfarnham House, Loreto Order motherhouse, circa 1900s. Source: Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Loreto) Central and Irish Province Archive

Figure 4.5 'View walk looking east, Loreto Convent, Rathfarnham', convent garden, circa 1900-1910. Source: Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Loreto) Central and Irish Province Archive

Figure 5.1 Rev. Thomas Betagh, (1739-1811), Jesuit Professor of Languages at Seminary Pont-Á-Mousson, Schoolmaster at Dublin, Parish priest of Sts. Michael And John's

Church. Source: William Brocas Drawings, Ep Beta-Th (2) I, National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings.

Figure 5.2 Portora Royal School Enniskillen, 1893. Source: Robert French, The Lawrence Photograph Collection, National Library of Ireland.

Figure 5.3 Belfast Academical Institution, 1832. Source: Survey Maps, Digital Maps, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland.

Figure 5.4 Terms of tuition for day pupils, Enniskillen Royal School 1852. Source: National Library of Ireland.

Figure 5.5 Report card from Hamlin and Porter school Cork. Source: Denny Lane Papers, Cork City and County Archive.

Figure 5.6 Armagh Royal School, Robert French. Source: The Lawrence Photograph Collection, National Library of Ireland.

Figure 5.7 Armagh Royal School, Robert French. Source: The Lawrence Photograph Collection, National Library of Ireland.

List of Tables

- Table 3.1 Girls clothing list at the Friend's School of Lisburn. Source: *Rules for the management of the boarding school at Lisburn, for the education of the children of friends* (Belfast: F. D. Finlay, 1821).
- Table 3.2 Expenses for Eliza White's education, 1812-1817. DCL, ms. EX00037839.
- Table 4.1 Privately operated schools in Cork City, 1787-1863. Source: Compiled by author.
- Table 5.1 Father's Professions of students in Armagh Royal School, 1770-1789. Source: Compiled from M. L. Ferrar, *Register of the Royal School, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).
- Table 5.2 Father's Professions of students in Armagh Royal School, 1830-1850, Source: Compiled from M. L. Ferrar, *Register of the Royal School, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933)
- Table 5.3 Armagh Royal School, alumni careers, 1770-1830. compiled by author from M.L. Ferrar, *Register of the royal school, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).
- Table 5.4 Armagh royal school, alumni careers, 1810-1830 compiled by author from M.L. Ferrar, *Register of the royal school, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Number of Schools Supported by The Church of Education Society, 1840. Taken from *First Annual Report of The Church Education Society for Ireland*, Dublin, George Folds, 1840, 9.

Appendix 2: Attendance Figures for the Royal Schools, 1809-1812. *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-1812*, HOC, 7 December 1813.

Appendix 3: Tuition Rates at the Royal schools, 1809-1812. *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-1812*, HOC, 7 December 1813.

Abbreviations

CCCA- Cork City and County Archive

CNEI- Commissioners of National Education in Ireland (established 1831)

DCL- Dublin City Library, Pearse Street

DIB- Dictionary of Irish Biography

HOC- House of Commons

IBVM- Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary

LCIPA- Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Loreto) Central and Irish Province Archive

NAI- National Archives of Ireland

NGI- National Gallery of Ireland

NLI- National Library of Ireland

NUIG- National University of Ireland, Galway, formerly Queen's College Galway

PRONI- Public Record Office of Northern Ireland

RCB- Representative Church Body Library, Churchtown, Dublin

TCD- Trinity College Dublin

UCCB- Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock, Cork

UCC- University College Cork, formerly known as Queen's College Cork

INTRODUCTION

The history of childhood can be conceptualised as the history of a group of persons, an idea, a state of being, or a set of biological, legal, or medical definitions changing across time and cultures. These definitions are complicated by the way race, religion, class, gender, and ethnicity have shaped and determined classifications of personhood in the modern period. The child throughout history has served as a receptacle of adult ideologies, expectations, and desires. However, children themselves rarely subscribe or acquiesce to these constructions passively, they actively undermine, reject, and remake their experience of childhood as individuals situated in a unique historical context. Untangling the values and expectations of the world of childhood reflect processes of socialisation indicative of wider cultural priorities. Children are forces of change, objects of idealisation, subjects to socialisation, and individuals with unique stories. This research project began with an assumption that the cultural figure of the child and the lived experiences of children in Ireland have been underappreciated as participants in the making of class identity in Irish society.

During the last two decades of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century, the population of Western Europe expanded rapidly. In Ireland, this population boom significantly altered the age distribution of society, leading to an unprecedented proportion of children and youth in the population of Ireland. Although the precise reasons for this expansion have been debated, in 1821, the population of children under 15 reached its highest point, making up approximately 41% of the total population of the island.¹ Ireland could aptly be described as a country of the young. At the time of the 1821 census there were more children and youth under the age of 20 than there were adults between the ages of 20 and 60.² The striking increase in population had a variety of demographic and economic impacts, but the sheer visibility and presence of children in society also shifted the cultural construction of childhood as a category of personhood.³ From 1800 to 1860

¹ According to the census of 1821 there were 1,040,665 persons 5 and under, 920,757 between ages 5-10, and 827,906 between 10 and 15. There were 6,801,827 persons in the total population. W. E. Vaughan, *Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821-1971*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 74; Joel Mokyr and Cormac Ó. Gráda, "New Developments in Irish Population History, 1700-1850," *Economic History Review* 37, no. 4 (1984): 473-88.

² There were 3,617,621 individuals under the age of 20 and 2,917,633 individuals between the ages of 20 and 60. 60 is used as a cut off point for aged dependents, supposing that the productivity of individuals after the age of 60 normally declined. Vaughan, *Irish Historical Statistics*, 74.

³ Phelim P. Boyle and Cormac O Grada, "Fertility Trends, Excess Mortality, and the Great Irish Famine," *Demography* 23, no. 4 (1986), 543-62.

the world of Irish childhood was reshaped by an enormous expansion of educational provision, a growing commercial market for children's goods, and a professional and intellectual interest in child development.

This thesis considers the ways in which adults dealt with children, particularly within the family and in educational institutions. It was during the first three quarters of the nineteenth century that many modern notions of childhood were established. Schooling, a decline in children's labour outside the home, and a growth in children's leisure culture reshaped the contours of children's day-to-day lives. There is a consensus among historians that the nineteenth century was a period when Enlightenment values were directed towards a broad project of social improvement in the western world. A positivist belief in the improvability of man brought education forward as the means for reshaping social relations. As a consequence, childhood became a more intensive site for developing national, religious, and familial ambitions. This thesis focuses on a particular type of childhood defined for, and by, the bourgeois class. Along with their contemporaries in Britain, Europe, and America, Irish middle-class families sought to give their children a start in life that reflected their socio-economic status and indicated expectations of their progeny. However, in Ireland class status was closely related to confessional identity. After centuries of penal legislation, Catholics formed a demographic majority but were underrepresented in almost every area of official state power. The economic position of Ireland was also different from other English-speaking countries. The hallmarks of British modernisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation were on a different trajectory in the Irish case.

In defining the bounds of middle-class respectability certain features of the care and treatment of children, especially education, became central to the formation of gender and class identity. During the nineteenth century, the meaning of Irish childhood was consolidated by the middle classes, who rejected the lavish opulence of the aristocracy and the economic dependency of the working classes and created their own brand of child-rearing. This middle-class childhood featured an emphasis on familial affection, economic dependence, leisure and play, and an elongated period of education. It was the bourgeoisie who consolidated definitions of childhood and later in the century saw these values enshrined in legislation and enforced by the state. In many ways, these constructions of childhood continue to inform our ideas and care of the child in the present day.

There is no single archive of childhood, nor a single institution in this period monopolising childcare provisions; consequently, this project utilises a diversity of sources to gain a holistic view of the bourgeois child's world. The range of sources extends from institutional archives of private schools and didactic pamphlet literature, to clothing artefacts, autobiographies, diaries, and collections of family papers. The diversity of sources is partly necessitated by the subject matter at hand. However, it also provides what Ludmilla Jordanova has called an integrative history, linking different types of sources to the local, national, and international, since 'the past itself was hardly divided up in the ways contemporary historical practises imply.'⁴ This introduction section outlines the place of Irish scholarship in the broader historiography of the history of childhood. Secondly, it indicates the theoretical frameworks employed to define and explore the meaning of class, gender, and age during the period. Finally, it outlines and summarises the organisation of the thesis chapters. The chapters have been arranged thematically to address different aspects of the middle-class child's experience and the changing formulation of bourgeois childhood from 1800 to the 1860s.

The History of Childhood and the Historian

The history of childhood emerged in the academy at the same time that social history altered the definition of what might be considered a worthy historical subject. Fittingly, the first foray in the historical construction of childhood was from a non-professional historian. In 1962 Philippe Ariès' seminal study of French childhood from the medieval period to the nineteenth century heralded the beginning of the field of histories of childhood. He concluded that French medieval society did not recognise childhood as a distinct period of the life span. After reaching the age of seven, babies became part of an adult world without a long transitional phase of childhood or adolescence.⁵ His text has remained a classic in the field, demonstrating the richness of combining visual and documentary sources, although its main hypotheses have been widely refuted.⁶ Colin Heywood attributes

⁴ L. J. Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4.

⁵ Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962).

⁶ The notion of childhood being non-existent in the medieval France has been refuted by Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003); Shulamith Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1990); Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005); Hugh Cunningham, *The Invention of*

the longevity of Ariés work to the contentious and radical challenge it posed to traditional assumptions about the stability of age and the universality of childhood.⁷ Ariés' text drafted an agenda for historians of children, establishing a focus on affection in parent-child relations, the impact of schools and education on modern childhood, and the importance of class and gender in those formulations. Despite the coterminous rise of women's history and childhood studies, the two areas developed within different frameworks. Historians of childhood looked to sociology and psychology to better understand children's development, where historians of women focused on the politics of power, the origins of feminism, and historical issues of equality.

Scholarship following Ariés debated the extent to which children were 'valued' within a culture and the quality of sentimental attachment between parents and child. This debate over the history of sentimental attachment to children was dominated by positivist assumptions about the comparative solicitude for children in modern societies. The more extreme view of Lloyd deMause asserted that 'the further back in history one goes, the lower the level of childcare, and the more likely children are to be killed abandoned, beaten, terrorised and sexually abused.'⁸ This negative view of child-parent relations was subsequently revised. Linda Pollock, after examining British and American private diaries from 1500 to 1900, concluded that in every century parents had affection for their children and relatively few changes occurred in the parent and child relationship.⁹ Although she offered few reasons as to why these relationships seemed immune to change, a consensus generally emerged that parents in every age had an emotional attachment to their children, though cultural norms altered the way that they expressed their sentiments. Historians have pointed out that child-rearing practises in the past cannot be judged by modern standards, as parents were operating under culturally-specific assumptions about what would best benefit children's welfare.

Childhood, (London: BBC Books, 2006); Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001); Steve Humphries, *A Labour of Love: The Experience of Parenthood in Britain 1900-1950* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1993).

⁷ Colin Heywood, 'Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary –and an Epitaph?' in *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, iii, no. 3 (2010), 341-365.

⁸ Lloyd deMause, 'The Evolution of Childhood' in Lloyd deMause (ed.), *The History of Childhood*, (London: Souvenir Press, 1974), p.1.

⁹ Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Karin Calvert suggested that changes in how parents treated their children be characterised as a 'succession of alternative approaches' rather than a linear, positivist progression.¹⁰ Calvert's analysis of American childhood examined how parents tried to attain cultural ideals and how children's experiences were shaped by their efforts. For Calvert, the issue is 'not a question of whether parents loved their children but of how they treated the children they loved.'¹¹

Since Ariés study on the emergence of childhood in France, historians have considered links between the lengthening of childhood and a prolonged period of education as a key area of cultural change. Hugh Cunningham designated the nineteenth century as the formative period for the development of modern childhood throughout the Western world. This new ideology of childhood revolved around several key points; the belief that children should be raised within the family, an awareness of childhood as crucial to adult character, and the designation of childhood as having certain rights and privileges.¹² Heywood identified the lengthening of childhood education as a central theme in modern concepts of childhood, but recognised that in the *longée durée* the length of childhood remained relatively stable for elites. This stability was produced through educational institutions where elite males, and a smaller number of females, enjoyed longer periods of study and economic inactivity than their working-class counterparts. Heywood argued that there was a certain unity in the history of education and childhood from the 1780s to the 1950s, 'a tiny elite of males, and eventually females, experienced a 'long' sheltered childhood or adolescence.'¹³ In contrast, children outside of this elite had a shorter childhood, working, playing and attending school concurrently. This thesis deals primarily with the question of how, and in what way, this elongation of childhood was extended from a small coterie of elite families to a wider cohort of middle-class children. By the 1860s schooling was seen as the appropriate occupation for most Irish children, however, just as the length and meaning of being a child varied by class so too did the length and definition of educational achievement.

¹⁰ Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 12-13.

¹¹ Ibid., 12.

¹² Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, 41.

¹³ Colin Heywood, *Growing up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 43.

Changes in child-rearing practises in the nineteenth century were directly linked to the real and perceived benefits of education in shaping and enhancing a child's prospects. Predictably, access to social, cultural, and educational capital was shaped by the economic fortunes of a family. Education is one area of research where Irish historians have had a sustained interest since the early twentieth century. Political and institutional narratives have tended to dominate the historiography of nineteenth-century Irish education. The establishment of the Commissioners for National Education in Ireland (1831) has been the focal point for studies examining how government intervention resulted in a 'revolutionary' expansion in schooling provisions which by the end of the century meant that there were few children who had not spent some time at school.¹⁴ The political focus of these studies examined sectarian issues which dominated the initial structure of financing, teacher-training, and curriculum for the CNEI, affecting the character of Irish education well into the twentieth century.¹⁵ Patrick Pearse's criticism of education as an instrument of the English 'murder machine' set an agenda for examining the anglicizing effects of national education and the loss of Irish language and culture as a result of mass schooling.¹⁶ For many nationalists and historians, the national school system constituted a form of social management implemented to monitor the education of Irish children and assimilate them into the British imperial project.¹⁷ Deirdre Raftery and Susan Parkes argued that the expansion of state-sponsored education was 'viewed as a means of monitoring and controlling the increasingly 'vocal' Catholic population.'¹⁸

Michael Coleman examined student reactions to the national schools through an analysis of autobiographical sources. Coleman argued that the

¹⁴ John Logan, "Sufficient to Their Needs: Literacy and Elementary Schooling in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700-1920*, eds. Mary E. Daly and David Dickson (Dublin: UCD, 1990), 113-38.

¹⁵ The classic authors in the field of the history of education, particularly for teacher training courses, are Donald H. Akenson, Norman Atkinson, and John Coolahan. See, Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970); *A Mirror to Kathleen's Face: Education in Independent Ireland, 1922-1960*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012); Norman Atkinson, *Irish Education: A History of Educational Institutions* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1969); John Coolahan, *Irish Education: Its History and Structure* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981).

¹⁶ Patrick H. Pearse, *The Murder Machine* (Dublin: Whelan, 1916).

¹⁷ J. M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Education, 1808-1870: A Study of the Working Class School Reader in England and Ireland* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972); Raftery and Parkes, *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007); David Dickson, Justyna Pyz, and Christopher C. Shepard, eds., *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012).

¹⁸ Raftery and Parkes, *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900*, 5.

regimentation, curriculum and teaching system of the CNEI were part of an anglicizing imperial project of ‘assimilationist education,’ with children serving as prime agents of acculturation within their communities.¹⁹ However, he did not consider variations of gender and class as having much effect on how this project may have been received.²⁰ Since schools were sponsored by a wide variety of interest groups and varied according to their own educational standards and curriculum, a more localised approach helps to delineate the process of cultural transfer and the ambitions of teachers and parents for the children under their care. Recent scholarship has sought to contextualize the CNEI’s establishment within pre-existing educational provisions. Garret Fitzgerald’s study of the 1825-26 series of governmental reports, specified a network of approximately 11,823 schools providing education for 568,954 pupils prior to the CNEI’s intervention.²¹ Kevin Loughheed’s mapping of national schools further indicated the process of national schools establishing themselves in the same places as already existing pay schools.²² This suggests that the expansion of national schools into the landscape of educational institutions was more heavily predicated on local factors and established educational providers than earlier narratives indicated.

The focus on macro-institutional changes, while valuable, has overshadowed a consideration of the social aspects of the schooling process and the experiences of students and teachers. William Marsden urged in the 1980s for historians of education to re-examine the experiences of education and the diverse, structural, temporal and spatial components of schooling in a social context.²³ Much of the literature on Irish education focuses on the establishment of the CNEI in 1831 as a watershed moment, spelling the end of home education and the system of private pay schools traditionally known as hedge schools. John Logan’s work on

¹⁹ Michael C. Coleman, *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

²⁰ Michael C. Coleman, “‘Eyes Big as Bowls with Fear and Wonder’: Children’s Responses to the Irish National Schools, 1850-1922,” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 98C, no. 5 (1998), 201.

²¹ Garret Fitzgerald, *Irish Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of the First and Second Reports of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1825-6*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013), 21. For a further account of the hedge schools see, Antonia McManus, *The Irish Hedge School and Its Books, 1695-1831* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004).

²² Kevin Loughheed, “National Education and Empire: Ireland and the Geography of the National Education System,” in *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education*, ed. David Dickson, Justyna Pyz, and Christopher C. Shepard (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), 5-18.

²³ William E. Marsden, “Ecology and Nineteenth Century Urban Education,” *History of Education Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (1983), 40.

nineteenth-century education questioned the assumption that schooling, literacy, and education were interrelated developments. Logan was particularly concerned with the introduction of universal schooling and the simplistic assumption that this alone accounted for increased literacy rates. The educational marketplace was simply too varied and diverse to uphold this assumption. According to Logan, 'In general, the school has been taken as a proxy for the instructional process and regarded as a guarantor of a uniform set of outcomes...[Yet] schools sponsored by different interest groups, usually had different goals which were realized through a diverse range of curriculum and instructional methods. ... Parents also may have differed in the ambitions which they held for their children and they certainly differed in the means which they had available for their realization.'²⁴ Other studies have emphasised the way that local management and a de facto denominational system undermined this prerogative and allowed individuals to utilise the system to their own ends.²⁵

The arrival of national education has been taken as the end of entrepreneurial educational institutions previously monopolising the educational marketplace. However, there were different grades of schools operating in the eighteenth century and some of these did indeed survive and thrive in the next century. One harbinger of a school's success was its ability to attract the 'right' kind of pupil. Though the most elite Irish families likely opted to send their child abroad for an education, middle-class and petty-bourgeoisie families could choose from an array of private academies, boarding schools, and day schools competing for fee-paying students in Ireland.²⁶ In Belfast, Cork, and Dublin, as in other colonial metropolises, educational institutions were a mechanism for providing a stable form of association among the bourgeoisie.²⁷ The middle-classes patronised a set of schools which were deliberately and self-consciously outside of, or rather above, the tier of subsidised national or charity schools. This thesis draws attention to the social functions of Irish schools linked to the familial backgrounds of its pupils. R.D. Anderson argued

²⁴ Logan, "Schooling and the Promotion of Literacy in Nineteenth Century Ireland," 19.

²⁵ For some of the benefits of literacy, especially for Irish women see, Daly and Dickson, eds., *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland*.

²⁶ Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

²⁷ Robert Rotenberg, "Metropolitanism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Metropolises," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 103, no. 1 (2001), 9. Also see R.D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in England*. For a modern account of elite schools see Shamus Rahman Khan, *Privilege: The Making of an Adolescent Elite at St. Paul's School* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012).

that in the study of British higher education, tracing student origins and destinations provides, 'a statistical backing to theories of professionalisation, formation of elites and social theory.'²⁸ There are still plenty of unanswered questions about how patterns of school attendance and social mobility played out in the Irish context.

Irish Historiographical Developments

In Ireland, the emergence of the history of childhood has followed a different trajectory from the historiography of British and American childhoods. Irish scholars began with a focus on institutional histories of education and children in care, and these concerns took precedence over cultural studies approaches. This development was influenced by contemporary events of the last twenty years and a series of revelations about industrial schools, Magdalene laundries, and clerical sexual abuse scandals which provoked public inquiries into the care of children in state and religious institutions. Physical, sexual, and emotional abuse has become part of a modern narrative of historical Irish childhood since allegations of child abuse and neglect were first aired in 1999.²⁹ From 1936 to 1970 over 170,000 children spent time in an industrial school in Ireland, often because of circumstances resulting from poverty, not criminality.³⁰ At the centre of the anger and dismay expressed after a series of journalistic exposés, was a sense that childhood care and parental responsibility in the past did not match with contemporary standards. The National Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse, carried out between 1999 to 2009, brought sustained public attention to the collusion of state and church in the care of children since the 1930s and culminated in the publication of the Ryan Report.³¹ Since then, several historians have offered nuanced assessments of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to

²⁸ R.D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain Since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 42.

²⁹ 'States of Fear' a documentary inquiry was broadcast on the Irish national television channel RTÉ in April and May 1999 and a governmental inquiry was set up shortly after. Mary Raftery, *Suffer the Little Children: The Inside Story of Ireland's Industrial Schools* (Dublin: New Island, 1999).

³⁰ Lindsey Earner-Byrne, "Child Sexual Abuse, History and the Pursuit of Blame in Modern Ireland," in *Exhuming Passions: The Pressure of the Past in Ireland and Australia*, ed. Katie Holmes and Stuart Ward (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011), 51.

³¹ The full findings of the Commission are available at <http://www.childabusecommission.ie/>, Accessed 15 October 2015.

Children in Ireland, industrial schools, and mother and baby homes.³² This is an on-going project.³³ Ireland has not been unique in this burgeoning interest in institutional childhoods; scholars in Africa, America, Australia, Norway, and Britain were simultaneously occupied with exposing the tangled webs of care provided by governmental, parental, and societal bodies, attempting to contextualise and understand the ways in which these institutions had managed, or rather mismanaged, children's welfare.³⁴

In the 1980s Joseph Robins offered one of the earliest historical accounts of child-rearing in Ireland, providing a sombre account of the foundling hospitals, charter schools, and workhouses which had formed a network of charitable relief for children during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He argued that indifference to Irish orphans was caused by high infant mortality rates in general, and that this prevented sentimental attachment developing among mothers and carers.³⁵ From 1750 to 1759 the Dublin Workhouse, established in 1703, had an 89% rate of mortality among infants in its care.³⁶ Robins identified a shift from the 'callous indifference' in the early eighteenth century, to a more concerned

³² Jane Barnes, *Irish Industrial Schools, 1868-1908: Origins and Development* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989); Sarah-Anne Buckley, *The Cruelty Man: Child Welfare, the NSPCC and the State in Ireland, 1889-1956*, 1st ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013); Lindsey Earner-Byrne, "Child Sexual Abuse, History and the Pursuit of Blame in Modern Ireland," in *Exhuming Passions: Memory and the Pressures of the Past in Australia and Ireland*, ed. Katie Holmes and Stuart Ward (Crawley, W.A.: UWA Publishing, 2011); Lindsey Earner-Byrne, *Mother and Child: Maternity and Child Welfare in Dublin, 1922-60* (Manchester University Press, 2013); H. M. Knox and Jane Barnes, "Irish Industrial Schools, 1868-1908: Origins and Development," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 38, no. 1 (1990); Sinead Pembroke, "The Role of Industrial Schools and Control over Child Welfare in Ireland in the Twentieth Century," *Irish Journal of Sociology* 21, no. 1 (2013), 52-67; Raftery, *Suffer the Little Children*.

³³ In Northern Ireland, the Inquiry and Investigation into Historical Institutional abuse –chaired by Sir Anthony Hart –was announced in 2012 to examine whether there were systemic failings by institutions or the state in their duties towards those children in their care 1922-1995; it aimed to report in January 2017.

³⁴ See Johanna Sköld and Shurlee Swain, eds., *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse of Children in "Care": International Perspectives* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). The 2016 special edition *Journal of the History of Education* focused on issues of child abuse with a comparative lens. See Kaisa Vehkalahti, "Dusting the Archives of Childhood: Child Welfare Records as Historical Sources," *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016), 430-45; Annemieke van Drenth, "The 'truth' about Idiocy: Revisiting Files of Children in the Dutch 'School for Idiots' in the Nineteenth Century," *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016), 477-91; Johanna Sköld, "The Truth about Abuse? A Comparative Approach to Inquiry Narratives on Historical Institutional Child Abuse," *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016), 492-509; Nell Musgrove, "Abuse of Foster Children in Nineteenth-Century Australia: Why Did It Happen Then, and Why Does It Matter Now?," *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016), 460-76; Adrian Bingham et al., "Historical Child Sexual Abuse in England and Wales: The Role of Historians," *History of Education* 45, no. 4 (2016), 411-29.

³⁵ Joseph Robins, *The Lost Children: A Study of Charity Children in Ireland 1700-1900* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1980), 9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 22.

philanthropic and religious care for delinquent children by the end of the nineteenth century.³⁷ Robins perhaps overestimates the disregard of Irish society. The public care of children was antithetical to notions of patriarchal and familial responsibility. Citizens saw the care of children as firmly within the realm of religious and private concerns, which may suggest why the houses of industry did not garner full support. Robins' study, however, opened up the field of inquiry into public care for children and the nature of state-supported childcare institutions.

Alongside these public, formal investigations into the treatment of children, autobiographies, of which Frank McCourt's *Angela's Ashes*, first published in 1996, is an exemplar of a genre, added to the production of Irish childhood for public consumption. From McCourt's touching narrative of abject poverty in Limerick city to Alice Taylor's idyllic account of childhood in rural Cork, autobiography has played a significant cultural role in constructing tropes of childhood experience.³⁸ Diarmuid Ferriter has argued that the flood of autobiographies and memoirs appearing during the last thirty years have operated as counterpoints to the official, institutional documentary record. Particularly in connection to the twentieth century and the establishment of the Irish Free State, memoirs have complemented and complicated understandings of poverty, emigration, nationalism, and religion in Irish social history.³⁹ Memoirs constitute a valid source for understanding the nuances of childhood experiences, but it is difficult to consider how exceptional or representative these individuals are without a larger historiography of Irish childhood.

The history of the memoir itself is an important starting point for understanding nineteenth-century constructions of childhood, since this century saw a burgeoning market for autobiography and a public interest in the interior life of the individual.⁴⁰ Richard Coe identified a change within biographical writing during the nineteenth century, when authors began to invest great importance to childhood experiences in formulating their identity in adulthood. Novelists, as well as scientists, were interested in the memories of early childhood and their effect on

³⁷ Ibid., 9.

³⁸ Frank McCourt, *Angela's Ashes: A Memoir of a Childhood* (London: HarperCollins, 1996); Alice Taylor, *To School Through the Fields: An Irish Country Childhood*, (Dingle: Brandon, 1988).

³⁹ Diarmuid Ferriter, "Suffer Little Children? The Historical Validity of Memoirs of Irish Childhood," in *Childhood and Its Discontents: The First Seamus Heaney Lectures*, eds. Joseph Dunne and James Kelly (Dublin: Liffey Press, 2003), 70.

⁴⁰ For an excellent history of this concept see, Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

later life.⁴¹ Autobiographies began to depict a set of unique and personal experiences, identifying points of intellectual or emotional growth that seemed to explain the adult that the child would become. For example, the Young Irelander's autobiographies suggest their nationalist purpose, identifying points of childhood experience which foreshadowed adult political positions.⁴² Valerie Sanders' collection of female autobiographies from the United Kingdom reflected on the tendency of women to focus more extensively on their childhoods. Quirky anecdotes and trivial accidents could be described in relation to childhood, which could have been a source of embarrassment to an adult.⁴³ Sanders also argues that female auto-biographers utilised a different form of language to convey the 'fleeting but deeply complex web of impressions received by themselves as children.'⁴⁴

Since the 1980s the credibility of the personal narrative has been questioned further: the genre of autobiography has been theorised as a literary style rather than a reflection of objective experience. At one end of the spectrum, some have claimed that the process of narrative-making, the inevitable manipulation of memory, and the demands of the trope has rendered the memoir a literary project of self-construction. There is a rich seam of scholarship devoted to ideas of memory and construction of the self which suggest a dynamic relationship between author, text, and audience.⁴⁵ The question of veracity, which is of most interest to historians, remains a point of careful compromise. Historian Timothy Dow Adams claimed that all autobiographies are not historically accurate, but they are metaphorically authentic and thus their value is in recording subjective experience, not data driven analysis.⁴⁶ Historian Michael Coleman mined collections of Indian and Irish schoolchildren's reminiscences as a way of getting access to pupils' experiences in Irish national schools and Indian boarding schools during the nineteenth century. While admitting that retrospective accounts are not 'ideal' sources, Coleman defended the use of autobiography by outlining tests that can

⁴¹ Sally S. Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child: Child Development in Literature, Science, and Medicine 1840-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴² Charles Gavan Duffy, *Thomas Davis: The Memoirs of an Irish Patriot, 1840-1846* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1890); Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres*.

⁴³ Valerie Sanders, ed., *Records of Girlhood: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Women's Childhoods*, The Nineteenth Century (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 5

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Paula S. Fass, "Childhood and Memory"; Julia Swindells Homerton, *The Uses of Autobiography* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2014).

⁴⁶ Timothy Dow Adams, *Telling Lies in Modern American Autobiography*, (University of North Carolina Press Enduring Editions, 2009).

serve as a heuristic technique for historical research. Internal consistency, comparison with institutional sources, comparison with contemporaneous accounts, use of official primary sources, and comparison with lived experience of similar educational institutions are ways of 'testing' and compiling sources.⁴⁷

The neglect of children and childhood within historiography, until recently, was partly due to modern associations of childhood with triviality and the dismissal of the child as a historical actor. Mary Jo Maynes observed that traditional notions of autonomy are based on rationality, knowledge and public action. Children, as a group, are typically deficient in these attributes and constructed as dependent, irrational, and restricted to the private sphere. Maynes suggested that, similar to gender, consideration of age must prompt a new conceptualisation of autonomy which appreciates the activities of individuals within a social and cultural context.⁴⁸ From this perspective, the child is seen as an individual, regardless of their potential or future as an adult. Acknowledging children as active contributors in their own representation reveals a classic tension between the dualism of individual agency and structural forms. Similar to theoretical challenges faced by feminist historians, historians of children have reconsidered traditional views of historical agency and power. According to Paula Fass, historians of childhood have begun to take children seriously, not simply in anticipation of their adult roles, but as individuals positioned in a particular moment of the life course. According to Fass 'we are not only questioning a grand integrated adult-based narrative, we are making possible the unravelling of the coherent individual and asserting that this individual has engaged in a number of separately investigable lives, lives that could change over time.'⁴⁹ However, the extent to which this new perspective can be characterised as a true Kuhnian paradigm shift has been debated. Patrick Ryan observed that children as social actors retained the epistemological antecedents foundational to conceptions of historical agency. Ryan argued that 'unless the terms of modern selfhood collapse entirely, turning social-actor theory and the contemporary social

⁴⁷ Michael C. Coleman, "Seeking the Voices of American Indian and Irish Schoolchildren (1820s-1920s): Autobiographical Reminiscence as Historical Source," *Ethnohistory* 59, no. 1 (2012), 1-25; Michael C. Coleman, "'The Children Are Used Wretchedly': Pupil Responses to the Irish Charter Schools in the Early Nineteenth Century," *History of Education* 30, no. 4 (2001), 339-57; Michael C. Coleman, *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study*.

⁴⁸ Mary Jo Maynes, "Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008), 116.

⁴⁹ Paula S. Fass, 'Childhood and Memory,' *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3.2 (2010), 161.

study of childhood into nonsense, the child...will continue to occupy a paradoxical position as an object of knowledge and a subject who knows.’⁵⁰ The newest ‘turn’ within the field emerged during the past two decades and includes the work of sociologists William Corsaro, Allison James, and Alan Prout. The publications of such scholars have directed historian’s attention to the perspective of children themselves, rather than wider cultural and symbolic portrayals of childhood.⁵¹ Where traditionally scholars have only asked how adults have influenced children, more recent scholarship has posed radical questions about the significance and construction of age at every point of the life cycle and the collective dimensions of childhood socialisation. Recognition of children as individuals prompts a greater effort to contextualise childhood within a local context, but perhaps in exchange historians have lost a willingness to look across national boundaries for parallels and continuities in the development of childhood. In short, the history of childhood has moved beyond the grand narratives of western childhood and towards a more fractured, local, and specific view of children as actors within a particular social context.

It became evident over the course of this research project that the history of middle-class children operates on different chronological markers than traditional histories of nineteenth-century Ireland. Children experienced events differently from adults and the historian has to some degree to accept the validity of this alternative ‘child-ish’ view. For example, Robert Ball (1840–1913) was six years old during the height of the Irish Famine. While in adulthood he grasped the gravity of the event, he recalled that as a child it was a matter of potatoes being replaced by suet dumplings in the nursery.⁵² For bourgeois children the famine that decimated the Irish countryside was a distant, abstract event. Similarly, rebellions, agrarian unrest, and nationalised education were observed from a distance. I would suggest that this emotional insulation is suggestive in itself of a certain kind of childhood, one in which parents were responsible for, and capable of, sheltering their children

⁵⁰ Patrick J. Ryan, ‘How New is the “New” Social Study of Childhood? The Myth of a Paradigm Shift’ in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, xxxviii, no. 4 (2008), 576.

⁵¹ William A. Corsaro, *The Sociology of Childhood* (Los Angeles: Sage/Pine Forge Press, 2011); Allison James, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout, *Theorizing Childhood* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998); Heather Montgomery, *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children’s Lives*, (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008); Jane Eva Baxter, *The Archaeology of Childhood: Children, Gender, and Material Culture* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005).

⁵² Robert S. (Robert Stawell) Ball and William Valentine Ball, *Reminiscences and Letters of Sir Robert Ball* (London Cassell, 1915), 16.

from the emotional and physical turbulence of adult concerns. This insulation was necessary to preserve children's supposed innocence. This is not to suggest that parents were always successful in doing so. Ball remembered vividly the alarm in Dublin after William Smith O'Brien's rebellion in 1848. His father boarded the windows of their home and prepared a stock of ammunition. Ball stated, 'Indeed, I am not quite sure but that I, a child of eight years old, did not myself prepare some very desperate weapons which I took to bed with me every night, determined to sell my life as dearly as possible.'⁵³ Politics was a force in some children's lives, and experiences of violence or unrest could have an impact on nationalist or loyalist politics in adulthood, but tracing those connections is beyond the scope of this project.⁵⁴

Who Are the Irish Bourgeoisie?

Lawrence Stone's thesis on the modern family located the 'invention of childhood' among the British elite during the eighteenth century. The keystone of this 'new' family model was a deeper affective and emotional link between parents and children.⁵⁵ Historians of British childhood have identified industrialisation and urbanisation as primary factors in the configuration of the middle-class family during the nineteenth century. In Britain, the emerging bourgeoisie were composed of minor gentry, mercantile, and professional families and were increasingly tied to the fortunes and fluctuations of foreign markets. Margaret Hunt's study of the 'middling sort' in Britain identified the rise of the bourgeoisie as an urban phenomenon, but tied less to professional or economic status, and more as a cultural group espousing prudential virtue.⁵⁶ Weakening patriarchal authority, more strictly delineated gender roles and an intensification of emotional, as opposed to economic, investment in family life were characteristics of the middle-class home.⁵⁷

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Kathryn Gleadle's article on children's loyalist politics is a good example of this kind of work. Kathryn Gleadle, "Playing at Soldiers: British Loyalism and Juvenile Identities during the Napoleonic Wars," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 3 (2015), 335–48 as well as, Ríona Nic Congáil, "Young Ireland and The Nation: Nationalist Children's Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Éire-Ireland* 46, no. 3 (2011), 37–62.

⁵⁵ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977).

⁵⁶ Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (San Diego: University of California Press, 1996).

⁵⁷ Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (London: Routledge,

At a basic level, the middle-classes were differentiated from the aristocracy and gentry by participation in the productive economy and from the working classes by property ownership and lack of engagement in manual labour. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's work on the middle classes of Colchester and Birmingham indicated the cohesion of a middle class produced by domestic ideology and moral order.⁵⁸ This seems to be pattern across the English-speaking world, characterised by more affective relationships between parents and their children, and the elevation of women's role in creating a domestic home life for the family. Jacqueline Reiner argued that American patterns of child-rearing show a marked decline in the patriarchal power of the father figure during the nineteenth century. Families rejected the metaphor of the father as king in exchange for a Lockean view of the social contract between government and people as a model for parent-child relations.⁵⁹ This meant that mothers gained a new publicly recognised authority over their children. In Britain, women utilised this moral authority in matters of childcare to expand their influence in the public sphere of education and religion.⁶⁰ Similar formations of female activist groups, in the guise of philanthropic outreach or civic duty, were also present in Ireland. However, these organisations were segregated by denominational loyalties. Irish lay Catholic women were less likely to be involved in charitable projects, because this role was often filled by nuns who operated as nurses, teachers, and social workers.⁶¹ As will become apparent throughout the thesis, this is a common historiographical theme; Irish society had much in common with British associational culture during the period but this cultural seepage was usually mediated through sectarian fissures, resulting in a distinctive Irish manifestation of wider trends.

Reflection on the religious dimensions of modern childhood suggests further Irish divergence from the narrative of British childhood. In Ireland, class structure was enmeshed with confessional identity. Toby Barnard argued that this made childhood during the eighteenth century almost exclusively the preserve of a

2002); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, Conn. ; London: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁵⁸ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*.

⁵⁹ Jacqueline S. Reiner, *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775-1850*, Twayne's History of American Childhood Series (New York : Prentice Hall International, 1996), 2.

⁶⁰ Mary Hilton, *Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain, 1750-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

⁶¹ Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Protestant elite.⁶² Members of the Protestant ascendancy had better access to education while Catholics were hindered by the lingering effects of the penal laws. Because childhood became associated with consumer goods and leisure, access to economic and social capital were central to new notions of leisured childhood.⁶³ Hugh Cunningham argued that the principal change in nineteenth-century Protestant child-rearing practises came through a humanist understanding of intellectual development and the rise of evangelical Christianity. The idea of a nuclear, affectionately attached family as a societal ideal was associated with detachment from formal church hierarchies, an emphasis on personal prayer and responsibility, and a sphere of social reform which pervaded the personal and the domestic. Cunningham argued that this humanist element was absent from Catholic families.⁶⁴ Davidoff and Hall's work similarly suggested the central role of religion in shaping the dynamics of familial responsibility and gender during the same period.⁶⁵ However, in Britain, the theological and cultural divisions separating conforming and non-conforming Protestant sects were not insurmountable. The sectarianism between Catholic and Protestant in Ireland was far more vexed than the religious divisions between Tory Anglicism and Nonconformity/Whig associations in Britain.⁶⁶

As Ciaran O'Neill has succinctly noted, the expansion of the Irish bourgeoisie during the nineteenth century from 3% to 10% of the population is widely accepted, but the nature of this expansion, the career trajectories of upwardly mobile individuals, and the boundaries of the middle class defies easy categorisation.⁶⁷ The problem of defining an Irish middle class is complicated by the economic and political position of Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth-century.⁶⁸ Whereas the

⁶² Toby Barnard, "Children and Books in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in *That Woman!: Studies in Irish Bibliography: A Festschrift for Mary "Paul" Pollard*, ed. C. Benson and Siobhán Fitzpatrick (Dublin: Lilliput Press for the Library Association of Ireland, Rare Books Group, 2005), 216.

⁶³ This follows Hugh Cunningham's argument that the practice of leisure, just like the experience of work, was used to defined social status. Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780-c.1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 11.

⁶⁴ Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*, 58–59.

⁶⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*.

⁶⁶ Derek Fraser, *Urban Politics in Victorian England: The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities* (Leicester: Leicester University, 1976).

⁶⁷ Ciaran O'Neill, 'Bourgeois Ireland, or, On the Benefits of Keeping One's Hands Clean' (Forthcoming, 2018). Used with the author's permission.

⁶⁸ For an overview of class and Irish society in the twentieth century see Fintan Lane (ed), *Politics, Society, and the Middle Class in Modern Ireland* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). For the nineteenth century see W.H. Crawford, 'The Belfast Middle Classes in the Late Eighteenth Century' in D. Dickson et al. (eds), *The United Irishmen: Republicanism, Radicalism and Rebellion*

middle class in Manchester, Birmingham, or Glasgow had an identifiable social cohesion resting in urban industrialisation, Ireland's urban expansion was effectively limited to the east coast cities of Belfast, Dublin, and Cork.⁶⁹ Despite rapid population growth, Ireland was still a predominately rural nation and would remain so far longer than its rapidly urbanising neighbour to the east. In 1841, 13.89% of Irish people resided in towns with more than 2,000 inhabitants, in 1861 this had increased to just 19.26%.⁷⁰ Adding to the ambiguous nature of the project of defining the bourgeoisie is the absence of the term bourgeois as a label during the period. The term bourgeois does not appear in descriptive literature with any frequency and 'middle class' is equally scarce as an appellation of self-description. More often the terms 'middling sort', 'respectable', 'leading family', 'distinguished', and 'private' stand in as indicators of class distinction. Roland Barthes suggested this absence is a key feature of the bourgeoisie, 'the social class that does not want to be named.'⁷¹

As contemporaries from the period indicate, being respectable was as much about behaviour, attitudes, and values as it was about financial advantage. Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualisation of symbolic struggle over class differentiation draws attention to those aspects of nineteenth-century society that served to legitimate hierarchical structures and contributed to the collective recognition of certain types of social capital and prestige, such as education. Social capital, conferred through education and family genealogy, were forms of wealth that operated on a symbolic level, but were tied to real economic circumstance.⁷² Class distinctions were created and maintained through non-economic forms. As the Irish middle classes delayed their children's entry into labour markets, childhood began to carry alternative social value as a kind of cultural capital in itself. Defining childhood as a period of leisure, distinct from adult society and focused on education, demonstrated a parent's ability to fund their progeny. As this thesis will explore, by the 1860s the idea of having a childhood was synonymous with having economic and social capital. That elongated period of childhood, extending past the age of 11 or 12, was

(Dublin: Lilliput Press 1993), 62-73; Ciaran O'Neill (ed), *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013).

⁶⁹ Simon Gunn, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City 1840-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

⁷⁰ Vaughan, *Irish Historical Statistics*, 27.

⁷¹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972), 150.

⁷² Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 119-38.

in itself a demonstration of wealth and social capital. Bourdieu argued that the sentimental language of family and kinship relationships is a deliberate misrecognition of exchange that denies the monetary benefits of social interactions.⁷³

The relationship between class identity and childhood has traditionally been posited as a static category imposed by virtue of parentage. This has resulted in a focus on the social mobility of males, since analysis of social mobility has traditionally been read through the transmission of status from father to son. The result is a rather static assessment of career choice and identifies children's class only in relation to their adult life. There are some practical reasons for this. During the nineteenth century, females were not able to attend the same universities or schools as their brothers, nor were their careers likely to be defined by the same standards of success as their male counterparts.⁷⁴ This has resulted in a segregated literature, with boys' and girls' schooling treated as entirely separate entities. For example, a young girl who received several years of tutoring at home followed by a grand tour on the continent acquired more claims to social capital than a young boy enrolled in a local private academy for eight years in a provincial town. However, the historiography of education has tended to assess the boy's educational experience in a school as a better quality and higher valued education. Claire Maxwell and Peter Agglestone have argued for the study of reproduction and privilege in contemporary British elite education for girls within a holistic framework that would seek to understand the complex relations between each student's home, social milieu, and school. A three-pronged model of analysis seems particularly well-suited to the study of the nineteenth century when education still had a significant at-home component, and home and school spaces were linked to an even greater degree for girls.⁷⁵ By conceptualising these three contexts, the home, the school, and the family, as sites for shaping identities and accruing social capital it is possible to resolve some of the contradictions caused by imposing our contemporary concepts of educational achievement.

⁷³ Ibid., 119.

⁷⁴ Catherine Hall, "Private Persons versus Public Someones: Class, Gender and Politics in England, 1780-1850," in *Language, Gender and Childhood*, ed. Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Unwin, and Valerie Walkerdine (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 10-33.

⁷⁵ Claire Maxwell and Peter Aggleton, "Creating Cosmopolitan Subjects: The Role of Families and Private Schools in England," *Sociology*, (2013); Claire Maxwell and Peter Aggleton, "Agentive Practice and Privileging Orientations among Privately Educated Young Women," *The Sociological Review* 62, no. 4 (2014), 800-820.

A more reflexive approach to class as an identity, utilising Bourdieu's theory of multiple forms of capital shifting in value during the life course, recommends a more process-driven sense of the child 'becoming classed.' A child's early experiences in a class-specific environment provided a basis for learning the expectations of normative behaviour in every situation.⁷⁶ The process of 'learning the field' provided a child with capital in the form of usable resources, skills, and power-to. A child's capital consisted of cultural accomplishments, social connections and relationships, or symbolic status through educational credentials; rather than economic and monetary assets.⁷⁷ This approach towards education as a holistic experience accounts much more easily for the informal content of education and can help square the different outcomes of girls' and boys' education. However, Bourdieu insufficiently addresses how children may have negotiated or actively facilitated this process and gave little indication as to the interplay between the child and the family in signifying familial status. At the far end of the agency spectrum, some historians have conceptualised childhood as an entirely mono-directional process in which the child passively consumes a family's emotional, economic, and social resources while its contribution to the family are entirely deferred to a future potential.⁷⁸ In addition to denying children any agency in their own lives, that characterisation is a thoroughly twentieth-century concept of childhood and does not fit the collaborative nature of Irish families in the nineteenth century nor the reliance on children's labour within family economies. A child's education enhanced collective familial prospects both as abstracted social capital and in real knowledge transfer. Considering family and school as interconnected sites for identity formation provides a useful counterbalance to the assumption that education benefitted only the individual's life prospects.

Bourgeois values connected work and morality, shaped consumption practises and aesthetic preferences, and could be aspirational as much as

⁷⁶ Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 63. This assumption draws largely on the theories of Bourdieu concerning the notion of the habitus and the role of education. For an examination of class-based aesthetic judgement see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); for an explanation of the idea of habitus see Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*; for a gendering of the concept of habitus and capital see, Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

⁷⁷ Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 119, 131. Bernstein elaborates on this in the context of the classroom, examining the codes and structures differentiating class in school. See, Basil Bernstein, *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse: Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse Vol 4*, (London ; New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁷⁸ Viviana A. Rotman Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (Princeton University Press, 1985).

performative. From children's perspective, middle-class behaviour was entwined with gender, as their fathers and mothers were often their first models of genteel behaviour, or lack thereof. Writing in 1846, William Allingham (1824-1889) indicated the virtues of middle-class respectability 'honesty, prudence, industry, regularity, conformity' that his father espoused in the community of Ballyshannon, Donegal.⁷⁹

His business was that of a merchant—a wide designation, and in his case applicable enough; he imported timber, slates, coal and iron, and owned at various times five or six ships, trading chiefly to Canada and the Baltic for timber. There were no exports, save now and again of human beings to Quebec...My father went out every morning to his office, which was on the other side of the street from our house, and seldom returned till dinner time, half-past four.⁸⁰

Allingham's paternal grandmother Jane Hamilton was equally a model of bourgeois femininity, 'She cared about her own household, first and last; maintained regular hours and a good larder; was kind to her servants, but kept them in their place; petted her grandchildren, and took a great deal of snuff...'⁸¹ From Allingham's description the spatial dimensions of the gender divide are apparent, his male role models left the house everyday to conduct their business affairs, returning home each evening, while women's managerial role within the household held social power through the extension of hospitality to kin circles, business acquaintances, and employees.⁸² Simplistic though these descriptions may seem, they capture a sense of the gendered division of labour that was credited with producing the harmony of a middle-class household.

Among rural communities, class distinction was communicated through different markers than in urban settings, though the separation between rural and urban was never complete as urban areas relied on rural hinterlands to produce raw materials as much as rural farmers utilised goods and services from cities. Farming did not require men to leave their homes everyday nor to engage in regular business hours, hallmarks which featured in the lives of urban bourgeois professionals; instead, the employment of paid labourers, participation in the market

⁷⁹ William Allingham, *William Allingham, a Diary* (London: Macmillan and co., 1907), 25.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 24.

⁸¹ Ibid., 27.

⁸² Maeve O'Riordan, "Assuming Control: Elite Women as Household Managers in Late Nineteenth-Century Ireland," in *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Ciaran O'Neill, Nineteenth-Century Ireland Series 15 (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013), 83–99.

economy, the size of farmlands and house, and a diversification of income outside of farming marked the development of rural aspirants to the middle class. These kinds of large farmers assumed a more managerial role and withdrew from manual labour. Mary 'Sissy' O'Brien's father, John O'Brien (1816-?), farmed 200 acres of land rented from Count de Salis in West Limerick. He employed four families who lived on his acreage, paying them a shilling a day. Respected in the community for his industry and piety, he was a frequent visitor to Limerick City for business and social visits. When Mary (1858-1943) was growing up beside Lough Gur her father's business friend Mr. Finnegan of Limerick City sent his daughters to the O'Brien's country farm to take advantage of the fresh air and healthy diet. Upon their arrival, Mary assessed the two girls in terms of their different dress, education, and recreational pursuits. 'We were at first shy of these grand city children, who played games we had never heard of, and wore frilled drawers, who played duets on the piano and were learning French and how to make lace.'⁸³ These hallmarks of urbanity signalled to the young O'Brien that her playmates had access to a set of skills and knowledge that gained them a privileged status, however superficial. However, the O'Brien sisters were not at a complete disadvantage, 'We on our side had a store of country knowledge; we knew about butter-making, candle-making, spinning and weaving even if we could not spin and weave ourselves; we knew how...eels are caught and fairies exorcised from dairies. We also knew much more about books and poetry than they did.'⁸⁴ This contrast between the cosmopolitanism of the Finnegan sisters and the housekeeping skills and religiosity forming the O'Brien's sisters' mental world picks up a thread which historians have long tried to disentangle, the precise definition of the bourgeois class, the locally arbitrated material and social dimensions of class distinction, and the divide between rural and urban during the nineteenth-century expansion of the merchant classes.

These types of large farmers like the O'Brien's with 'glass windows' may not have resided in the ranks of the bourgeoisie themselves, but they were keen to see their children gain the educational credentials to launch professional careers among the bona fide middle classes. The key to upward mobility from a rural context usually meant leaving the farm behind. James Armour (1841-1928) was the product

⁸³ Mary Carbery, *The Farm by Lough Gur: The Story of Mary Fogarty (Sissy O'Brien)*, ed. Shane Leslie (Cork ; Dublin: Mercier Press, 1973), 78.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

of one of these families; his parents, William Sr. and Jane Armour, were freeholding farmers with 60 acres of land in north Antrim. As the youngest of six children, William was educated with a ministerial career in mind. He attended Ganaby school for a short time and then followed its master Mr. Warnock to the Ballymoney Model School, walking nine miles each day from his home in Lisboy. He was enrolled at the prestigious Belfast Academical Institute, it is unclear for how long, in order to prepare for matriculation at Queen's University Belfast aged 19. Pierre Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital provides a suitable framework for understanding the logic informing educational trajectories like James Armour's. Being bourgeois meant more than just possession of wealth. Personal relationships with schoolmasters and attendance at private academies signified routes towards accruing the capital required to move up the social hierarchy. Armour's parents were not middle class, but they provided their son with an upbringing intended to give him the security of a church living and the relative prestige of a profession in the Presbyterian church. Of course, their motives can hardly be read in such simplistic terms; religious devotion, individual propensity, spiritual vocation, and the changing fortunes of Irish farmers during Armour's childhood suggest the contingency of a web of cultural and social values that in retrospect tend to fade from view. Armour himself did not initially like the idea of ministerial career and wished to try for the civil service. Only upon the death of his father did he decide to assent to his parents' wishes.⁸⁵

While children generally carried some economic value in their role as helpers within a household, the early nineteenth century saw a greater investment in the social and cultural capital of children of the middle classes, deferring their economic contributions to the family for a longer period.⁸⁶ Rather than a definitive rupture from eighteenth-century educational strategies, during this period the middle classes were utilising existing models of elite education to widen the social prospects of their children. Mary Ryan's study of the class identity in America

⁸⁵ This is based on a collection of his personal correspondence. See, J. R. B. McMinn, *Against the Tide: A Calendar of the Papers of Rev. J.B. Armour, Irish Presbyterian Minister and Home Ruler, 1869-1914* (Belfast: PRONI, 1985).

⁸⁶ Zelizer cites a similar transformation at the beginning of the twentieth century when children carry tremendous sentimental value but little economic value see, Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*. The delay of children's entry into the work force has also been observed in the British and French contexts, see, Colin Heywood, *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, Mass: Polity Press, 2001). Ryan has a similar argument about the transition from rural to industrial society in America, Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*.

during this same period suggested that the middle classes chose a particular ideal of privatised family life and a particular model of child-rearing, as their ‘class insignia.’⁸⁷ In the eastern part of the United States, farming families needed children as labourers in the early nineteenth century. Shifting methods of mechanisation, industrialisation, and technical specialisation made children’s labour less necessary during the 1830s, and investment in education became a pragmatic strategy for long-term economic benefit.⁸⁸ The Irish middle class adopted a similar pattern in making long-term decisions about their children’s welfare, though for different reasons. Particularly for substantial farming families, being middle class was an aspirational category that shaped how they educated their children. Sending children to school in the city could open a family’s social networks and provide the social capital for launching a son into business or another profession. The trajectory from rural large farmer to urban professional could be completed in a single generation for some families.

Gender studies, Feminism, and Children

The historiography of institutions for impoverished children has been a productive seam of scholarship, widening our understanding of Irish society, its sexual mores, class structure, and cultural constructions of family life.⁸⁹ Since the early 2000s, the history of childhood in Ireland has fostered a steady publication of collections of academic essays on themes, including childhood illness and death, children’s culture, Irish adolescence, and children’s literary history in both the English and Irish languages.⁹⁰ This has had implications for the way historians consider gender

⁸⁷ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 14.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Una Crowley and Rob Kitchin, “Producing ‘Decent Girls’: Governmentality and the Moral Geographies of Sexual Conduct in Ireland (1922–1937),” *Gender, Place & Culture* 15, no. 4 (2008), 355–72; Maria Luddy, “The Early Years of the NSPCC in Ireland,” *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009), 62–90; *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); James M. Smith, *Ireland’s Magdalen Laundries and the Nation’s Architecture of Containment* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

⁹⁰ See, for example, Joseph Dunne and James Kelly (eds.), *Childhood and its Discontents: The First Seamus Heaney Lectures* (Dublin: The Liffey Press, 2002); Anne Mac Lellan and Alice Mauger (eds.), *Growing Pains: Childhood Illness in Ireland 1750–1950* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013); John Countryman and Kelly Matthews (eds.), *The Country of the Young: Interpretations of Youth and Childhood in Irish Culture* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013); Caoimhe Nic Lochlainn and Róna Nic Congáil (eds.), *Laethanta Gréine & Oícheanta Sí: Aistí ar Litríocht agus ar Chultúr na nÓg* (Baile Átha Cliath: Leabhair Comhar, 2013); Garret FitzGerald, Gillian O’Brien, Cormac Ó Gráda, Michael Murphy, and James Kelly (eds.), *Irish Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of the First and Second Reports of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1825–6* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2013); Maria Luddy and James M. Smith (eds.), *Children, Childhood*

and adulthood. Rather than existing on the periphery of the history of the family, this thesis argues that children were central to the formation and experience of family life and constructions of gender.

Since the inauguration of feminist history in the 1960s, motherhood and the implications of maternity on women's experiences has been a continued area of research. Cultural representations of femininity in the western world have been tied to women's reproductive role and an essentialised set of feminine values tied to childcare.⁹¹ However, much of this history has not been concerned with the relationship between mothers and their children, but rather the ways that maternity has been deployed as a limit on women's public role in society. Feminist scholarship has tended to silence the voice of the child, representing children as problems, adding extra work for mothers, endangering maternal health, and draining household resources.⁹² Moreover, the way that the cultural categories of femininity and childhood have been elided to portray women as infantile and immature, created an adversarial relationship for feminists seeking equitable representation. Children's contributions to families' social, emotional, and economic fortunes have not featured in feminist accounts. In histories of sexuality, the modern abhorrence of pregnancy and large families colours historical studies of pregnancy and reproduction. This is a product of creating false dichotomies for female fulfilment, such as when Tom Inglis argued that it was only when birth control broke the link between sexual intercourse and childbirth that 'married women were no longer faced with the choice of being cold and frigid or warm and pregnant.'⁹³ Large family size is depicted as the fruit of sexual ignorance resulting in coerced pregnancy; whether or not this is how historical subjects felt about their children is a separate

and Irish Society: 1500 to the Present (Dublin: Four Courts Press 2014); Catherine Cox and Susannah Riordan (eds.), *Adolescence in Modern Irish History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

⁹¹ Deirdre Raftery and Susan M. Parkes, *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900: Minerva or Madonna* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007); Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁹² This is of course a generalisation, a notable exception being Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Unwin, and Valerie Walkerdine, eds., *Language, Gender and Childhood*, History Workshop Series (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985). A workshop on the relationship between feminism and childhood was held in November 2015 at University College London, for a summary of the event see, Katherine Twamley, Rachel Rosen, and Berry Mayall, "The (Im)possibilities of Dialogue across Feminism and Childhood Scholarship and Activism," *Children's Geographies* 15, no. 2 (2017), 249–55; Rachel Rosen, "Time, Temporality, and Woman–child Relations," *Children's Geographies* 15, no. 3 (2017), 374–80.

⁹³ Tom Inglis, "Origins and Legacies of Irish Prudery: Sexuality and Social Control in Modern Ireland," *Éire-Ireland* 40, no. 2 (2005), 9–37.

matter.⁹⁴ Studies of elite Irish women show that they felt a great deal of joy in being able to successfully provide heirs and ensure the continuity of the family line.⁹⁵ In relation to women and accounts of household work, children's activities are concealed in the historical record by their absence from public discourse and subsequent devaluation as part of the realm of 'everyday' activity. An example of this de-valuation is evidenced in the domestic work and childcare performed during girlhood. These activities are rarely categorised as 'work', despite their contribution to the household economy.⁹⁶ Judith Endew stated that this is symptomatic of the modern period in which, 'women's work became housework and children's work was transformed into schooling.'⁹⁷

In contrast to existing historiography on the domestic sphere, which rarely appreciates the role of the child beyond its symbolic value in motherhood and fatherhood, children played a fundamental role in how individuals thought about and experienced family life. Leonore Davidoff's exploration of sibling relationships examined the psychic and emotional history of several families in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her view of siblinghood and its impact on childhood illustrated how early relationships formed the basis of identity and self in adulthood.⁹⁸ Davidoff suggested that the nexus of kin and sibling ties were especially important in communicating gendered religious and moral imperatives during the nineteenth century.⁹⁹ With the glorification of the domestic family, children become central to the project of separate spheres and gendered identities. The concept of separate spheres has undergone revision in last decade, as scholarship has highlighted a far more nuanced view of the public vs. private debate. Amanda Vickery argued that the increase in print literature designating woman's place within the home was perhaps a reaction to women's increasing visibility and participation in public spheres.¹⁰⁰ The observation that women were obliged to spend more time at home and with the family than their male counterparts is widely

⁹⁴ Inglis makes the argument that large families bred ignorance about sexual matters. Ibid. 18.

⁹⁵ Maeve O'Riordan, Home, family and society: women of the Irish landed class, 1860-1914. A Munster case study. PhD Thesis, University College Cork, 2014.

⁹⁶ Heather Montgomery, *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008). Corsaro, *The Sociology of Childhood*.

⁹⁷ Montgomery, *An Introduction to Childhood*, 2008, 153.

⁹⁸ Leonore Davidoff, *Thicker than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 7.

⁹⁹ Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*.

¹⁰⁰ Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (London: Folio Society, 2006), 11-13.

accepted, but the degree to which this association limited their participation in the public sphere has now come under scrutiny. Particularly among the genteel classes, women's managerial role within the household was connected to social and political power through the extension of hospitality and politeness to kin circles, business acquaintances, and employees.¹⁰¹ A later addition to the field of gender history was an analysis of masculinity and how fatherhood was an integral part of defining independence, responsibility, and wealth. As recent scholarship has demonstrated, men were involved in the management of the household and child care in tangible ways, and derived pride and solicitude from their emotional investment in family life.¹⁰² John Tosh's work on domestic masculinities similarly highlights the fluidity of the separate spheres rhetoric, but studies tend to neglect the fact that the appendages of motherhood and fatherhood so revered during the period were reliant not on rhetorical construction, but on the presence of real children. The importance of gender in structuring childhood experiences and conversely the importance of childhood to developing notions of appropriate gender roles is a central theme throughout this thesis. Histories of childhood have tended to focus on masculine experiences and overlook the significant differences in education and material culture which began socializing children into future gender roles from a young age. Boyhood and girlhood in Ireland were mutually constitutive categories and an analysis that compares and contrasts respective discourses offers a more equitable and critical analysis.

Chapter Organisation

This thesis is organised thematically in chapters that consider different aspects of the bourgeois construction and the experience of childhood. The thesis applies the concept of childhood to individuals ranging in age from 2 to 19. This elongated time span does not emerge from an ambiguous methodology, but rather reflects the very fluidity of the concept of childhood in the nineteenth century and the ways that class and gender shortened or lengthened the use of the term to define the status of individuals. It is precisely that situational definition of childhood that this

¹⁰¹ O'Riordan, "Assuming Control: Elite Women as Household Managers in Late Nineteenth-Century Ireland."

¹⁰² John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (Yale University Press, 2007); John Tosh, "New Men? The Bourgeois Cult of Home," *19th Century Britain* 46 (December 1996), 9–15.

thesis seeks to explore and pursue. The definition of childhood was heavily laden with values, hierarchies, and implications for categorising personhood. The thesis chapters are organised thematically, with a loosely chronological development covering different stages of childhood. It begins with medical interventions in infancy and toddler stages, moving to education at home, clothing, and dress in early childhood between the ages 3 to 7, proceeding to two chapters on the education of adolescent children between the ages of 11 and 17. The chapters dovetail over a sixty-year time span, tracing different rates of change in areas such as education, medical care, and fashion. By 1860, the end point for this thesis, we can see a distinct consolidation of ideas about children and childcare. The 1860s is a suitable endpoint for this project, since the initial debates over the national education system had largely drawn to a close at this point. Primary education was widely available and there were new initiatives emerging for state support of secondary level education. By the 1860s the middle classes were in a much stronger position, and the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, and the Catholic University cemented the link between professional career and educational achievement. Focusing on the earlier part of the century gives us a view of a smaller, more vulnerable middle class and their efforts to establish their authority within child-rearing literature.

The first chapter considers the medicalisation of childhood from the late eighteenth century into the 1840s. What we might now term a 'biological' definition of childhood is seen first in late eighteenth-century medical intervention into the care of infants. These authors were interested in creating and constructing scientific definitions of age and maturity as biological givens. The specialisation of paediatrics in medicine required a new language for categorising and differentiating the child body. As the matter of children's health shifted from the female domain to the business of men, medical professionals defined the child body in opposition to the adult male body. The influence in Ireland of the Edgeworths, as well as John Locke and Jacques Rousseau, contributed to a reformulation of childhood as a period of enormous intellectual and physical malleability. Within the printed literature we see the emergence of a discernible class element to medical advice. Elite women were criticised for coddling their children excessively, while the lower classes were characterised as neglectful and uncaring. These early forays into childcare included technological developments in calculating and measuring childhood development. By the mid-nineteenth century, objective standards of

growth were deployed as mechanisms for governing parental as much as childhood behaviour.

In the second chapter, the religious and class dimensions of this impulse to rationalise child care is read in the context of a colonial relationship. Didactic authors strove endlessly to reform the Irish Catholic peasantry and saw the figure of the child as the means to invoke a discourse about reforming the nation. This advice literature, usually authored by upper-class females, is considered as a reflection of bourgeois values and reforming ethics. The authors' commentaries on the failings of the Catholic family provide an indication of how the process of class distinction operated on religious boundaries. Predictably, this literature is strongly sectarian in nature and points to the way childcare served as a barometer of civilised behaviour. Children in these narratives are objects in need of reform, serving as exemplars of all that was right and wrong with Irish character. The middle-class insignia of affectionate families and healthy children worked only if it had an 'other' to operate against. Religious devotion, prudence, and gender mores were central to the organising principles of the middle-class ideal of the family, and the literary figuration of Irish peasant family life provided a sharp contrast.

Chapter three draws together several themes of performativity, class, and gender identities with an examination of prescriptions for children's clothing and the material culture of childhood. Children's fashion represents adults' social and gendered expectations of their children, while also depicting the physical world children inhabited during early childhood between ages 2 and 7. This chapter considers childhood as a material construction examining how changing views of childhood were illustrated in the clothes, toys, and books that affluent families purchased for their children. One of the central arguments is that the increased emphasis on accruing artefacts of childhood became tied to middle-class identity and respectability. Purchasing the newest toy or children's book indicated not just an anticipation of the child's needs but was a symbol of social status. This chapter draws on collections from the National Museum of Ireland and didactic literature.

Chapters four and five elaborate a more detailed understanding of the socialisation of the bourgeois child in educational institutions. Looking at the experiences of children, mostly between the ages of 11 and 17, these chapters examine closely the lessons imparted in girls' and boys' middle-class schools. Using a set of case studies of mid-tier Irish boarding schools these chapters offer a close analysis of the social and cultural lessons of secondary schooling. They adopt a view

of schooling institutions as individual structures suspended in their own webs of rules, beliefs, and normalised assumptions about childhood behaviour. Characteristics of Erving Goffman's 'total institution' can be seen in the organisation of boarding schools designed as all-encompassing protective environments within which children could mature.¹⁰³ Elocution, neatness of dress, self-discipline, emotional restraint, and politeness were imparted to students through hierarchical and physical structures. The archival records from these schools offer a close view of how discipline, procedures, and methods of education were deployed.¹⁰⁴ Constant assessment, public exhibitions, and daily routine formed the backbone of this drive to systematise and render bourgeois education more meritocratic. Within these chapters there is consideration of the transitional nature of the teenage years. Although a medicalised concept of adolescence would not emerge until the end of the century, there was a clear awareness in these schools of age-graded responsibility and the liminality of growing children. The role of these institutions was to usher children safely into adulthood with the appropriate values for their gender and class position.

Historian James Vernon argued that the separation of work and home life symptomatic of nineteenth-century gender relationships was devised in cultural and economic terms wrought by modernity. As societies became increasingly complex, age became another marker by which people categorised, divided, and applied cultural expectations.¹⁰⁵ In the first half of the century, the desire to label and differentiate can be identified in the architecture of the middle-class home with its function-specific rooms and child-designated areas like the nursery and play-room.¹⁰⁶ These threads of modernisation can be seen in the drive towards categorisation evident in medical literature and the way authorities sought to

¹⁰³ The total institution is a concept developed by Goffman to describe an isolated, enclosed social system whose primary purpose is to control most aspects of its participants' lives. For a good summary of its utility in the social sciences see, Christie Davies, "Goffman's Concept of the Total Institution: Criticisms and Revisions," *Human Studies* 12, no. 1/2 (1989), 77–95. Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Pelican Books (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975).

¹⁰⁴ For a summation of the theoretical literature on institutional theory and the study of organisations see, Stephen R. Barley and Pamela S. Tolbert, "Institutionalization and Structuration: Studying the Links Between Action and Institution," *Organization Studies* 18, no. 1 (1997), 93.

¹⁰⁵ James Vernon, *Distant Strangers: How Britain Became Modern* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014).

¹⁰⁶ Susan Galavan, *Dublin's Bourgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs, 1850-1901* (London: Routledge, 2017).

delimit the characteristics of normal childhood on a scientific basis. The filament of systemisation is also clearly evident in the schools' that middle-class children attended and in the meritocratic values of the bourgeoisie. However, that observation is not limited to the Irish case. The drive to rationalise every aspect of children's socialisation was construed alongside ideals of progress, civilisation, and modernisation. These features of modernity can be seen in British and Irish society, although emerging at different points and not always harmoniously. Strategies for establishing a bourgeois identity ranged from choosing the clothes a child wore, the food they consumed, to the school they entered and the recreation they engaged in. As this thesis will argue, by the 1860s there was something that could be defined as an Irish childhood, and it arose out of a complex set of economic, social, and religious factors. Childhood in Ireland was, and still is, a contested ideal, a site where adults have sought to influence and shape its dimensions to align with wider, or perhaps quite narrowly understood, communal interests. The story of the bourgeois Irish child forms an important aspect of that contest for control.

**1 Chapter One: Medical Men, Negligent Mothers, and
Malleable Children: Medical Discourses of Childhood**

Even the bones of an infant are so soft and cartilaginous, that they readily yield to the slightest pressure, and easily assume a bad shape, which can never after be remedied.

William Buchan, *Domestic Medicine* (Dublin, 1789)

Malleable, impressionable, liquid, waxy; these words appeared repeatedly in descriptions of childhood during the nineteenth century. As a reiteration of familiar eighteenth-century medical models of childhood, the metaphor of malleability had a wide range of implications for imagining childhood development. During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, new ways of imagining the interior life of the child, whether in the guise of its spiritual soul, intellectual mind, or inherited moral disposition, shaped educational and disciplinary approaches to children in domestic and institutional settings. These ideas emerged from a transnational medical community engaging with new models of disease and the human body. However, more important than the content of their discoveries, was the professionalisation of these fields of study and the corresponding rise of self-styled childcare ‘experts.’ In the eighteenth century infant and child care had largely been a female domain, whereas the nineteenth century brought new regimes of care for infants and young children, making the attendance of a doctor a part of the bourgeois family’s child-rearing strategy. The development of medical discourses of the child body illustrates ways in which growth, development, and maturity were understood and embedded in constructions of gender and class.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the physiological attributes of the body differentiated between the mature and the immature with increasing precision. A host of popular sciences like teratology, physiognomy, and phrenology expressed a cultural fascination in the connection between mind and body, particularly the way in which physical characteristics could be ‘read’ in order to detect the hidden moral and intellectual character of children and adults.¹ Within this worldview, the child body was not a neutral entity, as its growth, shape, and movements informed adults about its moral disposition, intellectual ability, and physical health. This chapter will suggest that medical texts are symptomatic of a new form of ‘rational’

¹ Teratology is the scientific study of abnormalities. Physiognomy is the science of determining a person’s moral character and ethnic origins from facial characteristics. Phrenology is the science of using measurements of the human skull to determine intelligence.

child-rearing, encompassing a whole range of expectations of care, including the assumption that observing, recording, and measuring children's development was good parenting practise. This chapter looks particularly at a set of Irish and British physicians, William Cadogan, William Buchan, Henry MacCormac, Henry Maunsell and Richard Evanson and their self-styled discursive 'expertise' and authority. In different ways, each contributed to the creation of an authoritative medical voice within childcare literature, using the hallmarks of rationalism and masculinity to discredit traditional practises as superstitious and potentially harmful. The denigration of maternal care and the necessity of 'professionals' in monitoring childhood signals wider processes of modernisation in the bourgeois family.

Within literature, the imaginative capacity of the child mind contributed to a scientific fascination with the foreign world of childhood. The porous border between literature and scientific texts is well documented in Sally Shuttleworth's exploration of child murderers, nightmares, and terrors during the second half of the nineteenth century.² Historian André Turmel argued that the development of empirical scientific processes was instrumental in the development of childhood technologies. By observing and measuring children's bodies, medical professionals developed new stage theories of childhood, with scales, statistics, and charts setting up extensive categories to delineate the boundaries of normality/abnormality. Turmel's study suggests that these regulatory practices emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century. However, the categorisation of normative childhood has earlier precedents and can first be seen in the bid to professionalise medical care of children. Without examining the diversity of ideas circulating during this earlier period, we lack the means to trace the origins of the child-study movement and elaborated forms of child classification.³ The separation of the public and the private self, and the division between domestic and private spheres were powerful rhetorical devices for stabilising identities within a rapidly changing social milieu.⁴ This careful delineation of childhood as something separate from adulthood resonated within the medical community who saw the body of the child as a new object of inquiry in the early nineteenth century.

² Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child: Child Development in Literature, Science and Medicine, 1840-1900*.

³ André Turmel, *A Historical Sociology of Childhood: Developmental Thinking, Categorization, and Graphic Visualization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 66-114.

⁴ Vernon, *Distant Strangers*.

The establishment of reformatories, orphanages, prisons, and borstals in the latter part of the nineteenth century illustrate the adoption of childhood regulation as a matter of official state policy.⁵ However these regulatory impulses are evident in the Irish case much earlier, as ethnic and religious affiliations were seen as hereditary traits needing intervention and reform. To bring Irish society into line with their new partners in the United Kingdom, the health and bodies of the Irish needed new regimes of care and discipline. The first part of this chapter traces the continuity of thought between eighteenth-century models of humoral aetiology and later stage theories of development as part of a wider project of separating and distinguishing children from adults. Rather than a rupture from the eighteenth century, most medical professionals combined ideas of humoral health with newer ideas of cell theory, miasmas, and environmental factors. The second half of the chapter indicates how the emergence of paediatrics altered the maternal role of upper-class women. Through the delineation of normative development, understandings of intellectual growth, and the duality of mind and body, a language of care was created to assess and monitor the success of parenting.

1.1 The Mind of the Child

Nineteenth-century thought inherited an Enlightenment positivism that stressed the perfectibility of man and the centrality of education in the project of reforming society through the improvement of individuals.⁶ The Enlightenment did indeed come to Ireland, albeit with deep fissures resulting from entrenched religious differences. Michael Brown's work on the Irish Enlightenment suggested how different religious sects embraced aspects of humanism. Presbyterians were most likely to embrace rationalism as a counterargument to scholastic readings of theology. Church of Ireland adherents used empiricism as a way of justifying their political and moral legitimacy, and Catholics remained attached to Scholasticism.⁷ Brown argued that the theological disputes of the eighteenth century were translated into social disputes in the nineteenth century. The rescinding of the penal laws in the 1770s and 80s along with full Catholic Emancipation in 1829 were

⁵ Buckley, *The Cruelty Man*, Reidy, Conor. *Ireland's "Moral Hospital": The Irish Borstal System 1906-1956*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009.

⁶ Mary Hilton, Jill Shefrin, and Deirdre Raftery, eds., *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009); Michalina Clifford-Vaughan, "Enlightenment and Education," *The British Journal of Sociology* 14, no. 2 (1963), 135-43.

⁷ Michael Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 23-24.

designed for social purposes, not because of theological agreement.⁸ Brown suggests that it was precisely this movement away from theology towards social amelioration which was the fruit of Enlightenment labour. The Enlightenment's impact on children is seen most clearly in a revised view of education as the means for reshaping society. The importance of education in shaping the child into a moral, polite citizen gave rise to a new didactic literature informing parents and guardians on how best to provide for the physical, moral, and intellectual growth of their young charges.

Though derived from different epistemological origins, evangelical Protestantism latched on to a Lockean view of childhood in the late eighteenth century as it moved constructions of childhood away from the more puritanical strain of thought that children were innately sinful and needed to be disciplined into spirituality.⁹ Instead, Locke had urged parents to spend time with their children, tailoring education to suit the personality of the child, and using play to incentivise learning instead of the threat of punishment.¹⁰ Locke's famous, if often misunderstood, formulation of the *tabula rasu*, the blank slate, depicted the child mind as a porous entity remarkably adept at accepting and learning new information and habits. The 'blank slate' phrase probably originated in the Classical period, but Locke's formulation became synonymous with Enlightenment interest in education as the means to shaping the perfect citizen. The literal translation of the term referred to tablets covered in wax, heated and smoothed over to form a reusable writing surface. Scholars have noted that Locke's comments on childhood have often been separated from the wider context of his work; Locke was not suggesting that children were devoid of any inherent personality or tendencies, but rather that parents and teachers had enormous power to direct children towards a moral end.¹¹ However, the imagery of a waxy, unformed mass fit within pre-existing medical and scientific schema for understanding the body and the child, proving a durable analogy within pedagogical texts.

John Locke's text *Some thoughts concerning education* was published five times in Ireland during the eighteenth century and his work held great appeal into the

⁸ Ibid., 461–64.

⁹ Elizabeth Foyster and James Marten, *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Age of Enlightenment* (New York: Berg, 2012).

¹⁰ Locke, *On Education*.

¹¹ Adriana Silvia Benzaquén, "Locke's Children," *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 3 (2011), 382–402.

nineteenth century.¹² William Molyneux had much to do with the initial warmth of Locke's Irish reception. He raised his son Samuel according to Locke's prescriptions and later published his personal correspondence with Locke.¹³ In 1857, Irish philosopher Thomas Webb was interested in reconciling a view of scientific heredity with Locke's understanding of sensation and perception. Although Webb's work did not enjoy much success, the text can be seen as part of a long string of attempts to understand the extent to which Locke held a strictly empirical view, meaning that knowledge only existed as a result of experience. Webb was convinced that 'The origin of ideas, as understood by Locke, refers exclusively to the chronological conditions of the development of Thought, and is, therefore, consistently centred in Sensation and Reflection -the two modifications of human experience.'¹⁴ While sensation was possible for infants, for Lockean adherents, the infant was devoid of ideas and incapable of reflection. The reflective ability or a sustained interior thoughtfulness was a mark of reason, rationality, and consequently of maturity. Thus, many pedagogical authors depicted sustained concentration and focus not just as a prerequisite for learning, but a lesson in itself. We will return to this idea again, but the necessity of inner reflection corresponded with the case for bodily discipline for children. Sitting still whilst learning a lesson thus was a mark of virtue and ability.¹⁵

Locke's successor, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, provided a more defined portrait of what an enlightened education might look like for boys and girls, and had an immense impact on Continental educational theory. *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (1762) or *Émile, or Treatise on Education* (1763) took it as axiomatic that children were born good and only through interaction with society became corrupted. Partly philosophical treaty on the allegory of man and society, partly a pedagogical treatise, and partly a literary novel, *Emile's* reception in Europe was controversial. Rousseau's philosophy of education encouraged children to develop and learn outside of society, with the careful supervision of a parent or tutor, but without formal schooling. Young Émile had no playmates or potentially corrupting

¹² It was published in Dublin in 1728 (two editions) 1737, 1738, and 1778. Gerardine Meaney, Mary O'Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan, *Reading the Irishwoman: Studies in Cultural Encounters and Exchange, 1714–1960* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 16.

¹³ Patrick Kelly, "Perceptions of Locke in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 89C (1989), 20.

¹⁴ Thomas Ebenezer Webb, *The Intellectualism of Locke: An Essay* (Dublin: W. McGee, 1857).

¹⁵ Noah W. Sobe, "Concentration and Civilisation: Producing the Attentive Child in the Age of Enlightenment," *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 1–2 (2010), 149–60.

interactions with others. Education took place through experience in an environment carefully constructed and manipulated by the tutor. Rousseau's imaginary child grows up apart from society. Objecting to Locke's emphasis on reason and rationalism in the young, Rousseau saw childhood as a period containing its own logic and he encouraged this childish rationale instead of trying to shorten it. His writings advanced the idea of what is now seen as negative or child-centred education, an education carried out, as far as possible, in harmony with the development of the child's natural capacities by a process of apparently autonomous discovery.

Nature intends that children shall be children before they are men. If we insist on reversing this order we shall have fruit early indeed, but unripe and tasteless, and liable to early decay; we shall have young savants and old children. Childhood has its own methods of seeing, thinking, and feeling. Nothing shows less sense than to try to substitute our own methods from these. I would rather require a child ten years old to be five feet tall than to be judicious.¹⁶

Rousseau's ideas are credited with spawning a romantic notion of childhood. Though many of his ideas about religion and politics were rejected, the pastoralism, innocence, and isolation of childhood became *de rigueur* among some Irish elite. Emily Fitzgerald, Duchess of Leinster, invited Rousseau to her home as a private tutor for her large family, though her invitation was not accepted.¹⁷

Rousseau was also responsible for sparking a conversation on female education. The last section of his book dealt with Émile's future female companion, Sophie. Because she is destined for a role as wife and mother, her education was different from Émile's. According to Rousseau, "If woman is made to please and to be in subjection to man, she ought to make herself pleasing in his eyes and not provoke him...her strength is in her charms."¹⁸ Accepting that women were destined to subordinate their wishes to men's desires, Rousseau suggested an education which prepared girls to be satisfied and successful in the art of pleasing their companions. Not surprisingly, Rousseau's unprejudiced views became the tinder for Mary Wollstonecraft's *Thoughts on the education of women*, and another protest was authored by Catherine Macaulay in her *Letters on education*.¹⁹ According

¹⁶ Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Emile or Concerning Education* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2013).

¹⁷ Meaney, O'Dowd, and Whelan, *Reading the Irishwoman*, 31.

¹⁸ Rousseau, *Emile or Concerning Education*, 324.

¹⁹ Catherine Macaulay, *Letters on Education. With Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects*, (London: C. Dill, 1790). Mary Wollstonecraft, *Mrs. Wollstonecraft's Thoughts on the Education of*

to Elizabeth Frazer, both women were couching their appeals for education on an enlightened understanding of the duties of citizenship in which women had a part to play.²⁰ Another respondent to Rousseau's dismissal of female education was French author Stéphanie- Félicité de Genlis. She wrote *Adèle et Théodore* to encourage girls to possess reasoning, virtue and a knowledge of sciences and languages. Her writings were translated and published in Dublin in the 1780s and gained popularity among Irish writers including Maria Edgeworth.²¹ The many English reprints of her work in Dublin suggest the popularity of her approach. Another Irish regional writer contributing to the debate on female education was John Toland, who had earlier proposed women's educational equality.²²

The use of a fictional story to describe the best pedagogical concepts of the day was utilised by lesser known authors as well. In 1803, Letitia Gordon published *Anna, a picture of domestic happiness* in Belfast with a plot line similar to *Émile*, but set within an Irish context. We know next to nothing about Gordon and it seems that this publication was her only work.²³ In her novel the heroine, Anna, aged three, is placed with middle-class couple, Mr. and Mrs. Melville when her mother dies and her father is sent to serve the empire in the West Indies. Although Anna has aristocratic connections, readers are told that her father preferred her to be brought up among the middle classes where she would not be affected by indolence. Mr. and Mrs. Melville are the epitome of middle-class domesticity. Mrs. Melville organised her day productively around the duties of home. 'The mornings were devoted to the education of her children...and to the management of her family; the early part of her evenings to the instruction and amusement of her little ones, and the latter part to delightful converse with her husband, or working by

Daughters. With Reflections on Female Conduct, in the More Important Duties of Life. To Which Is Added Fenelon [Sic] Archbishop of Cambray's Instructions to a Governess, and an Address to Mothers. (Dublin: W. Sleater, 1788).

²⁰ Elizabeth Frazer, "Mary Wollstonecraft and Catherine Macauley on Education," in *Ideas of Education: Philosophy and Politics from Plato to Dewey*, ed. Christopher Brooke and Elizabeth Frazer (London: Routledge, 2012). Elizabeth Frazer "Mary Wollstonecraft and Catharine Macaulay on Education" *Oxford Review of Education* 37 no.5 (October 2011) 603-618.

²¹ Gerardine Meaney, Mary O'Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan, *Reading the Irishwoman: Studies in Cultural Encounters and Exchange, 1714-1960* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013). also Gillian Dow, "The British Reception of Madame de Genlis's Writings for Children: Plays and Tales of Instruction and Delight," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006), 367-81. A significant collection of Irish editions of Stéphanie Félicité Genlis' writings are held in the National Library of Ireland see the online catalogue for further information.

²² Meaney, O'Dowd, and Whelan, *Reading the Irishwoman*, 13, 17.

²³ She was not included in the very comprehensive guide by Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006).

him, whilst he read to her. Such was the happy, the enviable life this little family enjoyed.²⁴ Mrs. Melville was pleased that the orphan left on their doorstep was a girl, since she would be able to give her instruction herself, whereas a boys' education would require cost and inconvenience.²⁵ In Gordon's view boys' and girls' educations should differ in order to achieve their proper adult roles. The Melville's only son, William, is sent to the local parson in preparation for his entrance to grammar school and at the age of fifteen he is considered ready for university.²⁶ The novel unfolds in emulation of *Émile* and *Sophie*, as William and Anna grow up alongside each other with common values and ultimately fall in love.

Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Irish politician and landowner, and his daughter Maria published *Practical Education* in London in 1798 and it has enjoyed acclaim and criticism from literary scholars and pedagogues ever since. The text signalled a turn in child-rearing literature towards advice and observation based on actual children. Much ink has been spilled on Richard and his daughter Maria's experiments in early childhood education, conducted from their home in Longford, Ireland.²⁷ Writing as an Anglo-Irish landlord in the aftermath of the 1798 rebellion, the Edgeworths, particularly Maria, had a complex relationship with the newly created United Kingdom. Some literary critics have characterised her as an apologist for the Ascendancy, while others have made the case for a more liberal orientation.²⁸ Richard Edgeworth served on the board of the Commission of Inquiry on Irish Education 1806 and was noted for his progressive attitude towards education for all social classes and religions.²⁹ Maria Edgeworth's view of children was that they be 'treated neither as slaves nor as playthings, but as reasonable

²⁴ Letitia Gordon, *Anna: A Picture of Domestic Happiness. In Two Volumes* (Belfast: Smyth & Lyons, 1803), 99.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 183.

²⁷ Richard De Ritter, "'Leisure to Be Wise': Edgeworthian Education and the Possibilities of Domesticity," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 3 (September 2010), 313–33; Gregory Gurley, "Drama and Moral Education: The Plays of Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849)" (PhD, Arizona State University, 2006); Willa Murphy, "Maria Edgeworth and the Aesthetics of Secrecy," in *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tadhg Foley and Seán Ryder (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 45–54; Deborah Weiss, "Maria Edgeworth's Infant Economics: Capitalist Culture, Good-Will Networks and 'Lazy Lawrence,'" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, (2014); Deborah Weiss, "The Formation of Social Class and the Reformation of Ireland: Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui*," *Studies in the Novel* 45, no. 1 (2013), 1–19.

²⁸ Cliona Ó Gallchoir, *Maria Edgeworth: Women, Enlightenment, and Nation* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005).

²⁹ Brian W. Taylor, "Richard Lovell Edgeworth," *The Irish Journal of Education / Iris Eireannach an Oideachais* 20, no. 1 (1986), 27–50.

creatures.’³⁰ The three-volume *Practical Education*, deals almost entirely with the period of childhood before a child entered school reflecting the Enlightenment interest in early childhood habit formation. It was assumed that the malleability of the child mind declined as the child grew.

In the main, early childhood advice literature did not prescribe distinct gendered regimes of care, only in later childhood did advice become channelled towards the attributes of each gender. For example, gender was brought into consideration when choosing which genre of books were suitable for children’s reading. Girls were to be protected from sentimental stories since they were prone to emotional drama by nature, and likewise boys were prohibited from adventure stories. The Edgeworths’ recommended adventure stories for girls instead of boys, unless the boys were destined for the armed forces. The reasoning was that boys who read tales of adventure would be inspired to emulate them, damaging their career prospects. Whereas girls ‘must very soon perceive the impossibility of their rambling about the world,’ and would understand the books as the fantasies they were.³¹ *Practical Education* constructed the habits of good childhood without reference to religion or politics, a point which drew criticism. In the second edition published in 1801, the Edgeworths’ defended the absence of religious instruction in their text stating, ‘Children usually learn the Religion of their parents; they attend public worship, and both at home and at School they read the Bible and various religious books, which are of course put in their hands. Can any thing material be added to what has already been published upon this subject? Could any particular system meet with general approbation?’³² In fact, many of Maria’s texts did indeed deal with the religious divide in Irish society and proposed a variety of solutions for the divide between peasantry and landlord and Richard played a direct role in establishing the CNEI’s non-denominational structure.

Maria Edgeworth’s contribution to educational thought, most evident in *Letters for Literary Ladies*, *The Parents’ Assistant*, and *Practical Education*, provide a clear Irish response to Rousseau’s negligence of female education. However, Anne Chandler has warned that *Practical Education* cannot be read as a simple rejoinder to Rousseau, the essays sought to create a gender-neutral ideal of civic engagement

³⁰ Maria Edgeworth, *Belinda* (1801), ed. Kathryn J. Fitzpatrick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 215–16.

³¹ M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 55.

³² Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London: J. Johnson by J. Crowder, 1801).

fostered by an education designed for individual aptitude rather than by gender roles.³³ There is agreement amongst Edgeworth scholars that Maria's position was cosmopolitan in outlook and based on an Enlightenment understanding of social and economic issues.³⁴ Weiss has argued persuasively that Maria viewed individual character as a product of experience and education, rooted in the material conditions of a class.³⁵ Edgeworth proposed a two-pronged solution of economics and education to the 'Irish problem.' In order to mitigate the potential for another rebellion, the class structure of aristocracy and peasantry needed to be reshaped with the emergence of a new economic middle class, professional and productive.³⁶ Critic Willa Murphy argued that a persistent theme throughout Maria Edgeworth's writings was the condemnation of secrecy and subterfuge, which she perceived as an inherent flaw of the Irish peasantry.³⁷ This was reflected in *Practical Education* by entreaties to keep the child under surveillance, encourage the child to talk about everything, and clearly condemn any hint of falsehood in childish stories. The Edgeworth contribution to child-rearing ethics and literature was indeed substantial, they were aware of the latest trends in education in Britain and the Continent and adapted these ideas to fit the peculiarities of the Irish context. We will return to the topic of reforming Irish children in the following chapter; for now, it is sufficient to say that by the 1810s, ideas about early childhood development were gaining attention in a variety of intellectual circles. The remainder of this chapter discusses this in the context of medical literature.

1.2 Paediatrics and the Emergence of Professional Medicine

Staking out the field of paediatrics required the establishment of childhood as part of the life course requiring specialised medical attention. During the eighteenth century, the humoral model was the dominant mode for understanding human

³³ Anne Chandler, "Maria Edgeworth on Citizenship: Rousseau, Darwin, and Feminist Pessimism in *Practical Education*," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 35, no. 1 (2016), 93–122.

³⁴ Katy Brunden, "Cosmopolitan Complexities in Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui*," *Studies in the Novel*, 37, no. 2 (2005) 123–40; Ó Gallchoir, *Maria Edgeworth: Women, Enlightenment, and Nation*.

³⁵ Deborah Weiss, "The Formation of Social Class and the Reformation of Ireland: Maria Edgeworth's *Ennui*," *Studies in the Novel* 45, no. 1 (2013), 1–19.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 3. Edgeworth was also concerned about the outcome of self-interested consumerism and sought to use her children's stories to inculcate the value of retaining good economic character in the face of a consumer culture. Deborah Weiss, "Maria Edgeworth's Infant Economics: Capitalist Culture, Good-Will Networks and 'Lazy Lawrence,'" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, (2014), 4.

³⁷ Willa Murphy, "Maria Edgeworth and the Aesthetics of Secrecy," in *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tadhg Foley and Seán Ryder (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 45–54.

health and disease. The body was thought to be composed of four humours: black bile, yellow bile, phlegm, and blood. A host of exterior factors could affect the balance of these humours but they were also associated with stages of life. For example, children were thought to have an excess of heat and fluid, making them prone to fevers, stomach and bowel disorders.³⁸ Humoral constitutions could also vary because of individual temperament, strength, and to some extent gender.³⁹ Early-modern writers noted that boys might be hotter than girls because they were produced by 'hotter seede'.⁴⁰ Childhood was generally considered unsexed, with sex distinctions emerging as central to medical practise only after the onset of puberty.⁴¹ The role of the doctor was to re-establish equilibrium between the humours either by purging excess fluids or administering treatments to replenish and restore humoral levels.⁴² This could be a delicate matter of adjusting diet and clothing or involve the administration of expectorants or laxatives. Children's perspiration, urine, and stools were indicative of their hot and moist humoral balance and monitored to determine illness and treatment. From the 1820s there was a shift towards the necessity for medical oversight even of healthy children. Paradoxically, as the notion of childhood as a state of being close to nature gained cultural acceptance, the 'instinctual' maternal care provided by upper-class women was discredited by the medical field as irrational and insufficient for children's well-being.⁴³ By the 1860s, innovations in inoculation and pharmacy meant that the medical man was on his way to being a feature of normal childhood experience for bourgeois families.

In Ireland, evidence of maternal responsibilities for familial health can be seen in medicinal receipt books which were used to circulate remedies among mothers, daughters, and friends. Upper-class women kept medicinal receipt books with notes on common ailments and treatments gathered from print and oral sources. Of the 200 medicinal remedies recorded in Lady Florence Townley Balfour's receipt book,

³⁸ Hannah Newton, "Children's Physic: Medical Perceptions and Treatment of Sick Children in Early Modern England, C. 1580–1720," *Social History of Medicine* 23, no. 3 (2010), 459.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 460.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Wendy D. Churchill, *Female Patients in Early Modern Britain: Gender, Diagnosis, and Treatment* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Wendy D. Churchill, "The Medical Practice of the Sexed Body: Women, Men, and Disease in Britain, circa 1600–1740," *Social History of Medicine* 18, no. 1 (2005), 3–22.

⁴² Tony Farnar, *Patients, Potions & Physicians: A Social History of Medicine in Ireland 1654–2004* (Dublin: A. & A. Farnar, 2004), 71.

⁴³ Edith Snook, "'The Women Know': Children's Diseases, Recipes and Women's Knowledge in Early Modern Medical Publications," *Social History of Medicine* 30, no. 1 (2017), 1–21.

almost half were remedies for infantile illness.⁴⁴ Emma O'Toole argued that elite Irish women saw medical knowledge as part of the domestic responsibilities of a married woman. Children's health was a mother's duty, with physicians, apothecaries or surgeons consulted only in severe situations.⁴⁵ By the 1840s apothecary shops were supplanting home remedies with pre-prepared ingredients and tinctures, though popular folk remedies certainly circulated for much longer.⁴⁶ The popularisation of vaccination for small-pox and cow-pox at the end of the eighteenth century, at least among the upper classes, brought even healthy children under the supervision of a medical professional.⁴⁷ Whereas previously a doctor was brought in, perhaps as a last resort, when a child was severely ill, now doctors assumed a greater role in monitoring healthy children's lives. Technological developments aided this advancement in medicalisation by providing doctors with a discourse of normative development defined by observable, quantifiable features. Historian Lawrence T. Weaver argued that the technological development of the weighing balance, played a significant role in establishing paediatrics and medical standards of infant care. Weaver argues that the standardisation of weights acted as a surveillance mechanism and evaluation tool for the progress, or lack thereof, of individual infants and children within a national and international context. Physicians began to compare the weights of infants between countries, identifying national trends in infant growth. The original use of infant weight was to determine a cut-off point for viability, something that was of interest in cases of infanticide. It was also used as a mechanism to assess nutritional sufficiency and breast-milk production, adding to the development of mother and child care.⁴⁸

Scholars have noted the ways in which male medical practitioners began to encroach on traditionally female areas of care, such as child-birth and child illness during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries across western Europe.⁴⁹ Historian Judith Schneid Lewis argued that criticism of aristocratic indolence,

⁴⁴ Emma O'Toole, "Medicinal Care in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Irish Home," in *"She Said She Was in the Family Way": Pregnancy and Infancy in Modern Ireland*, ed. Elaine Farrell (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012), 117.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 115. Quoted from the Townley Hall papers, NLI.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 125.

⁴⁷ Gabrielle Ashford, "Children's Smallpox and Inoculation Procedures in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," in *Growing Pains: Childhood Illness in Ireland, 1750-1950*, eds. Anne Mac Lellan and Alice Mauger (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013), 36.

⁴⁸ Lawrence Weaver, 'In the Balance: Weighing Babies and the Birth of the Infant Welfare Clinic' in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, lxxxiv, no 1, (2010), 30-57.

⁴⁹ Jean Donnison, *Midwives and Medical Men: A History of the Struggle for the Control of Childbirth*, (London: Historical Publications, 1988).

infertility, and general malaise was a play by doctors to promote their services among those most able to pay for it. Lewis's study suggested that elite women at the end of the eighteenth century experienced lower levels of infant mortality and better maternal health than their working-class counterparts. However, it was in the interest of middle-class doctors to endorse medical services as essential for a women's successful experience of pregnancy and childbirth.⁵⁰ William Cadogan (1711-1797) an honorary medical attendant at the London Foundling hospital during the 1740s published *An Essay Upon Nursing: and the Management of Children, From Their Birth to Three Years of Age* in 1748, with the first Irish edition of this text appearing in 1771.⁵¹ Cadogan was concerned about the care and upbringing of infants and young children that had 'been too long fatally left to the Management of Women.'⁵² His approach claimed to be rooted in observation of nature and he characterised his medical practice as a departure from a feminised sphere of mystery and magic in favour of masculinised scientific knowledge derived from reason and good sense.⁵³ Cadogan differentiated children from adults stating, 'infants are more subject to Disease and Death than grown Persons; on the contrary they bear Pain and Disease much better...'⁵⁴ This supposed ability to bear pain better was connected to the idea that infants and young children were not fully sentient. The idea that infants had little or no emotional acuity was a popular belief among Irish physicians, although not all subscribed to the idea once they became fathers. Physician William Drennan remarked in private correspondence to his sister Martha McTier that his first-born son Thomas at two months old displayed signs of passions and intelligence surprising for an infant of his age. In 1801 Drennan commented, 'They say nothing so uniform and unvary'd as an infant's countenance, but I can count at least a dozen of miniature passions which shift across it.'⁵⁵ This expression of surprise from Drennan indicates how models of intellectual development were understood from a clinical perspective that was not necessarily tied to experience. One of the key shifts in childcare literature during the next half

⁵⁰ Judith Schneid Lewis, "Maternal Health in the English Aristocracy: Myths and Realities 1790-1840," *Journal of Social History* 17, no. 1 (1983), 97-114.

⁵¹ William Cadogan, *An Essay Upon Nursing: And the Management of Children, from Their Birth to Three Years of Age ... in a Letter ...*, 9th ed. (Dublin: Jos. Sheppard, 1771).

⁵² William Cadogan, *An Essay Upon Nursing, and the Management of Children: From Their Birth to Three Years of Age* (J. Roberts, 1748), 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁵ Drennan Letter no. 927, as quoted in Mary McNeill, *Little Tom Drennan: Portrait of a Georgian Childhood*. (Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1962), 3.

century was towards observation and practical experience as hallmarks of scientific authority, and consequently of physicians' advice to parents. The influence of the Enlightenment played a role in how medical men positioned their knowledge of the human body. This was not isolated to an Irish context; indeed, a central aspect of scientific communities during this period was their connections abroad and the exchange of texts and personnel across national borders. Thus, tracing the lineage of Irish paediatrics requires that we look more broadly at the Irish print trade and the availability of texts in the Irish market rather than the nationalities of their authors.

One of the earliest English language texts in paediatrics was William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*, first published in London in 1769, re-published in Dublin in 1774 and reprinted in at least fifteen Irish editions by 1797.⁵⁶ While not exclusively dealing with children's health, the text did offer several chapters specifically on the care of infants and children. It appeared four years after Nils Rosén von Rosenstein (1706-1773), the Swedish physician, published his work *The Diseases of Children and Their Remedies* (1765) often credited as the first text on the subject of paediatrics.⁵⁷ Buchan's text may not have been influenced by Rosenstein's work at all, since an English edition of *The Diseases of Children* did not appear until 1776.⁵⁸ These late eighteenth-century medical texts share several features. Their stated intent was to rationalise the practise of childcare and their authors were usually involved in caring for poor or orphaned children within state -or privately-funded foundling homes. Buchan began his career as a doctor in the Foundling Hospital in Edinburgh and based his text on areas of household health and child management with which he claimed intimate familiarity. The popularity of his work might be attributed to his hands-on approach, emphasising the important role caretakers played in providing an environment conducive to childhood health. Buchan was convinced that the majority of infant diseases were a product of mismanagement by parents, nurses, and midwives, not simply an inevitable consequence of divine will.⁵⁹ Buchan's lofty aim was to reform the health practises

⁵⁶ O'Toole, "Medicinal Care in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Irish Home," 120.

⁵⁷ Stephen Lock, John M. Last, and George Dunea, *The Oxford Illustrated Companion to Medicine* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 173.

⁵⁸ Nils Rosén von Rosenstein and Anders Sparrman, *The Diseases of Children, and Their Remedies* (London: T. Cadell, 1776).

⁵⁹ *Domestic Medicine: Or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines. With an Appendix, Containing a Dispensatory for the Use of Private Practitioners. By William Buchan, M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. The Fifteenth Edition; to Which Are*

of the nation and argued that it was far easier to bring about change in children than in adults. Adults were full of prejudice about their diet and exercise while children could be taught to like any sort of food. He proposed changing children's diet in order to bring about a 'total change in the general mode of living' for Britain.⁶⁰ Infant and childhood diseases could be avoided if children were simply given wholesome food, proper clothing, and regular exercise.⁶¹ The idea that social change was most effectively wrought through the reformation of children's habits reoccurred frequently in prescriptive literature. The patterns of good or bad health set during childhood became increasingly scrutinised for the implications they would have on the rest of an individual's life.⁶²

Buchan drew several distinctions between girls' and boys' health, but he attributed these differences primarily to environment and education, rather than innate biological differences. Girl's activities, such as needlework, required them to remain indoors, seated in the same position for long periods of time. Buchan observed that he had never seen a girl accomplished at needlework who had not suffered some ill health effect as a result. He stated, 'Close and early confinement generally occasions indigestions, head-achs[sic], pale complexions, pain of the stomach, loss of appetite, coughs, consumption of the lungs, and deformity of the body.'⁶³ Buchan recommended plenty of exercise in the open air for boys and girls. If they were confined to the indoors, he recommended dancing.⁶⁴ If children were not sufficiently exercised, rickets was thought to be a likely result. He cited the frequency of rickets as a product of the sedentary lifestyle found in manufacturing towns.⁶⁵ This disease made the healthy child lose strength, suffer declining cheerfulness and look 'more grave and composed than is natural for its age.'⁶⁶ Like many physicians, Buchan assessed the health of a child by its emotional presentation in addition to its physical attributes, the cheerful child was also the healthy child. Buchan's text clearly advocated an active approach to child-rearing,

Prefixed, Observations Concerning the Diet of the Common People; Recommending a Method of Living Less Expensive, and More Conducive to Health, than the Present. Not in Any Former Edition. (Dublin, 1797), 544. The first edition of the book was published in 1769.

⁶⁰ *Domestic Medicine*.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1.

⁶³ *Domestic Medicine*, 27.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 562.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 563.

maintaining that parents had it within their power to shape the environment, and therefore, the health of their children.

An interventionist approach to childhood was also recommended in 1836, when Henry Maunsell, an obstetrician and member of the Royal College of Physicians of Ireland and Richard Evanson, a physician, issued an instructional manual on the management and diseases of children.⁶⁷ Their text was the first published by Irish physicians in Ireland exclusively concerned with childhood health. The need to establish their professional credentials as physicians emerges at several points in the text which criticised the home remedies administered without due regard for the particularities of the child. In order to isolate infancy and childhood within the life course, they stated that the infant was so different ‘in structure, development, [and] situation, as to constitute essential characters which distinguish the child, and without knowledge of which, neither the management nor the diseases of children can be correctly understood.’⁶⁸ Their instructional manual laid out the age markers that separated childhood from adulthood, and these markers were inseparable from concomitant constructions of gender. They stated, ‘Beyond the eighth year we would not employ the term child-, though applied by some until the age of puberty: but before then the peculiarities characteristic of childhood have been merging into the attributes of adult age; while the influence of sex begins to be discernible and the individual may thence forth be designated boy or girl.’⁶⁹ The child was neither boy nor girl, but a non-gendered entity. Girl and boy were not interchangeable terms for child in their model, the designation of a sexual identity was directly linked to the forfeiture of childhood. Medically, the achievement of physical maturity was thought to be achieved at the meridian of life, around the age of 30; at this stage the body reached its full intellectual and physical strength.⁷⁰

The impressionability of the child reflected in the concept of the *tabula rasu* was enshrined in a particular construction of biological difference in children’s bodies. For Irish physicians Maunsell and Evanson, the metaphor of malleability was a literal physical attribute of the child body. Their text described the cognitive

⁶⁷ Conor Ward, “The Royal College of Surgeons 19th-Century Textbook of Paediatrics and its Authors Evanson and Maunsell,” *Journal of the Irish Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons* 31, no. 2 (2002), 101–4.

⁶⁸ Richard Tonson Evanson and Henry Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 3rd ed. (Dublin: Fannin, 1840), 2.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 18.

development of the child mind in observable, physical appearances. The ‘softness’ of children’s bodies was what distinguished them from adults. This excess of fluidity in the infant body was indicated by the frequent exertion and secretions of the child body which spat up, vomited, and lacked bladder control.⁷¹ Childhood was a stage of physical imperfection, in which the child’s head was soft, nearly to the point of being fluid.⁷² They described intellectual development as a progression through stages of sensation, perception, and reflection. These faculties were essential for the development of memory and identity. The infant was thought unable to observe and consider the external world, devoid of thought and incapable of perception. They stated, ‘Sensation and perception are dull or absent. Its cries and movements may be looked on as involuntary.’⁷³ At the first year it was expected that as the infant showed signs of intelligence, the forehead would become flattened and the arms and legs gain firmness.⁷⁴ Perception supplied the mind with ‘materials of knowledge and business for thought.’ Construction of infant insensibility was central to the cultural dichotomy of maturity. Asserting that infants had no sensation of the outside world was necessary for an empirical worldview, one which viewed sensory experience as necessary for possession of knowledge. They urged that children’s clothing be as unrestrictive as possible, since tight clothing could impair the growth of a child’s body and cause permanent deformity. The fluidity of the child body meant that organs could easily be displaced resulting in early death or delicate health.⁷⁵

Markers of maturity in males, such as voice lowering during puberty, were absent for females and rhetorically the high-pitched cries of an infant and the emotional tears of a woman were referred to in the same manner by physicians.⁷⁶ Descriptions of infants as being particularly nervous and prone to violent outbursts parallels later nineteenth-century medical discourse about female hysterics and women’s susceptibility to fits and unsettled temperaments.⁷⁷ Maunsell’s other text on midwifery argued that menstruation was the measurable biological function which transformed a girl into a woman, and at that occurrence, ‘the mind ceases to

⁷¹ Henry Maunsell, *The Dublin Practice of Midwifery*, 2nd. (New York: William A. Le Blanc, 1842), 7.

⁷² Evanson and Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 1840, 22.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁷⁶ Theriot, ‘Women’s Voices in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse.’

⁷⁷ Hilary Marland, *Dangerous Motherhood: Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *Health and Girlhood in Britain, 1874–1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

take interest in the pursuits of childhood, and is more or less influenced by the passions of the adult woman.’⁷⁸ These traits were set up within a dialectic which posited independent thought and objective observational powers as hallmarks of maturity.

1.3 Negligent Mothers: Pregnancy and Heredity

Advice for pregnant women during this period was marked by a recurring interest in the links between the heredity of the child, the emotional disposition of the mother, and the precise process of transmission from mother to child. Heredity, imagined as a process of transference via the blood, suggested that the experiences of a pregnant woman would influence the emotional and physical disposition of her child. It was thought that pregnant women were emotionally sensitive, and moreover, their emotional state could adversely affect their child, causing physical and mental deformity. Maunsell and Evanson suggested that ‘Pregnant women should never be allowed to witness any scene that will be likely, very powerfully to excite, or alarm, or distress them –the evil influence of such impressions is well established. Even the more exciting pleasures of life, they should partake of but sparingly, as balls, parties, theatrical exhibitions, &c.’⁷⁹ For example, Irish traditional beliefs recorded by Lady Wilde stated that a woman who was nervous or hysterical was ‘fairy-struck’ and consequently would need incantations and prayers said for her. The time of birth was also central to determining the character of the child. For example, a male child born during Trinity week was thought likely to take his own life or murder someone else. In order to undo this fate, it was tradition for a parent to put a bird into the child’s hand and encourage the child to squeeze tightly until the bird died.⁸⁰ Thus, the bird would suffer the fate in lieu of a human victim.

Eighteenth-century physicians were aware of the impact which sudden shock or acute excitement could have on a baby in utero, but in the nineteenth century the idea of maternal transference during pregnancy was phrased with the language of heredity and the impact of a mother’s chronic temperament on their child’s

⁷⁸ Maunsell, *The Dublin Practice of Midwifery*, 55.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 107.

⁸⁰ Both of Lady Wilde’s volumes record a great deal of superstitions regarding fear of infants being taken away to the fairies and a poor or sickly child left in her place. Lady Wilde, *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland; Contributions to Irish Lore* (London, Ward and Downey, 1890), 72–73.

disposition. Mrs. Bakewell, providing advice to mothers, recommended ‘Impress deeply on your mind, for no other consideration will operate more powerfully, that by giving way to impatience and despondency you will most probably entail upon your child the same defects of temper and of mind.’⁸¹ However, she deferred to professional opinion stating, ‘Medical professors differ so much in their opinions as to the effect of the mother’s imagination on the physical formation of the babe, that it would ill become me to give a decided opinion on the subject.’⁸²

Anxiety about maternal disposition during pregnancy suggests the delicate and precarious realities of child-birth and infancy. Infant and child mortality was indeed an ever-present feature of motherhood during the nineteenth century. According to Cormac Ó Grada’s work on the patient registers of Dublin’s Rotunda Hospital, from 1800 to 1809 the rate of stillbirths per 1,000 deliveries was 55.6 and from 1818 to 1819 the rate was 61.8.⁸³ The Rotunda served women from labouring and servant classes primarily, wealthier women typically delivered their infants at home during this period. According to Julia Anne Bergin, in 1864, 37 per 1,000 deliveries in the Rotunda resulted in maternal death.⁸⁴ These deaths were largely due to infection; puerperal fever caused 60 percent of maternal deaths from 1858 to 1869 in the Rotunda hospital.⁸⁵ Ó Grada figures that children born to mothers reporting to the Rotunda had a one-in-two chance of reaching the age of five.⁸⁶ In 1824, just 62% of children birthed in the Rotunda were still alive. These rates of survival were slightly lower for Catholic children. In 1840, 63.3% of Catholic children survived childhood in contrast to 67% of Protestant children; a disparity linked to the distribution of wealth. This was a high rate of early childhood death in comparison to the Continent. In France from 1740 to 1829, half of all children died before reaching the age of ten.⁸⁷ However, Ó Grada’s data is drawn from the poorer, urban classes and it is certain that mortality rates were lower among the middle and upper classes. Contemporaries from the period were aware of poor child

⁸¹ J. Bakewell, *The Mother’s Practical Guide in the Early Training of Her Children : Containing Directions for Their Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Education*, Second ed. (Hamilton, Adams, & Co. ; Whittaker and Co. ; Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1836), 12.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 14.

⁸³ Cormac Ó Grada, “Dublin’s Demography in the Early Nineteenth Century: Evidence from the Rotunda,” *Population Studies* 45, no. 1 (1991), 46.

⁸⁴ Julia Anne Bergin, “Birth and Death in Nineteenth-Century Dublin’s Lying-in Hospitals,” in *She Said She Was in the Family Way: Pregnancy and Infancy in Modern Ireland*, ed. Elaine Farrell (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012), 106.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 105.

⁸⁶ Ó Grada, ‘Dublin’s Demography,’ 51.

⁸⁷ Heywood, *Growing up in France*, 36.

survival rates, Buchan believed that half of the children in Great Britain did not reach the age of twelve.⁸⁸ A range of opinions were offered about the causes of infant mortality. Wet-nursing, poor nutrition, and unfit mothers were some of the reasons cited for such high rates of mortality. Sir James Young Simpson argued that gender was a factor in stillbirth, maternal mortality, and difficult parturition. He believed male babies had larger heads, making labour more difficult for the mother.⁸⁹ This conclusion was based on an orientalist study Simpson undertook to compare 'parturition in the white, as compared with the black tribes of mankind; and in the human female, as compared with the female of lower animals.'⁹⁰ This type of comparative study suggests the way that race and ethnicity were embedded in physicians' figurations of health.

Historian Phillip K. Wilson has traced how literary constructions of maternal impressions shifted from the designation of 'monstrosity' during the eighteenth century to one of 'freaks' during the nineteenth century. Children with physical deformities were classified by Carl Linnaeus in 1758 as the separate category *homo monstrosus*, creating difficulty for physicians but in some ways severing the maternal link to the offspring.⁹¹ These categories placed enormous social and symbolic significance on the mother, using her as the explanatory default for understanding deformity or disability. These pressures had arguably become more acute by the mid-nineteenth century when the delineation of 'normalcy' and predictive growth development models were a more common part of medical practice. Teratology was the study of abnormal humans, variously defined, which could range from blindness or crippled limbs to dwarfism and Siamese twins. Through the dissemination of popular literature on children's health and through more frequent encounters with medical professionals, parents gained an increasingly detailed programme for monitoring children's bodies and minds. Maunsell and Evanson's manual gave a detailed account of children's physical growth, offering parents visible markers for assessing the health and development of their child. This analysis of children's appearance indicated more than just physical health for it was linked to moral character. For example, they believed that at around the age of seven when second

⁸⁸ *Domestic Medicine*, 1.

⁸⁹ James Young Simpson, *Memoir on the Sex of the Child as a Cause of Difficulty and Danger in Human Parturition* (Edinburgh: Stark, 1844), 3.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Philip K. Wilson, "Eighteenth-Century 'Monsters' and Nineteenth-Century 'Freaks': Reading the Maternally Marked Child," *Literature and Medicine* 21, no. 1 (2002), 7–8.

dentition occurred the character and personality of the child became more defined, partly because the facial features were more formed at this age and because the physiognomy of the child exhibited a 'marked disposition.'⁹²

The association of a person's character with their outer appearance was based on the science of physiognomy which was increasingly popularised in fiction, medicine and portraiture.⁹³ Other indicators of character were the size of the skull, skin colouring, or facial features. Physiognomy linked outer appearance with a range of moral and physical health traits. For example, the 'Atrabilarian type' was a person with an excess of black bile. This could be identified by their dark complexion, black hair, and spare habits.⁹⁴ The size of the skull was a principle indicator of idiocy or intellectual prowess. A head measuring less than 13 inches was considered a sign of idiocy, but a very large head could indicate a dull or idiotic character.⁹⁵ The volume offered a variety of methods for assessing and measuring a child's development from such visual evidence, suggesting that observation and supervision were essential parental duties helping to determine their children's health.

Debates over the appropriateness and health advantages of wet-nursing garnered much attention from physicians; it was roundly condemned as an illustration of everything wrong with upper-class mothering practises. Physicians were generally opposed to the practise of wet-nursing, suggesting that wet-nurses working for pecuniary reward undermined what should be natural maternal duty, and by its very nature was a precarious arrangement. These 'hirelings' were objects of suspicion because the exchange of money meant that their care was not motivated by affection. In addition, nurses might introduce 'unnatural' practises to infants in order to demonstrate their pecuniary worth.⁹⁶ Buchan stated that mothers who thought a servant's care was sufficient for their offspring lacked the qualities associated with maternal feeling. Breastfeeding was seen as a natural duty, however mothers could endanger their child by nursing, since diseases were believed to pass from adult to child in breastmilk. As critical as Buchan was of inattentive mothers, he cautioned against fashionable women nursing if they were susceptible to having

⁹² Evanson and Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 22.

⁹³ Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

⁹⁴ *Domestic Medicine*, 708.

⁹⁵ Evanson and Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 22.

⁹⁶ *Domestic Medicine*, 2.

‘delicate constitutions, subject to hysteric fits, or other nervous affectations’ which could be transmitted to their children.⁹⁷ Thus while the mother was ideally the primary caretaker, Buchan was well aware that this responsibility was often delegated to nurses and servants. Scrophulas, rickets, inflammations and effeminacy were all attributed to the practise of hiring nurses without proper maternal oversight.⁹⁸

A mother who abandons the fruit of her womb, as soon as it is born, to the sole care of an hiring, hardly deserves that name. A child, by being brought up under the mother's eye, not only secures her affection, but may reap all the advantages of a parent's care, though it be suckled by another. How can a mother be better employed than in superintending the nursery? This is at once the most delightful and important office; yet the most trivial business or insipid amusements are often preferred to it! A strong proof both of the bad taste and the wrong education of modern females.⁹⁹

Buchan believed that this failure of maternal feeling was caused by the ‘wrong education of modern females.’ Buchan believed the maternal role was natural, but not instinctual. Girls’ needed an education which would give them the skills to be good mothers. He criticized upper-class education as an accumulation of fashionable accomplishments and public display, while skills like clothing, feeding and cleaning a child were not being taught at all.¹⁰⁰ Buchan encouraged fathers to take an active interest in the activities of their nurseries, but only to the degree that their interest might encourage the female sex to become better instructed.¹⁰¹ Caring for children was not an innate ability; it had to be informed by professional medical practitioners who had years of first-hand experience and access to scientific methods. This was a trope of criticism on women’s education repeated in different formulations. Maunsell and Evanson allowed that within a certain social strata other arrangements for nursing were permissible. They reluctantly allowed an exception for, ‘women of fashion who are not content to give up their engagements in society in favour of their domestic duties.’¹⁰² But clearly it was preferable for a woman to provide care for her children directly, including nursing.

There was great interest in the importance of environment, diet, and maternal or paternal inheritance in infant and child development, an early forerunner of the

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 544.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 4.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁰² Evanson and Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 36.

concept of genetic inheritance. An anonymous author in the *Belfast Newsletter* in 1828 illustrated how this familial inheritance had racial and ethnic dimensions.

I know a curious instance of a gentleman who was twice married. His first wife was a dull women, and all his children by her *were stupid*. His second wife was a clever woman, and all her children *were clever*... One of my correspondents knew a gentleman of foreign extraction, who was not remarkable for talent. He married an Irish lady possessed of singular abilities and universal information. She was the mother of a numerous family. Those who resembled the mother in person were all talented. Those who resembled the father were the reverse...¹⁰³

National character was also attributed to the particular diet and environment children were brought up in. The reliance on the potatoes as a diet staple was claimed to have advantages in producing 'clearness of ideas and quickness of thought' among Irish tenant children.¹⁰⁴ Potatoes were thought to improve the quality of blood and was highly preferable for children instead of animal food. This logic was guided by a belief that 'a boy remarkable for that smartness of intelligence so common in the Irish youth, while in the capacity of errand boys in the farm, or helpers in the stables, and before they become with better food than their parents' cabin afforded.'¹⁰⁵ This author supposed that the intellectual edge that working boys gained from their humble accommodation and diet was spoiled by the diet of a richer table they were not accustomed to. A belief that the poor gained advantages from their deprived circumstances was usually a way of criticising upper-class indulgence, but can also be characterised as an aspect of gender discourses where the virile man of nature is juxtaposed with the leisured fop.

Class stratification was embedded in how medical men offered explanations about childhood health, and these ideas had a precedent in popular culture. The Irish novelist Henry Brooke observed in 1765 that 'Among the lower class of mankind, especially in the country, disease and mortality are not so frequent, either among the Adult, or their Children. Health and Posterity are the portion of the Poor, I mean the laborious; the Want of Superfluity confines them more within the limits of nature: hence they enjoy blessings they feel not, and are ignorant of their cause.'¹⁰⁶ The closeness to nature, necessitated by reduced circumstances, meant

¹⁰³ *Belfast Newsletter*, 19 September 1828, 1.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Henry Brooke, *History of Henry, Earl of Moreland* (London: C. Whittingham, sold by T. Tegg, 1829), 22.

that those individuals grew more hardy and resilient. Affluent children were thought susceptible to a specific set of ailments because of their sedentary, supposedly coddled lifestyle. Cadogan insisted that the impoverished foundling was likely to have better health than his wealthy counterpart.

...what mischief is done to Children, and what Multitudes are destroyed or spoiled, as well by cramming them with Cakes and Sweetmeats, &c. till they foul their blood, choak their Vessels, pall the Appetite, and ruin every Faculty of their bodies, cockering and indulging them, to the utter Perversion of their naturally good Temper, till they become quite forward and indocile [sic].¹⁰⁷

Wealthy parents were thought more likely to spoil their infants with rich foods, warm clothes, and limited outdoor exercise. Buchan described an 'effeminate education' as one of the primary reasons why children had difficulty teething; '...children who are delicately brought up, always suffer most in teething, and often fall by convulsive disorders.'¹⁰⁸ This connection between diet and temperament was a legacy of the humoral model of health and up until the mid-nineteenth century the idea that a child's environment and diet shaped their character was an accepted feature of childcare.

Nineteenth-century epidemiology paid great attention to the environment and air quality which children and their families lived in. Introduced in the 1840s, the language of 'moral contagion', highlighted the spatial dimensions of disease and immorality.¹⁰⁹ Urban spaces in particular were seen as harbouring ill health and poor morals. In New Englander John Abbott's didactic tract, appropriately titled *The child at Home* (1833), city streets were rife with opportunities for children to learn bad habits, pick up profanities from their peers and become generally idle.¹¹⁰ Especially for boys, the sorts of entertainment found in the streets were thought to lead to an adult life of dissipation and criminality. Abbott warned that boys who spent their evenings looking for amusement outside of the home were likely to lose their appreciation for domestic life and would forever be seeking out excitement and

¹⁰⁷ Cadogan, *An Essay Upon Nursing, and the Management of Children*, 5.

¹⁰⁸ *Domestic Medicine*, 559.

¹⁰⁹ Felix Driver, "Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 13, no. 3 (1988), 275–87.

¹¹⁰ John S. C. Abbott, *The Child at Home; Or The Principles of Filial Duty Familiarly Illustrated* (London: T. & J. Allman, 1833), 77–78.

pleasure, a sure sign of moral decline.¹¹¹ Principal among Abbott's concerns was the nature of play on city streets in New York that took place beyond parents' purview. The unsupervised space of the streets and the flow of people in and out of neighbourhoods meant children could easily form friendships with unscrupulous characters. Abbott suggested that girls walking alone at night could be harassed and chased by drunk men or gangs of boys.¹¹² For girls, the perils of city life were presented as a threatening encounter with implicit sexual danger, whereas for boys the threat of moral corruption was read as an embedded feature of urban space and its ability to amuse and entertain through superficial spectacle. His tract was reprinted in London and distributed in Dublin as it depicted common fears about the moral environment of the city emerging alongside industrialisation.

The moral and physical perils of the urban environment were embedded in medical discourse as well. The idea of moral contagion was predicated on an understanding of air-borne disease, and miasmas concentrated in urban areas. In 1852, Dr. Henry MacCormac, a leading physician in Belfast, published a paper for the Belfast Association commenting on the connection between atmospheric impurities and the frequency of tubercle, phthisis, scrofula and consumption.¹¹³ He argued that this was entirely the consequence of the habits and behaviours of an increasingly sedentary and indoor-living population. He argued, 'There are no consumptive Gypsies or Bedouins, so long at least as they preserve their aboriginal out-of-door usages, or are not subjected, to confinement or ill-treatment.'¹¹⁴ The belief that the poor actually had better health than the upper-classes persisted in MacCormac's study, and he believed were it not for the overcrowded sleeping arrangements of the working classes they had a much healthier lifestyle than their upper-class counterparts.

Implicit in these medical observations about the environment was the message that common diseases like consumption and tuberculosis were within the control of the individual and their living habits. Placing the onus for good health on individuals meant that poor health was no longer to be attributed to uncontrollable factors of hereditary or God-given afflictions. Rooted in these discourses was the

¹¹¹ Ibid, 78- 80.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Henry MacCormac, *On the Connexion [Sic] of Atmospheric Impurity with Disease: A Paper Read before the Statistical Section of the Belfast Association, at Belfast, September 7, 1852* (Belfast: Published for the Society by Henry Greer: Printed at the Banner of Ulster Office, 1852), 5.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 6.

positivist belief that there were few things which personal education and responsibility could not solve; health, poverty, and unemployment were matters of individual making. MacCormac commented:

On the part of all classes, high, low, rich, and poor, there is a great, though, of course, varying, departure from the conditions essential to the preservation of health. How many must there be who cannot lay claim to a sound mind in a sound body? The greater the perversion, the easier, also, is the gradation towards worse, yet, such is the precariousness of existence, that, owing to want of care and forethought, perchance hard necessity, individuals, naturally well-endowed, too often suffer disease and death, sooner and more readily than persons of comparatively inferior stamina.¹¹⁵

This 'want of care and forethought' described by MacCormac laid the blame for poor childhood health squarely on the shoulders of caregivers. By the 1850s the moral sanitary economy signalled a rationalisation of health as the responsibility of individuals, and implicitly positioned parents as the providers of health for their children.¹¹⁶

The idea of a strengthening or hardening regime was opposed to the 'delicate' education of an overly indulgent parent. John Locke famously recommended giving children daily cold baths, believing that they helped to harden the child against ailments. In Locke's iteration, this was not a matter of masculine hardness as opposed to feminine delicateness; infants were treated as unsexed beings and given the same prescriptions of light food, plenty of exercise, and cold baths to 'brace' infants against disease and the onset of teething.¹¹⁷ Anecdotally at least, cold baths seem to have been accepted into the regime of healthy child-rearing, however unpleasant they may have been for the child. Mary John Knott, a travel writer from Dublin, recorded in 1836 that the practise of 'dipping' young children in the ocean was still practised in County Clare, although mothers seemed not to have learned the proper method of submerging their children.

Whilst walking on the strand, we stopped to intercede for a poor little beggar-boy that a woman was dipping in a most *unmerciful* manner, by desire of his hard-hearted mother, who was seated on the strand, surrounded by a group of half-naked children who probably would have been similarly treated but for our interference. When

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 1.

¹¹⁶ See for example the Scottish authors Robert Chambers and William Chambers, *Sanitary Economy: Its Principles and Practice; and Its Moral Influence on the Progress of Civilisation* (Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1850).

¹¹⁷ *Domestic Medicine*, 561.

brought out of the water the poor little creature was quite convulsed; and in endeavouring to recover his breath, he coughed in so shocking a manner, that the sound still floats in my ear. Persons employed to dip children, are not always aware of the injury they do, by putting them repeatedly under the water, without allowing them time to breathe between each immersion.¹¹⁸

Knott's criticism of submerging the child lay mainly with the incompetence of the mother in administering the treatment rather than the practise of cold baths themselves. The healing qualities of sea-bathing remained in vogue for much of the nineteenth century for adults and children.¹¹⁹ There certainly was not unanimous agreement that cold bracing measures were the correct course of action for all children. Guy Stone, father of three children in Comber, Belfast, recorded in his diary that he had brought in Dr. O'Neill from Belfast city, when his six-year-old son Guy was ill and feverish for several days. 'He [the doctor] could not say as yet the matter with him but desired that he should lie low and get the warm bath frequently.'¹²⁰ Dr. Edward Hill, a professor of botany at Trinity College Dublin, offered some advice to a family friend whose son was having difficulty with his lungs. Hill suggested,

Give him fresh meat, eggs and fish. If his appetite will bear them. And if rich milk should be too heavy for his stomach, let it be turned to whey with rennet, and give him otherwise no milk not water that is not previously boiled. When the winter approaches, let him wear flannel, but not next to his body. Warm soft water bathing would be useful to him if that were practicable. But let no one induce you to bath him in cold water. I have no doubt of his constitution acquiring strength in course of time, by following a plain, rational mode of proceeding.¹²¹

Sick children were the cause of concern and parents were quick to ask for advice from other mothers and fathers or physicians. Contrary to recent historiography, fathers may have taken more of an active role in early childhood care than previously thought. At least among Irish Presbyterian families, husbands displayed an awareness of birthing practises and child care, which suggests a more complicated picture of the masculine role than the stereotype of an anxious yet

¹¹⁸ Mary John Knott, *Two Months at Kilkee* (Ennis: Clasp Press, 1997), 165. First published in Dublin, by William Curry in 1836.

¹¹⁹ James Kelly, "'Drinking the Waters': Balneotherapeutic Medicine in Ireland, 1660-1850," *Studia Hibernica*, no. 35 (2008), 99-146.

¹²⁰ 'The Diary of Guy Stone,' 2 December 1835., D/626/2/1, PRONI.

¹²¹ 'Edward Hill to Catherine, Sept 10, 1824', Papers of Edward Hill, TCD Manuscripts, IE TCD MS 10326/28.

inept father figure. According to Leanne Calvert, some men were a supportive presence in the birthing chamber and assisted in caring for the infant during the first few weeks of its life while the mother was still recuperating.¹²² This may well have been in opposition to popular medical practise. Writing in the 1840s, Dr. Maunsell of the Dublin Lying-In Hospital was of the opinion that a husband should never be allowed in the birthing room. He instructed medical students that, 'If he is a man of sense and delicacy he will not desire it, and if he is not, the more reason you should keep him out of your way.'¹²³ This may have had an unintended advantage, since modern hygiene practises were non-existent and infections and puerperal fever were spread by attending doctors who did not wash their hands between patients.

Dosing an infant or child with alcohol was a fairly standard practise for both healthy and ill children, since many homemade medicinal remedies required herbs to infuse in an alcoholic tincture. Catherine Alexander, patroness of the British and Irish Ladies Society for Improving the Condition and Promoting the Industry and Welfare of the Female Peasantry in Ireland (BILS), recommended that one or two wine glasses of leek-infused gin, taken daily, were a good remedy for gravel, a form of kidney stones.¹²⁴ Hannah More, the evangelical tract writer, recommended that beer brewing at home was far superior to the practise of drinking tea.¹²⁵ More recommended a half-pint of beer every day for women and children, or a full pint of beer for mothers when nursing.¹²⁶ Martha McTier, who was in charge of caring for physician's William Drennan's son Thomas, told her brother in private correspondence about a typical daily diet for three-year-old Thomas. 'Calves feet jelly is now preparing for his one oClock [sic] dinner, his breakfast was warm milk, just from the cow, on bread. His dinner now a little flesh, a little wine; at seven bread and butter and a cup of something like tea...'¹²⁷ Wine was seen as a medicinal treatment for children and adults, providing nutrition and strengthening properties. When Thomas Drennan had a spate of bad health caused by some kind

¹²² Leanne Calvert, "Love, Life and the Family in the Ulster Presbyterian Community, 1780-1844" (PhD, Queen's University Belfast, 2015).

¹²³ Maunsell, *The Dublin Practice of Midwifery*, 122.

¹²⁴ Catherine Alexander, *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers on Training Their Children* (Armagh: McWatters, 1839), 79.

¹²⁵ Hannah More, *The Cottage Cook; Or, Mrs. Jones's Cheap Dishes. Shewing the Way to Do Much Good with Little Money* (Dublin: William Watson, 1792), 22.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹²⁷ McNeill, *Little Tom Drennan*, 1962, 48.

of stomach complaint, Drennan recommended to his sister, 'Do you give him any wine? Might not a glass or two in the Day [sic] be worthy of trial...'¹²⁸ There was a clear sense of giving proportional doses for children; wine and small beer were acceptable for everyday consumption, whereas hard liquors were usually not. The practise of using alcohol to calm an infant was common enough for Buchan to warn parents against teaching their children to 'guzzle ale' at every meal.¹²⁹ He disapproved of the popular practise of dosing an infant with 'wine, punch, cinnamon-waters, or some other hot and inflaming liquors' to expel the meconium immediately after birth.¹³⁰ He argued these would only further agitate and inflame the child's humours. However, alcohol was an effective pain-reliever, and Buchan recommended brandy, or other spirits mixed with water, for treating gripes, a form of diarrhoea, administered frequently by the teaspoon until the infant recovered.¹³¹ Buchan also recommended syrup of poppies and laudanum for griping, vomiting, or restlessness.¹³²

1.4 Parenting and the Supervised Child

These ideas about childhood health encouraged a higher level of parental supervision and record keeping about children's health. Nineteenth-century correspondence is full of parents, aunts, grandparents, and siblings discussing the health of their families and offering advice on the best treatment for children under their care. Correspondence between parents and family members served as another way of documenting the child's health and development, both intellectually and physically. The correspondence between William Drennan and his sister Martha McTier provides a detailed account of Thomas Drennan's eating habits, educational progress, and personality. Thomas was given a cold bath every morning at the directive of his father. These baths were suspended when Tom was teething.¹³³ His delicate health, and the anticipated arrival of another member of the Drennan family meant that Tom was sent to live with his Aunt Martha, 'Matty' McTier in Belfast at the age of two. Despite his age, Tom was allowed to roam around the Linen Hall Square in Belfast, spending his afternoons amongst the sentry soldiers

¹²⁸ Ibid., 50.

¹²⁹ *Domestic Medicine*.

¹³⁰ Ibid., 547.

¹³¹ Ibid., 549.

¹³² Ibid., 552, 554.

¹³³ Drennan Letter no. 940 as quoted in McNeill, *Little Tom Drennan*, 1962.

‘with his own gun, and tells the soldiers he is going to shoot Bonaparte.’¹³⁴ At the age of three, teething and a continuous bowel complaint prompted a lively exchange of letters between the physician and his sister. Aunt Matty relayed after a particular bout of illness;

Without reluctance he has drank Senna tea¹³⁵, which I got to stew with prunes... and Dr. M desiring his Ears to be bathed with Sea water, he took a cup of it whenever I bad[?] him, only say it was *not* good. He also got a dose of Epsom salts and the Doctor wishing much he should a calomile pill, or rather a powder’d grain, he took it last night and this day Salts, neither have sickened him and just now have the desired effect. One from the Calomile I hope will be against worms, of which he has some symptoms.¹³⁶

In response Dr. Drennan sent a lengthy letter with specific prescriptions for his son, including Rochelle salts dissolved in broth, salt water baths and external applications.¹³⁷ The flurry of letters back and forth contained many medicinal recommendations and reports on his appetite, appearance, and behaviour.

Evidence of parental supervision to the stages of childhood development is also in the ephemera of family archival collections. William Starkey, a pharmacist in Rathmines, Dublin, recorded notes in his commonplace book on the vocabulary of a child age 2, presumably compiled from observations of his own children.¹³⁸ In Belfast in 1808 Andrew Marshall began noting the birth and health of each of his five children, James, William, Margaret, Rosa and Eliza. As a physician, Marshall was likely more aware than most as to how childhood health could shape the future of his growing brood. The birthdates were precisely recorded, down to the hour of birth. Their second son, James, was recorded first, noting that he had attended the Belfast Academical Institute for two years and won prizes in recitation and reading. The eldest son William, age nine, had not yet been sent to school because of his ill health and poor eyesight, a consequence of having the measles at the age of six. The text recorded that he had received two leeches the previous winter and was sent to convalesce in Dunvady, Larne. Despite his ill health his parents believed, ‘He manifests a very considerable degree of intelligence in his years.’¹³⁹ Marshall’s notes about his children are not unique; they are illustrative of a range of letters and

¹³⁴ Ibid., 17.

¹³⁵ Senna is an herb with laxative effects.

¹³⁶ Drennan Letter No. 1,048 as quoted in McNeill, *Little Tom Drennan*, 46.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 47.

¹³⁸ Starkey Solomon, Jacobs Collection, TCD MS, IE TCD MS 4473.

¹³⁹ Andrew and Isabella Marshall, volume which contains the birthdates of their children, 1808-1814, D1558/1/4/1. PRONI.

diaries from parents writing about their children's development, personality, and health. There tends to be a higher incidence of these kinds of personal records among medical professionals. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the motivations for observing and noting the development of young children was greater among those members of the professional managerial class invested in legitimising the authority of their occupations. As the next chapter will discuss in detail, middle-class reforming efforts saw supervision and watching as a necessary aspect to train children up in the way they should go.

Activity, curiosity, and happiness were seen as inherent to a healthy child. Buchan was critical of schooling practices which confined a young person to sitting for seven or eight hours a day. These children could suffer from a weakened constitution later in life and might develop a permanent aversion to books.¹⁴⁰ Teachers were encouraged to develop a regular programme of physical exercise for their pupils. Boys were to engage in manly and useful exercises, while girls were to be occupied with plain work and housewifery.¹⁴¹ Buchan complained, '...if boys are brought up in a more delicate manner than even girls ought to be, they will never be men.'¹⁴²

were boys, instead of being whipped for stealing an hour to run, ride, swim, or the like, these manly and useful exercises, it would have many excellent effects. It would be of great service to boys, if, at a proper age, they were taught the military exercise. This would increase their strength, inspire them with courage, and when their country called on them for their assistance, would enable them to act in her defence, without being obliged to undergo tedious and troublesome course of instructions, at a time when they are less fit to learn new motions, gestures &c.¹⁴³

Along with the injury caused placing children in school too early Buchan was critical of the practise of sending children from their homes in the country into the towns for the purpose of education.¹⁴⁴ The unwholesome air of cities was worsened by the confined and often cramped quarters of boarding schools. Buchan recommended that schools should be situated as to have fresh, dry, wholesome air and avoid overcrowding.¹⁴⁵ Ideally children should be educated at home, by their

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 25.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 26–27.

¹⁴² Ibid., 27.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 26.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 32–33.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 33.

mothers or fathers, until they were of an age to take care of themselves.¹⁴⁶ The belief that children's minds tired easily leading to fatigue was countered by programmes of recreation intended to compensate and support children's growing bodies. Exercise was thought to be a natural part of the child's growth, with the child body being disposed towards constant movement. However, Maunsell observed an important moral and physical check on children, in that they were unable to sustain exertion for very long. They had energy, but not strength. Until a matured intellect caught up with the body, the child had natural limits on its strength and power.¹⁴⁷

Schools were one of the places where these regimens of physical activities were adopted formally. The principle concern was that children's recreation took place in an orderly and disciplined fashion. The idea of turning a group of children out to play with no structure or order did not make sense to educators who saw every aspect of children's early lives as formative to their moral character. Play activities were accepted when seen as morally and intellectually enriching to a child's personal development. J.A. Beaujau, the professor of gymnastics at the Royal Hibernian Military school, issued a text in 1828 which highlighted the benefits of gymnastics in shaping the female body. Recommended for young girls in private seminaries, Beaujau argued that gymnastics was necessary for the 'strengthening the body, and giving activity and grace to the motions; and, at the same time, by affording a pleasing amusement to youth, who have need of recreation after their hours of more serious employment.'¹⁴⁸ Beaujau cited Lockean philosophy as a rejoinder to those that might scoff at that intellectual dimensions of exercise. 'Exercise produces unclouded serenity of mind: hence moral, as well as intellectual health, is deeply indebted for its existence to the exercise of physical powers.'¹⁴⁹ Neither wealth nor title could protect children from the debilitating effects of indolence. While access to the more opulent aspects of leisure and recreation were the preserve of the elite, middle class depictions of play emphasised that parental supervision rather than financial expenditure was necessary to children's development.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 25.

¹⁴⁷ Evanson and Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 1840, 19–20.

¹⁴⁸ J. A. Beaujeu, *A Treatise on Calisthenic Exercises for the Use of Young Ladies*, 2nd ed. (R. Milliken & Son, 1828).

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 5.

Conclusion

Within medical texts a number of tensions appear between what the authors believed to be natural childhood developments and what role parents should play in ensuring a healthy childhood. The plain, rational mode of care was the hallmark of nineteenth-century aetiology. Simple food, access to clean air and outdoor spaces, were repeatedly mentioned in advice literature as essential to children's health. The authors asserted that their prescriptions for good health were based on supplying the inherent, natural needs of the child. However, while they referred to an inevitable, innate course of childhood development they simultaneously explicated a programme of strenuous parental intervention in children's activities and environment to ensure 'proper' development. While the physicians derived their own authority by claiming to have a professional insight into children's health, their view of healthy childhood required an interventionist approach to child management. The medicalisation of childhood was part of a wider move towards dispersing the authority traditionally held by the parent or guardian and distributing it among childcare professionals. Teachers, nurses, tutors, dancing masters and physicians became part of a circle of paid workers brought in to ensure the health and wellbeing of the child. Increasingly, the health and development of a child relied on the experts, goods and clothes procured outside of the home. While this process of professionalising childcare was by no means complete by the 1860s, the foundations for paediatric care were by then established.

The 'fixing' of childhood by the bourgeoisie involved creating metrics for determining what was and was not a child. During this period, childhood became synonymous with dependency, innocence, and irrationality; the antithesis of the adult male. Determining the borders of childhood was necessary in creating the distinctive gendered roles of the middle-class family. Children were defined by what they were *not* capable of and this dependence was key to categorising individuals by their age and gender. It also transferred greater responsibility to parents for creating and maintaining a suitable environment for their children. Oliver Moore, an Irish-born career soldier, remarked in his 1831 novelised autobiography that 'A man's actions during the first years of his life are so little dependent on himself, that he can neither claim much merit for any virtue they exhibit, nor incur great blame for their folly. The good and the evil of our childhood properly belong to the parent or guardian whose authority we are bound to respect, and whose example we are

taught to imitate.’¹⁵⁰ The more blameless children became for their actions, the more responsibility was shifted to the parent for cultivating moral character, health, and good habits. By the end of the period, parenting and supervision had become synonymous. One of the most interesting developments from these definitions of childhood was the gendered connotations which accompanied them. Although boys and girls were not gendered in infancy and early childhood, childhood itself was increasingly feminised as a period of dependency and conversely feminine attributes were conflated with childhood. The next chapter discusses how these discourses of rational childcare were utilised by didactic writers to criticise the state of the Irish peasantry.

¹⁵⁰ Oliver Moore, *The Staff Officer: Or, the Soldier of Fortune: A Tale of Real Life* (London: Cochrane and Pickersgill, 1831), 1.

2 Chapter Two: Religion, Sectarianism and the Irish Child

‘You cannot imagine, Sir, the fervour of these unfortunates for learning since the means have been furnished them. The rising generation will not resemble that which we see. There lies the hope for the future.’¹

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Alexis de Tocqueville’s Journey in Ireland*, July-August, 1835.

Although the Act of Union in 1801 signalled the political union of England, Scotland and Ireland, the simple fact of political unification reflects little of the complexity involved in the project of integrating the Irish into the United Kingdom. In its aftermath, the ‘Irish question’ occupied much attention in political circles as Ireland’s economic, social and cultural differences were magnified by political partnership.² Principal among the differences separating the two islands was religion. Politically and economically disenfranchised, Catholics could not hold long term leases, vote in municipal or parliamentary elections, employ more than two apprentices, or establish schools and colleges.³ During the nineteenth century these legal barriers would be rescinded with the Act of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. However, the campaign for Catholic Emancipation, led by an increasingly confident Catholic middle class, took place in the context of wider religious revival, a ‘second reformation,’ driven by the fallout of political rebellion in 1798, political unification, and the international rise of evangelicalism. During the eighteenth century the major denominations, Anglican, Catholic, and Presbyterian, had generally been self-sustaining communities, serving their members with little zeal for gaining converts.⁴ However, the proselytising efforts of the Established Church and Roman Catholics intensified dramatically from the 1810s, as did the conflict between sects, as both parties sought to protect their communities, increase their numbers, and maintain their theological convictions.

For some onlookers, Irish Catholics’ child-rearing practises and family organisation became an object for comparison and critique between the two islands. Within the drive for social improvement and religious renewal children were

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Alexis de Tocqueville’s Journey in Ireland: July-August, 1835* (Dublin: Wolfhound, 1990), 119.

² Michael Brown, Patrick M. Geoghegan, and James Kelly, eds., *The Irish Act of Union, 1800: Bicentennial Essays* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2003).

³ James Livesey, *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*, (London: Yale University Press, 2009), 55.

⁴ David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890* (Routledge, 1992), 19.

targeted as symbols of hope and potential. Religious reformers utilised scientific ideas about children's early intellectual development to direct their efforts for converting Irish Catholics. If children were malleable and innocent, then it followed that Catholic Irish children were not doomed by some inherent aspect of their racial inheritance but could be educated and brought into the fold of British citizenry if given the proper guidance. The reform spirit of the first half of the nineteenth century was evident in personal and professional connections and through voluntary and civic organisations patronised by elites and the bourgeoisie.⁵ This chapter examines some of the less obvious aspects of the discourse around child-rearing, sectarianism, and education from 1800 to around 1840. Using cheaply produced religious pamphlets and literature it examines how ideas of the child were deployed in constructions of civilised and uncivilised family life. This is in some respects a colonial discourse on Irish savagery with much longer antecedents and it is an aspect of Irish childhood that is not easily compared with British or continental counterparts. However, these texts do fit within the wider discourse of 'improvement' literature, an innovation of the late eighteenth century that enabled a discussion about values within Irish civil society outside of traditional sectarian political language.⁶ The confessional divide in Irish society was wide and implicated in most aspects of Irish life including early childhood. However, it was not as simple as a mere dichotomy of Protestant and Catholic might suggest.

By the late eighteenth century Enlightenment optimism on the importance of education in shaping the child into a moral, polite citizen gave rise to a new didactic literature informing parents and guardians on how best to provide for the physical, moral, and intellectual growth of their young charges. Early nineteenth-century conduct books suggested a range of ideas about how children might be brought into polite society and taught how to act, walk, and talk in a manner suited to their societal position. Nadine Bérenguier has argued that conduct books in France were written as a means of offering advice and education to children in lieu of a mother who lacked the education or inclination to instruct her children properly.⁷ Similarly, the Kildare Place Society, the Dublin Tract Society, or the

⁵ Irene Whelan, *The Bible War in Ireland: the "Second Reformation" and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2005), 13, 55.

⁶ Livesey, *Civil Society and Empire*, 54-89.

⁷ Nadine Bérenguier, *Conduct Books for Girls in Enlightenment France*, x, 283 (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011); Jane Donawerth, "Conduct Book Rhetoric: Constructing a Theory of Feminine

Church Education Society were directed at redressing the failures of Irish parents. The centrality of education was a recurring theme in these texts, with authors striving to develop more effective ways of instructing boys and girls. Most commentators agreed on the inherent aptitude of Irish children. The perversion of this intellect through careless parenting, seditious teachers, and poor religious formation led to the ‘crowded gaols, ferocious turbulence, habitual sloth, [and] gloomy bigotry’ considered characteristic of the Irish adult.⁸ As this chapter highlights, during the nineteenth century there were many middle-class Irish men and women interested in civilising the ‘wild’ Irish; these efforts were bifurcated by religion but shared a common foundation of bourgeois values. The hallmarks of respectability these authors prescribed were not concrete formulations, but rather the authors discussed in this chapter were part of the vanguard of ‘experts’ writing and defining the codes of polite behaviour for children and their families.

The literature discussed in this chapter is useful not for what it suggests about the state of the Irish peasantry, but what it quite candidly implies about the authors’ opinion of good child-rearing and properly organised families. In the background of these texts was an awareness of medical advances and an eagerness to engage with child-rearing following a rational, scientific method rather than superstition or instinct. While religion was a central organising principle of improvement efforts, the object of these texts was a transformation of the social condition of the Irish family and not solely, or simply, their religious conversion. Michael Brown has argued that the ‘Irish question’ in its nineteenth-century manifestation of religious sectarianism was essentially a modern issue. Meaning that nineteenth-century sectarianism was borne of social concerns not theological disputes, a departure from the preceding century.⁹ How these middle-class authors prescribed reforms for the Irish lower classes indicates a great deal about how religious observance, or lack thereof, functioned as a feature of respectability. Andrea Edel Brożyna’s study of femininity in Ulster suggested how recurrent sectarianism was reflected in gendering processes. Although Protestant and Catholic femininities both emphasised religious devotion, industry, and maternal care, they were often seen as antithetical by religious apologists. Protestants

Discourse,” in *Conversational Rhetoric: The Rise and Fall of a Women’s Tradition, 1600–1900* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011), 41.

⁸ Edward Wakefield, *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political* (London, Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1812), 397–98.

⁹ Brown, *The Irish Enlightenment*, 461.

proposed a view of the slovenly, drunken Catholic ‘bidder’, while Catholics portrayed Protestant devotional life as cold and arid.¹⁰ When it came to child-rearing, the contrast between different kinds of childhoods provided a rich canvas for the middle classes to fashion an image of themselves as rational, enlightened, and successful.

The first part of this chapter examines representations of the Catholic family. It presents the story of Catholic childhood as told by a Protestant middle class. This second section considers how order, cleanliness, and regularity were transformed into moral imperatives disciplining the child body and altering the nature of parental responsibility. In this section, there emerges a tension between the sacred right of a parent to rule their child and the eagerness of missionaries and teachers to intervene with increased authority and consistency in children’s daily lives. The final point of the chapter is to consider how the term ‘education’ was used and redefined during the 1830s and 1840s. In the decade after the establishment of the CNEI there was a stream of publications issued by clergy, parishioners, and teachers considering the advantages, and numerous flaws, of the national system of education. The surviving fragments of this textual battle for control of the CNEI have not been examined with the question of how these authors thought about childhood and the hierarchy of care between state, parent, and child.¹¹ From this set of didactic literature we can consider the extent to which the rhetoric of religious difference actually impinged on the construct of childhood, or whether other aspects of identity like class and gender took precedence in determining the parameters of a good childhood.

2.1 Missions to the Irish

When Alexis de Tocqueville visited Ireland with his companion Gustave Beaumont in 1835 he was interested in documenting the condition of Ireland and its people, with a view to writing a book on the topic. Traveling a well-established route following the petty sessions through the country, de Tocqueville and Beaumont interviewed a variety of clergymen, politicians, landlords, and peasants to gain insight into the political and economic state of Ireland. While in Tuam, Co.

¹⁰ Andrea Ebel Brożyna, *Labour, Love and Prayer: Female Piety in Ulster Religious Literature, 1850–1914*, (Belfast: Queen’s University Press, 1999), 4–5.

¹¹ For the twentieth-century this question has received more attention see, Mary E. Daly, “‘The Primary and Natural Educator’: The Role of Parents in the Education of Their Children in Independent Ireland,” *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009), 194–217.

Galway, Toqueville recorded a conversation with a priest who stated, ‘You cannot imagine, Sir, the fervour of these unfortunates for learning since the means have been furnished them. The rising generation will not resemble that which we see. There lies the hope for the future.’¹² The priest was likely referring to the newly established national education scheme outlined in the Stanley letter and established in 1831. The CNEI was one of the most visible interventions into Irish childhood by the state. According to J.M. Goldstrom, the British government was willing to intervene in family life in Ireland to a degree that would never have been attempted in England, ‘the hostile population and alien religion [were] enough to loosen purse strings.’¹³ Interest in the Irish child was closely allied to interest in the formation of a truly United Kingdom and the implementation of a liberal state of governance. The actors involved in reform movements had political and religious motivations to integrate Irish Catholics into the fold of Protestant Ascendancy values.

The tenor of nineteenth-century sectarianism was given its divisive pitch by a combination of events and new ideological movements at the end of the eighteenth century. The outbreak of the French Revolution and the 1798 rebellion in Ireland increased a social and political conservatism that found an easy ally in evangelical revivalism. As Irene Whelan’s work has argued, the evangelical movement in Ireland shared many characteristics with its counterpart in London. Irish evangelicals had a similar emphasis on romanticism and the free expression of emotion as did their counterparts in the English Clapham Sect. Whelan’s work draws a link between the ideas of sensibility and reform authored by Rousseau and the direct influence his ideas had on Irish reformers like John Synge and Charles Edward Orphen.¹⁴ For some, the conservative piety of the evangelical movement was the solution to creating loyal citizens for a Protestant church and state. During the 1790s the enthusiasm for moral reform was expressed in the foundation of Bible societies that hoped to promote a moral reformation through scriptural education. The social aims of these kinds of societies are well illustrated by the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of Religion, also known as the Dublin Association and the equivalent of William Wilberforce’s

¹² Ibid., 119.

¹³ J. M. Goldstrom, *The Social Content of Education, 1808-1870: A Study of the Working Class School Reader in England and Ireland* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), 52.

¹⁴ Whelan, *The Bible Wars*, 67.

Proclamation Society. They targeted drinking, gambling, and popular literature leading to the end of the Dublin lottery and the prohibition of alcohol sales on Sundays.¹⁵ In the next thirty years there would be an expansion of these kinds of Bible societies; usually targeting a particular section of society including, children, Irish speakers, the deaf and dumb, and the prison population. Evangelicals were not the only individuals interested in philanthropic pursuits during this period, and the archival catalogues of the Representative Church Body Library, the archival repository for the Church of Ireland, attest to the diversity of charitable and missionary organisations in existence during the nineteenth century.¹⁶ These missionary movements have been discussed from a variety of historical vantage points and to describe them in general terms here would be to simplify the diverse aims of individual organisations and institutions. For this chapter, it is sufficient to note the general features of this culture of religious ‘improvement’ and the main characteristics of the texts it produced.

As Myrtle Hill and David Hempton have argued, the rise of evangelicalism was a catalyst, but not the cause, of heightened tensions between religious sects.¹⁷ The educational impulse of the reform movement was apparent from the 1790s, and during the first decade of the nineteenth century the foundation of the Religious Tract and Book Society (1807), the Sunday School Society (1809) and the Kildare Place Society (1811) demonstrated a commitment to the education of Protestant and Catholic children; though in practise their interdenominational efforts were not always enacted. By the early 1820s the majority of Sunday School Society schools were concentrated in Ulster and served a Protestant population. In 1821, the ratio of Sunday schools to population was 1:17 in Ulster, whereas in Leinster the ratio was 1:92 and in Munster 1:405.¹⁸ Presbyterians in Ulster were particularly active in missionary efforts. According to Andrew Holmes, Presbyterians took advantage of the support offered by evangelical societies, even when the leadership of these groups were typically Dublin based Church of Ireland elites.¹⁹ Presbyterian evangelical outreach spanned from the distribution of Bibles and religious literature

¹⁵ Ibid., 56.

¹⁶ A summary calendar of the manuscripts collections in the archive is available digitally and onsite. I am grateful to Susan Hood for her advice and suggestions on the collections.

¹⁷ Hempton and Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society*, 5, 20–44.

¹⁸ Whelan, *The Bible Wars*, 110.

¹⁹ Andrew Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 255–83.

to the establishment of reading societies and children's schools.²⁰ Another prolific publisher of children's didactic tracts and school textbooks was the Dublin based Kildare Place Society. Founded by a group of Dublin business men in 1811, the Kildare Place Society was non-denominational by design and an early foray into state sponsored primary education. The KPS was supported by an annual government grant and the schools attracted a considerable student population of over 58,000 at the time of their closure, caused largely by the controversy of their schools' policy to read the Bible to children 'without note or comment'²¹ Although their government support was withdrawn upon the foundation of the CNEI, their subsidised textbooks and tracts had a longer lifespan and were distributed throughout Ireland and the empire.²²

The blame for the supposed state of the peasantry was seen to lie with their instructors, the priest and the schoolmaster, rather than an innate failing of the race. The problem therefore was not so much a lack of education among the Irish lower classes, but the wrong kind of education. Sir John Carr, an English travel writer, remarked that the travelling schoolmaster, the figure of educational authority in rural areas, was a 'wretched uncharactered [sic] itinerant,' working to keep himself from starvation, instead of a higher moral calling. 'What proportion of morals and learning can flow from such a source into the mind of the ragged young pupil, can easily be imagined, but cannot be reflected upon without serious concern.'²³ The schoolmaster running the so-called hedge schools was depicted as a figure of sedition by some authors; men who encouraged hatred of the government and the maintenance of older Gaelic customs.²⁴ The idea that hedge schools were

²⁰ Ibid., 266-283

²¹ Susan M. Parkes, *Kildare Place: The History of the Church of Ireland Training College 1811-1969* (Dublin: CICE publications, 1984), 18.

²² For a summary of the literature on religion and Irish education see, Deirdre Raftery, "Religions and the History of Education: A Historiography," *History of Education* 41, no. 1 (2012), 41-56. For a history of the Kildare Place Society see, Valerie Coghlan, ed., *The Bicentenary Book: From the Kildare Place Society to the Church of Ireland College of Education, 1811-2011*, (Dublin: CICE publications, 2011); Harold John Hislop, "The Kildare Place Society 1811-1831: An Irish Experiment in Popular Education" (PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 1990); Valerie Coghlan and Geraldine O'Connor, "The Kildare Place Society: An Influential Force in 19th Century Irish Education," in *Acts of Reading: Teachers, Text and Childhood*, ed. Morag Styles and Evelyn Arizpe (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham, 2009), 87-97; H. Kingsmill Moore, *An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education, Being the History of the Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland, Generally Known as the Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831* (London: Macmillan, 1904); Susan M. Parkes, *Kildare Place: The History of the Church of Ireland Training College 1811-1969* (Dublin: CICE publications, 1984).

²³ John Carr, *The Stranger in Ireland*; (Philadelphia, T. & G. Palmer, 1806), 239.

²⁴ Ibid.

managed by a set of eccentric and unruly schoolmasters is maintained in Antonia MacManus's more recent study of the hedge school. She suggested that schoolmasters were often at odds with Catholic parish clergy because of their tendency towards radical views and participation in agrarian societies like the Whiteboys.²⁵ Moreover, McManus argued that Irish parents were sceptical of the new Lancastrian model of education introduced by Bible societies like the Kildare Place Society. This method used fellow students as monitors and this divested authority from the schoolmaster into the hands of junior teachers.²⁶

Scepticism about the quality and content of Catholic education was evident in the testimony of Horatio Townsend, Rector of Kilgariffe in west Cork, reporting on the conditions of the peasantry in South Munster. According to his report in 1810, 'four out of five of the common people *cannot speak English*, and 49 out of 50 cannot write their names.'²⁷ Townsend believed Catholic schools were essentially serving as crèches for working parents instead of institutions for intellectual achievement. 'Young persons are sent to these places of cheap instruction for two reasons; first with a view of learning something, and secondly, because their parents don't know what else to do with them. Of these, the greater part derive no eventual knowledge from their schooling, being recalled at an early age, when their labour can be turned to some account.'²⁸ Townsend took most exception with the method of teaching in Catholic schools, describing the cacophony of boys who 'gabble their lesson together, as loud and as fast as they can speak, which is called rehearsing.'²⁹ The distaste for garrulous crowds of unorganised children was seen as a harbinger of the nascent potential of the mob. The image of boys rattling off Latin and Greek verse while running around in no shoes and poor clothing offended those of higher rank. George Holmes remarked of the peasantry in County Kerry in 1801, 'The peasantry of the county Kerry are very marked in their character: tall and well proportioned, black hair, brown complexion, and with very expressive eyes. Their mental faculties are very acute and lively; and amongst the uncultivated part of the

²⁵ McManus, *The Irish Hedge School and Its Books, 1695-1831*, 24. A similar theme is evident in P.J. Dowling's characterisation of the hedge schoolmaster as a rebel with cause see, Dowling, *A History of Irish Education: A Study in Conflicting Loyalties*, Mercier Original Paperbacks (Cork: Mercier Press, 1971).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

²⁷ Horatio Townsend, *Statistical Survey of the County of Cork: With Observations on the Means of Improvement; Drawn up for the Consideration, and by the Direction of the Dublin Society* (1810) Appendix, 61.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

country many are to be met with who are all good Latin scholars, yet do not speak a word of English.’³⁰ The implication of this passage was that the peasantry were full of talent and potential, however, they missed a step in the process of maturity, they spoke Latin, without having English. MacManus’ maintained that one of the main functions of Irish hedge schools was to prepare Catholic pupils for the priesthood, service in a foreign army, or employment in the trades.³¹ In which case, knowledge of foreign languages and the classics would have been useful if not essential. This disconnect between the needs and experiences of Catholic families in rural areas and the prescribing gaze of outsiders was consistent throughout the formulation of what it was to receive an improving education.

Unlike other authors, who saw the poverty and hardship of the lower-classes as a matter of divine appointment, Martin Doyle, alias of Rev. William Hickey, a Church of Ireland clergyman and writer, provided practical advice to farmers and small-holders on the subjects of farming, husbandry and household economy. In his *Hints Addressed to the Small Holders and Peasantry of Ireland, on Subjects Connected with Health, Temperance, Morals, &c.* (1833), the connection between health, morality and self-discipline is apparent from the title. Doyle’s advice was drawn from his own experience as a curate in Fern, Co. Wexford, where he took an interest in the plight of his rural parishioners and sought to improve their productivity. He commented on the failings of the gentry classes to take responsibility for the less fortunate in their care. He stated, ‘proper training of the young is one of the best means of reforming society; habits of industry, sobriety, and order, implanted in early life, are very likely to continue their effects in later years.’³² In his advice on rural economy, he outlined the cheap cost of boys’ labour and promoted the practise of good Christian homes hiring boys for a prolonged work stay. He described the project of one Mr. Benson, who had brought twenty boys on to his farm and made arrangements for them to be fed, clothed, and trained in farming for four years. These boys were between the ages of nine and fourteen years old. According to Doyle, the boys, ‘are learning to be good and skilful labourers, and to get their living, they are rescued from what are too frequently dens of immorality and vice,

³⁰ George Holmes, *Sketches of the Southern Counties of Ireland*, Autumn, 1801, as quoted in T. Corcoran, *Education Systems in Ireland from the Close of the Middle Ages: Selected Texts with Introduction* (Dublin: University College Dublin, 1928), 73.

³¹ Antonia McManus, *The Irish Hedge School and Its Books, 1695-1831* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2004), 13.

³² Martin Doyle (William Hickey), *Rural Economy for Cottage Farmers*, by Martin Doyle (London: Routledge, 1857), 295.

and are learning...habits of cleanliness, and a systematic mode of living.’³³ This was a key aspect of the ‘improvements’ prescribed for the Irish lower-orders.

From Doyle’s vantage point the laziness of the gentry in caring for their rural communities was a key contributor to the plight of the Irish peasant. Doyle entreated the gentry to consider the robust quality of their own children’s health and consider how quickly their happiness could diminish if their families were subjected to the same caprices of unemployment and famine that ensnared the peasantry.

You can appreciate this, who love your children -who delight in their artless playfulness, their rosy health -and, with anticipatory joy, look forward to the blooming maturity of their embryo perfections. What, if to all this display of health, and ease, and beauty, were to succeed the faded eye and the livid cheeks, the emaciated limbs, the faltering pulse? -what, if such awful change were to occur from the ravages of hunger- what would be our sensations?’³⁴

Doyle’s depiction of gentry children highlights key aspects of the discourse around children’s bodies. Within their small forms the embryonic potential for their adult lives was contained.³⁵ As the happy recipients of their parents’ love, they were playful, joyful and rosy cheeked. Doyle identified this flourishing child as the fruit of a prosperity not possible under the duress and labour defining the peasantry’s existence. While Doyle laid blame for the peasantry’s neglect with the gentry, there were other authors who saw the plight of the peasantry in religious terms, connecting the antiquated habits of peasant life to the practise of Catholicism.

2.2 Untameable Catholics

In 1847 the Church Education Society recorded in its minutes an intention to renew religious missionary efforts among the lower classes of Mayo. This region had been hard hit by several years of potato famine. However, at a meeting of the Killala

³³ Ibid., 297-8.

³⁴ Doyle, Martin. *The Works of Martin Doyle. Vol.1.* (Dublin: William Curry, 1836), 13. See also, *Hints Addressed to the Small Holders and Peasantry of Ireland, on Subjects Connected with Health, Temperance, Morals, &c* (Dublin: W. Curry, 1833).

³⁵ Carolyn Steedman makes a similar point about the littleness of children’s bodies and the connection to cell theory. Within this theory was the discovery that all the necessary information for growth was contained in the body of the cell, this idea was grafted onto an understanding of childhood. See, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority*.

Diocesan held at Ballina, Co. Mayo, attendees agreed upon a statement which demonstrated their concern for the spiritual souls of these starving victims.

Darkness covers the Earth and gross darkness the minds of the people, and in vain do we look to any locale greater for that aid... We believe too that Christian sympathy has taken a direction hitherward, that those who have learned the connection between natural and moral evil perceived that Mayo is most wretched because Mayo is most dark, and that the true method to remove its natural evil, is, by destroying the cause, its ignorance and irreligion.³⁶

The metaphor of darkness and light indicated the dichotomy between the light of Christianity in contrast to darkness of ignorance and Satan.³⁷ The statement was approved by the committee and eventually printed and sent abroad to solicit for funds to support Mayo mission. For some onlookers, the devastation of the famine was linked to the ignorance and irreligion of the Catholic peasantry.³⁸ Although this statement authored by the Church Education Society was severe in its portrayal of famine as a kind of divine retribution on Mayo's Catholic peasantry, the connection between poverty and Catholicism was obvious to many evangelicals.

The link between religion, rationality, and the failings of the Irish race were harnessed by Protestant apologists to connect the irrationality of Catholic theology with the disordered conduct of Catholic families. The language of scientific advancement provided the means to criticise older forms of traditional medicinal knowledge with a religious tenor. Although we can see this kind of criticism in the 1790s, with physicians like Buchan and Cadogan criticising feminine care, in Ireland, disapproval took on distinct sectarian dimensions. Popular medicinal remedies were construed as evidence of Catholic superstition and as the century progressed 'folk' medicine' was increasingly derided as ignorant, and potentially dangerous to the child. The backlash against 'superstitious' practises during the period reflected a combination of sectarianism and scientific discourse. Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna (1790-1846) a prominent English evangelical writer, compared Irish peasant child-rearing practises to savages in Africa. She cited the practise of

³⁶ Meeting of the Killala Diocesan society in connexion with the Church Education Society for Ireland held at Ballina, on Monday 4 October 1847, 154/6/1/1 Scrapbook 1847-52 starting 1840, Church Education Society MS, RCB Library.

³⁷ Fiona Bateman, "Defining the Heathen in Ireland and Africa: Two Similar Discourses a Century Apart," *Social Sciences and Missions* 21, no. 1 (2008): 73-96.

³⁸ On the topic of whether Catholics were affected more severely than Protestants during the Famine see, Ian N. Gregory and Niall A. Cunningham, "The Judgement of God on an Indolent and Unself-Reliant People?: The Impact of the Great Irish Famine on Ireland's Religious Demography," *Journal of Historical Geography* 51 (2016), 76-87.

giving a sick child a tonic of a Foxglove flower if the child was suspected of being a fairy. If the child lived for three days after administration of Foxglove they were verified to be human and every effort was made to aid their recovery. However, Foxglove was a highly poisonous flower and 'leads the poor deluded dupes to think there are such a thing as fairies.'³⁹ Criticism of Catholic 'superstition' was a well-rehearsed trope in didactic literature.

Can those be considered better than heathens who worship the Virgin Mary under the form of an eel in a muddy pond, or give implicit faith to a priest who would tell them their grandmothers had been turned by him [the priest] into hares? What can more closely resemble the deeds of heathenism than the fact that mothers poison their children that they may not bring up fairies? And this, and worse than this, is going on in the immediate dominions of one of the most enlightened and *the* most highly-favoured Protestant sovereign in the world.⁴⁰

According to Tonna, the supposedly uncivilised practises of the Irish peasantry served as examples of the incompatibility of Catholicism with civilisation. She argued that the Irish peasant would be elevated by conversion to Protestantism in the same way as the New Zealander or savage African.⁴¹ Tonna's was a particularly strident form of evangelicalism. However, her publications for the Dublin Tract Society are representative of the genre, offering a compendium of short moral tales, re-printed correspondence on the state of missionary efforts, and sermons on conversion. Tonna's exaggeration of peasant superstition illustrated the distance between the civility of the English and their colonised subjects. Her pamphlets are an example of the Victorian brand of imperialism based on a racialised hierarchy of civilisations.⁴²

Depictions of the backward Irish peasant took a variety of forms, and children were used as emotive victims of Catholic superstition. Details of the case of Catherine Sinnott in 1824 gained wide circulation in newspapers and pamphlets precisely because of its salacious demonstration of priestly authority gone horribly

³⁹ Charlotte Elizabeth Tonna, *Pat's Apology; or, "England the Wickedest Place in the World"* (London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1850).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 61–62.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 61, there is also a comparison to the cannibals of New Zealand and the Mandarins of China, 83.

⁴² Catherine Hall and Sonya Rose's collection productively mines the implications of imperialism on gender relations and family life in, Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds., *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

wrong. Three-year-old Catherine Sinnott, from Killinick, Co. Wexford, was placed under a tub for approximately three hours and doused in salt and water as part of an exorcism ritual conducted by Roman Catholic priest John Carroll. Reportedly, Carroll had beat a woman that same day in an attempt to expel an evil spirit from her, and entered the Sinnott's house uninvited, proceeding to declare that there was a demon in the child.⁴³ In order to expel the demon believed to be in the body of the child the recitation of prayers and incantations was required. William Furlong, a sworn witness at the coroner's inquest described the manner and method used in the exorcism.

the priest [Rev. Carroll] first began to sing, and then to whistle; he unbuttoned his gaiter, and took off his stocking; he whistled and beat time to the tune of a hornpipe on the side of the bed; witness believes priest remained about three hours standing and sitting on the tub; the priest took the tub from off the child; saw the child and believed it to be dead; the father and mother were present, to the best of the witness opinion; there were several persons in the room; does not at present recall their names...⁴⁴

The child's father, Thomas Sinnott, arrived at the house after the priest had already begun the exorcism. According to his testimony he 'went into the room where the child was, and she spoke to him; the priest was in the room; the child said 'Oh, daddy!' the priest and child were in bed together; witness attempted to take the child away, but some persons prevented him; he tried again to take the child; he saw nothing more except the child dead...'⁴⁵ Thomas refused to name the other individuals who witnessed the episode, insisting that there were many people there, but he could not remember their names precisely. Other witnesses were more forthcoming and named the priest's sisters, neighbours, and other family members who were present.⁴⁶

Reports of the subsequent trial and details of the murder were published in London, Dublin, and Belfast based on reports originally published in the *Wexford Herald*, though shaded by the news outlets local loyalties. The *Freeman's Journal*

⁴³ *Fanaticism! Cruelty!! Bigotry!!! : The Particulars of the Horrible Murder of Catharine Sinnott, a Child under Four Years of Age, by the Rev. John Carroll, an Irish Catholic Priest, under Pretence of Performing a Miracle, by Casting Devils out of the Child, Which Took Place at Killinick, in the County of Wexford, on Friday, July 9, 1824, Etc. : Including the Coroner's Inquest.* (London: John Fairburn, 1824).

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ *Report of the Trial of the Rev. John Carroll, Roman Catholic Curate of Killinick, in the County of Wexford, and Five of His Parishioners, for Murder [of Catharine Sinnott] : Taken in Short-Hand.* (Dublin, 1824).

declared the events to be exaggerated but lamented the death of the child as a 'dreadful occurrence.' The paper suggested that perhaps Rev. Carroll had been influenced by Johanna Southcott (1750-1814), a female apocalyptic prophetess from England who gained a large group of followers during the early nineteenth century. Southcott's name provided a way to place blame on a conveniently foreign influence.⁴⁷ The *Belfast Newsletter* introduced the story with the title 'Horrible fanaticism and cruelty,' and their account of events emphasised the demented nature of the priest in perpetrating the crime while in the full view of a crowd of believing peasants. Their account stated that 50-200 people accompanied the priest on his visit to the Sinnott's home, though any number above 50 seems unlikely.⁴⁸ Reactions to the Sinnott incident demonstrates how far the rationalisation of childcare had permeated the bourgeois worldview, making the ritual of exorcism a matter of barbarity. A pamphlet produced in London about the episode provided the clearest indication of how 'civilised Protestant society' viewed the event as a regrettable but inevitable outcome of the depravity of Catholic family life.

Upon the conduct of the wretched author this tragedy, we have no observation to offer. It appears, beyond all doubt, that the unfortunate man was deranged -but as to the others, what shall we say? That a number of persons could stand tamely by and see an infant victim put to cruel and lingering death; that the *parents* could hear their child cry 'save me, save me' -and yet steel their hearts, under any, and above all, under such pretext, is a degree of callous superstition and cold blooded bigotry which can hardly be paralleled...When we reflect that there is a vast population partaking of these opinions, and acting under this influence -when we consider that there is such a mass of wild passions and frenzied feelings, ungovernable except by this engine alone, and by it alone capable of being directed- to good or evil, it is no longer a matter of astonishment to us that Ireland has hitherto baffled the anxious endeavours of wise and good men of all parties, labouring for her good.⁴⁹

The actions of the priest were condemned but could be considered an anomaly. However, the 'mass of wild passions and frenzied feelings' of the crowd suggested a more deep-rooted, inherent vice within the Irish nation. The details of the case, outlined in pamphlets and newspapers, indicate some of the reasons why the incident garnered wide publicity and outrage. While the murder of a young girl was

⁴⁷ *The Freeman's Journal*, 16 July 1824.

⁴⁸ *The Belfast Newsletter*, 20 July 1824.

⁴⁹ *Particulars of the Horrible Murder of Catharine Sinnott*, 5.

sensational in itself, religious reformers saw the entire episode as a demonstration of the dysfunction of the Catholic family unit. While the blame for the murder of an innocent child certainly lay with the priest, the gendered expectations of maternal and paternal care had also broken down. The mother failed to enact any protest against the treatment of the child because of her blind trust in the healing powers of the priest. The father, though he attempted to intervene, lacked the masculine strength to go against the crowds who assured him the priest was exercising a legitimate power. The shock value of a young girl killed in her own bed also provided a powerful image of how the Catholic priest, a non-member of the family, was allowed complete access to a family home. He was even allowed to place himself in the girl's bed, a striking image of how fully infiltrated priestly power was within the Catholic family. The accuracy of these depictions may well be questioned, but the dissemination of the narrative constructed the Catholic family life and child-rearing practises as superstitious and barbaric.

The civilising mission of child-rearing texts is well represented in a pamphlet *Friendly advice to Irish mothers on training their children* issued by Countess of Caledon Catherine Alexander (1786-1863) and first published in Armagh in 1839. A member of the landed Protestant ascendancy, Alexander was patroness of the British and Irish Ladies Society for Improving the Condition and Promoting the Industry and Welfare of the Female Peasantry in Ireland (BILS). The group saw themselves as civilizing agents, giving material and moral aid to the poorer classes.⁵⁰ Alexander's text illustrated how the positive effects of their charitable efforts were intended especially for children. Targeting children was as much a political solution to tension among the discontented peasantry as it was a religious duty. The first quarter of the text dealt with the religious instruction of infants and children. The programme of scripture reading and church attendance for mothers was reinforced by Alexander's admonishment that the most important thing a mother could do in developing the moral sensibilities of her children was to serve as a good role model. In Alexander's view the poorly trained, unkempt Irish child was part of a cyclical, generational failure of Irish mothers. Because mothers had not received adequate

⁵⁰ See Maria Luddy's introduction in, Catherine Alexander, *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers, on Training Their Children*, ed. Maria Luddy, Irish Women's Writing, 1839-1888 (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998).

education and training they were likely to pass on their lazy habits to their children.⁵¹ Alexander informed her reader's,

I have had a better education than you, I have had a larger experience, I have been in a great many different countries, and observed differ habits; and, from having lived much in England, and learnt the value of method, order and regularity, I am disturbed to see the slovenliness, the carelessness, the wastefulness, and, partly owing to these faults), the poverty and want of my Irish countrywomen.⁵²

Alexander clearly had the upper hand on her Irish countrywomen, and saw method, order, and regularity as key aspects of English family life that should be transplanted to Ireland. A programme to create 'good members of society' accompanied religious instruction. Children were supposed to be occupied with productive work at all times. The manual stated, 'you can not be too early in making them do something...idleness is the root of all evil.' Knitting stockings was suggested as a suitable task for children age four, and slightly older children could be occupied by weeding the garden. In her view, children's early stage in life in no way diminished their culpability towards sin and evil. Alexander encouraged mothers not to indulge crying children or to respond to infant cries. Obedience was to be cultivated 'as soon as your child can understand you, before it can speak.'⁵³ Alexander believed that before a child could talk it was capable of understanding, indulging an infant's cries could make the difference as to whether she or he would grow to be obstinate.⁵⁴ Lying was identified as a particular moral failing of the Irish. Alexander believed that this was because parents tended to side with their children, if they were accused of lying or thievery.⁵⁵ Mothers were responsible for teaching their children polite manners which included avoiding spitting, making holes in hedges, walking in muddy roads, and drunkenness. Alexander particularly abhorred the 'nasty, vulgar, filthy, and unwholesome custom of spitting about. Those who have any pride in keeping their houses clean, should have a scraper, for dirty feet, at

⁵¹Alexander, *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers on Training Their Children*, 3.

⁵²Alexander, *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers on Training Their Children*, 3.

⁵³Ibid., 9.

⁵⁴Ibid., 10.

⁵⁵Ibid., 12. Maria Edgeworth had a similar critique of Irish secrecy and subterfuge, see Willa Murphy, "Maria Edgeworth and the Aesthetics of Secrecy," in *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Tadhg Foley and Seán Ryder (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 45–54.

their door...children should never be allowed to come in without scraping their dirty feet.’⁵⁶

Alexander’s text indicates some of the assumptions about the nature of wealth and the natural rules of economy. The economic condition of the peasantry was due to their own laziness, poor training, and immorality. Hints on household economy, cooking recipes and advice for clothing included in the manual concentrated on remedying the symbolic markers of poverty, but they focused on ‘making do’ rather than on strategies for improving material income. Poverty was thought to be caused by a mismanagement of resources, rather than a lack of income. The text implied that childhood should be spent learning practical and technical skills for adulthood. However, rather significantly, the text did not refer to this programme of care as an education, rather it was ‘training’ the child with a direct connection to the occupation they would have in adulthood as parents or in service.

Prescriptive literature was clear as to the limits for educational aspirations. Reforming the labouring classes was about the reformation of a moral economy not a vehicle for social mobility. Gratitude and deference were part of the lessons of the labouring-classes education. These lessons were conveyed in *The Cottage Fireside* (1821) which was structured as a dialogue between a grandmother and her granddaughter Jenny to provide readers with practical and moral instruction. The text had wide-spread distribution throughout the British Isles and was republished several times by the Kildare Place Society.⁵⁷ The tract reminded the labouring classes to be content with their place in life and express gratitude towards the rich who had ‘a weighty charge on them, ... I mean the care of the poor, who are trusted to their protection...this is another cause for thankfulness on our part, when we see those far above us in rank, devote their time, their fortunes, and their talent to our service.’⁵⁸ Abigail Roberts’ *The history of Tim Higgins* (1823) told the story of two brothers in the province of Leinster. Their education, as sons of a small farmer, was held up by Roberts as ideal given the prospects of their class.

giving them what might be called a good education, for their class of life; for they could read well, write a tolerable hand, and knew the

⁵⁶ Alexander, *Advice to Irish mothers*, 43–44.

⁵⁷ This anonymously published text should not be confused with a volume by the same title written by Scottish minister, Rev. Henry Duncan, *The Cottage Fireside; Or, The Parish Schoolmaster: A Moral Tale, Intended Chiefly to Convey, in an Alluring Form, an Important Practical Lesson to Parents, in the Education of Their Children, and to Young Persons, in the Duty of Obedience, and the Happiness of Good Conduct*, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Waugh, & Innes, 1816).

⁵⁸ *The Cottage Fire-Side* (Dublin: Kildare Place Society 1821), 25.

first four rules of arithmetic so well...Though the good man, however, made his sons such scholars,- and, indeed, it was said that both had learned almost as much as he could teach them -it had always been his chiefest [sic] care to fit them for a country life, and to impress upon them that he is happiest who has learned, as a pious man expresses it, in whatever state he is, therewith to be content.⁵⁹

Attention as to what was a good education for a certain 'class of life' drove the logic of bourgeois reforms.

In fictional literature, the plight of the Irish Catholic child could be illustrated with a dramatic flair that non-fictional genres lacked. Abigail Roberts (1748-1823), Grace Kennedy (1782-1825), and Selina Bunbury (1802-1889) are good examples of Protestant women engaged in evangelising the Catholic Irish peasantry for a variety of personal, financial, and religious motivations. These authors were engaged with a mass market of religious fiction, using the demand for this literature as a means of financial support. Heidi Hansson characterises the works of this genre as having 'stereotypical content, low prices, and popular distribution channels...their work had use-value rather than aesthetic pretensions.'⁶⁰ The three authors discussed here, a Quaker, Methodist, and Anglican respectively, all shared a commitment to reforming the child as a way of improving the economic, social, and spiritual condition of the family. Their criticisms of the Irish family in these texts are illuminating, precisely in defining what was *not* respectable.

Abigail Roberts (1748-1823), the daughter of George Roberts, Co. Laois, and Dorothy Craven, Co. Tipperary, wrote didactic fiction for children during the 1820s as a way of financially supporting her family. Raised as a Quaker, her didactic tracts for children emphasized the material and spiritual benefits of hard work and frugality. Roberts reportedly had a speech impediment as a child, but compensated for this with her natural talent for writing.⁶¹ When her family's financial situation declined she opened a shop with her sister in Borris-in-Ossory, and began publishing tracts with the Kildare Place Society. Her earliest piece for children, *The Entertaining Medley Being a Collection of True Histories and Anecdotes Calculated for the*

⁵⁹ Abigail Roberts, *The History of Tim Higgins: The Cottage Visitor* (Dublin: C. Bentham, 1823), 5-6.

⁶⁰ Heidi Hansson, "Selina Bunbury, Religion, and the Woman Writer," in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume IV: The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 323.

⁶¹ Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900*, 1127.

Cottager's Fireside was a reaction against the fanciful chapbooks which she thought damaging to children's sense of honesty.

Although fairy tales are sometimes amusing, they, nevertheless, it must be confessed, are of little use, and even do mischief, by holding forth what is not true, thus misleading the reader; we have, therefore, made here a collection of *real* occurrences, and of *true* accounts. [Emphasis in original].⁶²

Instead of fanciful tales, her book offered stories ranging across geographical, academic and thematic subjects. For example, the Edison light-house, a moving bog in Galway, and an account of a camel in Africa were included. This mixture of exotic and domestic narratives was intended to entice and entertain the child without resorting to the falsehoods of fairy tales. Roberts' short portrait of the life of an Arab family is another indication of how Protestant family life was seen as the most civilised and happy form of a family. She described Arab families as large and uncontrollable with children listless and drawn to novelty.⁶³ The Arab wife lacked discipline and control of her household.

It is difficult to conceive a more irksome situation than that of the Arab's wife, in the midst of her children, weeping, fighting, and scrambling all around her; yet we can scarcely pity her, as she and all mothers have it in their own power to make their children obedient and cheerful. Such of the women, as are exempt from the incumbrance [sic] of infants, employ themselves on their camels in spinning, or grinding corn with hand mills.⁶⁴

This description of chaos, of children scrambling, fighting, and running presents the antithesis of the bourgeois image of an organised, disciplined household. Moreover, the women in this family are overworked, with husbands nowhere to be found. They have responsibilities for children, agricultural work, and household duties. Very similar language was used to describe the state of the Irish peasantry. In some ways, the state of the Irish family was more shocking, precisely because they were not Arabs in a foreign, faraway country but constituents of the United Kingdom.

Roberts' tone was somewhat more conciliatory towards the plight of the peasantry than some of her contemporaries, nonetheless, she positioned education

⁶² Abigail Roberts, *The Entertaining Medley: Being a Collection of True Histories and Anecdotes, Calculated for the Cottager's Fireside* (Dublin: Christopher Bentham, 1826).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 51.

as a key factor in eliminating the cycle of poverty and laziness. Roberts authored *The schoolmistress; or, instructive and entertaining conversations between a teacher and her scholars* (1824) as a manual for teachers and parents. Combining fiction with instruction, the book provided a practical description of how Mrs. Moloney went about setting up a new school in an Irish neighbourhood, giving concrete details of the building dimensions, ventilation, and providing illustrated designs for the school's architecture. The duties of the teacher were presented within the fictional story of the Wilman family, consisting of two boys and two girls, whose mother refused to send her children to school at an early age. In the story, the eldest Wilman brother was 12 years old and still had not attended any school. In her efforts to persuade Mrs. Wilman to enrol her children in the Mrs. Moloney stated the key benefits that would be reaped by children's attendance at school.

You have not time: if they do wrong, you don't know how to speak to them, and though perhaps you correct them, believe me it is not the rod alone that is to correct what is amiss. You have not such opportunities of showing them, by example, what they should do and what avoid. Now at school, if I praise a good child for doing right, I am saying to every one of the others, "Do thou likewise" and if I correct a naughty child, I am giving a lesson to the others which they do not forget. If I see them quarrelsome or angry, or noisy in their play, or ill natured, I can at once show them their error, whilst you, having the place to mind, your husband's dinner to dress, your children to wash and mend for, how can you be always with them?⁶⁵

The idea of emulation, that students would be influenced by the instruction of their classmates became a key socialising benefit of schooling and was seen as crucial to habit formation. The middle-class teacher in this scenario was designated as a parental figure to compensate for the lack of time Irish mothers had to spend with her own children. While Mrs. Wilman is busy maintaining her household her lack of financial resources creates a lack of proper supervision. The lack of supervision was particularly acute in the way that Mrs. Wilman allowed her children to play in the road, a space she could not keep an eye on them.⁶⁶ Once enrolling her children in school they were transformed into diligent, civil, and cleanly children. Their speech was regulated and they no longer used 'naughty words or expressions.'⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Abigail Roberts, *The Schoolmistress; Or, Instructive and Entertaining Conversations between a Teacher and Her Scholars* (Dublin: Bentham & Gardiner, 1824), 76–77.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 77–78.

This belief that the school space could be profoundly transformative in reshaping the individual was echoed in other ways within the built architecture and regulations of educational institutions. Both of these themes will be considered further in chapters 4 and 5 on girls' and boys' education.

Grace Kennedy (1782-1825), a Scottish didactic author from Glasgow, specialised in religious fiction with an anti-Catholic bent. In her children's story *Andrew Campbell's Visit to His Irish Cousins* Irish children are not inherently corrupted, but lack proper parental discipline and care, resulting in excessive freedom, jollity, and idleness. In the story, Andrew travels from Glasgow to the west of Ireland to visit his mother's family. While Andrew is charmed by the warmth, kindness, and generosity of his Irish cousins, he expresses astonishment at grown men who lie about idly like children and children who roam the countryside with no supervision and no responsibilities. The plot of the text concerned Andrew's Scottish aunt, who upon marrying an Irishman allowed her children to be raised Catholic. The religious apologetics unfold through Andrew's exchanges with his aunt. He admonishes her of her error and informs her of the benefits of Protestantism, not just as a spiritual matter but as a material benefit for her entire family.

While Kennedy's narrative is filled with familiar tropes about the lazy Irish peasantry, it also positions children as the subjects who suffer the most from negligence and have the greatest potential to effect social change. The protagonist Andrew noted 'a careless, listless idleness to be the chief failure of the Irish race.'⁶⁸ This laziness was taught to children from a young age because they were allowed to do whatever they liked all day long.⁶⁹ This carefree love of fun is seen as particularly shocking to Andrew's sense of religion on the Sabbath day, when, 'the lads and girls romped, and danced, and joked, and sung idle songs; and the children spent the whole day, as they did every day, in doing just what they chose; and there was much laughing -and much of what they consider fun- and there was, before the day closed, much quarrelling.'⁷⁰ When Andrew observes boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 12 gambling he asks his uncle about the lack of schools in the town. His uncle explains that there are many Protestant schools but only one Catholic

⁶⁸ Grace Kennedy, *Andrew Campbell's Visit to His Irish Cousins*, Fourth edition (Edinburgh, 1843), 8.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 73.

school. At the Catholic school, education consists of learning ‘paters and aves, and some rhymes.’⁷¹

Kennedy attributed the static quality of rural life to the influence of the local priest who was a profoundly disruptive figure to the concept of a family. The local priest Father Connelly is depicted as a gate-keeper for the community and prevents children’s education because of a concern to preserve them from heresy. When Andrew eventually meets the village priest the cleric damningly takes a glass of whiskey during his visits around the parish.⁷² The Irish family’s slavish loyalty to the priest prevented proper parental choice and allowed children to ‘grow up into young savages.’⁷³ Kennedy argued that once women were allowed to decide where their children should be sent to school, the rest of the families’ moral errors would be remedied. Andrew states to his aunt, ‘I would think with myself, Now these creatures who are intrusted to me are immortal- they must live forever: -what I now teach them, while their hearts are young and tender, will never be forgotten by them -they will never after perhaps be able to help believing what I tell them now I how awful then will be my guilt if I lead them astray!’⁷⁴ Shaping and caring for the ‘young and tender’ souls of children is portrayed as a parental responsibility and not a task to be passed over the parish priest. The maternal duty of religious education is well represented in the certificates of absence issued to mothers of children failing to attend the Donegal Sabbath School. In figure 2.1, ‘The child absent bringeth his mother shame’ illustrates the strategies for ensuring regular weekly attendance by connecting it to maternal duty.

⁷¹ Referring to the Latin versions of the Our Father and Hail Mary. Recited in repetition during the Rosary, a Catholic devotion. Ibid., 82–83.

⁷² Ibid., 85.

⁷³ Ibid., 46.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 82–83.

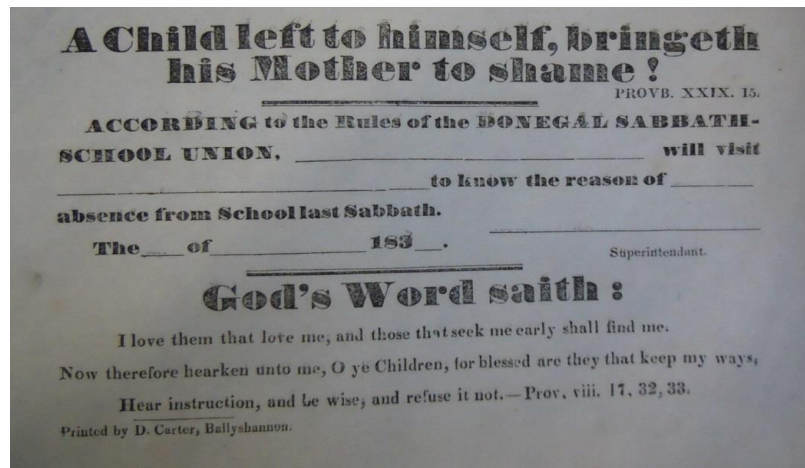


Figure 2.1 Donegal Sabbath School Certificate, Pollard Collection, TCD. Uncatalogued.

Selina Bunbury (1802-1889) was a prolific Church of Ireland author of Protestant didactic tracts and is thought to have published over 100 works during her lifetime.⁷⁵ Her fictional works have been characterised as undeveloped, stereotypical and formulaic, but these characteristics also make them interesting historically as exemplars of the genre. Bunbury was born at Kisaran Rectory, Co. Louth, 1802, one of fifteen children of Rev. Henry Bunbury, a Church of Ireland minister. When Selina was 17, her father had to file bankruptcy after losing a Chancery suit.⁷⁶ The family moved to Dublin and she began to write devotional literature as a means of financial support and with what seems to be a sincere dedication to the evangelical spirit. Her first published book *A visit to my birthplace* was published when she was 18 years old. Despite the title, the text reflects little of Bunbury's early childhood or her Irish upbringing. Bunbury claimed it was one of the first texts to be published with copyright after the Union, and it was received at least 6 editions. In 1830, Bunbury relocated to London with her family, where she had greater opportunity for regular publication. Only when she was living outside of Ireland did her fiction gain a more discernibly Irish dimension, arguably to satiate a British appetite for appraising the 'Irish situation.'

⁷⁵ The Loebers' volume describes Bunbury as a Methodist, although her background and early publication indicate she was Church of Ireland. Heidi Hansson believes she was Church of Ireland, see Heidi Hansson, "Selina Bunbury, Religion, and the Woman Writer," in *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume IV: The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*, ed. James H. Murphy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 323, and Rolf and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006), 204.

⁷⁶ Hansson, "Selina Bunbury, Religion, and the Woman Writer," 323.

Bunbury's *Recollections of Ireland*, published in 1839, featured a series of short portraits of people Bunbury had known in Ireland, though highly fictionalised. Written for both an Irish and a British audience, Bunbury offers both explanation and criticism of the Irish family and its religious predicaments. She stated, 'I have drawn these hasty sketches from an unknown private life, from the wish, partly, to revive, in my own mind, the sweetness of former companionship, and, perhaps, also to make known to an English reader, that such characters may be found in the dwellings of the persecuted and oppressed clergy of Ireland.'⁷⁷ The novel opens in a cemetery with a young country girl sitting beside the grave of a loved one and listening to an Irish funeral dirge. After her pensive reflection in the graveyard would the Irish girl would 'return from her musings to join in the laugh of those she met with, or mingle in the dance, which in Ireland, as in all Roman Catholic countries, is often seen on the roads and fields on that sacred day which the Lord hath blessed.'⁷⁸ This ability to mourn one moment and dance the next illustrated a sort of primitive immaturity for Bunbury. She is clear that the child-like state of Irish character could only be modified by conversion. 'So unfathomable are the feelings of the human heart, so chameleon-like is the character of feeling, and insensible, the pensive and light, the devout and irreligious Irish—a character made up apparently of contradictions...'⁷⁹ Bunbury used physiognomy in her novels to depict the moral state of Catholics in Ireland, arguing that Irish Catholics *looked* a certain way.

One female servant of this household sometimes engaged my attention from the disagreeable peculiarity of possessing a most miserable and repulsive physiognomy; this unhappy countenance and care-furrowed brow were not the only evidences of a mind ill at ease; there was a restlessness of manner, a sort of cheerless activity, which gave her, in the fulfilment of tasks, often voluntarily imposed, rather the appearance of a slave performing, through the fear of punishments, the appointed labour, than the air of ready alacrity distinguishing one free born, who with good will does service.⁸⁰

Bunbury discovers the cause of this anxious-looking character, the female servant is Catholic and has serious doubts about the state of her soul should she die. When she

⁷⁷ Selina Bunbury, John S. Folds, and I. A. Wheeler, *Recollections of Ireland* (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. & Company, 1839), 171.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 7–8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

does become ill, Bunbury uses the death-bed scene to demonstrate the peace of mind which comes from the Protestant belief in salvation and a merciful God.⁸¹

The contradiction between the 'devout and irreligious' Irish coloured the gendered traits of Bunbury's characters. Mary Moran, the principle character of the novel, married a Catholic man and subsequently fell away from Protestant practise. Her Catholic husband was described as:

the most weakly superstitious man in her neighborhood; he was kind and gentle, more full of tender and womanly feelings than she appeared to be; and from the time of marriage, his naturally superstitious turn of mind and devotion of character became more apparent, as it were from a desire of adding, by his supererogatory diligence in all that his church deemed meritorious, that which was lacking on her part. The priest's word was law to him, and his reverence for his spiritual father was of a simple and unmingled description.⁸²

This dependence on the priest for moral guidance suggested a lack of independence and rationality concepts entwined with bourgeois notions of masculinity during the period.⁸³ The Morans' are an inverted couple, the wife carries the main running of the household business with the calculated rationality of a man, while her husband is a tender, simple man trusting naïvely in higher authority. The implication of the text is that a child brought up in these circumstances is bound to have a confused sense of duty, lack a proper gender role model, and perpetuate national failings on to future generations. Like Kennedy, Bunbury portrayed Irish society as topsy-turvy in its most basic element the family, through an inversion of gendered behaviour.

Not all reforming literature was directed at the lower classes, Rev Edward Ryan (1750-1819) vicar of St. Luke's Church of Ireland parish in Dublin authored a little-known volume of moral parables, informative pieces and religious stories to provide moral guidance and advice to the upper-classes. Ryan dedicated the work to William Wilberforce, the English educational reformer and described the volume as emulative of Hannah More's tracts, though directed towards the elite and upper classes of society.⁸⁴ Ryan compiled the volume with excerpts from his other book

⁸¹ Ibid., 96–112.

⁸² Ibid., 29.

⁸³ Tosh, *A Man's Place*, 2007; 'Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England,' *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (1996), 48–64.

⁸⁴ Edward Ryan, *Christian Morality Recommended by Examples: A Tract Intended for the Edification of the Youth of the Upper Class*, 1st ed. (Dublin: William Watson, 1810).

History of the Effects of Religion on Mankind... which used examples from ancient Greek and Roman history to describe the role of religion in the development of western society. He wished to impress upon his readers 'solid piety and Christian morality.'⁸⁵ He considered 'discontent, oppressions, pride, revenge, duels, suicides, adulteries, dissoluteness, and seduction' to be the particular vices of the upper classes, while 'fraud, drunkenness, idleness, lying, [and] swearing' were vices of the poor.⁸⁶ Ryan discouraged men from fighting duels or committing suicide and praised Christianity for its role in bringing about chastity, patience, and contentment in poverty. The vices of the upper classes were divided by gender lines, with females drawn towards idle entertainment and frivolity that endangered their innocence and virtue, while men were more often corrupted by companions who encouraged lewd talk, debauchery, and dissipation. Although Ryan did not specify a specific age for his intended readers, he believed that by the age of twenty readers would treat his advice with 'ridicule or contempt.'⁸⁷ He stated, 'We guard youth against injustice and fraud of knaves and liars; and why not guard against libertinism, seduction, and adultery. We can guard our daughters against the debauchee, and our sons against the vile female, only by pointing out to them, when innocent, the temptations they are liable to at a mature age.'⁸⁸ According to this view, the child's innocence was to be protected by giving them knowledge of what dangers lay in the world. Ryan's sordid tales of seduction, prostitution, and suicide for a youthful audience are interesting. The tales contained a strong moral message; characters were always punished for their immoral actions with dreadful deaths. One of Ryan's moral tales exposed the dangers of levity in females and was effectively a warning about women who tried to live above their station. The anti-heroine Flavilla, becomes an orphan at the age of fourteen. When her financial circumstances decline after her father's death Flavilla is unrestrained by her mother and continued to move, 'in a sphere which she had no claim.'⁸⁹ She was admired for her beauty but had received a superficial education that made her a witty conversationalist, but was devoid of spiritual or intellectual rigour. Her romantic entanglements resulted in her becoming pregnant out of wedlock. At the conclusion of the story, Flavilla commits suicide after giving birth, her child dies of a fever

⁸⁵ Ibid, preface.

⁸⁶ Ibid, Preface.

⁸⁷ Ibid, Preface.

⁸⁸ Ibid, Preface.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 53.

contracted from her mother, and the father is committed to a mad house where he dies.⁹⁰ Ryan purposed dire consequences indeed for women who practised unrestrained wit. However, the stories also contained an element of sexual education. In these texts readers learned about medicines that could end pregnancy, how diseases contracted from prostitutes could be cured, and about the riotous life of social clubs in Dublin where people read literature unfettered by censorship. Ryan predicated these stories on the belief that innocent children would glean the intended moral message and not subvert the information into a practical ‘how-to’ guide.

2.3 Education and the Authority to Teach

IV.
 And now in dang’rous giddy youth,
 Your loins be girt about with truth;
 Your feet with Gospel-peace be shod,
 Your breast-plate Righteousness from God.⁹¹

Hymns, for the amusement of children. Dublin,
 1772

In 1808, physician Whitley Stokes (1763-1845) addressed a letter to his wife Anne, giving instructions on how his children were to be educated in the event of his death. While making no reference to the type of education his daughters ought to receive, he outlined the subjects necessary for his sons’ moral and intellectual education. ‘I think they should be well acquainted with the Latin language, Botany and Chemistry, an acquaintance also with ancient and modern history will make them judges of the value of the Holy Scriptures and more convinced of their truth.’ Rather tellingly he ended the letter which was only to be opened in the event of his death, ‘I do not so much write to direct you as to justify you to your friends in following a scheme of education which they might not approve of.’⁹² This assertion reveals the extent to which sociability and a circle of friends might have influence over child-rearing decisions, as well as the authority fathers might have over their sons’ education, ostensibly even from the grave. However, the right of parents to

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Smart, *Hymns for The Amusement of Children.*, 16–17.

⁹² ‘Letter from Whitley Moore to his wife’, 22 June [1808], MS/22, Royal College of Physicians of Ireland.

choose the education and religious denomination of their children came under fire during the height of sectarian conflict. Some authors viewed the theological superiority of Protestantism as a moral imperative to intervene in Catholic families and ensure that Irish children had a chance to be converted, or at least read the Bible.

Regardless of religious affiliation, most authors agreed to the principle that education was intended to have a direct link with future station. Education was necessarily differentiated between girls and boys, Catholics and Protestants, rich and poor, and younger and older children because of their future prospects. These hierarchical divisions shaped how individuals discussed and promoted the benefits of education. Principal among pedagogues' concern for the middle classes was the emerging division between academic pursuits and moral education. The balance between intellectual development and the formation of moral character was a point of sectarian debate where, paradoxically, Catholics and Protestants agreed, although their theological positions made such agreement untenable in practise.

As Catholic agitation increased during the 1820s, the efforts of the Kildare Place Society came under fire from Daniel O'Connell who saw an opportunity to discredit the manner in which government support was given for educational purposes to a group with Protestant affiliations. In 1831, the House of Commons withdrew financial support from the Kildare Place Society and established the CNEI to implement and oversee the distribution of an initial grant of £30,000. From its inception the CNEI was conceived as a progressive, non-denominational body for creating a system of British education. Religious education was separate and limited to one period of the day, and the display of political or religious symbols on school grounds was prohibited.⁹³ Although the Catholic Church objected to the non-denominational character of the National Schools they lacked the finances to support an entirely separate primary education system.⁹⁴ Although, in the case of the Christian Brothers, founded in 1803, founder Edmund Rice managed to stay outside of the national system. The Church of Ireland boycotted the system entirely establishing the Church Education Society in 1839, and Presbyterians similarly created their own denominational schools.

⁹³ Raftery and Parkes, *Female Education in Ireland 1700-1900*, 34.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

With the introduction of the CNEI, both denominations argued that religious education should feature in the ethos of schooling and not simply be relegated to set points in the timetable. This holistic view of education, stemming from a belief that children were shaped by the entirety of their environment, meant that knowledge, manners, and discipline were all involved in the religious project of schooling. Mrs. Bakewell, a Protestant didactic writer, protested in 1836 against what she perceived as a rupture between academic learning and other branches of physical, intellectual, and moral education. Bakewell stated;

Indeed, according to the general acceptation of the term, it [education] includes nothing more than the common branches of scholastic learning, increasing in importance and number according to the wishes and pecuniary resources of the parents, and the talents of the pupil: but these, however essential are far from being all that is requisite, In *training* up a child, not for this world only, but for *another*, there is a higher aim than the acquirement of languages, mathematics, and accomplishments.⁹⁵

Bakewell was not alone in her criticism of a system which divorced religion from intellectual training. An author contributing to *The orthodox Presbyterian* issued a column in 1836 linking an education divorced from religion to criminality among the lower-classes. Citing the court assizes in Leicester the author reported 17 out of 20 criminals were described as reading and writing well.

He certainly never would discourage educating the lower-classes of society, but he would boldly affirm , that if the education was not founded on moral and religious principle, instead of becoming a blessing to the poor, it would , in the end, turn out a curse.'...education without religious instruction, could not control the strong passions of the human race; and he had only again to repeat, that the various calendars throughout the circuit had plainly convinced him, that it would be far better to leave the poorer classes of the community in ignorance, than to educate them, without having for the groundwork our blessed and revealed religion.⁹⁶

The holistic view of spirituality as permeating all aspects of intellectual development explains why the issue of religious instruction was so contentious among those setting out the structure of the national school curriculum.

Amongst Catholics and Protestants there was a belief that assigning religion to a set point in the timetable disrupted what was indeed the larger goal of education; the formation of a Christian individual. Richard Mant, Church of Ireland

⁹⁵ Bakewell, *The Mother's Practical Guide in the Early Training of Her Children*, 1–2.

⁹⁶ 'Education without religion' *The orthodox Presbyterian* no. lxxxv, October 1836. Vol 8, 19–20.

Archbishop of Down, Connor and Dromore (1823-1848) provided one argument for the nature of childhood and the role of education in Irish society. Mant had a reputation as an uncompromising proselytizer. In 1823, his missionary efforts resulted in the local community forcing him out of his appointment in the diocese of Killaloe and Kilfenora.⁹⁷ An opponent of the national system of schools, Mant's arguments against the CNEI reiterated a view of the domestic child. His view of childhood placed emphasis on the responsibility of parents to mould children's morals, a belief that adult character was formed during childhood, and that education and religion were inseparable from each other.⁹⁸ In his view, the removal of religion from the classroom rendered other aspects of education worthless, since literacy was meant to serve as a conduit for religious instruction through reading the Bible.⁹⁹ Any type of syllabus which excluded religious formation was seen to restrict a child to 'worldly distinction' rather than cultivate the desired 'religious excellence'.¹⁰⁰

In a sermon published to raise funds for construction of a private school for Anglican children in Holywood, Mant stated that the father was the key figure of the family and meant to be a child's first teacher and an example of morality. Once the child was admitted into the 'family of Christ,' through baptism, it became the duty of parents to nurture and discipline the child's faith.¹⁰¹ Christian education was a holistic concept communicated through the medium of everyday life. A father was to 'avail himself of all seasonable occasions for unfolding to his children the imperishable word of God.'¹⁰² The child was to be included in the community, brought to worship services and taught to participate in religious rituals.¹⁰³ Although the Christian parent was the primary teacher and example of moral values, the family was ultimately under the jurisdiction of the church. Parents were to submit to the government of ordained ministers.¹⁰⁴ Insistence on the necessity of

⁹⁷Tom Kelley, Linde Lunney. "Mant, Richard". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.) [http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do;jsessionid=8177373E8F76C366E0B19DD1CF3AFBA0#](http://dib.cambridge.org/quicksearch.do;jsessionid=8177373E8F76C366E0B19DD1CF3AFBA0#.). Accessed 5 July 2014.

⁹⁸ Mant, *The Bringing up of a Christian's Child; Exemplified in Christ's Primitive Church, in the National Church of England and Ireland, in the Irish Church Education Societies, and in the so-Called National Board; in a Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Holywood, October 26, 1845*. (Belfast: 1845, 10.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 10.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 11-12.

¹⁰² Ibid., 17.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 19-20.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

ordained clergy in guiding the family was part of more general efforts to extend and professionalize the role of the minister.¹⁰⁵ In Mant's view, childhood was a time in which parents and schooling would mould a child's faith and awareness of God, but this could only occur with the spiritual support and guidance of the church. While Mant placed the child in the domestic family, he also maintained the need for children to be educated outside the home and within religious institutions.

Protests against the CNEI forced church leaders to articulate and define their views of childhood as a period of moral fragility. Throughout these discussions the authority of the priest within Catholic families was criticised as antithetical to family formation. One of the most outspoken missionary figures from the start of the nineteenth century was Gideon Ouseley (1762-1839), a Methodist revivalist noted for an emotional, excessive preaching style and strident anti-Catholicism.¹⁰⁶ He set an early example of proselytising zeal and was the figurehead of Methodist missionary outreach to Irish speaking regions established in the 1810s.¹⁰⁷ In 1824, Ouseley wrote a response to Rev. Michael Branagan regarding the right of children to be literate. Where Rev Michael Brangan had asserted parents' rights to choose the sort of religious education their child received in a school, Ouseley asserted a biblical right children had to read the Bible.¹⁰⁸ 'our Lord has enjoined it on his Apostles, &c. to make it- even all things whatsoever therein commanded, known to all, old and young, in every possible way, whether by preaching, teaching, causing them to read it...' ¹⁰⁹ For Ouseley, the Catholic refusal to engage with Bible reading and scriptural interpretation extended to an anti-educational outlook on all scholastic matters. According to Ouseley, concern about parental authority over Irish children was a secondary concern to the tyrannical authority of priests in local communities. The prospect of allowing children to read the Bible was not a problem for parents, but for priests. 'The Priests fear they would lose their sway and power over the people; and the people fear the priest would scold them, or put penance on them. -So rather than encounter this huge difficulty, they will neglect the gospel, sin against God -and risk the eternal

¹⁰⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850*, 118-23.

¹⁰⁶ David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740-1890* (Routledge, 1992), 40-3.

¹⁰⁷ Whelan, *The Bible Wars*, 87-90.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Branagan, *A Letter from the Rev. Michael Branagan, P.P. to Charles A. Tisdall, ... Containing Strictures on the Circular Letters of That Gentleman Addressed to the Congregation of Cortown Chapel* (Thomas Courtney, 1823).

¹⁰⁹ Gideon Ouseley, *Five Letters in Reply to the Rev. Michael Branagan*. (Jones, 1824), 19.

salvation of themselves and posterity!’¹¹⁰ As the previous didactic tracts have illustrated, Protestants saw the paternal role of Catholic priests as dictating doctrine to their docile parishes, infantilising adults by withholding the right to read the Bible and pursue self-interpretation.

Edward Hoare, Church of Ireland Archdeacon of Ardfert and chaplain to the Asylum Episcopal Chapel in Limerick from 1839-1850, argued that education was an intrinsic feature of Christian civilisation that should be made available to the lower classes for their improvement. Moreover, Hoare positioned education as foundational to class hierarchies and the superiority of upper class moral values, stating, ‘Is not the moral and social condition of the higher classes, generally, better than that of the lower orders? And whence the difference, but in their early habits and education?’¹¹¹ The extension of education to all classes was seen as desirable, but there was little indication that different classes could be educated in the same manner. The intervention of the state in the field of education prompted Hoare to delineate the boundaries of state and parental rights. He believed that the relationship between parent and child was inviolable and took precedence over any religious or state organisations’ desire to interfere, even if it was for the salvation of a child. This was a point of contention on both sides of the denominational divide. Even if it was a matter of salvation for the immortal soul, parents had the right to choose what kind of education they would like for their child. This argument allowed Hoare to criticize the Catholic clergy for their interference in prohibiting children from attending schools where the Bible was read. ‘But, on the same principle that we deny this power to the Roman Catholic clergy, over their own flock, we must *fortiori* disclaim the assumption, on our part, of the power to interfere in a similar manner, between the parent and child, in the case of those professing a different creed from ourselves. The end does not justify the means; and we have no more authority to compel people to read the Bible, than others have to prohibit them that privilege.’¹¹² Not all pundits had such conciliatory views on the sacredness of family privacy. William Thorn (1794-1870), a prominent English non-conformist writer, confidently pronounced in a religious tract that;

The parent who should knowingly mislead the minds of his dependent and confiding family in matters of trade, workmanship,

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 22.

¹¹¹ Edward Newenham Hoare, *Practical Observations on Church Reform: The Tithe Question and National Education in Ireland*. (Dublin: Curry, 1838), 46.

¹¹² Ibid., 61.

literature, or science, would be almost universally regarded as a monster, and as deserving the severest execrations. Nor would that person be deemed worthy to have children, who, through neglect and ignorance, should misdirect them in any material temporal concern, or willingly suffer any one else to do it.¹¹³

Thorn went on to point out that the intolerance for falsehood in secular matters was not matched by equal zeal in cultivating moral truth. Children were taught 'heterodox sentiments, and are induced to engage in the most superstitious forms of devotion; while their parents seem unconscious of any personal criminality, and the public looks on with stupid indifference or iniquitous approbation.'¹¹⁴ In practise, it seems that state institutions did have some leniency in designating children's official religion, and typically parental rights were asserted. Mel Cousins' work on the registration of orphaned children to the Irish Poor Law Unions indicates that while state policy dictated that abandoned children be registered as Protestants, poor law records indicate that local boards and chaplains circumvented this policy when the parentage of the child was suspected to be Catholic.¹¹⁵

The problem of separating religion from education plagued the CNEI for decades. By the 1840s there was a significant number of Protestant schools operating outside of the CNEI. The Church Education Society for Ireland reported in 1840 that they sponsored 666 schools that provided a Christian education for 38,950 children in Ireland.¹¹⁶ Twenty-five percent of these schools were in Armagh diocese, close to the ecclesiastical centre of Ireland (see Appendix 1 for further details of the location of the schools.) Part of the establishment of the CNEI was the initiation of standardised inspection reports and procedures. In the early decades, these inspectors were responsible for ensuring that the curriculum and practises of the school adhered to the policy of no religious education during normal school hours. Within the first five years of the CNEI establishment a number of cases were brought against individual schoolmasters or managers for failing to deliver on their promise to restrict religious instruction to a set point in the timetable. Rev. William D. Killen, minister of the Presbyterian Church in Raphoe, Co. Donegal established a national school in Ballyholey, receiving a grant of £35 from the CNEI to build the

¹¹³ William Thorn, *The Evils of Training up the Young: In the Church of England* (London: Dinnis, 1843).

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Mel Cousins, "Registration of the Religion of Children under the Irish Poor Law, 1838–1870," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61, no. 1 (2010), 107–24.

¹¹⁶ *First Annual Report Of The Church Education Society For Ireland* (Dublin, George Folds, 1840), 9.

school house. He reported that nearly a hundred children attended the school daily, among them 30 Catholic children. The board of the school drew up a lease that allowed children's instruction in a literary and moral education from 9am to 2pm five days a week, with religious instruction taught from 2 to 3pm. This timetable was likely not to be adhered to in practise, within a year the local Catholic parish priest forbade Catholics from attending the school. The CNEI subsequently found Rev. Killen in breach of contract and requested their grant of £35 be returned. Killen was unable to deliver the sum and a protracted correspondence ensued and was eventually published by Killen in 1835. In his self-defence Killen stated he refused to remove the Bible from the school on the grounds that Catholic and Protestant religions were not morally equivalent and could not be reconciled. In response, Killen disregarded his earlier association with the CNEI and declared that they were predisposed to encouraging Catholic schools because of the Bible policy. He declared 'the principles of the National board are calculated to promote popery, that the disallowance of the Bible from the schools automatically favours Romanism, and that there is no system that can reconcile Catholicism and Protestantism because it would have to see each type of religion as equally good.'¹¹⁷ Killen provocatively described how the parish priest's decision to prevent Catholics from attending the school led to much unhappiness. Killen portrayed Catholic students moved to the point of tears when forced to leave their teachers and companions. One little fellow in particular excited Killen's attention. As he was about to follow his companions, he addressed his teacher, saying, '*Master, I am Irish* (that is Roman Catholic) *-I must go away* [Emphasis in original].' Many of the younger Protestant children were panic-struck by the uproar in the school and in the midst of the confusion also fled. According to Killen, the business of schooling was completely interrupted, and for a considerable time order could not be restored.¹¹⁸ Killen's linking of Irishness and Roman Catholicism is telling of his own sense of community. His published pamphlet and autobiography give the impression of a beleaguered Presbyterian, whose work in Donegal was seen as a missionary to a foreign other, rather than a parochial community.¹¹⁹ Killen's

¹¹⁷ W. D. Killen et al., *The Bible versus the Board - the Priest - and the Court of Chancery; Or, The Working of the New System of National Education, as Exemplified in the History of the Ballyhole School, in the Parish of Raphoe, County of Donegal* (Belfast: Hugh Clark & Co, 1835), 46–47.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 26–27.

¹¹⁹ Killen had long established roots in Co. Down, his mother's family was descended from Edward Brice, purportedly the first Presbyterian minister in Ireland during the seventeenth-century

invective against the CNEI centred on the effect their withdrawal of funds had on the children. The student body was transformed from an orderly gathering of attentive children to a chaotic emotional scene. This contrast was meant to appeal to readers' sympathy, moreover, it suggested that the CNEI were sabotaging the very enterprise they were commissioned to support.

2.4 Educating the Child Body

As discussed in chapter one, the physical qualities of the child body were delineated with increasing precision by the 1840s. In fiction, the child body was not a neutral entity, its growth, shape and movements portrayed moral disposition and intellectual ability. Physiognomy was an important literary tool for authors to convey the moral qualities of their characters and the connection between body and mind.¹²⁰ In Shuttleworth's view, the child was a key figure in discourses of gender, race, and selfhood. The child figure was variably portrayed as an animal, a savage, and female.¹²¹ This imaginary of childhood was translated to the whole of the Catholic Irish citizenry who were designated as infantilised, effeminate, and incapable of self-government.

Disciplining the child body was part of a programme to discipline and rationalise the mind. Indeed, the two components were closely associated within reforming literature. Training children into habits of order and cleanliness were linked to the development of moral character. If a child was made to sit still, the child was consequently made to think, so the logic went. The connection between bodily control and class distinction has been discussed extensively by Bourdieu as part of the process of learning the habitus.¹²²

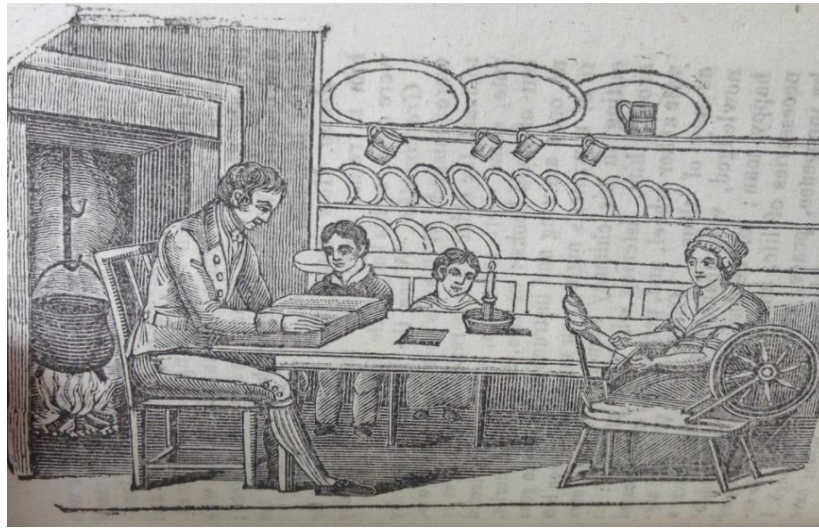
plantations of northern Ireland, see William Dool Killen, *Reminiscences of a Long Life* (Braid Books, 1901).

¹²⁰ Sharrona Pearl, *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*.

¹²¹ Sally Shuttleworth, *The Mind of the Child*.

¹²² See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984); Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*; Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001).

Figure 2.2 Illustration from *The cottage fireside*, Family reading at the table, Source: Abigail Roberts, *The cottage fireside*, 1821.



According to sociologist André Turmel, ‘one becomes a social actor by incorporating dispositions into one’s own body that are always class-defined. In this sense, the corporal form is a sketch that outline the legitimate definition and usage of the body in a given culture according to specific class dispositions.’¹²³ These physical dispositions were conveyed through disciplinary measures at home and school, but also through the portrayal of the child figure in print literature. Through these instructional texts teachers and pupils were shown what a well-ordered school room or an attentive child would look like. As mentioned earlier, Abigail Roberts instructional text for schoolmistress included the dimensions and architectural designs for a school.¹²⁴ This management of children’s space was an increasingly important aspect of child management. As orphanages, schools, and workhouses were constructed as spaces explicitly for children’s use, the principles of fresh air, open spaces, and the ability for adults to monitor and supervise were enacted within lived environments. This point will be discussed further in chapters 4 and 5 as regards Irish boarding schools. At the centre of these regulatory schemes for children’s spaces was a construction of the Irish child as an emotionally volatile creature. By creating a carefully monitored and hierarchical order within children’s environment it was thought that their emotional instability would be mitigated through habit-formation and disciplinary regimes. Rev. William Hickey proposed that the same care be taken by landlords to ensure that the tenants under their care

¹²³ Turmel, *A Historical Sociology of Childhood*, 69.

¹²⁴ Abigail Roberts, *The Schoolmistress; Or, Instructive and Entertaining Conversations between a Teacher and Her Scholars* (Dublin: Bentham & Gardiner, 1824).

benefited from their benevolence. He stated, 'Every advance in this moral surveillance leads to still happier results.'¹²⁵ Like many observers, Hickey saw the absentee landlord as an endemic problem in the management of the Irish tenantry. His commentary suggested that like children who are left without parental guidance, the Irish peasantry lacked the will to reform if the gentry did not take an interest in them.

One explanatory model for the understanding of this 'childishness' as an emotional state was the science of physiognomy. This pseudoscience straddled literary and scientific communities combining the older humoral model and the modern idea of physical appearance linked to moral character. In this figuration the unruly instincts and passions of childhood were mapped onto biological imbalances. For example, the 1813 publication *A treatise on politeness* described the precise connection between bodily imbalance and emotional distemper.

Every body knows that all that agitates the mid of man originates in the different passions. Melancholy, for example, gives birth to sadness, gloom, and listlessness; phlegm occasions heaviness and disdain; the blood excited gaiety, warm affections, and tenderness; and bile stimulates to anger, hatred, and impetuosity. These are the original causes which constitute what we call the temper, the genius, or disposition of man. We do not however, mean to descant this natural bent; wherever it is wrong, we must strive against, and, if possible, subdue it.¹²⁶

As this author indicated, humoral balance and biological dispositions were the drivers of emotion and passion, features which had to be subdued through conscientious habit and education. There was a moral imperative to mitigate the chaos of emotion for a thoughtful, rational interiority. A salient example of this connection between bodily discipline and moral excellence is found in *The Careful nursemaid* (1845), in a passage outlining how to teach children how to control their bladders.

Before you proceed to dressing, you should hold the child out, over a vessel of water, to attend to the calls of nature, which are generally excited by washing. Besides, if a child is early and constantly accustomed to this trial, it learns to expect it; and this is the beginning of a habit of personal cleanliness.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Doyle (Hickey), *The works of Martin Doyle*, 29.

¹²⁶ *Treatise on Politeness, Intended for the Use of the Youth of Both Sexes, Translated from the French by a Lady* (London : Dublin: Gilbert & Hodges, 1813), 98.

¹²⁷ *The Careful Nursemaid: With Hints on the Management of Children* (London: The Religious Tract Society. Sold at the depository, 1845), 53–54.

Personal cleanliness would contribute not only to children's 'present health and comfort, but also in its moral influence on their character.'¹²⁸ Linking toilet training to moral character, though strange from a modern perspective, illustrates a profound connection between the interior state of the soul and its correlation to exterior bodily discipline. Discipline of the bladder was linked to the ability to regulate the self and one's bodily urges in a way that was indicative of maturity.

In the catechising efforts of philanthropic societies, children's bodies were given consideration in the offering of 'temporal inducements' for attending the school. Daily portions of bread, scarves, blankets or shawls were offered to children as enticements to enrol and attend regularly. This practise was wide-spread. School administrators noted what their local competitors were offering and then adjusted their own offerings accordingly. However, this practise drew criticism during the heated sectarianism of the 1830s. The offering of food and clothes was characterised as an unfair bribe to the impoverished. Rev. I. Hastings Allen, of Clonlara, Co Clare, reported to the Church Education Society on 31 Sept 1847 that he had 90 children on the school roll, and 56 to 65 in daily attendance. About three quarters of his student body were Catholic, despite the presence of two national schools in the neighbourhood. He stated, 'I offer no temporal inducement to the children or their parents and I am truly thankful to Almighty God for the present prosperity of the school.'¹²⁹ Rev. Hugh Gelston also reporting to the Society was happy to report that even though they had stopped daily distribution of bread to pupils in July, there had not been too severe a drop-off in attendance.¹³⁰ This was not only a Protestant tactic. When the Catholic religious order of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, known as the Loreto order, established a free school alongside their paid establishment in Rathfarnham, South Dublin, their annalist recorded the volatility of student attendance based on the offer of these material extras. When the poor school was opened in 1823 there were 100 children in the school on a daily basis, with children working in the mills attending on Sunday only. Shortly after, a Protestant school was established in neighbouring White Church and they offered the students blankets as a premium for their attendance. The Loreto's student body according dropped to 60. In response, the sisters began to offer a dinner to the most

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Rev. I Hastings Allen, Clonlara, Co Clare, 31 Sept 1847, 154/6/1/1 Scrapbook 1847-52 starting 1840, Church Education Society MS 154, RCB Library.

¹³⁰ Rev Hugh Gelston, Kingstown, 26 October 1847, 154/6/1/1 Scrapbook 1847-52 starting 1840, Church Education Society MS154, RCB Library.



Figure 2.3 Frontispiece Illustration, Mother with two children, *The Peep Of Day*, 1865.

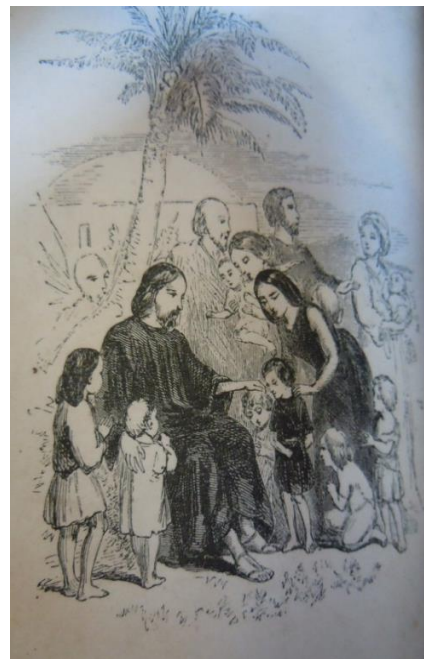


Figure 2.4 Illustration, Jesus teaches the little children, *The Peep Of Day*, 1865.

impoverished pupils, and an annual dinner. Using donations from their patrons they also gave forty cloaks and petticoats to the poor school pupils in 1829.¹³¹

As part of a programme of self-discipline, nineteenth-century authors urged parents to get their child onto a regulated schedule as soon as possible. Writers emphasized that the process of learning, if conducted with regularity and discipline, provided the child with a moral lesson of patience and industry which had a value far beyond intellectual precocity.¹³² Teaching a child to read meant that they learned a degree of emotional training because they had to sit quietly and observe. *The Peep of Day*, a manual for religious instruction, recommended that mothers begin to teach as soon as the child's mind was capable of systematic instruction, between the ages of 3 and 5, depending on the individual child.¹³³ This was the period in which the child mind was capable of holding the 'most vivid and most durable' impressions. More worryingly, delaying the child's instruction could result in the child seeking out ideas on its own and 'wrong notions will be conceived by

¹³¹ Papers of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin, Rathfarnham Annals 1821-1860, Rath/LAC/1/1, 1829, 13, LCIPA.

¹³² This is not a new phenomenon, but it was arguably enacted on a wider scale in classrooms and the home. The final two chapters will address this idea of bodily comportment and education in detail, for an eighteenth-century account see, Sobe, "Concentration and Civilisation."

¹³³ *The Peep of Day: Or, A Series of the Earliest Religious Instruction the Infant Mind Is Capable of Receiving: With Verses Illustrative of the Subjects*, (London: Hatchard, 1865).

the ever-busy intellect.’¹³⁴ To help parents entice their children into regular lessons, authors issued books designed to ‘teach and please.’ The idea of making learning a pleasurable activity was emphasised by a variety of authors who were anxious that young children not be forced into learning before their minds were capable of handling the strain. In 1809, *The child’s New Play-Thing* was published in Dublin with the intent of making ‘learning to read a diversion instead of task.’¹³⁵ Featuring drawn illustrations of a man posed to make various alphabet shapes, the child could learn the alphabet by mimicking the illustrations and forming their bodies into the shapes on the page. It was a fairly sophisticated way of keeping a very young child occupied in a physical way, while also learning a lesson in literacy. Another way to keep children occupied was to have them copy out writing exercises in repetition. The commonplace book of the Pearson family, a merchant family from Dublin, illustrates the way children were instructed to write a phrase over and over to practise penmanship. Among the vocabulary of this young child was, ‘A good pencil, a fat woman, Bread, and Dublin the capital city of Irland [sic].’¹³⁶ The commonplace book also shows mathematics equations, Latin phrases, and the drawing of a ship, suggesting one or all of the Pearson family’s three daughters, Grace, Sarah, and Harriet, had regular access to the book for their exercise and doodles. Though not always following the directives for orderly practise issued by pedagogues, their scribbles and drawings show a real enthusiasm for practising.

The memorisation and recitation of hymns was another practise that could encourage the kind of regulated schedule encouraged as a moral good. An eighteenth-century example of an Irish hymnbook for children instructed parents to encourage their child to recite or sing hymns at different points of a child’s day to initiate them into the practise of regular prayer throughout the day. *Hymns, for the amusement of children* issued in 1772 by W. Sleater offered hymns for morning, night, and mealtimes. Moreover, the hymnbook included instructions on how the child reader should use the book:

O take the book from off the shelf,
And con it meekly on thy knees;

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ *The Child’s New Play-Thing, Or, Best Amusement: Intended to Make the Learning to Read, a Diversion instead of a Task...: Designed for the Use of Schools, or for Children before They Go to School*, 13th ed. (Dublin: Pat Wogan, 1809).

¹³⁶ Commonplace book, Pearson Family, 1830s, IE TCD MS 10409. folios 1-3, 67v-74v, 80v-82, TCD Manuscript Special Collections.

Best panegyric on itself,
And self-avouch'd to teach and please.

The imagery suggested a sense of informality; the child could read on their own, perched comfortably with the book on their knee. However, the study of the book was to be undertaken with meekness and humility. Within the same volume, 'A hymn on taste' reminded children, and their parents, of how important literary pursuits were necessary for the cultivation of civilised society, stating 'Who reads the most, is most refin'd, And polish'd by the master's hand.'¹³⁷

O Guide my judgement and my taste
Sweet spirit, author of the book
Of wonders, told in language chaste,
And plainness not to be mistook'¹³⁸

The hymns were directed at children and thus attempted to use ideas and motifs which would be familiar to youth. One hymn for a Saturday morning celebrated 'time for mirth and play,' and finding a lark's nest.¹³⁹ This effort to punctuate the child's day with ritualised moments of prayer were designed to teach children order and discipline. The daily recitation of prayers and hymns was recommended by Catholic and Protestant denominations, although the prayers themselves were different. These moments of prayerful quiet were necessary to restrain the hubris of 'dang'ous giddy youth'.¹⁴⁰

The sacralisation of the act of reading conveyed the significance of deference and socialization required to gain literacy.¹⁴¹ Images of children reading suggest this idealised relationship, with children attentively receiving instruction, positioned at the foot of their parent. In the image accompanying Abigail Roberts, *The Cottage Fireside*, the idealised Irish family is depicted around the hearth in a tidily arranged kitchen, see Figure 2.2. The mother is industriously spinning while the father instructs his two sons from a large book, possibly a Bible. A large kettle of food cooking and the candle on the table indicate that the family had managed their finances well and could afford to burn candles at night. The two boys are bent

¹³⁷ Christopher Smart, *Hymns for The Amusement of Children: Embellished with Cuts* (Dublin: W. Sleater and J. Williams, 1772), 31.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 30–31.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 98.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 16–17.

¹⁴¹ M. O. Grenby, *The Child Reader, 1700–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

over in deference to their father the instructor with the younger son watching attentively as his older brother reads beside his father. This portrayal of the child as a humble recipient of their elders' instruction is repeated in texts from British and American origins.¹⁴² In the frontispiece of the *The Peep of Day* collection two children are sat at their mother's knee while she reads to them.¹⁴³ The image bears a striking similarity to the image of Jesus teaching the little children appearing in the same volume, see Figure 2.3 and 2.4. The visual inference indicates how the mother as the first educator of her children provided the tools of literacy to enable their spiritual journey. As a teacher, she was cooperating in the spreading of salvation.

The Kildare Place Society depicted the deferential attitudes of the ideal student in the frontispiece of their *Dublin Reading Book*, a school textbook. The image features an orderly semi-circle of nine boys listening or perhaps reading along with their youthful monitor's instruction, see Figure 2.5. Their clasped hands and bent heads suggests a prayerful and receptive posture to the text. Their longer trousers indicate that these are older boys, perhaps in their early teens and the space of the schoolroom is denoted by the charts on the wall.¹⁴⁴ The imagery of the willing, docile pupil remained in currency well into the twentieth century within children's literature as part of the lesson of learning to read.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ *The Peep of Day*.

¹⁴⁴ *The Dublin Reading Book*. (printed by P. Dixon Hardy, Cecilia Street, 1830).

Figure 2.5 Kildare Place Society Publication, *The Dublin Reading Book*, 1830.



Conclusion

The cultural representation of the Catholic family, as depicted by Protestant authors, was one of superstition, ignorance, and gender confusion. The Catholic priest was a vilified figure, blamed for the ignorance of his community and a disruption to the proper responsibility of a father to lead as the head of his family. Catholic responses to these accusations were mixed. Middle class Catholics distanced themselves from the more rowdy traditional practises of patterns, dances, and wakes in favour of personal devotions and more respectable forms of religious worship. These changes were in motion from the 1820s at the behest of church hierarchy and was part of a wider reorganisation of priestly authority in the Irish church. The Synod of Thurles in 1850 was an attempt to formalise these reforms in local religious traditions, including putting a ban on having the sacraments celebrated within private homes.¹⁴⁵ Arguably it was the decimation of the Great Famine in 1845-6 that wrought the greatest social change in traditional practises of Catholicism. Along with other forms of rural association, the more unruly aspects of public worship declined rapidly in the 1850s in the aftermath of massive rural mortality and emigration, and a corresponding increase in priests in proportion to

¹⁴⁵ S. J. Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845*, Four Courts History Classics (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001), 85. Martin Dowling, "From Vernacular to 'Traditional': Music in Post-Famine Ireland. in *Power and Popular Culture in Modern Ireland: Essays in Honour of James S. Donnelly, Jr.*, ed. Michael De Nie and Sean Farrell (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010), 145-71.

the number of persons within their parish.¹⁴⁶ However, these changes are not likely to be connected to the efforts of Protestant proselytisers. There is little indication that the 'second reformation' of the 1830s resulted in any largescale, permanent conversions.¹⁴⁷ The erosion of Catholic middle-class sympathy for vernacular traditions occurred simultaneously with the rise of a strong Catholic mercantile base and bourgeois educational institutions. Middle-class Catholics, especially female religious orders were seen as paragons of enlightened Catholic femininity and were careful to align themselves as purveyors of respectability, abolishing folk practises in favour of an ultramontaniam.

In chapter one, the medicalisation of childhood was a bid to professionalise and establish the authority of the medical profession. In this chapter, the authors of religious literature and reforming tracts were motivated by a set of political and religious concerns to establish and reform the values of the Irish Catholic family. However, alongside genuine enthusiasm for evangelism female authors had a widening opportunity and financial incentive for writing these religious tracts. This element of self-interest does not negate their religious enthusiasm, but rather indicates the way that children were increasingly being targeted as consumers and opening opportunities for women to participate in paid employment. As the next three chapters discuss in further detail, the middle classes educated their children with one set of expectations, while supporting the education of the lower classes with different priorities in mind. There was no apparent contradiction in this desire to sustain class hierarchies. At the centre of bourgeois efforts to reform the Irish lower-classes was an acknowledgement that peasant children had peasant childhoods, and the better off deserved a better education. A sense of universalised standards of childhood were not present in this early phase, but rather class stratification was encouraged as a moral good and a way of preserving social stability. Although didactic tracts were classed as 'improving literature,' improvement was a matter of managing existing resources rather than wholesale social mobility.

These texts were rigorously religious, without actually stating their denominational affiliation. These authors took a pragmatic stance towards the theological differences separating the Christian denominations. The implicit

¹⁴⁶ Connolly, *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845*.

¹⁴⁷ Whelan, *The Bible Wars*.

message was that if Catholics would not convert to Protestantism, then perhaps they could just behave like Protestants. This aspect of Irish Catholic childhood does not have an easy counterpart in Continental or British historiography. This figuration of the Irish Catholic child in some ways has more in common with the colonial childhoods of India and Africa in the latter nineteenth century than it does with contemporaneous British childhoods. As the demographic majority within a political union which did not recognise their religious affiliation and barred them from formal political participation, Catholic children were designated targets for an unprecedented project of state intervention designed to bring them into the fold of British citizenry. Fiona Bateman's study of missionary tracts to the Irish during the 1840s and Irish missionary efforts in Africa during the 1920s clearly draws a parallel in colonial attempts to civilise and modernise family life.¹⁴⁸ The similarity of missionary and imperial discourses across the long nineteenth century contributes to the literature on Ireland as an early laboratory for colonial rule, and the subsequent participation of the Irish in the project of empire.¹⁴⁹ There is far more work that could be done on the transportation of the Irish model of education to the colonies by Protestant and Catholic Irish missionaries.¹⁵⁰ However, this chapter has reflected on the way that sectarian conflict provided Irish childhood with a unique inflection, adding impetus to an early and sustained intervention in childhood educational provisions. By the 1830s, theological disputes had largely been exchanged for a programme of social reform enacted by bourgeois institutions and organisations sharing a vision of childhood regularity, cleanliness, and respect for authority across denominational loyalties. Confessional identity remained a key feature of Irish identity and political orientation, but was largely neutralised among the bourgeoisie who adopted and prescribed values defined by economic position and recognised as respectable regardless of denomination.

¹⁴⁸ Fiona Bateman, "Defining the Heathen in Ireland and Africa: Two Similar Discourses a Century Apart," *Social Sciences and Missions* 21, no. 1 (2008), 73–96.

¹⁴⁹ There is a large literature on this concept especially in the early modern period, see for example, Jane H. Ohlmeyer, "A Laboratory for Empire?: Early Modern Ireland and English Imperialism," in *Ireland and the British Empire*, ed. Kevin Kenny (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 26–60. A useful study of the Irish as colonisers and the colonised is Maureen O'Connor and Tadhg Foley, eds., *Ireland and India: Colonies, Culture and Empire* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2006).

¹⁵⁰ Understanding the ways that imperialism shaped Irish classrooms is well-documented in David Dickson, Pyz, and Shepard, eds., *Irish Classrooms and British Empire*. The extension of British educational models to non-western contexts is discussed in, Helen May and Baljit Kaur, *Empire, Education, and Indigenous Childhoods: Nineteenth-Century Missionary Infant Schools in Three British Colonies*, (Farnham: Routledge, 2014).

**3 Chapter Three: Fashioning Childhood: Gender, Dress,
and Manners**

In 1836, William D'Alton, a student at Clongowes Wood College, Kildare, sent an insistent letter to his father detailing a new suit of clothes he wished to have for the school's upcoming public exhibition.

I hope you received a letter from me some time ago containing my measure and all my direction about my clothes. ...The reason I was so particular was that I believe I will have rather a conspicuous part on the Academy day and I would be very anxious to be nicely drest[sic]... But be very particular that they are nicely made. Take care that the waistcoat be long enough and double breasted [sic] but above all things be particular about the frock coat as it is the principle thing, if it has not a velvet collar already get one put on it and tell [the tailor] if he does not do everything rightly that he will never make a single thing for me again.¹⁵¹

William, the son of historian and solicitor John D'Alton, was born in Dublin to a solidly middle-class family. His attendance at Clongowes placed him within an elite cadre of middle class and landed Catholic children in early nineteenth century Ireland. Clongowes, an all-boys Jesuit boarding school, offered its students a classical education, but also, and perhaps more importantly, the school imparted an 'air of gentility', preparing students for their future places within the nation and the empire.¹⁵² The academy day William referenced in his letter was indeed a highlight of the academic year, an elaborate pageant of musical performances, prize-giving, and student recitations.¹⁵³ William's rather demanding letter to his father illustrates the importance he attributed to his appearance on that day and the particular parameters of style which he thought would best portray his status at the school. Such defined views of 'respectable' dress were shaped by wider public discourses on childhood and gender. The connection between education and clothing which featured in discourses of child-rearing during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century linked scientific understanding of the child body with social assumptions about maturity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century children's clothes were generally a mother or nurse's responsibility. Homemade garments provided carefully delineated markers of maturity. The transition from the long gowns of infancy to the shortened petticoats of early childhood, and the

¹⁵¹ Papers relating to the historian John D'Alton, 1844 – 1864, Ms. 20,950, William D'Alton to John D'Alton, July 25 1836, D'Alton Papers Collection, NLI.

¹⁵² The hallmarks of an Irish elite education, the classical curriculum, and the social trajectory of Clongowes pupils are examined in Chapter 5, but also see O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900*, 2014, 21–69.

¹⁵³ See for example, 'Clongowes Wood College', *The Nation*, 16 August, 1851, 'Clongowes Wood College, County Kildare', *Irish Examiner*, 3 August 1868, and 'Clongowes Wood college- Annual Academical exercises', *Leinster Express*, 27 July 1872.

momentous ceremony of breeching, were a private and highly individualised demarcation of maturity. By the 1840s these private traditions formed a more visible industry. Children's clothes were described by childcare professionals in detail, sold in specialised shops, and connected to standards of health. By mid-century purveyors of children's goods capitalised on the affection and indulgence which had transformed the standard of good parenting over the previous half century. For bourgeois families, buying clothes for children was more than an exercise in providing care. Parenting became associated with purchasing, and childhood began to require a longer list of material objects in order to qualify as a 'real' childhood. This chapter focuses particularly on the embodied dimensions of gender and the emergence of consumption as a form of identity formation in the world of middle-class childhood. It is not comprehensive by any means but is an exploration of the kind of work which if pursued might widen our understanding of how gender and class were established and 'performed' by individuals.¹⁵⁴

Clothing was an important signifier of status and gender and became more closely associated with childhood health and well-being during the first four decades of the nineteenth century. Although the importance of appearance within fashionable society has long historical antecedents, during this period children's costumes became part of the discourse of good parenting. Children and infants were more intensely scrutinized for their appearance, and bourgeois parents were under more cultural pressure to ensure that their children had the accoutrements of healthy childhood. Within the deeply hierarchical social world of nineteenth century Ireland, personal image was consistently conflated with public position. For Irish parents, the public appearance of their children was a source of distinction, pride, and anxiety. J.H. Plumb argued in 1975 that the final decades of the eighteenth century saw a 'new world of children' characterised by a wider array of goods and services aimed directly at children, and a parental willingness to spend money in order to entertain and educate their children.¹⁵⁵ The ability of parents further down the social scale to provide the kinds of material goods popular amongst elite families became far greater with the advent of increased production of

¹⁵⁴ I am using the term performance here in the tradition of Judith Butler's work on gender performativity. See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 2006); also, Terry Lovell, "Resisting with Authority: Historical Specificity, Agency and the Performative Self," *Theory, Culture & Society* 20, no. 1 (2003), 1–17.

¹⁵⁵ J. H. Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 67, no. 1 (1975), 64–95.

mass produced goods. The purchasing patterns and identity politics of consumption reached their nineteenth-century zenith in the creation of the department store at the end of the century, but the market for children's goods was envisaged far earlier in the century as a part of the educational imperative of good parenting. Historian Dennis Denisoff has argued that during the nineteenth century 'consumer culture was a large-scale phenomenon that relied for its development on small-scale acts of identity formation, acts that were often most readily fulfilled through the young, who were seen as especially open to and in need of influence, control, and shaping.'¹⁵⁶ With an increased emphasis on education and environment on the development of the child, the material world of children became increasingly monitored and monetised.

The development of a market for children's goods was not unique to Ireland or Britain. Germany, France, Japan and America also saw the rise of specialised goods for children.¹⁵⁷ By the 1850s holidays such as Christmas and birthdays were firmly domesticated, with rituals of gift-giving signalling emotional attachment and an interiorisation of family life.¹⁵⁸ Children's literature during this period reflects a desire to encourage children to be thoughtful, well-informed consumers.¹⁵⁹ The expanding market for children's goods can be measured by the expansion of shops exclusively selling toys in urban areas across the period. Cork city directories indicate that in 1787 there were four toy shops operated by three men and one woman respectively. As the industry grew during the first two decades of the century there was a fairly open market and female entrepreneurs were nine out of the thirteen toy sellers recorded in 1824, a peak in market diversity. By 1863, the Cork industry was consolidated into 8 toy warehouses. At this date, only two women maintained premises on their own, larger companies had largely replaced

¹⁵⁶ Dennis Denisoff, *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*, Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 1.

¹⁵⁷ Kenneth D. Brown, "Models in History: A Micro-Study of Late Nineteenth-Century British Entrepreneurship," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 42, no. 4 (1989), 528–37; Calvert, *Children in the House*; Gary Cross and Gregory Smits, "Japan, the U.S. and the Globalization of Children's Consumer Culture," *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (2005), 873–90; David Hamlin, "The Structures of Toy Consumption: Bourgeois Domesticity and Demand for Toys in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (2003), 857–69.

¹⁵⁸ Neil Armstrong, "Father(ing) Christmas: Fatherhood, Gender and Modernity in Victorian and Edwardian England," in *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 96–110.

¹⁵⁹ Andrew O'Malley, *Children's Literature, Popular Culture and Robinson Crusoe*, Critical Approaches to Children's Literature (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

the model of singly owned shops.¹⁶⁰ Dublin's 'Pantheon Phusitechnikon' was established in the late eighteenth century as a purveyor of children's toys and goods. Proprietor William Binns advertised the goods available in his St. Stephen's Green premises in printed pamphlets distributed to parents and children alike.¹⁶¹

Catherine Robson has argued that ritual gift-giving at birthdays and holidays became a way for men to partake in family life and celebrate their financial success through acts of fatherly devotion.¹⁶² The whimsy and silliness of fathers celebrating children's birthday parties highlights this sublimation of wealth into childish hijinks. Robert Ball (1802-1857) used his connections as a board member of the Dublin Natural History Museum to manufacture a full gorilla suit from bear skin, appearing at his children's parties as a surprise guest. His son, Robert Ball Jr. (1840-) described the terror and delight which accompanied the production of this man-sized gorilla specimen.¹⁶³ Ball Sr., also a member of the Dublin Zoological Society, used his connections to access a full Maori costume for fancy dress balls in Dublin. In one instance of masquerading, Ball Sr. appeared dressed as a bandit, brandishing blunderbusses and firing shots up the drawing room chimney 'with resounding report.'¹⁶⁴ These kinds of playful spectacle were the preserve of the bourgeois; exhibiting doting fatherhood through the entertainment value of exoticism predicated on cultural and financial capital.

The consuming practises and material culture of the middle-class home was central to how women advertised and maintained their social standing in the community. Commitment to being respectable meant a certain amount of performative display. William Killen (1806-1902), growing up in County Down, recalled a story about his mother, Martha Dool, who upon marrying his father was given £5 by her mother-in-law, Blanche Brice Killen, to buy household goods for their new home in Ballymena. Arriving in Belfast, she spent all of the money on a

¹⁶⁰ These figures are compiled using a series of Cork directories. See, Richard Lucas, *The Cork Directory. For the Year 1787, ... By Richard Lucas. ...* (printed for the author by J. Cronin, 1787); *The Commercial Directory of Ireland, Scotland, and the Four Most Northern Counties of England, for 1820-21, 1822 & 1824 [Microform]: Containing a Representation of the Professional & Mercantile Inhabitants of the Principal Towns, with Sketches of Ancient and Modern History, and a Variety of Matter of Local and General Interest.* (J. Pigot and Co., 1820; Robert Laing, *Cork Trading and Professional Directory* (Cork: The Glasgow House, 1863).

¹⁶¹ Binns, William. *Goods Sold by William Binns: At the Pantheon Phusitechnikon.* William Binns, 1810.

¹⁶² Catherine Robson, *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman* (Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2003). Page number

¹⁶³ Robert S. (Robert Stawell) Ball and William Valentine Ball, *Reminiscences and Letters of Sir Robert Ball* (London Cassell, 1915), 14-15.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 15.

single silver cream ewer. Worried that perhaps she had spent the money rashly, she hesitated to tell her mother-in-law about the expenditure, however, Brice Killen responded, 'I am not at all displeased, ...a little household economy will soon make-up for the extravagance, and *I see that you intend to be respectable* [emphasis in original].'¹⁶⁵ The idea that long-term investments in durable, high-status products was worth the extravagance marked the logic of middle-class consumption practises

This chapter focuses on children's fashion as a rhetorical discourse of polite society with material implications. It is an exploratory chapter more indicative of potential future work than drawing firm conclusions. The field of historical fashion studies is only recently emerging in an Irish context and there are many facets with rich potential for understanding the material world of childhood. Observations about the symbolic meaning of children's clothing are based on several assumptions about the nature of the material world and the intentionality of human activities. According to archaeologist of childhood, Jane Baxter, social worlds are as much constituted by material culture as the other way around.¹⁶⁶ She argued that the material world is a fundamental aspect of socialization and the 'process through which cultural information is transmitted across generations; the process that transforms a new-born child into a member of social society.'¹⁶⁷ Ludmilla Jordanova has also argued that material artefacts become integrated with other forms of documentary evidence, not just to inflate the quantity of sources historians have to consider, but to seek out new layers of meaning when different types of sources are juxtaposed to create a more integrative history.¹⁶⁸ Here the intention is to explore the rhetorical discourse of children's dress and consider a small selection of material and visual artefacts. The portraiture of childhood in Ireland during the eighteenth century has been discussed in two doctoral theses by Gabrielle Ashford and Marguerite Davis, but the nineteenth century has received less coverage.¹⁶⁹ The items and practises discussed in this chapter are connected to themes discussed

¹⁶⁵ The cream ewer remained an heirloom in the Killen family, in 1897 it was in the home of one of her descendants a chief magistrate of a town in New Zealand. Killen, *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, 3.

¹⁶⁶ Baxter, *The Archaeology of Childhood*, 39–40.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁶⁸ L. J. Jordanova, *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4.

¹⁶⁹ Gabrielle Ashford, 'Childhood: Studies in the History of Children in Eighteenth-Century Ireland' (PhD, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, 2012); Marguerite Constance Mary Davis, "The Upbringing of Children in Ireland 1700-1831 from Visual and Historical Sources" (PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 1992).

throughout this thesis; early childhood health, boarding schools, and the rules of politeness shaped by class identity.

The complexity of deciphering the social implications of dress as both material and discursive construction is complicated by children's traditional representation as passive historical actors, adorned by their parents in the fashions of the day with seemingly little input. Bourdieu's concept of the habitus as a 'structuring structure' is utilised in this chapter to highlight the embodied dimensions of gendered experience maintained through individual and collective social practises and experiences. Situating clothing within the context of gestures, postures, and other bodily practises constituting a wider habitus of Irish middle-class life is useful in shifting attention from a chronology of aesthetic developments to the function of clothing as part of class and gendered identities. In the case of William D'Alton, he clearly had the power to demand certain kinds of clothes that suited his habitus of the boarding school. While infants and younger children could not exercise the same kind of demands, crying, spoiling a garment deliberately, or clinging to a certain item of favourite clothing were ways that even young children could express their desires.

Although feminist theory has engaged with the engendering role of dress, the historical study of children's clothes in Ireland has, until recently, been relegated to the domain of local historians and antiquarians.¹⁷⁰ As Bourdieu recognized, gender relations are established through material and biological constructions which elide the social principles that enable their existence. The circularity of this reasoning is apparent in the politics of children's clothing, where dress was supposed to be indicative of communal and individual identities while simultaneously socialising the child into his or her prospective societal role.¹⁷¹ Typologies and chronologies of

¹⁷⁰ A notable exception is the 2014 issue of *Costume*, that focuses on Irish dress, see *Costume*, 48.2 (Jun 2014). The most recent works on Irish dress are Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London: Batsford, 1989), Christian Huck, 'Clothes Make the Irish: Irish Dressing and the Question of Identity', *Irish Studies Review*, 11.3 (2003), 273–84; Brid Mahon, *Rich and Rare: The Story of Irish Dress* (Cork: Mercier Pr Ltd, 2001). The majority of feminist thought has been directed at fashion in the twentieth century and implications of fashion on postmodern or third wave feminism. See Pamela Church Gibson, "'To Care for Her Beauty, to Dress Up, Is a Kind of Work': Simone de Beauvoir, Fashion, and Feminism," *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2013), 197–201; Ilya Parkins, "Building a Feminist Theory of Fashion: Karen Barad's Agential Realism," *Australian Feminist Studies* 23, no. 58 (2008), 501–15; Anne Buck, *Clothes and the Child: A Handbook of Children's Dress in England, 1500–1900* (Carlton: Ruth Bean, 1996); Mairead Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland* (London: Batsford, 1989); Christian Huck, "Clothes Make the Irish: Irish Dressing and the Question of Identity," *Irish Studies Review* 11, no. 3 (2003), 273–84.

¹⁷¹ For an examination of class-based aesthetic judgement see Bourdieu, *Distinction*; Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*; Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination*.

fashion developments are valuable, yet they do not fully consider the social dynamics which shape the construction of clothing and its attendant social meanings. Within Irish historiography, the history of fashion has focused on national traditions of costume, Irish local industries, and representations of Irishness in clothing.¹⁷² There is also a growing literature within the history of art on the visual treatment of the Irish child in artwork.¹⁷³ Studies of Irish consumer culture have examined how mass commodification and the innovation of the department store changed the way people thought about shopping and clothing, creating new relationships between clothing and perceptions of status in the latter half of the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁴

3.1 How Should We Dress the Children?

Moral reformers and self-styled child-rearing experts introduced the topic of dress in their didactic texts in connection with the spiritual life of the child. Authors warned that ornamental dress would encourage children to focus on exterior appearances instead of spiritual development. The *History of Harry Spencer*, one of the earliest examples of children's literature in Ireland, published in Dublin in 1794, criticised the gaudy and impractical fashions of gentry children. When the protagonist, Harry, is sent to live for a few weeks with his rich uncle and aunt, his aunt dresses him in a rich suit of clothes so Harry can match the quality of her household. When Harry returns to his father's house decked out in the latest fashions his father remarks,

¹⁷² See for example Janice Helland, "Ishbel Aberdeen's 'Irish' Dresses: Embroidery, Display and Meaning, 1886–1909," *Journal of Design History* 26, no. 2 (2013), 152–67; Aidan O'Malley, "Nationalism in Exotic Clothes? Postcolonial Thinking, Gender and Translation in the Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing Nationalism in Exotic Clothes? Postcolonial Thinking, Gender and Translation in the Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing," *Ilha Do Desterro* 0, no. 54 (2010), 19–37; Alex Ward, "Dress and National Identity: Women's Clothing and the Celtic Revival," *Costume* 48, no. 2 (2014), 193–212.

¹⁷³ See, Kathryn Milligan, *Portraits of the city : representations of Dublin in visual art - a thematic case study* (PhD thesis, Trinity College Dublin, 2015), Mary Stratton Ryan, "Vignettes of Family Life," *Irish Arts Review* (2002–) 25, no. 1 (2008), 100–105. See also, Gaye Ashford, "Childhood: Studies in the History of Children in Eighteenth-Century Ireland" 2012.

¹⁷⁴ For a discussion of fashion and class in eighteenth-century Ireland see T. C. Barnard, *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641–1770* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 251–81. For work on the later nineteenth century see, Lauren Clark, "Gendering the Victorian Irish Child Reader as Buyer," *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 6, no. 1 (2014), 8–28; Stephanie Rains, *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850–1916* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010); Barbara Walsh, *When the Shopping Was Good: Wookworths and the Irish Main Street* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011).

and who my dear, put this fools coat upon my child? Fool's coat? says Harry. Yes, my love, it is worse than that, they were very naughty doctors who endeavoured to poison my boy, there is not a bit of this lace and ruffling that is not full of rank poison.¹⁷⁵

In order to teach Harry about the foolishness of showy dress, his father describes a boy who dresses in the skin of a wild beast because 'his dress was no part of himself, and could neither add to nor take away anything from him.'¹⁷⁶ For Harry's father, the problem with children wearing the finest fashions was a matter of social equality. Extravagant clothes falsely aggrandise the wearer and authorise him to behave as if he were above everyone else. The story fills Harry with remorse and he begs his father to burn the new coat rather than suffer the debilitating effects of this kind of vanity. The language of 'rank poison' used to describe Harry's new coat suggests a link between unvirtuous behaviour and its pernicious ability to spread and infect individuals in the same way as a disease. Modelling vanity as a communicable disease was a feature of the discourse on clothing and uniform in female boarding schools, discussed later in this chapter. From a religious perspective, vanity signalled a disorder relationship between the body and the soul. In moral parables, the attractive but empty vessel indicated a lack of spiritual depth and virtue. This was not necessarily a nineteenth-century innovation. Certain religious sects had cultivated an appearance of simple, uniform dress much earlier. The Society of Friends, the Quakers, were noted for their simple wardrobe in muted colours. Catholic nuns similarly adopted plain-coloured uniforms to demonstrate their commitment to poverty.¹⁷⁷ In these instances, their clothing signalled religious devotion and a lack of worldliness.

The codes of dress deemed appropriate for children functioned within a wider discourse about adult fashion. For the middle classes, the key value shaping their tastes, at least until the 1840s, was social deference, or dressing in a manner appropriate to one's station. This theme appears in a variety of guises in advice and fictional literature. Advice literature emphasised that clothing for children, while deferring to societal norms, should avoid artifice and ostentation because these encouraged children's vanity and dishonesty. A French treatise on politeness was

¹⁷⁵ Philanthropos, *The History of Harry Spencer: Compiled for the Amusement of Children; and the Instruction of such as Wish to Become Good* (Dublin: Printed by John Gough, 1794), 50.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 50-51.

¹⁷⁷ At the time of profession into a religious order, Catholic nuns took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

translated and published 'by a lady' in Dublin in 1813 at the request of Richard Kirwan, President of the Royal Irish Academy. Kirwan had expressed concern that manners were not given enough attention in public seminaries. The treatise was intended to provide an explanation of polite behaviour based on moral principles which necessary for well-bred persons.¹⁷⁸ It is an interesting example of the cosmopolitan nature of fashionable practises and civil manners. Francophilia was a feature of the Irish fashionable set; French clothes, books, and wine set the standard for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth century.¹⁷⁹ When advising on choosing what to wear the author stated, 'Fashion is a law which we must obey in our appearance; our reason must yield to this despotic sovereign, as far as concerns our dress, otherwise we cannot mix in society; still, however, we must avoid all extremes: by an excess in conforming to it, we appear vain; and by any marked opposition to it, we become ridiculous....'¹⁸⁰ Honesty formed the moral basis for this construction of suitable fashion; for example, the author recommended that clothing remained proportionate to the body in terms of shape and size. Children were supposed to appear child-like with their clothes suited to their age and condition.

Class, gender, and age hierarchies were read visually through the symbolic values attributed to clothing and the physiognomy of the body wearing the garment. To purposefully manipulate public perceptions by dressing outside normative styles was a dishonest performance, particularly if clothing was overly ostentatious. Individuals should also dress in a way which reflected their position in society, 'for if a divine appear in the garb of the man of the world, or an old man dress like a youth, they would both pass for fools, or madmen.'¹⁸¹ Suspicion of individuals who artificially inflated their status through dress extended to both males and females. She cautioned 'But it would be ridiculous to see a youth affect to be a Cato, or an old man act the fop, so would it be equally be disgusting, if, to appear learned or genteel, we should assume airs of importance...truth alone is

¹⁷⁸ *Treatise on Politeness, Intended for the Use of the Youth of Both Sexes, Translated from the French by a Lady.*

¹⁷⁹ This aspect of Francophilia within education will be discussed further in relation to female education in Chapter 4. However, the Bordeaux-Dublin letters, and the correspondence of the O'Kelly family are good examples established mercantile connections between Ireland and France. See Louis Cullen, John Shovlin, and Thomas Truxes, *The Bordeaux-Dublin Letters, 1757: Correspondence of an Irish Community Abroad* (OUP/British Academy, 2013); Axel Klein, *O'Kelly: An Irish Musical Family in Nineteenth-Century France* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2014).

¹⁸⁰ *Treatise on Politeness*, 23.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 22.

lovely; let us keep strictly within the bounds of modesty and humility...'¹⁸² Encouraging young people to earnestly follow the rules of politeness the author warned that 'it is impossible to neglect it [good manners], without forfeiting our place in society, and becoming objects of contempt with those who stamp a value on our social character.'¹⁸³ In material terms, this meant an emphasis on simple, practical clothing. The bright colours, feathers, embroidery, and patterns of the eighteenth century were exchanged for simpler patterns.¹⁸⁴ Within the bourgeois aesthetic, overtly fancy dress suggested the absence of interior depth and this applied to both men and women.

Respectable attire was associated with industry and decency and this is particularly apparent in upper-class female writers' criticism of the slovenly, ragged appearance of the peasantry characterised as a consequence of laziness or mismanagement of household economy. Catherine Alexander characterised the unkempt Irish child as part of a generational failure of Irish mothers.¹⁸⁵ Her primary criticism of the Irish peasantry's appearance was their uneven use of resources. They were slovenly and dirty on most days, with a propensity for dressing in finery they could not afford on Sundays or special occasions. She noted that the peasantry took pride in their appearance and would skip going to religious services if they did not have the proper attire.

Let no one suppose that the excuse so often made, of bad clothes, or shabby clothes, will be any excuse in the sight of God. It is shocking to think how many are kept away from their place of worship by that sort of pride. If their clothing is not of as good quality as their neighbour's, they will stay at home from year's end to year's end, quite forgetting that God knows what their circumstances are; and if it is not by misspending their earnings, or by careless living, they are poor, he will not blame them for what is his will.¹⁸⁶

Alexander's remarks reflect a suspicion of poverty as product of wilful negligence rather than actual circumstance. She also stated, 'The excuse of bad clothes is never set forth if they choose to go to markets or fairs, or wakes, or to any place where they *wish* to go...' ¹⁸⁷ She stated 'Rags are disgraceful, but patches show industry

¹⁸² Ibid., 7.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 3–4.

¹⁸⁴ Fiona Davern, "Ladies of Fashion-1720 to 1860," in *Georgian Limerick, 1714–1845*, ed. David Lee and Christine Gonzalez (Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust in association with Fás, 2000), 196–203.

¹⁸⁵ Alexander, *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers on Training Their Children*, 3.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 19.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 20.

and discipline.¹⁸⁸ Needlework was valued not just as a utilitarian skill, but as an exhibition of domestic accomplishment and cleanliness. Alexander argued that needlework was an essential skill for young girls and boys. She commented on how Irish boys were, unfortunately, excluded from this activity. Keeping a family's clothes clean and well-mended indicated a mother's ability to run a household and care for her family. However, her point was that the peasantry, at least in her home region of Ulster, operated by their own communal codes of polite dress. Appearing in tattered or out-of-fashion clothing could cause personal and familial shame or embarrassment. There is some credence to her observation about the importance of proper attire in local communities. In rural Offaly, sixteen-year-old William Davis, recorded in his diary that he and his sister had stopped attending school because their uncle would not give them money for clothes. William stated 'I was almost naked for I was without shoes and had only bad trousers.'¹⁸⁹ When he finally did get new trousers he recorded proudly that they were 'black ones with spots of blue and red threads running closely through it with a black and orange stripe.'¹⁹⁰

Other authors commented disparagingly about the peasantry dressing in rags the whole week, only to appear in ridiculous finery for Sunday services. In *The Cottage Fireside* (1821) the grandmother commends young Jenny for selecting material which is well made and will last for several years instead of purchasing cheap calico which will wear out in a season. The author of this tract stated their disapproval of people who 'look like pigs during the week' but dressed extremely well on Sundays.¹⁹¹ Instead they suggested that clothes should be mended and washed throughout the week and no one should be overly extravagant with their Sunday best. This opposition to showy exhibitionism formed a hallmark of bourgeois sensibility. The language of bourgeois fashion emphasised sturdy, dependable, durable aspects of clothing, usually encouraging the lower classes to consider practicality above aesthetics. This contributed to the conceptualisation of poverty as a matter of poor economising on the part of adults, with impoverished children as potent symbols of how individual decisions affected the whole family.

The diaries of Elizabeth Smith, 1797-1885, a Scottish women married to an Irish landlord, suggests the duty she felt in repairing and providing clothing for

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 30.

¹⁸⁹ William Davis, *The Diary of an Offaly Schoolboy 1858-59*, ed. Sandra Robinson (Tullamore: Esker Press for Offaly Historical and Archaeological Society, 2010), 15.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ *The Cottage Fire-Side*, 24.

tenants and beggars on her Wicklow estate. Much of her commentary portrays her disapproval of how the Irish managed their money, spending on luxuries while foregoing necessities. In January 1840, she recorded that she, ‘Cut out shifts and bibs for some poor – sixty yards of calico for £1; how much comfort to be given for the price of one smart bonnet.’¹⁹² Smith did not get on well with her Irish neighbours, particularly one Mrs. Moore. Although Moore was of a similar class of landowner as Smith, in her diary, Smith criticised Moore’s poor education, her love of gossiping with the servants, and keeping ‘very fine in her own person – very niggardly in her own house.’¹⁹³ Smith characterises this as a trait of all Irishwomen. To some extent this may have been a valid observation. Historian Rosemary Ffolliott argued that when the Irish Protestant ascendancy gained a cash surplus during the reign of George II, they chose to spend their money on sartorial statements of wealth instead of renovating their residences during the 1730s and 1740s. In England during the same period the fashions were less gaudy, but the elites spent their money on building baroque houses.¹⁹⁴ Perhaps there was an Irish preference for allocating money towards personal appearance ahead of household maintenance when budgets were tight. A close analysis of household ledgers would provide a good starting point for considering the divergence in patterns of household spending among middle-class households. There is a clear depiction within Elizabeth Smith’s diaries of the neighbourly gossip and entertainment occasioned by discussion of new fashions, sewing innovations, and the appearance of others.

¹⁹² Smith, Elizabeth, *The Irish Journals of Elizabeth Smith, 1840-1850*. Thomson, David and McGusty, Moira, eds., (Clarendon Press, Oxford, England, 1980), 4.

¹⁹³ Smith, Elizabeth, *The Irish Journals of Elizabeth Smith, 1840-1850*. Thomson, David and McGusty, Moira, eds., (Clarendon Press, Oxford, England, 1980), 6.

¹⁹⁴ Rosemary ffolliott, “Fashion as a Guide to Dating Irish Portraits 1660-1880,” *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 1989, 218.

Figure 3.1 Richard Rothwell, 'The Mother's Pastime,' 1845. Source: National Gallery of Ireland.



3.2 Age, Gender, and Fashion

Much of the work on nineteenth-century children's material culture has observed the increasing separation of children, symbolically, physically, and visually, from the world of adults. For example, Elaine Murray's work on the Irish cradle argues that the infants were increasingly isolated in their own sleeping space, rather than sharing a bed with other family members.¹⁹⁵ Karin Calvert argued that in American homes, 'the crib, high chair, swing, and perambulator all served as barriers between the child and the adult world. ... In place of direct participation in the activities of adults, many nineteenth-century parents fabricated a separate world for their offspring filled with special artefacts, activities and rituals that emphasized the perceived differences between children and adults.'¹⁹⁶ This separation between childhood and adulthood is visible in the architecture of home and school spaces in

¹⁹⁵ Elaine Murray, "The Chrysalis in the Cradle," in *"She Said She Was in the Family Way": Pregnancy and Infancy in Modern Ireland*, ed. Elaine Farrell (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012), 129–42.

¹⁹⁶ Calvert, *Children in the House*, 7–8.

Ireland as well.¹⁹⁷ The Irish country house often had nursery and schoolroom facilities for children in separate wings of the house. Although as Maeve O’Riordan has pointed out, the use of rooms is not static and children may have been given access to roam the house as they wished in some families.¹⁹⁸

Although a comprehensive analysis of the visual imagery of childhood during this period is beyond the scope of this thesis, portraiture constitutes a rich source for the material culture of the period. Images of children were a genre in their own right by the end of the eighteenth century. According to Anne Higonnet, the middle classes were particularly avid consumers children’s images in the nineteenth century. The innocent child, first depicted by Romantic painters in the academy, became a lucrative industry for some painters who specialised in fast sittings for young children. The subject matter of children became sufficiently bourgeois by the 1830s so as to provoke elite patrons of high art who scoffed at the attraction of the masses to images of innocence. These Middle-class buyers ostensibly liked to see images of themselves, albeit in idealised settings.¹⁹⁹ Mary Stratton Ryan has studied the expansion of the Irish miniatures trade in the nineteenth century which allowed a much larger quantity of images to be produced at a cheaper cost for families.²⁰⁰ During the eighteenth century the fashion was to wear them as a necklace or bracelet as a token of affection. In the nineteenth century, the style of these miniatures was enlarged and they were displayed statically in frames. Frederick Buck’s miniature business in Cork operated from the 1780s to the 1830s. His booming trade suggests the desirability of preserving an image of family members as a memento and a symbol of affection, though the quality of his work decreased in the 1820s as his quantities of commissions increased.²⁰¹

Business for portrait painters in the nineteenth century was bolstered by a burgeoning middle class capable of purchasing images of themselves. Richard Rothwell (1800-1868) was a prolific portrait painter in Ireland from King’s Co. He trained in Dublin at the Royal Hibernian Academy. Exhibited in 1844, his painting

¹⁹⁷ See for example Susan Galavan, *Dublin’s Bourgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs, 1850-1901* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

¹⁹⁸ Maeve O’Riordan, ‘Childhood in the Country House, Munster (1850-1914), in *Historical perspectives of parenthood and childhood*, eds. Mary Hatfield, Jutta Kruse and Róna nic Congáil (Arlen Press, 2017), 45-70.

¹⁹⁹ Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1998), 31-32.

²⁰⁰ Ryan, “Vignettes of Family Life.”

²⁰¹ Rosemary ffolliott, “The Unmistakeable Hand of Frederick Buck,” *Irish Arts Review* (1984-1987) 1, no. 2 (1984), 46-50.

of 'The Mother's Pastime' depicts a young mother holding a child on her lap in an idyllic rural setting. Rothwell's sentimental depiction of a chubby baby and doting mother depicts an idealized view of the clean, well-dressed child. Long gowns, ostentatious ruffles, and decorative embroidery held little utilitarian value, but they were integral to how parents shaped a representation of their children as protected, valued, and healthy. The baby smiles endearingly at the viewer while the mother's attention is directed at her child. The baby is dressed in a white gown with a short, tight fitting bodice and a long voluminous skirt gathered at the waist. The sleeves are off the shoulder and draw attention to a necklace, possibly of coral, around the baby's neck. The scene imparts a sense of cheerful maternal care, and the product of that care, a well-dressed, healthy, happy baby, see Figure 3.1.

Clothing children was usually a female responsibility. Depending on what a family could afford women might spin and weave their own wool and send the fabric to a tailor for making it up. William Hanbridge remarked on his mother's skill at organising his family's clothing every year.

Nearly everything we wore my mother got manufactured. ...Old Nanny Myers was engaged to spin the wool for the frieze every year. When the yarn was ready it was sent to Jack Flynn to be woven and when woven then to the dyers in Donard who before dying sent it to the tuckmill. It came home a beautiful light drab which was easily soiled. Nearly all the Irish counties had different coloured friezes so that each man wherever he went was known by the colour of his coat. All the rest of the wool for blankets, flannels, stockings &c was spun by mother. For several days after the frieze was brought home Joe Gougher the tailor had a busy time of it, as there were a father and five sons.²⁰²

Hanbridge identified how each county had traditional patterns and colours for clothing. Lydia Jane Leadbeater, travelling through Kerry in 1845, remarked on the dark blue frieze that was used for most items of clothing, with women typically in red petticoats and green gowns.²⁰³

The moral failings associated with the wrong kind of clothing were generally characterised in different ways for boys and girls. For girls, frivolous dress suggested superficiality, lack of intellectual and moral rigour, and selfishness.

²⁰² William Hanbridge, *Memories of West Wicklow, 1813-1839* (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005), 40.

²⁰³ Lydia Jane Leadbeater Fisher, *Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry, the Year 1845* (Dublin: Webb and Chapman, 1847), 29.



Figure 3.2 Richard Rothwell, *The Very Picture of Idleness*, 1842. Source: V & A Museum, London.

Edward Ryan (1750-1819), vicar of St. Luke's Church of Ireland parish in Dublin, was critical of the vacuous amusements of leisured girlhood which inevitably produced vain women. His text was authored to provide guidance and advice to the upper-classes in the same way that Hannah More's tracts had served to reform the poor. He warned his male readers that any woman who was absorbed by dressing was unsuitable as a wife.

If she is adverse to work suited to her condition; if novels are her study and coxcombs her favourites; if her chief delight is in dress, dancing, admiration and external accomplishments, you may suppose her mind is shabbily furnished, and that she will be a dull and insipid wife at home' abroad a gossip or perhaps worse, fond of scandal and public amusements...²⁰⁴

This suspicion of female adornment and preoccupation with outward appearance was often included in criticisms of female education which supposedly lacked 'real' intellectual content and focused merely on the appearance of accomplishment. Rothwell's portrait titled 'The very picture of idleness' illustrates the type of female associated with vanity and ostentation, see Figure 3.2. Leaning towards the viewer and smiling coquettishly, the young girl is adorned with necklaces, ribbons, and silks. Her bare shoulders and loose hair suggest a sense of impropriety, indicating

²⁰⁴ Ryan, *Christian Morality*, 75.

the likely future of an idle girl, who though charming, was lazy, superficial, and in search of entertainment.²⁰⁵

The delicacy of taste and fashion expressed by the middle classes suggests a narrow band of approval, particularly in women's fashions. Mairead Dunlevy argued that by the 1840s Irish women, 'created their own elite through establishing a rigorous code of conventional behaviour and attitude of mind for their sex and class. Prudery became an essential virtue, marriage the respectable vocation.'²⁰⁶ Describing attendees to a ball in Dublin Castle held as a St. Patrick's Day fete in 1829, *Saunders's Newsletter* reported that one Mrs. Montgomery wore a 'white tulle dress ornamented with bullions of tulle and bows of satin; the bust tastefully arranged with French blond lace, rouleaus of satin; train of French white satin ornamented with tulle. Head dress of feathers and pearls. This dress was universally admired for its elegant simplicity and suited to the lovely wearer.'²⁰⁷

The hallmark of a gentlewoman was simplicity and quiet elegance, not ostentation. Ellen O'Callaghan, the daughter of a Limerick merchant, completed her education at the Presentation Convent school in Cork and returned at the age of seventeen to join in Limerick's social scene. She described in her diary the appearance of one Rebecca Bennett at a party for Shrove Tuesday in 1839 as 'she had a most singular head strip consisting of bunches of curled white ribbons at each side and behind her frock was black turk silk. Her appearance excited all our risable [sic] faculties and really some of the ladies were on the verge of suffocation.'²⁰⁸ Ellen and her sisters wore three different outfits in a day and that was considered a conservative practise. Their day dresses were worn over whale boned corsets and layered petticoats to give the skirt a dome-like shape.²⁰⁹ On special occasions such as Christmas 1838, the O'Callaghan sisters wore mousseline shirts under velvet bodices, which Ellen described as 'looking quite elite.'²¹⁰ Ellen's diary gives a sense of how fashionable or distinctive dress accrued social capital through local

²⁰⁵ Rothwell's reviewer in the *Athenaeum* stated, 'We presume [it] is to be regarded as a fancy piece. Real or ideal, the nymph is charming - a lazy, bright-eyed girl-leaning upon her arms, with a broad speaking smile, such as Murillo might not have disdained to paint. It gives us great pleasure to see Mr Rothwell at last justifying the predictions of his friends. His colouring has lost none of its delicacy, - while his hand has gained force.' *Athenaeum* 21 May 1842, 456.

²⁰⁶ Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, 154.

²⁰⁷ *Saunders's newsletter*, 13 March 1829

²⁰⁸ As quoted in Christine Gonzalez, "Women in Bloom: Diary of a Limerick Merchant's Daughter, 1838-1840," in *Georgian Limerick, 1714-1845*, ed. David Lee and Christine Gonzalez (Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust in association with Fás, 2000), 64.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 53.

²¹⁰ Mousseline is a type of sheer material that resembles muslin. *Ibid.*

recognition. An 'elite looking dress' in Limerick would not necessarily hold the same symbolic weight in Dublin, London or Paris, however, distinction and taste were matters of localised arbitration.²¹¹ Maria Hackett, a twenty-two-year-old former boarding school girl from Cork, recorded in her diary in 1861 the sartorial choices of her companions. 'There were some handsome dresses at Mahers such as pink and blue etc. the two little Miss Loughnans were at it and are very much liked though they are not very pretty. Fanny Dillon's dress was not very handsome, although it had a silk slip under it.'²¹²

Vanity as a moral fault was not the monopoly of young girls. Physicians Maunsell and Evanson were particularly critical of the 'parental vanity that caused parents to parade their children on the streets in cold weather, 'The cap and feathers set upon, not covering, the child's head, and probably of a colour and richness contrasting mournfully with the blue ears, sharpened nose, and shrunken cheeks, in which cold has assumed the features of starvation...'²¹³ This disapproval of extravagant children's costumes was a hallmark of middle-class writers who sought to distinguish the rationality of bourgeois costume from the extravagance of aristocratic styles or the unkempt clothes of the working classes.²¹⁴ It also suggests the degree to which the appearance of a child and parental care were conflated. Moreover, much in the way that medical discourses saw the peasantry as more hardy and healthy because of their rough upbringing, there was a valorisation of the scarcity of material culture among the lower classes. For example, novelist Henry Brooke wrote,

The mother who has only a few rags to cover her child loosely, and little more than her own breast to feed it, see it healthy and strong, and very soon able to shift for itself; while the puny infant, the Heir and Hope of a rich family, lies languishing under a Load of Finery, that overpowers his limbs, abhorring and rejecting the Dainties he is crammed with till he dies a victim to the mistaken care and tenderness of his fond mother.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*.

²¹² Maria (Hackett) Butler, 29 Or 30 Jan 1861, Diary. Hackett Diaries and Papers (Compiled by JD Hackett) 1928-29 (1803-1929), IE CCCA/PR46, CCCA.

²¹³ Evanson and Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 1840, 53.

²¹⁴ For an examination of how bourgeois naturalness came to be contrasted with aristocratic artificiality see, Julia Bertschik, Michael Tikhomirov, and Kirstin Plow, "People Will Make for Themselves an Artificial Existence': Gender and Fashion in the Works of Caroline de La Motte Fouqué (1775–1831)," *Women in German Yearbook* 17 (2001), 103–20.

²¹⁵ Brooke, *History of Henry, Earl of Moreland*, 22.

Finery and parental indulgence were seen as inhibiting the child's development of natural defences against cold and heat. Parents did take pleasure in the appearance of their children and saw it as indicative of childhood health. For example, Lady Eliza Deane of Blackrock, Cork, wife of architect Thomas Deane, recorded in her diary for 1832 how delighted she was with the healthy appearance of her son Thomas on his fourth birthday. 'he was dressed in a new nankeen frock made by Jane and he looked quite handsome his old Nurse Ellen was in delight with him. He danced and was as gay as a little cricket.'²¹⁶ The occasion was made more poignant for Lady Eliza because she had lost her infant son Robert six months previously.

When children were older, the regimes of hygiene and cleanliness were part of parents concerns for appearance. Mary O'Connell admonished her son Daniel who was studying at Clongowes, 'Mama was very glad to hear that you had got yr. hair cut. I hope it is quite close the way Greg's [Gregory Costigan] was. For charity sake my dear boy be careful combing it. I assure you if you don't youll get a *sore* head & you won't be able to get rid of it for months. I hope you wash yr. hands at least every morning. If you don't give yourself this habit now you wont be able to be clean when you are home.'²¹⁷ There was an impulse in the regulatory practises of boarding schools to instil habits of self-care and hygiene. Girls' in conventual schools were taught how to tie back their hair neatly and use hair oil to ensure a smoothed, uniform appearance. Health and appearance were closely related concepts and as discussed in chapter one, the parental duty to monitor both aspects of childhood were an innovation of the period.

Clothing was central to the material implications of age gradations during infancy and childhood. Infants were put into long gowns which extended past an infant's feet as a way of keeping in extra warmth. When infants began crawling around these long gowns became impractical and at the age of seven or eight months infants received shorter gowns which allowed greater freedom of movement. For the first four to seven years of life boys and girls were dressed in the same clothes, indicating that age rather than gender was the principle distinction. Petticoats worn with a short bodice and pantaloons was seen as the

²¹⁶ Friday, June 15th, Lady Eliza Deane MS, 1 Jan - 19 Nov 1832, Cork County and City Archives, Cork.
IE CCCA/PR27

²¹⁷ Mary O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell Jr., 26 January 1831, as quoted in Mary O'Connell, *"My Darling Danny": Letters from Mary O'Connell to Her Son Daniel, 1830-1832* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).

least constrictive for children's activities. This freedom of movement was an important feature of clothing. In 1836, Maunsell and Evanson told parents to avoid putting boys in tight fitting trousers and girls in fitted stays.²¹⁸ Stays were used for both boys and girls as a way to encourage the proper upright posture, since slouching was associated with physical and moral degeneracy. The first stays a child wore would be "soft" or lightly boned. By two or a little older, the stays would be of a heavy linen, boned with reeds, or wooden splints. Boys wore them until they were breeched, between the ages of four and seven, girls for the rest of their lives, or as fashion dictated.²¹⁹ However, despite frequent advice to parents advising against the practise of restrictive stays in the 1830s and 40s, it seems likely that their use in children's clothing persisted well into the latter half of the century. In the 1870s *Harpers Bazaar* featured advertisements for corsets designed for children as young as one.²²⁰

There are seventy-three artefacts of children and infant clothing in National Museum of Ireland collections positively identified as having an Irish provenance. They span from 1750 to 1898 with the majority of items dating from 1820 to 1860.²²¹ The range of information available for each artefact varies widely, with some dates and provenances unknown, while others have specific histories. The collection is biased towards infant clothing, with 75% of the clothing artefacts intended for a child under the age of 1.²²² The items preserved in the museum's collections can largely be divided into two categories, items which were tokens of affection, served a ceremonial purpose or bore a significance beyond a daily function, and those items which were utilitarian, lack ornamentation and are not identifiably unique. Perhaps because the collections reflect infant clothing predominately, 97% had no identifiable gendered association. Indicative of this asexual nature of childhood, both boys and girls it seems were dressed in a layered ensemble consisting of a chemise, flannel petticoat, shirt and frock. In a pamphlet

²¹⁸ Evanson and Maunsell, *Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 33–34.

²¹⁹ Mel Davies, "Corsets and Conception: Fashion and Demographic Trends in the Nineteenth Century," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, no. 4 (1982), 611–41; Casey Finch, "'Hooked and Buttoned Together': Victorian Underwear and Representations of the Female Body," *Victorian Studies* 34, no. 3 (1991), 337–63.

²²⁰ Valerie Cumming, *The Dictionary of Fashion History* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 56.

²²¹ Fifty-six out of seventy-three items fall between the 1820 to 1860 mark. Dating an item in the collection is approximate, since most items were not accessioned with precise dating. If an item was catalogued as mid-nineteenth century it was logged under the year 1850

²²² Fifty-five items were intended for infancy.



Figure 3.3 White Infant Gown, Circa 1820s. Source: National Museum of Ireland.

titled *Hints to the Careful Nursemaid*, the author warned nurses to be careful when dressing and pinning the clothes onto the child. Ribbon ties or tacking were preferable to using pins, since these could easily lodge into the child's skin. The exercise of dressing then, required a servant, elder sibling or parent to help the child into its back-closing frocks.²²³ Back-closing items were preferable in the case of very young infants, as nurses were advised that children did not like being turned front to back multiple times in order to dress and undress them.²²⁴ Three items were positively identified as girls' clothes because they were presented to the museum by family members who identified the former owners. Both are white lace infant caps, one was a christening cap worn by Elizabeth Cantillon née Fosberry in 1853. The other, one of the earlier examples within the collection, was donated with a note stating 'Worked by Lady Hoare for my Darling Ellen, in Youghal, 1807.'²²⁵ The painstaking embroidery and hand-made designs throughout the collection suggest in rich detail the affection and care expressed by family members. One of the infant bodices in the National Museum collections showed an interesting demonstration of changing fashions, it had wide flat seams indicating that it once had stays, but at some stage the boning was removed the seams were reclosed and the item used again. White seems to be a favoured colour for infant clothes, with slightly older children in calicos or patterned material. Several of the infant gowns

²²³ *The Careful Nursemaid*, 56–57.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 52.

²²⁵ See item 81-1973, donated by Miss Tuckey, great grand-niece of Mrs. Ellen Grant, nee Hoare, Kilmurray, Co. Cork.



Figure 3.4 Christening Cloak, Cream-Coloured Linen, Satin Lined, with Embroidery. 135x59cm. Source: National Museum Of Ireland, Decorative Arts and History Collections.

in this collection have a similar design to Rothwell's image of an infant in Figure 2.1. They are long, white gowns with ornate embroidery around the collar. Short, puffed sleeves were framed by a square low-cut neck. These gowns were designed for aesthetic purposes, the nearly sheer material provided little warmth, although parents likely layered a petticoat under the gown, see Figure 3.3.

The ceremonial significance of baptism meant that items like christening gowns were more likely to be preserved within family keepsakes and consequently in museum collections. The infant's baptism was an important public declaration of religious belief and the initiation of a child into a religious community. The richly embroidered christening gowns, with ornate ruffling and extraordinary detail signal the public significance of the occasion. One of the stand out items in this collection is a long infant cape, six feet in length and covered in cream embroidered designs complete with tassels, that would have covered the infant when promenading out of doors, see Figure 3.4. The clear ceremonial and decorative purpose of this item has ensured its preservation, but without more research it is unclear whether this is an anomaly or was a widespread trend during the 1850s for presenting an infant.

While girls' clothing transitioned into women's clothing through subtle details such as the lengthening of hemlines and different hairstyles, young boys breeching marked a definitive break from the feminised sphere of childhood. With the domestication of family life children became more closely associated with maternally dominated domestic spaces. Boys occupied the feminine spaces of home and nursery, were cared for by women, and wore clothing which resembled female



Figure 3.5 Older boys outside the school, Connemara. 1892. Source: Tuke Collection, National Photograph Archive of Ireland, Dublin.

petticoats and skirts.²²⁶ The 'breeching' of a young boy, usually between the ages of four and seven, happened when a boy was ready to attend school or leave the family home. Parents marked out breeching as a momentous occasion in the life stage. In 1866 John Paul Lawless Pyne, rector of the Church of Ireland in Cloyne recorded in his diary how his wife's friend stopped in with a pattern of clothes for his son who was to have his first pair of trousers.²²⁷ Trousers also presented another layer of difficulty for boys learning to use the toilet. When Thomas Drennan was given his first pair of trousers at the age of three, his aunt stated that he had 'forethought enough to go to a man-servant, rather more boyish than our last, & say, "but how in all the world James do you do with your breeches when you go to puff."²²⁸ 'Puff' was Thomas's word for using the toilet. In a letter to Thomas's father she stated after a week of wearing trousers, 'He has got on his trousers which are quite easy to him. He is every inch a gentleman's child.'²²⁹

²²⁶ Robson, *Men in Wonderland*; Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1982); Claudia Nelson, *Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917* (New Brunswick, N.J.; London: Rutgers University Press, 1991).

²²⁷ Diary of J.P. Lawless-Pyne, Inch Rectory, Whitegate, Co. Cork, 1866, RCB Library.

²²⁸ Mary McNeill, *Little Tom Drennan*, 30.

²²⁹ Ibid.

Failure to acquire trousers at the appropriate age could be grounds for social censure. Martin Doyle was fiercely critical of men who wore their sister or wife's Sunday petticoats for even a brief period, while waiting for their own wet clothes to dry by the fire.²³⁰ Lydia Jane Leadbeater, from the Quaker Leadbeater family of Ballitore, Kildare, observed that while visiting rural Kerry 'The women dress like men, and the men like women indiscriminately. The men wearing petticoats till they are going to be married, when, by hook or crook, the manly toga is provided in which to go before the priest...'²³¹ To readers in the 1840s this statement would have indicated more than just a sense of quaint or backward peasant practises. The sight of a man in petticoats suggested not just feminisation, but infantilisation. Leadbeater's further observations of the Kerry peasantry suggest that this was precisely what she thought of their irresponsible mode of life. In a similar mode, Alexander recommended that the Englishman's country uniform of knee length breeches was preferable to the Irish peasant practise of full length trousers.²³² The practise of leaving boys in petticoats till an older than usual age was popular in rural areas, where it was believed to protect boys from abduction by fairies.²³³ It may also have simply been an economic necessity. The easy use of petticoats for young children not yet toilet trained kept the practise of boys wearing petticoats into the twentieth century in some areas of Ireland. In 1892 older boys between the ages of 8 and 12 were photographed in rural Connemara still wearing petticoats and jackets, see Figure 3.5.²³⁴ Muiris Ó Súilleabháin wore petticoats until he was seven years old while living in an orphanage in Dingle Co. Kerry in 1904. For boys in institutional care petticoats were a cheaper alternative to trousers and did not pose the same complications for using the toilet.²³⁵

In retrospective accounts of childhood, clothing could also indicate the adherence or resistance to expected gendered behaviour. John Howard Parnell, elder brother of Charles Stewart Parnell, recalled in his memoirs that 'Charley' had

²³⁰ Martin Doyle, *Hints Addressed to the Small Holders and Peasantry of Ireland, on Subjects Connected with Health, Temperance, Morals, &c.* (W. Curry, Jun., 1833), 16.

²³¹ Fisher, Lydia Jane Leadbeater, 1800–1884, *Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry, in the Year 1845.* (Webb & Chapman, Dublin, Leinster, Ireland, 1847), 78.

²³² Alexander, *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers on Training Their Children*, 36.

²³³ Mahon, *Rich and Rare*, 64.

²³⁴ Rutledge-Fair Major, and James H. (James Hack) Tuke. Older Boys Outside the School, Connemara. 1892, TUKÉ 37. National Photograph Archive of Ireland, Dublin.

²³⁵ Muiris Ó Súilleabháin, *Twenty Years a-Growing* (Chatto & Windus, 1933), 15–18.

refused to wear petticoats even as a very young child, a memory which carried salience in adulthood because of its connotations of masculinity;

he created such an uproar that special breeches, made of the thinnest material, were provided for him, and also for myself. This was to make us hardy, as our father wanted to give each of us his own iron constitution. However, in the very cold weather our nether garments were plentifully coated with frost and icicles. Charley was immensely proud of his victory, and then refused to wear boots once he was clear of the house, kicking them off and walking barefoot, especially in the snow. I'm afraid I usually followed his example.²³⁶

While this narrative could very well be exaggerated for the sake of illustration, the choice suggests the centrality of the petticoat in representing immaturity and effeminacy as opposed to the mature masculinity conveyed by breeches. Parnell was supposedly tough, hardy, and immune to cold temperatures as a result of his father's belief in hardening his boys.

The role of clothing in children's sense of social distinction is well-illustrated in female autobiographies. Mary 'Sissy' O'Brien recalled that when she, and her four siblings, were sent to the national school in Grange they judged that their own 'frocks of a dark green homespun seemed to us very inferior to the flimsier stuffs worn by our school-fellows.'²³⁷ Frances Power Cobbe recalled that for her fifth birthday, she was 'brought in the morning into my mother's darkened bedroom...and how she kissed and blessed me, and gave me childish presents, and also a beautiful emerald ring which I still possess and pearl bracelets which she fastened on my little arms.'²³⁸ She was also given a white beaver bonnet, which when she wore it to church caused another little girl in the pew beside to howl in envy. Clearly the rules of fashion were learned early. Children were not totally at the mercy of their parents when it came to clothing. Cobbe herself disliked wearing her 'best clothes'. She recounted that at the age of seven her grandmother gave her a sky-blue silk pelisse. 'I managed nefariously to tumble down on purpose into a gutter full of melted snow the first day it was put on, so as to be permitted to resume my cloth coat.'²³⁹

²³⁶ John Howard Parnell, *Charles Stewart Parnell*, in A. Norman Jeffares and Antony Kamm, *An Irish Childhood* (London: HarperCollins Publishers Ltd, 1987).

²³⁷ Mary Carbery, *The Farm by Lough Gur: The Story of Mary Fogarty (Sissy O'Brien)*, 5.

²³⁸ Valerie Sanders, ed., *Records of Girlhood: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Women's Childhoods*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 9–10.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, 186.

Novelist Oliver Moore remarked that his wardrobe was greatly enlarged when he set off on a business trip in 1790 with his father at the age of thirteen. ‘Amongst other finery, I found a blue coat with orange-velvet cuffs and collar, and gilt buttons, which were impressed with the equestrian figure of William III -The inscription 1st July 1690, beneath. Little did I then know the nature of the badge I so proudly wore; but it was my first and last appearance in the character of an orange-man!’²⁴⁰ Meanwhile, his father was dressed in the regimentals of the volunteer corps, the Dublin Liberty Rangers, a scarlet uniform with green facings. His father’s subterfuge was a clever plan to enable their travel through the towns of Drogheda and Newry, where a strong Orange presence existed. With Oliver in orange and blue, his father could wear his green uniform without trouble and without compromising his own national loyalties. Oliver recognised that their costumes ‘effectively served as passports into treacherous territory on the road to the metropolis of Belfast.’²⁴¹ Rather significantly, Moore’s father did not consider it problematic to dress a child in the garb of an Orangeman, though he was personally on the opposite side of the political divide. Moore explained, ‘thus indulging his irradicable [sic] love for the colour of the land of his birth, without appearing in the least degree to slight the ceremony, or compromise his *loyal* feelings!’²⁴² Because of his boyhood status Oliver’s costume was perceived as purely spectacle by his father, and allowed their safe travel with little implication for Oliver’s real political allegiances.

3.3 Schools, Uniforms, and Clothing

One of the main financial outlays for parents happened when a child was sent to school. In addition to entrance and tuition fees most schools issued lists of required clothing, bedding, and reading materials to accompany prospective pupils. The Quaker school, established in Lisburn in 1774, issued a directive to parents in 1821 with a list of necessary clothing items for boys and girls boarding at their institution.²⁴³ Boys were asked to bring two pairs each of coats, waistcoats,

²⁴⁰ Oliver Moore, *The Staff Officer: Or, the Soldier of Fortune: A Tale of Real Life*, (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1833), 6.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁴³ *Rules for the Management of the Boarding School at Lisburn, for the Education of the Children of Friends* (Belfast: F. D. Finlay, 1821), 8. For more on the history of Quaker education see, Cyril Gerard Brannigan, “Quaker Education in 18th and 19th Century Ireland,” *Irish Educational Studies* 4, no. 1

1 large woollen cloak	2 tuckers
1 bonnet not silk	2 check slips
1 warm shawl for winter	1 loose wrapper or bed gown
1 pair of boddices [sic]	2 neck handkerchiefs or tippets
1 pair of gloves	2 pocket handkerchiefs
1 pair of pockets, of coloured fustian	2 night caps
2 stuff gowns	1 pair of shoes
2 stuff skirts	1 pair of pattens
2 flannel petticoats	2 pair strong worsted or yarn stockings
2 shifts	

Table 3.1 Girls Clothing List at Friend's School Of Lisburn, *Rules For The Management Of The Boarding School At Lisburn, For The Education Of The Children Of Friends* (Belfast: F. D. Finlay, 1821) 1821.

breeches, shirts, stockings, handkerchiefs, and nightcaps. In addition, a one hat, a green coat and pair of shoes completed their uniform. For girls, the required items formed a much longer list, see Table 3.1. Their directives specified that girls' bonnets were to be made of a material other than silk. Silk was associated with finery, and vanity was not to be encouraged among pupils.²⁴⁴ Detachable pockets of coloured fustian, similar to an apron which could be detached and reattached to each frock, were more in keeping with the interest in industry and activity for schoolgirls.²⁴⁵ Yearly tuition at the Friend's boarding school was 4 pounds, with ten students given free tuition each year from an endowment.

In contrast, Eliza White attended a private boarding academy in Dublin run by Mr. and Mrs. Killen and paid around 56 pounds per year for tuition at a private seminary for Protestant girls in Dublin from 1811 till 1817.²⁴⁶ In addition to this payment she paid for extra drawing, music, and dancing classes and spent liberally on her wardrobe amounting to a yearly expenditure of approximately 100 pounds for her schooling, books, and clothing. In her first year, she spent 22 pounds on 9

(1984), 54–72; Neville H. Newhouse, "The Founding of Friends' School, Lisburn," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 98, no. 1 (1968), 47–55; Michael Quane, "Quaker Schools in Dublin," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 94, no. 1 (1964), 47–68.

²⁴⁴ Pattens were a metal ring tied to the bottom of a leather shoe to elevate the wearer's hemlines from muddy streets.

²⁴⁵ For more on the significance of feminine pockets see, B. Burman, "Pocketing the Difference: Gender and Pockets in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (2002), 447–69; Ariane Fennetaux, "Women's Pockets and the Construction of Privacy in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 20, no. 3 (2008), 307–34.

²⁴⁶ Expenses for Eliza White's education, 1812–1817, ms. EX00037839, Dublin Collection Manuscripts, Dublin City Library.

trunks of clothing to accompany her to boarding school. She spent an additional 22 pounds during 1816 on new shoes, petticoats, hats and gloves. Eliza's exercise in keeping orderly accounts was part of her education and suggests her penchant for fashion. She added to her wardrobe an additional five pairs of shoes and boots, 10 pairs of gloves, a scarlet pelisse, and a swansdown tippet by the end of 1816. Her most expensive purchase was an amber necklace and bracelet set on which she spent £12. She purchased two boxes of white saring cotton, likely used for hygiene purposes during menstruation and also had a tongue scraper, clothes brush, two hair brushes, nail brush, com, ivory comb and tooth brush for keeping up a cleanly appearance, see Table 3.2.²⁴⁷

Perhaps to avoid the kind of conspicuous displays of wealth which Eliza White's nine trunks of clothing suggested, the Loreto boarding schools provided their students with a standard uniform upon their arrival. The uniforms were also intended to keep the boarders, who paid tuition, separate from the free school pupils. Students were carefully monitored to prohibit cross-class interactions. At the Loreto school on St. Stephen's Green, free school pupils were instructed to enter through the field at the rear of the building, rather than the main entrance.²⁴⁸ Within the conventual hierarchy, choir and lay sisters were a further distinction with their different uniforms. The pupils would have been aware of these distinctions, since lay sisters uniforms resembled the domestic attire of female servants.²⁴⁹ The use of uniforms in convent boarding schools ensured that the supposedly feminine impulse towards vanity could be curtailed. The mother superior of the Loreto order warned students that they were not allowed to alter or decorate the uniform beyond its standard form.²⁵⁰ The need to have uniformity across the Ursuline convents is reflected in a doll used as a model for the Ursuline Covent, Blackrock, Cork. The doll wore an example of the nun's uniform, including petticoats and knickers and could be passed around to different communities.²⁵¹ The

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter March 1854, TB/CAN/3/15, 18 March 1854, Loreto Central & Irish Province Archives, Dublin.

²⁴⁹ Maria Luddy, "Convent Archives as Sources for Irish History," in *Religious Women and Their History: Breaking the Silence*, ed. Rosemary Raughter (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 104.

²⁵⁰ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Regulations, New Boarders, TB/REG/23, April 1847, LCIPA.

²⁵¹ In the Ursuline Convent, Blackrock, Cork. Shelves.

order's keeper of garments issued summer and winter uniforms for each of the pupils and ensured that they were kept in good repair.²⁵²

Table 3.2 Expenses for Eliza White's Education, 1812-1817. Dublin Collections, Dublin City Library..

List of my cloathes [sic] taken

May 31st 1816

6 whole trunks

3 coloured ditto

5 muslin petticoats

2 flannell ditto

8 cherrins

2 night diss

11 night caps

6 plain cotton hose

3 whole aprons

3 ditto spencers

1 black velvet ditto

7 pocket hankeys

1 pair fine stays

1 bodice

2 silk handkerchiefs

3 slippers

Total cost £22.16.8

Though less quantifiable than academic achievement, social graces, fashionable dress and good manners were signs of a cosmopolitan education and contributed valuable social capital. In 1807 when James Hall toured Ireland he discussed how the convent school in Killarney was a model of efficiency and respectability. One nun taught thirty girls to sew while two other nuns instructed in sewing, knitting and spinning. According to Hall, 'One has only to come and see, to be pleased with the nuns here. Their dress, their veils, their neatness and deportment, nay, the very windows and figure of the nunnery, serve to call up reverence.'²⁵³ Attention to rules, carriage and walk, politeness, neatness in person, and order were assessed quarterly along with academic subjects at the Ursuline

²⁵² 'The Mistress of the House', undated, TB/REG/2, LICPA.

²⁵³ Rev James Hall, *Tour Through Ireland, Particularly the Interior and Least Known Parts; ... with Reflections ... on the Union, ... the ... Advantages of a Telegraphic Communication between the Two Countries, etc.* (London: RP Moore, 1813), 231-232.

Convent Boarding School in Blackrock, Cork.²⁵⁴ The Ursuline order was well-aware that their pupils were drawn from some of the most elite social circles in Ireland and they issued guidelines to their students for dressing.

You are allowed to dress in accordance with your position in life; but never with extravagance. You are allowed to conform to the usages of fashion; but never to encroach in the slightest degree on feminine modesty. You are allowed to relish cultivated society and agreeable conversation; but never to lend a willing ear to the syren[sic] voice of flattery...²⁵⁵

While the author of this text discouraged girls from attributing too much time or importance to their personal appearances, they did agree that bourgeois girls should present themselves in a way which was visually pleasing to society.

The use of school uniforms was not necessarily indicative of pupil equality; rather the hierarchy of the convent took precedence over worldly distinctions originating outside the convent walls. The issuing of prizes in conventual schools nearly always took material form. Ribbons, medals and sashes were given to girls who exhibited piety, academic achievement, or good behaviour.²⁵⁶ In the Ursuline convent in Cork, pupils competed for the prize of wearing a silver medal for a month. According to the school's regulations these were awarded at:

private examinations held in each school the first Monday of every month at which the best in each division is awarded a silver medal, which she continues to wear suspended from the neck by a blue ribband, until disposed by some more fortunate competitor, and as a stimulus to exertion from a moral point of view, a larger and differently shaped medal is given at each examination to the young lady who during the preceding month, or months, if she had been found worthy to retain it, has pre-eminently distinguished herself by strict propriety of conduct, unremitting diligence in study, uniform attention to the rules of the house, and the orders of the superiors, and undeviating kindness and condescension to her Companions in school.²⁵⁷

Material rewards for good conduct could be a powerful sanction of good behaviour and signalled in clear terms the head girl and her use as a role model for her fellow

²⁵⁴ 'Monthly Examinations Second School 1831' 1831-1857, UCB/01505, Heritage Centre Box 018, Ursuline Convent, Blackrock.

²⁵⁵ *The Catholic Offering: Counsels to the Young on Their Leaving School and Entering into the World* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1859), 276.

²⁵⁶ Handwritten Notice from Teresa Ball Regarding the Behaviour of New Boarders, April 1847, TB/REG/23, LICPIA.

²⁵⁷ Syllabus and Prospectus for the Ursuline Boarding School, 19th century, UCB/03327, Heritage Centre Box 052, Ursuline Archives, Blackrock.

pupils. Conventual boarding schools distributed books as prizes at yearly examinations. Perhaps indicative of intellectual values, the Mother Superior of the Loreto order noted that these prizes were expensively bound leather books, but neglected to record the titles in her records.²⁵⁸ It seems likely that girls' likely to received devotional literature, as novels were seen as morally hazardous. Student Kate Hogan received a copy of Aubrey De Vere's *Hymns and Sacred Poems* as a prize in 1864.²⁵⁹ The Ursuline order published their own book of instructions for girls' leaving school, and presumably presented it upon a pupil's departure from their school.²⁶⁰ Boys' schools also used books as prizes to inspire and reward good behaviour. *The young gentleman and lady's monitor*, was presented in 1798 to student of the Belfast Academy, Robert Jaaffe, as 'the reward of his merit as a school boy & of his behaviour as a gentleman adjudged to him at an examination...'²⁶¹ Thomas Alexander's father gave him a copy of *History of Sandford and Merton*, with the hope that he would, 'become as good a boy as Harry Sandford.'²⁶²

We can get a glimpse of children's consuming practises in the exchange of letters from parents to children in boarding school. In 1831, Daniel O'Connell Jr. requested a pair of ice skates and his older brother John O'Connell sent word that the skates would be brought up by their father on his visit to Clongowes. 'I chose them at Lamprey's, so you may be sure of the goodness of the material. They are of walnut wood and fluted...I am glad you have taken a fancy to skating. I was very fond of it although I skated very badly. I have told Mamma to send you down a gimlet also to bore your shoes with, they were great *desiderata* in my day.'²⁶³ The popularity of certain items or *desiderata* speaks to the institutional culture of the boarding school. We can see a familiarity with children's desire to have what their friends have, and parents enabling their children to have the latest toy or clothing item. An area which hints at the resourcefulness of mothers and fathers in clothing

²⁵⁸ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter April 1857, TB/CAN/3/24, 7 April 1857, LCIPA.

²⁵⁹ Aubrey De Vere, *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (London: Richardson & Son ...; Dublin; and Derby, 1864).

²⁶⁰ *The Catholic Offering*, 1859; Pollard Collection, *The Catholic Lady's Keepsake; Or, Gleaning Offered to Increase the Store of Our Young Friends Educated at St. Mary's* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1850).

²⁶¹ Moore, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor; Being a Collection of Select Pieces, from Our Best Modern Writers*. BPB1796.1, Linen Hall Library, Belfast.

²⁶² Handwritten note on fly sheet "Belfast, 6 College Sq. South, 15th November 1838. To Thomas Alexander from his father who hopes he may become as good a boy as Harry Sandford". Thomas Day, *The History of Sandford and Merton* (Belfast: George Berwick, 1814). BPB1814.16, Linen Hall Library, Belfast.

²⁶³ John O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell Jr., 6 January 1831, as quoted in O'Connell, "My Darling Danny," 30.

their children was the hand-me-downs among family members and the trade in second-hand clothes. There was some social stigma attached to these second-hand clothes. The Loreto order gave the ‘cast-off clothes’ of their boarding pupils to students in the adjacent poor school.²⁶⁴ To put in perspective the affluence of Eliza White’s £22 expenditure on her wardrobe, in 1829, £10 received from donors to the Loreto Rathfarnham convent furnished forty cloaks and petticoats for children in their poor school.²⁶⁵

At the end of this period, the emergence of photographic technology facilitated a wider dissemination of the visual standards of childhood. The democratising effect of this cheaply available technology allowed the semiotic and visual symbols of childhood to be fixed with increasing precision and circulation. The ability for families to generate their own images, without the considerable cost of hiring a portrait painter, made the possibility of preserving a portrait of childhood far more accessible. Medical practitioners were among the first to see the value in producing photographic images. Before photographs, medical portraiture was standard practise in training hospitals and clinics when physicians wished to document the visual aspects of a particular malady.²⁶⁶ One of the earliest uses of photography with children was in the medical field, where physicians used images to create an ever more precise delineation of the normal and abnormal child body. The *Dublin quarterly journal of medicine science* featured illustrated pictures of children recovering from surgeries and with repaired limbs as a tool for diagnosis, see Figure 3.6..²⁶⁷ More than ever before the technologies to record the height, weight, and growth of the child body could be scrutinized and documented.²⁶⁸ Corresponding to an association of photography as a scientific medium, professionals sought to use this technology to document physical manifestations of illness and deformity.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Papers of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin, Rathfarnham Annals 1821-1860, Rath/LAC/1/1, 1829, 13, LCIPA.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ See for example, John Houston, ‘Observations on the Treatment of Hare-Lip, Illustrated by Engravings of Two Successful Cases’, 1 May 1842, *The Dublin Journal of Medical and Chemical Science*, 21, no. 2, vii, 165-180.

²⁶⁷ Peadar Slattery, “The Uses of Photography in Ireland 1839-1900” (PhD, Trinity College, 1992).

²⁶⁸ Turmel, *A Historical Sociology of Childhood*.

²⁶⁹ Justin Carville, “Resisting Vision: Photography, Anthropology and the Production of Race in Ireland,” in *Visual, Material and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, ed. Ciara Breathnach and Catherine Lawless (Four Courts Press, 2010), 162. See also, Christopher Pinney, ‘The parallel histories of anthropology and photography’ in ed. Elizabeth Edwards *Anthropology & photography, 1860-1920*, (1992.)

Figure 3.6 Lithograph by Forester & Co. Dublin. Source: *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science* XLVI, 1868, 57.



An early pioneer of Irish photography was physician, William Despard Hemphill (1816–1902), a native of Clonmel, Co. Tipperary. He took images of Clonmel and its environs in the 1860s. Another early contender was Lewis Wingfield, a schoolboy in 1860, who took up photography while at boarding school in London. He took photos of his family on the lawn of their big house in Knocklofty, Clonmel.²⁷⁰ The ‘realness’ of photographic images lent itself to scientific projects and anthropological projects on the ethnic and racial profile of the Irish peasantry in the 1880s. The moral physiognomy determined in medical literature fifty years previously, was applied to the features of the Irish peasantry in photographic portraits, although at that stage the discourse of social Darwinism was the dominant explanatory mode for racial difference.²⁷¹

Conclusion

Within the deeply hierarchical social world of nineteenth-century Ireland, personal appearance was conflated with public position. As the Irish middle classes expanded during the nineteenth century, the codes of taste and style which informed Irish fashion were an integral part of expressing class and gendered identities. For Irish parents, the public appearance of their children was a source of distinction, pride, and anxiety. Investing time, money, and effort into children’s clothing was a way of portraying familial status while simultaneously socializing the child into their

²⁷⁰ Slattery, “The Uses of Photography in Ireland 1839–1900”.

²⁷¹ Carville, “Resisting Vision: Photography, Anthropology and the Production of Race in Ireland.”

appropriate class and gender. Irish formulations of middle-class respectability, feminine modesty, and childhood health share a similar trajectory to that on the continent. Dress and fashion were connected to other habits of polite manners and characterised as an element of childhood education. Along with the commercialization of childhood was an anxiety about the detrimental effects of children developing an inordinate obsession with clothes and material possessions. In the early nineteenth century, religious writers were particularly concerned about children of the gentry and the upper classes, as their wealth provided easier access to worldly pleasures and material goods that threatened childish innocence. However, these concerns about childish vanity were discussed in gendered terms, with girls thought to be particularly susceptible to superficial display and affectations whereas over-dressed boys were suspected of deliberate artifice and dishonesty. At the root of these failings was a dishonesty about one's position in society, and the desire to please others to the detriment of moral character.

There is admittedly much more work to be done on the material culture of Irish childhood, for example, the use of clothing to fake respectability and assume the guise of social mobility. As access to the latest fashions increased in circulation there was a suspicion of aspiring 'fashionistas' and their ability to 'fake' respectability by simply acquiring the latest fashions. In Dublin's Mendicity Institution, wealthy patrons expressed concern that the young girls who were instructed in straw-plaiting received a slightly higher wage than other medics, allowing them to buy nicer clothes above their station. The Institution gave a solid defence for their actions, these girls' clothes did not mark them out as medics and facilitated their seeking work in a factory or in domestic service.²⁷² The letters and items sent home by Irish immigrants abroad is also a part of the dynamic of fashion and clothing in the century. The Irish abroad brought or sent home souvenirs from their travels, perhaps Belgian lace or French jabots, contributing to the material culture of the middle-class household. The trade in second-hand clothes and the practical strategies of hand-me-downs within families are also areas for exploration. The expense of children's clothing also made better-off children targets for child-strippers. In British cities, this was particularly associated with Irish emigrant communities or Irish pawnbrokers. Individuals would strip children,

²⁷² Audrey Woods, *Dublin Outsiders: A History of the Mendicity Institution, 1818-1998* (Dublin: A. & A. Farman, 1998), 37-39.

usually between the ages of 2 and 4, of their clothes by force or deception and sell them for profit.²⁷³ In Belfast in 1869 two children were offered gifts and sweets to lure them on to the steps of the Custom House where one was stripped totally naked and the other partially so by a woman.²⁷⁴ The most troubling aspect of this crime was that many times it was an older child who lured younger children away from busy places in order to steal their clothes.²⁷⁵

Children's clothing was determined from a complex negotiation of what was available for purchase, what parents could afford, and what children would agree to. It seems reasonable to argue that parents dressed their children with care and affection, seeking to provide clothes which indicated the child's present and future status within society. Dress and fashion were connected to other habits of polite manners and were characterised as an element of childhood education. The persistent misrecognition of material interests involved in the expenditure on children's clothes, toys, and gifts as emotional exchanges was necessary for the separation of economy from personal life and a hallmark of class distinction.²⁷⁶ Letters like the one from William D'Alton which opened this chapter are a reminder that children had a role in determining their clothes and were aware of the social importance attributed to their appearance. By the mid-nineteenth century the proper costume for children, appropriate for their age and gender, became an integral element of middle-class identity and respectability. The photographing of children was the complementary visual innovation to the commodification of children's goods which blossomed in the 1840s. The story of the Victorian child later in the century was the dissemination of bourgeois standards of childhood on a widening scale as mass consumption brought a greater circulation of the goods and standards associated with a happy childhood. New photographic technology did not rupture earlier constructions of childhood, rather it reified and disseminated them in an era of wider commodification. The construction of bourgeois childhood as

²⁷³ Donald M. Macraill and Frank Neal, "Child-Stripping in the Victorian City," *Urban History* 39, no. 3 (2012): 442.

²⁷⁴ *Belfast Newsletter*, 31 July 1869 as discussed in *Ibid.*, 440.

²⁷⁵ By the 1860s Victorian authorities thought it was not appropriate to punish a juvenile offender in the same way as an adult. Distinctions were made between single and repeat offenders and there was a push towards reformatory schools instead of incarceration. An author in the *Belfast Newsletter* in 1869 argued that society should not treat young criminals in the same way as 'the burglar, the incendiary or the assassin', see *Belfast Newsletter* 31 July 1869.

²⁷⁶ Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, 167.

leisured, healthy, and innocent remained the message; it was simply the form that had changed.

**4 Chapter Four: Schooling Young Gentlewoman:
Girlhood, Education, and the Experience of Boarding
School**

In 1859 an article appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* recording the success of an annual exhibition at the Loreto sisters' convent school in Letterkenny, Donegal. The students' performance took place 'in presence of a crowded assemblage of their parents and friends, and many of the *elite* of Letterkenny, and other parts of Ulster.'¹ Beginning with a procession into the convent's great hall accompanied by Frenchman Daniel Auber's march from *Masienello*, the students gave musical performances, orations in French and English, lectures on the use of globes, and comedic dialogues. On display throughout the hall were examples of pupils' needlework, paintings, and drawings. Bishops, clergymen, and town commissioners were on hand to applaud the work of the Loreto sisters in cultivating, 'manners and graceful modesty of deportment' amongst the young girls.² At the close of the evening, the pupils were awarded prizes for their rankings in examination results. Father McGettigan, presiding over the event, concluded from the performance that, 'when the young ladies of this academy went forth into the world, they would be found able to compete in knowledge and virtue with those of any other similar institution in Ireland.'³ The commentary on the evening's success reflects some of the ways female education was evaluated in popular terms. The variety of subjects offered for instruction, excellence in music and foreign languages, neat attire, and the modest demeanour of the students were all observed with admiration.

By the 1860s, the convent boarding school enjoyed a powerful reputation as a purveyor of girls' education. As the newspaper article suggests, attending a convent school offered an array of social and cultural benefits beyond just a literary education. Rates of tuition alone ensured that attendance at these schools signified family wealth, while social capital accrued through school networks could also benefit marriage prospects. Debates over female education and the convent boarding school offer an excellent example of how ideas of class, femininity and religion interacted with evolving views of childhood. The expansion of educational establishments across the nineteenth century was tied to the growing belief that childhood should be a period of economic dependence. By the end of the century,

¹ 'Loretto Convent Letterkenny' *Freeman's Journal*, 4 August 1859.

² 'Loretto Convent Letterkenny' *Freeman's Journal*, 4 August 1859. There is a distinction drawn between religious sisters who take simple vows of chastity, poverty and obedience, and 'nuns' who take perpetual vows and are enclosed in cloisters. However, nineteenth-century orders developed a 'mixed' institution which combined aspects of contemplative life with active service. As female religious utilised both terms to reference themselves, this chapter will use both designations interchangeably.

³ 'Loretto Convent Letterkenny' *Freeman's Journal*, 4 August 1859.

education was seen as the most suitable occupation for children, although the length and form of appropriate schooling varied widely by gender and class. For working-class families across Britain, girls might have duties within the home from the age of six, with waged labour beginning at the age of twelve or thirteen.⁴ This labour pattern contrasted sharply with expectations for middle-class girls who at the same age, though they might have household duties, would likely still be receiving some form of education, whether at home, through travel abroad, or in a school. For affluent families education was a hallmark of a leisured childhood. As J.H. Plumb observed, from the mid-eighteenth century children were an integral part of parents' social aspirations. 'Society required accomplishment, and accomplishment required expenditure.'⁵ While boys' superior schooling contained a more clear trajectory into the adult world of paid employment, girls' schools offered a less quantifiable set of social skills to enhance prospects in the marriage market, or, if family fortunes required it, employment as a governess or teacher.⁶ The social relationships formed while at school gave these children the ability to become individual actors, forming friendships and social networks, from which their parents could also benefit.⁷

This chapter examines educational provision for middle-class girls and focuses on the conventual schooling model, which gained precedence during this period and continued to dominate models of Catholic Irish female education far into the twentieth century. Childhood within a boarding school was a formative experience. As a provider of education for the middle classes, the convent school intended to impart notions of piety, femininity, and familial duty to girls within a social milieu of bourgeoisie respectability. These ambitions were expressed through a range of curricular and instructional methods. The exclusivity of a convent school education was part of its appeal to middle-class parents, who could be assured that their daughters would be instructed in the skills necessary to become 'young ladies' in a carefully supervised environment, protected from the potentially corrupting

⁴ Eric Hopkins, *Childhood Transformed: Working-Class Children in Nineteenth-Century England* (Manchester University Press, 1994). For an account of boys' employment patterns see Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge Studies in Economic History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁵ Plumb, "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England," 71.

⁶ Superior schooling in the nineteenth-century was defined as any school offering instruction in a foreign language.

⁷ These connections between the social networks of adults and children are highlighted in, Laurie A. Wilkie, *"Never Leave Me Alone": An Archaeological Study of African-American Ethnicity, Race Relations and Community at Oakley Plantation* (University of California, Los Angeles, 1994).

influences of society. The primary sources for this chapter are drawn from the female religious orders which dominated the market for middle-class Catholic education in Ireland between 1800 and 1860: the Dominican, Loreto, and Ursuline orders. The first section of this chapter considers educational provision for Irish girls and the origins of female religious educators in Ireland. The religious, social, and educational background of the leaders of these orders indicates where their ideas of childhood were coming from and how their local and transnational links were instrumental to their institutions' success. The following section considers debates over the purpose of girls' education. Since Catholic writers saw education as training for adulthood, these texts centred on what types of knowledge were suitable to train girls to be future wives and mothers. At the root of these ideas was a construction of the girl as a vain and excitable creature. Her education was intended to curb the supposedly innate character flaws of girlhood. However, historians have focused on the restrictive aspects of female education as a consequence of focusing too narrowly on the prescriptive literature and not assessing the actual day-to-day experience of a conventual school education and the opportunities for empowerment that existed within this admittedly privileged sphere of secondary education. This archival research indicates the possibilities for empowerment offered by a conventual education when set in a context of wider familial and societal pressures. The third part of this chapter considers how institutions actually implemented these ideals. From academic curricula, disciplinary measures, daily schedules, and uniforms, the boarding school experience contained a variety of mechanisms for forming the behaviour of Catholic girls. However, policy does not always result in desired behaviour. Careful attention is paid to those instances when pupils were able to express their own autonomy within the convent. Although, student voices are not always readily apparent in institutional records, disciplinary procedures often indicate the types of behaviours educators were most concerned to control amongst their students.

4.1 Irish Female Education Provisions

For Protestant girls, the convent boarding school was clearly an unsuitable option. Depending on familial resources, the employment of a governess could be one route for Protestant girls to gain an equivalent education in social and academic accomplishments. Not much is known about the role of the governess in Irish

homes, although they made up 10% of the teaching profession in the 1841 census.⁸ According to John Logan, ‘between 1841 and 1861, governesses were members of one of the smallest occupational groups tabulated by the census commissioners, but scarce as they were in 1861...they outnumbered tutors by ten to one.’⁹ The governess was a more ubiquitous presence in English society than in Ireland. A 1:415 ratio of governesses existed in England and Wales, whereas in Ireland the ratio was 1:1,811.¹⁰ Governesses in Ireland were more likely to be found in Protestant homes, with 63% of governesses in 1861 identifying as members of the Church of England.¹¹ Governesses were also more likely to be found in cities, According to Logan, census data from Dublin city and county accounted for 43% of the national total of governesses working in Ireland in 1861.¹² Some families might also employ several different tutors and instructors for each child. For example, the Parsons family residing in Birr Castle had a hired nurse in 1840 to care for an infant, a governess in charge of a five-year-old girl and three boys, aged seven, nine, and eleven, and an additional tutor hired for their fourteen-year-old son.¹³ Home education likely persisted much longer into the nineteenth century than official records might account for. Because education was so closely tied to religious formation, women were likely to work in homes with the same religious identification. Eliza D’Alton, a Dominican sister, expressed anxiety that one of her former pupils from St. Catherine’s Convent, Drogheda was considering a job in a Protestant household after losing her position with a ‘high Catholic family in England.’ The pupil’s Protestant aunt had found her work as a companion which paid £40 a year. However, she would be required to ‘read the bible and join in the Protestant form of prayer, [which would] be a temptation to the poor girl.’ It was ‘against the dictates of her conscience’ to take the position so she turned it down ‘with a heavy heart.’¹⁴

⁸ Deirdre Raftery, “Home Education in Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Role and Status of the Governess,” *Irish Educational Studies* 19, no. 1 (2000), 308.

⁹ John Logan, “Schooling and the Promotion of Literacy in Nineteenth Century Ireland” (PhD, University College Cork, 1992), 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹² *Ibid.*, 27.

¹³ Taken from Randal Parsons, *Reminiscences* (privately printed and undated) in the Birr Castle muniments room, as quoted in, Logan, “Schooling and the Promotion of Literacy in Nineteenth Century Ireland,” 24.

¹⁴ D’Alton Collection, Letters to John D’Alton from his daughter Eliza, at Siena Convent, Drogheda, (1855-65), 20,955(ii), 3 June and 5 June, NLI.

Few records exist which might indicate how girls experienced their education under a governess.¹⁵ It seems likely that the instructional methods and subjects studied would have varied widely, depending on the governess and the preferences of the host family.¹⁶ For example, Elizabeth Smith (1797-1886) noted in her diary how her two daughters were instructed at home in Wicklow: 'Janey has a musick lesson every day Annie every second day -twice a week French -twice a week English -twice a week dancing. Alas, when we see company all this happiness must be forborne, but we owe a duty to society as to other things and in its turn it must be paid and a little intercourse with our acquaintance [sic] is both good for ourselves and for our children.'¹⁷ The reference to interruptions from visitors suggests there was a certain fluidity in home education; this variability in day-to-day scheduling and hours of instruction has sometimes been taken as an indication of a haphazard education. A home education was indeed as variable as the household it took place in, but we cannot automatically suggest that domestic education was less rigorous than attendance at boarding school. Michèle Cohen has argued that a domestic education could in some respects provide girls with greater access to high-status subjects such as Greek and Latin, because they had the freedom to use their parents' libraries.¹⁸ Girls educated at home might also benefit from the tutors and teaching masters employed for their brothers. Dorothea Herbert, growing up in Carrick-on-Suir, wrote in her autobiography about the effect which her brothers had upon the family when they returned from school.¹⁹ Herbert's loquacious childhood reminiscences are filled with details of her extra-curricular activities and relative freedom. They were given some spelling instruction from a clerk called Mr. Wimpe,

¹⁵ John Logan, "Governesses, Tutors and Parents: Domestic Education in Ireland, 1700-1880," *Irish Educational Studies* 7, no. 2 (1988), 1-19; Brendan Walsh, *Knowing Their Place: The Intellectual Life of Women in the 19th Century* (Stroud: The History Press, 2014).

¹⁶ For a look at Mary Wollstonecraft's experience as a governess with an Irish family see, Anne Markey, "The English Governess, Her Wild Irish Pupil, and Her Wandering Daughter: Migration and Maternal Absence in Georgian Children's Fiction," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an Dá Chultúr* 25 (January 2010), 161-76.

¹⁷ Smith, Elizabeth, *The Irish Journals of Elizabeth Smith, 1840-1850*. Thomson, David and McGusty, Moira, eds., (Clarendon Press, Oxford, England, 1980), 4.

¹⁸ Michèle Cohen, "'A Little Learning'?: The Curriculum and the Construction of Gender Difference in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006), 329-330.

¹⁹ Her father, Rev Nicholas was a Rector and the youngest son of Edward Hubert, the wealthy landowners of Mucrus (Muckross), while Grandmother Herbert was a sister to Lord Kenmare. Her maternal grandmother was a Beresford, a half-sister to the Earl of Tyrone and her mother Martha was the youngest surviving daughter of Lord Desert of Co. Kilkenny. She fell in love with a man called John Roe, who slighted her, but whom she forever regarded as her husband. There is an element of mental instability in her writings, drunkenness was frequent. Her tone is quite in contrast to other female autobiographies. See, Sanders, *Records of Girlhood*, 33.

quite possibly a nickname, and he used competitive games to keep them attentive, although to sometimes disastrous effect. ‘Mr Wimpe -the Parish Clerk made us spell for Slaps- but Tom [her brother] having one Day egregiously cut up Fanny. She very deliberately went and hang’d herself in the Garrett -She was however cut down by her more fortunate Competitor and with Proper Care recover’d -It were endless to recount all our prowess.’²⁰ Given the tone of Herbert’s reminiscences it is very hard to judge the level of exaggeration in this incident, but the dramatic stakes of some of their other childhood games suggest it was plausible for a school exercise to be taken as a matter of personal honour.

Frances Power Cobbe (1822-1904), daughter of an Anglo-Irish landlord and later an activist and suffragette, had four governesses in succession in the 1830s. One of them, a Miss Daly, was nicknamed ‘the daily nuisance’ by Cobbe’s brothers.²¹ Another governess, Miss W, was a daughter of a bankrupt Liverpool merchant. Cobbe witnessed her governess sneaking into her room to steal the keys of Cobbe’s private writing desk. The governess was let go shortly after.²² Her fourth governess, a Mdlle Montriou, taught her history, geography, music and dance. Cobbe asserted Montriou was the ‘best part of my instruction.’²³ When she was fourteen, she was enrolled at a ladies school in Brighton, where the annual fees began at £120 pounds, not including extras. For two years of schooling, Cobbe’s parents paid £1,000.²⁴ Demonstrative of the unique monopoly conventual schools held as a purveyor of elite female education, Cobbe’s Protestant boarding school was described by ‘profane persons’ as a convent: ‘if we in any degree resembled nuns, however, it was assuredly not those of either a Contemplative or Silent Order. The din of our large schoolrooms was something frightening.’²⁵ The Brighton school fits the model of a smaller private institution, employing two schoolmistresses, a French, Italian and German teacher, and a considerable staff of servants to care for twenty-five pupils. The girls were daughters of country gentlemen, members of parliament, and offshoots of the peerage.²⁶ This model of school has been discussed by Christina de Bellaigue as typical of English schools for

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe as Told by Herself* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1904), 50.

²² Ibid., 51.

²³ Ibid., 52.

²⁴ Ibid., 57-9.

²⁵ Ibid., 61.

²⁶ Ibid., 63.

girls. There was an emphasis on maintaining a smaller student body in order to mimic the close relationships of family life.²⁷

Early in the nineteenth century, female governesses and teachers were recognised as one of the few professions that middle-class girls might pursue without straying too far from the realm of respectability.²⁸ City directories provide evidence for private academies run by non-religious women and an indication of the short life span of some individual enterprises. For example, Cork City in 1787 had four boarding schools for girls, one run by a pair of sisters, two others by married woman, and one institution run by a single woman, Miss Dowman.²⁹ In 1810, twelve of Cork City's thirty-three schools listed in *West's Directory* were female-run. Two of these boarding schools advertised themselves as founded by French women and presumably specialised in the French language.³⁰ In 1810 there were 33 schools run by individual masters or families, excluding charity and religiously affiliated schools. In addition to these schools, there was a range of individual teachers for hire, offering instruction in foreign languages, dance, mathematics, and drawing. The establishment of the CNEI in 1831 had relatively little effect on the proliferation of private instructors, see Table 4.1.³¹ Cork city had a population of approximately 93,000 in 1861.³² In 1863, there were 15 seminaries for young ladies and 10 day and boarding schools for boys still operating in Cork city. In addition, there were 45 individual teachers advertising their services in *Laing's Professional and Trading Directory*, 1863.³³ The independent schoolmistress was far more prevalent than current Irish historiography would presume; however, the lack of records and the short duration of their operation means we know little else beyond the matter of their existence.

The initiative for the Protestant Alexandra College in Dublin (1866) was to raise the standards for governesses in Ireland and professionalise the female

²⁷ Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

²⁸ Pamela Horn, "The Victorian Governess," *History of Education* 18, no. 4 (1989), 333-44.

²⁹ Richard Lucas, *The Cork Directory for the Year 1787*.

³⁰ *Directory and Picture of Cork and Its Environs* (1810).

³¹ These figures were compiled from a series of Cork city and professional directories. See, Richard Lucas, *The Cork Directory For the Year 1787; Holden's Triennial Directory, Fourth Edition for 1805, 1806, 1807* (London, 1805); West W., *The Cork Directory 1809-1810* (Cork, 1809); *The Commercial Directory of Ireland, Scotland, and the Four Most Northern Counties of England, for 1820-21, 1822 & 1824*. (J. Pigot and Co., 1820); Laing, *Cork Trading and Professional Directory*.

³² "Population Change 1841 - 2002, Cork, All-Island Research Observatory," accessed April 5, 2017, <http://airo.maynoothuniversity.ie/external-content/population-change-1841-2002-cork>.

³³ Laing, *Cork Trading and Professional Directory*.

teaching profession, suggesting that this was indeed a large area of female employment.³⁴ Margaret Byers, founder of the Ladies' Collegiate School, Belfast (1859), later Victoria College (1887), sought to provide an education for girls that would prepare them for their life work as either mothers or teachers.³⁵ Margaret Byers, Anne Jellicoe, and Isabella Tod have been particularly lauded for their roles in campaigning for girls' inclusion in the Intermediate Education Act (1878). These changes are characterised as a predominantly Protestant movement; with Catholic schools a reluctant, if sometimes even hostile, to participate in the expansion of female secondary education.³⁶ This assertion seems to be based on a misunderstanding of what convent schools saw as their primary purpose -religious formation. As Deirdre Raftery has argued, closer attention should be paid to the spiritual impulse of religious orders and their own views of education and its purpose.³⁷ Protestant schools were also founded with the same ambitions for religious instruction and moral reformation. However, their impact on female education for the affluent classes is more apparent after 1860 with the expansion of intermediate education generally and the rise of women's training colleges. The Catholic hierarchy recognized the importance of providing education establishments for those middle-class Catholics who could not afford the highest tier of elite education but were aspiring towards the advantages of a bourgeois education for their children. The convent school was seen as a central institution for ensuring the denominational loyalties of Irish children, providing new vocations to religious life, and moulding Irish girls into 'young ladies.'

Another route to achieving 'feminine polish' was to spend time abroad. The experience of living away from home could be a formative experience for children and was not necessarily tied to any formal educational institution.³⁸ This tended to be a more common trajectory for girls, sent as helpers to aunts or family members

³⁴ Anne V. O'Connor, *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach: Alexandra College and School 1866-1966* (Tallaght, Co. Dublin: Blackwater Press, 1984).

³⁵ Alison Jordan, *Margaret Byers: Pioneer of Women's Education and Founder of Victoria College, Belfast* (Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1991).

³⁶ Judith Harford, "The Movement for the Higher Education of Women in Ireland: Gender Equality or Denominational Rivalry?," *History of Education* 34, no. 5 (2005), 497-516. See also, Deirdre Raftery, Judith Harford, and Susan M. Parkes, "Mapping the Terrain of Female Education in Ireland, 1830-1910," *Gender and Education* 22, no. 5 (2010), 565-78.

³⁷ Raftery presents a revisionist argument that criticises the characterization of female religious as proto-feminists working for female access to education. Although this may have been the result of their work, it was not their primary ambition. See Deirdre Raftery, "The 'Mission' of Nuns in Female Education in Ireland, c.1850-1950," *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 2 (2012), 299-313.

³⁸ Ansell, "Educational Travel in Protestant Families from Post-Restoration Ireland."

with younger children or simply to reap the social benefits of a different social scene. For example, Nannie Power O'Donoghue (1843-1940) was educated at home in Dublin during childhood, gaining knowledge in several modern languages and doing work on the classics. When she was fifteen she was sent to England to live with her aunt Catherine and uncle Reverend Theophilus Carroll at their parsonage in Harrow.³⁹ During her time in their household, Nannie's uncle quizzed her on religious matters and she took Italian lessons from a man in the neighbourhood.⁴⁰ While there was no label of formal education in this situation, the scenario was clearly advantageous to Nannie's feminine polish, if only by virtue of her experiencing life in a different household and expanding her social scene. Her connection to Harrow society eventually led to her marriage to a Dublin doctor, whom she met at a wedding of a mutual friend. This experience of 'living away' was important for many girls, signalling their move towards maturity and adulthood. France was the preferred destination for Catholic girls such as Olivia Maria Taaffe (1832-1918) who went to Paris to finish her education after a series of governesses were employed for her at home. The cosmopolitan credentials gained abroad did not automatically ensure a successful match: she was 37 when she married John Joseph Taaffe of Louth, a large estate owner. Typical for elite Catholic women in the period, Agnes Morrogh Bernard (1842-1932) went to the Laurel Hill Convent in Limerick, before going to Les Dames Anglaises in Paris for her secondary education.⁴¹

4.2 Educating Girls - Debates on the Purpose of Female Education

Irish constructions of girlhood echo many of the concerns present in British, American and French literature depicting an innate girlish desire to seek out vain and frivolous pursuits to the detriment of their familial duties and personal virtue. These concerns were not isolated to Irish Catholic girls, Catholic and Protestant denominations were largely in agreement that female education should prepare girls for their responsibilities as future home-makers and mothers.⁴² Two

³⁹ Her Uncle Carroll was youngest son of Alexander de la Cour Carroll.

⁴⁰ Olga E. Lockley, *Nannie Lambert Power O'Donoghue: A Biography* (Preston: Bee Press, 2001), 23-24.

⁴¹ Frances Clarke, "Bernard, Agnes Morrogh (Mother Mary Arsenius) Morrogh". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009. <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a0625>. Accessed July 2015.

⁴² Brożyna, *Labour, Love and Prayer*.

monographs by Rebecca Rogers and Christina de Bellaigue are noteworthy for their examination of female education in France and England during this period and provide a way to contextualise the Irish story. De Bellaigue considered how the physical locations and premises of girls' schools are evidence of different cultural attitudes, the 'cloistered' convent schools of France imparting a different set of standards to the family homes and parlours in England. De Bellaigue and Rogers look at similar aspects of French schooling, however, de Bellaigue's comparative approach sharpens the national dimensions of bourgeois femininity, suggesting that perceptions of motherhood had a distinctly national and public formulation after the French Revolution. In French convent schools the rhetoric of domesticity quickly broke down into hierarchical and business-like arrangements. Public prize giving, emulation and large classes were just some of the ways in which girls experienced education in a public setting. Irish conventual schools exhibit a similar ambiguity around the performance of femininity. While the valorisation of motherhood and the privacy of the domestic sphere were consistent tropes, there was a tension between the message and the messenger. Nuns lived in female communities for the most part under their own authority. Boarding schools, particularly more elite institutions, had considerable financial and social resources for maintaining their independence from church hierarchy. A close reading of these schools suggests that the dismissal of female education as superficial and ornamental does not appreciate the wider social and cultural advantages offered by these institutions.

As Mary O'Dowd has argued, at the end of the eighteenth century Enlightenment debates over how female education should be constituted declined, as there was a corresponding increase in the number of women educated.⁴³ O'Dowd claimed that for women like Caroline Hamilton and Mary Tighe, born during the 1770s, education was becoming the norm and not the exception for upper-class women. The increase in literacy among the Irish generally during the first four decades of the nineteenth century is indeed remarkable, as Niall Ó Ciosáin's work on literacy figures has suggested. According to Ó Ciosáin, 47 percent of the population over the age of five in Ireland could read in 1841. Of this literate group approximately 44 percent were women.⁴⁴ The radical effect of this expansion of education and literacy has been widely debated, and among historians of women

⁴³ Meaney, O'Dowd, and Whelan, *Reading the Irishwoman*, 54–56.

⁴⁴ Niall Ó Ciosáin, *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750–1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997), 31–32.

this widened access to education has been discussed with both approval and suspicion in equal measure. Progressive narratives depict the second half of the nineteenth century as a period of significant change, when state support for female schools and colleges saw a corresponding rise in female access to higher education, pursuit of the professions, and political engagement. At the same time, female education during the nineteenth century was admittedly and purposefully differentiated from the purpose and prestige of male education, focused at least rhetorically if not actually, on the idealization of the domestic feminine world of wife and mother.⁴⁵ Since the inauguration of feminist history there has been a persistent tension between the progressive narrative of widening access and enfranchisement against a cultural critique of the narrowed content, quality and purpose of female education.

Historian Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh termed the expansion of female secondary education at the beginning of the twentieth century ‘a quiet revolution’, but also observed that the females who benefitted from better access to higher education were those who already had considerable financial resources at their disposal. Upon entering university and staking a claim to professions which matched their educational qualifications, these women did little to change the structure of society.⁴⁶ Her analysis problematizes the more dominant historiographical narrative of female education, which has tended towards a teleological and ‘whiggish’ interpretation of nineteenth-century educational expansion. In Ireland, the focus on pioneering individuals and institutions characterized the provision of secondary schooling for girls as a predominantly Protestant movement, with Catholic schools a reluctant, if sometimes even hostile, participant. These studies skimmed lightly over the role that convent schools played in providing education for privileged or elite Irish women since at least the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ One reason for this elision may be because the type of religious education on offer at convent schools does not easily fit within feminist criteria for what constitutes an empowering education.

⁴⁵ Bellaigue, *Educating Women*; Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: NYU Press, 1995); Rebecca Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2005).

⁴⁶ Margaret Ó hÓgartaigh, “A Quiet Revolution: Women and Second-Level Education in Ireland, 1878–1930,” *New Hibernia Review* 13, no. 2 (2009), 51.

⁴⁷ A notable exception being, Gerardine Meaney, Mary O’Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan, *Reading the Irish Woman: Studies in Cultural Encounters and Exchange, 1714–1960* (Liverpool University Press, 2013).

Early critics derided the shortcomings of an education that emphasised needlework, domestic science, and feminine accomplishments, while lacking the rigour and status of male education.⁴⁸ This criticism was not unique to Ireland and has been echoed in the historiographies of American, British and Western female educational narratives generally.⁴⁹

It seems likely that this derisive view of female education has roots that are much older than second-wave feminism. Cohen argued that the emergence of gendered hierarchies of subject knowledge was a product of eighteenth-century writers who constructed a particular version of femininity and then designed a curriculum to augment its development. Feminine education proclaimed to cover a wide variety of topics, providing little in the depth knowledge and much in the way of variety.⁵⁰ By the nineteenth century the curriculum was no longer just a way of forming feminine intellect, it was a programme designed to meet a female need. According to Cohen, ‘superficiality was no longer just a characteristic of the female curriculum, it had become the defining feature of female intelligence.’⁵¹ The main contention about the superficiality of this education focused on its accomplishments, broadly classified as drawing, dancing, painting, musical performance, and *belles-lettres*. At the start of the century, Maria Edgeworth espoused the view that accomplishments were a necessary aspect of female education:

Some accomplishments have another species of value, as they are tickets of admission to fashionable company. Accomplishments have another, and a higher species of value, as they are supposed to increase a young lady’s chance of a prize in the matrimonial lottery. Accomplishments have also a value as resources against ennui, as they afford continual amusement and innocent occupation. This is ostensibly their chief praise; it deserves to be considered with respect.⁵²

⁴⁸ Mary Cullen, ed., *Girls Don’t Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Dublin: Women’s Education Bureau, 1987), 1-6.

⁴⁹ Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900* (New York; London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2012); Felicity Hunt ed. *Lessons for Life. The Schooling of Women and Girls* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 3-21; Stephanie Spencer, ‘Advice and Ambition in a Girls’ Public Day School: The Case of Sutton High School, 1884–1924,’ *Women’s History Review*, 9:1 (2000), 75-94; Christine Skelton and Becky Francis, *Feminism and the Schooling Scandal* (Routledge, 2009); Cornelius H. Riordan, *Girls and Boys in School: Together and Separate?* (Columbia University, 1990); Jennifer C. Madigan, ‘The Education of Girls and Women in the United States: A Historical Perspective,’ *Advances in Gender and Education*, 1 (2009), 11-13.

⁵⁰ Michèle Cohen, ‘“A Little Learning”? The Curriculum and the Construction of Gender Difference in the Long Eighteenth Century,’ *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (2006), 329–330.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 330.

⁵² Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London: J. Johnson by J. Crowder, 1801).

Edgeworth suggests the variety of ways accomplishments might be useful. Their public exhibition was a means of accessing fashionable society and increasing marriageability, while as an interiorised skill they could be a source of intellectual development and guard against idleness and boredom. By the 1860s, this view of accomplishments had been largely eroded. Accomplishments had become synonymous with vain exhibitionism, superfluous amusement, and a grinding bore for the girls forced to endure lessons in them.

That trope has its roots in the late nineteenth century when female activists, such as Frances Power Cobbe, criticised their own education as a 'failure'. Cobbe described her education in less than glowing terms, stating 'the waste of money involved in all this, the piles of useless music, and songs never to be sung, for which our parents had to pay, and the loss of priceless time for ourselves, were truly deplorable; and the result of course in many cases (as in my own) complete failure.'⁵³ We should perhaps be slightly hesitant in taking this criticism at face value. Cobbe herself managed a fairly successful career as an author and intellectual, supporting herself independently and benefitting from her family's legacy. The deficiencies in schooling she highlights towards the end of her life are likely connected to her political outlook in adulthood and discounts the privilege and position that she assumed as the daughter of an Anglo-Irish landlord. Cobbe's years of instruction under the guidance of at-home governesses, access to her father's substantial library, and attendance at Brighton Academy for the lavish sum of £1,000, indicate an ability to enter an elite social world, a characteristic which would benefit her career in later life and provide her with the contacts and networks to capitalize on effectively, however 'superficial' these links appeared to her in retrospect.⁵⁴ To those that would suggest that Cobbe was an exceptional woman capable of overcoming her poor education, the obvious evidence of generations of mothers, aunts, and daughters attending the same elite schools suggests that there had to be very real benefits and advantages in cultivating these kinds of social connections.

One of the reasons why the accomplishments have had such a poor assessment from historians is partially because of a dichotomy drawn between female and male education which seems problematic at best. To date, studies of female education have focused on the disparity between male and female education,

⁵³ Frances Power Cobbe and Blanche Atkinson, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe as Told by Herself* (S. Sonnenschein & Company, lim., 1904), 64.

⁵⁴ Sanders, *Records of Girlhood*, 191.

criticising feminine education as lacking rigour, denying access to high-prestige subjects, and ‘merely’ preparing women for their role as wife and mother. This may well be a legitimate criticism, but to focus exclusively on the disempowering effects of official curriculum may obscure other socialising aspects of the schooling experience. According to Deborah Graham, ‘a girl’s education was designed to prepare her to develop the appropriate refinement and in the inner strength that would allow her to serve as a manager and as a moral guardian of her future home.’⁵⁵ This more inclusive description of the moral and intellectual disposition associated with respectability has its equivalent in masculine discourses of virtue. As the following chapter will illustrate, boys were also expected to have a set of social accomplishments to aid them in society as well. Girls did not have a monopoly on the subjects of music, dance, *belles lettres*, or conversation, as these were measures of gentility for males and females. Rules of politeness for both sexes relied on conversational tact and deference in interactions with others. While there were indeed real differences in male and female education, adopting a holistic view of family, home and school as suggested in chapter two, suggests a parallel agenda for socialisation in middle-class institutions to a greater extent than has been previously recognised.

The seventeenth-century text *Instructions for the education of a Daughter*, written by Archbishop François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, was popular amongst Catholic educators throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His treatise on girls’ education, first published in 1687, went through several English editions in the eighteenth century. It was first published in Dublin by P. Wilson in 1753 and appeared in pamphlet form alongside Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* in 1788, and was reprinted again by the Catholic Truth Society in 1841.⁵⁶ The text was liberal for its time in recognizing the need for an individualized programme of education for students, and allowing

⁵⁵ Deborah Gorham, “The Ideology of Femininity and Reading for Girls, 1850–1914,” in *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850–1950*, ed. Felicity Hunt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 45.

⁵⁶ François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter: By M. Fénelon, the Author of Telemachus; to Which Is Added, a Small Tract of Instructions for the Conduct of Young Ladies of the Highest Rank; with Suitable Devotions Annexed* (Dublin: P. Wilson, J. Exshaw, and M. Williamson, 1753); Wollstonecraft, *Mrs. Wollstonecraft’s Thoughts on the Education of Daughters. With Reflections on Female Conduct, in the More Important Duties of Life. To Which Is Added Fenelon [Sic] Archbishop of Cambray’s Instructions to a Governess, and an Address to Mothers*. François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *The Education of Daughters* (Dublin: Richard Grace, 1841).

pupils to come to knowledge gradually, rather than through forced memorization or the use of corporal punishment. Fénelon's stance on female education was based on the recognition that girls would eventually have 'a husband to keep happy, and children to educate well.'⁵⁷ Fénelon accorded great importance to a woman's role within the home and her ability to cultivate good by raising virtuous children. However, the attributes of an ideal wife and mother were not innate. Fénelon argued that young girls were prone towards idleness and vanity, traits which were even more apparent among the upper classes.⁵⁸ He stated, 'this languor and idleness, joined to ignorance, gives rise to pernicious sensibility, and a desire for public amusements. It also excites an indiscreet and insatiable curiosity.'⁵⁹ This curiosity was made more dangerous by girls' innate vanity and desire to please.⁶⁰ Without a proper education, Fénelon believed that girls' minds would form around whatever was most exciting and pleasing, creating serious detriment to a moral and virtuous life. Education was seen as a preventive measure, a necessary way to mitigate natural feminine tendencies towards frivolity and excitement. The construction of the child mind as an entity feverishly seeking new and exciting forms of stimulation added impetus to the need for education to create habits of regularity and discipline. The Ursulines' observed that 'children's minds must be occupied, and when once they are taken up in the safe and rational pursuit of useful knowledge, all their thoughts and views will rest therein, -whereas if the contrary be the case, it is to be feared they will seek occupation for themselves, and contract a habit of indulging their natural propensity to idleness and talk.'⁶¹ The point of education from this perspective was to fill the child's day with activities which, if not immediately beneficial, were at least innocuous. The content of an academic education was less important than its formalised structure, whereby girls would learn discipline, responsibility and regularity.

A point reiterated repeatedly in Fénelon's text was the detrimental effects of vanity, which were apparent in girls' inordinate preoccupation with their appearance and dress, but also a considerable defect of their intellectual endeavours. An Ursuline teaching manual, translated from the French in 1817, quoted Fénelon

⁵⁷ Fénelon, *The Education of Daughters*, 1841, 9.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11--12.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 12--13.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁶¹ *Directory, for Novices of Every Religious Order; Particularly Those Devoted to the Instruction of Youth. Translated from the French* (Cork, W. Ferguson, 1817), 106.

in order to warn teachers about the dangers of female emulation which might corrupt rational study into merely superficial accomplishment:

Take care however that in inspiring them with a relish for all that is rational in studious pursuits, you endeavour at the same time to teach them to despise and avoid that foolish vanity, ostentation, and pedantry which is too often the consequence of learning in ladies, who, as Fenelon observes, 'are not less prone to be vain of mental acquirements than of exterior attractions, and often read as well as dress through vanity.'⁶²

The way to avoid this vanity was to ensure that pupils were aware of the ultimate purpose of their intellectual pursuits. Teachers were expected to 'shew [sic] them that cultivating their understandings and improving their memories are noble and laudable pursuits; because the understanding is capable of knowing God, and memory was given to man to record the infinite mercies of his Creator.'⁶³ Methods of instruction which only facilitated superficial memorization were thought to be particularly corrupting for girls who, because of their desire to please, would acquire knowledge, but with no basis for understanding. Reports of pupils' academic performances were anxious to emphasize that the 'entertaining exhibition was not merely a display of words; 'for the theory, which the young ladies understood so well, was reduced to practice by instructive and amusing experiments.'⁶⁴ The Ursulines were defending themselves against the belief that these kinds of exhibitions were preparing girls for a lifestyle of display and performance within or outside of the home. Hannah More lamented in the late eighteenth century that when women announced they would spend the evening 'at home', this did not mean enjoying the simple pleasures of the fireside, but instead it was an occasion for visiting and hosting fashionable company.⁶⁵ The ideal outcome of female education was the training of a virtuous, rational, and devoted wife and mother; academic achievements were the means for moulding moral character, not the ends.

Popular representations of a boarding-school girl with showy accomplishments and a predatory approach to the marriage markets was part of

⁶² Ibid., 106-07.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ 'The Ursuline Convent School, Thurles', *Freeman's Journal*, Wednesday, August 6, 1862.

⁶⁵ Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 68-70.

popular culture and subject to lampooning. Much of Jane Austen's literature reflects on these stereotypes of superficial feminine education and its detrimental effects on women seeking a fulfilling marriage.⁶⁶ Rev. James Hall, a Anglican minister touring Ireland in 1807 remarked after dining with the Carlow militia officers that, 'had a young rich English widow, or a boarding-school miss, on the lookout for a husband, been in my situation, on this occasion, I have no doubt but that several in the company would have appeared to them men of excellent talents.'⁶⁷ He subsequently snidely remarked that after many bumpers of whiskey, the men's conversation was a performance of 'elegant nonsense.'⁶⁸ When the topic of marriage was raised, the officers expressed that marriage was what ladies sought and men avoided. Hall was of the opinion that the inept officers of Carlow would make good matches for the boarding-school miss who had no practical skills but sought the empty pleasures of conversation and sociability.

For all the worry of the potential corruption of Irish Catholic girls, there was a concurrent discourse which stressed that Irish girls were among the purest and most virtuous in the world, especially in comparison to their Protestant counterparts. In an interview with Alexis de Tocqueville, Monsignor Kinseley, bishop of Kilkenny, told Tocqueville that the Irish peasantry's morals were pure, stating 'twenty years in the confessional have made me aware that the misconduct of girls is very rare, and that of married women almost unknown.'⁶⁹ The bishop declared that their sense of morality was extremely high. 'I am sure that there are not twenty illegitimate children a year in the whole Catholic population of Kilkenny, which amounts to 26,000 souls. Suicide is unknown.'⁷⁰ Catholic writers singled out girls from upper-class families for the potential role they might play in disseminating the Catholic faith. Dr Coppinger, bishop of Cloyne and Ross, described 'where piety in a poor woman shall edify her own house, piety in a rich woman shall edify the houses of hundreds. We need but consider the great influence of the sex, to be convinced, that judicious education of the genteeler [sic] class of

⁶⁶ Katie Halsey, "The Home Education of Girls in the Eighteenth-Century Novel: 'the Pernicious Effects of an Improper Education,'" *Oxford Review of Education* 41, no. 4 (2015), 430–46.

⁶⁷ Rev James Hall, *Tour through Ireland, Particularly the Interior and Least Known Parts; ... With Reflections ... on the Union, ... the ... Advantages of a Telegraphic Communication Between the Two Countries, etc.* (London: RP Moore, etc, 1813), 231.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Tocqueville, *Alexis de Tocqueville's Journey in Ireland*, 64.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

female is highly interesting to the world.’⁷¹ Father O’Kane, parish priest in Omagh, delivering a speech at a public prize day in a Loreto school, described the role a convent education would play in transforming the natural inclinations of young girls. He reminded graduating pupils of their responsibility to represent to society the spiritual and intellectual values of a conventual education when they returned to their childhood homes:

If they discover that after all the time you have spent in the convent, after all the expenditure in your regard, after all the earnest hopes of your parents’ hearts, you return the same vain, frivolous, thoughtless, heartless, heedless, creature, what advantage, they will exclaim, does all this boasted superiority of conventual education bestow?⁷²

The convent school was meant to inculcate the skills and virtues necessary for domesticity, and to mould Irish girls into women capable of exerting a positive moral influence within their familial circle. The next section will examine how student experiences of boarding school aligned with these goals and consider in what ways a conventual education served to distinguish a convent schoolgirl from her peers.

4.3 Irish Catholic Educational Models

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Archbishops of Dublin, John Troy and Daniel Murray were active in promoting the foundation of religious orders that would cater specifically for the education of youth. As part of a broader reorganization of the Irish church, Troy, and after him Murray, were involved in the establishment of the Christian Brothers (1802), the Sisters of Charity (1815), IBVM Loreto Sisters (1822), the Sisters of Mercy (1831), and the Irish Vincentian Fathers (1832). While some of these focused on the provision of free education for the poor, Murray noted the acute need for educational establishments for the ‘better classes’ of Catholics in Ireland. Previously, the penal laws had been an impetus for wealthy Catholics to send their children abroad for an education. Founded in 1717, the Dominican community at Channel Row, Dublin, was the only female boarding school in Dublin to stay open throughout the era of the penal laws, but enrolment

⁷¹ William Coppinger, *The Life of Miss Nano Nagle as Sketched by the Right Rev. Dr. Coppinger in a Funeral Sermon Preached by Him in Cork, on the Anniversary of Her Death* (Cork: James Haly, 1794), 21.

⁷² ‘Loretto Convent, Omagh’, *Freeman's Journal*, August 13, 1863

rarely rose above fifteen students. Boarders in the school were often nieces of the nuns themselves or members of Anglo-Norman gentry families.⁷³ As the prospect of Catholic emancipation gathered momentum, Murray took advantage of the opportunity to cultivate educational provisions for Irish children on Irish soil.

With the rise of women's history, female religious orders have been increasingly recognized for their innovations in educational provision during the nineteenth century. Through philanthropic programmes in schools, hospitals, and asylums, nuns established and disseminated religious rituals and practises now associated with the 'devotional revolution.'⁷⁴ The steady growth of Catholic convent schools across Ireland was accompanied by a significant expansion in female religious orders. In 1801 there were 120 nuns in Ireland, by 1851 there were 1,500, and by 1901 there were around 8,000.⁷⁵ This was accompanied by a growing diversity of orders and establishments. In 1800 there were 12 convents and 4 orders of female religious orders in Ireland, by 1900 there were 368 convents and 35 different orders.⁷⁶ These trends accelerated in the second half of the century, from 1851 to 1861 there was a 68 percent increase in nuns.⁷⁷ The influence of this expansion on female education was recorded in the 1861 census. According to census data, of the 8,064 Irish girls receiving some form of superior education, approximately 2,430 of them were enrolled in a convent school.⁷⁸ The growth of female religious communities was a phenomenon throughout Western Europe, associated with a 'feminization' of religion and a devotion-based spirituality. In France, over 400 congregations were founded and approximately 200,000 women professed vocations. French orders also dominated female secondary education: in 1864, they ran two-thirds of all female boarding schools in France.⁷⁹ In England,

⁷³ Máire M. Kealy, *From Channel Row to Cabra, Dominican Nuns and Their Times 1717-1820* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2010), 31–38.

⁷⁴ Emmet Larkin's oft-quoted term for the changes in nineteenth-century religious practise, including higher mass attendance, devotional prayers, and authority of the clergy. See Emmet Larkin, "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75," *The American Historical Review* 77, no. 3 (1972), 625–652, and *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006).

⁷⁵ Tony Fahey, "Nuns in the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," in *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Mary Cullen (Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987), 7.

⁷⁶ Caitriona Clear, *Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987), 36.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

⁷⁸ From the Census of Ireland for the year 1861, quoted in O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence: Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900*, 2014.

⁷⁹ Claude Langlois, *Le Catholicisme au féminin: les congrégations françaises à supérieure générale au XIXe siècle* (Les éditions du Cerf, 1984); Susan O'Brien, "French Nuns in Nineteenth-Century England," *Past & Present*, no. 154 (1997), 142–80.

substantial expansion began post-1840. With just 20 convents in 1840, by 1900 there were more than 500.⁸⁰ Scotland's female religious population grew most rapidly during the 1850s and 1860s, largely due to an influx of Irish immigrants.⁸¹

The historiography of religious women has explored the degree of autonomy female communities attained within the societal strictures of the period and a male-dominated church hierarchy. Historians Clear and Magray have challenged the idea that convents were formed as autonomous female communities carving out a proto-feminist role in society as professional philanthropists.⁸² Sarah Mulhall Adelman argued that although American female religious communities sustained a political culture of female self-governance, with an emphasis on egalitarian relations, strict self-imposed hierarchies of class and seniority ensured that leadership positions remained in the hands of a few elite.⁸³ Carly Kehoe's analysis of female religious in Scotland positions nuns at the interface between church hierarchy and the laity. The communities' work as teachers, nurses and philanthropists provided the networks for expanding devotionism and Catholic social services.⁸⁴ The growth of professed women during the nineteenth century is remarkable, but female religious communities were not. Take for example the transnational pattern of education for the Catholic elite families of England, Ireland, and Scotland. From the 1590s onwards, the sons (and later daughters) of these families were to be found patronizing Catholic convents and boarding schools across northern France, the Spanish Netherlands, as well as in central Europe.⁸⁵ During the eighteenth century the intensification of anti-Catholic policies

⁸⁰ O'Brien, "French Nuns in Nineteenth-Century England," 154.

⁸¹ S. K. Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

⁸² Mary Peckham Magray, *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Clear, *Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*.

⁸³ Sarah Mulhall Adelman, "Empowerment and Submission: The Political Culture of Catholic Women's Religious Communities in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Women's History* 23, no. 3 (2011), 138-61.

⁸⁴ Kehoe, *Creating a Scottish Church*.

⁸⁵ For scholarship on the early modern period see, David Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish Emigrants and Exiles in Europe: 1603 - 1688*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005). For the eighteenth century, see Maurice Whitehead, *English Jesuit Education: Expulsion, Suppression, Survival and Restoration, 1762-1803*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013); Tom McNally, *The Sixth Scottish University: the Scots Colleges Abroad: 1575 to 1799*, (Leiden: Brill, 2012). For a more general picture, see C. Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1550-1800' in J. Barry and C. Brooks (eds), *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1994), 78-81.

reinforced this movement of Catholic children abroad, these elite institutions were often attached to seminaries and offered schooling to Irish boys and girls.⁸⁶

This transnational exchange of students and teachers in and out of Ireland has been recognised by Anne V. O'Connor in her work on Irish female education. She suggested that the two main influences on girls' education in Ireland were English utilitarianism and the pedagogy of French teaching orders.⁸⁷ The influence of French orders on Catholic education can hardly be disputed. Out of sixty-two Irish convent boarding schools founded during the nineteenth century, only six were run by Irish religious orders.⁸⁸ The dominant European orders in the first half of the century being the Dominicans (1644) the Ursulines (1771), the Loreto Order (1822), the Sacred Heart (1842); the Faithful Companions of Jesus (1844); St. Louis (1859); St. Joseph of Cluny (1860); La Sainte Union des Sacres Coeurs (1862). However, the degree to which the congregations retained a particular continental ethos is a matter for closer consideration, since Irish women often constituted the bulk of the order's leadership and new recruits. Ciaran O'Neill has characterized Catholic convent schools as transnational institutions with a steady inward and outward flow of Irish students to English and continental convents and vice versa.⁸⁹ Irish convents may have chosen to emphasise their cosmopolitanism, since one of the distinctions of conventual education in Ireland was the 'continental tint' among students and teachers, a characteristic which was encouraged and advertised as a significant advantage.⁹⁰ According to Tony Fahey, this French polish contributed to the view of Irish nuns as 'paragons of bourgeois femininity.'⁹¹ Irish nuns' esteemed reputation as educators was cited by Maura Cronin who observed that as late as the 1950s a conventual education was seen enhancing the status of the whole family.⁹²

⁸⁶ Used with the permission of the author, Ciaran O'Neill, 'Education, Cosmopolitan Cultural Capital, and European Elites in the Nineteenth Century', Draft Paper, 2017.

⁸⁷ Anne V. O'Connor, "Influences Affecting Girls' Secondary Education in Ireland, 1860-1910," *Archivium Hibernicum* 41 (1986), 90. Deirdre Raftery also comments on the legacy of French educational ideology in secondary schools after introduction of the Intermediate Education Act, see, Deirdre Raftery, "The Academic Formation of the Fin De Siecle Female: Schooling for Girls in Late Nineteenth Century Ireland," *Irish Educational Studies* 20, no. 1 (2001), 321-34.

⁸⁸ O'Connor, "Influences Affecting Girls' Secondary Education in Ireland, 1860-1910," 85-86.

⁸⁹ O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900*, 2014, 241. For an account of Irish nuns in English convents see, Barbara Walsh, *Roman Catholic Nuns in England and Wales, 1800-1937: A Social History* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002), 137-50

⁹⁰ Ibid., 232. O'Brien observes a similar emphasis on Frenchness in English convent schools, see, O'Brien, "French Nuns in Nineteenth-Century England," 179.

⁹¹ Fahey, "Nuns in the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century," 7.

⁹² Maura Cronin, "You'd Be Disgraced!" Middle-Class Women and Respectability in Post-Famine Ireland," in *Politics, Society and the Middle Class in Modern Ireland*, ed. Fintan Lane (Basingstoke:

The cohort of women involved in the foundation of convent schools in the nineteenth century came from a shared set of religious, educational and class backgrounds; in some cases they were close friends. Charting these female networks improves our understanding of how convent schools drew on continental educational traditions as well as highly localized kin networks to create an educational experience which was cosmopolitan in its content but local in its form. Raughter argued that Irish women at the forefront of educational initiatives were ‘the leisured, the affluent and the genteel.’⁹³ A sample of female religious women, drawn from the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, demonstrates the predominately middle- to upper-class composition of the leaders of female religious orders. Of the thirty-seven women recognized as leaders of religious communities, twenty-seven entries contain data about their fathers’ occupation; 58 percent came from successful merchant backgrounds; 18.5 percent were from landed families; and 11 percent were from artisan backgrounds. Other occupations represented were farming and the military. One had a father who was a poet.⁹⁴ Caitriona Clear’s study has highlighted the importance of kin connections in patterns of professions.⁹⁵ In the Ursuline Convent Thurles, twenty females entered the noviciate between 1784 and 1816. Of those that made a final profession, 50% had a biological sister residing within the community.⁹⁶

Female philanthropists utilised a well-connected network of female patrons and helpers. Nano Nagle, who brought the Ursuline order to Cork, was supported by the Catholic gentry including the Coppinger family, Lady Fingal, the Corballis

Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 115. Interestingly, a convent education was also associated with Irishness, as in the bigamy case of Theresa Longford who was English, educated at a French Convent school, but embraced by the Irish press as a representation of Catholic femininity seduced by an English rake, see Rebecca Gill, “The Imperial Anxieties of a Nineteenth-Century Bigamy Case,” *History Workshop Journal* 57, no. 1 (2004) 58–78.

⁹³ Rosemary Raughter, “Pious Occupations: Female Activism and the Catholic Revival in Eighteenth-Century Ireland,” in *Religious Women and Their History: Breaking the Silence*, ed. Rosemary Raughter (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005), 33.

⁹⁴ Fourteen women out of a sample of twenty-seven were from merchant or professional families, five women came from landed families and three from artisan backgrounds. Mary MacCarthy (Mother Mary Stanislaus) father was a poet. MacCarthy was founder and Mother Superior of the Dominican School on Eccles St. See J. I. McGuire and James Quinn, eds., *Dictionary of Irish Biography: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2002* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

⁹⁵ Clear, *Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*.

⁹⁶ Two women left the profession as a result of ill health. Out of the remaining 18 women, 9 had sisters within the community, they were three Luby sisters, two Mullally sisters from Mullinahone, two Meagher sisters from Toom and two Kirwans from Thurles. Drawn from Mercedes Lillis, *Two Hundred Years Agrowing: The Story of the Ursulines in Thurles 1787-1987* (Thurles: The author, 1987).

Family and her uncle Joseph Nagle, a lawyer and one of the wealthiest Catholics in Cork.⁹⁷ Máire Kealy observed a similar reliance on kin networks in Dominican communities. The importance of familial relationships and connections were important to politics within the order and engagement with church hierarchy. For example, the Maher family had an aunt, niece, and grand-niece in the Dominican order and were related to Cardinal Cullen. Their connections also extended to Cardinal Moran in Sydney, Australia.⁹⁸ Frances Ball, founder of the Loreto order in Ireland, was one of six Ball siblings, all of whom became involved in aspects of Catholic social action in their adult lives.⁹⁹ Her eldest sister Cecilia (1784-?) was sent to school at the Ursuline convent, Cork, where she professed a vocation and eventually became Mother Superior. When the family travelled to the Ursuline convent to witness Cecilia's profession, Anna Maria Ball formed a friendship with Mary Aikenhead, founder of the Sisters of Charity. The meeting would lead to a lifelong connection between Anna Maria and the Sisters of Charity.¹⁰⁰ After the social unrest following the 1798 rebellion, it was decided that the journey from Dublin to Cork, which took 22 hours, was not safe for the younger Ball daughters to attempt.¹⁰¹ In 1800, the Ball parents took three of their children to Catholic schools in England. Nicolas, age 9, began his studies at Stonyhurst, a Jesuit college in Lancashire. Anna Maria, age 15, and her sister Isabella, were enrolled at St. Mary's Convent in York, a congregation of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In 1803, nine-year-old Frances was also enrolled at the school.¹⁰² She remained at York for five years following a programme of studies set out by founder Mary Ward in the sixteenth century. Adapted from the Jesuit's *Ratio Studiorum*, the curriculum included instruction in theology, Latin, French, Spanish and music. French was the language of the school and spoken familiarly by pupils

⁹⁷ Raughter, "Pious Occupations: Female Activism and the Catholic Revival in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," 31–32.

⁹⁸ Máire M. Kealy, *Dominican Education in Ireland, 1820–1930* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007), 167–68.

⁹⁹ Her father was a member of the Catholic Committee and represented the parish of St. Nicolas in the Catholic Convention of 1792. Her brother Nicholas Ball (1791–1865), became a lawyer and politician supporting the campaign for Catholic Emancipation. See McGuire and Quinn, *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

¹⁰⁰ Martin McElroy. "O'Brien (nee Ball), Anna Maria". In McGuire and Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*.

(ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹⁰¹ Frances Mary Teresa Ball, *Joyful Mother of Children: Mother Frances Mary Teresa Ball* (Dublin: Gill, 1961), 13.

¹⁰² Mary Aikenhead also attended St. Mary's convent, York at the same time as the Ball daughters. *Ibid.*, 23.

and teachers. An influx of French nuns and refugees in the aftermath of the Revolution increased the cosmopolitan composition of the community.¹⁰³ This type of curriculum would influence Ball when she established her own teaching practises for Loreto schools.

During Ball's lifetime, fourteen Loreto schools were established in Ireland and an additional six communities were instituted in India, Mauritius, Gibraltar, Canada, Cadiz and Manchester. Rathfarnham convent, Dublin, was the spiritual centre of these far-flung missions and Ball's extensive correspondence networks reflected her desire to maintain a unified educational ethos by encouraging Loreto communities across the world to utilize similar pedagogy, discipline and academic procedures.¹⁰⁴ The first Ursuline convent was established in Cork in 1771, with early expansion to Thurles (1787), and Waterford (1816). Dominican boarding schools began to increase in the 1830s, with four schools established in the Dublin area by 1843. Figure 4.1 illustrates the location of the new schools, with the greatest period of new foundations in the 1840s period. Twelve schools were founded during this decade despite the severe social and economic effects of the famine. The next section of this chapter considers the cultural discourses which formed the imperative for girls' education, and examines what ambitions these institutions held for the girls under their care.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 27.

¹⁰⁴ Her personal correspondence is available at the Loreto Central & Irish Province Archives, Dublin. Hereafter LCIPA.

Table 4.1 Privately operated schools in Cork City, 1787-1863. Source: Compiled by author.

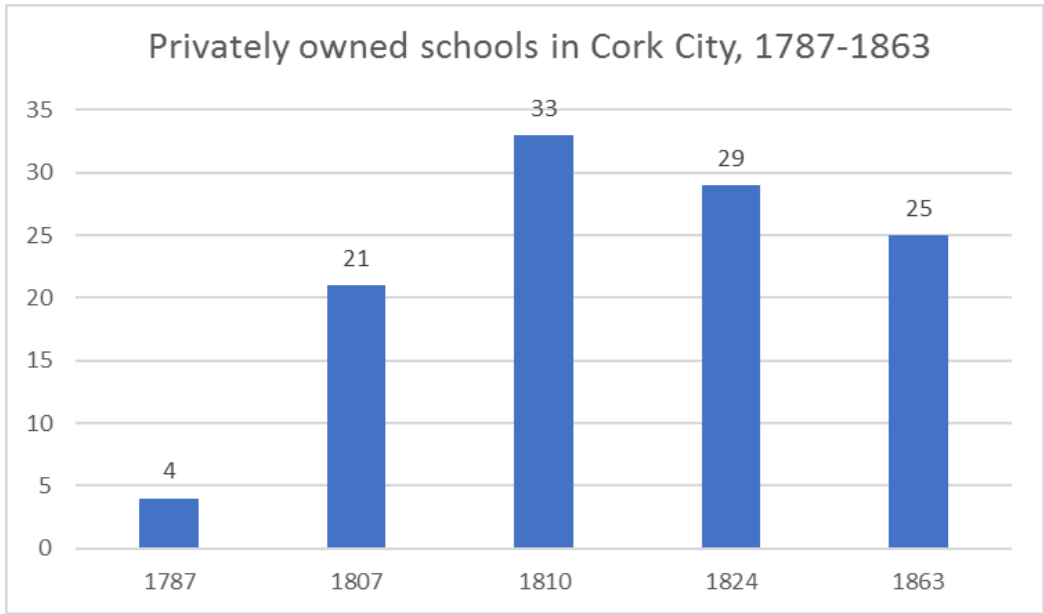


Figure 4.1 Dominican, Loreto And Ursuline Convents in Ireland 1800-1860. Source: Compiled by author.

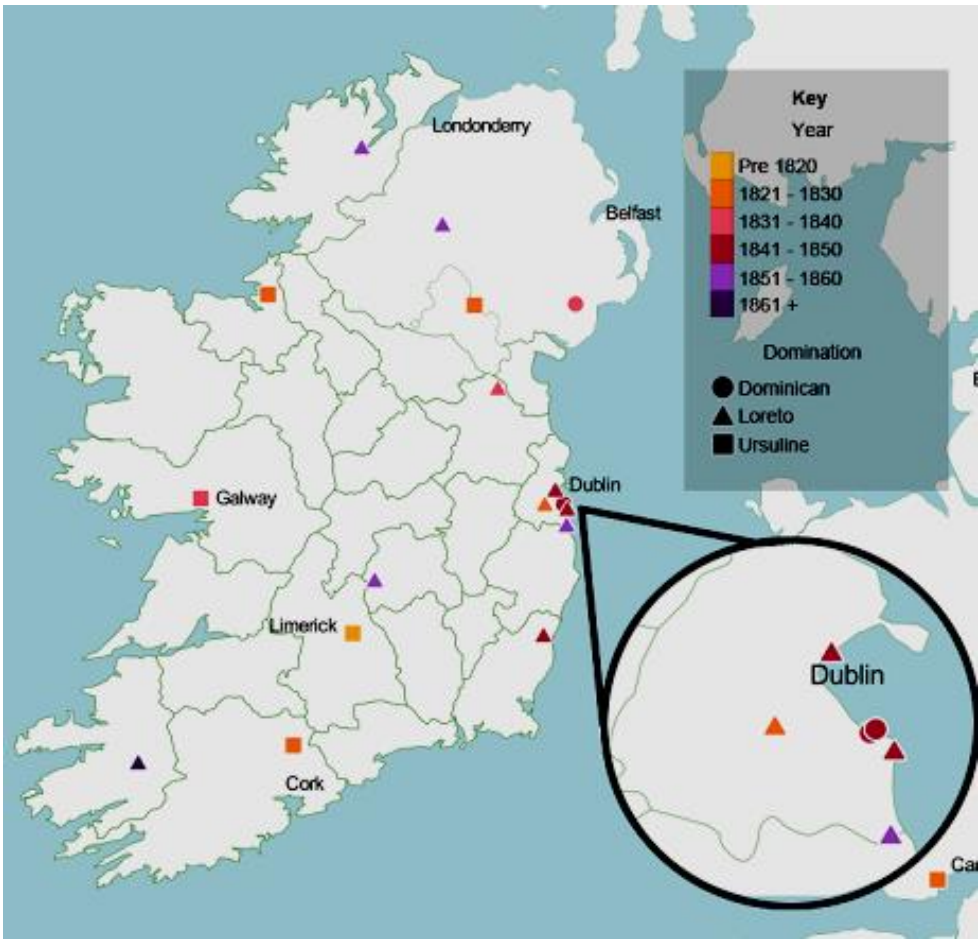
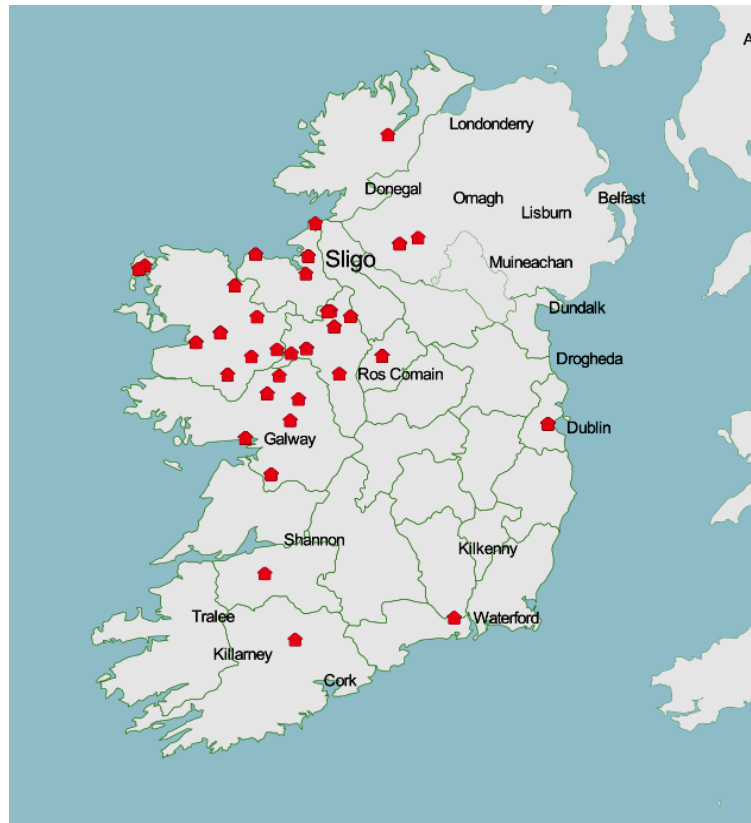


Figure 4.2 Home Locations for Boarders Attending Ursuline Boarding School, Sligo, 1856, 1858. Source: Compiled from M. St Dominic Kelly, *The Sligo Ursulines: The First Fifty Years, 1826-1876* (Sligo: 1987). 112-13.



4.4 Student Experiences in the Convent Boarding School

The day-to-day schedule of a convent school represented the order's primary mission; to inspire Catholic devotion and a sense of moral duty within their pupils. However, despite the rhetoric of familial domesticity which permeated pedagogical texts, students lived in an environment far removed from a typical family home. Large student numbers, expansive school grounds, and the competitive nature of exams and exhibitions created an experience of education that was less focused on practical housekeeping skills and more on the social capital which would enhance a girl's familial status and prepare her to enter bourgeois society.¹⁰⁵

A religious ethos formed the centre of daily life in convent boarding schools. This was a central feature of the mission of the religious community and was communicated through daily routines of prayer and devotion, weekly attendance at mass, yearly retreats, and in the subject matter of the curriculum. Mother Augustine, the mother superior in the Ursuline School in Waterford, was

¹⁰⁵ My thanks to Joe Bardwell for helping format the maps in Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

determined to make sure each of her girls received a good education by any standard. She embarked on a programme of self-education in order to ensure she was able to teach her students properly. After her death in 1845, Father Cooke remarked in a letter of condolence to the convent, 'She considered nothing laborious when there was question of the children, for instance, she went to the toil of learning some well written works, being recommended to do so as a means of improving in style. She knew that unless Ursulines attended to every branch of education a soul would lose the benefit of religious instruction, which would be an awful revelation for any one who loved our divine Lord.'¹⁰⁶ There was a strong suggestion in other Ursuline literature that a religious education was seen as a disadvantage, and they wished to counter this impression with well-rounded curricular offerings.

Pupils effectively lived in the same cloistered environment as the nuns, their days punctuated by a similar schedule of religious rituals and contact with the world beyond school walls carefully monitored. Upon attendance at a boarding school, students were effectively cut off from regular contact with their families. Until the 1840s, boarders remained at school for 12 months a year. A summer holiday in July and Christmas break were introduced later, but still amounted to only about 6 weeks a year vacation. The intrusion of any visitors, including parents, was discouraged. Ball advertised in one of the early prospectuses that, 'parents are most earnestly besought not to break in upon the habits of application so requisite for the improvement of their children, by numerous and unnecessary visits. Visits on Sundays can at no time be allowed.'¹⁰⁷ When visits were permitted, they took place in the parlour and were overseen by the Mistress of the House; only a pupil's parents were allowed to be alone with her.¹⁰⁸ Although there was a cadre of day pupils admitted to the boarding schools, they were always in the minority. Day pupils were carefully interviewed and selected to ensure they would not have a corrupting influence on boarders by bringing in outside influences.¹⁰⁹ When the Loreto order tried to establish a paying day school for girls on the north side of

¹⁰⁶ 'Spiritual Writings and Retreat Notes of Dr. Cooke' January 1842, P3/1. Special Collections, Hardiman Library, National University of Ireland, Galway.

¹⁰⁷ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, School Prospectus, TB/RAT/4/2, Undated, LCIPA.

¹⁰⁸ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter November 1851, TB/CAN/3/6, 29 Nov 1851 LCIPA.

¹⁰⁹ See 1831, Papers of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin, Rathfarnham Annals 1821-1860, Rath/LAC/1/1, p 14 LCIPA, Dublin.

Dublin, it was a short-lived project, lasting only for a few months. The annals observed that this was partially the result of admitting 'unrespectable' pupils to the school. The Ursuline convent school in Sligo attracted boarders from across Ireland, with the western counties of Mayo, Galway and Roscommon providing the highest number of pupils. The map in Figure 4.2 depicts how choosing a convent school was not simply based on the criteria of location. Sligo convent was chosen for girls from Dublin, Waterford and Cork; all cities with resident boarding schools of their own. The choice of school then was not dependent on convenience of location.

Attendance at a convent boarding school was an expensive affair. Any period of education for girls which extended beyond basic literacy was dependent on family wealth. In 1799, tuition at the Ursuline Convent, Cork ranged from £16 to £20 a year depending on the inclusion of extra tuition in music, dance and art. Fees gradually increased, and by 1841 the average tuition was £27.0 per year.¹¹⁰ The Ursuline Convent, Thurles, charged £20 per annum from 1796.¹¹¹ The tuition rate was one of the prime ways to control the social background of the pupils. When the Dominicans opened a boarding school at Sion Hill Convent, Blackrock, Co. Dublin they charged £50 per annum, all extras included. However, the school's attendance dwindled considerably. The annalist noted, 'at length we found that our efforts to keep our school so extremely select by excluding children of the middle class, offended and estranged many of our friends, and we did not receive sufficient support from the upper classes to enable us to continue this system.'¹¹² In 1845 fees were reduced to £30 per year, and the community was satisfied that this made the school more affordable, but still kept the composition of its student body sufficiently 'select'.¹¹³ At Loreto Rathfarnham yearly fees were £40 a year. For that price, pupils were instructed in 'English, French, Italian and Spanish Languages Grammatically, History; Geography, the Use of the Globes, Heraldry, Writing, Arithmetic; every kind of useful and Ornamental Needle-work, Painting on Velvet, Satin and Wood.' Lessons in music including instruction on the Harp, Piano-Forte, or vocal music were offered at an additional £3.3.0, per year. Drawing and dancing lessons were available for £1.10.6. To put these rates in perspective, the average

¹¹⁰ Ledger, 1805-1857, UCB/00697, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹¹¹ Lillis, *Two Hundred Years A-growing*, 28.

¹¹² *Book of Annals, Sion Hill, Blackrock, Dublin, Golden Jubilee, 1854-1904*. (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Sion Hill, 1904), 11.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

annual tuition paid by Catholic children for primary school in Ireland in 1825 was £1.32. Even in the cities of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford, where tuitions were inflated by the cost of living, tuition averaged £2.56 annually.¹¹⁴ However, convent schools were not necessarily within the highest bracket of educational tuition fees. Student Eliza White attended a private seminary for Protestant girls in Dublin from 1811 till 1817. Her education included instruction in Latin and Greek, a distinction which might have played a role in the higher tuition. Her average expenses in a year were over £100, with a grand total of £538.6.8 spent on five years of tuition, board, and extra lessons in music, dance and drawing.¹¹⁵

The length of enrolment at a boarding school varied considerably among pupils. Financial considerations could have figured quite prominently in how long girls were enrolled. The records of student fees at the Ursuline Convent, Blackrock indicate that attendance was not always in one singular block of time, some girls left for several months, sometimes up to a year before returning again. For example, Mary McGrath attended from 1805-1808, but took two breaks to visit the countryside during the three years.¹¹⁶ From a sample of 230 students who attended Blackrock convent in the period 1805-1839, 11% of girls stayed less than one year at the school. Short stays could indicate a student's unhappiness and desire to leave the institution of her own accord, financial difficulty, or changing family circumstances. The average length of time spent at the school was 2.86 years, with 45% of pupils enrolling for either 2 or 3 years.¹¹⁷ Families may also have been able to afford to send only one child at a time, changing attendance patterns for larger families. For example, the elder Murphy sister attended for four years until 1812, when she left and her sister was admitted for 2 years.¹¹⁸ Families had to measure the cost of tuition with a variety of other factors. Two or three years was typically seen as a sufficient period of time to accrue the necessary skills and conventual polish.

The management of funds in the Catholic convents was the responsibility for the mother superior and her close circle. Frances Ball's frequent correspondence with a variety of lawyers suggests her familiarity with civil procedures for re-

¹¹⁴ FitzGerald, *Irish Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century*, 108.

¹¹⁵ Dublin Collection Manuscript, Expenses for Eliza White's education, 1812-1817, ms. EX00037839 Dublin City Library.

¹¹⁶ Ledger, 1805-1857, UCB/00697, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹¹⁷ Ledger, 1805-1857, UCB/00697, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock,. Calculated from a sample of 230 student records from 1805-1839.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

couping funds. She had a close business relationship with Richard Corballis, a proprietor of the Hibernian Bank, and also her brother-in-law. She wrote to him in 1834 about an ‘unsatisfactory intercourse’ with two Cork attorneys. She asked Corballis to recover a debt of £550 with interest of six percent from Mr. John Casey.¹¹⁹ From all accounts, Ball was a canny business woman which occasionally led to trouble. When she demanded a five percent fee from the music instructor Mr. Walsh engaged for tutoring at the Rathfarnham school, he threatened to withdraw his services, and she was forced to rescind her request. The case of Eliza Blake received more attention in the press. This court case developed in the 1850s and involved accusations that Blake, a Loreto nun, in league with Ball, was attempting to benefit from the death of Blake’s brother. The elder sister, a Protestant residing in England, took issue with the way Ball had set out to take over the estate.¹²⁰ It garnered attention in the papers as the Blake family was Protestant, but the brother, father, and sister had converted to Catholicism. There are no surviving records of this case in the archive of Ball’s personal papers. The case seems to illustrate the confidence that Ball had by the 1850s in tackling these disputes, whereas in the 1820s she had avoided any whiff of scandal or legal issues. By the end of her life the position of their order was no longer beleaguered, and she had the means to pursue legal cases in a public forum without the threat of penal legislation.

4.5 Convent School Curriculum

If parents were willing to make a significant financial investment in their child’s education, there needed to be a set of identifiable characteristics which distinguished the boarding school from other available educational models. Female religious could claim that the boarding school pupil benefited from a higher standard of individualized attention. While religious orders used the Lancastrian method in their free schools to manage large pupil enrolments, boarding schools never had as high of enrolment numbers. At the Ursuline Convent, Cork, boarders were divided into three separate schools based on age. Two teachers were assigned to each school. Averaging 60 to 70 pupils annually, each of the three schools had

¹¹⁹ ‘Two Documents Addressed to Richard Corballis,’ McCall papers, Ms. 13,846, NLI.

¹²⁰ Maria Blake, *The Respondent’s Narrative in the Case of the Loretto Nuns* (Dublin: George Herbert, 1853).

about twenty girls. The amount of individual attention given with a 1:10 teacher student ratio was part of the Ursuline rule, emphasising that each child should receive individualized instruction. The ideal teacher would know her student's moral and intellectual strengths and weaknesses, adjusting the educational programme accordingly. Especially for the junior classes, teachers were instructed never to force knowledge upon children, or point out their ignorance. It was observed that some children would take several years to mature; they were to be encouraged and allowed to progress at their own rate.¹²¹ The realization of this pedagogical ideal, however, left something to be desired. A new programme of studies was introduced in 1861 to better address the requirements of modern education.¹²² The restructuring focused primarily on administration, giving the mistress of schools more time for religious instruction by delegating the mistress of studies the responsibility of superintending and examinations.¹²³ But the immediate effect was to further separate their girls into smaller classes, this time based on ability instead of age.

In their first year of studies, boarders were instructed from a set curriculum of texts. Religious instruction was provided twice a week by the mistress of schools or the Mother Superior. This was supplemented by *Butler's Catechism* and *Fleury's Historical Catechism*. The Ursulines were sensitive to accusations that Catholic schools were breeding grounds for sectarianism. Their advertised prospectus explicitly stated that students were taught, 'to abominate bigotry and superstition, and without condemning or interfering with those who profess doctrines adverse to theirs to make the purity of their lives the best and only justification of the faith to which they adhere.'¹²⁴ History was thought to be a particularly suitable medium for religious instruction, since it offered children interesting stories with clear moral outcomes.¹²⁵ Girls at a more advanced level received religious instruction three times a week, usually from the Mother Superior.

English, taught grammatically, was a specialization which distinguished it from the type of reading taught in primary schools. Carol Percy argued that in the

¹²¹ *Directory, for Novices of Every Religious Order; Particularly those Devoted to the Instruction of Youth. Translated from the French* (Cork, W. Ferguson, 1817), 106.

¹²² "New Plan of Studies September 1861", UCB/01369, Heritage Centre Box 014, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ 'Prospectus', UCB/03327, Heritage Centre Box 052, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹²⁵ Fénelon encouraged the use of history and story-telling for young children not yet in school. Fénelon, *The Education of Daughters*.

late eighteenth century, grammar was a prestigious subject connected to social position and authority. ‘Vernacular grammar, a foundation of both learning and virtue, accorded with the aims of leisured children’s education.’¹²⁶ *Blair’s School Dictionary and Chapbook*, *Millikens General History in Questions and Answers*, *Farrell’s English Grammar*, and *Pinnock’s Catechism of Geography* made up the corpus of texts for grammatical instruction.¹²⁷ In the first school, reserved for the most advanced girls, poetry and geography were recited. The emphasis on recitation was also reflected in the numerous theatrical productions put on by the schools. Originating from the practise of putting on a ‘dramatic’ skit during the Christmas season, the productions became increasingly elaborate and ceremonial. The plays were a useful tool for training in elocution, ensuring that girls learned correct diction, phrasing and accent. A newspaper reported, ‘the intonation of voice, the correctness of pronunciation, and the pure accent of the children were admired by all, and, indeed, to those who had known the pupils previously the improvement in these was truly surprising.’¹²⁸ Correct accent and grammar were an aspect of superior education which, though difficult to quantify, indicated social class distinction. The cosmopolitan ‘polish’ valued in conventual school was mirrored in boarding schools attended by their brothers and (for some) their future husbands. For example, the rule and constitutions of the Ursulines in Ireland, translated from the French, reminded teachers of the need to provide both a religious and a polite education. Teachers were supposed to ensure that codes of respectability and gentility permeated every aspect of academic and social interactions within the school.

In forming their [the pupils] manners you should not neglect giving them, as far as you are able, that exterior polish which the world requires, and accustoming them to those ceremonies of politeness common among fashionable and well-bred persons— such acquirements however immaterial they may be in themselves, ought not to be considered unnecessary, because they may tend to uphold the credit of religious education, and disabuse many superficial observers

¹²⁶ Carol Percy, “Learning and Virtue : English Grammar and the Eighteenth-Century Girls’ School,” in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. Mary Hilton, Jill Shefrin, and Deirdre Raftery, Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 78. Also see Elspeth Jajdelska, “‘The Very Defective and Erroneous Method’: Reading Instruction and Social Identity in Elite Eighteenth-Century Learners,” *Oxford Review of Education* 36, no. 2 (2010), 141–56.

¹²⁷ ‘Prospectus’, UCB/03327, Heritage Centre Box 052, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹²⁸ ‘Convent of Loretto, Letterkenny,’ *Freeman’s Journal*, Wednesday, August 5, 1863.

who imagine that a polite and Christian education are incompatible.¹²⁹

While the manual went on to criticise an education that only offered ‘external accomplishments’, there was a pragmatic acceptance of the dictates of fashionable society and the congregation’s duty to prepare girls to assume their social position with aplomb. Moreover, there was a belief that the well-mannered Catholic girl could be a model of Catholic piety and propriety in society, thereby influencing those around her in adulthood through her virtue and respectability. The method of examinations at the Ursuline boarding school suggests the breadth of skills associated with acquiring a foreign language and achieving a genteel ‘polish’, girls were assessed monthly in:

Catechism, Spelling, Geography, Vocabulary, Globes, Solar System, E Grammar, Chronology, Rivers, English regents, French regents, English history, Roman History, Mythology, Phrases, Verbs, French reading, French translation, French repletion, English Reading, Attention to rule, Speaking French, Carriage and Walk, Politeness, Neatness in person, Arithmetic, Work, Order.¹³⁰

The assessment of a students’ bodily posture suggests the breadth of social behaviours entwined with the concept of education and seen as required to successfully navigate the mores of polite society. Emotional training was also an element of class distinction. The control or display of emotions was associated with a sensitivity ‘natural’ to the upper classes. In rural Limerick, Mary Carbury described how a neighbouring farmer’s wife used to pride herself on being emotionally sensitive. When a farm animal died she cried bitterly and loudly and then declared, “I am so sensitive,” she sobbed, ‘my feelings are so fine; but I can’t help it; am’n’t I one of the Frosts of Clare?’¹³¹ This emotional sensitivity was marked out as something ‘fine’ or delicate, a marker of gentility. It complements the themes discussed in chapter two in detailing how the expression of emotions was indicative of maturity and faults in the Irish national character. In convent schools girls were taught to express their views with gentleness and refrain from any wild displays of happiness or sadness.

¹²⁹ Mother Borgia McCarthy, *Directory, for Novices of Every Religious Order; Particularly Those Devoted to the Instruction of Youth. Translated from the French* (Cork: W. Ferguson, 1817), 113.

¹³⁰ ‘Monthly Examinations Second School 1831-1857, UCB/01505, Heritage Centre Box 018, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹³¹ Carbery, *The Farm by Lough Gur*, 77.

The other hallmark of conventual education was instruction in foreign languages. It was what distinguished the convent as a place of superior education and reassured parents that Irish institutions were comparable to schools on the continent. Eager to increase the quality of language instruction at Loreto, Rathfarnham, Archbishop Murray financed a group of novices to live in France and acquire fluency during 1831. A French postulant was also brought back to Rathfarnham for her noviciate, which greatly increased the quality of French spoken at the school. According to the community annals this exchange, 'produced the happiest results, the pupils acquired a general facility in speaking French, henceforth people believed their children could be educated as well in their native land as in a foreign clime.'¹³² French had a strong association with feminine accomplishment in the British world during this period. Cohen has made a distinction between the way girls learned French through the use of live-in foreign teachers and familiar conversation in contrast to boys' schools' that taught French as a foreign language, relying mainly on grammar lessons rather than conversation.¹³³ The convent's emphasis on language points out their knowledge of continental educational trends, and their desire to provide the most fashionable accomplishments for a local clientele.

Letter-writing was one of the means through which students could voice their opinions about school life, express discontent, or complain about their treatment within the school. These might range from lengthy epistles of daily activities to short notes or doodles. For teachers, *belles lettres* served as a material measure and record of the student's progress. Ball described how 'we pay great attention to the epistolary correspondence of our boarders, who copy out a letter on Saturday, the nun gives the subject to compose on, the letter is written fair, on Sunday. Parents are delighted with the improvement in writing and diction of their dear children...'¹³⁴ According to Ball, this weekly practise was meant to ensure that students were in regular contact with their families, rather than trying to control student communication. Though a similar rule was adopted in Ursuline schools, the actual practise seems to have lacked consistency, indicated by repeated admonishments to observe the rules of correspondence outlined in the order's

¹³² Papers of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin, Rathfarnham Annals 1821-1860, Rath/LAC/1/1, 13, LCIPA.

¹³³ Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 83-85.

¹³⁴ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 - 1861, Letter April 1857, TB/CAN/3/24, 7 April 1857, LCIPA

constitution. Nuns, in addition to the boarders, were reprimanded for engaging in correspondence without the permission of the Mother Superior. After an inspection by Rev. Doctor William Delany in 1849, the sisters were reminded that ‘all superfluous intercourse with seculars to be assiduously avoided either by visits or letters.’¹³⁵ He suggested the appointment of two portresses to handle all incoming and outgoing messages. A note in the margins stated that ‘this point was not found feasible for those present,’ indicating the nuns were not willing to limit their access to the outside world, even at the request of the Catholic clergy.¹³⁶

Ball’s replies to concerned parents indicate some of the complaints lodged by girls in the Loreto schools. Ball’s policy was to question the teachers in charge of the student regarding an incident and report back to the parents. From the limited responses from parents which remain, it seems that Ball tended to defend the procedures of the school and found no difficulty in encouraging parents to remove their daughters if they consider the situation to be unsatisfactory. In one case, when an unnamed student complained about the excessive discipline of her teachers, Ball included a letter of her own along with the student’s, stating,

To prevent the painful feelings which are likely to arise from the perusal of your Daughter’s letter, I beg leave to mention, after a particular inquiry into every subject of complaint, that the treatment termed severe solely consisted in requesting your Daughter to stand for 5 or 10 minutes to prevent her from stamping the ground with much violence when one of the Religious reminded her to hold up her head: also in dismissing her from the class, when she could not be prevailed on to cease from interrupting her companions during the recital of their lessons.¹³⁷

Students were assigned a seat in class, at chapel, and in the dining room. These assignments carried social weight as demotions from a particular seat was used as a disciplinary measure. Discipline was enacted through humiliation rather than corporal punishment in most cases. The hierarchies of the school meant that demotions or removal from a certain space of the classroom had clear symbolic meaning to staff and pupils. In one instance, Ball explained to a parent that, ‘your

¹³⁵ Report of the first, second and third visitations held by the Right Reverend Doctor [William] Delany conducted on 30 January 1849, 20 March 1851, 3 May 1851, UCB/01371, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹³⁶ ‘Suggestions made to the Mother Superior after some of the Visitations’ in 1849, 1851, and 1855’, UCB/01363, Heritage Centre Box 14, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹³⁷ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861 Copybook M. Teresa Ball Letters, TB/COR/8, June 1825, LCIPA.

daughter was removed from her place at table and in the school room, until she merited return. She has resumed her usual station in the refractory, but she remains one seat lower in the school room till she becomes more satisfactory. On one occasion when she refused to comply with a very easy request, she was not allowed to sit down until she had accomplished what had been asked.¹³⁸ In 1825, Ellen, a student in the highest class at Rathfarnham, complained extensively to her mother in a series of a dozen or so letters. In reply to the mother's enquiry regarding the matter, Ball responded that Ellen had a 'disrelish of authority' and regretted that Ellen's advancement in 'essential matters does not keep pace with her improvements in studies and accomplishments.'¹³⁹ Ellen was subsequently dismissed from the school. Ball hoped that the Loreto sisters 'instructions will influence Ellen's conduct when she will be removed from us, and I trust that throughout her life she will conduct herself as becomes a Christian gentlewoman.'¹⁴⁰ Ellen seems to have been asking her parents to remove her from the school and her letters were successful in bringing about her wish to return home. Another example of student discontent was more poignant. Written across the outside of a letter from Ball to a parent was scribbled, 'Jane Ellen I is a cow. Ellen Jane O'D is a deep and dangerous coward. Mrs Ball is a wicked woman who thieves her pensioners with afflictions.'¹⁴¹ While examples of student writings are rare, they do give some insight into how students might resist the system of regulations in a closely supervised environment.

The hierarchical structure of school life mirrored the strict social divisions of wider Irish society. Most aspects of daily life, from eating and outdoor exercise, to praying and classroom seating, were subject to a formalized schedule and structure. At the Ursuline boarding schools' meal times were carefully supervised. Teachers were urged to impart to pupils with the 'purity of intention, temperance, and other virtues to be observed at meals.' The management of bodily desires formed the core of these regulations. Temperance exhibited during meal times was supposed to indicate the social graces and spiritual detachment necessary for chastity and restraint. At Loreto schools both nuns and pupils were forbidden to

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Rathfarnham Collection, Copy of letter from Frances Ball to Margaret Irwin, 31 Dec 1829, RATH/LAB/11, LCIPA.

talk to visitors at dinner time, unless directed by the sister in charge of the table.¹⁴² When one student ate dinner in the nuns' dining hall, it was considered unusual enough to be included in the community annals. The student, from Spain, received this privilege after attending Loreto for seven years. Her mother had also attended Loreto school and had the privilege of dining with the nuns.¹⁴³

Official disciplinary techniques emphasised a non-confrontational approach, a tactic that reinforced the idea that feminine power was to be enacted passively, through use of example, rather than outright admonishment. Ball encouraged her teachers to use a system of marks to be given when a student misbehaved. Ball observed that by silently giving the pupil a bad mark, the transgression was noted without further altercation. At the end of the week, the child was reported to the Mistress of Schools. Six marks equalled a note and at the end of three months ribands of merit were awarded based on the amount of notes.¹⁴⁴ A student's conduct, order, diligence, and politeness were assessed in every class and determined good, bad or indifferent.¹⁴⁵ Students at Ursuline schools were assessed on their attention to rule, carriage and walk, politeness, neatness in person, work, and order.¹⁴⁶ The use of uniforms ensured that the impulses towards vanity and physical distinction among the girls would be avoided. Uniforms also distinguished boarding school and free school pupils. Ball warned that students were not allowed to alter or decorate the uniform beyond its standard form.¹⁴⁷ The exception to this was the wearing of sodality pins or prizes given for performance in exams. In an examination of British women's autobiographical writings from the nineteenth century, Victoria Sanders argued that bullying amongst female pupils was not prevalent, but conflicts with stern disciplinary teachers was a more common point of conflict in memoirs.¹⁴⁸

Although religious devotions were a part of daily activities for all pupils, sodalities offered a way of publicly recognizing and rewarding piety among the

¹⁴² Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Regulations, Greeting Guests, TB/REG/27, April 1847, LCIPA.

¹⁴³ Papers of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin, Rathfarnham Annals 1821-1860, RATH/LAC/1/1, 31 May 1855, LCIPA.

¹⁴⁴ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, 28 Aug 1860, TB/MAU/2/6, August 1860, LCIPA.

¹⁴⁵ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, 17 March 1857, TB/CAN/3/23, March 1857, LCIPA.

¹⁴⁶ 'Monthly Examinations Second School 1831' 1831-1857, UCB/01505, Heritage Centre Box 018, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock.

¹⁴⁷ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Regulations, New Boarders, TB/REG/23, April 1847, LCIPA.

¹⁴⁸ Sanders, *Records of Girlhood*, 15.

girls. Ball had become a member of the Children of Mary sodality while a student at St. Mary's in York.¹⁴⁹ She encouraged all of her schools to use the regulations of the sodality as an effective means of discipline. 'We find order in schools is observed by giving a premium for good conduct one for application to studies. ...The silver medals are purchased in Paris. A certificate, signed by the priest who admits a child as associated to the congregation, procures for said child when grown up admission at the court of every Catholic monarch.'¹⁵⁰ Ball remarked on its good influence on pupils, noting approvingly that 'our wildest boarder has become an aspirant to be a Child of Mary.'¹⁵¹ Besides access to royal courts on the continent, members of the Children of Mary were given immediate special privileges, like dining with the chaplain for breakfast and having a separate chapel for prayer. They wore a silver medal of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a blue ribbon.¹⁵² The inducted members were expected to be a role model for their peers and report breaches of silence or misdemeanours of their fellow pupils to the presiding nun.¹⁵³ The sodalities were initially limited to the boarding schools, but by the latter half of the century many Catholic schools had a resident branch.¹⁵⁴ While it is impossible to gauge how lasting the impact of the sodality was on students' religious fervour, it is likely that the prizes, medals, ceremonies, and exclusivity associated with the sodality offered attractive incentives to pupils. In some cases they also offered spiritual solace to family members who could be assured that their daughters were developing the proper habits of piety. Maria Hackett from Cork, a former boarding school pupil at Princethrope, stated that when her cousin Annie died of consumption at the Ursuline Blackrock Convent in Cork, 'Her end was most edifying; she was received *Enfant de Marie* and had every possible happiness on her deathbed.'¹⁵⁵ Sodalities conflated piety with social status, offering real rewards to girls who exhibited the correct forms of feminine piety and obedience. The longevity of this method of

¹⁴⁹ Ball, *Joyful Mother of Children*, 27.

¹⁵⁰ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter August 1860, TB/MAU/2/6, 28 Aug 1860, LCIPA.

¹⁵¹ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter March 1854, TB/CAN/3/15, 18 March 1854, LCIPA.

¹⁵² Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter April 1857, TB/CAN/3/24, 7 April 1857, LCIPA.

¹⁵³ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter August 1860, TB/MAU/2/6, 28 Aug 1860, LCIPA.

¹⁵⁴ Dáire Keogh, "Evangelising the Faithful: Edmund Rice and the Reformation of Nineteenth-Century Irish Catholicism," in *Confraternities and Sodalities in Ireland: Charity, Devotion and Sociability*, ed. Colm Lennon (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 2012), 57–75.

¹⁵⁵ Maria (Hackett) Butler, 11 April 1861, Diary, 1860. Hackett Diaries and Papers (Compiled by JD Hackett) 1928–29 (1803–1929), IE CCCA/PR46, CCCA.

discipline indicates that it must have been fairly successful in socialising children into the desired religious attitudes. Suellen Hoy argued that the sodalities provided a fertile ground for religious recruits, especially towards the end of the century. From 1868 to 1906 Sister Mary Eustace, a Sister of Charity and moderator of a Children of Mary sodality, placed around 700 of its members in religious orders.¹⁵⁶

The other feature of religious education in the convent school were annual retreats held for the school girls. A typical retreat lasted for a week and was usually conducted by a visiting priest. He gave a series of sermons every morning and evening on a particular theme, in addition to offering daily mass and confessions. The term 'retreat' meant quite literally a retreat from the day-to-day business of schooling and a renewal of spiritual awareness. The notes of Dr. Cooke, written in 1842 in preparation for his retreat in the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, are a rare source for understanding the spiritual ethos of a conventual boarding school. In the first sermon, he began with a meditation on death, asking the girls to imagine themselves in a coffin, 'laid out in the Chapel, resting on the little stands surrounded by six candles.'¹⁵⁷ In reminding the pupils about the inevitability of their own mortality, he remarked on the dangers of worldliness to their spiritual innocence.

many a young female(girl)who was once young (pure) and innocent has been led away by a love of pleasure and desire of amusement it enters softly and pleasantly, but in the end left nothing but weariness and disgust. If you ask the one who has drunk most deeply of this world's pleasures she will tell you that she has formed in the end only weariness and disgust of mind. All is vanity save to serve the Lord your God.¹⁵⁸

While Cooke's sermons may seem strident, the retreat was a moment for spiritual renewal and conversion. It was a time set apart from the world. Moreover, his criticisms of young girls' recreation are indicative of the kind of social activities which pupils likely did engage in and enjoy regularly. He stated, 'How many young girls spend their precious time in reading novels, and at dances, street company, idle conversation. The day will come when they would wish for one hour of that

¹⁵⁶ Suellen Hoy, "The Journey Out: The Recruitment and Emigration of Irish Religious Women to the United States, 1812-1914," *Journal of Women's History* 7, no. 1 (1995), 79-80.

¹⁵⁷ 'Spiritual Writings and Retreat Notes of Dr. Cooke' January 1842, P3/2. Special Collections, Hardiman Library, NUIG.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

time but it will be too late, commence at once at this moment a new life...'¹⁵⁹ Other writings of Cooke reflect the strong devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary as a role model for girls. Historian Andrea Brożyna has observed that the figure of the Virgin Mary was not some distant figure of religious perfection for Catholic girls but an object of deep affection and personal devotion.¹⁶⁰

4.5.1 Public Exhibitions

The other means of maintaining order amongst pupils was the encouragement of emulation, through prizes and public performance. The public exhibition or prize day was a centrepiece of conventual education by the 1850s. These elaborately planned ceremonies used symbolic rituals to emphasize the uniqueness of the institution and the achievements of its pupils, past and present. The exhibitions functioned as both an advertisement for the school, a progress report for the families, and a motivation for pupils to perform well. The Dominican school, Wicklow, held monthly reports where children wore white gloves, curtsied to the prioress, and were assigned their place in class based on their performance in the previous month.¹⁶¹ At Loreto and Ursuline schools, prizes were given at the end of the year for the top performing girls in each class. The prizes reflected their cosmopolitan remit. Expensive bound books, imported from Paris, and scarfs trimmed with gold fringe offered material rewards for good performance.¹⁶² Student Kate Hogan received a copy of Aubrey De Vere's *Hymns and Sacred Poems* as prize in 1864.¹⁶³

The community annals of these orders described how the presence of clergy and the local elite at public days augmented the reputation of the school. Approval of local clergy and Catholic hierarchy was essential for gaining the patronage of the Catholic middle classes. Ball recorded proudly that, '[Dr. Murray] has constantly shown the greatest zeal and interest in the improvement of the young ladies in every branch of their education, having been present, nearly, every year at the

¹⁵⁹ 'Spiritual Writings and Retreat Notes of Dr. Cooke' January 1842, P3/1. Special Collections, Hardiman Library, NUIG

¹⁶⁰ Brożyna, *Labour, Love and Prayer*, 106–7.

¹⁶¹ Kealy, *Dominican Education in Ireland, 1820–1930*, 79.

¹⁶² Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter April 1857, TB/CAN/3/24, 7 April 1857, LCIPA.

¹⁶³ De Vere, *Hymns and Sacred Poems*.

examinations, bestowing handsome premiums on the most deserving in each class, animating all to merit a similar

Allied March—Four pianos and harmonium <i>By T. Caulfield.</i> "I saw from the Beach"—Duett—Harp ... <i>Moore,</i> Conversation on Geography and Astronomy— Junior Classes. Petersburg Quadrilles (Duets)—Four Pianos and harmonium <i>D'Albert.</i> Dal tuo Stellato Soglio—Vocal Trio ... <i>Rossini.</i> Fantasia, Il Trovatore—Solo Pianoforte <i>Fene Favarger.</i> French Conversation—Junior Classes. Il Secreto per esser felice—Three pianos—Ditto Chongh and Crow—Vocal Trio ... <i>Bishop.</i> Ireland Quadrilles (Duets)—Four pianos and Harmonium <i>D'Albert.</i> Italian. La Diettazazione innocente—Vocal Duett ... <i>Gabussi.</i> "What are the wild Waves Saying"—Solo Pia- noforte <i>Richards.</i> Fantasia on English Airs—Trio ... <i>C. Zany.</i> Conversation on Sciences. Priere et Marche Triumphale—Solo Pianoforte <i>De Vos.</i> Yesterday—Vocal Solo ... <i>T. Blockley.</i> "Yo Banks and Braes"—Solo Pianoforte ... <i>Wallace.</i> Native Music—Vocal Music—Harp Accom- paniment <i>Lover</i> "Oft in the Stilly Night"—Solo, Four Pianos and Harmonium <i>Richards</i> War March—Four Pianos, Harp, and Har- monium <i>Taylor</i> French Recitation from Racine. Galop Militaire—Solo—Two Pianos ... <i>Sloper</i> Snapper Ruin—Four Pianos and Harmonium <i>Borrow</i>	
---	--

Figure 4.3 Programme Of Music Performed at the Loreto Convent School, Omagh, Freeman's Journal, August 13, 1863

distinction, as well by his words as by his gifts.'¹⁶⁴ At a prize day in the Ursuline convent, Thurles, the clergy were quite literally given the place of honour, seated on a 'throne...placed on a dais at the end of the room, over which sprang an arch of evergreens, most tastefully interwoven with blooming flowers.'¹⁶⁵ The visits of such prestigious figures as Daniel O'Connell and his brother Maurice, the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lady Bellew helped to augment the bourgeois reputation of the Loreto order.¹⁶⁶ When Queen Victoria visited Ireland in 1849 the Loreto School at Dalkey warmly welcomed the Queen's flotilla. On 6 August the community annalist excitedly described the occasion.

¹⁶⁴ Papers of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin, Rathfarnham Annals 1821-1860, RATH/LAC/1/1, 11, LCIPA.

¹⁶⁵ The Ursuline Convent School, Thurles', *Freeman's Journal*, Wednesday, August 6, 1862.

¹⁶⁶ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 - 1861, Letter April 1857, TB/CAN/3/24, 7 April 1857, and Letter November 1849, TB/COR/9/131, 20 Nov 1849, LCIPA.

At 6 ½ o clock pm the royal yacht came in sight of the Grotto of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at Dalkey. The nuns in ceremonial veils stood in ranks on the terrace opposite the sea. The novices and lay sisters wore white veils and the pupils were also attired in white with blue sashes. The abbey bells rang a joyful peal. 'God save the Queen' was melodiously chanted, accompanied by the harp and pianoforte etc. The Abbey flags were unfurled . 'Welcome' was printed over the grotto. 'Go teach all nations' and 'God save the Queen' waved from the Abbey, while cannon roared from the adjoining demesne where flags were displayed. The royal yacht rested and her Majesty's convoy drew up, in form of a crescent, opposite the Abbey where the flotilla remained nine minutes.¹⁶⁷

Affinity to the Irish nation was occasionally demonstrated by the inclusion of Irish poetry and songs in prize day recitations. The Dominican sisters used John D'Alton's poetic account of 'Dermid, or Erin in the Days of Boru,' at their annual exhibition with the girls re-enacting Brian Boru's death at the Battle of Clontarf. The Mother Superior, Sister Raymond, seemed to have felt a particular affection for Irish history. She asked a priest from All Hallows College to supply some poetry for the girls; a fellow teacher recounted, 'he has composed expressly for her 'The Siege of Limerick' a poem quite furiosus enough to satisfy even her taste.'¹⁶⁸ Thomas Moore's poetry and songs were also used in exhibitions in conjunction with accounts of Irish history.¹⁶⁹ At the Siena Convent, Drogheda, Sr. Margaret, described to her family an amusing scene the girls had enacted at their examinations. 'Four young ladies representing the four seasons with appropriate emblems recited with great applause some German poetry. The Italian and French Poetry and conversations were also very good. And Mother Raymond of course had her grammar history.'¹⁷⁰ She also described a less formal type of performance which the children had arranged for their teachers on their own initiative. They marched into the room in 'a variety of costumes and complexions, American Indians, Negroes, [illegible], Norman peasants and c. each making powerful use of some harmonious instruments.'¹⁷¹ The girls chose to end the production with a

¹⁶⁷ Papers of Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin, Rathfarnham Annals 1821-1860, RATH/LAC/1/1, LCIPA.

¹⁶⁸ D'Alton Collection, Letters to John D'Alton from his daughter Eliza, at Siena Convent, Drogheda, (1855-65), 20,955(v). NLI.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 20,955(ii).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ D'Alton Collection, Letters to John D'Alton from his daughter Eliza, at Siena Convent, Drogheda, (3 Jan 1865), 20,955(iii). NLI.

performance of the French national march, upon which they retreated from the room. As a student-organized performance, it suggests that girls had enough freedom to be able to organize the music and costumes discreetly, as Sr. Margaret was genuinely surprised and pleased with the show. The inclusion of the French national march as the rousing encore also hints at the cosmopolitan and Francophile currents within the school. In French convent schools, exhibitions were criticized for their public nature and encouragement of feminine vanity and competition. These types of criticisms were not raised in an Irish context, perhaps because the clergy and religious leaders were not subject to the same bouts of anti-clericalism.¹⁷²

4.5.2 The Space of the Convent School

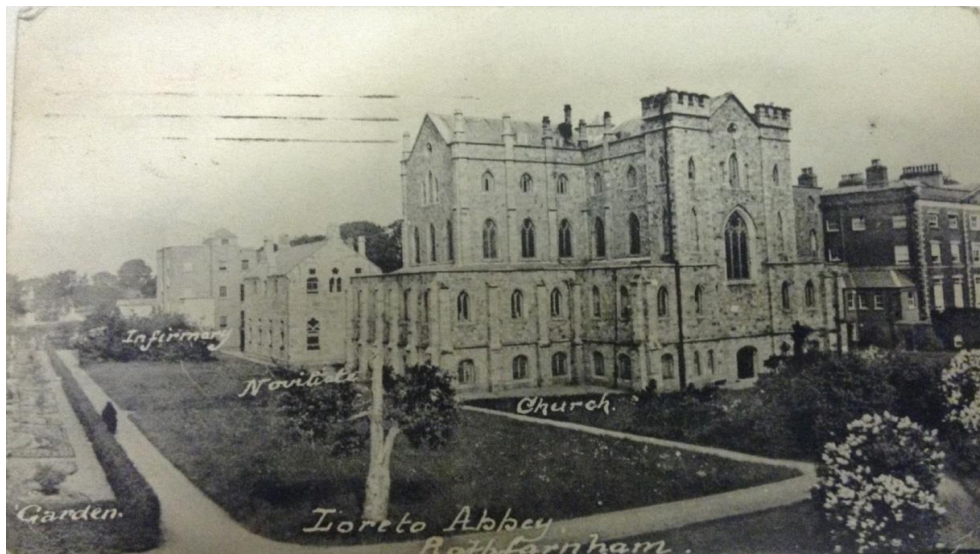
The appearance and location of convent schools provided a tangible representation of their place within Irish society.¹⁷³ Convent schools were imposing public buildings replete with all the decorations and ornamentations of a respectable public institution. The observations of school inspectors from the CNEI reinforced the popular view of convent schools as processing a degree of social capital, taste, and prestige above what could be expected in a national school. Mr. Barrett, inspector for the Macroom district of Co. Cork, spoke highly of the convent schools' ability to encourage 'neatness of dress and propriety of deportment', especially in comparison to mixed schools or boys' schools.¹⁷⁴ The idea of 'taste' was an area in which convent schools proved extremely adept at demonstrating. Extensive pleasure gardens surrounded Loreto Rathfarnham house, and visitors were occasionally taken on walks through these grounds to demonstrate its ideal, healthy setting. In Letterkenny, the convent

¹⁷² Rebecca Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France* (Pittsburgh: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

¹⁷³ The methodology of using spatial theory to examine social relationships was used by Christine Lei in an examination of the Loretto Convent in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. The space of this particular convent school was adapted in roughly four phases, corresponding to changes in educational and gender ideologies across two centuries. Christine Lei, "The Material Culture of the Loretto School for Girls in Hamilton, Ontario 1865–1971," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies*, no. 66 (2000), 92–113. It is also considered in a colonial context in Katharina Stornig, *Sisters Crossing Boundaries: German Missionary Nuns in Colonial Togo and New Guinea, 1897–1960* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 165–216.

¹⁷⁴ 1864 (179) *Convent Schools (Ireland)*. Copies of a report made to the Board of National Education, on the subject of convent schools in Ireland, by Inspector Sheridan; and, of a letter or memorial to the Board of National Education, from Baggot Street Convent School, Dublin, applying for payment for training teachers; and of the answer of the board thereto. HOC. 42.

Figure 4.4 Rathfarnham House, Loreto Order Motherhouse Circa 1900s. Source: LCIPA.



school was located in the former 'palace' of the bishop. Located on an elevated plateau, overlooking views of the mountains and town, it was thought an ideal location for maintaining healthy pupils and nuns.¹⁷⁵

The interior layout of the school enforced gender, class and age hierarchies among teachers and students. Fears of moral corruption lay behind many of the regulations of convent space. In general, the parlour and the chapel were the only spaces for public access to the convent.¹⁷⁶ Students were only allowed access to certain areas of the convent and the nuns retained a separate refectory and living quarters. One offence committed by a student required Ball to personally issue a school-wide notice. 'A new boarder at 10 O'clock walked up to stare at the company...The nun in the class should prevent so forward and rude acts.'¹⁷⁷ Divisions between choir and lay sisters were determined by the amount of the dowry supplied by a female candidate at the time of her noviciate. Choir sisters typically had had extensive education and were made teachers, while lay sisters performed housework and ancillary duties. The pupils would have been aware of these distinctions, since lay sisters uniforms resembled the domestic attire of female servants.¹⁷⁸ Lay sisters were not supposed to have extended interaction with boarders, so their access to the main staircase and student dormitories was

¹⁷⁵ 'Loretto Convent Letterkenny' *Freeman's Journal*, Thursday, August 4, 1859.

¹⁷⁶ Luddy, "Convent Archives as Sources for Irish History," 106.

¹⁷⁷ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Regulations, New Boarders, TB/REG/23, April 1847, LCIPA.

¹⁷⁸ Luddy, "Convent Archives as Sources for Irish History," 104.

restricted. Teachers were supposed to refrain from having favourites or cultivating exclusive friendships among students and fellow sisters. In order to maintain this detachment, teachers were prohibited from ‘...visiting the Infirmary, the cells, speaking alone with pupils in the dormitory, music room, passage, walking out or elsewhere.’¹⁷⁹ Despite this prohibition, favouritism seemed to remain a feature of boarding school life. Former students recalled having intense attractions or relationships with particular teachers or older pupils.¹⁸⁰ The idea of sisterhood and female peer groups is more easily discernible in the genre of the boarding school novel.¹⁸¹ One of the few forms of privacy reserved for a student was a small locked desk in which to keep her school books and painting supplies, but even this was somewhat tempered, since the mistress of schools retained a master key.¹⁸² Privacy might also have been procured in the extensive play grounds of the convent, where trees and walking paths might have given students cover from the watchful eye of their teacher. There is evidence that girls were allowed to bring and purchase items of their own to school. Items for personal hygiene including hair oil, hair brushes, and handkerchiefs were procured at students’ request.¹⁸³ Girls’ might also bring their own toys with them. Mother Superior Ball had to issue a warning that books and toys should not be left outside in the garden at Rathfarnham.¹⁸⁴ The physical strictures of the school inculcated a hierarchical view of society, structuring boarders’ social interactions with others around the bounds of class and gender ideologies. The buildings also served as a symbol of the prestige and success of the convent school, reassuring parents that their daughters would be protected from the corrupting influences of society.

¹⁷⁹ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Regulations, Rule on Ordinary and Recreation Days, TB/REG/10, Undated, LCIPA.

¹⁸⁰ Kathryn Tynan, pupil at St. Catherine’s, Drogheda, recalled an attraction to a young postulant who was about to go on a mission, in Katharine Tynan, *Twenty-Five Years Reminiscences* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1913). Rebecca Rogers explores the romantic and pseudo-sexual dynamics of these schoolgirl relationships in Rogers, *From the Salon to the Schoolroom*, 2007.

¹⁸¹ For the American context see, Claire C. Pettengill, “Sisterhood in a Separate Sphere: Female Friendship in Hannah Webster Foster’s ‘The Coquette and the Boarding School,’” *Early American Literature* 27, no. 3 (1992), 185–203.

¹⁸² Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter November 1854, TB/CAN/3/17, 3 Nov 1854, LCIPA.

¹⁸³ ‘Ceremonies of profession or reception, undated, TB/REG/26, LCIPA.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Ceremonies of profession or reception, undated, TB/REG/26, LCIPA.

Image 4.5 'View Walk Looking East, Loreto Convent, Rathfarnham', Convent Garden, Circa 1900-1910. Source: LCIPA.



4.5.3 Student Vocations

For some students, the experience of boarding school at a young age, the relationships that formed with fellow pupils and teachers, and the spiritual rigour of the cloister led to a desire to join the religious life in adulthood. One student, Fanny Shepard, was at Loreto Rathfarnham for eight years, beginning her studies in 1846, during which time she 'was first in class, obtained 50 premiums, [and] 4 crowns.'¹⁸⁵ She entered the Loreto order in 1854 and received the name Xavier. In most cases the girls were not allowed to enter the order directly from the boarding school. A period of time had to pass to ensure that they were not experiencing a passing fancy and possessed a genuine vocation. At one of the yearly exhibitions at St. Catherine's school, Drogheda, one of the pupils surprised the audience by putting on the dress of a novice and announcing her desire to join the Dominicans. The sister reporting this event does not indicate whether it was typical to have such a publicized declaration, but it was unusual enough to merit inclusion in her family correspondence.¹⁸⁶

Although numbers of former Loreto pupils entering the noviciate were not exhaustively recorded, between 1822 and 1860 a total of 277 women entered the

¹⁸⁵ Papers of M. Frances Teresa Ball 1794 – 1861, Letter March 1854, TB/CAN/3/15, 18 March 1854, LCIPA. This is also verified by the student register, she was enrolled on 23 May 1846.

¹⁸⁶ Letters to John D'Alton from his daughter Eliza, at Siena Convent, Drogheda, D'Alton Collection, (19 June), 20,955 (iv), NLI.

novitiate and were finally professed at Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham. Of these, 19% can be identified as having attended a Loreto boarding school, 15% of those entering were past pupils at Rathfarnham school.¹⁸⁷ These numbers do not account for students who entered an order other than Loreto or who joined the novitiate but did not make the final profession. Taking into account that some women could have entered other Loreto establishments or other religious orders, a conservative estimate would indicate that about a quarter of all pupils expressed some desire for religious life, even if they did not eventually enter an order.¹⁸⁸ Of the 213 girls who became members of the Sodality of Mary at the Ursuline Convent, Blackrock, Cork between 1842 -1861, biographical information is available for 132 of them: 61% married and 34% professed a religious vocation. Of the 45 women who professed a religious vocation, 13 remained in the Ursuline order. The Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity were the next most popular orders gaining 9 novices each respectively.¹⁸⁹ A good example of the kind of social mobility offered by the convent school is Margaret Teresa Pender (1850-1920). The youngest daughter of seven children, she received her earliest education at home before attending the Ballyrobin National School in rural Antrim. She set her sights upon a career as a schoolteacher and attended the Convent of Mercy school, Belfast with this in mind. She taught briefly at Aghagallon national school before she married a printer, Hugh Porter, at the age of 19 and later became an author of religious literature.¹⁹⁰ Margaret's is a success story of upward mobility and indicative of the more open field of education for women by the 1860s. Being a boarding student Belfast provided sufficient impetus to enter the professions, albeit on a low rung, but this must have been a significant point of family pride for a farming family in Antrim with limited means to support their seven children.

¹⁸⁷ Of 277 entrants, 53 were identified as past pupils and 42 were identified as past pupils of Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham.

¹⁸⁸ The rates of 'failure' suggested by Maria Luddy were as high as 40% of the 1,348 applications made to the Religious Sisters of Charity between 1812 and 1900. Clear quotes a slightly lower figure of 32% failure rate between 1840 and 1900 at Galway's Mercy Convent. Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 30; Clear, *Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*, 79.

¹⁸⁹ 'Sodality of the Immaculate Conception established in the Ursuline Convent December 1842', UCB/0149481, Heritage Centre box 016, Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock. 81 pupils were married, 45 professed a religious vocation, 13 of these became Ursuline nuns.

¹⁹⁰ Georgina Clinton, Sinead Sturgeon. "Pender, Margaret Teresa". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009, Rolf Loeber and Magda Loeber, *A Guide to Irish fiction, 1650-1900* (2006), 1051-2.

The diary of Maria (Hackett) Butler (1838-1884), the daughter of Cork whiskey distiller, offers a sense of the day-to-day social calendar of a Catholic middle-class girl. Maria had been sent to Princethorpe school, near Rugby for three years. She was 22 when she returned to live in Cork. Her diary offers a sense of the loss that she felt upon leaving the school and returning to her family. On 11 April 1861 she wrote 'One thing that young persons feel the loss of greatly after school is not having persons of their own age to be intimate with, to walk with, and talk to. I mean females because though you may enjoy the society of young men still one can never be as intimate with them as those of their own sex.'¹⁹¹ In one entry, she laments a falling-out with one of her former classmates and the poor state of the social scene in Cork. 'I have not heard from Maria Steen since before 28th of September. I think she is in a huff with me for something or other, I do not know what. This is the essence of a stupid place; no society, no company; everybody living for themselves; eating, drinking and sleeping away life. I do not know how the middle classes can be so contented when they live so completely for themselves and for their own comforts.'¹⁹² Maria clearly missed the companionship of her fellow classmates and felt isolated from society. Contrary to what some critics said about the accomplishments, Maria was keen to practise what she learned at school and indeed filled her days with religious activities, painting, and visiting friends. On Sunday 14 April 1861 she remarked, 'A most lively day, quite like summer, we went to last mass, taught the children catechism, took a dinner walk...Oh how I wish we had a piano, it would be the greatest possible amusement to us all...I must continue painting my basket of fruit this week. Please God.'¹⁹³ Maria eventually married, but her diary portrays the liminal years between attending school and getting a household of her own, she still was considered as a 'girl' under the control of her parents.

There was certainly an anxiety about what the girls would do when they left the convent school to return to their homes and presumably await marriage. For middle-class girls, they were still considered 'girls', although their brothers at the same age would be considered adults. Ellen O'Callaghan was 17 years old when she finished her education at the Presentation Convent Cork and returned to her home

¹⁹¹ Maria (Hackett) Butler, 11 April 1861, Diary, 1860, Hackett Diaries and Papers (Compiled by JD Hackett), IE CCCA/PR46, CCCA.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

in Limerick. At the beginning of her diary, she is excited by the prospect of freedom in being able to decide her own pursuits outside of the structure of schooldays, but in the period between 1838 and 1840 she became less satisfied with the monotony of home life and the severity of her parents.¹⁹⁴ Whereas initially she practised her piano for eight hours a day and enjoyed the festivities of Limerick's fashionable social scene, when her father's health declined, she found herself with less activities to occupy her time. She eventually married in 1842 after four years of courtship and two years of engagement.¹⁹⁵ Ellen's diary reflects the ambiguity of girlhood in Irish society. Although she was of the age to be courted and attend adult parties, she was still under the close supervision of her parents and restricted by their judgement on her companions and activities. Not until marriage did she finally attain the status of womanhood associated with having her own home and responsibilities.

In 1859, the Ursulines published a book which was given to girls when they left the convent. It offered advice on how to profitably fill their time and provide a reminder of the lessons they had learned while at school. Among the advice was a reminder that the accomplishments and skills they had learned should be utilized within the home. The accomplishments of music, drawing and needlework would ensure that she was suitably filling her time and avoiding idleness, the chief sin.¹⁹⁶ Still defined as girls, albeit with a better education than when they had not been to school, the text presumed that girls would take on some of the household responsibilities, such as caring for younger siblings, elderly parents or neighbours.

Home is to you as it should be to every woman -your world, your empire, your sun, your centre of attraction; a worthy sphere for your energies; a legitimate field for the exercise of your accomplishments, acquirements, and varied mental resources. It seems but a little while to look back to the day when you left that home, a happy, thoughtless, petted child...¹⁹⁷

The Ursulines' also saw the Irish girl as exercising influence over her brothers in the form of female piety, and by creating amusements within the home. 'Elder brothers would be often induced to spend their evenings blamelessly at home, if that home were rendered attractive, and those evenings cheerful and agreeable...what

¹⁹⁴ Gonzalez, "Women in Bloom: Diary of a Limerick Merchant's Daughter, 1838-1840," 70.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 68-69.

¹⁹⁶ *The Catholic Offering: Counsels to the Young on Their Leaving School and Entering into the World* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1859), 136.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 188.

higher or holier object can the varied resources of a well-educated and highly accomplished woman be directed that that of shielding from evil those she is bound to love! Vain and useless, indeed, will all your accomplishments prove, if you forget that home is the legitimate theatre for your display.'¹⁹⁸ This was the most central platform of bourgeois femininity, the necessity of privacy and discretion in social situations. An educated, accomplished, beautiful girl was the desired outcome of every conventual school, but those features were intended to remain a matter of private display and domestic comfort.

Conclusion

You return again to the happy homes of your childhood and innocence, to associate with the companions of your guileless infant days; but remember, you now assume a new, a high position among your former friends. You have received favours beyond the reach of many who will scan with jealous eye your every act, your every word, your whole demeanor. ...too strongly I am well aware have your innocent hearts been impressed with higher and more holy sentiments, so that each one of you will shine as a star in her own constellation.¹⁹⁹

Father O'Kane, Omagh, 1863.

Father O'Kane's comments at an annual exhibition in the Loreto Convent in Omagh was intended to impress upon the audience the value of a convent education and its ability to bestow a wealth of moral, social, and cultural improvements upon its pupils. The primary focus of these schools was the formation of a refined, spiritually devoted Catholic girl. By the 1830s, the recognition that girls needed some form of education was widely accepted, although there was little agreement on the purpose or content of this education. Girls were supposed to be diligent in their studies but not pedantic, compete against fellow students for prizes, but not become vainly absorbed by achievement, cultivate rational thought, but only to enable spiritual devotion and moral behaviour. Teachers strove to inculcate this delicate balance of spirituality and rationality amongst their pupils through a variety of formal and informal procedures.

Across the period, concepts of domesticity and motherhood permeated the language and logic of female schooling. However, the nuns who encouraged these notions of domestic femininity often transgressed the values they sought to

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 200.

¹⁹⁹ 'Loretto Convent, Omagh', *Freeman's Journal*, August 13, 1863.

inculcate. The rhetoric of domesticity and the ideal of a maternal teacher broke down into hierarchical and business-like arrangements between student and teacher. Boarding school was far removed from the limited social milieu of a home-based education. Public prize-giving, emulation, and large classes were just some of the ways in which convent schools encouraged a different set of feminine skills. While the conservative atmosphere of the boarding school may appear restrictive to modern audiences, the opportunities for missionary work, teaching, and leadership in female religious communities offered alternatives to maternal domesticity. That so many women chose to join a religious community in the nineteenth century must at least partially be attributed to the experiences of young girls within these institutions. Lack of feminine emancipation, in twenty-first century terms is, not surprisingly, absent. It would be misleading to assert that boarding schools were superior or inferior to public education for older models of socialization and apprenticeship within the family structure were not necessarily inferior; they were simply different.

A family's decision to invest in their daughters' education could be prompted by a variety of perceived and real benefits. It enhanced a family's social prestige, opened up social networks necessary for making an advantageous marriage, and exposed students to a cosmopolitan environment. The literal mobility of the middle class child was a feature of upward social mobility, since prestigious schools were clustered in the urban areas of Dublin and Belfast, or sometimes further afield in England or the Continent. The idea that modern society was contending with greater distances between kin networks is recognised as a feature of a complex society, and the freedom garnered by economic capital.²⁰⁰ The possibility of being relocated away from kin was also a feature of the middle-class marriage market, as girls might be settled with their husbands far from their family homes. Childhood within the convent school was valued as a formative period of the life span, when intellect, morals and character were formed. A boarding school education was an empowering and confining experience, an ambiguity which is not terribly surprising given the context of gender prescriptions and religious strictures. Some girls chose to remain in the school for years, and some eventually professed a religious vocation, while others left in a matter of months. The young girls themselves were the most effective form of advertising that the schools could

²⁰⁰ Vernon, *Distant Strangers*, 46–47.

produce; it was not uncommon for generations of mothers, daughters, and nieces to attend the same school. Lessons in languages, music, and the arts prepared girls for a bourgeois future in a particular social milieu, one in which the drudgery of physical labour or need for manual skills was notably absent. Ideally, the Irish girl emerging from a convent education would be a model of innocence, morality, and studiousness. It was an attractive and successful model. Parents who could afford to invest in such a childhood for their daughters could be assured of the spiritual, social, and material benefits of doing so.

**5 Chapter Five: Schooling Little Gentleman: Irish Boys’
Bourgeois and Elite Schools**

In 1861, students at Wesley College, Dublin circulated a weekly student newsletter called *The Eaglet*. Painstakingly copied by hand by a committee of students, the content of the newsletter included news from the 'little world of which a public school consists.' Contributions ranged from a prose story contributed by a Mrs. Ellis, a translated excerpt from the Greek *Prometheus Vincit*, reports of school happenings, and notices for sporting events. In one article, a student editor reflected on the meaning of their school community and how their little world of Wesley College would prepare them for political and mercantile life after graduation.

In the little world of which a public school consists, there are many events of interest to the philosophical observer. The maxim that the boy is the father of the man, finds its most striking and numerous instances in a large school. Napoleon, directing his fellow students in their snow battles,- Byron, dreaming on the torets[sic] of Harrow, and Isaac Newton making windmills, are but a few of numerous instances which might be quoted in illustration of the above mentioned proverb. And tho' there are some important differences between the constitution of a school and that of the community, yet in ~~there~~—their organisation resemblances [illegible] permit of considerable certainty in conjecture as to the future character of the scholars drawn from their present actions.¹

The masculine heroes this student evokes, Napoleon, Byron, Newton, represent the military, literary, and scientific giants of the day. Following Wordsworth's romantic rendering of boyhood as the crucible of manhood, the young author describes these men in their youth and the inevitability of their climb to greatness mirrored in the shared experience of the boarding school environment. The most striking feature of the passage is the young author's confident self-awareness: that in Wesley College the future writers, leaders, and politicians of society were gaining the education and experience to launch their adult careers. The passage is suggestive of how successfully the project of liberal education was implemented by the 1860s. Wesley College, a Methodist secondary school established by a group of businessmen in 1845, was not unique in its construction of the boarding school as a miniaturised Irish state with all the attendant hierarchies, personalities, and

¹ *Eaglet and Wesleyan Connexional School magazine*, 17 May 1861, Wesley College Archive, Ballinteer, Dublin.

governance found in civil society. Through competitive emulation, sporting teams, public exhibitions, and daily routines, boys received an education to prepare them for their foray into the masculine world of state and business. As the student from Wesley College confidently proclaimed, the character of a boy at school was quite clearly a foreshadowing, ‘as to the future character of the scholars drawn from their present actions.’²

In 1800, there were more educational options available to middle-class boys in Ireland than there were to their sisters. Boys could avail of a variety of home tutors, day schools, boarding schools, and apprenticeships in a diverse educational marketplace. During the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the benefits of competition and emulation for young boys found in a school setting gained precedence over a home education. By 1861, 21,674 children were enrolled in superior schools, 62% of that cohort were boys.³ During this period bourgeois education was a holistic social experience far more encompassing than simple completion of a course of studies. The business of creating gentleman took place through engagement with a classical curriculum, interaction with other boys, and the supervision and mentorship of headmasters. Parents expected their boys to emerge from school with the social and cultural skills to assume their role in the world of business, politics, or professional life. The cultural and social benefits of the boarding school became the favoured route for bourgeois boys far earlier than their female counterparts, and boys tended to be sent to day or boarding schools at higher rates than girls.

Until the mid-eighteenth century, schools were de facto masculine spaces. In the large print literature devoted to education during this period the implicit audience are those concerned with boys’ education. Female education is given a wholly separate treatment, not unlike modern historiography which often takes boys’ education as the history of education generally and female education as an interesting addendum. This gendering of knowledge and power has been discussed in feminist literature extensively.⁴ Boys’ schools did not have to justify their

² *Eaglet and Wesleyan Connexional School magazine*, 17 May 1861, Wesley College Archive, Ballinteer, Dublin.

³ 13,610 boys, as quoted in O’Neill, *Catholics of Consequence*, 10.

⁴ See previous chapter and Carrie Paechter, *Changing School Subjects: Power, Gender and Curriculum*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000).

existence or purpose in the way that female institutions did. There was little discussion of why a boy would need an education, but *where* a boy received his education and the programme of studies prescribed for him were contentious issues.

The institutions discussed in this chapter established effective codes of masculine knowledge, manners, and behaviour necessary for admittance to bourgeois society. Boys' schools acted as stabilising mechanisms for the bourgeoisie, providing associational links between generations in the form of alumni 'old boys' clubs.⁵ These links were also cultivated within the ranks of teachers and staff at the school who were often educated in the same institutions. The debate over what was an appropriate education for middle-class boys indicates the ambiguity in educational curriculum at the start of the century and the transition towards an identifiably 'middle-class' course of study by the 1860s. This chapter discusses the features of modernisation usually credited to the influence of middle-class involvement in education. Irish middle-class schools largely emulated the classical curriculum offered in British and Continental elite schools; however, there was a move towards offering a more practical course of studies for scholars bound for a mercantile future during the 1840s. An examination of the bourgeois school environment, the institutional construction of masculine success and failure, and the content of a manly education suggest a way of understanding adult projections of boyhood and the experience of a boarding school education.

The existing historiography of Irish education with its emphasis on the contributions of particular institutions, educational figures, or philanthropic endeavours, reinforces the impression that Protestant and Catholic schools were wholly isolated and antagonistic towards each other.⁶ Religious lines were clearly defined in discourse, yet the demonstrable effect of religion on the actual experience of schooling during the nineteenth century is less clear for boys' schools. The

⁵ Robert Rotenberg, "Metropolitanism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Metropolises," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 103, no. 1 (2001), 9. Also see RD Anderson, *Universities and Elites in England*. For a modern account of the elite schools see, Shamus Rahman Khan, *Privilege: The Making of an Adolescent Elite at St. Paul's School* (Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁶ The main impulse is towards individual institutional histories, some of which are excellent, but provide a rather narrow view of the wider aspirations of male education. See Howard Robert Clarke, *A New History of the Royal Hibernian Military School (1765-1924) Phoenix Park, Dublin* (Yarm-on-Tees: Howard R Clarke, 2011); Jonathan Bardon, eds., *The 1608 Royal Schools Celebrate 400 Years of History 1608-2008* ([Northern Ireland: 1608 Royal Schools], 2007); Peter Costello, *Clongowes Wood: A History of Clongowes Wood College, 1814-1989* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989); Ernest Armitage, *Wesley College Dublin: 1845-1995: An Illustrated History* (Ballinteer, Co. Dublin: Wesley College, 1995); W. J. R. Wallace, *Faithful to Our Trust: A History of the Erasmus Smith Trust and The High School, Dublin* (Blackrock, Dublin: Columba Press, 2005).

selection of schools discussed in this chapter drew on similar models of public school education from Britain and the Continent, their headmasters and teachers were engaged with an international milieu, and there is a discernible shared culture of middle-class values across denominational lines. The resulting educational offering was an amalgamation of international influences and local patronage. The schools discussed here were effectively second-tier. They served a regional clientele, at a more modest cost, delivering a classical education alongside more practical subjects like bookkeeping. The study of Irish elite schools has been well covered by Ciaran O'Neill's work.⁷ The most elite schools had international reputations, attracted a cosmopolitan student body, and charged high tuition rates. There is some overlap in elite and bourgeois schools discussed in this chapter, a consequence of discussing schools from Protestant, Catholic, and Presbyterian affiliations. Generally speaking, Protestant institutions were historically better endowed and entered the nineteenth century with an elite reputation but an increasingly middle-class student body. In contrast, Catholic schools were established later and gained in prestige and student selectivity by the second-half of the nineteenth century.

While the composition of the student body and the subjects on offer did vary from school to school, there was a system of schooling in place which was replicated across denominations. Admittedly, part of the allure of these schools was their unique identity and 'brand.' Being an alumnus of Wesley College or the Belfast Academy meant having a link and identity attached to that school throughout adult life. Religious affiliation formed a part of this unique school ethos. Jesuit schools had a distinct set of religious exercises and student sodalities which were absent in Protestant schools; and the theological studies at a Presbyterian school were different from Catholic catechesis. Yet the similarities of the schooling model, the daily regimens of spiritual, physical, and intellectual activities, and the hierarchy of social relationships suggest a shared aspiration towards a common model of masculine achievement. The content of a masculine education at these schools existed as much in the cultivation of a particular kind of schoolboy as it did in the learning of sums. At the centre of these schools' self-proclaimed programmes of educational modernisation was a tension between the traditional classical curriculum, available for a high price at elite English public schools, or a turn towards the emerging professions of engineering, accountancy, and the sciences. As

⁷ Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence*.

the century progressed we can see these schools adapting to the demands of the educational marketplace, creating a hybrid curriculum catering to different price points and expectations.

5.1 The Landscape of Boys' Education

Bourgeois boys inherited a long precedent of schooling institutions at the start of the nineteenth century. Even though female educational institutions existed from the mid-eighteenth century, female education remained associated with the domestic space long after teaching responsibilities had been conferred to professionals.⁸ Boys' educational prospects were connected to particular schools, schools with distinct religious loyalties and inherited ties to political establishments, universities, churches, and social networks. During the medieval period, monasteries were the centres of learning for the aristocracy. Upon their dissolution, grammar schools affiliated with Protestant dioceses were established to fill the gap, while Catholic families sent their sons to the continent for education and religious seminary.⁹ The first grammar school in Ireland was founded in Kilkenny by Sir Piers Butler in 1538.¹⁰

The legacy of the penal laws effectively limited Catholics' ability to set up permanent, large-scale educational institutions until the end of the eighteenth century. This is not to suggest there were no options for Catholic boys prior to this. A well-established network of monastic communities on the continent, in France, Spain and Belgium primarily, maintained links to the old Catholic gentry. In 1764, Sir James Caldwell MP stated, 'The papists are not only connected by the general tie of religion with France and Spain, but there is not a family in the island that has not a relation in the Church, in the Army, or in Trade, in those Countries; and in order to qualify the children for foreign service they are all taught Latin in schools kept in poor huts, in many places in the Southern part of this Kingdom.'¹¹ Caldwell's assertion suggests that whereas Protestant schools looked to England for their models, Irish Catholics sought connections with fellow Catholics in France and

⁸ The identity of the schoolmistress is explored in Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800-1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁹ Richard Ansell, "Educational Travel in Protestant Families from Post-Restoration Ireland," *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 4 (2015), 931-58.

¹⁰ William Bedell Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical Tradition* (Dublin: A. Figgis, 1976), 19.

¹¹ Sir James Caldwell, *Penal Laws Relating to land*, (Dublin, 1764), as quoted in Timothy Joseph Corcoran, *Selected Texts on Education Systems in Ireland*, 69.

Spain. These transnational networks have been well documented during the Penal era, when Irish colleges at Salamanca, Saint-Omer, Douai College, and Paris were centres for Irish seminarians and students.¹² St. Kieran's college in Kilkenny, founded in 1783, was the earliest attempt by an Irish diocese to establish a preparatory school and seminary for Catholic boys in Ireland. The international purview of Irish educators was maintained in these religious orders, which had a transnational organisational structure and were engaged with educational trends across continental Europe. Jesuit educationalist, Father John Austin (1717-1784) ran the classical academy and seminary in Saul's Court, Dublin that cultivated a high proportion of future Irish Catholic educationalists during the second half of the eighteenth century. Born to 'parents of substance,' Austin received his early education at a school near Johnathan Swift's Deanery. Reportedly, Swift encouraged his parents to send him to the Jesuits for an education after noticing Austin's precocity.¹³ Austin returned to Dublin in 1750 after receiving his ordination at the Jesuit College in Pont-À-Mousson, Lorraine and a stint of teaching in Rheims.¹⁴ According to one of his pupils, John O'Keefe (1747-?), an education at Father Austin's academy included Greek, Latin and French with a predilection to 'Shakespeare, old Ben, Congreve, Cibber and Farquhar.'¹⁵ Another of Austin's pupils was Father Thomas Betagh (1738-1811), from a family of tanners in Kells, who became Austin's successor at the school. Ordained after ten years in seminary at Pont-À-Mousson, Betagh returned to Ireland in 1769 and taught in Saul's Court. When the Jesuit order was suppressed in 1773, he became a parochial priest, but maintained his educational activities.¹⁶ Among the alumni of the Jesuits' in Saul's Court were Daniel Murray (1768-1852), future archbishop of Dublin, Michael Blake (1775-1860), who re-established the Irish college in Rome, and Peter Kenney

¹² Gary Mooney, "The Irish Student Diaspora in the Sixteenth Century and the Early Years of the Irish College at Salamanca," *Recusant History* 14, no. 4 (1978), 242-60; Michael Turner, "The French Connection with Maynooth College, 1795-1855," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70, no. 277 (1981), 77-87; León M. Gómez Rivas, "Letters From the Irish College in Salamanca During the Peninsular Wars (1808-14)," *Archivum Hibernicum* 64 (2011), 194-208; Hugh Fenning, "Students of the Irish College at Salamanca, 1592-1638," *Archivum Hibernicum* 62 (2009), 7-36.

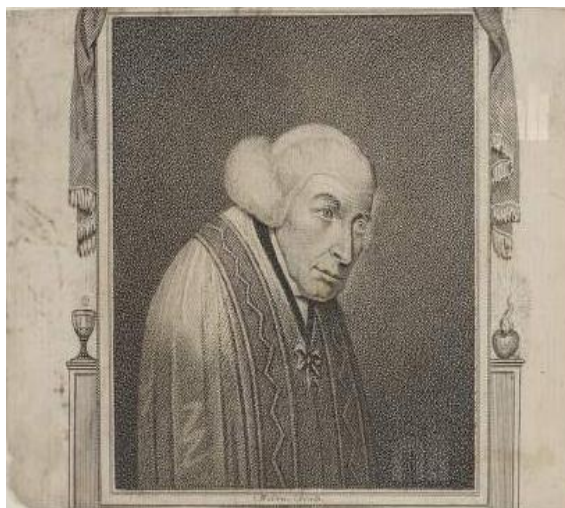
¹³ Alfred O'Rahilly, "Father John Austin, S.J. (1717-1784)," *The Irish Monthly* 67, no. 789 (1939), 181-96.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁵ John O'Keefe, *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keefe* (London: H. Coburn, 1826), 2.

¹⁶ George A. Little, *Rev. Thomas Betagh, S.J.: The Rebirth of Jesuit Education in Ireland* (Irish Messenger Office, 1960). Thomas O'Connor, "Betagh, Thomas (1738-1811)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., David Cannadine, Oxford: 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2297> (accessed October 31, 2016).

Figure 5.1 Rev. Thomas Betagh, (1739-1811), Jesuit Professor of Languages at Seminary Pont-Á-Mousson, Schoolmaster at Dublin, Parish Priest of Sts. Michael and John's Church. Source: William Brocas Drawings, Ep Beta-Th (2) I, NLI.



(1779–1841), founder of Clongowes Wood College.¹⁷ School choice for Catholics sending children outside of Ireland tended to be linked to family lineages for boys and girls. The Scully brothers, Vincent, James, and Jeremiah, all attended the Catholic Oscott College, Birmingham, and Vincent's son and grandson continued the tradition.¹⁸

Protestant boys availed of a different set of institutions during the eighteenth century. For the wealthiest of Ireland's Protestant Ascendancy a variety of familial, political, cultural, and social links made an English education preferable to an Irish one. For one, the great public schools were closely linked to the British state's political system. By the second half of the eighteenth century, the English public schools had an established monopoly on elite male education in Britain. One third of MPs between 1754 and 1790 went to the leading English public schools.¹⁹ By 1800, 80% of all English peers attended one of three schools, Eton,

¹⁷ As a rather illustrative point of trivia, Blake founded the parish of SS Michael and John in Exchange St., Dublin in 1816. It was the first Catholic Church in Dublin to have a bell and to face the street, a sign that the era of Catholic deference was drawing to a close. See, James Quinn. "Blake, Michael". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹⁸ Oscott Student Rolls, Oscott College Website, http://www.oscott.net/uploads/1/3/6/7/13674551/listofsuperiorsmastersandstudents_1.pdf. Accessed July 2014.

¹⁹ Patrick Joyce, *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 233.

Westminster, or Winchester.²⁰ Patrick Joyce has argued that the English public school became a laboratory for liberal governance. Under a regime of invented tradition boys learned how to govern others and govern the self.²¹ Joyce distinguishes the pre-1860 public schools which allowed a large degree of autonomy to their pupils, from the post-1860 Arnoldian reform schools that focused on the creation of self-disciplined men.²² The classical curriculum, sporting events, fagging, and the house system ensured a strong associational culture of discipline, hierarchy, and self-control among an elite governing class. For Irish parents who had the means, the public schools held the same attraction as they did for the English aristocracy.

For Presbyterian families concentrated in Ulster province, Scotland was the preferred educational destination. Before the foundation of the Union Theological College in Belfast in 1853, Glasgow and Edinburgh universities were the only place for Presbyterians to train in theology. The reputation of Glasgow for medical training also attracted Irish pupils in significant numbers.²³ The migratory pattern of Irish students to the British Isles for education was not solely a Protestant phenomenon, Catholic boys and girls continued to make the journey across the Irish sea during the early twentieth century.²⁴ While the Irish elite could choose international institutions for their children with relative ease, middle-class families could not facilitate their children's travel abroad with the same impunity. Thus, a tradition of middle-class schools in Ireland, modelled on their elite counterparts in Britain and the Continent, developed as a feasible alternative for families who could not access the top tier of educational institutions, but were keen to reap the benefits of superior schooling for their children.

In Ireland, there was another set of political issues shaping school choice. After the Act of Union, some commentators believed it was only right to educate a child in the nation he would eventually reside in. On 25 June 1806 Judge Robert

²⁰ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 167.

²¹ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 232.

²² *Ibid.*, 240–41.

²³ Laura Kelly, "Migration and Medical Education: Irish Medical Students at the University of Glasgow, 1859–1900," *Irish Economic and Social History* 39 (2012), 39–55; W. M. Mathew, "The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students, 1740–1839," *Past & Present* 33, no. 1 (1966), 74–94.

²⁴ Ciaran O'Neill, *Catholics of Consequence Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Day (1746-1841) wrote to his friend John Crosbie, the Earl of Glandore concerning the schooling arrangements of a young relative.

Upon the subject of young Denny's education which you feel such benevolent solicitude about, no doubt it is of the first importance to his County as well as to himself. But I confess I should not incline to have it exclusively English. Some regard in my mind should be had to the place destined for his future residence. If an absentee be a political delinquent, deaf to the interest of his native country and to the happiness of his tenantry, why educate our youth with all those predilections and prejudices which inevitably detach them from home? Is it not this rage for English education which has striped Ireland of our upper and better gentry and consigned us to the mercy of an upstart and plebeian class of resident inhabitants? My scheme of education for one intended for Irish residence would be to send him to Austin's Carpendale's [Armagh Royal School] or Burrow's [Portora Royal School], from thence to Trinity College, Dublin till he took his degree, from thence Oxford for a few years, and from thence as long as he liked to the Continent.²⁵

Day proposed the advantage of an Irish education for an Irish aristocracy as a means of ameliorating the political disconnect between landowner and tenantry. His logic for doing so centred on an understanding of childhood and the intellectual stages of maturity. Day was not suggesting that young Denny be educated solely in Ireland, but rather that his earliest years be spent in Ireland, so that in adulthood he would have a nostalgic affection for the island. His letter explained, 'His [Denny's] earliest and fondest prepossessions would thus be Irish, while as his understanding unfolded and ripened he would form in England useful and respectable acquaintance, perhaps a matrimonial connection...'²⁶ In Day's view, intellectual growth was produced through contact with English society and brought to full maturity in the cosmopolitan milieu of the continent. England, not Ireland, provided the society and matrimonial prospects which marked masculine maturity.²⁷

²⁵ As quoted in Michael Quane, *Portora Royal School, Enniskillen* (Ireland: Cumann Seanchais Chlochair, 1968), 17.

²⁶ As quoted in *Ibid.*

²⁷ Day's recommendations reflect his own political sympathies and educational experience. Born in Tralee, Co. Kerry in 1746, son of a Church of Ireland rector, he was fostered by a peasant family speaking only Irish until the age of seven when he was sent to a Catholic school in Ardfert. A lifelong supporter of Catholic emancipation, though suspicious of Catholic radicals, he maintained a commitment to liberal politics. See C. J. Woods. "Day, Robert". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009. (<http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a2449>)

5.1.1 The Royal Schools

Philanthropic societies offering religious education flourished during the seventeenth century and the English government contributed support to some of these schemes. James I established five Royal schools at Armagh, Dungannon, Raphoe, Enniskillen, and Cavan in 1608, with additional schools added at Carysfort, Wicklow (1628) and Banagher, Offaly (1629). Designed with an agenda for anglicisation during the Plantation era, in practise they served as a catchment for sons from Scottish and English planter families in effect preaching to an already loyal choir.²⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century, the association of the royal schools with Church of Ireland elites became subject to accusations of corruption, inefficiency, and favouritism. In 1788, there was reportedly only 211 pupils in the seven royal schools receiving an annual endowment of £3,918.²⁹ Thomas Newenham, (1762–1831), economist and politician, reported in 1807 that Dungannon Royal school held the largest land endowment of the Royal schools and arguably the entire island, with the exception of Trinity College Dublin, with 1,654 acres of land for rent. The school had £975 in annual income but provided education for just 10 boarders and 5 day pupils, all of whom paid tuition rates. Armagh Royal school, with 1,500 acres, had the highest student enrollment with

Figure 5.2 Portora Royal School 1893, Enniskillen, Robert French. Source: The Lawrence Photograph Collection, NLI.



²⁸ Bardon and 1608 Royal Schools, *The 1608 Royal Schools Celebrate 400 Years of History 1608–2008*.

²⁹ Thomas Newenham, *A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland* (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1809), appendix no. xxiv.

50 boarders, 11 day scholars and 5 free pupils.³⁰ In contrast, the parish schools educated 11,000 pupils per year with an average of tuition rate of 1 to 3 shillings charged per quarter and no endowments beyond the parish curate's stipend.³¹ The issue was contentious enough to spark a government inquiry in 1809. Members of the commissioners for Irish education, The Archbishop of Armagh, William Disney, Richard Lovell Edgeworth, George Hall Verschoyle, the Dean Of St. Patrick's church, and James Whitelaw, Vicar of St Catherine's in Dublin, produced evidence that over £45,796 of government funds were spent on educational provision in Ireland and 'a large proportion of those funds has been grossly misapplied, and that great frauds and abuses have been committed in respect to those charitable donations.'³² While the primary target of the 1809-12 inquiry was the inadequacies of proselytising charity schools, diocesan free schools, and the Erasmus Smith schools, the commissioners were disappointed that the large endowments of the Royal schools were not educating student numbers in proportion to their substantial revenues. This report indicated that at Armagh the land endowment produced an annual income of £1,144 per year. Boarders paid 32 guineas per annum and a 6 guinea entrance fee; day scholars paid 4 guineas per annum and 1 guinea entrance fee. According to their report, in 1810, there were 87 boarders and 29 day scholars at Armagh Royal School. The report considered Armagh to be the best run of the Royal schools, and credited this largely to Thomas Carpendale, appointed to Armagh in 1786. At Dungannon Royal school, an annual endowment of 1,481 supported 27 boarders, 12 day scholars, and two classical assistants to the school.³³

Banagher, Cavan, and Carysfort Royal schools had no dedicated schoolhouses or pupils by the nineteenth century, even though their headmasters were still deriving income from rents. In 1809, Carysfort's headmaster Sir Thomas Forester was accused of effectually being an absentee headmaster, having church appointments in the Diocese of Armagh and the Diocese of Dublin from which he derived two yearly incomes. He was reported not to attend the duties of the school nor reside in Carysfort. The commissioners condemned this stating, 'We trust that

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² John Hely Hutchinson, Secretary of State, Rt. Hon. Denis Daly, Isaac Corry, T. Hussey Burgh, Edward Cooke, Robert Hobart, *Report of 1791*, printed 1856, as quoted in Corcoran, *Selected Texts on Education Systems in Ireland from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 99.

³³ *First Report, Free Schools of Royal Foundation*, Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Great Britain and Ireland, 1809-1812, HOC, 1813, 2-3.

no instance will occur in future, of any persons being Masters of Public Schools, or being suffer to continue to hold those situations unless they reside and discharge the duties thereof in person.’³⁴ There was no mandated age for retirement, which meant some headmasters remained in the position long after they were capable of handling the duties. Dr. Murray, headmaster of Dungannon Royal school, was recommended for retirement in 1809, ‘as from age and the decay of his memory, he is at present, and appears for some time to have been wholly inadequate to the conduct of such a Seminary; and we think it our duty to recommend that measures be taken immediately for procuring a more efficient master.’³⁵ The retirement package for headmasters was also fairly lucrative, giving rise to accusations of mercenary motivations for holding the position. In Armagh, Dr. Gruebere had been granted £250 per annum for life when Dr. Thomas Carpendale took over as headmaster in 1786.³⁶ Carpendale gave him a once-off payment of £2,000 in 1792 in lieu of future payments.

However, despite the large financial resources at these schools’ disposal, the commissioners described a poor level of education happening within the royal schools and attributed the problem to a lack of talented teaching staff. While the headmaster income was high enough to attract learned gentlemen, the budget left insufficient funding for teaching assistants, fellows and masterhips that would provide a better student to teacher ratio.

the present condition and appointments of Under Teachers in all of them without exception are such as must ever discourage men of real merit and liberal minds from engaging in that occupation. ...we are persuaded the acknowledged inferiority of the Grammar Schools in Ireland to those of the Sister Island is to be ascribed to no other circumstance so much as to the deficiency of those who are usually engaged as Assistants and employed in teaching the Rudiments of Classical Learning. The Head Masters of some of our great Schools are men of eminent literature and talents and only want the assistance of properly qualified Teachers which on the present system they are not able to procure to raise their Schools to as high and well deserved reputation as any in England. The Funds of others of the Royal Schools especially if relieved from the Trust Leases would also be adequate to the maintenance of Foundation Scholars.³⁷

³⁴ Ibid., 9.

³⁵ Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, *Report, 1809-1912*, 1813, 4.

³⁶ *First Report, Free Schools of Royal Foundation*, 1809-1812, HOC, 1813, 2-3.

³⁷ Ibid., 5.

The Royal schools' attempt to fund more scholarships for students and bring down the cost of education was a necessary reform for more than one reason. Part of the problem was that the type of pupils that the Royal Schools were set up to serve were seeking their education elsewhere. The Royal schools, particularly Portora, Armagh, and Dungannon, had positioned themselves as elite fee-paying schools, yet they were insufficiently elite to attract the sons of the aristocracy or landed class, who by the nineteenth century tended to prefer an English secondary education. A sample of 457 boys in Armagh's royal school's rolls born from 1765-1853 provides a key indication of how this diversification of elite schools played out over time. Across the ninety-year period, sons of Church of Ireland clergy were the most numerous group within the rolls. Sons of merchants, military officers, and law backgrounds made up about a third of the student body. The more interesting story emerges in the differences in the student backgrounds from the late eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. From 1770 to 1789 the royal school attracted the sons of a traditional elite drawn from aristocratic families, military elites, politicians, and a few wealthy merchant's sons, see Table 5.1. The bureaucrat and professional classes are minimally represented. By 1830-1850, there was a sea change in the professional background of student families. At this point, there was a wider diversity of backgrounds and the clergy no longer dominated the student cohort. Aristocratic boys are almost completely gone from the school, replaced by sons of the new professional classes. The sons of state bureaucrats working variously as high sheriffs, justices of the peace, or revenue officials composed 24% of the student body.³⁸ The sons of clergymen were still a robust 19% of the student body, but these boys were drawn from regional parishes, rather than from the upper echelons of the church hierarchy, see Table 5.2.³⁹

During the first decade of the nineteenth century, and in light of the Act of Union, the position of the Royal schools became untenable, not least because the bourgeoisie of the towns where the schools were established became vocal in their criticism of the schools' elitism. The issue was more than simply tuition fees, for the aristocratic ethos of the school produced conflict between pupils themselves. In 1812, William Trimble, proprietor of the *Fermanagh Reporter*, stated that

³⁸ 16 students out of a sample of 66 boys born between 1830-1850.

³⁹ These figures are compiled from M. L. (Michael Lloyd) Ferrar, *Register of the Royal School, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).

It is an universal complaint as regards the inhabitants of Enniskillen, that the education received at Portora is chiefly, if not altogether classical, and of comparatively little or no utility to men of business who wish to push their children forward. I would also impress upon your Lordship, that this school was formerly built in the town, where it was more convenient for the boys of the town attending. For reasons, and perhaps good ones, it was removed to where it is; and it is certainly in a very eligible position at present as a boarding school. There is one great inconvenience...few parents can afford to send a liveried servant or covered car with his boy; and if the morning be wet, and the boy get wet, he is obliged to either sit in his wet clothing and risk his health, or take off his clothing and run the risk of hacking it torn or cut with knives...the idea of being a free scholar at Portora is look upon as a sort of 'stand by, thou art not as we are', and the more aristocratic take liberties, using their knives, and they cut and hew a coat or hat that cost a parent money to procure.⁴⁰

Trimble suggested that the day rates were much more affordable for the middle-class of Enniskillen, but the benefit of low day rates was mitigated by the cost incurred for transporting boys to and from the school's new premises outside the town centre. There was a significant difference in day and boarding rates throughout the period. (See Appendix 2, Table of tuition rates). In 1852, Portora Royal school day pupils were charged eight guineas per annum for a full course of English and Classical curriculum including Logic, Geometry and Algebra, and tuition in French was two guineas extra.⁴¹ However, Trimble's comments indicate that there were more issues than simply tuition blocking boys' entrance to the school. At least some of this resistance came from pupils themselves, who bullied or vandalised their fellow students' belongings. While cheaper day rates may have been an administrative attempt to placate the local townspeople, in reality the barriers for middle-class pupils were embedded in the traditions and expectations of the school. Gaining access to an elite school required more than the entrance fee and tuition rates.

⁴⁰ *Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission, 1855-58*. Evidence Vol 1, 650-663.

⁴¹ Royal School of Enniskillen, Rev. Doctor Graham, Master: terms for day pupils, EPH A578, NLI.

Table 5.1 Father's Professions of students in Armagh Royal School, 1770-1789. Source: Compiled from M. L. Ferrar, *Register of the Royal School, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).

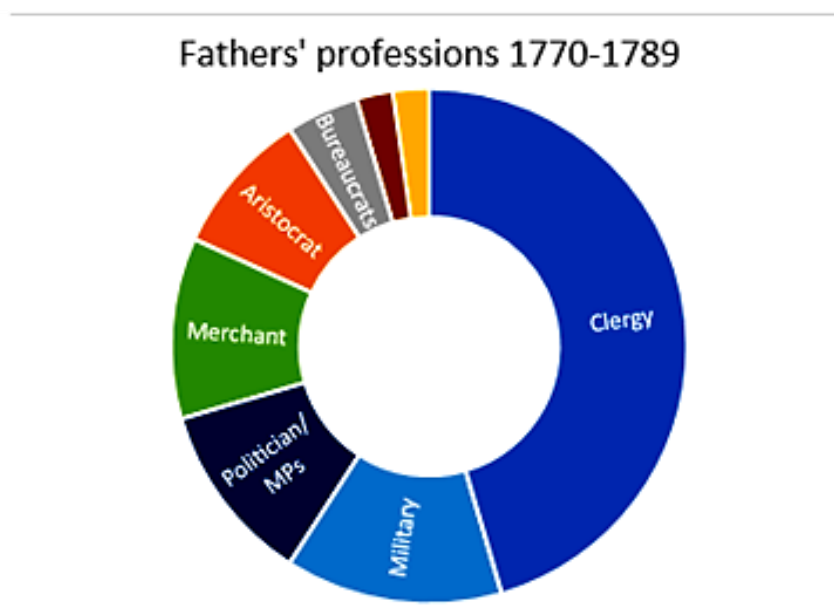
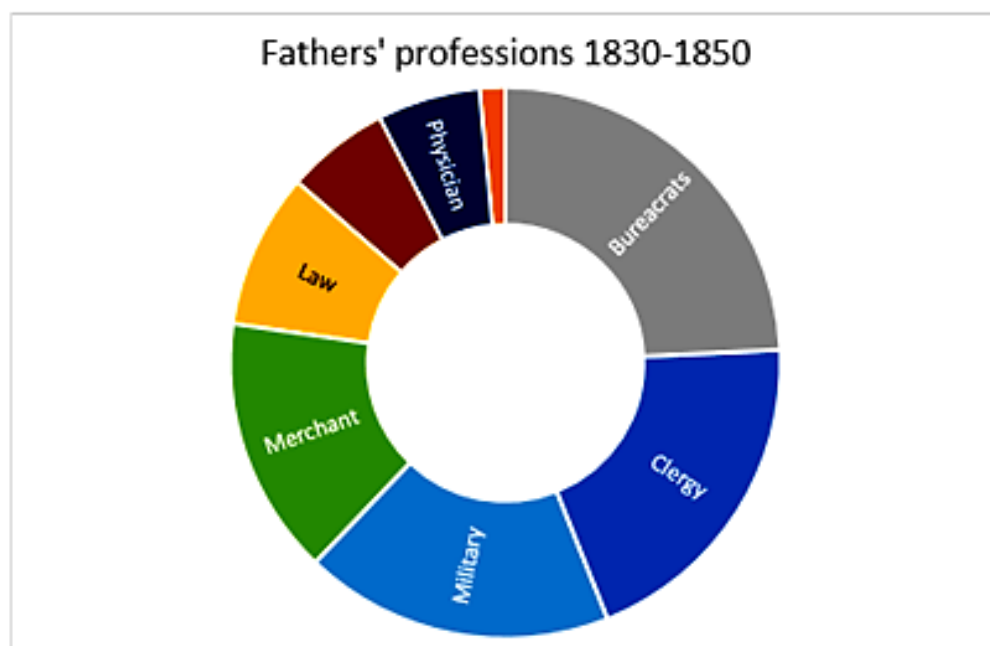


Table 5.2 Father's Professions of Students in Armagh Royal School, 1830-1850. Source: Compiled by Author from Michael Lloyd Ferrar, *Register Of The Royal School, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).



5.2 Modern Methods for the Mercantile Classes

In light of these closed institutions, we can understand the rise of a different type of urban academy that embraced, instead of dissimulating, the mercantile futures of their pupils. The foundation of new educational institutions for the middle classes was concentrated in towns engaged in industry; Belfast, Dublin, Cork, and Galway. However, the industrial quality of Belfast's manufacturing trades in the late eighteenth century created a unique social milieu for Irish educational expansion. The story of Belfast's boarding schools is an illustrative example of an emerging urban bourgeois identity and the role of children and education in shaping the prospect of social mobility. As Jonathan Wright's work on the Presbyterian middle classes suggests, a complex cosmopolitan culture thrived in early nineteenth-century Belfast.⁴² The 'natural leaders' of Belfast society saw themselves fixed within a British milieu, and the foundation of mercantile schools during this period followed a sense of civic duty and exceptionalism. Belfast was in some respects an anomaly from the rest of the island. As Alice Johnson's work on the Belfast elite highlights, Presbyterians formed the majority of members on local authority boards and voluntary bodies, while Anglicans were a smaller but more wealthy group.⁴³ Belfast's upper echelons also had a disproportionate influx of English and Scottish men who formed just 4% of the overall population but took 14% of the town's elite positions, reflecting historic ties between Belfast and the British mainland. Catholics were 34% of the population of Belfast, but among those civic notables who sat on at least one voluntary body as well as a local authority there were only 5 Catholic men in positions of leadership.⁴⁴

The civic elite in Belfast were primarily drawn from the Ulster hinterland to Belfast mercantile pursuits, usually via a school. Many of these elites in the 1840 and 1850s attended the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, (commonly known as the 'Inst', or Institute), not to be confused with its predecessor and rival, the Belfast Academy. In Johnson's cohort of ninety-six men in Belfast's elite, 33 attended the 'Inst', 29 had gone to Scotland, and 14 went to the Belfast Academy. By the 1850s, the period which Johnson's cohort is drawn from, the Inst was clearly the preferred

⁴² Jonathan Jeffrey Wright, *The "Natural Leaders" and Their World: Politics, Culture and Society in Belfast, C. 1801-1832* (Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁴³ Alice Johnson, "The Civic Elite of Mid-Nineteenth Century Belfast," *Irish Economic and Social History* 43, no. 1 (2016), 62-84. Johnson examined membership of the Belfast Corporation, Harbour Commissioners, and Poor Law Unions to collate her data.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 82.

destination for the mercantile classes. These men were the sons of wholesale traders, cotton or linen manufacturers, clergymen, public sector bureaucrats and tenant farmers.⁴⁵

The Belfast Academy (later Belfast Royal Academy) was the oldest school in Belfast founded in 1785 established as a religious seminary and college by Presbyterian businessmen. Prior to the Academy's establishment, Ulster Presbyterians looked to Scotland, typically Glasgow, for their education and religious formation.⁴⁶ Dr. Crombie, the founder, envisioned a school on the Scottish model where preparatory courses for university were available alongside ones offering commercial skills. His liberal tendencies were demonstrated when he delivered sermons in his Volunteer uniform and advocated setting aside part of Sunday for martial exercises.⁴⁷ In his prospectus for the school, issued in the *Belfast Newsletter*, he advertised courses in civil government, the advantages and disadvantages of democracy and monarchy, and a study of ancient and modern moral philosophy.⁴⁸ This was an institution invested in the cultivation of masculine citizens for the polity and versed in the language of government and rights.

Belfast Academy was one of a host of cultural organisations and societies founded in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, indicative of the industrial and mercantile growth in Ulster.⁴⁹ As a forerunner of bourgeois education, the academy proclaimed to instruct children according to the peculiar abilities and aptitudes of childhood. 'The old system assumed that children are wild beasts; the new one supposes them to be men; the system of the Academy takes them up as what they really are -children -beings who possess rational faculties, but in who those faculties are not yet fully developed...'⁵⁰ The Academy advertised that its teaching methods were modern and rational, conducted by presenting a 'patient and familiar explanation of the lesson' until the student was able to give a clear account in his own words. Using this method, the Academy believed the progress of the pupil might be slower in the beginning, but in the end was a more rapid way of

⁴⁵ Ibid., 68-9.

⁴⁶ Anthony Terence Quincey Stewart, *Belfast Royal Academy: The First Century 1785-1885* (Antrim, Co. Antrim: Greystone Press, 1985), 5-6, 11.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 13.

⁴⁸ *Belfast Newsletter*, 9 September 1785.

⁴⁹ S. J. Connolly, ed., *Belfast 400: People, Place and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 165-66.

⁵⁰ Belfast Academy, *Statement of the Constitution of the Belfast Academy; with an Account of the History and Present State of the System of Education Pursued in That Seminary* (Belfast: Thomas Mairs, 1829), 16.

learning, a higher level of scholarship was attained, and a 'taste for intellectual employment' was formed, allowing the student to progress on his own initiative rather than through punishment.⁵¹ They modelled the relationship between teacher and pupil on the respect and care expected from a father for his family. A teacher could expect obedience and respect from his pupils, teaching with firmness and dignity, but the authority he held was reliant on a caring relationship for his students. In 1829, the Academy was offering courses in pedagogy for governesses, tutors, and teachers of both sexes on the art of communicating knowledge and governing children. Referencing the work of Miss Edgeworth, the board of the school decided that 'it is now agreed by all persons who are well-informed on the subject of education, that a man may *possess* knowledge and yet be unable to *communicate* it; and that, in like manner, a man may be unblameable in his own conduct, and yet, from injudicious management, may bring up children so as to injure their morals to the most ruinous extent.'⁵² The governors of the school insisted that teaching must be adjusted to the eccentricities of childhood and keep pace with the natural development of rationality and logic accompanying progression through childhood to adulthood. The Academy proposed that 'this seems to be the rational medium between the unnatural and hideous system of terror so lately in vogue, and the newly proposed method of making the pupils govern themselves.'⁵³

The principal innovation of the Academy was its use of the collegiate system. When the Academy was first established it was divided into four schools; classical, mathematical, English, and writing. A French and Italian teacher were sought and eventually a French teacher was secured for students for an extra guinea per quarter.⁵⁴ Headmaster William Bruce expressed his wish that 'When I undertook the management of the Academy [1790], it was with the hope of establishing a Seminary, in which the sons of such gentleman as could not conveniently send them to college, might receive a liberal education...The various schools of which it consists, give encouragement to able masters, and draw together a great number of students, who, it might be hoped, after passing through the usual course of school instruction, would avail themselves of any philosophical or literary

⁵¹ Ibid., 15.

⁵² Ibid., 27.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Stewart, *Belfast Royal Academy*, 16.

classes that might be established.’⁵⁵ Bruce also opened the classes of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy to the inhabitants of Belfast town as ‘the first is peculiarly calculated to serve the interests of manufactures.’⁵⁶ Belfast Academy was positioning itself in new terms of rationality, efficiency, and productive utility; hallmarks of the new professional classes. The idea of scholarly achievement was broadly conceived. When Rueben John Bryce became headmaster in 1826 the academy had a natural history society, a museum, the beginnings of a library, a bowling green and a fives court.⁵⁷ The school was organised with the house system. Four houses divided the student body, physically and socially, into units that lived, studied, and played beside each other.

In 1810, the Belfast Academical Institution was founded along similar liberalising lines, but caused considerable controversy as a competitor to the existing Belfast Academy. James McCleery, secretary to the Lagan Navigation and Ulster Canal Companies, was a supporter of the new educational initiative, but copied out in his notes the thoughts of a concerned member of the existing academy. The author had no issue with the provision of another private school in a growing town like Belfast.

[but] to subvert an approved plan of education for sake of some visionary speculation and to substitute for a course of wholesome discipline a system of mere competitions and intrigue; the townspeople attaching themselves to that seminary to which they had subscribed without regard to learning or ability; the teachers vying in indulgence, flattery and mean solicitation and the children employing every art of deception to be sent to the most relaxed places of education. Thus, the best school would fall by its own merit.⁵⁸

This excerpt reflects the world of a non-regulated educational marketplace, where boys had a large degree of influence on where they were educated. Although the author disapproves of the use of indulgence and flattery to attract pupils, his disapproval suggests that delicate balance between parental desire, student satisfaction, and institutional integrity. The author also expressed concern about the mingling of gentleman’s sons with ‘refractory, vulgar and vicious boys...many from 16 to 21 years old who could not be governed at home or taught at country

⁵⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 11.

⁵⁷ Hugh Shearman and R. M. Henry, *Belfast Royal Academy 1785-1935* (Belfast: Belfast Royal Academy, 1935), 18.

⁵⁸ Letter Book of James McCleery, secretary, 1809-1826, COM/1/2/1, 200-206. PRONI.

schools.⁵⁹ The idea of children becoming contaminated by the rough manners of the lower classes was also echoed in female convent schools. However, the inability to be governed was a label particularly for boys' disciplinary problems. Masculinity used the language of governance to establish the value of self-restraint and criticise the relaxed moral and disciplinary behaviour of lower-class country boys. The architecture of the Inst was carefully designed to keep boys separated from the potential corruptions of town. The large open green allowed a small number of adults to supervise the boys' recreation, see Figure 5.3.

William Drennan, physician and member of the Inst board, defended the combination of 'pursuits of trade with the advantages of a liberal education, [which] may be ascribed the multitude of ingenious and enlightened speculations in commerce...'⁶⁰ Drennan was a lifelong supporter of education for the middle and professional classes, believing that a liberal education was 'the groundwork (I may call it the *fixed capital*) of a man's fortune in future life.'⁶¹ The Inst was founded, in Drennan's opinion, as a direct antidote to the expensive and exclusive education of the Royal schools. Of all the pedagogues in Belfast, Drennan was perhaps the most clear-minded in his advocacy of access to education for the middle classes. He argued its establishment came from

an absolute local necessity of obtaining school learning, at a cheaper rate, than in an academy of which the boarding terms were 50 guineas per annum; and particularly, where an express limitation was made in respect to the number received viz. a dozen. Whether such limitation continues at present, or is abolished, I profess not to know, but it is obvious that a private and select academy, like this, however excellent, could never correspond to the wishes and wants of a town and country population.⁶²

Drennan was aware that the opening up of superior education and the classics to a wider cohort of pupils was not in the interests the governing classes, and with a prescient Foucauldian analysis, he discussed how the provision of schooling contributed to the persistence of monopolies in industry and government.

It appears the object, the delight, and ambition of some men to keep this town as much back as possible; to discourage and

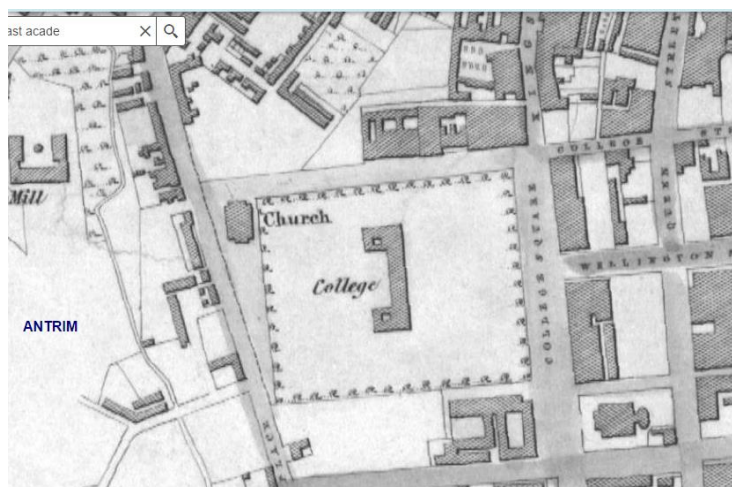
⁵⁹ Ibid., 203.

⁶⁰ William Drennan and Francis D. Finlay, *A Retort Courteous to the Remarks of "Presbyter" Relative to the Belfast Academical Institution, Published in the Belfast Newsletter, July 26, 1816* (Belfast: Francis D. Finlay, 1816), 8.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., 12–13.

Figure 5.3 Belfast Academical Institution, 1832. Source: Survey Maps, Digital Maps, PRONI.



damp all endeavours at improvement, or to breathe a purer air, and enjoy a brighter sky. These men are apprized that knowledge diffused is the grand propelling power in the progress and advancement of mankind; but they also believe that knowledge *confined* and monopolised by an interested few, becomes power.⁶³

While local administrators at the Belfast Academy were unhappy with the competition from the Inst, the school also ruffled the feathers of schoolmasters in Scotland who had previously had a monopoly on the education of Belfast boys of means. Drennan became embroiled in an argument with an anonymous pamphleteer; he claimed it was the headmaster of the Glasgow High School, who had discredited the Institute as a second-rate institution.⁶⁴ The criticisms of the new Institution illustrate the premium placed on the cultivation of cosmopolitanism and sophistication. The Scottish 'dominie' claimed that part of the allure of an education in Glasgow was the experience of travel and the rich cultural offerings of Glasgow town. Drennan in response ridiculed the idea that Glasgow was a superior cultural metropolis to Belfast. He argued that foreign language instruction at his Belfast Inst was on par with other schools.

The headmasters of both the Academy and the Inst were consciously differentiating themselves from the Royal Schools, which had held the monopoly on

⁶³ Ibid., 8.

⁶⁴ Drennan believed it was Dominie Donald McPhearson, who was rejected from the position of headmaster of the academy and sought revenge against the school.

boys' elite education during the eighteenth century. There was a religious dimension here, as the Royal schools were Anglican and the Belfast academies Presbyterian. The very public manner in which men advertised and defended their schools, attacking any adversaries, was quite unlike the situation with female schools, which operated without the same notoriety in the press. Another notable difference from girls' schools was the unabashed self-promotion on the part of individual teachers. Their publications were supported by the school and served to bolster the reputation of scholarship for the individual and the institution. For example, in 1815 Gaetano Fabbrini, the instructor of Italian at the Inst, published a fifty-page pamphlet with rules and exercises for learning the Italian language.⁶⁵ Ten years later, the Greek department brought out *Rudiments of Greek grammar*, no doubt a required purchase for their pupils. The French department issued five textbooks over a fifteen-year period, including titles on vocabulary, prose, literature and rudimentary exercises. The prolific publishing activity of the Inst is perhaps indicative of a demand for educational texts, but also suggests a certain wish for celebrity engendered by some instructors. For example, John Young the first professor of moral philosophy in the Inst was given a public monody upon his death in 1828.⁶⁶ Other professors were feted by their pupils, such as Professor Cairns who received a 'handsome silk gown' from the members of his logic and *belles lettres* class. The students' letter of gratitude and Cairns' response were published in a 12-page pamphlet.⁶⁷ This sort of publicity seems a typical feature of boys' schools and almost non-existent within girls' schools. The hagiographical literature associated with female teachers was usually written by fellow religious sisters, not students, and these biographical portraits of religious sisters were typically anonymous and issued after the individual's death.

On the Catholic side, expansion and growth were also notable from the 1820s onward, although this expansion was concentrated outside of Ulster. With Catholic Emancipation (1829) the activities of Irish religious orders expanded

⁶⁵ Gaetano Fabbrini and Francis D. Finlay, *Rules and Exercises on the Modern Syntax of the Italian Language; as Taught in the Belfast Academical Institution* (Belfast: Francis D. Finlay, 1815).

⁶⁶ Henry Picken, *Monody on the Death of the Late John Young, LL.D., First Professor of Moral Philosophy, in the Belfast Royal Academical Institution* (Belfast (Pottinger's Entry): Hugh Clark, 1832).

⁶⁷ William Cairns and William Henry, *Address of Professor Cairns to the Students of the Logic and Belles Letres Class, of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, on Monday the 16th April 1832* (Belfast: Printed at the News-Letter Office, 1832).

rapidly and Ireland sent missionaries and educators across the British empire.⁶⁸ The expansion of male Catholic religious congregations in Ireland was as impressive as their female counterparts in the field of education. There were 30 schools conducted by male congregations in 1824, this rose to 55 in 1851 and 132 in 1871.⁶⁹ Many of these establishments, like conventual schools, ran a tiered system of education with free and paid classes offered alongside each other. Each religious order channelled their mission to different sections of Irish society. The Jesuits' in Ireland developed a reputation for educating upper-class boys early in the eighteenth century.⁷⁰ After nearly thirty years of suppression, the Jesuits were reinstated in Belorussia in 1801, providing hope that a general restoration might soon follow. Peter Kenney and several other aspirants to the Jesuit order attended Carlow College and then Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, run by former English Jesuits, where they commenced their noviciate. Kenney returned to Ireland in 1811 becoming vice-president at Maynooth College. In 1814 he founded Clongowes Wood, an exclusive Catholic boarding school and in 1819 established St Stanislaus College, near Tullabeg, as a feeder school for Clongowes. He also founded a small church in Dublin on Gardiner street which became St. Francis Xavier parish and the day school Belvedere College.⁷¹ The Jesuit reputation for a particularly militant form of Catholicism and their reestablishment in Ireland did not fail to provoke Protestant anxiety. In 1817, an opinion piece in the *Belfast Newsletter* claimed that the Jesuits were a danger to the state and to the Protestants of Ulster in particular. Referencing the history of the Jesuits on the Continent, the anonymous author admitted the intellectual merit of individual members but saw the Jesuit mission as conspiratorial.

The talents and literary acquirements of many individuals of the order, are always admitted; but their very talents and acquirements (as they operated in society, according to the rules and orders of the body,) were their curse! They threatened to overturn every European state; they

⁶⁸ Colin Barr, *Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman, and the Catholic University of Ireland 1845-1865* (Herefordshire: Gracewing Publishing, 2003).

⁶⁹ Logan, "Schooling and the Promotion of Literacy in Nineteenth Century Ireland," 66.

⁷⁰ Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541-1588: Our Way of Proceeding?* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

⁷¹ Thomas J. Morrissey, "Kenney, Peter James (1779-1841)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, see online ed., David Cannadine, Oxford:2004.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15406> (accessed October 31, 2016).

confounded the ideas of right and wrong in the minds of men;
and they carried the worst of objects by the worst of means.⁷²

From the 1840s other Catholic secondary schools were established for a middle-class catchment of pupils, such as the diocesan seminary and boarding school St. Flannan's in Ennis (1846) and the Crescent College in Limerick, established by the Jesuits in 1862. Blackrock College (1860) and Rockwell in Co. Tipperary (1864) were founded by the French Holy Ghost Order. Two main periods of growth in bourgeois education, the first in the 1780s, the second in the 1840s, suggest the encroachment of the middle-classes onto the traditional elite territory of the grammar school and the university.

5.3 Classical v. Modern: Curriculum and Class

The traditional curriculum for upper-class boys was a classical education. Instruction in the classics during the eighteenth century was fundamental to the identification of the elite, with fluency in Latin and Greek a prerequisite for university and the professions. Access to the classics was a sign of wealth, signifying intellectual accomplishment, masculine rationality, and access to a restricted curriculum. A classical education referred not just to the subject matter, but the method of instruction and the intellectual development associated with it. During the eighteenth century the primary pedagogical approach to a classical education consisted of rote learning, memorisation, and recitation largely relying on a pupil's independently driven study. The study of Latin and Greek were ideally supposed to be long and methodical, producing in the end a masculine mind capable of systematic rationality.⁷³ The breadth of knowledge was seen as necessary for a ruling class, with specialisation associated with dependence and a narrow worldview.⁷⁴ Learning to read Latin and Greek was the means of cultivating a classical way of life, involving the education of the whole man, virtue, and authority.⁷⁵ However, there was a growing scepticism about the actual benefits of the traditional model of education. Concerns about the moralism of upper-class men

⁷² 'Observations on the recent introduction of the order of Jesuits into Ireland', *Belfast Newsletter*, 13 June 1817, 2.

⁷³ Percy, "Learning and Virtue: English Grammar and the Eighteenth-Century Girls' School."

⁷⁴ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 231.

⁷⁵ Martin Lowther Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

resulted in a re-assessment of the curriculum and pedagogy of universities.⁷⁶ The tumult of the French and American Revolution did little to reassure elites about the stability of an increasingly literate society. William Van Reyk has identified that there were concerns as early as the 1770s about whether the classical curriculum was being taught at the expense of Christianity.⁷⁷ Masculinity itself was undergoing dramatic shifts, and educational reform took a central position in reformulating masculine culture for a growing bourgeoisie.

However, it was not until the 1830s that elite boys' schooling institutions came under fire. Criticized for their low standard of learning, high levels of debauchery and immorality, and the superficiality of classical studies and rote memorisation.⁷⁸ During the 1830s the *Edinburgh Review* launched a series of articles criticising the low standard of learning and lack-lustre teaching at the English public boarding schools, specifically Eton, Harrow, and Rugby. The traditional classical programme of studies at Eton was described by R.L. Archer as a study of style rather than substance.

as regards the work of the lower forms at Eton, the first did nothing but Latin Grammar; the second the Latin testament, and catechism, and Phaedrus; the next form began Greek and read Latin Selections; the fourth took Ovid, Aesop, Caesar, Terence, Latin selections, and Greek Testament; the remove did Vergil, Horace's Odes, Pomponius Mela [sic], Cornelius Nepos, and the Poetae Graeci. The younger boys did some writing and arithmetic, and some of the fifth took geography and algebra as extras.⁷⁹

This curriculum was criticised not for its lack of practical application upon graduation, but for its focus on stylistic, superficial features instead of the historical or philosophical value of the texts. Three questions were involved, the confinement of studies to the classics, the purely stylistic aims of the pedagogy, and the lack of effectiveness of teaching in achieving the stylistic aim. A classical education purportedly supplied boys with the ability to delve deeply into knowledge with the ability for sustained and lengthy focus on a narrow band of topics. If boys were merely parroting memorised passages of Greek poetry their intellectual achievements became suspiciously ornamental. Thomas Arnold's reforms at Rugby,

⁷⁶ William Van Reyk, "Educating Christian Men in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Public-School and Oxbridge Ideals," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 3 (2009).

⁷⁷ William Van Reyk, "Educating Christian Men, 431.

⁷⁸ R. L. Archer, *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 19.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

credited with establishing the masculine hallmarks of sportsmanship and muscular Christianity popular during the Victorian era, was concerned with rooting out the intimations of effeminacy, superficial scholarship, and low moral tone of the public school. Fabrice Neddam observed that Arnold's changes were inculcated through implementation of a hierarchical and competitive structure of schooling, designed to reward values of personal endurance, duty, and self-reliance resulting in a manly, Christian leader.⁸⁰ Joyce has argued that Arnold's programme of moral reform construed boys' in groups as prone to evil, requiring spiritual and physical regimes to moderate their illicit sexual impulse.⁸¹ John Chandos has similarly described the reforms of the public schools as a transition from the freedom of boys to be boys, to a disciplinary structure intended to deliver ordered and disciplined men.⁸² While in the most elite boys' schools headmasters may have had a large degree of freedom in meting out reforms, smaller institutions were subjected to the desires of parents and local patrons to a larger degree.

The curriculum of Jesuit schools was similarly focused on the classical languages and was standardised in the *Ratio Studiorum* in 1599. Irish Jesuits used an adapted version of the programme in their boarding schools. Simply translated as a method of study, the *Ratio* was a hierarchical programme of three classes of grammar, one class of humanities, one class in rhetoric and three years of philosophy. If students were preparing for ordination to the priesthood, then typically four years of theology would follow.⁸³ Fluency in Latin was a requirement for aspirants to the priesthood, but was equally necessary for entrance into some professions, like medicine. Daily mass attendance and monthly confession were part of the *Ratio*, but only a half hour per week was accorded to the study of Christian doctrine. The lack of consistent religious formation drew criticism and contributed to the perception of the Jesuits as devoid of true religiosity.⁸⁴ As early as the 1750s the Jesuit programme of classical study drew criticism on the continent.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Fabrice Neddam, "Constructing Masculinities under Thomas Arnold of Rugby (1828-1842): Gender, Educational Policy and School Life in an Early-Victorian Public School," *Gender & Education* 16, no. 3 (2004), 306.

⁸¹ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 241.

⁸² John Chandos, *Boys Together: English Public Schools 1800-1864*, First edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

⁸³ Daniel L. Schlafly, "True to the Ratio Studiorum? Jesuit Colleges in St. Petersburg," *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (1997), 421-34.

⁸⁴ Edward Augustus Fitzpatrick, Mary Helen Mayer, and Asher Raymond Ball, *St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933); Schlafly, "True to the Ratio Studiorum?";

Criticism of the traditional classical education was aired from various Irish commentators and ranged from moral concerns about their content, the suitability of a classical education for a mercantile future, and the possible harm such intense study could have on a young child's mind. The Edgeworths' *Practical Education* lacked any enthusiasm for the intellectual qualities necessary for studying the classics. They saw grammar and classical literature as a matter of making boys comfortable among their peers rather than a necessary aspect of knowledge. 'As long as gentleman feel a deficiency in their own education, when they have not a competent knowledge of the learned languages, so long must a parent be anxious, that his son should not be exposed to the mortification of appearing inferior to others of his own rank.'⁸⁶ The classics were a passport of gentility, and the constant invectives of headmasters and school inspectors over the superficiality of boys' classical knowledge indicates the extent to which they could be a matter of show. While not discrediting the necessity of Greek and Latin in some professions, the Edgeworths were critical of the manner in which the classics were taught and the questionable moral value of the ancients. Critiquing a copy of Garretson's exercise-book they argued that allegories, symbolism and the nuances of the ancients would be lost on children who universally had 'simple judgment.'⁸⁷ 'The barbarous translations, which are put as models for imitation into the hands of school-boys, teach them bad habits of speaking and writing, which are sometimes incurable.'⁸⁸ The grammar-books and translations that the Edgeworths abhorred showed little in the way of style in the English language and were thought to discourage pupils from developing a taste for literature.⁸⁹

Some religious educators were similarly concerned about the moral danger posed by classical texts, heathen works by heathen authors, and the ability of young boys to discern between the literary and the moral relevance of the content. Religious commentators were concerned about the effects of exposing impressionable child minds to the paganistic immorality of ancient poetry and even found questionable elements in the writings of the church fathers. *The Orthodox*

Maurice Whitehead, "From Expulsion to Restoration: The Jesuits in Crisis, 1759–1814," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 412 (2014), 447–61.

⁸⁵ Whitehead, "From Expulsion to Restoration," 448.

⁸⁶ Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 1st ed. (London: J. Johnson, 1798), 387.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 391.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 393.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 394.

Presbyterian objected to the immoral content of St. Augustine's *Confessions*, particularly the indecorous rendering of his childhood and adolescent escapades. 'His sloth and other vicious practices in childhood were, I suppose, such as are common to children. But few are disposed to look on them as serious evils. To Augustine's mind they appeared what they were, -the marks of an apostate nature.'⁹⁰ However, the author's problem was not a theological issue with Augustine's rendering of human nature, but rather a sense that his tales were not appropriate reading for impressionable young boys.

Though since the destruction of Pagan idolatry there is by no means the same danger of reading classic authors, yet how justly blameable is the practice of leading boys so much to lewd poets, instead of acquainting them with the more solid excellencies [sic] of many prose authors! A just selection of the most innocent and useful authors, and an assiduous comparison of their sentiments with those of Christianity all along, will not only guard against the poison of the classics, but instruct youth in the necessity and importance of Revelation; and school-masters, as well as children, may learn, what we have seen, just matter of rebuke for exulting literary above moral excellence.⁹¹

We can see that as the concept of childhood, and by extension, boyhood, became more impressionable and innocent the case for studying the classics became more fraught. The idea of exposing young boys to the frank immorality of classical texts made less sense within a framework of childhood innocence.

We can also see this anxiety about the fragility of children's intellect, and potential for corruption, in the intensified scrutiny of the moral atmosphere of the boarding school. The result was that mothers were tasked with additional responsibility for giving their sons a solid religious education prior to their attendance at school. Conduct literature from the period suggests that mothers and fathers had an interest in preparing their child to avoid influence from their peers. Mrs. Lovechild's *School Dialogues, for Boys: Being an Attempt to Convey Instructions Insensibly to Their Tender Minds, and Instill the Love of Virtue* (1783), likely a pseudonym for a female English author, was written for 'one particular boy, who is on the point of emerging from her wing into that little world, a school.- writes with a view to fortify him against the contagion of bad example---against the poison of

⁹⁰ Anonymous, 'Commenting on St. Augustine's Confessions', *The Orthodox Presbyterian* no. lxxxv, October 1836. Vol 8, 19.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

pernicious counsel—writes to shew him what characters he may expect to meet with ; to the end, that being on his guard, he may not be surprised unwarily into the paths of vice.’⁹² The format of a dialogue was chosen by the author to convey the gentle nature of a mother’s instruction and the belief that children’s ‘tender minds’ must be amused as well as educated. If a mother engaged her child daily in short, enjoyable dialogue on the topic of the short stories included in the book she will ‘feel a repose of mind, in the confidence that her beloved child is imbibing just notions, and acquiring modes of conduct, which she will hope may be of use, when he quits her sheltering wing.’⁹³ Mrs. Lovechild recommended a light conversational style of instruction with young boys, stating, ‘Dialogue keeps awake that attention which flags even in a speech protracted beyond a few lines. In the lively period of Childhood, all must be action and sprightliness to engage the heart. Advice like medicine to refractory children, must come disguised, or it will never please. Remarks come with double weight from those who are of their own age.’⁹⁴ The text was popular into the late nineteenth century; Henry Westropp wrote his name in big childish script on a copy of the book now held in TCD’s Pollard collection of children’s books.⁹⁵

Within pedagogical texts from the 1830s we can see a shift towards the need to cultivate boys’ ability to reflect and think interiorly. There was a shift away from memorisation and recitation, towards teaching methods which encouraged deeper reflection. An instruction manual for devising questions for pupils, issued by an instructor at the Royal Hibernian Military Academy, Dublin revealed how pedagogues thought about a hierarchy of knowledge; placing a higher premium on the child that could *think*, rather than the child who simply *knew*. The text was printed by William Curry in 1853 ostensibly to provide an instructional manual for trainee teachers or school monitors. The author proposed a set of ‘cautions’ for contriving questions in a manner conducive to children’s minds and the way they processed information. The term ‘catechising’ was preferable to ‘questioning’, according to the author, because it drew the strongest link to the subject. However, the author rejected the term on the grounds that it was too narrowly understood in

⁹² Lovechild, *School Dialogues, for Boys: Being an Attempt to Convey Instructions Insensibly to Their Tender Minds, and Instill the Love of Virtue* (London: printed and sold by John Marshall and Co, 1783).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, xxiv.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* Pollard collection, TCD shelfmark OLS POL 1218.

popular parlance as only relating to 'hearing the catechism.'⁹⁶ The purpose of questioning the child was to inform the teacher of the level of attainment achieved by the child and for the child to realise his deficiencies, 'by this alone faint impressions are made indelible, and crude half-formed ideas deepened into reflection.'⁹⁷

That mode of questioning can alone aid in expanding the intellect, which brings the pupil to a reflective pause; smatterers are generally ready answers, and even smartness is not infrequently a sign of superficiality. As questions materially modified to suit the readiness and capacity of the pupil, they should be so framed, that no answer can be given which is not the result of some reflection.⁹⁸

The author criticised the practise of having students memorise 'conversations', a form of instruction popular in the eighteenth century, because it prompted students to acquire knowledge as 'parrot-like repeated, and forgotten on the morrow.'⁹⁹ According to the author it was a sign of the progress of teaching that ready-made interrogation texts were disappearing.

The hierarchy of subjects and the privileging of the classical curriculum is clearly illustrated in the rates of tuition for classical studies. In 1835 boarders at Portora Royal School paid 34 guineas a year plus 3 guineas entrance. The fees for day boys was 6 guineas for the classical curriculum and 4 guineas for the English curriculum. By 1852 the breadth of subjects on offer had expanded to reflect the more mercantile background of the pupils. The cheapest band of tuition was for the modern subjects of history, geography, writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, topics which would have suggested a career in the mercantile sector. Tuition in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Logic, Geometry, and Algebra was double the cost of the English curriculum at eight Guineas a year.¹⁰⁰ Scholars were given different classrooms and living quarters depending on their course of study. At the Belfast Inst the English and Classical students were in separate houses on the school grounds. The inequality which this system promoted among students and teachers was challenged early in the nineteenth century. In 1817, James Knowles, instructor of

⁹⁶ (William Torbet or Tanner?) Young, *The Art of Questioning: Or, a Short Analysis of the Interrogatory Methods of Instruction, Designed for the Use of Teachers, Pupil-Teachers, and Monitors*. (Dublin: William Curry a, 1853).

⁹⁷ Ibid., 9.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 12.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 11.

¹⁰⁰ Royal School of Enniskillen, Rev. Doctor Greham, Master: terms for day pupils, EPH A578, Prints & Drawings, NLI.

Figure 5.4 Terms of Tuition for Day Pupils, Enniskillen Royal School 1852, EPH A578. Source: NLI.

ROYAL SCHOOL OF ENNISKILLEN,		
REV. DOCTOR GREHAM, MASTER.		
TERMS FOR DAY PUPILS,		
Tuition in English in all its branches, including History, Geography, use of the Globes, Writing and Arithmetic, Book-keeping, &c.	Four	Guineas p^r Annum.
Tuition in the same course with the addition of Logic, Geometry and Algebra	Six	Guineas p^r Annum.
Tuition in the English Course, with the addition of Latin, Greek and Hebrew	Six	Guineas p^r Annum.
Tuition in the full English and Classical Courses, with the addition of Logic, Geometry and Algebra ...	Eight	Guineas p^r Annum.
Tuition in French	Two	Guineas p^r Annum.
Portora House,		
January 1st, 1852.		
Payments quarterly, on March 1st, June 1st, September 1st, and December 1st.		

English at the Inst, lodged a public complaint against the head of school for lack of proper compensation for his services, and demanded a raise from a half-guinea a term per student to a full guinea per student per term.¹⁰¹ In his view the Inst's scheme for English instruction 'degradingly putting it upon a par with inferior branches of instruction, and is thereby in a manner deteriorated, and brought into contempt.'¹⁰² W.B. Stanford has suggested that the lack of interest in the classics among the professional classes was not simply motivated by commercial considerations. Trinity College established professorships in French with German, and in Italian with Spanish in 1776 and modern languages held utility for the boy heading to the continent for his grand tour.¹⁰³ Anderson argued that the classical curriculum was retained in the civic universities as a way of differentiating between the elite education of Oxbridge and the offerings of technical schools.¹⁰⁴

All of these innovations were not welcomed without reservation. In the Presbyterian General Synod of Ulster, the matter of the Inst's moral philosophy department garnered a public inquiry as a result of the rift between the New Light views of the late eighteenth century and the evangelicalism of the 1830s.¹⁰⁵ In 1835 the inquiry was conducted into the content and syllabus of a moral philosophy class

¹⁰¹ James Knowles, *An Appeal to the Dignified Visitors and the Noblemen and Gentlemen: Proprietors of the Belfast Academical Institution* (Belfast: 1817), 7.

¹⁰² Ibid., 7

¹⁰³ Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical Tradition*, 34.

¹⁰⁴ R. D. Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 13.

¹⁰⁵ Andrew Holmes, *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

taught by Mr. Ferrie. He was accused of leading his students to disregard established religion. Seven students were questioned in July, four in September, and the full content of their statements was printed for the public. Student Robert Blain accused Ferrie of teaching doctrines that were ‘hostile to Scripture truth’ and without sufficient deference to the Bible and scriptural authority.¹⁰⁶ The key point of concern seemed to be Ferrie’s materialism and utilitarianism. Influenced by J. S. Mill’s ideas, Ferrie taught that the virtue of an action depended on the foresight of the consequences likely to result from it. Student Joshua Collins stated that Ferrie, ‘taught that we know nothing of a mind but its sensations and ideas- thinks it would be inferable, from this doctrine, that where there are no sensations or ideas, there is no mind.’¹⁰⁷ Most damningly he encouraged ‘the utmost boldness of speculation, no matter to what consequences it might lead.’¹⁰⁸

In Ireland, the ‘modernisation’ of the curricular offerings of boys’ institutions can be detected in the provision of maths and mercantile studies alongside the classics in private academies. Dr. Porter and Mr. Hamblin’s school for boys in Cork covered the full range of subjects in their advertised title as a Classical, Mathematical, and Commercial Academy. The classical curriculum carried a high cultural value but lacked practical application, while training for mercantile pursuits lacked the prestige of the former. By advertising the tripartite combination of traditionally elite classical studies with more applicable training in maths and business, parents could be assured that their sons received a versatile range of skills. The course offerings did seem to live up to its ambitious boasts of diversity and range, see Figure 5.5. Denny Lane, journalist and repealer, attended the school in 1833 where he was examined daily in ‘Greek Testament, Lucian, Homer, Xenophon, Latin, Terence, Juvenal, Livy, Virgil, Horace, Exercise, Euclid (Geometry), Algebra, History, Writing’.¹⁰⁹ Lane was a good student, receiving a score of 9/9 for most of his assessments. He went on to study at Trinity College Dublin and was called to the Bar. A similar type of school conducted by Alexander H. Litton as an English, commercial, mathematical and classical, day and boarding school, on Dorset St., Dublin around 1816. In Litton’s school the subjects suggest a

¹⁰⁶ Royal Belfast Academical Institution et al., eds., *Minutes of an Inquiry Taken before a Committee of The Joint Board of Managers and Visitors of The Royal Belfast Academical Institution, Respecting the Moral Philosophy Class* (Belfast: Printed by Thomas Mairs, 1835), 6.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 7.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 7–8.

¹⁰⁹ School report books in Denny Lane collection relating to Porter and Hamblin’s school, South Mall, 1830’s, Denny Lane Papers, U.611 CCCA.

Figure 5.5 Report Card from Hamlin And Porter School Cork, Denny Lane Papers, U611. Source: CCCA.

Mr. Hamlin and Doctor Porter's School.
JUDGMENTS,
For the Week, ending 18th Feb 1857

SCHOOL BUSINESS.	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Greek	9					
Latin	9	9	9	9	9	9
History	9	9	9	9	9	9
Geography	9	9	9	9	9	9
English Grammar	9	9	9	9	9	9
Catechism	9	9	9	9	9	9
Writing	9	9	9	9	9	9
Arithmetic	9	9	9	9	9	9
Spelling	9	9	9	9	9	9
Conduct	9	9	9	9	9	9
Morning Attendance	9	9	9	9	9	9
After Breakfast ditto	9	9	9	9	9	9

N. B.—9 is the highest degree of merit.

Mr. Hamlin and Doctor Porter's School.
JUDGMENTS,
For the Week, ending 25th Feb 1857

SCHOOL BUSINESS.	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
Greek	9					
Latin	9	9	9	9	9	9
History	9	9	9	9	9	9
Geography	9	9	9	9	9	9
English Grammar	9	9	9	9	9	9
Catechism	9	9	9	9	9	9
Writing	9	9	9	9	9	9
Arithmetic	9	9	9	9	9	9
Spelling	9	9	9	9	9	9
Conduct	9	9	9	9	9	9
Morning Attendance	9	9	9	9	9	9
After Breakfast ditto	9	9	9	9	9	9

N. B.—9 is the highest degree of merit.

more mercantile bent, classics having only one examination while arithmetical tables, bookkeeping, writing, map drawing, the use of globes, geography and maths all had separate exams.¹¹⁰ The school books of Patrick Moore, a native of Knockgriffin and relation to the Marquess of Drogheda, indicate the content of a more mercantile education. His notebooks are filled with word problems for calculating prices and profits in various commodities. For example, 'A merchant has £100 of sugar which he barter at 9 ½ a lb against tobacco at 10 ¼ how much tobacco must he receive?'.¹¹¹ Or for more pertinent questions of profit, Moore was tasked with deciding who had made the best bargain in an exchange of merchandize between two hypothetical businessmen. Calculating percentages and rates of sale may not be glamorous, now or then, and the doodles and scratching out in the notebook attest to the mundanity of the exercises.

The degree to which a classical education was associated with privilege is illustrated in Harriet Martineau and other educational reformers' desire to encourage the middle classes to take up more practical subjects like book-keeping. Martineau urged the aspirant middle classes to pursue a practical, useful education directly linked to a career. In 1859, in response to the governmental enquiry on the

¹¹⁰ 'Education, English, Commercial, Mathematical and Classical Day and Boarding School.' *The Freeman's Journal*, 8 February 1816.

¹¹¹ Moore Family school books, 1774-1814, MS/72, U270 i. CCCA.

state of the Endowed schools in Ireland, Martineau recommended the development of an intermediate curriculum which would appeal to the tastes and objectives of the middle classes. Mensuration, navigation, drawing and music were all recommended as areas which were suitably 'between the intellectual and the industrial.'¹¹² From her perspective, the practical subjects were given short shrift by headmasters occupied by the allure of a scholarly vocation. She stated, 'The principles and practice of book-keeping answer these conditions. They are scientific, no less than a practical character. Yet is book-keeping sneered at in some of these schools as 'a mechanical preparation for the shop or the counting-house,' as the classical schoolmaster is pleased to think.'¹¹³ Martineau argued that the middle classes in the 1860s were essentially falling into a gap. The well-established elite schools were not suitable for boys destined for merchant, banking, or professional careers. Nor did the basic provisions of national education answer the need for a more refined education. Her writings demonstrate the clear association of the classics with an elite and leisured class. Although Martineau was writing against what she perceived was a substantial cohort of parents seeking just such a high-value classical education for their sons.

Despite the qualms of educational commentators, middle-class parents seemed to have retained their preference for the classical education of their sons. Daniel and Mary O'Connell were anxious that their youngest son Daniel Jr. (1816-1897), would apply himself to the study of the classics in order to ensure his admittance to college. His mother Mary had been reluctant to send her 'darling Danny' away to boarding school and waited until he was thirteen years old, much longer than her elder son Maurice who was sent to Clongowes Wood at seven years of age.¹¹⁴ It was a point of family humour to joke about Mary's concern for her youngest son and her excess of maternal doting. Daniel was not fond of the boarding experience and counted down the days to vacation every year. Daniel was under the pretension that if he completed two years of study at Clongowes he would be allowed to return home and resume studies with a tutor. This may have added to his lack of attention in school matters. When Daniel failed to progress into the second school along with his friend Gregory Costigan, his mother admonished him.

¹¹² Harriet Martineau, *Endowed Schools of Ireland*. (London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1859), 48.

¹¹³ Martineau, *Endowed Schools of Ireland*, 47.

¹¹⁴ O'Connell, "My Darling Danny."

He [Mr Shine, an instructor] said you were quite fit for the second school as Gregory Costigin...Now my child you must recollect you were expressly told that if you made good use of your time while these two years are passing you would be brought home at their termination. Are you aware that it is a resident tuter[sic] you are to have...That the classics are what you are entirely fit to learn from him to fit you for entering College. Now my dear Danny will it not be better for you to make every exertion while at Clongowes to learn as much of the Classics as you possibly can. I you wil [sic] take a little more trouble you can do anything because you have abilitys[sic] and surely you ought to be at least in the same class with Gregory. You are my darling child, religious and conscientious. Surely you will not commit so much sin as to neglect studying and doing all in your power to repay your good Father for the expense he is at for you. I am sure I do not need to urge you more on this subject.¹¹⁵

Mary's gentle prodding suggested that Daniel should emulate his classmates and work hard not to fall behind his peers. The considerable expense his father spent on his tuition is also mentioned in order to inspire some filial devotion. Robert Ball (1840-1913) was similarly discontent in his boarding school in Chester, hated his Greek and Latin lessons, and consequently causing his mother 'terrible grief.'¹¹⁶

One of the repeated themes in boys' autobiographies is the suggestion that many of them did not enjoy their time at school and felt they had not gained much from their instruction. William Hanbidge (1813-1906), growing up in West Wicklow, relayed the level of boyish boredom and perhaps simple immaturity that coloured his weekly religious instruction at the hands of Mr. Greene the Curate of Donoughmore.

During the winter months of 1820-21, [he] used to come to Mrs Plant's house (who was sextoness of the Church). Once a week we all stood in her kitchen the big ones behind and such as I was in the front and when I would strive to hide amongst the big boys he would bring me forward. I do not remember a word of his teaching.¹¹⁷

William learned his first letters from a free Erasmus Smith school, after which his father hired a tutor for him and his brothers for a summer.¹¹⁸ Conterminously he attended a Sunday and Saturday school at his local parish which taught literacy

¹¹⁵ Mary O'Connell to Daniel O'Connell Jr. 14 January 1831. As quoted in, *My darling Danny*, 32.

¹¹⁶ Ball and Ball, *Reminiscences and Letters of Sir Robert Ball*, 19.

¹¹⁷ William Hanbidge, *The Memories of William Hanbidge, Aged 93. 1906: An Autobiography: With Appendices and Chronicles of His Family by His Daughter, Mary Hanbidge* (St Albans: Gibbs & Banforth, 1939).

¹¹⁸ Hanbidge, *Memories of West Wicklow, 1813-1839*, 44.

through scripture readings, and he participated in the Society for Discountenancing Vice. William's education indicates the variety of schools and tutors which might be employed by a family to cobble together a decent education. As the third youngest in a family of nine sons and two daughters, William's education was clearly an attempt to give him skills beyond the family farm. When he was sixteen he was sent to a teacher training school in Dublin and taught the latest educational models.

At last as I have before stated I was sent to the Training school which was held in a house on the premises of the Foundling hospital where we never were allowed out into the streets unless on Sundays afternoons and not then if we had not given satisfaction in our studies the previous week...I made fair progress in Geography, Grammar, Scripture learned some of Euclid. I wrote out the whole of Bell's system of education and the whole of Walker's philosophy of Arithmetic and was well instructed in Pestalozzi's mental arithmetic, arithmetic which greatly expanded the mind.¹¹⁹

Lancaster's method of education was popular in national schools as a way of managing large class sizes. It involved using older children as monitors for younger children and dividing classes into smaller groups. Hanbridge returned home at the age of 17 and worked on the farm for two years until he was appointed master of his old school until 1837.

I went to Dublin to be a clerk to a solicitor and my wife to keep a shop, but as I did not succeed in business I had to go back to school teaching. I got an appointment in the Parish of Clonmore, County Carlow under Archdeacon Stopford, a son of the Earl of Courtown, County Wexford. I met a cousin of my father's in that parish and made many kind friends still I could not stop as my wife's health began to fail through the effects of a very damp house so I removed to Athy County Kildare...¹²⁰

William's autobiography suggests the changing fortunes which accompanied an endeavour to move up in the world. His position as a teacher made him a respectable figure within the community. However, his attempt to start a business in Dublin, arguably because of the financial incentive failed, and he reverted again to school teaching. His autobiography is suggestive of the variety of careers which an individual might have over the course of a lifetime. Hanbridge's lack of business

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 47.

connections or suitable partners may have been a key reason for his business failures.

Alongside academic work, manners, politeness and elocution were given careful attention by parents choosing a school. Robert Ball's (1840-1913) early education took place at home under the tutelage of a cadre of temporary English governesses, brought into the household so that Robert and his siblings might avoid the travesty of getting an Irish accent.

With this object in view, we were surrounded from our earliest days by English nurses. It was for the same reason that we boys were sent to English schools. In those days this was one of the arguments used in favour of sending Irish boys to school in England. In later years I used often to laugh at my dear old mother about this part of her policy, and the lamentable failure that it proved to be... Indeed, even the fifteen years of my life which I have now spent at Cambridge have not, I am informed, sufficed entirely to remove all traces of an Irish accent!¹²¹

The Ball family's social world straddled two islands, his mother was English, his father Irish. We can see this attention to accent as a way of ensuring that Robert could negotiate his position within a cosmopolitan social milieu. Good diction meant good breeding. He attended Dr. John Lardner Burke's school in North Great George's Street for a short time and was then transferred to Tarvin Hall near Chester.¹²² Mary O'Connell reported to her son Daniel Jr. that his elder brother John (1810-1858) was trying to pick up an English accent while studying at Trinity College Dublin in 1830.¹²³ She doesn't comment on whether she approved of this endeavour, but her frequent corrections of her Daniel's grammar and spelling in correspondence suggests that presentation was a key part of education. Expressing a similar sentiment, William Drennan expressed his desire for his son Thomas to 'Nothing I shd. More eagerly wish for my child than a calm, clear connected flow of elocution, even tho' it might appear pedantic.'¹²⁴ Accent and polish were some of the less definable reasons that education outside of Ireland was attractive to parents.

¹²¹ Ibid., 17.

¹²² Robert S. Ball, *Reminiscences and Letters of Sir Robert Ball*, (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1915), 17-19.

¹²³ Mary O'Connell to Danny O'Connell, 22 May 1830, in Mary O'Connell and Erin I. Bishop, *"My Darling Danny": Letters from Mary O'Connell to Her Son Daniel, 1830-1832* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1998).

¹²⁴ Mary McNeill, *Little Tom Drennan: Portrait of a Georgian Childhood* (Dolmen Press, 1962), 81.

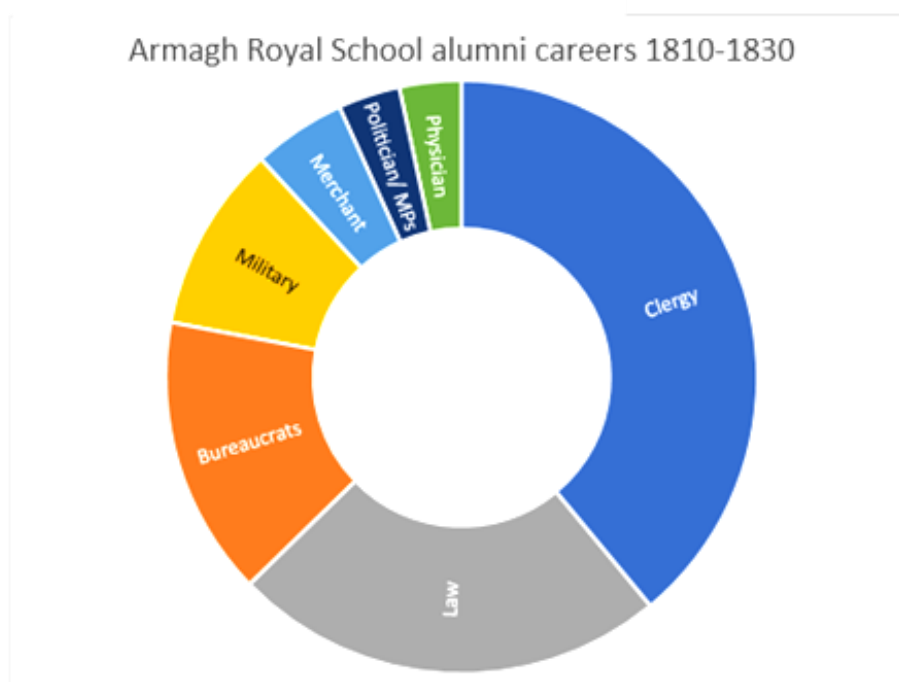
5.4 The Purpose of Boys' Education -Cultivating Manners and Masculinity

Parental outlay on education did reap rewards. By the end of the 1850s there was a clear path from school to career for middle-class boys. Some schools developed informal associations with government or church institutions as destinations for their boys. Returning to the sample of 386 graduates from Armagh Royal school we can see that there was a clear tendency across the period for boys to go on to a career in the Church of Ireland. This may also be linked to the high numbers of clergymen who sent their sons to Armagh Royal School. Adult careers in law or the military officer corp were the second and third most popular career paths after divinity. However, again the figures become more interesting if broken down by decade. The emergence of bureaucratic positions in the state and empire altered this traditional trajectory towards clerical careers. Future high sheriffs, county surveyors, postmasters, and justice of the peace dot the student rolls from the 1820s onwards as mercantile men gained access to paid and unpaid government appointments. From 1810-1830, there was many boys going into law or bureaucratic posts as there were applicants to the church. The Royal Schools' tremendously successful matriculation rates at Trinity College Dublin are another indicator of 'success.'¹²⁵ Eighty-three percent of graduates from the Armagh school attended a university from 1770-1840. Most went to TCD, a few went to Oxford or Cambridge. In one way, the clearest marker of success for the Armagh Royal School were the careers that boys did not go into. The potential for social mobility is demonstrated best by the boys from merchant, farming, or tradesman backgrounds. Fifty-nine percent of these boys went into a career in the church. The rest of the cohort went towards law or became state bureaucrats, one became a surgeon. For these families, investment in school was a significant proportion of their income, in a way that education was not for more elite families. Armagh could deliver on its reputation for matriculating boys to TCD.

One of the mainstays of modernisation theory and social mobility is a perceived decline in the effect of paternalism on boys' careers. According to Montt and Maas, higher-status fathers were likely to transfer the means of production to their sons, either in direct knowledge transfer such as a medical doctor taking his on son as an apprentice, or indirectly, helping their children get better jobs through

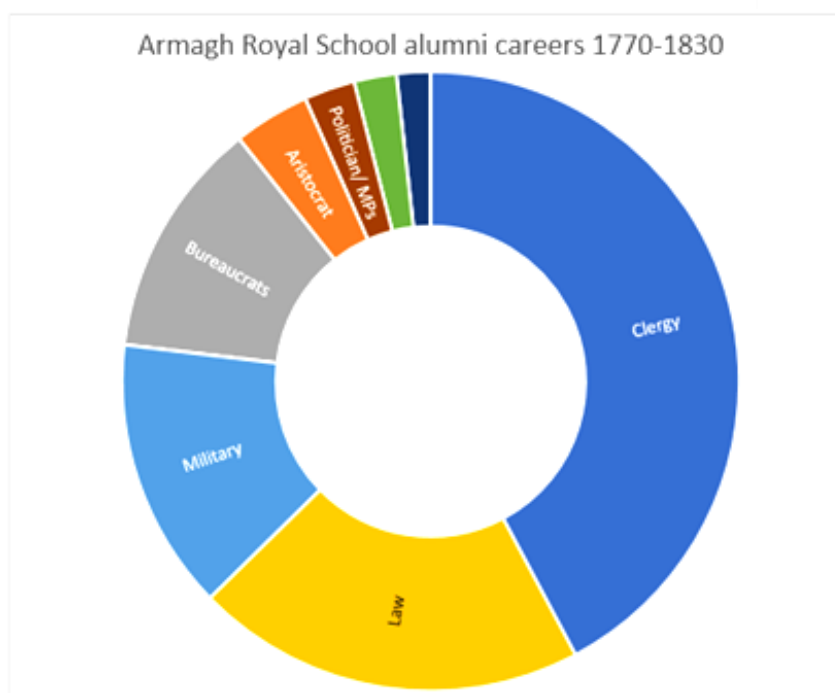
¹²⁵ 311 of the 317 boys who went on to university spent some time at Trinity College Dublin. Based on the student records traced by Ferrar, *Register of the Royal School, Armagh*.

Table 5.3 Armagh Royal School, Alumni Careers, 1770-1830



Source: Compiled by Author from M. L. Ferrar, *Register Of The Royal School, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).

Table 5.4 Armagh Royal School, Alumni Careers, 1810-1830



Source: Compiled by Author from M. L. Ferrar, *Register Of The Royal School, Armagh* (Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933).

deployment of social capital and authority.¹²⁶ Higher-status children had an advantage over lower-status children because they grew up in a habitus with cultural resources specific to their class.¹²⁷ In modernisation theories, direct paternal influence is thought to have declined over the nineteenth century with education credentials and professional qualifications taking precedent by mid-century.¹²⁸ Taking a sample of 108 men whose education and career backgrounds are recorded in the *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 38 percent of boys decided to follow their father's career path and signed up for a part in the family business or profession.¹²⁹ 73 percent of boys that took over their fathers' professions were born before 1840.

Certain professions were more likely to attract this pattern; merchants, physicians, and landed fathers were the most likely to have their sons take over for them. In the medical profession, children were likely to gain their foothold through early exposure and informal apprenticeships. For example, Josiah Smyly (1804–64) was born in Dublin and practised as a surgeon. He married Ellen Crampton, the sister of Sir Philip Crampton, the acclaimed surgeon. The Smyly's had eleven or twelve children and at least two of their sons, Philip Crampton (1838-1904) named in honour of his uncle, and William (1850-1941) ended up in the medical field. Educated at home for their early years, Philip was apprenticed to his uncle at the age of 15. He then attended Trinity College Dublin and graduated aged 21, travelling to Berlin and Vienna to study surgery before returning to Ireland to establish a practise. Philip's adult life was an exemplar of the urban professional: he played violin duets with the famous violinist Francis Cruise, was President of the Hibernian catch club, and was a member of numerous societies and organisations. His social ascent was confirmed in 1892 when he was knighted and served as surgeon to Queen Victoria on her visits to Ireland.¹³⁰ His younger brother William, also a graduate of TCD, became an obstetrician and gynaecologist after studying in

¹²⁶ Montt and Maas, "The Openness of Britain during Industrialisation. Determinants of Career Success of British Men Born between 1780 and 1880," 125.

¹²⁷ Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (Sage Publications, 1990).

¹²⁸ Harold Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society* (Routledge, 2003); Perkin, *The Rise of Professional Society*; Anderson, *Universities and Elites in Britain Since 1800*.

¹²⁹ 42 out of 108 boys whose careers and fathers' careers are known.

¹³⁰ Helen Andrews. "Smyly, Sir Philip Crampton". *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Vienna and eventually became Master of the Rotunda Hospital.¹³¹ Their mother and father had given the example of civic engagement and social responsibility to their sons. Ellen Smyly was responsible for the foundation of the Smyly Mission Homes and Ragged Schools of Dublin for Protestant children. Along with her daughters she supported Bible schools and church missions.¹³² Their family's social circle was cosmopolitan, civic-minded, and engaged in Dublin's elite network of politics, philanthropy, and civic service.

There is anecdotal evidence to confirm that educational qualifications were becoming the preferred currency over the period, even when a son's place in the family firm was anticipated. Three generations of the Allen family in Belfast are a rather neat example of how educational patterns of apprenticeship were changing, and how wives were involved in the day to day operations of a family business. David Allen Sr. (1830-1903), born in Randalstown, Antrim, was the eldest son of James Allen, a carrier whose business suffered because of the railroad. David was apprenticed to printer James Macaulay in Belfast. He married at age 21 a fellow Presbyterian, Agnes Jamieson of Carnmoney. He became a master printer in 1857 and began publishing the *Belfast Times*. His newly-established paper would have been bankrupt after five months if his wife had not been able to give him £1,500 that she had secretly saved.¹³³ They had seven children, three girls and four boys, who expanded the business throughout the second-half of the nineteenth-century. The eldest son David Allen Jr. (1854-1926) attended the Belfast Inst, along with his three brothers, but withdrew at the age of 12 to be an apprentice in the family business. His younger brother William Edward Allen (1860-1919) also attended the Inst and remained four years longer than his elder brother, taking up an apprenticeship in the family business at 16. On William's initiative the family's theatre bill printing business expanded to London (1888) and Manchester (1893). William married Sarah Collett Phinn in 1898 and she became integral to the business' day-to-day running, a fact reinforced by her election as chairman upon her husband's death. At the end of the century their son William Edward David Allen (1901-1973) cemented the family's social ascent. Born

¹³¹ Helen Andrews, 'Smyly, Sir William Josiah', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009).

¹³² The records of the Mrs. Smyly Homes are held with restricted access at the Church of Ireland Representative Church Body Library.

¹³³ W. E. D. Allen, *David Allens: The History of a Family Firm, 1857-1957* (London: John Murray, 1957).

in London, Eton educated, he was involved in Belfast politics and served as MP for Belfast west in 1929-31. He was captain of the British Life Guards during the Second World War and served in embassies in the Middle East as press attaché and information officer.¹³⁴

The purpose of boys' education cannot be assessed solely by a crude linkage between school attendance and career path. Although Queen's College, Belfast would become a destination for merchant's sons, a report from 1857 discovered that the majority of the town's mercantile classes did not matriculate at university.¹³⁵ Attendance at the Inst or the Academy with instruction in foreign languages was sufficient for gaining the independence and knowledge to return to the family business. For boys, the act of *going* to school, simply leaving the feminine arena of home, established a level of masculine independence, regardless of academic achievement. Going away to school and the implications this had on a sense of maturity and independence features in many autobiographical accounts of Irish boyhood. In Oliver Moore's (1777-?) loosely autobiographical novel *The Staff Officer* opens with his declaration that from the age of five to eight, 'I was doomed to endure the horrors of a preparatory school, kept by a prim old maid, under the discipline of whose thimble finger my head smarted ten times a day for alleged stupidity. But at that joyous stage of life, released from the petticoat, I was entered on the roll of junior boys at a large academy near Trinity College, Dublin, where my two senior brothers had already been established upwards of two years.'¹³⁶ Oliver's 'release from the petticoat' signalled his transition from a childhood dominated by women, to an all-male institution, in his case Samuel Whyte's famous academy on Grafton Street.

Sending a child to a school of another denomination was not a decision taken lightly. It was a strategic move to ensure children were educated with other members of their class. Charles Gavan Duffy's autobiography suggests the sense of déclassé associated with his attendance at a local Catholic teacher's school. His earliest education was with Neil Quin at an impoverished Catholic pay school. 'Of the elements of education Mr Quin did not teach us much, I fear, but he told us

¹³⁴ Ibid. Linde Lunney, "Allen, David", *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, (ed.) James McGuire, James Quinn. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

¹³⁵ The Queen's Colleges Commission. Report of her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Progress and Condition of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, HOC. 1857-8, (2413), xxi, 41, 22

¹³⁶ Moore, *The Staff Officer*, 1831, 1-2.

stories, generally little apologues or homilies, intended to impart a homely moral. His rudimentary science was taught with a scanty equipment of instruments, but he contrived to make it impressive.’¹³⁷ One day when Duffy was on his way home from the school his eldest sister spotted him playing with ‘a clamorous swarm of urchins, some of them barefooted and ragged, and all riotous and undisciplined.’¹³⁸ The decision was made immediately that he could not return to that school; instead he was placed in a boarding and day school for sons of small gentry and professional men from the neighbouring counties, run by a Presbyterian minister. The day boys were carefully selected sons of the principal townspeople.¹³⁹ According to Duffy he was the sole Catholic in a group of 50 Protestants and Presbyterians. Permission of the local priest was needed for Duffy to attend the school, and as an adult Duffy reflected that it was a risk for his parents to send him to a school where ‘I might be ill-received, or, if not ill-received, where I might be taught to despise the boys of my own race and creed whom I had quitted.’¹⁴⁰ For boys, the choice of school could be made on the basis of what school offered the best kind of education. In Wexford town, future shipping magnates John and Richard Devereux, sons of Richard Devereux a corn merchant and maltster, were sent to Mr. Behan’s Protestant school before attending the local Church of Ireland diocesan school on the Spawell Road since these were the best schools on offer at the time.¹⁴¹ There are no comparative examples of girls being sent to schools outside of their denomination. Catholic girls likely availed themselves of the conventual model of school and Protestant girls were either educated at home or sent abroad. The reluctance to send girls to schools outside of their denomination suggests that perhaps there was a fear that girls were more susceptible to proselytization than their brothers. Or perhaps more likely the social aim of girls’ schools was tied more closely to religious devotion and the development of moral virtue, whereas the curricula in boys’ schools could claim a more utilitarian purpose directed towards career prospects regardless of religion.

Boys had mixed reactions to their enrolment in school and the age when boys were sent away varied depending on their parents’ or guardians’ decision of

¹³⁷ Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, 6.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹⁴¹ Jarlath Glynn, “The Catholic Church in Wexford Town 1800 - 1858,” *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, no. 15 (1984), 5–53; Patrick Joseph Murray, *The Life of John Banim* (Garland, 1857).

what was best for their sons. The emotional trauma of leaving home is reflected in the clarity of recollection in boys' retrospective accounts of their first days at school. John Norris Thompson (1827-1899) was 7 years old when he was sent to the Raphoe Royal School in Donegal. 'I had an intense terror of the royal school, where I fancied terrific punishments were inflicted, and fought wildly against going into the schoolroom, however, I was persuaded to go through the house, and being brought through a series of rooms, I at last passed through another door heedlessly and found myself in the schoolroom and after that I went daily like the rest of the boys.'¹⁴² Thompson's transition into school was eased by making friends with a boarder, George Wallace, who was a year above him. When Charles Trench arrived at Armagh Royal School in 1821, at the age of 10, he burst out crying and was told by the college porter Ned Grimes, 'I fear you are not hardened to these things yet; and maybe you have left a kind mother behind you, and are fretting after her; my own little chaps would do the same. But these wild lads at the college would only laugh at you if they saw you crying. So come along, and I'll bring you into the Doctor's own room, where all the kind ladies are, and tomorrow you may join the school.'¹⁴³ After being cared for by the Doctor's wife and daughters, Trench joined the school the next day, only to start crying with homesickness when talking about his mother and sisters with a classmate the next day.¹⁴⁴ This initial period of separation was characterised as a period of transition from the warmth of home to the business of school, the language boys used to describe this process tellingly uses the metaphor of 'hardening' to indicate a physical and intellectual process of toughening or desensitisation. William Blacker recalled of his childhood in the 1790s,

I have heard many assert that school times was the happiest period of their lives. I did not find it so. I was tumbled into a large school at an earlier time of life than generally the case. I suppose the domestic hive was becoming somewhat crowded, and this first step to a swarming clearance was necessary, so, scarcely was my dimity petticoat or rather kilt, changed for thickset jacket and trousers, than I was transferred from the bread and butterism of home to the plain fare and enlivening discipline of the school -I beg its pardon, College of Armagh, then and for many a long year afterwards the first seminary I believe in Ireland, to all intents and purposes its Eton.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Journal of John Norris Thompson, 1795-1899, MIC162/1, PRONI.

¹⁴³ William Steuart Trench, *Realities of Irish Life* (London: Longmans, Green, 1868), 7.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

¹⁴⁵ T. G. F. Paterson and William Blacker, *Armagh Royal School 147 Years Ago* (Armagh: s.n., 1936).

Blacker's evocation of the material changes engendered by his departure to school illustrate the definitive break he experienced. Petticoats were exchanged for trousers and the indulgent bread and butter of his nurse was exchanged for plain fare and discipline. In addition, the fagging of younger boys to older pupils added to this process of masculine toughening. Blacker was undecided about the effectiveness of the fagging system, 'Of course the system of Fagging prevailed in the one as in the other. I am not going to discuss the propriety or impropriety of that system here; to 'Mammie's Darling' it was purgatorial enough, yet it involved not a few ups and downs of life and served to teach numbers to feel for others in a way they might not otherwise have done.'¹⁴⁶ Fagging consisted of an individualised set of chores or humiliating practises assigned from older pupils to younger boys. In Blacker's case he was the fag of Tom Pakenham, later the Earl of Longford.

My mentor, though he afterwards turned out one of the most estimable characters in the land, was somewhat tyrannical in his goings on. One of his favourite amusements was to seat me on the uppermost step of the stairs, tying my wrists to my ankles until I say in the shape of a triangle and then seizing my feet he dragged me down, bump, bump, bump, step by step to the bottom. I must say, however, that he always gave me a bit of plumcake or the like by way of compensation and allowed no one to molest me but himself.¹⁴⁷

Blacker did not comment on whether a bit of plumcake was sufficient apology for the physical abuse. In 1821, fagging was still part of Armagh's *modus operandi*, Robert Stewart Trench was treated rudely and told to shine his master's shoes as part of his initiation.¹⁴⁸ The term fagging might also be applied to relationships between brothers in the home environment. Boys seemed to accept that the system of punishments and chores was offset by privileges that became special because they were so hard-earned. Oliver Moore described that while at school he was 'bold and loquacious,' at home he was all 'diffidence and modesty.'¹⁴⁹ He stated the reason for this change of character was, 'I was borne down and subdued by my imperious second brother, who made me his fag; in return, however, I was allowed to ride his

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Trench, *Realities of Irish Life*, 2.

¹⁴⁹ Moore, *The Staff Officer*, 1833, 5.

pony every evening, and to figure away each Thursday and Saturday at our dancing academy, in his cast-off dress pumps, and a pair of repudiated stockings.’¹⁵⁰

Being sent away to a boarding school could be a difficult transition for those left behind as well as those gone away to school. Mary Leadbeater (1758-1826) composed a poem for her brother when he left the Quaker School at Ballitore, where they had attended school together. She described a ‘sobbing heart, and streaming eye’ that accompanied his absence. She felt a sister’s fear for his new ventures in the unknown ‘wilderness of society’ and the vices that lay traps for him.¹⁵¹ Cultural representations of sisters as moral guardians for their brothers abounded during the period.¹⁵² Some family letters exhibit a kind of confessional tone in brother-sister correspondence and the trust and disclosure which passed between siblings.¹⁵³

Entry in a boarding school could cause terror, homesickness, or excitement. There is no doubting the significance of entry into an all-male academy as a marker of maturity and masculine independence from boys’ perspectives. The bourgeois school was a crucible for masculine sociability. From their headmasters and peers, boys were supposed to gain the intellectual attributes of rationality, argument, and diction, while successfully negotiating the demands of physical agility and sportsmanship. One of the outcomes of attendance at a boarding school, particularly for boys, was the cultivation of confidence and a masculine independence warranted by their early exile from the domestic home. The collections of correspondence from boys at school suggests such a transformation, from early letters describing homesickness, boredom and fear, to more assertive dictation of their desires and wishes. Mary O’Connell frequently admonished her son Daniel Jr. while attending Clongowes Wood College, Kildare to be more diligent in his studies and write more frequently. She desired to know ‘what Class you are in at what hour you go to bed and get up and if you are studying so as to save the year.’¹⁵⁴ The sense of accomplishment and confidence which some children might gain from the experience of a boarding school is represented well by George Henry Moore (1811-

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Mary Leadbeater, *Poems* (author, and pub., 1808), 231–32.

¹⁵² Davidoff, *Thicker than Water*; Margaret Nancy Cutt, *Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Writing for Children* (Wormley: Five Owls Press, 1979).

¹⁵³ A William Tuamh, for example, reported in a letter to his sister Kitty that he ‘did not attend the whore house’ upon his arrival in Liverpool and was feeling rather homesick. It’s unclear who this William Tuamh is or his relation to Kitty. See, Moore Family letters, MS 72, Royal College of Physicians of Ireland archive.

¹⁵⁴ Mary O’Connell to Daniel O’Connell Jr., Maddox St., London, 22 May 1830 in O’Connell, “*My Darling Danny*,” 23.

1870), later MP for Mayo, who, while a student at Oscott College, Birmingham, wrote to his mother informing her of his success in publishing a poem with the *London and Dublin Magazine* and his expectations for a longer epic poem.

I am writing a poem which will be upwards of one thousand lines -I have written more than six hundred already -called 'the Legend of Lough Carra' which I intend, during the vacation , to offer to Murray or Colbourne for publication. I shall add a few of the best pieces of those I have already written, making up a tolerable volume...I am at present very sanguine in my expectations, and oh! If I could get one hundred pounds from one of the booksellers for the child of my imagination, how happy I should feel in buying you a pair of handsome horses for the carriage. But these are I fear, vapourings of the air; however, prepare for rhyme -I'll publish right, or wrong.

There are other cases of boys funding their own educations through literary pursuits which suggest Moore was neither extraordinarily precocious, nor aggrandising his own capabilities. Thomas Romney Robinson at the age of twelve while still at Belfast Academy published a book of poems to pay for his education at Trinity College Dublin. His poetic debut consisted of 30 selections written from the age of seven.¹⁵⁵

When student 'Mr. Boyd' left Wesley College, Dublin in 1862 his fellow students mourned his departure in their student newspaper *The Eaglet*. Devoting two columns to his contributions to the school, Mr. Boyd was described as an able member of the debating club, a contributor to *The Eaglet* newspaper, and a good sportsman. 'His good nature, and a vein of ready wit, that can [came] thro' his conversation, and gave in brilliance, are known to all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance. Many a times [illegible] shall we miss his pleasant smile at the Breakfast table and long will lovers of boating look in vain for one to awake up their party and take his place at the helm or oar.'¹⁵⁶ He departed from Wesley College to 'begin his life work, the noble task of preaching the Gospel.'¹⁵⁷ While no other information about Mr. Boyd's life is extant, the point of his schooling experience that gained admiration from his peers suggests the rich social world of the boarding school in mid-century Ireland and the hallmarks of sociability and

¹⁵⁵ Thomas Romney Robinson, *Poems by Thomas Romney Robinson, Written between the Age of Seven and Thirteen; to Which Is Prefixed A Short Account of the Author* (Brooklyn: Thomas Kirk, 1808).

¹⁵⁶ *Eaglet and Wesleyan Connexional School magazine*, 17 May 1861, Wesley College Archive, Ballinteer, Dublin.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

recreation which were admired by boys and encouraged by administrators. Across Ireland, boarding schools and private academies provided boys with an education that anticipated the social world their pupils would inhabit as men. During the nineteenth century the practise of giving children allowances, or a small amount of money to spend at their own discretion, became commonplace. The school ledgers of Wesley College from the late 1860s illustrate the extent to which this supplemental income became a necessity for boyhood activities. The school allowed its pupils to draw money for 'sundry' items from the schools' bursar, and the amount was then added to the amount of tuition owed by parents at the end of the term.¹⁵⁸ This practise indicated the schools' willingness to allow boys to gain experience in saving and budgeting their money, albeit in a monitored and supervised fashion.

The Wesley College student newspaper indicates the strength of gentlemanly ideals among classmates. Meticulously copied by hand, the circular for the week of 17 May 1862 included an excerpt from Benjamin Franklin's 'Morals of Chess', first published in the *Columbian Magazine*, 1787.¹⁵⁹ The student's serialisation of Franklin's text highlighted the aspects of fair play, the necessity of both parties agreeing to the use of rules, avoidance of all cheating, patience, and honesty. Importantly, boys were not just taught to play, but how to win and lose gracefully. The game of chess promoted depth of thought in a particularly masculine way, it could not be won by shallow assumptions, or an exhibition of physical strength. Franklin's argument was that chess was a game designed to encourage foresight, circumspection, and caution essential skills for the genteel man. Students were instructed that while playing chess, 'No false move should ever be made to extricate yourself out of a difficulty, or to gain an advantage. There can be no pleasure in playing with a person once detected in such unfair practice.'

You must not, when you have gained a victory, use any triumphing or insulting expression, nor show too much pleasure; but endeavour to console your adversary, and make him less dissatisfied with himself by every kind and civil expression, that may be used with truth; such as, You understand the game better than I, but you are a little inattentive; or, You play to fast; or, You had the best of the game, but something happened to divert your thoughts, and

¹⁵⁸ Wesley College, School Ledgers, 1867,68,69. Wesley College Archives

¹⁵⁹ *The Columbian Magazine: Or, Monthly Miscellany* (Philadelphia: T. Seddon, W. Spotswood, C. Cist & J. Trenchard, 1787), 159–61.

that turned it in my favour. ...By this generous civility (so opposite to the unfairness above forbidden) you may indeed happen to lose the game to your opponent, but you will win what is better, his esteem, his respect, and his affection; together with the silent approbation and good will of impartial spectators. [Emphasis in original]¹⁶⁰

Chess was a game won or lost by the players' thoughtful strategizing and anticipation of their opponents' moves. This was in contrast to games of chance associated with gambling and derided as distinctly plebeian. Bourgeois virtue consisted in working hard with a view towards the future, whereas the working-classes were criticised for their lottery mentality or their short-sighted view of wasting their entire pay-packet on payday and starving the rest of the week.¹⁶¹ Moreover, virtue was itself an interior quality, and involved a degree of self-government. Maturity and its twin masculinity were concerned with independence and breadth of knowledge, chess was analogous to the governing of masculinity.

For some boys, the trauma of leaving home encouraged the development of strict religious observance and devotion. At Jesuit schools, annual retreats consisting of daily sermons, mass and sacraments formed part of the tenor of the school year. Occasionally these retreats were open to the public. Peter Kenney advertised his 'controversial discourses on the divine virtue of faith' in the *Freeman's Journal*.¹⁶² At non-denominational schools, like Porter and Hamblin's in Cork, religious instruction was limited to one day a week, conducted by the appropriate priest or pastor for the boys. Denny Lane recalled that at Hamblin and Porter's, Father Mathew, the renowned temperance priest, attended once a week to give religious instruction. Several decades later he recounted, 'I was one of those boys who had the benefit of receiving his instruction, and I am afraid I have in this company too many malicious friends who might remember the old adage about what happens a young saint (laughter), and therefore I will not tell you that on that one occasion I got from him what I treasure very highly still -a missal as a prize for superior answering in catechism.'¹⁶³ Father Mathew also invited the young schoolboys to his home, giving gave them fruit and dainties along with religious instruction.

¹⁶⁰ *Eaglet and Wesleyan Connexional Magazine*.

¹⁶¹ O'Malley, *Children's Literature, Popular Culture and Robinson Crusoe*.

¹⁶² *Freeman's Journal*, 08 March 1827, 1.

¹⁶³ 'Centenary of Father Mathew', *Dundalk Democrat*, 30 March 1889, 6.

Across denominational boundaries schoolboys were encouraged to engage in daily examination of conscience as a way of monitoring their vices and virtues. Robert Hart, a graduate of Wesley College, left his native Portadown and was first stationed in China at the age of 19. During the first weeks of his appointment he wrote a comprehensive list in his diary of the habits and routines he wished to follow. He resolved to begin and end each day reading the Bible and each evening examine and write down how the day has been spent, so that faults may be more clearly seen and the means of improvement devised.¹⁶⁴ He also resolved to eat and drink in moderation, give up smoking, keep the Sabbath day holy, and give generously from his income to charities. He remarked that the hot Chinese climate was likely to 'make one lazy and indolent,' but he resolved to remain engaged with reading, writing, set meal times, and a regular schedule.¹⁶⁵ Another example of this devotional culture was in the publicity surrounding miraculous healings in Catholic schools. In 1854, Father John Ffrench, a Jesuit priest at Tullabeg school, wrote to Mother Ursula Querk, Mother superior of the Ursuline boarding school in Sligo, relating the story of a young student Valentine Blake. Valentine was Father Ffrench's nephew and fell in the school's playroom while playing with his companions, breaking his hip. When the doctor was called,

he then explained to me the very painful operation to which he would subject the poor child. The very idea made me shrink with horror. Six of the strongest men I could command were to be provided. The little fellow was to be stretched on a strong table, tied round, and fastened with sheets and ropes, and then three of the men at the leg and three at the body was to keep stretching the poor little child, to all intents and purposes as on a rack until the doctor should be able to put the hip joint back into proper place. I could not help fearing that the child would not have the strength to outlive such an ordeal.¹⁶⁶

Father Ffrench told Valentine to pray to Mary and Joseph, and when the boy kissed a medal of St. Joseph his hip was miraculously healed. This was likely the future Captain Valentine Blake, who attended Stonyhurst and later became magistrate of Roscommon and Mayo.¹⁶⁷ At Belvedere college in Dublin, the Jesuits implemented

¹⁶⁴ Robert Hart Diaries, MS/15/1/1, Sir Robert Hart Collection, QUB Special Collections, 9-10.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ From John Ffrench S.J., Tullabeg College, Rahan, Tullamore, Feb 6, 1854. Copied from Appendix in M. St Dominic Kelly, *The Sligo Ursulines: The First Fifty Years, 1826-1876* (Sligo: The author, 1987), 177-78.

¹⁶⁷ Sir Francis Cowley Burnand, *The Catholic Who's Who and Yearbook* (Burns & Oates, 1908), 33.

religious sodalities and the devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Similar to conventual schools, boys who were elected into these sodalities gained extra privileges and wore medals or sashes on holy days.

5.4.1 School Exhibitions

One of the grandest events of our school course at Armagh was ‘The speeches’, which took place at the commencement of each summer vacation and proud matters of business to the upper classes for a month before. ...But our oratorical powers were not devoted to English speechification alone. Latin and even Greek recitations were mingled with and in the proportion of a thread, and it was quite delightful to see the worthy whist playing old ladies of Armagh drinking in with all their ears and with as much gravity as if they understood every word of it. The thing was quite a gala affair, all the gentility of the city and county from miles around making it a point to attend.¹⁶⁸

The socialising impulse in bourgeois education is apparent in the organisation and curricular offerings of boys schools. Similar to the yearly exhibitions held in female boarding schools, boys’ academies often contained a similar display of accomplishment at the end of the scholastic year. As a demonstration for parents and advertisement for the intellectual heights of the school, these public exhibitions were integral to the public presentation of the school. William Blacker (1778?-1855), a student at the Royal School of Armagh, described in his memoirs the intense memorisation, practise, and rehearsals that preceded the gala event. Blacker was not convinced of the deeper purpose of these exercises beyond the cultivation of a decent style of rhetoric, he thought most boys merely parroted their recitation without a real understanding of literary style.¹⁶⁹

The importance of conversational skills in polite society featured in several texts from the period. A French treatise on politeness, translated by a Dublin-based woman, described how the moral virtues of kindness, generosity and equanimity were translated into polite society by interaction with others. Conversation was portrayed as the test by which a man’s inner virtues could be probed and detected, importance was given to the ability to be an engaging and affable conversationalist, pleasing to others without forsaking dignity. ‘For these reasons, conversation is the bond which unites man to man; the means by which he pleases, or displeases

¹⁶⁸ Paterson and Blacker, *Armagh Royal School 147 Years Ago*.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

society; it is therefore of the utmost importance to youth to learn to please in conversation, to guide themselves, both in speaking and acting, by the rules of politeness.’¹⁷⁰

Let us now consider the man truly virtuous. ...he exerts the powers with which he is endowed, to procure for them all the happiness he can, either by benefits, or by affable, engaging manners, wise and instructive conversation, and by services, when opportunity offers for such, even to his enemies, which can be found only among the worst of men. ...his conversation please at the first interview, and charms in every succeeding one, because it is the means of the intercourse of mind, that by it our good qualities are communicated, our acquirements shared, our mental existence proved, and our happiness promoted.¹⁷¹

Ideally, a man’s conversational skills were intended to enhance his domestic circle, ‘those who immediately surround him.’ The social circles of school and business would be enriched by a man of good temper and he might serve as a good influence because others would want to resemble him.

The importance of the annual or monthly exhibition in boys’ schools was an early Jesuit innovation, but Irish schoolmasters were quick to follow suit in the eighteenth-century. The Jesuits composed plays in Latin for their pupils to perform that were usually an original composition by the teacher of humanities and rhetoric.¹⁷² Headmaster of Cavan Royal school Thomas Sheridan was credited with training senior pupils to perform monthly classical plays in their original Greek, the first such pedagogical tool of its kind. The practise of public speaking was meant to prepare the pupils for the viva voce, a requirement for college matriculation. These rhetorical and conversational skills were thought to be enhanced by the yearly exhibitions held at middle-class schools, such as the Royal School of Armagh, where boys might learn how to command attention and demonstrate correct pronunciation and accent. At the Erasmus Smith Trust schools, the lack of expenditure on the matter of public exhibitions was raised in the 1854–58 Endowed Schools Commission. Erasmus Smith schools spent 6 to 8 pounds per annum on these displays, whereas the royal schools expended 30 to 50 pounds.¹⁷³ These exhibitions were social occasions, evidenced by William Blacker’s acknowledgement

¹⁷⁰ *Treatise on Politeness, Intended for the Use of the Youth of Both Sexes*, (Dublin: Gilbert & Hodges, 1813), preface xi–xii.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Stanford, *Ireland and the Classical Tradition*, 24.

¹⁷³ Wallace, *Faithful to Our Trust*, 118.

of the old ladies that watched the Latin and Greek recitations with solemnity. These vocal exhibitions were also an opportunity to display the kind of style and tone of voice which could command respect in the public sphere. The power of speech was linked to the development of intellect. Once boys reached puberty, their voices lowered as a sign of maturity, whereas females remained in a perpetually infantile state. 'In the male this [the voice] assumes the deep and grave sound, which characterises the full-toned voice of manhood; while in the female little change takes place in the larynx; and the acute tones still remain characteristic of the female voice, which always more or less resembles that of childhood.'¹⁷⁴ The lessons of masculinity were reflected in the content of semi-public exhibitions as well, such as a debate 'On the propriety of calling Caesar a great man.' Twelve pupils in the Belfast Academical Institution delivered commentaries and arguments on the topic and their dialogue was subsequently published in pamphlet form by F.D. Finlay.¹⁷⁵ These sorts of pamphlets were advertisements for the high level of learning at the school, while simultaneously serving as a prize for the best writers in the elocution class. Another prize for good performance was a book prize. One of these book prizes was a bound leather volume of religious literature edited by Hamilton Moore. With an ornate frontispiece and expensive binding this was a popular prize for male students at the Belfast Academical Institution. First published in Belfast in 1796, Moore's introduction to the collection suggests the vast distance between the purpose of education for the lower classes, with its emphasis on manual labour, bodily training, and regular industry, to the higher purpose of an education for elites.

As the design of learning is to render persons agreeable companions to themselves, and useful members of society; ...by instilling into their minds such maxims of virtue and good-breeding, as to eradicate local prejudices and rusticity of manners; and at the same time habituate them to an elegant manner of expressing themselves either in Writing or Speaking.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Evanson and Maunsell, *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 1840, 14.

¹⁷⁵ J. S. Knowles, *A Debate Spoken by Twelve Pupils Belonging to the Elocution Class of the Belfast Academical Institution, June, 1815.: On the Propriety of Calling Caesar a Great Man* (Belfast: F. D. Finlay, 1815).

¹⁷⁶ Hamilton Moore, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor; Being a Collection of Select Pieces, from Our Best Modern Writers: Particularly Calculated to Form the Mind and Manners of the Youth of Both Sexes, and Adapted to the Use of Schools and Academies / Used in the Belfast Academy* (Belfast: Printed by W. Magee, 1796).

The elimination of rusticity was a key attraction of an urban academy and, according to Moore, fit boys' to be 'vigilant in discharging the social and relative duties in the several stations of life; by instilling into their minds such maxims of virtue and good-breeding.'¹⁷⁷ As pedagogical authors repeatedly reminded their readers verbal finesse was an indication of good breeding. The genre of instructional texts structured as dialogues indicates how important this form was to educational achievement. *The academy of compliments*, a tract published in the 1850s, was directed precisely at those young people whose 'slender educations' prohibited them from making acquaintances or carrying on correspondence. According to this tract, 'Without dispute, eloquence is a qualification highly necessary to both sexes, more especially the female, whose tongues often prove as attractive as their beauty; but even quick and attractive wit is often foiled for want of words and makes a man or woman seem a statue, or as one dumb...'¹⁷⁸ The book offered examples on how to invite a friend for dinner, how to make a social visit, and how to enter into discourse with ladies or gentlemen. It seemed particularly attuned to the plight of youths involved in romantic pursuits, offering the nineteenth-century equivalent of pick-up lines. Providing stock responses for young males wishing to accost a lady such as, 'I believe nature brought you forth to be a scourge to lovers, for he hath been so prodigal of her favour towards you, that it renders you as admirable as you are amiable.' Or the more straight-forward approach, 'I pray, let it not seem strange unto you that I make bold to come and entertain you.'¹⁷⁹ This simple guidebook for the socially inept suggests how the codes of rhetorical skill and the proper formulae of polite conversation were necessary accomplishments for social engagement.¹⁸⁰ The movement of hands was also covered in this manual, suggesting how to gently add emphasis or style to a conversation with body language. The text suggests how eloquence and wit could be used to overcome social disadvantage.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ *A New Academy of Compliments; Being Wit and Mirth Improved by the Elegant Expressions Used in the Art of Courtship; the Silent Language; Or, A Complete Rule for Discoursing by Motions of the Hands ... as Also a Choice and Favourite Collection of Toasts and Sentiments, with Plain Instructions for Dancing.* (Dublin: C.M. Warren, [n.d.]). Preface.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 13.

¹⁸⁰ *A New Academy of Compliments*, 11, 13.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 18–19.

5.4.2 The Government of Schoolfellows

An aspect of boys' education which contrasts with female experiences, is the large degree of independence and sense of self-government that autobiographies and personal letters document as a key aspect of the male boarding school experience. For example, during Charles Gavan Duffy's first year at a Presbyterian boarding school 'a boys' parliament, a boys' regiment, and a boys' newspaper were established.'¹⁸² In Dublin, Charles Lever (1806-1872) was involved in a skirmish between boys' schools that included makeshift cannons and land mines, set with gun powder. According to Lever's biographer W. J. Fitzpatrick,

Party feelings ran high in those days. Lever's schoolfellows, who all represented families with unpopular sympathies, were more than once pelted as they passed. The roughs found allies in the pupils of another school in Grenville Street- one of inferior social caste. ...Skirmishes took place, and at last it was agreed that a regular pitched battle should be fought in Mountjoy Fields, then a piece of wasteground on which Gardiner Street Church and Convent have since been built.... A small mine was worked, and some pounds of blasting powder laid. The opposite faction mustered at length in great force, and opened the fight by a brisk discharge of sharp stones, which was returned by Mr Wrights boys with shouts of defiance, and a fire of miniature cannon. A charge forward was then made by the roughs, some of whom were provided with black thorns, which, if applied to the skulls of the juvenile army, would have inflicted serious subsequent loss on letters, law, science, physic, and divinity.¹⁸³

Among the boys involved in this battle was Edward Dix, future police magistrate. When the boys were brought before the Marlborough street police headquarters the following day Charles Lever claimed that their offensive was 'all sound and smoke, sir; our cannon were only toy-guns, and the mine, a mimic mine. Most of us take up arms yet in defence of our king and country; and might we not be worse employed that in learning the science at the most susceptible period of our lives?'¹⁸⁴ No doubt the class status and age of the boys contributed to a degree of leniency towards their crimes. The magistrate let the boys off with small fines. Had the boys lacked their familial connections and school affiliation their boyish hijinks may have been seen in a less forgiving way.

In Samuel Whyte's classical academy in Dublin, pupils could extricate themselves from punishment if they were able to provide an eloquent defence of

¹⁸² Charles Gavan Duffy, *My Life in Two Hemispheres* (London T. Fisher Unwin, 1898), 7.

¹⁸³ W.J. Fitzpatrick, *Life of Charles Lever*, in Jeffares and Kamm, *An Irish Childhood*.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

Figure 5.6 Armagh Royal School, Robert French, The Lawrence Photograph Collection, NLI.



their actions. Oliver Moore's older brother, who later was called to the bar, enjoyed the performance and art of defence so much that he would purposely antagonise the headmaster. Moore described how, 'he frequently got up charges against himself for the eclat of making his bold and ingenious defence; for, to the honour of our worthy master...when he found a defence exhibit signs of genius, the mildness of chastisement, and the readiness with which the ear caught the cry of *pardon, sir pardon!* from sympathising class-fellows, proved at one the goodness of heart, and the pride of the master.'¹⁸⁵ Pupils' awareness of their right to defend themselves, convince their schoolfellows of the worthiness of their actions, and subsequently have their punishment reduced, suggests the ways boys were taught to engage and dispel conflict in an active mode. In contrast, female conventual schools did not allow female students to respond back to their teachers. If they did so they were ejected from the school room until they quietly returned to accept their punishment.¹⁸⁶

The 'barring out' was another feature of schoolboy politics where incipient masculinity through the threat of physical violence was carried out. A striking English instance involved Richard White from Bantry, Co. Cork who wrote to his mother Francis Jane White to describe a rebellion that had taken place for four days against the headmaster Dr. Heath. During the rebellion, all the public roads to Harrow were blocked to stop the boys from going to the dock.

¹⁸⁵ Moore, *The Staff Officer*, 1833, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Copybook M. Teresa Ball Letters, May 1825, TB/COR/8, LCPIA.

I am very sorry to inform you that on Tuesday the 25 all the boys agreed to rebele[sic] against Dr Heath, I must say the was the occasion of the this extraordinary resolution, having Brooke some of the old privileges which have always belonged to Public schools, this was the occasion of their conduct, I formed with my school fellows and when they were in a state of rebellion I was with them, when they submitted to Dr Heath sent apologies to all the boys friends amongst the list to lord Maynard ... four of our ringleaders were expelled. I am sorry to add one was a country man of mine and a very worthy boy, his name was Agnew from Belfast... I am sorry it was took place for instead of gaining our wishes for points we have lost it and rules more strict then [sic] ever are imposed on us it will hurt the school matin.¹⁸⁷

In 1788-89 a similar barring out incident took place at the Armagh Royal school. When their discretionary holiday was taken away by Headmaster Carpendale, the boys, led by one or two particularly dissatisfied students, gathered pistols and ammunition and prepared the dormitory as their fortified citadel. William Blacker recalled that the conflict was seen as a matter of rights; the students were claiming their right to a holiday from the headmaster with the same dedication to civic rights they had the masculine right to in adulthood.¹⁸⁸ During this episode the senior boys barricaded themselves into a dormitory and demolished the stairs to the second floor with axes. They fired pistols at Carpendale and also into his house; he was said to have been in a state 'little short of frenzy' and had to be carried away from the scene. Other forms of student rebellion were more mundane. For example, the three Archdale brothers who attended Armagh Royal school in the early 1830s carved their names on a window shutter in the school.¹⁸⁹

One of the best-known scenes of student rebellion took place in Armagh Royal school in 1824 and was described by Robert Steuart Trench in his autobiography. At the time of the episode there were about 100 boarding students in the school and a large number of day students. According to Trench, 'All the old fashions had been retained; and no alterations in the customs -or what the boys called 'the rights of the school'-had been introduced. 'Fagging' in its most extensive application was in full force; and as I was a little boy and put down into the lowest class, I was seized on as a fag by one of the boys in head form.'¹⁹⁰ Trench stated it

¹⁸⁷ Richard White to Francis Jane White, Bantry, Cork 29 Feb. 1783, BL/EP/B/2228, UCC Special collections.

¹⁸⁸ Paterson and Blacker, *Armagh Royal School 147 Years Ago*.

¹⁸⁹ Audrey Mervyn Archdale, Henry Montgomery Archdale, and Nicolas Montgomery Archdale carved their names according to Ferrar, *Register of the Royal School, Armagh*, 36.

¹⁹⁰ Trench, *Realities of Irish Life*, 2.

was indeed a rough and wild school, but boys and teachers were bound by a strict code of honour and tradition. 'There was a constant affectation of manhood amongst the boys -carrying them so far that upon one occasion, the elder boys agreed to settle some quarrel which had arisen between them with the pistol, rather than the ordinary course of fighting it out with their fists.'¹⁹¹ The duel went off with neither party receiving a bullet, and the boys then declared themselves satisfied with the outcome.

The occasion of the barring out was set into motion when Trench reached fourth form and a new boy joined the school. 'He was an idle, bad, good-for-nothing boy; and having been severely flogged more than once for his lessons ...he conceived a real hatred for the Doctor.'¹⁹² In retaliation, the student put a half pound of gunpowder in the stove of the schoolroom and called it 'blowing up the ushers.'¹⁹³ In response, the headmaster Dr. Miller took away the privilege of school holidays from the boys, which consisted of a half day every Wednesday, until the culprit of the gunpowder explosion was known. Because of this infringement on their rights, the older boys plotted a full-blown rebellion, known as a barring-out. Trench asserted that there was tremendous joy among the boys when they decided upon this course of action, which contrasted with their respectable upbringings.

We could not even claim the excuse of being sprung from an oppressed race. We were all Protestants; all of us amongst those who are now called 'the dominant class.' We were all gentleman's sons, most of us landlords' sons, and as such we had never suffered under any obnoxious land code... I am not aware that any of us had ever suffered an injustice in our lives. And yet there is no denying that our delight was unbounded whenever we thought of a rebellion.¹⁹⁴

The preparations for the 'rebellion', though likely somewhat exaggerated, suggest the large degree of autonomy, access to the town, and freedom to spend money the boys utilised with impunity. Rope ladders and grappling hooks were bought and stored to allow them to climb the walls of the school. Boys went into the town and purchased large quantities of bread, cheese, whiskey, wine and several rounds of salt beef. 'Some small kegs of beer were also with much difficulty landed inside the wall; and our preparations for a siege were crowned by the purchase of seven or eight

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 10.

¹⁹² Ibid., 11.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 12.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 21.

Figure 5.7 Armagh Royal School, Robert French. Source: The Lawrence Photograph Collection, NLI.



pistols, a few bullets, some flasks of gunpowder, and a quantity of ‘sparrow-hail’—a name given to the smallest kind of shot in use.’¹⁹⁵ All of these were stowed in holes dug into the recreation fields of the school. The barring-out was successfully initiated and the boys settled in to defend their dormitory, firing grapeshot at the gardener when he tried to break down their door.¹⁹⁶ When the headmaster tried to get the local militia to help quell the rebellious boys, the officer in command flatly refused, recognising that the boys would fire on his troops with impunity when the militia could not fire back at a group of children.¹⁹⁷ The episode was finally brought to a conclusion when the boys ran short of water after three days and brokered a peace with the sovereign of Armagh, submitted to being flogged, but received no further expulsions or punishments. The school holidays were subsequently reinstated.

The element of militarisation in the formulation of masculinity during this period were also present in the home environment especially during periods of social unrest. When Charles Stuart Trench went home to his father’s house in Portarlinton, they would eat their meals with loaded pistols beside them, and this was soon seen as a matter of course. ‘It is surprising, when one gets accustomed to it, how little this affects the appetite or weighs upon the mind.’¹⁹⁸ Similarly Lombe Atthill (1827-1910), described his first home in the Magherculmoney Rectory, Portadown as half-barrack half parsonage. During the 1798 rising, the house had been attacked by a mob, and when Atthill’s father moved to the house in 1805 there

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 22.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 30.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 31.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 42.

were bullet marks in the ceilings and defences, which Lombe thought reminiscent of police barracks.¹⁹⁹ When he was resident in the house during the 1830s, agrarian unrest was a prominent theme, and his aunt and uncle had all of their arms taken from their house by a group of masked men.

Conclusion

While female education provoked anxiety about the superficial dimensions of femininity, boys' education could equally be deemed artificial, though for boys this was an appellation applied to their education, not appended to the essence of boyhood. An education might be vain and superficial, but boyhood itself was not. The pedagogical emphasis on reflection and deeper thought was a feature of educational treatise anxious to eradicate the accusation of superficiality or exhibitionism. Boys' schools were characterised by their pupils as miniature republics, small democracies, and politicised milieus. Perhaps this appellation is simply the aggrandising autobiographical tendency of their authors, but on the other hand indicates the early sense of civic responsibility and political awareness these schools promoted and depicted as a boy's natural inheritance. School rebellions indicate the strength of a social contract between teachers and students and the importance boys' placed on their rights and privileges. Boys were encouraged to develop a sense of self-governance and leadership among their peers. As Patrick Joyce has argued about the most elite public schools in England, boys were taught how to govern themselves, negotiate their rights, and participate in the political customs of society.²⁰⁰

The importance of these schools in the lives of middle-class children can also be seen in the relationships carried forward into adulthood. The old boys' clubs and alumni donations to schools, which flourished particularly in the later nineteenth century were the fruit of the familial styling of the boarding-school model. In an address to the pupils of his logic and *belles lettres* classes in 1832, John Cairns of the Inst thanked his students for their filial affection and stated his pride in his 'intellectual children:'

Let me remind you that the Institution also looks on you as its sons, and has strong claims on your regards. Let me request you, therefore, to view it always with the feelings of

¹⁹⁹ Lombe Atthill, *Recollections of an Irish Doctor* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1911), 11-12.

²⁰⁰ Joyce, *The State of Freedom*, 232.

children. These feelings will not blind you to its failings or defects; but they will lead you, as you ought, to look upon them as you would the infirmities of a parent.²⁰¹

Cairns went on to describe how the reputation and character of the Institution relied mostly on the measure of its pupils, their success in public life, and their happy private lives. His address was demonstrative of the new ties binding boys to their schools. The imagery of a familial bond between teachers and pupils had replaced the disciplining overtones of the eighteenth-century. Attending one of these schools meant a life-long entitlement to the society of schoolfellows and an obligatory sense of loyalty to alumni present and future. William Todd Jones, the reformer and United Irishman, recounted to William Drennan a bumper toast he had given to spite a group of 10 or 12 Rostrevor ‘nobs.’ As Jones describes the scene, the clear social distinctions between the elite and the merchant class are made clear. When a Presbyterian linen draper declared that Trinity College Dublin was doing a good enough job educating Ireland’s sons and no other Queen’s colleges were needed, Jones responded by haranguing the merchant for his ‘aping the vanities’ of the elites, while lacking any university credential himself to speak on the matter.²⁰² The legacy of school loyalties and the elite disdain for those ‘aping their vanities’ suggests why the culturally disadvantaged merchant might push for his sons to gain educational credentials.

These schools were established for a specifically middle-class audience and used tuition rates, curriculum, physical spaces and material culture to establish their identities as high-ranking private institutions. While Anglican, Catholic, Methodist, and Quaker schools all had discernible differences in their religious practises and daily schedules, there were hallmarks of masculinity and bourgeoisie sensibility which pervaded the administration and facilities provided at all these schools. As education became the preferred route from boyhood to manhood, the elongation of childhood through education became a hallmark of middle-class boyhood. The boarding school offered a homosocial environment far from the feminine influence of the nursery. For some boys, the act of leaving home and attending boarding school was a marker of masculine maturity, regardless of their academic achievements while away. Up to the age of 18 or 19 boys were still considered

²⁰¹ Cairns and Henry, *Address of Professor Cairns to the Students of the Logic and Belles Lettres Class, of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, on Monday the 16th April, 1832.*, 12

²⁰² Wm. Todd Jones to Dr. Wm. Drennan at Belfast, 21 March [1816], D456/37, PRONI.

dependent on their families for financial assistance and thus were allowed a great deal of leniency for their boyish misbehaviour; a leniency that expressions of girlish vanity or playfulness was not. Boyhood in a boarding school could be a prolonged period of youth indeed, but the expectation was that youthful misdemeanours and the hardening regimes of school endowed boys with character and perseverance that would serve them well in manhood.

CONCLUSION

In 1860, 19-year-old James Armour, a Presbyterian from north Antrim, wrote a letter to his friend James Megaw describing his opinion of the intellectual atmosphere at Queen's University Belfast. He criticised the lack of religious fervour among students of divinity who he felt were attracted by the social prestige rather than the spiritual vocation of a ministerial career. He stated, 'Many choose it [the church] from a desire of show and of having a respectable position in society; others for the sake of the L. S. D., others again for the sake of being called great but the greater number from the ambition of their parents.'¹ He described the parental ambition to have a cleric in the family as a rather self-interested move: 'Perhaps they expect that the Lord will do them good if they have a Levite for their priest... I rejoice to think that so many are giving their sons an education, but I protest against the goal to which they wish to direct them, very often against their will.'² Armour was writing from experience; his parents wished for him to pursue a career in the church, yet he had no intention of doing so. He was resolved to try for an appointment in the Indian Civil Service, hoping this would ease his parents' disappointment and enable him to 'repay, to some extent, the money already spent on my education.'³ However, filial duty was a powerful influence. After doing exams in the natural sciences and a general BA at the Queen's College in Cork, Armour returned north after the death of his father and began training as a minister in the Presbyterian church, six years after he penned his opposition to the idea.⁴ We can see in Armour's education a parental strategy to secure a good future for their son and the degree to which school choice, familial support, and religious affiliation shaped Armour's decisions as an individual.

This thesis began with the question of how the category of childhood was constructed and how that idea shaped the experience of Irish children during the nineteenth century. As the archival research developed, the story of what childhood was, and should be, was consistently being narrated by the same voices. Respectable men and women with claims to experience, interest, and solicitude for children dominated the sources. In school reports, childcare manuals, and medical treatises, middle-class voices had a disproportionate role in delineating the boundaries of

¹ J.B. Armour to John Megaw, 1 Nov 1860, PRONI D. 1792/A2/5, as quoted in J. R. B. McMinn, *Against the Tide: A Calendar of the Papers of Rev. J.B. Armour, Irish Presbyterian Minister and Home Ruler, 1869-1914* (Belfast: PRONI, 1985), xiii.

² J.B. Armour to John Megaw, 1 Apr 1862 PRONI D/1792/A2/8, as quoted in Ibid, 49.

³ J.B. Armour to John Megaw, 29 Aug 1863 PRONI D/1792/A2/10 as quoted in Ibid., 50-51.

⁴ Ibid.; For a son's biography of his father see, William Staveley Armour, *Armour of Ballymoney* (London: Duckworth, 1934).

childhood and deciding how children should and should not be treated. Within these sources there were still hints of childish experience; however, the nature of the historical record, and the characteristics of modern childhood insist that children will always remain partially occluded by the adult voice. While initially I was disappointed that there were not more sources from children themselves, the story of how childhood was professionalised and regulated by adults proved just as revealing.

The individuals most actively engaged in writing the rules for a good childhood were in the emerging professional-managerial class. These people had a wide range of occupations and salaries but were united by a common educational background and lifestyle. These individuals might range from authors and physicians writing child-rearing manuals to governesses or tutors dealing with children on an individual basis. They inflated their expertise by presenting scientific knowledge as something which was only within the reach of a few, but indispensable for the health and well-being of many. This class of self-styled experts constructed and promulgated regulations for children that helped legitimate their own professional status and authority. Definitions of childhood health and well-being were based less on children's actual needs than on the appearance of scientific rationality and meritocracy. Within Irish historiography this has not been sufficiently appreciated, and this thesis can only gesture towards a wider history which might be written about the professionalisation and credentialism of the middle-classes during this period. It is a story which certainly extends beyond Ireland and speaks to an emerging model of professionalised expertise and authority extending from political governance to civil society and formulations of the family.

This thesis traced some of the major sites where the ideal of bourgeois childhood was enacted in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century. These changes had consequences for parents and adults as much as they did for the youth under their care. As medical innovations shaped ideas about rational childcare, the self-styled expert became a necessary support for the middle-class parent, rhetorically at least. It would take several more decades before the medical man became a common feature of childhood healthcare, but we can see in this literature an early bid to establish physicians' right to intervene in the domestic sphere. There was a shift away from the female-dominated childhood medicinal remedies towards a masculine world of scientific knowledge. Paradoxically, this happened at the same

time when the ideology of separate spheres was enhancing the status of women as mothers and embedding the concept of inherent maternal solicitude within femininity. The respectable mother was called upon to manage the care of her family through purchasing the right products and services, rather than by direct care. This was a gradual transformation, by no means complete by the 1860s, but certainly the idea was in motion by this date. This contradiction in authority and care has to do with how gender was implicated in the formulation and formalisation of knowledge in a modernising society. For childcare to be seen as a serious field of medical practice it had to be masculinised, which meant undermining the authority of female caretakers. During the long nineteenth century, there was a transition in pregnancy and delivery care from a female dominated tradition, to a male medical establishment regulated by professional bodies, and eventually the state.⁵ However, the extent to which mothers actually adopted physicians' written advice and how long traditional remedies needs further consideration. Folklore collections from the early twentieth century suggest that folk medicine was maintained and respected in many communities, with women still playing a significant role in the medical care of their children. Like many aspects of childhood, the story of professionalisation is likely one of amalgamation, rather than the abrupt exchange of one worldview for another.

The child has, and will always in some respects, function as a valve of adult idealism. Understood in the context of a newly unified British Isles, childhood presented itself as a potent symbol for adults to envision solutions to the perennial issues of religious sectarianism, poverty, and rebellion. In Chapter two the didactic literature which criticised the poverty and laziness of the Irish Catholic family as a symptom of religious failure also designated children as the symbolic hope of the nation. The Irish child was an early site for reformers of all stripes, but particularly for those interested in a civilising mission. The British imperial project set in motion during the Plantation era and renewed upon the Act of Union shaped ideas of citizenship and race through the hierarchies of class, gender, and age. The efforts of Protestant sects to reform the Catholic family used ideas about gender and childhood to build their claims that the Irish child was wild, ungoverned, and lacked

⁵ Philomena Gorey, "Managing Midwives in Ireland. From Ecclesiastical Regulation to State Registration c. 1630-1918." (PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2014). See also, Alan Browne, *Masters, Midwives, and Ladies-in-Waiting: The Rotunda Hospital 1745-1995* (A. & A. Farmar, 1995).

proper parental care. At the root of these efforts was an idea of children as malleable and of childhood as formative.

Although the feminization of Ireland has been covered extensively by scholars, especially in postcolonial studies, Richard Haslam has identified the infantilization of the Irish race as a parallel literary trope. The 'childish' Irish were characterized as careless, unrestrained, close to nature, and uninhibited. This language overlapped with descriptions of femininity that assigned women a child-like vulnerability and emotional fragility necessitating the protection of a paternal figure. The Irish peasantry were characterised as wayward children, needing paternal supervision and instruction to mend their ways.⁶ The colonial construction implied a sense of responsibility and duty modelled on the patriarchal family. The efforts of landowners to establish schools for their tenantry in the first half of the nineteenth century attests to the persuasiveness of this cultural trope. Moral management was enacted through the 'friendly' supervision of school inspectors, visiting societies, church services, and Sunday schools. Estate management and paternalistic benevolence went hand-in-hand during the nineteenth century in an attempt to mollify the Irish lower classes.⁷ This infantilization trope was part of the moral imperative of British imperialism in the later nineteenth century throughout the empire. The success of this infantilization project is seen in travel literature from the turn of the twentieth century. Edith Balfour Lyttelton writing about her experiences of traveling in Ireland stated,

They [the Irish] are like children still listening to old fairy stories while their bread has to be earned, they are like children who are afraid to walk alone, who play with fire, who are helpless; like children who will not grow up...But, like children too, they have a strange ancient wisdom and an innate purity, and they appeal to the love and the pity of all who come in contact with them.⁸

At the time Balfour-Lyttelton penned this description the trope of the Irish as children had plenty of cultural precedence. However, using her definition of what a child is indicates that if the Irish are children then they are middle-class children; identified by leisure, innate purity, and helplessness, and therefore deserving of

⁶ See for example the reforms initiated by Lord and Lady Farnham in Cavan from 1823. See Hill and Hempton, *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster*, 86-93.

⁷ Eilís O'Sullivan, *Ascendancy Women and Elementary Education in Ireland* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

⁸ As cited in, L.P Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England*, (Connecticut: Conference on British Studies, 1968), 53.

assistance. The Irish are not the canny, hardworking child chimney sweeps or factory workers of Charles Dickens' incarnation; they are children in the most ineffectual incarnation of the term. Infantilization of the Irish race mollified more antagonistic constructions of the Irish as primitive and barbaric. An infantilized Ireland encouraged colonial patronization, rather than outright hostility, towards this fellow member of the United Kingdom. The class dimensions of this kind of childhood have not been wholly understood in the context of the British imperialism. In the twentieth century, Irish nationalists constructed citizens as children of 'Mother Ireland,' reinterpreting the passivity of a feminized Ireland as a call to action for the children of the nation. A striking example is the 1916 Proclamation which described the 'the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good.' In post-independence Ireland authors used infantilization as an appeal to sympathy with Ireland characterised as the abused child. Children and childhood feature prominently in how modern ideas of selfhood and national identity are formulated. Sometimes this figuration elides the voices and experience of children themselves in favour of an idealised projection of how communal values ought to be enacted and communicated between generations.

In the beginning of this thesis, I stated that the history of childhood operates on different historical markers than traditional political histories. This is to some degree a consequence of working with biographical sources. Individual lives mark progress through the life course with very individualised milestones of personal significance. The struggle of James Armour to avoid the snare of the collar for a career in the civil service and his eventual capitulation to parental expectation speaks to the dramas of choice and limitation set by family and society. As adults, middle-class men and women invested their childhoods with deep significance. The autobiographical genre, which came of age in the nineteenth century, reflects this desire to fashion childhood as a formative period of individual growth. For the bourgeoisie, childhood was a place where privilege was earned. Middle-class autobiographers justified their adult privilege through merit and talent identified in their abilities as children. The cycle of self-fashioning continued through generations as adults transmit their economic successes to their nuclear family and enabled the well-being and success of their children. Particularly in connection to the twentieth century and the establishment of the Irish Free State, memoirs have complemented and complicated understandings of poverty, emigration, nationalism,

and religion in Irish social history.⁹ Carolyn Steedman's work on the concept of modern selfhood and childhood are an illustration of where Irish scholarship might develop a greater sense of how concepts of childhood functioned in formulations of self and community beyond, and within, the frameworks of advanced nationalism.¹⁰

The formalization of state-sponsored education in Ireland was one of the most significant social developments of the nineteenth century. Elementary education was transformed from a scattered network of private schools and teachers at the beginning of the century into a state regulated national institution. By the latter half of the century literacy rates had significantly increased and there were few children who had not spent some time at school.¹¹ Education, as a holistic social and intellectual concept, became a centre for childhood socialisation and this had an impact on formulations of age for all classes. In age-graded classrooms birthdays became an aspect of personal identity to an unprecedented degree. The local school became a centre for children's communal activities, and compulsory attendance brought children together for several hours each day, five days a week. Schooldays were structured around classes, subjects and recreation. The structure of a child's day was regulated by adults to ensure habits of punctuality and orderliness. The implementation of the CNEI reinforced to a greater degree the tiered system of schooling in Ireland, determined by how much students, and their parents, could pay. The unregulated educational marketplace of 1800 was gradually transformed by governmental intervention. However, many private academies and institutions remained outside the governmental funding schemes and relied on the patronage of a local clientele; they were dependent upon providing what parents wanted. Parental ambitions were central to the way these schools differentiated their curricular and extra-curricular programmes.

Studies of the rise of the British middle classes generally agree that during the nineteenth century older practises of familial patronage and kin networks declined with the advent of industrialisation. Patronage and deference were replaced by an emphasis on educational credentialism and meritocracy. This challenge to the aristocratic ideal came first to the traditional professions of the

⁹ Diarmuid Ferriter, "Suffer Little Children? The Historical Validity of Memoirs of Irish Childhood," in *Childhood and Its Discontents: The First Seamus Heaney Lectures*, ed. Joseph Dunne and James Kelly (Dublin: Liffey Press, 2003), 69–105.

¹⁰ Carolyn Steedman, *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority*.

¹¹ John Logan, 'Sufficient to their needs: literacy and elementary schooling in the nineteenth century' in *The Origins of Popular Literacy*, 124–25.

church, the military and medicine, before expanding into the state apparatus of bureaucracy and education. In contrast to the aristocracy who were simply born into title, the bourgeois espoused a work ethic and meritocracy as the virtues of their class. The school and university became gate-keeping institutions regulating who entered the professional classes and who did not. Social mobility, or stability within the middle class, was portrayed as a matter of hard work, prudence, and moral virtue.

From the age of 6 or 7, when boys usually left for school, the experiences of boyhood and girlhood were differentiated with increasing precision by gender and class. How the value of an education was assessed and what kind of schooling gained popularity provides a view of how religious, economic, and cultural influences coalesced over a sixty-year period into a discernibly middle-class mode of education. Arguably the most dramatic change during the first three-quarters of the century was the introduction of an Irish conventual model of schooling that provided a way for Catholic girls to access an academic education in a supervised environment. Whereas boys already had access to schools in the eighteenth century, it was the conventual model of schooling which convinced parents that their daughters could be educated without detriment to their moral character. Tuition rates, familial loyalties, and endowments cemented the organisation of tiered schooling institutions designed to serve middle-class interests. Positivistic assumptions about the widening franchise of education and literacy must then be tempered by the acknowledgement that these schools were not designed to foster a more egalitarian society, but to equip children with the skills for their social station.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the hallmarks of bourgeois childhood were legislated as a universalised experience. State legislation and public policy reflected and imposed changes in the definition of childhood. A series of legislative acts including the Compulsory Education Act (1892), the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act (1889), the Children Act (1908), Notification of Births Act (1910), and the National Insurance Act (1911), brought children to the fore of social policy and contributed to a growing programme of child welfare. By the twentieth century the state recognised that one could be a child, without having a childhood. In effect, this legislation was the culmination of cultural processes initiated a hundred years previously. The Children Act 1908 stated a child to be a person 'under the age of fourteen years', and a 'young person' was defined as being between

fourteen years and sixteen years.¹² Child status by the end of the century was circumscribed by sociological principles rather than exclusively those of a biological or physiological character. However, many young persons were engaged in regular or seasonal employment long before the age of fourteen. While work on the farm was amenable to definitions of childhood, the plight of urban child labourers was increasingly seen as incompatible with childhood. The crowded streets and alleyways of Dublin and Belfast were considered to have a contaminating effect upon children's 'natural' innocence.¹³

While these legal definitions were intended to protect and stabilise an understanding of how persons should be treated during childhood, this initiative recognised that children in abusive homes, in poverty, or lacking in other forms of social and financial care were not having a 'good' childhood, and could hardly be called children at all by the bourgeois definition of the word. The failure of parents to provide their children with middle-class standards of a healthy moral upbringing resulted in policies of criminalisation and institutionalisation which dominate the story of Irish childhood in the twentieth century. The simian features of the working-class child in visual culture speak to the degree to which a childhood outside the bounds of respectability was dehumanised. The study of Irish child labour and the movement of Irish children in and out of the workforce would be a timely development within nineteenth-century historiography. Jane Humphries account of children's labour in the Industrial Revolution posits 1790 to 1840 as the high watermark for children's workforce participation in Britain and correspondingly the lowest level of time spent in education. Working-class family economies were dependent on children, particularly boys' labour, and the average length of education for working-class boys was 2.5 years.¹⁴ However, it was precisely in this same period that middle-class families began withholding their children from the labour market and delaying their formal entry into the world of business. This indicates a widening social gap in child-rearing strategies and suggests how an Irish narrative of middle-class identity used a particular type of

¹² G. Glover Alexander, *The Administration of Justice in Criminal Matters: (in England and Wales)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 192. First published in 1915.

¹³ Gillian McIntosh, "Children, Street Trading and the Representation of Public Space in Edwardian Ireland," in *Children, Childhood and Irish Society, 1500 to the Present*, ed. Maria Luddy and James M. Smith (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2014), 46–64.

¹⁴ Jane Humphries, *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 240.

childhood as a marker of wealth and distinction in contrast to the working-classes. Without a more comprehensive picture of child participation in the Irish marketplace we are left with the intriguing but unsubstantiated idea that childhood was being defined as a period of economic uselessness, at the very moment that children's presence in the workforce was at its highest point.

The 'fixing' of childhood by the bourgeoisie involved determining who was and was not a child, with this process they also delineated the values of their own class. During this period, childhood became synonymous with dependency, innocence, and irrationality, the antithesis of characteristics simultaneously being associated with adult masculinity. The widening in the social gap between childhoods of different classes is indicative of a wider middle-class project to render the male householder as the sole productive earner. While this aspiration was far from the reality of many families, the definitions of work and wealth so integral to formulations of masculinity hinged upon a relative devaluing of women and children's contributions to the household economy. Determining the borders of childhood was necessary to create the distinctive gendered roles of the middle-class family. Constructions of age and maturity in the nineteenth century were inseparable from concepts of gender. Children were defined by what they were *not* capable of and their dependence contributed to the maintenance of the concept of maturity, citizenship, and adulthood. Expectations of childhood were based on perceptions of boys' and girls' future role in Irish society, the potency of that symbolism still structures how adults discuss and disseminate ideas about childhood in Ireland today.

APPENDICES

Diocese	Schools	Children
Ardagh	60	4,000
Armagh	171	13,970
Cork and Ross	102	4053
Down and Connor	62	3100
Elphin	98	4966
Ferns	33	1683
Tuam	38	1796
Glandelagh [sic]	55	3094
Leighlin	47	2288

Appendix 1: Number of Schools Supported by The Church of Education Society. Taken from *First Annual Report of The Church Education Society for Ireland*, Dublin, George Folds, 1840, 9.

School	Boarders	Day Scholars	Free pupils	TOTAL
Clonmel Classical School, Tipperary	0	21	1	22
Carrickmacross Classical School, Monaghan	47	10	1	58
Kilkenny School	46	35	4	85
Middleton School, Cork	6	8	0	14
Corporation School, Waterford City	6	20		26
Dundalk School	14	8	14	36
Bandon School	20	25	0	45
Kingsale School		30		30
Charleville schoo	8	20		28
Lifford School		30		30
Clonakilty School	56	12		68
Armagh Royal School	87	29		116
Dungannon Royal School	27	12		39
Enniskillen Royal School	65	16		81
Raphoe Royal School	32	0	3	35
Cavan Royal School	0	0	0	0
Banagher Royal School	n/a	0	0	0
Carysfort Royal School		50		50
				763

Appendix 2: Attendance Figures for the Royal Schools, *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-1812*, HOC, Printed 7 December 1813.

School	Boarding Tuition	Boarding Entrance Fee	Day Scholar tuition	Day Scholar Entrance rate	French	Writing	Dancing
Clonmel Classical School, Tipperary	n/a	n/a	4	1			
Carrickmacross Classical School, Monaghan	28	5	4	1	4	2	
Kilkenny School	34	6	6	1			
Middleton School, Cork Corporation School,	30	4	8	1	4		4
Waterford City	30	6	6	1	yes		
Dundalk School	24	5	2 or 4	1	yes		
Bandon School							
Kingsale School							
Charleville school							
Lifford School							
Clonakilty School					yes	yes	Yes
Armagh Royal School	32	6	4	1	Yes		
Dungannon Royal School	26	5	4	1	Yes		
Enniskillen Royal School	32	6	6	1.5	Yes		
Raphoe Royal School	26	5	4	1	Yes		

Appendix 3: Tuition Rates at the Royal schools, *Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-1812*, House of Commons, Printed 7 December 1813.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript

Cork City and County Archive, Bandon, Cork.

Coppinger of Barryscourt, Letters, 1740-1843, IE CCCA/U405

Denny Lane Papers, 1833-1895, IE CCCA/U611

Hackett Diaries and Papers (Compiled by JD Hackett) 1928-29 (1803-1929), IE CCCA/PR46

Lady Eliza Deane Diary, 1 Jan - 19 Nov 1832, IE CCCA/PR27

Moore Family School Books, 1774-1814, MS/72.

Richard Dowden Papers, 1806-1860, IE CCCA/U140

Dominican Archives, Sion Hill, Blackrock, Dublin

Community Annals, 1840-1890.

Student Registers 1870-1911.

Dublin City Library, Dublin

Massey, Catherine. Scrapbook containing Manuscript Poems, Recipes, Drawings, Riddles, Newspaper Cuttings, Printed Fliers and Advertisements, and an Amateur Drawing of Daniel O'Connell, 1819, ms. EX00163299.

Expenses for Eliza White's Education, 1812-1817, ms. EX00037839.

Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Loreto) Institute & Irish Province Archives, Dublin, Ireland

Mother Teresa Ball Papers, 1794-1861.

Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham Collection, 1814-2008.

James Hardiman Library, Special collections, National University of Ireland, Galway

Memoirs of Countess de la Boisserie (Matilda O'Kelly of Newtown), 1863 – 1887, P/14.

Lady's Scrapbook from the Nineteenth Century, 1841, P/14.

Spiritual Writings and Retreat Notes of Dr. Cooke, January 1842, P3/1, /2, /3, /4.

National Archives of Ireland, Dublin.

Evidence minutes of the Education Commission on the Use of Scripture in Schools, 1825 CSO/OP/1825.

Memorial of James Hogan, Labourer, Concerning the Case of his Child having Lost an Arm at Howth, 1817, OPW/8/How/2542.

Protestant Orphan Society papers, Dublin, 1880-1900, 1045/5/10/1-2.

Records relating to the Fontaine family, 1819, CSORP/1819/474.

Report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry into Primary Education in Ireland
(Powis Commission) H.C. 1870 xxviii, pt 1.
Royal Hibernian Military School plans, Office of Public Works, OPW/5HC/2/65-
68.

National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Clonbrock Family Papers, 1624-1965
Considine Estate Papers, 1764-1912
D'Alton Collection, 1832-1865, MS 20,950
Mansfield Family Papers, 1784-1839
McCall Papers,
Louth Family Papers, 1548-1941
Walter Fitzgerald Papers, 1865-9, Gerald Fitzgerald. Diary. Kilkea Castle, Kildare,
1862. MS 16173.
Diary of Lady Anne Jocelyn, 1810-1820

National Museum of Ireland, Decorative Arts and History, Collins Barracks, Dublin

Children's Clothing Collections
39-1916 Girl's Jacket- Bright Yellow Silk.
104-1973 Child's Bodice- Rust Coloured Cotton.
90.1984 Child's Dress- White Cotton.
5-1956 Child's Frock- White Lawn.
6-1956 Child's Drawers-White Cotton.
7-1956 Child's Frock- Peacock Blue Taffeta.
9-1956 Child's Skirt- Printed Cotton.
93-1964 Child's Frock.
Infant Gowns collection
8-1956 Infant's Dress- Printed Cotton.
41-1954 Bodice of Infant Robe- Longcloth.
11-1956 Infants' Chemise- White Lawn.
97-1984 Infant's open Shirt- White Linen.
17-1951 Infant Shoes- Pale blue kid.
14-1951 Infant's Bootie- Dark brown leather.
Christening Robes collection
34-1950 Christening Cap- Pillow Lace and baby ribbon.
1986-89 Christening Cape- Cream Cashmere.
26-1956 Christening Robe- Fine Lawn.
42-1975 Christening Cloak- Cream Woollen material.
25-1972 Christening Robe-White Lawn.
89.1984 Cape- White Cotton.
Children and Infant Caps and Bonnets collection
81-1953 Baby's Bonnet- Cambric and Lace.
21-1950 Infant's Cap- Knitted Cotton.
49-1963 Child's Netted Mitts- Black Cotton.
140-1898 Baby's Linen Mitts- White Linen.

National Photographic Archive, National Library of Ireland, Dublin

Clarke Collection, 1890-1910.
Clonbrock Collection, 1860-1930.
Lawrence Collection, 1865-1943.
Poole Collection, 1884-1954.
Tuke Collection, Rutledge-Fair Major, 1892.

Representative Church Body Library

John Paul Lawless-Pyne, (-1869) Rector of Inch (Cloyne), 1836-69, 1866. MS 583.
Church Education Society for Ireland, 1839-1987.
William St John Smyth (1793-1847) Chancellor of Down, 1829-1843; Precentor of Connor & Rector of Ballymoney, 1843-47, 1808-46, MS 772.
Ussher Family Papers, 1741-1850, MS 173.

Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, Belfast

Andrew and Isabella Marshall, volume which contains the birthdates of their children, 1808-1814, D1558/1/4/1.
Alexander Ross papers, 1806-1864, D/1578.
Copy-out letter book of William Blacker, 1832-1846, D1606/5/1.
Diary of John Galt, 1796-1837, D/561.
Diary of James Black, November 1837-October 1844, D1725/18.
Emerson Tennant Papers, Correspondence with Anne Henry, 1804-1821 D1748/B/1/136.
Letter Book of James McCleery, secretary, 1809-1826, COM/1/2/1.
Wm. Todd Jones to Dr. Wm. Drennan at Belfast, 21 March [1816], D456/37.

Queen's University Belfast, McClay Library, Special Collections, Belfast

Andrew Gibson/ Massey Collection, 1700-1880s.

Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, Heritage Centre Archive, Dublin

Casebooks from the Rotunda Lying-in hospital, no 1 and no 4, Feb 1834-Aug 1838, BMS 14/1-2.
Edward Hill Papers, 1741-1830, Acc/ND/4.
Letter of Whitney Stokes to his Wife, Instructions upon his Death, 22 June 1808, MS/22.
Moore Family Letters, 1774-1814, MS/72.
Sir Dominic Corrigan Papers, 1795-[1940s], DC 1-7.
Joseph Abbot, An Exposition of the Experiences and Opinions of John Howard on the Preservation and Improvement of the Health of the Inmates of Schools, Prisons, Workhouses, Hospitals and other Public Institutions, as far as Health is affected by Structural Arrangements relating to Supplies of Air, Water Drainage and c., 1860s?, BMS 26.

St. Mary's Bar Convent, York, England

School Registers 1730-1890.

Uncatalogued MS collection, Bills for the Young Ladies, 1700-1900.

Trinity College Dublin, Dublin

Diary transcript, diary of Dorothea Herbert 31 July 1806-18 January 1807, IE TCD MS 10121.

Julia McLeod, Booklet illustrating the uses of Punctuation, 1881, IE TCD MS 6183.

Papers of Edward Hill, 1791-1824, IE TCD MS 10326.

Pearson Family Commonplace Book, 1773-1840.

Starkey-Solomon-Jacobs Collection, 1830-1862, IE TCD MS 4479.

Ursuline Convent Archives, Blackrock, Cork

Nineteenth-century Manuscript Collection, 1770-1900.

Nineteenth-century Printed Collection, 1770-1900.

Wesley College, Dublin

School Archives, Uncatalogued.

The Eaglet, Student Newspaper, 1861.

Government Reports

1825 (400) *First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland*. House of Commons.

1864 (179) Convent schools (Ireland). Copies of a report made to the Board of National Education, on the subject of convent schools in Ireland, by Inspector Sheridan; and, of a letter or memorial to the Board of National Education, from Baggot Street Convent School, Dublin, applying for payment for training teachers; and of the answer of the board thereto. House of Commons.

1857-8 (2413) *The Queen's Colleges Commission. Report of her Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Progress and Condition of the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway*, House of Commons.

Newspapers

The Freeman's Journal

Belfast Newsletter

Wexford Herald

Printed Primary Sources

- A Christening Gift from a Clergyman, To Persons Presenting a Child to Be Baptized.* Dublin: M. Goodwin, 1823.
- A New Academy of Compliments; Being Wit and Mirth Improved by the Elegant Expressions Used in the Art of Courtship; the Silent Language; Or, A Complete Rule for Discoursing by Motions of the Hands ... as Also a Choice and Favorite Collection of Toasts and Sentiments, with Plain Instructions for Dancing.* C.M. Warren, [n.d.].
- A New Song Called, the Maid with Elbows Bare to which are added 2 The Adieu 3 I Listen to the Little Maid 3 How Cruel Are Parents 4 Had I a Cave 6 As down the Torrent's, &c.* Derry: Robert Buchanan, 1808.
- A Selection of Hymns, Used in Bethesda Chapel, Dorset-Street.* Dublin: Printed by Robert Napper, 1819.
- A Sermon Preached at Christ-Church, Dublin, on the 17th of June, 1770, before the Incorporated Society, for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland. by the Right Reverend and Honourable Dr. Henry Maxwell, Lord Bishop of Meath. Published at the Request of the Society. With a Continuation of the Society's Proceedings to the 25th of March, 1770.* Dublin, 1770.
- Familiar Discourses to the Young: Preceded by an Address to Parents, by a Catholic Priest.* Dublin: James Duffy, 1867.
- Fanaticism! Cruelty!! Bigotry!!! : The Particulars of the Horrible Murder of Catharine Sinnott, a Child under Four Years of Age, by the Rev. John Carroll, an Irish Catholic Priest, under Pretence of Performing a Miracle, by Casting Devils out of the Child, Which Took Place at Killinick, in the County of Wexford, on Friday, July 9, 1824, Etc. : Including the Coroner's Inquest.* London: John Fairburn, 1824.
- Holden's Triennial Directory, Fourth Edition for 1805, 1806, 1807.* London, 1805.
- Little Manual of the Sodality of the Holy Angels.* Dublin: James Duffy, 1866.
- Mamma's Gift of Original Hymns and Short Poems;: Adapted to the Comprehension of Young Minds.* 3rd ed. Dublin: Philip Dixon Hardy and Sons, Religious Book and Tract Depository for Ireland, 1824.
- Minutes of Evidence Taken in the Months of July and September, 1834, before a Committee of the General Synod of Ulster, Respecting the Teachings in the Moral Philosophy Class in the Belfast Royal Academical Institution.* Belfast (Joy's Entry): Thomas Mairs, 1835.
- Notes on the Life and Character of Thomas Blain, LL.D., Sometime Head Master of the English Department of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, with a Record of the memorial Established in His Honour by Sundry Pupils and Friends.* Belfast: Marcus Ward & Co., 1888.
- Rules and Constitutions of the Institute of the Religious Sisterhood of the Presentation of the Ever Blessed Virgin Mary, Established in the City of Cork, for the Charitable Instruction of Poor Girls Conformably to the Rules of the Late Pope, Pius VI.* Cork: James Haly, 1809.
- Memoir of a Sunday School Teacher.* Second edition Dublin: J. & M. Porteous, 1827.
- Motives for Leaving the Roman Catholic Church. In Ten Letters to Mr. William Furlong, Teacher of Classics at Ballyhaly, near Wexford.* Dublin: William Curry, 1827.
- Regulations of the Strabane Academy: And an Address to the Students, in General, on Opening That Seminary, Delivered on Monday, November the 7th, 1785, ... By W. Crawford, D.D. With an Address to the Students in the Class for Languages. By W. Taggart, A.M. And an Address to the Students of the Mathematical Class.* Strabane: John Bellew, 1785.
- Report of the Trial of the Rev. John Carroll, Roman Catholic Curate of Killinick, in the County of Wexford, and Five of His Parishioners, for Murder [of Catharine Sinnott]: Taken in Short-Hand.* Dublin, 1824.

- Rules for the Management of the Boarding School at Lisburn, for the Education of the Children of Friends.* Belfast: F. D. Finlay, 1821.
- Second Report of the Committee of the Hibernian Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, to the General Meeting of the Society, held on the 19th April, 1816, with a list of Subscribers and Benefactors.* Printed by John Jones, 1815.
- Statement of the Constitution of the Belfast Academy: With an Account of the History and Present State of the System of Education Pursued in That Seminary.* Belfast: Thomas Mairs, 1829.
- The Accomplished Gentleman: Or, Principles of Politeness, and of Knowing the World: Containing Every Instruction to Complete the Gentleman and Man of Fashion, to Teach Him a Knowledge of Life, and Make Him Well Received in All Companies. To Which Is Now First Added, The Oeconomy of Human Life, in Two Parts. Translated from an Indian Manuscript, Written by an Ancient Bramin. By Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield.* Wogan, Bean, and Pike, 1782.
- The Careful Nursemaid:: With Hints on the Management of Children.* London: The Religious Tract Society. 1845.
- The Case of Maynooth College Considered: With a History of the First Establishment of That Seminary, an Account Of the System of Education Pursued in it, and a Review of the Effect it has had on the Character of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland.* Dublin: Milliken and Son, 1836.
- The Catholic Offering: Counsels to the Young on Their Leaving School and Entering into the World.* Dublin: James Duffy, 1859.
- The Child's New Play-Thing, Or, Best Amusement: Intended to Make the Learning to Read, a Diversion instead of a Task...: Designed for the Use of Schools, or for Children Before They Go to School.* 13th ed. Dublin: Pat Wogan, 1809.
- The Christian Drummer: A True and Interesting Story, Particularly Recommended to the Army and Navy, and to Youth of Both Sexes.* Belfast: Thomas Mairs & Co, 1816.
- The Cottage Fire-Side.* Dublin: Napper and White, 1826.
- The Dublin Reading Book.* Dublin: P. Dixon Hardy, 1830.
- The Dublin Text Book for Soldiers.* Second edition. London: S. W. Partridge & Co, 1891.
- The Dying Sunday School Girl.* Dublin: M. Goodwin, 1820.
- The Elements of a Polite Education; Carefully Selected from the Letters of the Late Right Honble Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to His Son. By G. Gregory, D. D. Author of Essays Historical and Moral; of the Economy of Nature, &c. &c.* London, 1800.
- The Gamester. To Which Is Added, the Story of Sinful Sally, Told by Herself.* Dublin, 1800.
- The Orphan-House: Being a Brief History of That Institution, and of the Proceedings of the Founders and Directors of That Asylum or Place of Refuge for Destitute Female Children Situate at No.42, Prussia-Street.* Dublin: George Bonham, 1792.
- The Peep of Day: Or, A Series of the Earliest Religious Instruction the Infant Mind Is Capable of Receiving: With Verses Illustrative of the Subjects.* London: Hatchard, 1865.
- The Scrap-Book, Or, A Selection of Interesting and Authentic Anecdotes.* Dublin: Chambers and Hallagan, 1825.
- Treatise on Politeness, Intended for the Use of the Youth of Both Sexes, Translated from the French by a Lady.* Dublin: Gilbert & Hodges, 1813.
- War with the Devil: Or, the Young Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness. In a Dialogue, Discovering the Corruption and Vanity of Youth; the Horrible Nature of Sin; and Deplorable Condition of Fallen Man. Also, a Description, Power and Rule of Conscience, and the Nature of True Conversion.* 2nd ed. Belfast: James Wilson and William Maginness, 1840.
- Book of Annals, Sion Hill, Blackrock, Dublin, Golden Jubilee, 1854-1904.* Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Sion Hill, 1904.

- Abbott, John S. C. *The Child at Home; Or The Principles of Filial Duty Familiarly Illustrated*. London: T. & J. Allman, 1833.
- Academy, Belfast. *Statement of the Constitution of the Belfast Academy; with an Account of the History and Present State of the System of Education Pursued in That Seminary*. Belfast: Thomas Mairs, 1829.
- Acland, Thomas Dyke. *Middle-Class Education: Scheme of the West of England Examination and Prizes for June, 1857: With Introductory Remarks Addressed to Members of the Universities*. 2nd ed. London: J Ridgeway, 1857.
- Alexander, Catherine. *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers on Training Their Children*. Armagh: McWatters, 1839.
- . *Friendly Advice to Irish Mothers, on Training Their Children*. Edited by Maria Luddy. Irish Women's Writing, 1839-1888. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998.
- Allingham, William. *William Allingham, a Diary*. Edited by Helen Paterson Allingham. London: Macmillan, 1907.
- Anderson, William. *Original Poems: Sacred, Moral, Elegiac, Descriptive, Miscellaneous, Etc.: Entirely Adapted for Edification and Moral Instruction, and Particularly to Improve the Minds and Morals of Youth*. Belfast: H. McKendrick, 1841.
- Atthill, Lombe. *Recollections of an Irish Doctor*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1911.
- . *Recollections of an Irish Doctor*. Whitegate, Co. Clare: Ballinakella Press, 2007.
- Bakewell, J. *The Mother's Practical Guide in the Early Training of Her Children: Containing Directions for Their Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Education*. Second edition, Hamilton, Adams, & Co.; Whittaker and Co.; Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1836.
- Ball, Frances Mary Teresa. *Joyful Mother of Children: Mother Frances Mary Teresa Ball*. Dublin: Gill, 1961.
- Ball, Robert S. (Robert Stawell), and William Valentine Ball. *Reminiscences and Letters of Sir Robert Ball*. London: Cassell, 1915.
- Barker, Francis. *Every Man His Own Doctor, Containing a Number of Most Valuable and Useful Receipts [Sic], To Prevent and Cure the Cholera Morbus, Shewing [Sic] the Symptoms and Appearance of Its Coming On, &c.: With Directions How to Proceed In every Case. By Men of the First Faculty*. 2nd ed. Belfast: Hutton Watson, 1832.
- Barrington, Jonah. *Personal Sketches and Recollections of His Own Times*. Dublin: Ashfield Press, 1997.
- Beaujeu, J. A. *A Treatise on Calisthenic Exercises for the Use of Young Ladies*. 2nd ed. R. Milliken & Son, 1828.
- Belfast Academical Institution. *The Act of Incorporation and Bye-Laws of the Belfast Academical Institution, 1810*. Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1811.
- Benn, George. *A History of the Town of Belfast: From the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century*. London: M. Ward, 1877.
- Binns, William. *Goods Sold by William Binns: At the Pantheon Phusitechnikon*. William Binns, 1810.
- Blake, Maria. *The Respondent's Narrative in the Case of the Loretto Nuns*. Dublin: George Herbert, 1853.
- Board of Governors. *Rules for Conducting the Education of the Female Children in the Foundling Hospital*. Dublin: William Porter, 1800.
- Braidwood, Peter Murray. *The Domestic Management of Children*. London: Smith, Elder, 1874.

- Branagan, Michael. *A Letter from the Rev. Michael Branagan, P.P. to Charles A. Tisdall, ... Containing Strictures on the Circular Letters of That Gentleman Addressed to the Congregation of Cortown Chapel*. Dublin?: Thomas Courtney, 1823.
- Bridgman, Laura Dewey. *Interesting Memoir of Laura Bridgman: A Deaf and Dumb and Blind Child, Born in New Hampshire, America, Dec. 21st, 1829, and Now a Pupil in the Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind*. Printed for the Juvenile Association Auxiliary to the Ulster Society for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, 1843.
- Briggs, Richard. *The Housekeeper's Assistant: Or Modern Art of Cookery, Made Easy and Familiar, Selected from Glass and Brigg's Cookery, with Many Useful Additions and Alterations* /. 1st ed. Printed by Martin, 1806.
- Brooke, Charlotte. *The School for Christians: In Dialogues for the Use of Children*. Dublin: Bernard Dornin, 1791.
- Brooke, Henry. *History of Henry, Earl of Moreland*. London: C. Whittingham, T. Tegg, 1829.
- Brown, John, and J. Smyth. *The Importance of Learning to Society and the Christian Ministry, Illustrated, in an Appeal to the Congregation of Ballymena, in September last, in Aid of the Funds for Supporting a Divinity Professorship under the Care of the Synod of Ulster, in the Belfast Academical Institution*. Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1820.
- Brown, William. *Baptism by Pouring and Sprinkling, Together with Infant Baptism, Vindicated*. Belfast: William M'Comb, 1833.
- Bryce, James, and John Cumming. *Treatise on the Elements of Algebra*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1837.
- Buchan, William. *Observations Concerning the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease. Intended to Guard the Ignorant and Unwary against the Baneful Effects of That Insidious Malady. With an Appendix, Containing a List of the Most Approved Medicines now used in the Cure of this Disorder, Also their Doses, Manner of Application, &c. W. Buchan, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh; and Author of the Domestic Medicine. ...* London, 1796.
- . *Domestic Medicine: Or, a Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Diseases by Regimen and Simple Medicines. With an Appendix, Containing a Dispensatory for the Use of Private Practitioners. By William Buchan, M. D. Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. The Fifteenth Edition; to Which Are Prefixed, Observations Concerning the Diet of the Common People; Recommending a Method of Living Less Expensive, and More Conducive to Health, than the Present. Not in Any Former Edition*. Dublin, 1797.
- Bunbury, Selina. *A Visit to My Birth-Place*. London: George Routledge and Sons, 1872.
- . *Madame Constance the Autobiography of a Frenchwoman in England*. London: T.C. Newby, 1861.
- . *Recollections of Ireland*. Dublin: William Curry, Jun. & Company, 1839.
- Burns, J. *A Reply to Mr. Henry Cook, Scripture Reader's Reputation of Arian and Socinian Principles; Or, His Review of the Rev. W. H. Dogherty's Plain Words for Plain Men: In Six Letters*. Belfast: J. Smyth, 1836.
- Butler, Charles. *Butler's Medicine Chest Directory, and Family Catalogue of Drugs, Chemicals, Etc., with the Properties and Doses of such as Are More Generally Used in Domestic Medicine; to Which Is Appended a Concise Description of Diseases, with Directions for the Treatment of such as Are Unattended with Serious Consequences; ...* Third edition, Dublin: Messrs. Butler, 1832.
- Cadogan, William. *An Essay upon Nursing: And the Management of Children, from Their Birth to Three Years of Age ... in a Letter ...* 9th ed. Dublin: Jos. Sheppard, 1771.

- Cairns, William, and William Henry. *Address of Professor Cairns to the Students of the Logic and Belles Letres Class, of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, on Monday the 16th April, 1832*. Belfast: News-Letter Office, 1832.
- Cairns, William, and Robert James Tennent. *Address Delivered to the Belfast Historic Society, on the Evening of the 29th of May, 1828, Being the Close of the Second Revived Session*. Belfast: Thomas Mairs, 1828.
- Cameron, Charles Alexander. *History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, and of the Irish Schools of Medicine: Including Numerous Biographical Sketches, also a Medical Bibliography*. 2nd ed. Dublin: Fannin, 1916.
- Carbery, Mary, Mary Fogerty, and Elizabeth Corsellis. *The Farm by Lough Gur: The Story of Mary Fogarty (Sissy O'Brien)*. Dublin: Mercier Press, 1973.
- Carleton, William. *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*. Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1990.
- Carr, John. *The Stranger in Ireland*; Philadelphia, T. & G. Palmer, 1806.
- Chambers, Robert, and William Chambers. *Sanitary Economy: Its Principles and Practice; and Its Moral Influence on the Progress of Civilisation*. Edinburgh: William and Robert Chambers, 1850.
- Child, Lydia Maria. *The Girl's Own Book*. 13th ed. Dublin: T. Le Messurier, 1844.
- Clark, J. Paterson (John Paterson). *A Practical Treatise on Teething, and the Management of the Teeth, from Infancy to the Completion of the Second Dentition*. London: Longman, 1835.
- Clarke, Joseph, "Observations on Some Causes of the Excess of the Mortality of Males above that of Females. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 76 (1 January 1786):
- Cobbe, Frances Power. *Life of Frances Power Cobbe: Told by Herself*. 2nd ed. London: R. Bentley & Son, 1894.
- Coleridge, Henry James. *St. Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York, (1686-1887)*. London: Burns and Oates, 1887.
- . *The Life of Mother Frances Mary Teresa Ball: Foundress in Ireland of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. Quarterly Series 33. Dublin: M. H. Gill, 1881.
- Colles, William Morris. *Sisters of Mercy, Sisters of Misery, Or, Miss Sellon in the Family: With Some Remarks on "A Reply to the Rev. James Spurrell;" "Two Letters to the Rev. Edward Coleridge," &c.* London: T. Hatchard, 1852.
- Collins, Robert. *To Professor Simpson, of Edinburgh, in Reply to His Letter to Dr. Collins, on the "Duration of Labour as a Cause of Mortality and Danger to Mother and Infant": Second Letter*. Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1848.
- Coppinger, William. *The Life of Miss Nano Nagle as Sketched by the Right Rev. Dr. Coppinger in a Funeral Sermon Preached by Him in Cork, on the Anniversary of Her Death*. Cork: James Haly, 1794.
- Cosnett, Thomas. *The Footman's Directory, and Butler's Remembrancer; Or, The Advice of Onesimus to His Young Friends: Comprising Hints on the Arrangement and Performance of Their Work: Rules for Setting out Tables and Sideboards; the Art of Waiting at Table, and Conducting Large and Small Parties; Directions for Cleaning Plate, Glass, Furniture, Clothes, and All Other Things Which Come within the Care of a Man-Servant, and Advice Respecting Behaviour to Superiors, Tradespeople, and Fellow-Servants. With an Appendix, Comprising Various Useful Receipts and Tables*. London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1825.
- Cox, Walter. *Advice to Emigrants, or Observations made during a Nine Months Residence in the Middle States of the American Union*. 1802.
- . *Watty versus Dan.: Vindication of Watty Cox, and His Clients, the Twenty-Three Infants of Luttrellstown, against the Representations of Pat. Gannon, and Daniel O'Connell*. 1825.

- Coyne, J. Stirling, and W. H. Bartlett. *The Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland*. London: Mercury, 2003.
- Curwen, John. *School Songs, Sacred, Moral, and Descriptive: Designed to Aid Instruction in Schools and Families, and Connected with Appropriate Tunes, Which Are Published Separately, in 'School Music,' 1s., and "Children's School Music," 4d.* London: Ward and Co, 1859.
- Dalrymple, W., *Solomon's Ethics, Or, The Book of Proverbs Made Easy*, by W. Dalrymple, 1799.
- Day, Thomas. *The History of Sandford and Merton*. Belfast: George Berwick, 1814.
- De Vere, Aubrey. *Hymns and Sacred Poems*. Dublin; and Derby, 1864.
- Doisy, Adelbert J. *Recueil Littéraire; or Extracts in Prose and Verse, from the Best French Writers*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1835.
- Doisy, Adelbert J., and H. J. Nicholson. *A French Grammar, Comprising Rudiments, Syntax, and Exercises, a Collection of Synonymous Terms, an Introduction to Translation, and Elements of French Conversation*. 3rd ed. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1845.
- Dorian, Hugh. *The Outer Edge of Ulster: A Memoir of Social Life in Nineteenth-Century Donegal*. Edited by Breandán Mac Suibhne and David Dickson. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001.
- Doyle, James Warren , *Remarks on the Late Miracle, in a Letter Addressed to the Rev. Doctor Doyle, Titular Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin*. Dublin: R.M. Tims, 1823.
- . *Pastoral Letter Addressed to the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Deanery of Kilcock: To Be Read to Their Respective Flocks*. Dublin: by Richard Coyne, 1823.
- . *Letter to Daniel O'Connell, Esq. on the Formation of a National Literary Institute, for the Extension of Science to All Classes of Irish Youth*. Dublin: Richard Coyne, 1829.
- . *Letters on the State of Education in Ireland; And on Bible Societies, Addressed to a Friend in England*. Dublin: Richard Coyne, 1824.
- . *An Essay on Education and the State of Ireland*. Dublin: M.H. Gill & Son, 1880.
- . *The Pastoral and Education Letters of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Doyle, Martin. *Hints Addressed to the Small Holders and Peasantry of Ireland, on Subjects Connected with Health, Temperance, Morals, &c.* Dublin: W. Curry, 1833.
- . *The Works of Martin Doyle. Vol.1*. Dublin: William Curry, 1836.
- . *Rural Economy for Cottage Farmers, by Martin Doyle*, 1857.
- . *Hints Addressed to the Small Holders and Peasantry of Ireland on Road-Making, and on Ventilation &c.* Dublin: William Curry, 1830.
- Drennan, William. *The Drennan-McTier Letters* Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1998.
- Drennan, William. *A "pande-manum" for "Presbyter" of 9th August, 1816*. Belfast: Francis D. Finlay, 1816.
- . *A Retort Courteous to the Remarks of "Presbyter" relative to the Belfast Academical Institution, Published in the Belfast Newsletter, July 26, 1816*. Belfast: Francis D. Finlay, 1816.
- Duncan, Henry. *The Cottage Fireside; Or, The Parish Schoolmaster: A Moral Tale, Intended Chiefly to Convey, in an Alluring Form, an Important Practical Lesson to Parents, in the Education of Their Children, and to Young Persons, in the Duty of Obedience, and the Happiness of Good Conduct*. 3rd ed. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Waugh, & Innes, 1816.
- Edgeworth, Maria. *Select Stories for Children, from the Parent's Assistant*. Drogheda: Charles Evans, 1802.
- . *The Novels and Selected Works of Maria Edgeworth*. Edited by Clíona Ó Gallchoir and Elizabeth Eger. 12 vols. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003.

- Edgeworth, Maria, and Richard Lovell Edgeworth. *Practical Education*. 2nd ed. 3 vols. London: J. Johnson by J. Crowder, 1801.
- . *Practical Education; by Maria Edgeworth, Author Of Letters For Literary Ladies, And The Parent's Assistant; and by Richard Lovell Edgeworth, F.R.S. and M.R.I.A. ... Vol. Volume 1*. 2 vols. London, 1798.
- Enfield, William. *The Speaker: Or, Exercises in Elocution; Selected from the Best English Writers, and Disposed under Proper Heads, with a View to Facilitate the Improvement of Youth in Reading and Speaking*. Belfast: William Magee, 1800.
- Evanson, Richard Tonson, and Henry Maunsell. *A Practical Treatise on the Management and Diseases of Children*, 3rd ed. Dublin: Fannin, 1840.
- Fabbrini, Gaetano, and Francis D. Finlay. *Rules and Exercises on the Modern Syntax of the Italian Language; as Taught in the Belfast Academical Institution*. Belfast: Francis D. Finlay, 1815.
- Fénelon, François de Salignac de La Mothe. *Instructions for the Education of a Daughter: By M. Fénelon, the Author of Telemachus; to Which Is Added, a Small Tract of Instructions for the Conduct of Young Ladies of the Highest Rank; with Suitable Devotions Annexed*. Dublin: P. Wilson, J. Exshaw, and M. Williamson, 1753.
- . *The Education of Daughters*. Dublin: Richard Grace, 1841.
- Ferguson, William. *Youth's Pattern: Or, the Way of Holiness: Wherein Is Contained Memoirs and Anecdotes for Youth*. Belfast: Hugh Clark, 1837.
- Ferrar, M. L. (Michael Lloyd). *Register of the Royal School, Armagh*. Belfast: W. & G. Baird, 1933.
- Fingall, Elizabeth Mary Margaret Burke Plunkett. *Seventy Years Young, Memories of Elizabeth, Countess of Fingall*. London: Collins, 1937.
- Fisher, Lydia Jane Leadbeater. *Letters from the Kingdom of Kerry, the Year 1845*. Dublin: Webb and Chapman, 1847.
- Fitzpatrick, William John. *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin*. J. Duffy, 1861.
- Forneri, James, and John Henderson. *The Fornerian System; or a Plain Philosophical Method of Teaching or Acquiring the German Language with the Greatest Facility and without Any Particular Exertion of Memory; Applicable to Any Other Tongue: Headed by a Particularly Concise Grammar, Purposely Compiled to Ensure the Efficiency of the System: Divided into Two Parts, Theoretical and Practical*. Belfast: John Henderson, 1845.
- Gahan, William. *Sermons and Moral Discourses for All the Sundays and Principal Festivals of the Year*. Third edition, Dublin: Richard Coyne, 1825.
- Gamble, John. *A View of Society and Manners in the North of Ireland: In the Summer and Autumn of 1812*. C. Cardock and W. Joy, 1813.
- Genlis, Stéphanie Félicité. *Lessons of a Governess to Her Pupils.: Or, Journal of the Method Adopted by Madame de Sillery-Brulart (Formerly Countess de Genlis) in the Education of the Children of M. d'Orleans, First Prince of the Blood-Royal*. Dublin: P.Wogan et al, 1793.
- . *The Child of Nature.: A Dramatic Piece, in Four Acts. From the French of Madame the Marchioness of Sillery, Formerly Countess of Genlis. ... By Mrs. Inchbald*. Dublin: 1789.
- . *Theatre of Education.: Translated from the French of the Countess de Genlis. In Four Volumes*. Dublin: 1783.
- Gomez, Isaac. *Selections of a Father for the Use of His Children*. Southwick and Pelsue, 1820.
- Gordon, Letitia. *Anna: A Picture of Domestic Happiness. In Two Volumes*. Belfast: Smyth & Lyons, 1803.

- Graeme, William. *An Essay on the Method of Acquiring Knowledge in Physick*. London, 1729.
- Graisberry & Campbell. *The Young Lady's Pocket Library; Or, Parental Monitor, containing: I, Dr. Gregory's Father's Legacy to His Daughters; II, Lady Pennington's Unfortunate Mother's Advice to Her Daughters; III, Marchioness de Lambert's Advice of a Mother to Her Daughter; IV Moore's Fables for the Female Sex*. Dublin: John Archer, 1790.
- Grant, Beatrice. *The History of an Irish Family: In Which, the Unspeakable Advantages of a Virtuous Education ... Are Strikingly Exemplified ... To Which Is Added ... The Exemplary Mother; Or, Dutiful Parents and Good Children*. Haddington: East Lothian Press, 1822.
- Grant, Mary Ann. *Sketches of Life and Manners: With Delineation of Scenery in England, Scotland, and Ireland, Interspersed with Moral Tales and Anecdotes in Original Letters*. London: Cox, Son, and Baylis, 1810.
- Gregg, John. *The Advantages and Disadvantages of Youth: A Lecture by the Ven. John Gregg, D.D.,...delivered before the Dublin Young Men's Christian Association in Connexion with the United Church of England and Ireland, in the Rotundo, December the 5th, 1860.*, Dublin:1860.
- Gregory, John. *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters by the Late Dr. Gregory, of Edinburgh*. London: J. Millar, and J. Taylor, Berwick, 1796.
- Gurney, Priscilla. *Hymns Selected from Various Authors for the Use of Young Persons*. 3rd ed. London: Harvey and Darton, 1822.
- Hammond, Elizabeth. *Modern Domestic Cookery, and Useful Receipt Book: Containing the Most Approved Directions for Purchasing, Preserving, and Cooking Meat, Fish, Poultry, Game, Etc., in All Their Varieties ... A Complete Family Physician ... Instructions to Servants for the Best Methods of Performing Their Various Duties. Art of Making British Wines, Brewing, Baking, Etc*. Dean and Munday, 1817.
- Hanbidge, William. *Memories of West Wicklow, 1813-1839*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005.
- . *The Memories of William Hanbidge, Aged 93. 1906: An Autobiography: With Appendices and Chronicles of His Family by His Daughter, Mary Hanbidge*. St Albans: Gibbs & Banforth, 1939.
- Hanna, Samuel. *Love to Christ: An Incitement to Ministerial and Missionary Exertions. A Sermon, Preached before the London Missionary Society, at Surrey Chapel, on Wednesday Morning, May 8, 1822*. 2nd ed., Belfast: T. Mairs & Co, 1822.
- Herbert, Dorothea. *Retrospections of Dorothea Herbert: 1770-1789, [1789-1806]*. G. Howe, 1929.
- Hemans, Felicia Dorothea Browne. *Hymns for Childhood*. Dublin: William Curry, 1834.
- Hime, Maurice Charles. *An Apology for the Intermediates (for Boys)*. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co,1899.
- . *Efficiency of Irish Schools and Their Superiority to English Schools: As Places of Education for Irish Boys, Proved and Explained*. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co, 1889.
- . *Home Education: Or, Irish versus English Grammar Schools for Irish Boys*. Simpkin, Marshall, & Co, 1887.
- Hincks, Thomas Dix. *Rudiments of Greek Grammar.: Compiled Chiefly from the Grammars of Buttman, Matthiae, Neilson, and That Used at the Charter-House*. Belfast: Francis D. Finlay, 1825.
- . *A Short and Easy Introduction to Ancient Geography*. Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1825.

- Hoare, Edward Newenham. *A Lecture on Popular Education and the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: Delivered to the Mechanics' Scientific Institute, of Waterford*. Thos. D. Smith, 1853.
- . *Practical Observations on Church Reform: The Tithe Question and National Education in Ireland*. Dublin: Curry, 1838.
- . *Remarks on Certain Mis-Statements as to the Extent of Scriptural Education in Ireland, Previous to the Establishment of the National System; And in Reference to Other Points Connected with the Irish Education Question*. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1850.
- . *The Question of a Separate Grant to the Church Education Society, Considered; And the Best Means of Providing for the Religious Instruction of the Children of the Established Church, in the Irish National Schools, Suggested; in a Letter to a Member of Parliament*. Dublin: Hodges and Smith, 1848.
- Hoare, Mrs (Louisa Gurney). *Hints for the Improvement of Early Education and Nursery Discipline*. London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1841.
- Hodges, John Frederick. *First Book of Lessons in Chemistry in its Application to Agriculture: for the Use of Farmers and Teachers*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1848.
- Horne, George. *Reflections on the Importance of Forming the Female Character by Education; Extracted from the Works of the Late Right Reverend George Horne*. W. Watson and Son, 1796.
- Hull, Henry. *An Address to the Youth of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland*. Belfast: D. Lyons, 1813.
- Hutch, William. *Mrs. Ball: Foundress of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Ireland and the British Colonies.... A Biography*. Dublin: James Duffy, 1879.
- Jessop, Robert F., and J. F. Kearney, eds. *Institution for Administering Medical Aid to the Sick Poor, and Assisting Them and Their Families with the Necessaries of Life during Sickness: And for Preventing the Spreading of Contagious Diseases*. Dublin: Charles Downes, 1812.
- Jones, Thomas. *A Plan of National Education Originally Suggested and Advocated in a Series of Essays for the Improvement of Ireland*. Dublin, P.D. Hardy, 1841.
- Kennedy, Grace. *Andrew Campbell's Visit to His Irish Cousins*. Edinburgh, 1843.
- Killen, William D. *Colleges: Their History and Claims. An Address Delivered in the Common Hall of Belfast Presbyterian College, Nov. 10, 1862*. Belfast: C. Aitchison, 1862.
- , *The Board Unmasked; Or, the Rev. James Carlile's "Explanation of the Case of the Ballyholey School", Examined and Exposed*. Belfast: Clark and Co., 1836.
- , *The Bible versus the Board - the Priest - and the Court of Chancery; Or, The Working of the New System of National Education, as Exemplified in the History of the Ballyholey School, in the Parish of Raphoe, County of Donegall*. Belfast: Hugh Clark & Co, 1835.
- , *Reminiscences of a Long Life*. Braid Books, 1901.
- Kirwan, Joseph William d 1849. *A Charity Sermon in Aid of the Parochial Schools of Westport, in which more than One Thousand Children Receive the Benefits of a Sound Religious and Literary Education, Unconnected with the Board of National Education; Preached in the R.C. Church of Westport, 1st November, 1840*. William Powell, 1840.
- Knight, Helen C. *The Valley of Decision; Or, Divine Teachings in a Boarding School.: A True Narrative*. Fourth edition. Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis, 1866.
- Knott, Mary John. *Two Months at Kilkee*. Ennis: Clasp Press, 1997.
- Knowles, James Sheridan. *The Elocutionist: A Collection of Pieces in Prose and Verse, Peculiarly Adapted to Display the Art of Reading, in the Most Comprehensive Sense of the Term.: Including a debate upon the Character of Julius Caesar: Preceded by an Introduction, in Which Walker's System Is Simplified*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1852.

- , *An appeal to the dignified visitors and the noblemen and gentlemen: proprietors of the Belfast Academical Institution*. Belfast: the author, 1817.
- , *A Debate Spoken by Twelve Pupils Belonging to the Elocution Class of the Belfast Academical Institution, June, 1815.: On the Propriety of Calling Caesar a Great Man*. Belfast: F. D. Finlay, 1815.
- Laing, Robert. *Cork Trading and Professional Directory*. Cork: The Glasgow House, 1863.
- Lamartine, Alphonse de. *Memoirs of My Youth*. The Parlour Library of Instruction. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1849.
- Landells, Ebenezer, and Alice Landells. *The Girl's Own Toy-Maker,; and Book of Recreation*. London: Griffith and Farran, 1860.
- Leadbeater, Mary. *The Landlord's Friend,; Intended as a Sequel to Cottage Dialogues*. Dublin: J. Cumming, 1813.
- Leahy, John P., *The Book of the Rosary: To Which Is Annexed, the Rule Of the Third Order of Saint Dominick*. Dublin: William Powell, 1842.
- Le Pan, Louis Noailles, Richard Wellesley Wellesley, and J. Smyth. *Nouveau Traite Des Difficulties de La Langue Francaise. With Their Different Meanings, Alphabetically Arranged. To which Is Attached, a Vocabulary of the Names of Men, Women, empires, Towns, &c. &c. Which Occur in Sacred and Profane History, &c. with Their Genders and Translation: Dedicated by Permission To his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, Ld. Lieutenant, General and Gen. Governor of Ireland*. Belfast: J. Smyth, 1830.
- Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Edited by Roger Woolhouse. London: Penguin Classics, 1998.
- Lovechild. *School Dialogues, for Boys.: Being an Attempt to Convey Instructions Insensibly to Their Tender Minds, and Instill the Love of Virtue*. London: John Marshall and Co, 1783.
- Lucas, Richard. *The Cork Directory. For the Year 1787, ... By Richard Lucas. ... printed for the author by J. Cronin, 1787.*
- , *The Cork Directory For the Year 1787, Including the Adjacent out-Ports of Youghal, Kinsale, Cove, Passage, and the Manufacturing Towns of Innishannon and Bandon, in the County of Cork, Kingdom of Ireland Dedicated to the Right Hon. Earl of Shannon. Containing An Accurate List of the Names and Places of Abode of the Bankers Merchants, Manufacturers, Gentlemen of the Law and Physick, and Principal Traders in This Opulent City and Environs, and the Adjacent out Ports of Youghal, Kinsale, Cove, Passage and the Manufacturing Towns and Bandon and Innishannon; Alphabetically Arranged so That the Particular Residence of Any Individual in Each Place, May Be Instantly Known, & Which Work Is Immediately Necessary to Be in the Hands of Every Person Concerned in Trade and Commerce. By Richard Lucas. To Be Continued Annually, Carefully Corrected.* printed for the author by J. Cronin, 1787.
- Macaulay, Catherine. *Letters on Education. With Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects*, (London: C. Dill, 1790).
- MacCormac, Henry. *On the Connexion [Sic] of Atmospheric Impurity with Disease: A Paper Read before the Statistical Section of the Belfast Association, at Belfast, September 7, 1852*. Belfast, 1852.
- MacCormac, Henry, and Alexander S. Mayne. *Moral-Sanatory Economy*. Belfast: Printed for private circulation by Alexander Mayne, 1853.
- Malcom, H. D. *The Monitor's Assistant: For the Use of Schools and Young Persons. Calculated to Facilitate the Improvement of Youth in General, in Causing Them to Exercise Their Own Judgement While Studying Reading, Writing, Recitation, E. Grammar, Penmaking, Arithmetic, Geography, Book-Keeping.: To Which Is Added, a Summary of Curious and Useful Knowledge*. Belfast: J. Smyth, 1833.

- Manson, David. *A New Primer, Or, Child's Best Guide*. Dublin, 1839.
- Mant, Richard. *The Bringing up of a Christian's Child; Exemplified in Christ's Primitive Church, in the National Church of England and Ireland, in the Irish Church Education Societies, and in the so-Called National Board; in a Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Holywood, October 26, 1845*. Belfast: [s.n.], 1845.
- Martineau, Harriet. *Endowed Schools of Ireland*. London: 1859.
- Mason, Henry Joseph Monck. *History of the Origin and Progress of the Irish Society: Established for Promoting the Education of the Native Irish, through the Medium of Their Own Language*. [Ireland? s.n.], 1844.
- Maunsell, Henry. *The Dublin Practice of Midwifery*. New York: William A. Le Blanc, 1842.
- McAdam, Robert Shipboy, (Roibeard Mac Adhaimh) and Thomas Feenachty (Tomas Ofiánachtaigh). *An Introduction to the Irish Language: Intended for the Use of the Irish Classes in the Royal Belfast Academical Institution*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1835.
- McCarthy, Mother Borgia. *Directory, for Novices of Every Religious Order; Particularly Those Devoted to the Instruction of Youth. Translated from the French*. Cork: W. Ferguson, 1817.
- McEvoy, John. *A Free Inquiry into the Irish Education Question*. Dublin: Webb, 1866.
- McNeill, Mary. *Little Tom Drennan: Portrait of a Georgian Childhood*. Dublin: Dolmen Press, 1962.
- Methuen, Mary Matilda Cecilia. *The Morning of Life: A Memoir of Miss A.n Who Was Educated for a Nun; with Many Interesting Particulars, and Original Letters of Dr. Doyle*. Bath: Binns and Godwin, 1855.
- Miller, Frances Bowyer. *Order and Disorder, a Tale.: Recommended to the Perusal of All Little Girls Who Wish to Be Neat, Notable, and Industrious*. London: Harvey and Darton, 1825.
- Mitchell, T. *Gleanings from Travels in England, Ireland, and through Italy; Or, Comparative Views of Society at Home and Abroad. Illustrated by Historical Facts, Biographical Sketches, Etc., Etc*. Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1840.
- Montgomery, Henry, and Francis D. Finlay. *Speech Delivered at a Special Meeting of the Proprietors of the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast, on the 13th Day of April, 1841: Preceded by Several Official and Other Documents, Relating to the Objects of the Meeting; and Illustrated by Notes and an Appendix*. Belfast: Francis D. Finlay, 1841.
- Moore, H. Kingsmill, and Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland. *An Unwritten Chapter in the History of Education, Being the History of the Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland, Generally Known as the Kildare Place Society, 1811-1831*. London: Macmillan, 1904.
- Moore, Hamilton. *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor, Being a Collection of Select Pieces, from Our Best Modern Writers: Particularly Calculated to Form the Mind and Manners of the Youth of Both Sexes, and Adapted to the Use of Schools and Academies*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1810.
- . *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor, Being a Collection of Select Pieces, from Our Best Modern Writers: Particularly Calculated to Form the Mind and Manners of the Youth of Both Sexes, and Adapted to the Use of Schools and Academies*. Belfast: Thomas Mairs & Co, 1815.
- . *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor, Being a Collection of Select Pieces, from Our Best Modern Writers: Particularly Calculated to Form the Mind and Manners of the Youth of Both Sexes, and Adapted to the Use of Schools and Academies Used in the Belfast Academy*. Belfast: W. Magee, 1796.
- Moore, Henry Kingsmill. *The Training of Infants with Especial Reference to the Sunday School*. London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1910.

- Moore, James. *Petite grammaire francaise, à l'usage des élèves de l'Institution Royale Académique, et de l'École Collégiale de Belfast*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1842.
- Moore, Maurice George. *An Irish Gentleman, George Henry Moore; His Travel, His Racing, His Politics*. London: T.W. Laurie, 1913.
- Moore, Oliver. *The Staff Officer: Or, the Soldier of Fortune: A Tale of Real Life*. Philadelphia: E. L. Carey & A. Hart, 1833.
- More, Hannah. *The Cottage Cook; Or, Mrs. Jones's Cheap Dishes. Shewing the Way to Do Much Good with Little Money*. Dublin: William Watson, 1792.
- National Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children of the Poor in Ireland. *First Report of the National Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children of the Poor in Ireland: Established May 18, 1816*. Dublin: John Jones, 1817.
- Newenham, Thomas. *A View of the Natural, Political and Commercial Circumstances of Ireland*. London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1809.
- O'Beirne, Eugene Francis. *An Impartial View of the Internal Economy and Discipline of Maynooth College: Containing an Account of the System of Tyranny-Mental, Moral, and Physical-Pursued Therein; Together with the Effects Produced by the System on the Characters of the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy*. Dublin: Printed for the Author, 1835.
- O'Connell, Mary. "My Darling Danny": *Letters from Mary O'Connell to Her Son Daniel, 1830-1832*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1998.
- O'Flanagan, J. R. "On the Life and Labours of the Late John D'Alton, Esq." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1836-1869)* 10 (January 1, 1866): 46-50.
- O'Keeffe, John. *Recollections of the Life of John O'Keeffe*. London: H. Coburn, 1826.
- Ouseley, Gideon. *Five Letters in Reply to the Rev. Michael Branagan*. Jones, 1824.
- Parkinson, James. *The Hospital Pupil: Or, an Essay Intended to Facilitate the Study of Medicine and Surgery in Four Letter*. London: H.D. Symonds, 1800.
- Patrick Joseph Murray. *The Life of John Banim*. Garland, 1857.
- Percival, Thomas. *A Father's Instructions to His Children: Consisting of Tales, Fables and Reflections*. Dublin: Robert Napper, 1801.
- Philanthropos. *The History of Harry Spencer: Compiled for the Amusement of Children; and the Instruction of such as Wish to Become Good*. Dublin: John Gough, 1794.
- Picken, Henry. *Monody on the Death of the Late John Young, LL.D., First Professor of Moral Philosophy, in the Belfast Royal Academical Institution*. Belfast: Hugh Clark, 1832.
- Porter, Josias Leslie. *The Life and Times of Henry Cooke, D.D., LL.D., President of Assembly's College, Belfast*. Belfast: Marcus Ward, 1875.
- Portora Royal School (Enniskillen, Northern Ireland). *Calendar for 1866: With Prospectus of Terms Regulations, Arrangements, Etc ...* 1866.
- . *Calendar for the Year 1867 ...* M.H. Gill, 1867.
- . *Easter Examination Held at the Royal School of Portora, 1858., 1858.*
- . *Examination Held at the Royal School of Portora, Easter, 1861.* McGlashan & Gill, 1861.
- . *Examination Held at the Royal School of Portora, Easter, 1863.* McGlashan & Gill, 1863.
- Pravel, and Adelbert J. Doisy. *Pravel's Rudiments and Syntax of the French Language*. Belfast: Printed by Simms and McIntyre, 1833.
- Rapier, Christopher. *An Introduction to the Composition of Latin Verse ...: Intended to Illustrate the Manners, Customs and Opinions mentioned by the Roman Poets and to Render Familiar the Principal Idioms of the Latin Language*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1871.
- Robb, John H., and Joseph R. Fisher. *Royal Belfast Academical Institution: Centenary Volume 1810-1910*. Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson & Orr, 1913.

- Roberts, Abigail. *The Entertaining Medley: Being a Collection of True Histories and Anecdotes, Calculated for the Cottager's Fireside*. Dublin: Christopher Bentham, 1826.
- . *The Cottage Fire-Side*. Dublin: Kildare Place Society 1821.
- . *The History of Tim Higgins: The Cottage Visitor*. Dublin: C. Bentham, 1823.
- . *The Schoolmistress; Or, Instructive and Entertaining Conversations between a Teacher and Her Scholars*. Dublin: Bentham & Gardiner, 1824.
- Robinson, Thomas Romney. *Poems by Thomas Romney Robinson, Written between the Age of Seven and Thirteen; to Which Is Prefixed A Short Account of the Author*. Brooklyn: Thomas Kirk, 1808.
- Rosén von Rosenstein, Nils, and Anders Sparrman. *The Diseases of Children, and Their Remedies*. London: T. Cadell ..., 1776.
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Emile: Or On Education*. Translated by Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books, 1979.
- Royal Belfast Academical Institution. *Minutes of an Inquiry Taken before a Committee of The Joint Board of Managers and Visitors of The Royal Belfast Academical Institution, Respecting the Moral Philosophy Class*. Belfast: Thomas Mairs, 1835.
- Royal Belfast Academical Institution, and J. Smyth, eds. *Proposed Plan for the Establishment of a Medical Department, in the Royal Belfast Academical Institution*. Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1831.
- Ryan, Edward. *Christian Morality Recommended by Examples: A Tract Intended for the Edification of the Youth of the Upper Class*. 1st ed. Dublin: William Watson, 1810.
- . *Remarks on the Pamphlet of Mr. Barber, Dissenting Minister of Rathfriland, by the Rev. Edward Ryan, B.D.* Dublin: P. Byrne, 1787.
- . *The History of the Effects of Religion on Mankind in Countries, Ancient and Modern, Barbarous and Civilized. Containing, Sect. I. The Expediency of True Religion in Civilized States, with the Origin and Effects of Pagan Superstitions. Sect. II. The Effects of Judaism on the Hebrews Themselves, and on the Sentiments of Pagans. Sect. III. Tendency and Real Effects of the Christian Code. Sect. IV. Origin, Progress, and Effects of Mahometanism. By the Rev. Edward Ryan, B.D.* London: J. F. and C. Rivington, 1788.
- Sandford, John or. *Middle Class Education, Or, Our Endowed and Commercial Schools: Sermon Delivered in the Parish Church of Chipping Campden, August 30th, 1864, at the Re-Opening of the Grammar School*. London: Rivingtons, 1864.
- Scott, William. *Scott's Lessons in Elocution; Or, a Selection of Pieces in Prose and Verse, for the Improvement of Youth in Reading and Speaking: With an Appendix, Containing Concise Lessons on a New Plan*. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1841.
- Shackleton, Elizabeth. *Ballitore & Its Inhabitants Seventy Years Ago*. Dublin: R.D. Webb, 1862.
- Shackleton, Richard. *Memoirs and Letters of Richard and Elizabeth Shackleton Late of Ballitore, Ireland*. New York: 1823.
- Simpson, James Young. *Memoir on the Sex of the Child as a Cause of Difficulty and Danger in Human Parturition*. Edinburgh: Stark, 1844.
- Smart, Christopher. *Hymns for The Amusement of Children.: Embellished with Cuts*. Dublin: W. Sleater and J. Williams, 1772.
- Smith, Elizabeth, *The Irish Journals of Elizabeth Smith, 1840-1850*. Thomson, David and McGusty, Moira, eds., (Clarendon Press, Oxford, England, 1980).
- Smyth, J., ed. *The Accomplished Gentleman; Or, Principles of Politeness, and of Knowing the World: Containing Every Instruction to Compete the Gentleman and Man of Fashion, to Teach Him a Knowledge of Life, and Make Him Well Received in All Companies.: To Which Is Added, The Economy of Human Life, in Two Parts. Translated from an Indian Manuscript Written by an Ancient Brahmin*. Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1839.

- . *Plan for the Establishment of a Medical Department, in the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, Adopted by the Joint Boards, 4th August, 1835*. Belfast: Joseph Smyth, 1835.
- Solomon, Samuel. *A Guide to Health Or, Advice to Both Sexes in a Variety of Complaints. With an Essay on the Venereal Disease, Gleets, Seminal Weakness; and That Destructive Habit Called Onanism; Likewise, an Address to Parents, Tutors, and Guardians of Youth*. 9th ed. London: 1796.
- Steen, Isaiah. *A Treatise on Mental Arithmetic, in Theory and Practice*. 2nd edition. Belfast: Henderson, 1848.
- Steven, Robert. *An Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools in Ireland. With Remarks upon the Education of the Lower Classes in That Country*. 2nd ed. London: Thomas and George Underwood, 1818.
- . *Remarks on the Present State of Ireland; with Hints for Ameliorating the Condition and Promoting the Education and Moral Improvement of the Peasantry of That Country, the Result of a Visit during the Summer and Autumn of 1821: With an Appendix; Containing an Outline of the System of Education Pursued in the Schools of the London Hibernian Society*. 2nd ed. London: Smith and Elder, 1822.
- Strickland, Agnes. *The Youthful Travellers: Or, Letters Chiefly Descriptive of Scenes Visited by Some Young People during a Summer Excursion, Designed as Examples of the Epistolary style for Children*. London: William Darton, 1823.
- Taylor, Isaac. *Advice to the Teens; Or, Practical Helps Towards the Formation of One's Own Character*. London: 1818.
- Taylor, Jane. *Hymns for Infant Minds*. Eighth edition. London: Josiah Conder, 1816.
- Taylor, Ann Martin. *The Present of a Mistress to a Young Servant: Consisting of Friendly Advice and Real Histories*. London: Taylor and Hessey, 1818.
- Thomson, James. *An Introduction to Modern Geography: With an Appendix, Containing an Outline of Astronomy and the Use of the Globes*. Second edition, Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1829.
- . *An Introduction to Modern Geography: With an Appendix, Containing an Outline of Astronomy and the Use of the Globes*. 8th ed. Belfast: y Simms and McIntyre, 1835.
- Thomson, James, J. McMullan, and S. J. McMullan. *A Treatise on Arithmetic, in Theory and Practice with an Appendix, Containing an Introduction to Mensuration*. 7th ed. Belfast: Simms and McIntyre, 1829.
- Thorn, William. *The Evils of Training up the Young: In the Church of England*. London: Dinnis, 1843.
- Thornton, Robert John. *A New Family Herbal, or Popular Account of the Natures and Properties of the Various Plants Used in Medicine, Diet and the Arts*. R. Phillips, 1810.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Alexis de Tocqueville's Journey in Ireland: July-August, 1835*. Dublin: Wolfhound, 1990.
- Tonna, Charlotte Elizabeth. *Pat's Apology; or, "England the Wickedest Place in the World"*. London: Wertheim and Macintosh, 1850.
- Trench, William Steuart. *Realities of Irish Life*. London: Longmans, Green, 1868.
- Tuomy, Martin. *A Treatise on the Principal Diseases of Dublin*. Folds, 1810.
- Tynan, Katharine. *Twenty-Five Years Reminiscences*. London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1913.
- W, West. *The Cork Directory 1809-1810*. Cork, 1809.
- Wakefield, Edward. *An Account of Ireland, Statistical and Political*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1812.
- Walker, Donald. *Games and Sports: Being an Appendix To "Manly Exercises" and Exercises for Ladies"; Containing the Various in-Door Games and Sports, the out-of-Door Games and Sports, Those of the Seasons, &c., and Omitting Only Games of Hazard and Such Games or Sports as Are Either Frivolous or Dangerous*. London: Joseph Thomas, 1840.

- Wall, Richard Henry. *Suggestions for a Reform of the Royal Schools of Ireland: In a Letter to Colonel Rawdon*. Dublin: s.n., 1851.
- Watts, Isaac. *Divine Songs: Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children*. London: James Ridgway, 1810.
- . *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children*. Juvenile Library. London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- . *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children.: Also, Prayers Composed for the Use and Imitation of Children, &c.* Dublin: Hulton Bradley, 1771.
- Webb, Thomas E. *The Intellectualism of Locke: An Essay*. Dublin: W. McGee, 1857.
- West, Charles. *Lectures on the Diseases of Infancy and Childhood*. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1848.
- Wilde, Lady. *Ancient Cures, Charms, and Usages of Ireland; Contributions to Irish Lore*. London, Ward and Downey, 1890.
- Wilde, Lady, and William R. Wilde. *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland*. Boston, Ticknor and co., 1887.
- Wilde, William R.. *Medico-Legal Observations upon the Case of Amos Greenwood: Tried at the Liverpool Assizes, December, 1857, for the Wilful Murder of Mary Johnson, and Sentenced to Penal Servitude for Life*. McGlashan & Gill, 1859.
- Wilderspin, Samuel. *Infant Education: Or, Practical Remarks on the Importance of Educating the Infant Poor, from the Age of Eighteen Months to Seven Years, Containing Hints for Developing the Moral and Intellectual Powers of Children of All Classes..* 4th ed. London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1829.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Mrs. Wollstonecraft's Thoughts on the Education of Daughters. With Reflections on Female Conduct, in the More Important Duties of Life. To Which Is Added Fenelon [Sic] Archbishop of Cambray's Instructions to a Governess, and an Address to Mothers*. Dublin: W. Sleater, 1788.
- Young, (William Torbet or Tanner?). *The Art of Questioning: Or, a Short Analysis of the Interrogatory Methods of Instruction, Designed for the Use of Teachers, Pupil-Teachers, and Monitors*. Dublin: William Curry and Company, 1853.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Theses:

- Ashford, Gaye. "Childhood: Studies in the History of Children in Eighteenth-Century Ireland," PhD, St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra, 2012.
- Conor Reidy, "Becoming 'a Useful Member of Society': An Analysis of Policy Approaches and Treatment of the Young Offender in the Borstal System in Ireland, Clonmel 1906-21" (PhD, University of Limerick, 2007).
- Calvert, Leanne. "Love, Life and the Family in the Ulster Presbyterian Community, 1780-1844." PhD, Queen's University Belfast, 2015.
- Condon, Janette. "'Victoria's Own'?: Discourses of Cultural Imperialism and Nationalist Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Children's Literature in Ireland," PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 1999.
- Davis, Marguerite Constance Mary. "The Upbringing of Children in Ireland 1700-1831 from Visual and Historical Sources." PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 1992.
- Gurley, Gregory. "Drama and Moral Education: The Plays of Maria Edgeworth (1768--1849)," PhD, Arizona State University, 2006.
- Hislop, Harold John. "The Kildare Place Society 1811-1831: An Irish Experiment in Popular Education." PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 1990.
- Holohan, Carole. "Every Generation Has Its Task: Attitudes to Irish Youth in the Sixties." PhD, University College Dublin, 2009.
- Kruse, Jutta. "Social Construction of Infancy in Ireland, 1900-1930 - the Role of Medicine." PhD, University of Limerick, 2014.
- Milligan, Kathryn. 'Portraits of the city: representations of Dublin in visual art - a thematic case study'. PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 2015.
- O'Riordan, Maeve. "Home, family and society: women of the Irish landed class, 1860-1914. A Munster case study." PhD, University College Cork, 2014.
- Power, Brendan. "Youth Movements and Ireland, 1888-1914." PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 2013.
- Slattery, Peadar. "The Uses of Photography in Ireland 1839-1900." PhD, Trinity College Dublin, 1992.

Published:

- Adams, Christine. *Poverty, Charity, and Motherhood Maternal Societies in Nineteenth-Century France*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2010.
- Adelman, Juliana. *Communities of Science in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Science and Culture in the Nineteenth Century, no. 10. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009.
- Adelman, Sarah Mulhall. "Empowerment and Submission: The Political Culture of Catholic Women's Religious Communities in Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of Women's History* 23, no. 3 (2011): 138-61.
- Akenson, Donald H. *A Mirror to Kathleen's Face: Education in Independent Ireland, 1922-1960*. Routledge Revivals. Abingdon: Routledge, 2012.
- . *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922: An International Perspective*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.
- . *The Church of Ireland: Ecclesiastical Reform and Revolution, 1800-1885*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.
- . *The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge & Kegan
- Alanen, Leena, and Berry Mayall, eds. *Conceptualizing Child-Adult Relationships*. Future of Childhood Series. London: Routledge, 2001.

- Albisetti, James C. "The Feminization of Teaching in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Perspective." *History of Education* 22, no. 3 (September 1993).
- Albisetti, James C., Joyce Goodman, and Rebecca Rogers, eds. *Girls' Secondary Education in the Western World: From the 18th to the 20th Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Anderson, R. D. *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland: Schools & Universities*. Oxford Oxfordshire: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- . *Education and the Scottish People, 1750-1918*. Oxford England: Clarendon Press ; New York, 1995.
- . *Education in France, 1848-1870*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- . *Scottish Education since the Reformation*. Studies in Scottish Economic & Social History ; No. 5. Edinburgh: Economic & Social History Society of Scotland, 1997.
- . *The Student Community at Aberdeen, 1860-1939*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988.
- . *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . "Secondary Schools and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth Century." *Past & Present*, no. 109 (November 1, 1985): 176–203.
- . "The Idea of the Secondary School in Nineteenth-Century Europe." *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 1/2 (February 2004): 93–106.
- . "Edinburgh University, Schools and the Civil Service in the Early Twentieth Century." *History of Education* 42, no. 4 (July 2013): 444–59.
- Ansell, Richard. "Educational Travel in Protestant Families from Post-Restoration Ireland." *The Historical Journal* 58, no. 4 (December 2015): 931–58.
- Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Archer, R. L. *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921.
- Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. New York: Vintage Books, 1962.
- Arizpe, Evelyn. *Reading Lessons from the Eighteenth Century: Mothers, Children and Texts*. Shenstone: Pied Piper, 2006.
- Armitage, Ernest. *Wesley College Dublin: 1845-1995: An Illustrated History*. Ballinteer, Co. Dublin: Wesley College, 1995.
- Arnold, John, and Sean Brady, eds. *What Is Masculinity?: Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Atkinson, Norman. *Irish Education: A History of Educational Institutions*. Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1969.
- Backus, Margot Gayle. "'The Children of the Nation?': Representations of Poor Children in Mainstream Nationalist Journalism, 1882 and 1913." *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 118–46.
- . *The Gothic Family Romance: Heterosexuality, Child Sacrifice, and the Anglo-Irish Colonial Order*. Post-Contemporary Interventions. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Bailey, Craig. "A Child of the Emerald Isle': Ireland and the Making of James Johnson, MD." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 39, no. 1 (2015): 212–35.
- Bailey, Joanne. *Parenting in England, 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity, and Generation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

- . “The History of Mum and Dad: Recent Historical Research on Parenting in England from the 16th to 20th Centuries.” *History Compass* 12, no. 6 (June 1, 2014): 489–507.
- Barclay, Katie. “Composing the Self: Gender, Subjectivity and Scottish Balladry.” *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 3 (2010): 337–53.
- . “Place and Power in Irish Farms at the End of the Nineteenth Century.” *Women’s History Review* 21, no. 4 (2012): 571–88.
- . “Singing, Performance, and Lower-Class Masculinity in the Dublin Magistrates’ Court, 1820–1850.” *Journal of Social History* 47, no. 3 (2014): 746–68.
- Barclay, Katie, Rosalind Carr, Rose Elliot, and Annmarie Hughes. “Gender and Generations: Women and Life Cycles.” *Women’s History Review* 20, no. 2 (April 2011): 175–88.
- Bardon, Jonathan. *The 1608 Royal Schools Celebrate 400 Years of History 1608–2008*. Northern Ireland: 1608 Royal Schools Commission, 2007.
- Barnard, T. C. *Making the Grand Figure: Lives and Possessions in Ireland, 1641–1770*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Barnes, Jane. *Irish Industrial Schools, 1868–1908: Origins and Development*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1989.
- Barr, Colin. *Paul Cullen, John Henry Newman, and the Catholic University of Ireland 1845–1865*. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, Herfordshire: Gracewing Publishing, 2003.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Translated by Annette Lavers. New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1972.
- Bashford, Christina. “Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (August 2010): 291–360.
- Bateman, Fiona. “Defining the Heathen in Ireland and Africa: Two Similar Discourses a Century Apart.” *Social Sciences and Missions* 21, no. 1 (2008): 73–96.
- Bateman, Fiona, and Lionel Pilkington. *Studies in Settler Colonialism: Politics, Identity and Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Baudis, Macushla. “‘Smoaking Hot with Fashion from Paris’: The Consumption of French Fashion in Eighteenth-Century Ireland.” *Costume* 48, no. 2 (May 29, 2014): 141–59.
- Baxter, Jane Eva. *The Archaeology of Childhood: Children, Gender, and Material Culture*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2005.
- Beadie, Nancy, and Kimberley Tolley, eds. *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727–1925*. New York; London: Routledge, 2002.
- Beiner, Guy. “Recycling the Dustbin of Irish History: The Radical Challenge of ‘Folk Memory.’” *History Ireland* 14, no. 1 (2006): 42–47.
- . “Who Were ‘The Men of the West’? Folk Historiographies and the Reconstruction of Democratic Histories.” *Folklore* 115, no. 2 (2004): 201–21.
- Bellingham, B. “The History of Childhood Since the ‘Invention of Childhood’: Some Issues in the Eighties.” *Journal of Family History* 13, no. 1 (January 1, 1988): 347–58.
- Benatti, Francesca. “Irish Patriots and Scottish Adventurers: The Irish Penny Journal, 1840–1841.” *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies* 35, no. 2 (October 2009): 36–41.
- Benson, C., and Siobhán Fitzpatrick, eds. *That Woman!: Studies in Irish Bibliography: A Festschrift for Mary “Paul” Pollard*. Dublin: Lilliput Press for the Library Association of Ireland, Rare Books Group, 2005.
- Benzaquén, Adriana Silvia. “Locke’s Children.” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 3 (2011): 382–402.

- Bérenguier, Nadine. *Conduct Books for Girls in Enlightenment France*. Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011.
- Bergin, John. "Irish Catholics and Their Networks in Eighteenth-Century London." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 39, no. 1 (January 2015): 66–102.
- Bertschik, Julia, Michael Tikhomirov, and Kirstin Plow. "'People Will Make for Themselves an Artificial Existence': Gender and Fashion in the Works of Caroline de La Motte Fouqué (1775–1831)." *Women in German Yearbook* 17 (January 1, 2001): 103–20.
- Bishop, Erin I. *The World of Mary O'Connell, 1778–1836*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1999.
- Bloch, Ruth H. "American Feminine Ideals in Transition: The Rise of the Moral Mother, 1785–1815." *Feminist Studies* 4, no. 2 (June 1, 1978): 101–26.
- Boehm, Katharina. "'A Place for More than the Healing of Bodily Sickness': Charles Dickens, the Social Mission of Nineteenth-Century Pediatrics, and the Great Ormond Street Hospital for Sick Children." *Victorian Review* 35, no. 1 (April 1, 2009): 153–74.
- Bolster, Evelyn. *A History of the Diocese of Cork from the Penal Era to the Famine*. Cork: Tower Books of Cork, 1989.
- Bostian, Frieda F. "Images of the Child as Musician." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 1991, no. 1 (1991): 83–88.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984.
- . *In Other Words*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- . *Masculine Domination*. Cambridge: Polity, 2001.
- . *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge: Polity, 2000.
- . *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- . *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power*. Oxford: Polity, 1996.
- Bourke, Angela. *The Burning of Bridget Cleary: A True Story*. Viking, 1999.
- Bourke, Eoin, ed. *"Poor Green Erin": German Travel Writers' Narratives on Ireland from Before the 1798 Rising to After the Great Famine*. Frankfurt am Main; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011.
- Bowman, John, Ronan O'Donoghue, and Derek Speirs, eds. *Portraits: Belvedere College Dublin 1832–1982*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1982.
- Boyle, Phelim P., and Cormac O Grada. "Fertility Trends, Excess Mortality, and the Great Irish Famine." *Demography* 23, no. 4 (1986): 543–62.
- Bradley, Candice. "The Sexual Division of Labor and the Value of Children." *Cross-Cultural Research* 19, no. 1–4 (1984): 159–85.
- Brannigan, Cyril Gerard. "Quaker Education in 18th and 19th Century Ireland." *Irish Educational Studies* 4, no. 1 (January 1984), 54–72.
- Breathnach, Ciara, and Catherine Lawless, eds. *Visual, Material and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Four Courts Press, 2010.
- Brehony, Kevin J. "A 'Socially Civilising Influence? Play and the Urban 'Degenerate'" *Paedagogica Historica* 39, no. 1/2 (February 2003): 87.
- Brenan, Martin. *Schools of Kildare and Leighlin A. D. 1775–1835*. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1935.
- Brenzel, Barbara. "Lancaster Industrial School for Girls: A Social Portrait of a Nineteenth-Century Reform School for Girls." *Feminist Studies* 3, no. 1/2 (1975): 40–53.
- Breward, Christopher. *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860–1914*. Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Briggs, Julia. *Popular Children's Literature in Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.

- Brooke, Christopher, and Elizabeth Frazer, eds. *Ideas of Education: Philosophy and Politics from Plato to Dewey*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Brooke, Iris. *English Children's Costume, 1775-1920*. Mineola, N.Y: Dover Publications, 2003.
- Broughton, Trev Lynn, and Helen Rogers, eds. *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Brown, Michael. *The Irish Enlightenment*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016.
- Brown, Michael, Patrick M. Geoghegan, and James Kelly, eds. *The Irish Act of Union, 1800: Bicentennial Essays*. Dublin, Ireland: Irish Academic Press, 2003.
- Brown, R. "Every Boy Ought to Learn to Shoot and to Obey Orders': Guns, Boys, and the Law in English Canada from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Great War." *Canadian Historical Review* 93, no. 2 (June 1, 2012): 196–226.
- Brown, Stewart J., and David W. Miller, eds. *Piety and Power in Ireland, 1760-1960: Essays in Honour of Emmet Larkin*. Belfast: Notre Dame, Ind: Queen's University of Belfast; University of Notre Dame Press, 2000.
- Brożyna, Andrea Ebel. *Labour, Love and Prayer: Female Piety in Ulster Religious Literature, 1850-1914*. Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, 1999.
- Bruck, Joanna. "Landscapes of Desire: Parks, Colonialism, and Identity in Victorian and Edwardian Ireland." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17, no. 1 (March 1, 2013): 196–223.
- Buck, Anne. *Clothes and the Child: A Handbook of Children's Dress in England, 1500-1900*. Carlton: Ruth Bean, 1996.
- Buckley, Cheryl, and Hazel Clark. "Conceptualizing Fashion in Everyday Lives." *Design Issues* 28, no. 4 (September 2012): 18–28.
- Buckley, Sarah-Anne. *The Cruelty Man: Child Welfare, the NSPCC and the State in Ireland, 1889-1956*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Burger, Kaspar. "Entanglement and Transnational Transfer in the History of Infant Schools in Great Britain and Salles D'asile in France, 1816–1881." *History of Education* 43, no. 3 (May 2014): 304–33.
- Burman, B. "Pocketing the Difference: Gender and Pockets in Nineteenth-Century Britain." *Gender & History* 14, no. 3 (November 2002): 447–69.
- Brunden, Katy. "Cosmopolitan Complexities in Maria Edgeworth's 'Ennui'," *Studies in the Novel*, 37, no 2 (2005), 123–40.
- Burnett, John. *Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family From the 1820s to the 1920s*. Routledge, 2013.
- Bvm, Ann M. Harrington. "Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary: The Philadelphia Connection 1833–1843." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 27, no. 4 (2009): 17–30.
- Byrne, Patricia. "A Tradition of Educating Women: The Religious of the Sacred Heart and Higher Education." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 13, no. 4 (October 1, 1995): 79–49.
- Calvert, Karin. *Children in American Family Portraiture: 1670 to 1810*. Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1982.
- . *Children in the House: Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.
- Campbell, C. "The Meaning of Objects and the Meaning of Actions: A Critical Note on the Sociology of Consumption and Theories of Clothing." *Journal of Material Culture* 1, no. 1 (March 1, 1996): 93–105.
- Carey, Hilary M., ed. *Empires of Religion*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Casey, Christine. *Dublin: The City Within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

- Cecire, Maria Sachiko, Hannah Field, and Malini Roy. *Space and Place in Children's Literature, 1789 to the Present*. Surrey, England: Routledge, 2015.
- Chalus, Elaine. "Cette Fusion Annuelle: Cosmopolitanism and Identity in Nice, C. 1815–1860." *Urban History* 41, no. 4 (November 2014): 606–626.
- . "Elite Women, Social Politics, and the Political World of Late Eighteenth-Century England." *The Historical Journal* 43, no. 3 (2000): 669–97.
- . "'Ladies Are Often Very Good Scaffoldings': Women and Politics in the Age of Anne." *Parliamentary History (Wiley-Blackwell)* 28, no. 1 (2009): 150–65.
- . "'My Lord Sue': Lady Susan Keck and the Great Oxfordshire Election of 1754." *Parliamentary History (Wiley-Blackwell)* 32, no. 3 (October 2013): 443–59.
- Chandler, Anne. "Maria Edgeworth on Citizenship: Rousseau, Darwin, and Feminist Pessimism in Practical Education." *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 35, no. 1 (June 25, 2016): 93–122.
- Chandos, John. *Boys Together: English Public Schools 1800–1864*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Chisholm, Ann. "Nineteenth-Century Gymnastics for U.S. Women and Incorporations of Buoyancy: Contouring Femininity, Shaping Sex, and Regulating Middle-Class Consumption." *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 3 (2008): 84–112.
- Christie, Manson & Woods. *The Library of Clonbrock, Ahascragh, Ballinasloe, Co. Galway, the Property of Mr. & Mrs. Luke Dillon-Mahon Which Will Be Sold by Auction ... Nov. 3, 1976: [Catalogue]*. Christie, Manson and Woods, 1976.
- Chudacoff, Howard P. *Children at Play: An American History*. New York: New York University Press, 2007.
- . *How Old Are You?: Age Consciousness in American Culture*. S.I.: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Churchill, Wendy D. *Female Patients in Early Modern Britain: Gender, Diagnosis, and Treatment*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.
- . "The Medical Practice of the Sexed Body: Women, Men, and Disease in Britain, circa 1600–1740." *Social History of Medicine* 18, no. 1 (April 1, 2005): 3–22.
- Clapp-Itnyre, Alisa. *British Hymn Books for Children, 1800–1900: Re-Tuning the History of Childhood*. Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2016.
- . "Nineteenth-Century British Children's Hymnody: Re-Tuning the History of Childhood with Chords and Verses." *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 35, no. 2 (2010): 144–75.
- Clark, Anna. *Desire: A History of European Sexuality*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- . ed. *The History of Sexuality in Europe: A Sourcebook and Reader*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- . *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*. California: University of Calif. Press, 1995.
- . "Wild Workhouse Girls and the Liberal Imperial State in Mid-Nineteenth Century Ireland." *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 2 (December 1, 2005): 389–409.
- . *Women's Silence, Men's Violence: Sexual Assault in England 1770–1845*. London: Pandora, 1987.
- Clark, Fiona, and James Kelley, eds. *Ireland and Medicine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Clark, Lauren. "Gendering the Victorian Irish Child Reader as Buyer." *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 6, no. 1 (2014): 8–28.
- Clark, Linda L. "The Primary Education of French Girls: Pedagogical Prescriptions and Social Realities, 1880–1940." *History of Education Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (December 1, 1981): 411–28.

- Clarke, Howard Robert. *A New History of the Royal Hibernian Military School (1765-1924) Phoenix Park, Dublin*. Yarm-on-Tees: Howard R Clarke, 2011.
- . “The Attempt to Re-Locate the Royal Hibernian Military School in Northern Ireland, 1922-1924.” *The Irish Sword: The Journal of the Military History Society of Ireland* xxviii, no. 114 (2012): 399–410.
- Clarke, Martin Lowther. *Classical Education in Britain 1500-1900*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Clear, Caitriona. “Nano Nagle (1718-1784): Educator.” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 98, no. 390 (July 1, 2009): 135–43.
- . *Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1987.
- . *Women of the House: Women’s Household Work in Ireland 1922-1961: Discourses, Experiences, Memories*. Women in Irish History. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000.
- Clifford, Geraldine Joncich. “Saints, Sinners, and People: A Position Paper on the Historiography of American Education.” *History of Education Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (October 1975): 257–72.
- Coe, Richard N. *When the Grass Was Taller: Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Coghlan, Noel. “‘Protestant’ Schools.” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 97, no. 386 (July 1, 2008): 137–47.
- Coghlan, Valerie, and Karen Willoughby, eds. *Slates up!: Schools and Schooling in the Nineteenth Century*. Dublin: CICE Publications, 2005.
- Cohen, Daniel A. “Rewriting the Token of Love: Sentimentalists, Sophisticates, and the Transformation of American Girlhood, 1862–1940.” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 2 (2011): 223–56.
- Cohen, Marilyn, and Nancy J. Curtin, eds. *Reclaiming Gender: Transgressive Identities in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Macmillan, 1999.
- Cohen, Michèle. “‘A Little Learning’? The Curriculum and the Construction of Gender Difference in the Long Eighteenth Century.” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (September 2006): 321–35.
- . *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Coldrey, Barry. “The Social Classes Attending Christian Brothers Schools in the Nineteenth Century.” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 38, no. 1 (February 1990): 63–79.
- Coleman, Michael C. *American Indians, the Irish, and Government Schooling: A Comparative Study*. Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.
- . “An Outrage? The Comparative Study of American Indian and Irish Responses to Assimilationist Schooling, 1820s-1920s.” *Irish Journal of American Studies* 10 (January 2001): 141–49.
- . “‘Eyes Big as Bowls with Fear and Wonder’: Children’s Responses to the Irish National Schools, 1850-1922.” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 98C, no. 5 (1998): 177–202.
- . “Gut Reactions of a Historian to a Missionary Tract.” *American Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (June 1998): 340–48.
- . “Representations of American Indians and the Irish in Educational Reports, 1850s-1920s.” *Irish Historical Studies* 33, no. 129 (May 2002): 33–51.
- . “The Historical Credibility of American Indian Autobiographical Accounts of Schooling: 1850-1930.” *Irish Journal of American Studies* 3 (January 1993): 127–50.

- . “The Responses of American Indian Children and Irish Children to the School, 1850s-1920s: A Comparative Study in Cross-Cultural Education.” *American Indian Quarterly* 23, no. 3/4 (July 1999): 83–112.
- . “The Responses of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis through Missionary Sources.” *History of Education Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (December 1987): 473–97.
- Colón, A. R. *Nurturing Children: A History of Pediatrics*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood, 1999.
- Condon, Janette. “‘Victoria’s Own’?: Discourses of Cultural Imperialism and Nationalist Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Children’s Literature in Ireland,” 1999.
- Congáil, Ríona Nic. “Fiction, Amusement, Instruction’: The Irish Fireside Club and the Educational Ideology of the Gaelic League.” *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 91–117.
- . “Looking on for Centuries from the Sideline’: Gaelic Feminism and the Rise of Camogie.” *Éire-Ireland* 48, no. 1 (2013): 168–90.
- . “Young Ireland and The Nation: Nationalist Children’s Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century.” *Éire-Ireland* 46, no. 3 (2011): 37–62.
- Conley, Carolyn. “The Agreeable Recreation of Fighting.” *Journal of Social History* 33, no. 1 (1999): 57–72.
- Conolly, Michael. *Loreto Abbey Rathfarnham: A Brief Guide*. Rathfarnham, Dublin: The Community of Loreto Abbey, 1983.
- Connolly, S. J., ed. *Belfast 400: People, Place and History*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012.
- . *Priests and People in Pre-Famine Ireland 1780-1845*. Four Courts History Classics. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001.
- Cook, Daniel, and Amy Culley, eds. *Women’s Life Writing, 1700-1850: Gender, Genre and Authorship*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Cooke, Henry, Alexander Mackay Junior, and Belfast Academical Institution, eds. *Illustration and Defence of the Rev. Mr. Cooke’s Evidence before the Select Committees of Parliament, Relative to the Probable Effects of Arian Principles, Maintained by Some of the Professors in the Belfast Academical Institution*. Belfast (Newsletter Office): Printed by A. MacKay Jun, 1825.
- Coolahan, John. *Irish Education: Its History and Structure*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981.
- Corcoran, Timothy Joseph. *Selected Texts on Education Systems in Ireland from the Close of the Middle Ages*. Dept. of Education, University College, 1928.
- Corsaro, William A. *The Sociology of Childhood*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles: Sage/Pine Forge Press, 2011.
- Costello, Peter. *Clongowes Wood: A History of Clongowes Wood College, 1814-1989*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1989.
- Costello, Vandra. “Public Spaces for Recreation in Dublin, 1660-1760.” *Garden History* 35, no. 2 (2007): 160–79.
- Countryman, John, and Kelly Matthews, eds. *The Country of the Young Interpretations of Youth and Childhood in Irish Culture*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2013.
- Courtois, Aline. “‘Thousands Waiting at Our Gates’: Moral Character, Legitimacy and Social Justice in Irish Elite Schools.” *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 36, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 53–70.
- Cousins, Mel. “Registration of the Religion of Children under the Irish Poor Law, 1838–1870.” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 61, no. 1 (January 2010): 107–24.
- Cowland, Keith A. “The Identification of Social (Class) Areas and their place in Nineteenth-Century Urban Development.” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 4, no. 2 (January 1, 1979): 239–57.

- Cox, Catherine, and Maria Luddy, eds. *Cultures of Care in Irish Medical History, 1750-1970*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Cox, Catherine, and Susannah Riordan, eds. *Adolescence in Modern Irish History*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Crain, Patricia. "Postures and Places: The Child Reader in Nineteenth-Century U.S. Popular Print." *ELH* 80, no. 2 (2013): 343-72.
- Crean, Edward J., and Irish Deaf Society. *Breaking the Silence: The Education of the Deaf in Ireland 1816-1996*. Dublin: Irish Deaf Society Publications, 1997.
- Cronin, Mike. "Fighting for Ireland, Playing for England? The Nationalist History of the Gaelic Athletic Association and the English Influence on Irish Sport." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15, no. 3 (1998): 36-56.
- . *Places We Play: Ireland's Sporting Heritage*. Wilton, Cork: Collins Press, 2011.
- . "'Trinity Mysteries': Responding to a Chaotic Reading of Irish History." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28, no. 18 (2011): 2753-60.
- Cross, Gary, and Gregory Smits. "Japan, the U.S. and the Globalization of Children's Consumer Culture." *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 4 (July 1, 2005): 873-90.
- Crossman, Virginia. "Cribbed, Contained, and Confined?: The Care of Children under the Irish Poor Law, 1850-1920." *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 37-61.
- Crossman, Virginia, and Peter Gray, eds. *Poverty and Welfare in Ireland 1838-1948*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011.
- Crowley, Una, and Rob Kitchin. "Producing 'Decent Girls': Governmentality and the Moral Geographies of Sexual Conduct in Ireland (1922-1937)." *Gender, Place & Culture* 15, no. 4 (, 2008): 355-72.
- Cullen, Clara. "The Development of Infant Education in Ireland, 1838-1948: Epochs and Eras." *History of Education* 41, no. 2 (March 2012): 277-79.
- Cullen, Mary, ed. *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987.
- . *Telling It Our Way: Essays in Gender History*. Dublin, Ireland: Arlen House, 2013.
- Cullen, Mary, and Maria Luddy, eds. *Women, Power and Consciousness in 19th-Century Ireland: Eight Biographical Studies*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Attic Press, 1995.
- Culpepper, Danielle. "'Our Particular Cloister': Ursulines and Female Education in Seventeenth-Century Parma and Piacenza." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 36, no. 4 (December 1, 2005): 1017-37.
- Cumming, Valerie. *The Dictionary of Fashion History*. Oxford: Berg, 2010.
- Cunningham, Hugh. "Childhood Histories." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 9, no. 1 (2004): 90-96.
- . *Children and Childhood in Western Society since 1500*. 2nd ed. Studies in Modern History. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005.
- . "Histories of Childhood." *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (October 1, 1998): 1195-1208.
- . "How Many Children Were 'Unemployed' in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England?: Reply." *Past & Present*, no. 187 (May 1, 2005): 203-15.
- . *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c.1780-c.1880*. London: Croom Helm, 1980.
- . *The Invention of Childhood*. London: BBC Books, 2006.
- Curti, Giorgio Hadi. "Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space, and the Material Culture of Children." *Childrn's Geographies* 7, no. 1 (2009): 105-6.
- Curtis, L.P. *Anglo-Saxons and Celts: A Study of Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England*. Connecticut: Conference on British Studies. 1968

- Cutt, Margaret Nancy. *Ministering Angels: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Evangelical Writing for Children*. Wormley: Five Owls Press, 1979.
- . *Mrs Sherwood and Her Books for Children: A Study*. The Juvenile Library. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- D'Alton, Ian. "Educating for Ireland? The Urban Protestant Elite and the Early Years of Cork Grammar School, 1880–1914." *Éire-Ireland* 46, no. 3 (2011): 201–26.
- Daly, Mary E. "'The Primary and Natural Educator?': The Role of Parents in the Education of Their Children in Independent Ireland." *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 194–217.
- Daly, Mary E., and David Dickson, eds. *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700 – 1920*. Dublin: Department of Modern History, TCD, 1990.
- Danaher, Kevin. *The Year in Ireland*. Cork: Mercier, 1972.
- Dann, Jeff. "The Representation of British Sports in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Elite Irish School Publications." *Media History* 17, no. 2 (2011): 133–46.
- Davidoff, Leonore. "Gender and the 'Great Divide': Public and Private in British Gender History." *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 11–27.
- . "Kinship as a Categorical Concept: A Case Study of Nineteenth Century English Siblings." *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 2 (2005): 411–28.
- . *Thicker than Water: Siblings and Their Relations, 1780–1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Davidoff, Leonore, and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850*. Rev. ed. London: Routledge, 2002.
- Davies, Christie. "Goffman's Concept of the Total Institution: Criticisms and Revisions." *Human Studies* 12, no. 1/2 (1989): 77–95.
- Davies, Mel. "Corsets and Conception: Fashion and Demographic Trends in the Nineteenth Century." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, no. 4 (October 1, 1982): 611–41.
- Davies, Stephen. *Empiricism and History*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Davis, Robert A. "Brilliance of a Fire: Innocence, Experience and the Theory of Childhood." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 45, no. 2 (May 2011): 379–97.
- Davis, Tracy C. *Actresses as Working Women: Their Social Identity in Victorian Culture*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- . "'I Long for My Home in Kentuck': Christy's Minstrels in Mid-19th-Century Britain." *TDR: The Drama Review* 57, no. 2 (2013): 38–65.
- Davis, William. *The Diary of an Offaly Schoolboy 1858–59*. Edited by Sandra Robinson. Tullamore: Esker Press for Offaly Historical and Archaeological Society, 2010.
- De Bellaigue, Christina. "Behind the School Walls: The School Community in French and English Boarding Schools for Girls, 1810–1867." *Paedagogica Historica* 40, no. 1–2 (April 2004): 107–21.
- . *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France, 1800–1867*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- . "'Only What Is Pure and Exquisite': Girls' Reading at School in France, 1800–70." *French History* 27, no. 2 (2013): 202–22.
- Deacon, Harriet. "Midwives and Medical Men in the Cape Colony before 1860." *The Journal of African History* 39, no. 2 (January 1, 1998): 271–92.
- De Ritter, Richard. "'Leisure to Be Wise': Edgeworthian Education and the Possibilities of Domesticity." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 33, no. 3 (September 1, 2010): 313–33.

- DeBats, Donald A. "Political Consequences of Spatial Organization: Contrasting Patterns in Two Nineteenth-Century Small Cities." *Social Science History* 35, no. 4 (2011): 505–41.
- DeCock, Mary. "Turning Points in the Spirituality of an American Congregation: The Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 10, no. 1/2 (1991): 59–69.
- Dekker, Jeroen J.H., and Leendert F. Groenendijk. "Philippe Ariès's Discovery of Childhood after Fifty Years: The Impact of a Classic Study on Educational Research." *Oxford Review of Education* 38, no. 2 (2012): 133–47.
- DeLacy, Margaret. "Influenza Research and the Medical Profession in Eighteenth-Century Britain." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 25, no. 1 (1993): 37.
- Delaney, Mary. *William Steuart Trench and His Management of the Digby Estate, King's County, 1857–71*. Maynooth Studies in Local History, no. 101. Dublin, Ireland; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2012.
- deMause, Lloyd. "The Evolution of Childhood." In *The History of Childhood*, edited by Lloyd deMause, 1–. London: Souvenir Press, 1976.
- . , ed. *The History of Childhood*. London: Souvenir Press, 1976.
- Denisoff, Dennis. *The Nineteenth-Century Child and Consumer Culture*. Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Derevenski, Joanna Sofaer, ed. *Children and Material Culture*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Dickson, David. *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City*. London: Profile Books, 2014.
- . *New Foundations: Ireland 1660–1800*. 2nd revised and enlarged ed. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2000.
- . *Old World Colony: Cork and South Munster 1630–1830*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2005.
- . , ed. *The Gorgeous Mask: Dublin 1700–1850*. Trinity History Workshop Publication, no. 2. Dublin: Trinity History Workshop, 1987.
- Dickson, David, and Hugh Gough, eds. *Ireland and the French Revolution*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1990.
- Dickson, David, Justyna Pyz, and Christopher C. Shepard, eds. *Irish Classrooms and British Empire: Imperial Contexts in the Origins of Modern Education*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.
- Diptee, Audra A., and David V. Trotman. "Atlantic Childhood and Youth in Global Context: Reflections on the Global South." *Atlantic Studies* 11, no. 4 (October 2, 2014): 437–48.
- Dixon, Diana. "Children's Magazines and Science in the Nineteenth Century." *Victorian Periodicals Review* 34, no. 3 (2001): 228–38.
- Doherty, Sally, Nathan Gale, James Pelligrino, and Reginal Golledge. "Children's Versus Adults' Knowledge of Places and Distances in a Familiar Neighborhood Environment." *Children's Environments Quarterly* 6, no. 2/3 (Summer/Fall 1989): 65–71.
- Doney, John Christopher. "The Catholic Enlightenment and Popular Education in the Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg, 1765–95." *Central European History* 21, no. 1 (1988): 3–30.
- Donnison, Jean. *Midwives and Medical Men: A History of the Struggle for the Control of Childbirth*. 2nd ed. Historical Publications, 1988.
- Doolittle, Megan. "Fatherhood, Religious Belief and the Protection of Children in Nineteenth-Century English Families." In *Gender and Fatherhood in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Trev Lynn Broughton and Helen Rogers, 31–42. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

- Doran, Joseph S. *Turn Up the Lamp: Tales of a Mourne Childhood*. Belfast: Appletree Press Ltd, 1980.
- Dow, Gillian. "The British Reception of Madame de Genlis's Writings for Children: Plays and Tales of Instruction and Delight." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 3 (September 2006): 367–81.
- Dowling, Martin. "Confusing Culture and Politics: Ulster Scots Culture and Music." *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 11, no. 3 (October 1, 2007): 51–80.
- . "From Vernacular to 'Traditional': Music in Post-Famine Ireland. In *Power and Popular Culture in Modern Ireland: Essays in Honour of James S. Donnelly, Jr.*, edited by Michael De Nie and Sean Farrell, 145–71. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010.
- Dowling, Patrick John. *A History of Irish Education: A Study in Conflicting Loyalties*. Mercier Original Paperbacks. Cork: Mercier Press, 1971.
- Downs, Laura Lee. *Childhood in the Promised Land: Working-Class Movements and the Colonies de Vacances in France, 1880–1960*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.
- Driver, Felix. "Moral Geographies: Social Science and the Urban Environment in Mid-Nineteenth Century England." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 13, no. 3 (January 1, 1988): 275–87.
- Duggan, Maura. *In Search of Truth: Journeys of Nineteenth Century Irish Dominican Women*. Dublin: Linden Publishing Services, 2010.
- Dunbar, Robert. "Rarely Pure and Never Simple: The World of Irish Children's Literature." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 21, no. 3 (1997): 309–21.
- Dunlevy, Mairead. *Dress in Ireland*. London: Batsford, 1989.
- Dunne, Joseph, and James Kelly, eds. *Childhood and Its Discontents: The First Seamus Heaney Lectures*. Dublin: Liffey, 2003.
- Earnar-Byrne, Lindsey. *Mother and Child: Maternity and Child Welfare in Dublin, 1922–60*. Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Easton, Fraser. "Cosmopolitical Economy: Exchangeable Value and National Development in Adam Smith and Maria Edgeworth." *Studies in Romanticism* 42, no. 1 (April 2003): 99–125.
- Elbert, Monika M., ed. *Enterprising Youth: Social Values and Acculturation in Nineteenth-Century American Children's Literature*. London: Routledge, 2008.
- Elder, Glen H., John Modell, and Ross D. Parke. *Children in Time and Place: Developmental and Historical Insights*. Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Eley, Geoffrey. "What Is Cultural History?" *New German Critique*, no. 65 (1995): 19–36.
- Enoch, Jessica. "A Woman's Place is in the School: Rhetorics of Gendered Space in Nineteenth-Century America." *College English* 70, no. 3 (January 2008): 275–95.
- Erickson, Megan. *Class War: The Privatization of Childhood*. Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 2015.
- Fahey, Tony. "Nuns in the Catholic Church in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century." In *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Mary Cullen, 7–30. Dublin: Women's Education Bureau, 1987.
- . "State, Family and Compulsory Schooling in Ireland." *Economic & Social Review* 23, no. 4 (1992): 369–95.
- Farmer, Tony. *Patients, Potions & Physicians: A Social History of Medicine in Ireland 1654–2004*. Dublin: A.& A. Farmer, 2004.
- Farnham, Christie Anne. *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South*. New York; London: NYU Press, 1995.
- Farrell, Elaine. "'A Very Immoral Establishment': The Crime of Infanticide and Class Status in Ireland, 1850–1900." In *"She Said She Was in the Family Way": Pregnancy and Infancy in Modern Ireland*, edited by Elaine Farrell, 205–22. London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012.

- . ed. *Infanticide in the Irish Crown Files at Assizes, 1883-1900*. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2012.
- . *"She Said She Was in the Family Way": Pregnancy and Infancy in Modern Ireland*. London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012.
- Fass, Paula S. "Childhood and Memory." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3, no. 2 (2010): 155–64.
- . "The World Is at Our Door: Why Historians of Children and Childhood Should Open Up1." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 11–31.
- Fass, Paula S., and Mary Ann Mason, eds. *Childhood in America*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.
- Fegan, Melissa. "Isn't It Your Own Country?": The Stranger in Nineteenth-Century Irish Literature." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 34 (January 2004): 31–45.
- Fennetaux, Ariane. "Women's Pockets and the Construction of Privacy in the Long Eighteenth Century." *Eighteenth Century Fiction* 20, no. 3 (Spring 2008): 307–34.
- Fenning, Hugh. "Students of the Irish College at Salamanca, 1592–1638." *Archivium Hibernicum* 62 (2009): 7–36.
- Ferguson, Eliza. "The Cosmos of the Paris Apartment: Working-Class Family Life in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Urban History* 37, no. 1 (January 2011): 59–67.
- Ferriter, Diarmuid. "Suffer Little Children? The Historical Validity of Memoirs of Irish Childhood." In *Childhood and Its Discontents: The First Seamus Heaney Lectures*, edited by Joseph Dunne and James Kelly, 69–105. Dublin: Liffey Press, 2003.
- Ffolliott, Rosemary. "Fashion as a Guide to Dating Irish Portraits 1660-1880." *The GPA Irish Arts Review Yearbook*, 1989, 214–32.
- . "The Unmistakeable Hand of Frederick Buck." *Irish Arts Review* (1984-1987) 1, no. 2 (1984): 46–50.
- Field, Corinne. "Made Women of When They Are Mere Children': Mary Wollstonecraft's Critique of Eighteenth-Century Girlhood." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 2 (2011): 197–222.
- Figes, Orlando. *The Whisperers: Private Life in Stalin's Russia*. London: Allen Lane, 2007.
- Finch, Casey. "Hooked and Buttoned Together': Victorian Underwear and Representations of the Female Body." *Victorian Studies* 34, no. 3 (April 1, 1991): 337–63.
- Finn, Gerry P.T. "Trinity Mysteries: University, Elite Schooling and Sport in Ireland." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 27, no. 13 (2010): 2255–87.
- FitzGerald, Garret. *Irish Primary Education in the Early Nineteenth Century: An Analysis of the First and Second Reports of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, 1825-6*. Royal Irish Academy Monographs 2. Dublin, Ireland: Royal Irish Academy, 2013.
- Fletcher, Anthony. *Growing up in England: The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2008.
- Fletcher, Sheila. *Feminists and Bureaucrats: A Study in the Development of Girls' Education in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Foley, Liza. "An Entirely Fictitious Importance? Reconsidering the Significance of the Irish Glove Trade: A Study of Limerick Gloves, 1778–1840." *Costume* 48, no. 2 (May 2014): 160–71.
- Foley, Tadhg, and Seán Ryder, eds. *Ideology and Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998.
- Forbes, Joan, and Bob Lingard. "Assured Optimism in a Scottish Girls' School: Habitus and the (Re)production of Global Privilege." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 36, no. 1 (January 2015): 116–36.

- Forristal, Desmond. *The First Loreto Sister: Mother Teresa Ball, 1794–1861*. Dublin: Dominican Publications, 1994.
- Forsythe, W. “The Measures and Materiality of Improvement in Ireland.” *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 17, no. 1 (March 2013): 72–93.
- Foucault, Michel. *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1. 3 vols. Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986.
- . *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 2. 3 vols. Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 1988.
- . *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 3. 3 vols. London: Penguin, 1990.
- Foyster, Elizabeth. The ‘New World of Children’ Reconsidered: Child Abduction in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century England.” *Journal of British Studies* 52, no. 3 (2013): 669–92.
- Foyster, Elizabeth A., James Alan Marten, Mary Harlow, Ray Laurence, Louise J. Wilkinson, Sandra Cavallo, Silvia Evangelisti, Colin Heywood, Joseph M. Hawes, and N. Ray Hiner, eds. *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family*. Oxford: Berg, 2010.
- Foyster, Elizabeth, and James Marten. *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in the Age of Enlightenment*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 2012.
- Fraser, Derek. *Urban Politics in Victorian England: The Structure of Politics in Victorian Cities*. Leicester: Leicester University, 1976.
- Frijoff, Willem. “Historian’s Discovery of Childhood.” *Pedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, January 2012, 11–29.
- Fuchs, Rachel G. *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century*. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Galavan, Susan. *Dublin’s Bourgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs, 1850–1901*. Routledge, 2017.
- Gardner, Catherine. “Catharine Macaulay’s ‘Letters on Education’: Odd but Equal.” *Hypatia* 13, no. 1 (January 1998): 137–118.
- Gay, Peter. *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Gaztambide-Fernández, Rubén. “What Is an Elite Boarding School?” *Review of Educational Research* 79, no. 3 (September 2009): 1090–1128.
- Geary, Frank. “Deindustrialization in Ireland to 1851: Some Evidence from the Census.” *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 51, no. 3 (August 1998): 512–41.
- Geary, Laurence M., and Margaret Kelleher. *Nineteenth-Century Ireland: A Guide to Recent Research*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005.
- Geary, Laurence M., and Oonagh Walsh, eds. *Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Nineteenth-Century Ireland Series. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2015.
- Gebarowski-Shafer, Ellie. “The Transatlantic Reach of the Catholic ‘False Translation’ Argument in the School ‘Bible Wars.’” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 31, no. 3 (March 21, 2014): 47–76.
- Gemie, Sharif. *Women and Schooling in France, 1815–1914: Gender, Authority and Identity in the Female Schooling Sector*. Keele: Keele University Press, 1995.
- Gibbons, Margaret. *Loreto, Navan: One Hundred Years of Catholic Progress, 1833–1933*. [s.n.], 1933.
- Gibson, Pamela Church. “‘To Care for Her Beauty, to Dress Up, Is a Kind of Work’: Simone de Beauvoir, Fashion, and Feminism.” *WSQ: Women’s Studies Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (2013): 197–201.
- Gilfoyle, Timothy J. “Street-Rats and Gutter-Snipes: Child Pickpockets and Street Culture in New York City, 1850–1900.” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 4 (2004): 853–62.
- Gill, Rebecca. “The Imperial Anxieties of a Nineteenth-Century Bigamy Case.” *History Workshop Journal* 57, no. 1 (2004): 58–78.

- Gilligan, Robbie. "The 'Public Child' and the Reluctant State?" *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 265–90.
- Gillis, John R. "Ritualization of Middle-Class Family Life in Nineteenth Century Britain." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 3, no. 2 (December 1989): 213–35.
- . "The Evolution of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1890–1914." *Past & Present*, no. 67 (May 1, 1975): 96–126.
- Gleadle, Kathryn. *Borderline Citizens: Women, Gender and Political Culture in Britain, 1815–1867*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- . *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*. Social History in Perspective. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- . "Playing at Soldiers: British Loyalism and Juvenile Identities during the Napoleonic Wars." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38, no. 3 (September 1, 2015): 335–48.
- . "Revisiting Family Fortunes: Reflections on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Publication of L. Davidoff & C. Hall (1987) *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London: Hutchinson)." *Women's History Review* 16, no. 5 (2007): 773–82.
- Glynn, Jarlath. "The Catholic Church in Wexford Town 1800 – 1858." *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, no. 15 (January 1, 1984): 5–53.
- Goffman, Erving. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Pelican Books. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.
- . *Relations in Public: Microstudies of the Public Order*. Pelican Books. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972.
- . *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Pelican Books. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.
- Goldstrom, J. M. *The Social Content of Education, 1808–1870: A Study of the Working Class School Reader in England and Ireland*. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972.
- Gordon, Eleanor, and Gwyneth Nair. "Middle-Class Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Glasgow." *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 4 (October 1999): 468–77.
- Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Bloomington.: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Grant, Julia. "A 'Real Boy' and Not a Sissy: Gender, Childhood, And Masculinity, 1890–1940." *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 4 (June 2004): 829–51.
- Gray, Peter. *The Making of the Irish Poor Law, 1815–43*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Grazia, Victoria De, and Ellen Furlough. *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Gregory, Ian N., and Niall A. Cunningham. "'The Judgement of God on an Indolent and Unself-Reliant People?': The Impact of the Great Irish Famine on Ireland's Religious Demography." *Journal of Historical Geography* 51 (January 2016): 76–87.
- Gregory, Jeremy. "Homos Religiosus: Masculinity and Religion in the Long Eighteenth Century." In *English Masculinities 1660–1800*, 85–110. London: Longman, 1999.
- Grenby, M. O. "'Real Charity Makes Distinctions': Schooling the Charitable Impulse in Early British Children's Literature." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25, no. 2 (September 1, 2002): 185–202.
- . *The Child Reader, 1700–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- . *Children's Literature*. Edinburgh Critical Guides to Literature. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

- Grenfell, Michael, ed. *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Stocksfield, England: Acumen Pub, 2012.
- Grenby, M. O., and Kimberley Reynolds, eds. *Children's Literature Studies: A Research Handbook*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Grilli, Giorgia. "English Public Schools and the Moulding of the 'Englishman.'" *History of Education & Children's Literature* 10, no. 1 (January 2015): 643.
- Grimes, Brendan. "Funding a Roman Catholic Church in Nineteenth-Century Ireland." *Architectural History* 52 (January 1, 2009): 147–68.
- Grinder, Robert E. "The Concept of Adolescence in the Genetic Psychology of G. Stanley Hall." *Child Development* 40, no. 2 (June 1969): 355.
- Gunn, Simon. *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority in the English Industrial City 1840–1914*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000.
- Gutman, Marta, and Ning de Coninck-Smith, eds. *Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space, and the Material Culture of Children*. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2008.
- Hadas, Miklós. "Gymnastic Exercises, Or 'Work Wrapped in the Gown of Youthful Joy': Masculinities and the Civilizing Process in 19th Century Hungary." *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 1 (September 2007): 161–80.
- Hall, Catherine, and Sonya O. Rose, eds. *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Hallett, Tim. "Between Deference and Distinction: Interaction Ritual through Symbolic Power in an Educational Institution." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2007): 148–71.
- Hamilton-Honey, Emily. "The Girls of 83 Round Hill Road: Boarding Houses, Social Interaction, and the Culture of Consumption at Smith College, 1892–1895." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 5, no. 3 (2012): 359–92.
- Hamlett, Jane. "'The Dining Room Should Be the Man's Paradise, as the Drawing Room Is the Woman's': Gender and Middle-Class Domestic Space in England, 1850–1910." *Gender & History* 21, no. 3 (November 2009): 576–91.
- Hamlin, David. "The Structures of Toy Consumption: Bourgeois Domesticity and Demand for Toys in Nineteenth-Century Germany." *Journal of Social History* 36, no. 4 (July 1, 2003): 857–69.
- Hansson, Heidi. "Selina Bunbury, Religion, and the Woman Writer." In *The Oxford History of the Irish Book, Volume IV: The Irish Book in English, 1800–1891*, edited by James H. Murphy, 322–30. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Happel, Alison. "Ritualized Girling: School Uniforms and the Compulsory Performance of Gender." *Journal of Gender Studies* 22, no. 1 (March 2013): 92–96.
- Harding, Roberta M. "Rubbing the Rabbit's Foot: Gallows, Superstitions and Public Healthcare in England during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Boston University Public Interest Law Journal* 25 (2016): 359–98.
- Hardwick, Louise. *Childhood, Autobiography and the Francophone Caribbean*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.
- Harford, Judith. "An Experiment in the Development of Social Networks for Women: Women's Colleges in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century ¹." *Paedagogica Historica* 43, no. 3 (June 2007): 365–81.
- . "The Movement for the Higher Education of Women in Ireland: Gender Equality or Denominational Rivalry?" *History of Education* 34, no. 5 (September 1, 2005): 497–516.
- Harford, Judith, and Claire Rush, eds. *Have Women Made a Difference?: Women in Irish Universities, 1850–2010*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010.

- Harrigan, Patrick. "Women Teachers and the Schooling of Girls in France: Recent Historiographical Trends." *French Historical Studies* 21, no. 4 (1998): 610–593.
- Harrington, Joel F. *The Unwanted Child: The Fate of Foundlings, Orphans, And Juvenile Criminals in Early Modern Germany*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Harris, Amy. "This I Beg My Aunt May Not Know: Young Letter-Writers in Eighteenth-Century England, Peer Correspondence in a Hierarchical World." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 3 (2009): 333–60.
- Hart, Robert. *Robert Hart and China's Early Modernization His Journals, 1863–1866*. (Eds.) Richard J. Smith, John King Fairbank, and Katherine Frost Bruner. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Harvey, Andy. "Tom Brown's Schooldays: 'Sportsex' in Victorian Britain." *Critical Survey* 24, no. 1 (January 2012): 17–29.
- Hatfield, Mary, Jutta Kruse, and Riona níc Congáil eds. *Historical Perspectives on Parenthood and Childhood in Ireland*. Galway: Arlen House, 2017.
- Hay, Marnie. "Moulding the Future: Na Fianna Éireann and Its Members, 1909–1923." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 400 (2011): 441–54.
- Hayley, Barbara. *A Bibliography of the Writings of William Carleton*. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1985.
- . *Carleton's Traits and Stories and the 19th Century Anglo-Irish Tradition*. Irish Literary Studies 12. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1983.
- Hayley, Barbara, and Enda McKay, eds. *Three Hundred Years of Irish Periodicals*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1987.
- Helland, Janice. "Ishbel Aberdeen's 'Irish' Dresses: Embroidery, Display and Meaning, 1886–1909." *Journal of Design History* 26, no. 2 (2013): 152–67.
- Hellinckx, Bart, Frank Simon, and Marc Depaepe. *The Forgotten Contribution of the Teaching Sisters: A Historiographical Essay on the Educational Work of Catholic Women Religious in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2009.
- Hemphill, C. Dallett. *Siblings: Brothers and Sisters in American History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Hempton, David, and Myrtle Hill. *Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society, 1740–1890*. Routledge, 1992.
- Hendrick, Harry. *Child Welfare: England 1872–1969*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- . *Images of Youth: Age, Class, and the Male Youth Problem, 1880–1920*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1990.
- . *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880–1990*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Henry, Miles, and Ian Burn. *Portora the School on the Hill: A Quarter Centenary History - 1608–2008*. Northern Ireland: Portora Royal School, 2008.
- Heuer, Jennifer. "'No More Fears, No More Tears'?: Gender, Emotion and the Aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars in France." *Gender & History* 28, no. 2 (2016): 438–60.
- Heywood, Colin. *A History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times*. Cambridge: Polity, 2001.
- . "Centuries of Childhood: An Anniversary—and an Epitaph?" *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3, no. 3 (2010): 341–65.
- . *Growing up in France: From the Ancien Régime to the Third Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Hickey, Colm. "The Evolution of Athleticism in Elite Irish Schools 1878–1914. Beyond the Finn/Cronin Debate." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 12 (2013): 1394–1417.

- Higgins, Roisín. "The Hallmark of Pluperfect Respectability: The Early Development of Golf in Irish Society." *Éire-Ireland* 48, no. 1 (2013): 15–31.
- Higonnet, Anne. *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood*. Interplay: Arts, History, Theory. London: Thames & Hudson, 1998.
- Hilton, Mary. *Women and the Shaping of the Nation's Young: Education and Public Doctrine in Britain, 1750–1850*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- Hilton, Mary, Jill Shefrin, and Deirdre Raftery, eds. *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*. Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.
- Hilton, Matthew. "The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life, 1860–1914." *Business History* 42, no. 3 (July 2000): 164–65.
- hÓgartaigh, Margaret Ó. "A Quiet Revolution: Women and Second-Level Education in Ireland, 1878–1930." *New Hibernia Review* 13, no. 2 (2009): 36–51.
- Holden, Philip. *Autobiography and Decolonization: Modernity, Masculinity, and the Nation-State*. Madison: Univ of Wisconsin Press, 2008.
- Holmes, Andrew. *The Shaping of Ulster Presbyterian Belief and Practice, 1770–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Holt, Jenny. *Public School Literature, Civic Education and the Politics of Male Adolescence*. Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008.
- Honey, John Raymond de Symons. *Tom Brown's Universe: The Development of the English Public School in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: New York Times Book Co, 1977.
- Hopkins, Eric. *Childhood Transformed: Working-Class Children in Nineteenth-Century England*. Manchester University Press, 1994.
- Horn, Pamela. "The Victorian Governess." *History of Education* 18, no. 4 (1989): 333–44.
- Horne, Jackie C. *History and the Construction of the Child in Early British Children's Literature*. Ashgate Studies in Childhood, 1700 to the Present. Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.
- Hoy, Suellen. "The Journey Out: The Recruitment and Emigration of Irish Religious Women to the United States, 1812–1914." *Journal of Women's History* 7, no. 1 (1995): 64–98.
- Huck, Christian. "Clothes Make the Irish: Irish Dressing and the Question of Identity." *Irish Studies Review* 11, no. 3 (2003): 273–84.
- Huggett, Jane. *Children's Clothes, 1480–1580*. Clothing Series. Backwell: Stuart Press, 2007.
- Humphries, Jane. *Childhood and Child Labour in the British Industrial Revolution*. Cambridge Studies in Economic History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Humphries, Steve. *A Labour of Love: The Experience of Parenthood in Britain 1900–1950*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1993.
- Hunt, Felicity, ed. *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women 1850–1950*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987.
- Hunt, Margaret R. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780*. United States of America: University of Calif. Press, 1996.
- Hunt, Peter. *An Introduction to Children's Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Hurl-Eamon, Jennine. "Youth in the Devil's Service, Manhood in the King's: Reaching Adulthood in the Eighteenth-Century British Army." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 8, no. 2 (2015): 163–90.
- Inglis, Fred. *The Delicious History of the Holiday*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- . *The Imagery of Power: A Critique of Advertising*. London: Heinemann, 1972.

- . *The Promise of Happiness: Value and Meaning in Children's Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Jajdelska, Elspeth. "‘The Very Defective and Erroneous Method’: Reading Instruction and Social Identity in Elite Eighteenth-century Learners." *Oxford Review of Education* 36, no. 2 (April, 2010): 141–56.
- James, Allison, Chris Jenks, and Alan Prout. *Theorizing Childhood*. Cambridge: Polity, 1998.
- Jane Donawerth. "Conduct Book Rhetoric: Constructing a Theory of Feminine Discourse." In *Conversational Rhetoric: The Rise and Fall of a Women's Tradition, 1600-1900*, 41. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2011.
- Janssen, Diederik F. "‘Where’ ‘Boys’ ‘Are’: Co-Constructions of Maturities-Genders-Bodies-Spaces." *Children's Geographies* 7, no. 1 (2009): 83–98.
- Jeffares, A. Norman, and Antony Kamm, eds. *An Irish Childhood*. London: Fontana, 1988.
- Jenkins, Henry, ed. *The Children's Culture Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- Jenkins, Keith. *On "What Is History?": From Carr and Elton to Rorty and White*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1995.
- . *Why History?* London ; New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Johansson, Viktor. "In Charge of the Truffula Seeds: On Children's Literature, Rationality and Children's Voices in Philosophy." *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 45, no. 2 (May 2011): 359–77.
- Jones, Greta, and Elizabeth Malcolm, eds. *Medicine, Disease and the State in Ireland, 1650-1940*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1999.
- Jordan, Alison. *Margaret Byers: Pioneer of Women's Education and Founder of Victoria College, Belfast*. Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, Institute of Irish Studies, 1991.
- Jordan, Thomas E. "A Weighted Index of Quality of Life for Irish Children; 1841, 1851, and 1861." *Social Indicators Research* 37, no. 1 (January 1, 1996): 47–73.
- . "An Index of the Quality of Life for Victorian Children and Youth, the Vicy Index." *Social Indicators Research* 27, no. 3 (November 1, 1992): 257–77.
- . *Ireland's Children: Quality of Life, Stress and Child Development in the Famine Era*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1998.
- . "Quality of Life, Hegemony, and Social Change in Rural Ireland: W. Bence Jones, ‘A Landlord Who Tried to Do His Duty.’" *Social Indicators Research* 55, no. 2 (2001): 199–221.
- . "Queen Victoria's Irish Soldiers: Quality of Life and Social Origins of the Thin ‘Green’ Line." *Social Indicators Research* 57, no. 1 (2002): 73–88.
- . "Sons of St. Patrick: Quality of Life and Heights of Young Irish Males at Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Social Indicators Research* 102, no. 3 (2011): 389–408.
- . "Source, Method, and Surmise: Quality of Life in History." *Social Indicators Research* 94, no. 2 (2009): 227–39.
- . "The Quality of Life in Victorian Ireland, 1831-1901." *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 4, no. 1 (2000): 103–21.
- . "Two Thomases: Dublin Castle and The Quality of Life in Victorian Ireland." *Social Indicators Research* 64, no. 2 (2003): 257–91.
- Jordan, Thomas Edward. *Victorian Childhood: Themes and Variations*. New York: SUNY Press, 1987.
- Jordanova, Ludmilla, J. *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- . *History in Practice*. 2nd edition. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2006.

- Joyce, Patrick. *The State of Freedom: A Social History of the British State since 1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- . “What Is the Social in Social History?” *Past & Present*, no. 206 (2010): 213–48.
- Juzwik, Mary M., and Cori McKenzie. “Writing, Religious Faith, and Rooted Cosmopolitan Dialogue Portraits of Two American Evangelical Men in a Public School English Classroom.” *Written Communication* 32, no. 2 (2015): 121–49.
- Kallio, Kirsi Pauliina. “Performative Bodies, Tactical Agents and Political Selves: Rethinking the Political Geographies of Childhood.” *Space and Polity* 11, no. 2 (2007): 121–36.
- . “The Body as a Battlefield: Approaching Children’s Politics.” *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 90, no. 3 (2008): 285–297.
- Kealy, Máire M. *Dominican Education in Ireland, 1820–1930*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007.
- . “Dominican Ethos in Education.” Unpublished, 2000.
- . *From Channel Row to Cabra, Dominican Nuns and Their Times 1717–1820*. Dublin: Columba Press, 2010.
- Keenan, Celia, and Mary Shine Thompson, eds. *Studies in Children’s Literature, 1500–2000*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004.
- Kehoe, S. K. *Creating a Scottish Church: Catholicism, Gender and Ethnicity in Nineteenth-Century Scotland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.
- Kelly, James. “‘Drinking the Waters’: Balneotherapeutic Medicine in Ireland, 1660–1850.” *Studia Hibernica*, no. 35 (January 1, 2008): 99–146.
- . “Mathew Carey’s Irish Apprenticeship: Editing the Volunteers Journal, 1783–84.” *Éire-Ireland* 49, no. 3 (2014): 201–43.
- . “‘This Iniquitous Traffic’: The Kidnapping of Children for the American Colonies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland.” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 9, no. 2 (2016): 233–46.
- Kelly, James, and Dáire Keogh, eds. *History of the Catholic Diocese of Dublin*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000.
- Kelly, James, and Martyn J. Powell, eds. *Clubs and Societies in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010.
- Kelly, Laura. “Migration and Medical Education: Irish Medical Students at the University of Glasgow, 1859–1900.” *Irish Economic and Social History* 39 (2012): 39–55.
- Kelly, M. Dominic. *The Sligo Ursulines: The First Fifty Years, 1826–1876*. Sligo: The author, 1987.
- Kelly, Patrick. “Perceptions of Locke in Eighteenth-Century Ireland.” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 89C (1989): 17–35.
- Kennedy, Máire. *French Books in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*. Voltaire Foundation, 2001.
- Kennedy, Patrick J. *The Clonmel Charter School (1747–1886)*. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1932.
- Kenway, Jane, and Elizabeth Bullen. *Consuming Children: Education–entertainment–advertising*. Maidenhead, BRK, England: Open University Press, 2001.
- Kenway, Jane, and Jane Bullen. “Consuming Children: Education–Entertainment–Advertising.” *British Educational Research Journal* 29, no. 2 (April 2003): 267–76.
- Kenway, Jane, and Johannah Fahey. “Staying ahead of the Game: The Globalising Practices of Elite Schools.” *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 12, no. 2 (April 2014): 177–95.

- Kenway, Jane, and Aaron Koh. "Sociological Silhouettes of Elite Schooling." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 36, no. 1 (January 2015): 1–10.
- Kenway, Jane, and Sue Willis. "Feminist Single-Sex Educational Strategies: Some Theoretical Flaws and Practical Fallacies." *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 7, no. 1 (October 1986): 1–30.
- Keogh, Daire. "The Christian Brothers and the Second Reformation in Ireland." *Éire-Ireland* 40, no. 1 (2005): 42–59.
- Keogh, Dáire, and Albert McDonnell, eds. *Cardinal Paul Cullen and His World*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 9–39.
- Kerber, Linda K., Nancy F. Cott, Robert Gross, Lynn Hunt, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, and Christine M. Stansell. "Beyond Roles, Beyond Spheres: Thinking about Gender in the Early Republic." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 46, no. 3 (July 1989): 565–85.
- Kernan, Margaret. "Developing Citizenship Through Supervised Play: The Civics Institute of Ireland Playgrounds, 1933–75." *History of Education* 34, no. 6 (November 2005): 675–87.
- Kernan, Margaret, and Dymrna Devine. "Being Confined within? Constructions of the Good Childhood and Outdoor Play in Early Childhood Education and Care Settings in Ireland." *Children & Society*, (July 2009).
- Khan, Shamus Rahman. *Privilege: The Making of an Adolescent Elite at St. Paul's School*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011.
- Kilroy, Phil. *The Society of the Sacred Heart in 19th Century France, 1800–1865*. Cork: Cork University Press 2012.
- Kinealy, Christine. "'The Wee-Est Little Man That Ever Was': 'General' Tom Thumb in Ireland." *History Ireland* (January 2014).
- King, Peter. "The Rise of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1780–1840: Changing Patterns of Perception and Prosecution." *Past & Present* 160, no. 1 (1998): 116–66.
- . "The Rise of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1780–1840: Changing Patterns of Perception and Prosecution." *Past & Present*, no. 160 (1998): 116–66.
- Kinsey, Danielle. "Atlantic World Mining, Child Labor, and the Transnational Construction of Childhood in Imperial Britain in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Atlantic Studies* 11, no. 4 (2014): 449–72.
- Kirby, Peter. *Child Workers and Industrial Health in Britain, 1780–1850*. Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2013.
- . "How Many Children Were 'Unemployed' in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century England?" *Past & Present*, no. 187 (2005): 187–202.
- Kissane, Noel, ed. *Ex Camera 1860–1960: Photographs from the Collections of the National Library of Ireland*. Dublin: National Library of Ireland, with assistance from Kodak Ireland Limited, 1990.
- Klein, Axel. *O'Kelly: An Irish Musical Family in Nineteenth-Century France*. Norderstedt, 2014.
- Klein, Lawrence E. "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century." *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (2002): 869–98.
- Kociumbas, Jan. "Childhood History as Ideology." *Labour History*, no. 47 (November 1984): 1–17.
- Laird, Susan. *Mary Wollstonecraft: Philosophical Mother of Coeducation*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Lal, Ruby. *Coming of Age in Nineteenth-Century India: The Girl-Child and the Art of Playfulness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

- Lambert, Cornelia. "'Living Machines': Performance and Pedagogy at Robert Owen's Institute for the Formation of Character, New Lanark, 1816-1828." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 3 (2011): 419-33.
- Landes, Joan B. "Further Thoughts on the Public/Private Distinction." *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 2 (2003): 28-39.
- Lane, Fintan, ed. *Politics, Society and the Middle Class in Modern Ireland*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Larkin, Emmet. "Church and State in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century." *Church History* 31, no. 3 (1962): 294-306.
- . "The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75." *The American Historical Review* 77, no. 3 (1972): 625-52.
- . *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006.
- Laver, James. *Children's Fashions in the Nineteenth Century*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1951.
- Lawrence, David. "Masculine Appearances: Male Physicality on the Late-Victorian Stage." *Critical Survey* 20, no. 3 (September 2008): 44-60.
- Lawton, Philip, and Michael Punch. "Urban Governance and the 'European City': Ideals and Realities in Dublin, Ireland." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 3 (May 2014): 864-85.
- Lee, David, and Christine Gonzalez, eds. *Georgian Limerick, 1714-1845*. Limerick: Limerick Civic Trust, 2000.
- Leerssen, Joseph Th. *Remembrance and Imagination: Patterns in the Historical and Literary Representation of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century*. Cork: Cork University Press in association with Field Day, 1996.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991.
- Lei, Christine. "The Material Culture of the Loretto School for Girls in Hamilton, Ontario 1865-1971." *Canadian Catholic Historical Association Historical Studies*, no. 66 (2000): 92-113.
- Lennon, Colm, ed. *Confraternities and Sodalities in Ireland: Charity, Devotion and Sociability*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 2012.
- Levin, Yale. "The Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency in England during the Early Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1931-1951)* 31, no. 1 (May 1940): 38-54.
- Lewis, Judith Schneid. "Maternal Health in the English Aristocracy: Myths and Realities 1790-1840." *Journal of Social History* 17, no. 1 (October 1983): 97-114.
- Lillis, Mercedes. *Two Hundred Years A-growing: The Story of the Ursulines in Thurles 1787-1987*. Thurles: 1987.
- Linton, Marisa, and Mette Harder. "'Come and Dine': The Dangers of Conspicuous Consumption in French Revolutionary Politics, 1789-95." *European History Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (October 2015): 615-37.
- Little, George A. *Rev. Thomas Betagh, S.J.: The Rebirth of Jesuit Education in Ireland*. Irish Messenger Office, 1960.
- Littlehales, Margaret Mary. *Mary Ward: Pilgrim and Mystic 1585-1645*. Tunbridge Wells: Burns & Oates, 1998.
- Livesey, James. *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Lloyd, Rosemary. *The Land of Lost Content: Children and Childhood in Nineteenth-Century French Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Loeber, Rolf. *A Guide to Irish Fiction, 1650-1900*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2006.
- Logan, John. "Governesses, Tutors and Parents: Domestic Education in Ireland, 1700-1880." *Irish Educational Studies* 7, no. 2 (1988): 1-19.

- Lovell, Terry. "Resisting with Authority: Historical Specificity, Agency and the Performative Self." *Theory, Culture & Society* 20, no. 1 (February 2003): 1–17.
- Luddy, Maria. *Matters of Deceit: Breach of Promise Cases in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Limerick*. Maynooth Studies in Local History. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.
- . *Prostitution and Irish Society, 1800–1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- . "The Early Years of the NSPCC in Ireland." *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 62–90.
- . *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- . *Women in Ireland, 1800–1918: A Documentary History*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1995.
- Luddy, Maria, and James M. Smith, eds. *Children, Childhood and Irish Society, 1500 to the Present*. Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2014.
- Lux-Sterritt, Laurence, and Carmen M. Mangion, eds. *Gender, Catholicism and Spirituality: Women and the Roman Catholic Church in Britain and Europe, 1200–1900*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.
- Mac Lellan, Anne, and Alice Mauger, eds. *Growing Pains: Childhood Illness in Ireland, 1750–1950*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2013.
- Mac Suibhne, Seosamh. *Oblivious to the Dawn: Gender Themes in 19th Century National School Reading Books, Ireland 1931–1900*. Glencar, Sligo: F.R.D., 1996.
- MacGinley, Rosa. "Irish Women Religious and Their Convent High Schools in Nineteenth Century Australia." *Australasian Catholic Record* 87, no. 1 (2010): 3–19.
- Macraill, Donald M., and Frank Neal. "Child-Stripping in the Victorian City." *Urban History* 39, no. 3 (2012): 431–52.
- Magnússon, Sigurður Gylfi. "From Children's Point of View: Childhood in Nineteenth-Century Iceland." *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 2 (December 1995): 295–323.
- Magray, Mary Peckham. *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion, and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750–1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Maguire, Moira J. *Precarious Childhood in Post-Independence Ireland*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009.
- Maguire, Moira J., and Séamus Ó. Cinnéide. "'A Good Beating Never Hurt Anyone': The Punishment and Abuse of Children in Twentieth Century Ireland." *Journal of Social History* 38, no. 3 (April 2005): 635–52.
- Mahon, Brid. *Rich and Rare: The Story of Irish Dress*. Cork: Mercier Press Ltd, 2001.
- Mangan, J. A. *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*. London: F. Cass, 2000.
- Mangion, Carmen M. *Contested Identities: Catholic Women Religious in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008.
- . "'The Business of Life': Educating Catholic Deaf Children in Late Nineteenth-Century England." *History of Education* 41, no. 5 (2012): 575–94.
- Manglaviti, Leo M. "Sticking to the Jesuits: A Revisit to Belvedere House." *James Joyce Quarterly* 37, no. 1/2 (October 1999): 214–24.
- Manktelow, Emily J. *Missionary Families: Race, Gender and Generation on the Spiritual Frontier*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.
- Marcus, Sharon. *Apartment Stories: City and Home in Nineteenth-Century Paris and London*. Berkeley ; London: University of California Press, 1999.
- Markey, Anne, ed. *Children's Fiction, 1765–1808: John Carey, Margaret King Moore, Lady Mount Cashell, Henry Brooke*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2011.

- . “The Discovery of Irish Folklore.” *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 10, no. 4 (December 2006): 21–43.
- . “The English Governess, Her Wild Irish Pupil, and Her Wandering Daughter: Migration and Maternal Absence in Georgian Children’s Fiction.” *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an Dá Chultúr* 25 (January 2010): 161–76.
- Marland, Hilary. *Dangerous Motherhood: Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- . *Health and Girlhood in Britain, 1874–1920*. Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Marsden, William E. “Ecology and Nineteenth Century Urban Education.” *History of Education Quarterly* 23, no. 1 (1983): 29–53.
- Marshall, Noreen, and Victoria and Albert Museum. *Dictionary of Children’s Clothes: 1700s to Present*. London: V&A, 2008.
- Martin, Jane. *Women and Education, 1800–1980*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Martin, Joanna. *Wives and Daughters: Women and Children in the Georgian Country House*. London: Hambledon and London, 2004.
- Martin, Mary Clare. “Church, School and Locality: Revisiting the Historiography of ‘State’ and ‘Religious’ Educational Infrastructures in England and Wales, 1780–1870.” *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 1 (2013): 70–81.
- Mathew, W. M. “The Origins and Occupations of Glasgow Students, 1740–1839.” *Past & Present* 33, no. 1 (1966): 74–94.
- Mattingly, Carol. “Uncovering Forgotten Habits: Anti-Catholic Rhetoric and Nineteenth-Century American Women’s Literacy.” *College Composition and Communication* 58, no. 2 (December 2006): 160–81.
- Maynes, Mary Jo. “Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood.” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 114–24.
- Maynes, Mary Jo, Birgitte Søland, and Christina Benninghaus. *Secret Gardens, Satanic Mills: Placing Girls in European History, 1750–1960*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- McCarthy, Cameron, and Jane Kenway. “Introduction: Understanding the Re-Articulations of Privilege over Time and Space.” *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 12, no. 2 (April 2014): 165–76. McCarthy, Patricia. “The Planning and Use of Space in Irish Houses 1730–1830,” 2009.
- McCormack, Christopher. “‘Straw Bonnets’ to Superior Schooling: The ‘Failure’ of the Charity School Movement in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Ireland – a Reappraisal.” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 5 (2012): 711–27.
- McCourt, Frank. *Angela’s Ashes: A Memoir of a Childhood*. London: HarperCollins, 1996.
- McCrum, Elizabeth. “Destruction of Ulster Museum’s Costume and Textile Collection.” *Costume* 12, no. 1 (January 1978): 105–9.
- McCullen, John, and Ireland. *An Illustrated History of the Phoenix Park: Landscape and Management to 1880*. Dublin: Stationery Office ; Office of Public Works, 2009.
- McDermid, Jane. “Catholic Women Teachers and Scottish Education in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries.” *History of Education* 38, no. 5 (September 1, 2009): 605–20.
- . *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800–1900*. Routledge Research in Gender and History 13. New York ; London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2012.
- McDonnell, Ciarán. “A ‘Fair Chance’? The Catholic Irish Brigade in the British Service, 1793–1798.” *War in History* 23, no. 2 (2016): 150–68.

- McElligott, T. J. *Secondary Education in Ireland, 1870-1921*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1981.
- McGrath, Brian. "Rousseau's Crusoe: Or, On Learning to Read as Not Myself." *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 23, no. 1 (2010): 119-39.
- McGrath, Thomas. *Politics, Interdenominational Relations, and Education in the Public Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.
- . *Religious Renewal and Reform in the Pastoral Ministry of Bishop James Doyle of Kildare and Leighlin, 1786-1834*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998.
- McLaughlin, Denis. "The Irish Christian Brothers and the National Board of Education: Challenging the Myths." *History of Education* 37, no. 1 (2008): 43-70.
- McManus, Antonia. *The Irish Hedge School and Its Books, 1695-1831*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2004.
- Meaney, Gerardine. *Gender, Ireland, and Cultural Change: Race, Sex, and Nation*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Meaney, Gerardine, Mary O'Dowd, and Bernadette Whelan. *Reading the Irishwoman: Studies in Cultural Encounters and Exchange, 1714-1960*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013.
- Mechling, Jay. "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers." *Journal of Social History* 9, no. 1 (October 1975): 44-63.
- Mer, Janis de la. "Popular Insurgency and Childhood: How Children Appropriated Adult Political Dissent in the Antebellum Southern Highlands." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 6, no. 1 (2013): 129-50.
- Merrifield, Andy. *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Milne, Kenneth. *The Irish Charter Schools, 1730-1830*. Dublin: Four Courts, 1997.
- Mintz, Steven. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004.
- . "Why the History of Childhood Matters." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 5, no. 1 (2012): 15-28.
- Mokyr, Joel. *New Developments in Irish Population History, 1700-1850*. (University College Dublin. Centre for Economic Research), 1983.
- Montgomery, Heather. *An Introduction to Childhood: Anthropological Perspectives on Children's Lives*. 1st ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008.
- . "Gendered Childhoods: A Cross Disciplinary Overview." *Gender and Education* 17, no. 5 (2005): 471-82.
- Mooney, Gary. "The Irish Student Diaspora in the Sixteenth Century and the Early Years of the Irish College at Salamanca," *Recusant History* 14, no. 4 (October 1978): 242-60.
- Morgan, Simon. "Material Culture and the Politics of Personality in Early Victorian England." *Journal of Victorian Culture (Routledge)* 17, no. 2 (June 2012): 127-46.
- Morgan, Sue, and Jacqueline de Vries, eds. *Women, Gender and Religious Cultures in Britain, 1800-1940*. London: Routledge, 2010.
- Morrissey, Thomas J. *As One Sent: Peter Kenney SJ, 1779-1841: His Mission in Ireland and North America*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin; Washington, D.C: Four Courts Press; Catholic University of America Press, 1996.
- Moruzi, Kristine, and Michelle J. Smith, eds. *Colonial Girlhood in Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Mullaney-Dignam, Karol. *Music and Dancing at Castletown, Co. Kildare, 1759-1821*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2011.
- Müller, Anja. *Fashioning Childhood in the Eighteenth Century: Age and Identity*. London: Routledge, 2016.

- Murnane, James H. "The National School System in County Monaghan: 1831-1850." *Clogher Record* 12, no. 2 (1986): 209-32.
- Murphy, James H. *The Irish Book in English, 1800-1891*. Oxford History of the Irish Book, v. 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Murray, Gail S. "Rational Thought and Republican Virtues: Children's Literature, 1789-1820." *Journal of the Early Republic* 8, no. 2 (July 1988): 159-77.
- Narain, Mona. "A Prescription of Letters: Maria Edgeworth's 'Letters for Literary Ladies' and the Ideologies of the Public Sphere." *The Journal of Narrative Technique* 28, no. 3 (October 1, 1998): 266-86.
- Nasaw, David. *Children of the City: At Work and at Play*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Nelson, Claudia. *Boys Will Be Girls: The Feminine Ethic and British Children's Fiction, 1857-1917*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991.
- Newhouse, Neville H. "The Founding of Friends' School, Lisburn." *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 98, no. 1 (1968): 47-55.
- Newton, Hannah. "Children's Physic: Medical Perceptions and Treatment of Sick Children in Early Modern England, C. 1580-1720." *Social History of Medicine* 23, no. 3 (December 2010): 456-74.
- . "The Sick Child in Early Modern England, 1580-1720." *Endeavour* 38, no. 2 (June 2014): 122-29.
- Nic Dháibhéid, Caoimhe. "Schooling the National Orphans: The Education of the Children of the Easter Rising Leaders." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 9, no. 2 (May 2016): 261-76.
- Nikolajeva, Maria, ed. *Aspects and Issues in the History of Children's Literature*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Nolan, Janet. "Education and Women's Mobility in Ireland and Irish America, 1880-1920: A Preliminary Look." *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 2, no. 3 (October 1998): 78-88.
- Ó Ciosáin, Niall. *Explaining Change in Cultural History*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2005.
- . *Print and Popular Culture in Ireland, 1750-1850*. Early Modern History. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1997.
- Ó Cléirigh, Nellie. *Hardship and High Living: Irish Women's Lives 1808-1923*. Dublin: Portobello Press, 2003.
- . *Limerick Lace: A Social History and a Maker's Manual*. Gerrards Cross: Smythe, 1995.
- Ó Giolláin, Diarmuid. *Locating Irish Folklore: Tradition, Modernity, Identity*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2000.
- Ó Gráda, Cormac, and University College, Dublin. *Health, Work and Nutritional Status in Pre-Famine Ireland: Some Dietary Implications*. Dublin: University College Dublin, Department of Political Economy, 1992.
- Ó hÓgartaigh, Margaret. *Quiet Revolutionaries: Irish Women in Education, Medicine and Sport, 1861-1964*. Dublin: History Press Ireland, 2011.
- O'Brien, John B. *The Catholic Middle Classes in Pre-Famine Cork*. Dublin: National University of Ireland, 1980.
- O'Brien, Susan. "French Nuns in Nineteenth-Century England." *Past & Present*, no. 154 (February 1997): 142-80.
- . "Terra Incognita: The Nun in Nineteenth-Century England." *Past & Present*, no. 121 (November 1988): 110-40.
- O'Connell, Helen. "'A Raking Pot of Tea': Consumption and Excess in Early Nineteenth-Century Ireland." *Literature & History* 21, no. 2 (October 2012): 32-47.

- O'Conner, Rebecca. *Jenny Mitchel, Young Irelander: A Biography*. O'Conner Trust, 1988.
- O'Connor, Anne V. *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach: Alexandra College and School 1866-1966*. Tallaght: Blackwater Press, 1984.
- . "Influences Affecting Girls' Secondary Education in Ireland, 1860-1910." *Archivium Hibernicum* 41 (1986): 83-98.
- O'Connor, Aoife. *Small Lives: Photographs of Irish Childhood, 1860-1970*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2012.
- O'Connor, Jane Catherine. *The Cultural Significance of the Child Star*. Routledge, 2010.
- O'Dowd, Mary. *A History of Women in Ireland, 1500-1800*. Harlow: Longman, 2005.
- Ó Grada, Cormac. "Dublin's Demography in the Early Nineteenth Century: Evidence from the Rotunda." *Population Studies* 45, no. 1 (1991): 43-54.
- O'Kane, Finola. "Design and Rule: Women in the Irish Countryside 1715-1831." *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an Dá Chultúr* 19 (January 2004): 56-74.
- O'Malley, Andrew. *Children's Literature, Popular Culture and Robinson Crusoe*. Critical Approaches to Children's Literature. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- . *The Making of the Modern Child: Children's Literature and Childhood in the Late Eighteenth Century*. Children's Literature and Culture 28. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- O'Neill, Ciaran. *Catholics of Consequence Transnational Education, Social Mobility, and the Irish Catholic Elite 1850-1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- , ed. *Irish Elites in the Nineteenth Century*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012.
- . "The Irish Schoolboy Novel." *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 147-68.
- . 'Bourgeois Ireland, or, on the benefits of keeping one's hands clean' (Forthcoming, 2018).
- O'Neill, Rose. *A Rich Inheritance: Galway Dominican Nuns, 1644-1994*. Galway: Dominican Sisters, 1994.
- Orme, Nicholas. *Medieval Children*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.
- O'Sullivan, Eilís. *Ascendancy Women and Elementary Education in Ireland*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- O'Toole, Emma. "Medicinal Care in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth-Century Irish Home." In *"She Said She Was in the Family Way": Pregnancy and Infancy in Modern Ireland*, edited by Elaine Farrell, 115-27. London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012.
- Paechter, Carrie. "Bodies, Identities and Performances: Reconfiguring the Language of Gender and Schooling." *Gender & Education* 24, no. 2 (March 2012): 229-41.
- . *Changing School Subjects: Power, Gender and Curriculum*. 1st ed. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000.
- . "Power, Knowledge and Embodiment in Communities of Sex/gender Practice." *Women's Studies International Forum* 29, no. 1 (January 2006): 13-26.
- . "Masculine Femininities/feminine Masculinities: Power, Identities and Gender." *Gender and Education* 18, no. 3 (May 2006): 253-63.
- . "Gender, Visible Bodies and Schooling: Cultural Pathologies of Childhood." *Sport, Education & Society* 16, no. 3 (June 2011): 309-22.
- Paris, Leslie. "Through the Looking Glass: Age, Stages, and Historical Analysis." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 106-13.
- Parkes, Susan M. *A Guide to Sources for the History of Irish Education, 1780-1922*. Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History, no. 17. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010.
- . *Kildare Place: The History of the Church of Ireland Training College 1811-1969*. Dublin: CICE, 1984.

- Parkins, Ilya. "Building a Feminist Theory of Fashion: Karen Barad's Agential Realism." *Australian Feminist Studies* 23, no. 58 (December 2008): 501–15.
- Paseta, Senia. *Before the Revolution: Nationalism, Social Change and Ireland's Catholic Elite, 1879–1922*. Cork: Cork University Press, 1999.
- . "The Catholic Hierarchy and the Irish University Question, 1880–1908." *History* 85, no. 278 (April 2000): 268–284.
- . *Irish Nationalist Women, 1900–1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- , ed. *Uncertain Futures: Essays about the Irish Past for Roy Foster*. First edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Peacock, John. *Children's Costume: The Complete Historical Sourcebook*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2009.
- Pearl, Sharrona. *About Faces: Physiognomy in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Harvard University Press, 2010.
- Pearson, Susan J. "'Infantile Specimens': Showing Babies in Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of Social History* 42, no. 2 (January 1, 2008): 341–70.
- Perrot, Philippe. *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Petersen, Alan R. *Unmasking the Masculine: Men' and Identity' in a Sceptical Age*. London: Sage, 1998.
- Pettengill, Claire C. "Sisterhood in a Separate Sphere: Female Friendship in Hannah Webster Foster's 'The Coquette and the Boarding School.'" *Early American Literature* 27, no. 3 (January 1992): 185–203.
- Pike, Judith E. "Breeching Boys: Milksops, Men's Clubs and the Modelling of Masculinity in Anne Brontë's *Agnes Grey* and *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*." *Brontë Studies* 37, no. 2 (April 2012): 112–24.
- Plumb, J. H. "The New World of Children in Eighteenth-Century England." *Past & Present* 67, no. 1 (May 1975): 64–95.
- Pollard, M. *Dublin's Trade in Books 1550–1800*. Lyell Lectures 1986–1987. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.
- Pollock, Linda A. *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Preston, Margaret. "Good Nurse: Women Philanthropists and the Evolution of Nursing in Nineteenth-Century Dublin." *New Hibernia Review / Iris Éireannach Nua* 2, no. 1 (April 1998): 91–110.
- . "Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Dublin." *Historian* 58, no. 4 (1996): 763–776.
- Prunty, Jacinta. *Dublin Slums, 1800–1925: A Study in Urban Geography*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1999.
- . *Margaret Aylward 1810–1889: Lady of Charity, Sister of Faith*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999.
- Quane, Michael. "Quaker Schools in Dublin." *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 94, no. 1 (1964): 47–68.
- Quattrone, Paolo. "Governing Social Orders, Unfolding Rationality, and Jesuit Accounting Practices." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (September 2015): 411–45.
- Raftery, Deirdre. "Home Education in Nineteenth Century Ireland: The Role and Status of the Governess." *Irish Educational Studies* 19, no. 1 (2000): 308–17.
- . "'Je Suis D'aucune Nation': The Recruitment and Identity of Irish Women Religious in the International Mission Field, C. 1840–1940." *Paedagogica Historica* 49, no. 4 (August 1, 2013): 513–30.

- . “Religions and the History of Education: A Historiography.” *History of Education* 41, no. 1 (2012): 41–56.
- . “Teaching Sisters and Transnational Networks: Recruitment and Education Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century.” *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (November 2, 2015): 717–28.
- . “Teaching Sisters and Transnational Networks: Recruitment and Education Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century.” *History of Education* 44, no. 6 (2015): 717–28.
- . “The Academic Formation of the Fin De Siecle Female: Schooling for Girls in Late Nineteenth Century Ireland.” *Irish Educational Studies* 20, no. 1 (2001): 321–34.
- . “The ‘Mission’ of Nuns in Female Education in Ireland, c.1850–1950.” *Paedagogica Historica* 48, no. 2 (2012): 299–313.
- . *Women and Learning in English Learning, 1600–1900*. Dublin: Four Courts, 1997.
- Raftery, Deirdre, Judith Harford, and Susan M. Parkes. “Mapping the Terrain of Female Education in Ireland, 1830–1910.” *Gender and Education* 22, no. 5 (2010): 565–78.
- Raftery, Deirdre, Jane McDermid, and Gareth Elwyn Jones. “Social Change and Education in Ireland, Scotland and Wales: Historiography on Nineteenth-Century Schooling.” *History of Education* 36, no. 4–5 (2007): 447–63.
- Raftery, Deirdre, and Catherine Nowlan-Roebuck. “Convent Schools and National Education in Nineteenth-Century Ireland: Negotiating a Place within a Non-Denominational System.” *History of Education* 36, no. 3 (2007): 353–65.
- Raftery, Deirdre, and Susan M. Parkes. *Female Education in Ireland 1700–1900: Minerva or Madonna*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2007.
- Raftery, Deirdre, and Elizabeth M. Smyth. *Education, Identity and Women Religious, 1800–1950: Convents, Classrooms and Colleges*. Routledge, 2015.
- Raftery, Mary. *Suffer the Little Children: The Inside Story of Ireland’s Industrial Schools*. Dublin: New Island, 1999.
- Rains, Stephanie. *Commodity Culture and Social Class in Dublin 1850–1916*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2010.
- Raughter, Rosemary. *Religious Women and Their History: Breaking the Silence*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2005.
- Read, Jane. “Gutter to Garden: Historical Discourses of Risk in Interventions in Working Class Children’s Street Play.” *Children & Society* 25, no. 6 (November 2011): 421–34.
- Reinier, Jacqueline S. *From Virtue to Character: American Childhood, 1775–1850*. New York : London: Twayne Publishers ; Prentice Hall International, 1996.
- Rommel, Rachel. “The Spaces of the Schoolhouse and the City: Gender and Class in Boston Education, 1830–1832.” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 7, no. 2 (2014): 199–218.
- Rendle-Short, John. “William Cadogan, Eighteenth Century Physician.” *Medical History* 4, no. 4 (1960): 288–309.
- Rendle-Short, Morwenna. *The Father of Child Care: Life of William Cadogan (1711–1797)*. Wright, 1966.
- Reyk, William Van. “Educating Christian Men in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: Public-School and Oxbridge Ideals.” *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 3 (September 1, 2009): 425–37.
- Rivas, León M. Gómez. “Letters from the Irish College in Salamanca during the Peninsular Wars (1808–14).” *Archivium Hibernicum* 64 (2011): 194–208.

- Robins, Joseph. *Champagne and Silver Buckles: The Viceregal Court at Dublin Castle 1700–1922*. Dublin: Lilliput, 2001.
- . *The Lost Children: A Study of Charity Children in Ireland 1700–1900*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1980.
- Robson, Catherine. *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman*. Princeton, N.J.; Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Roche, Catherine A. *Founded for the Future: The Educational Legacy of Mary Ward*. Maynooth: C.A. Roche, 1982.
- Rogers, Rebecca. “Boarding Schools, Women Teachers, and Domesticity: Reforming Girls’ Secondary Education in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century.” *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1 (April 1995): 153–81.
- . “Culture and Catholicism: France.” In *Girls’ Secondary Education in the Western World: From the 18th to the 20th Century*, edited by Joyce Goodman, James C. Albisetti, and Rebecca Rogers, 25–41. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- . *From the Salon to the Schoolroom: Educating Bourgeois Girls in Nineteenth-Century France*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.
- . “Retrograde or Modern? Unveiling the Teaching Nun in Nineteenth-Century France.” *Social History* 23, no. 2 (May 1998): 146–64.
- Roper, Michael. “Slipping out of View: Subjectivity and Emotion in Gender History.” *History Workshop Journal*, no. 59 (April 2005): 57–72.
- Roper, Michael, and John Tosh, eds. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Rose, Clare. *Children’s Clothes Since 1750*. New York: London: Costume & Fashion Press/Quite Specific Media, 1990.
- . *Making, Selling and Wearing Boys’ Clothes in Late-Victorian England*. The History of Retailing and Consumption. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.
- Rosen, Rachel. “Time, Temporality, and Woman–child Relations.” *Children’s Geographies* 15, no. 3 (May 2017): 374–80.
- Rotenberg, Robert. “Metropolitanism and the Transformation of Urban Space in Nineteenth-Century Colonial Metropolises.” *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 103, no. 1 (March 2001): 7–15.
- Rousseau, George, ed. *Children and Sexuality: From the Greeks to the Great War*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Ruberg, Willemijn. “Cruelty and Sensibility: Emotions in Women’s Narratives Written during the United Irish Rebellion of 1798.” *The Irish Review* (1986–), no. 42 (July 2010): 1–14.
- . “The Tactics of Menstruation in Dutch Cases of Sexual Assault and Infanticide, 1750–1920.” *Journal of Women’s History* 25, no. 3 (2013): 14–37.
- Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Ryan, Patrick J. “How New Is the ‘New’ Social Study of Childhood? The Myth of a Paradigm Shift.” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38, no. 4 (2008): 553–76.
- Sánchez-Eppler, Karen. *Dependent States: The Child’s Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Sanders, Valerie, ed. *Records of Girlhood: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Women’s Childhoods*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
- . , ed. *Records of Girlhood: Volume Two: An Anthology of Nineteenth-Century Women’s Childhoods*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2012.

- Saracho, Olivia, and Bernard Spodek. "Educating the Young Mathematician: A Historical Perspective Through the Nineteenth Century." *Early Childhood Education Journal* 36, no. 4 (2009): 297–303.
- Scarre, Geoffrey. *Children, Parents and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Schlafly, Daniel L. "True to the Ratio Studiorum? Jesuit Colleges in St. Petersburg." *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (1997): 421–34.
- Schnell, R. L. "Integrating Concepts of Childhood and the History of Education." *The Irish Journal of Education / Iris Eireannach an Oideachais* 12, no. 1 (July 1978): 51–68.
- Scott, Joan W. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986): 1053–75.
- Scruton, Roger. *A Society of Strangers: Education for Citizenship in the Post-Modern World*. London: Institute of United States Studies, University of London, 1997.
- Setnik, Linda. *Victorian Fashions for Women and Children: Society's Impact on Dress*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, Ltd., 2012.
- Shahar, Shulamith. *Childhood in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Shearman, Hugh, and R. M. Henry. *Belfast Royal Academy 1785–1935*. Belfast: Belfast Royal Academy, 1935.
- Shrimpton, Paul. *A Catholic Eton?: Newman's Oratory School*. Leominster: Gracewing, 2005.
- Shuttleworth, Sally. *The Mind of the Child: Child Development in Literature, Science and Medicine, 1840–1900*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . "Victorian Childhood." *Journal of Victorian Culture* 9, no. 1 (2004): 107–13.
- Simonsen, Kirsten. "Bodies, Sensations, Space and Time: The Contribution from Henri Lefebvre." *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 87, no. 1 (January 2005): 1–14.
- Simonton, Deborah. "Schooling the Poor: Gender and Class in Eighteenth-Century England." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 23, no. 2 (2000): 183–202.
- Sisson, Elaine. *Pearse's Patriots: St Enda's and the Cult of Boyhood*. Cork: Cork University Press, 2004.
- Sköld, J., and S. Swain, eds. *Apologies and the Legacy of Abuse of Children in "Care": International Perspectives*. Hampshire ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- Smith, James M. *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the Nation's Architecture of Containment*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008.
- Snook, Edith. "'The Women Know': Children's Diseases, Recipes and Women's Knowledge in Early Modern Medical Publications." *Social History of Medicine* 30, no. 1 (February 1, 2017): 1–21.
- Sobe, Noah W. "Concentration and Civilisation: Producing the Attentive Child in the Age of Enlightenment." *Paedagogica Historica* 46, no. 1–2 (February 2010): 149–60.
- Spencer, Stephanie. "A Uniform Identity: Schoolgirl Snapshots and the Spoken Visual." *History of Education* 36, no. 2 (March 2007): 227–46.
- Stanczak, Gregory C. *Visual Research Methods: Image, Society and Representation*. London: SAGE, 2007.
- Stearns, Peter N. "Challenges in the History of Childhood." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (2008): 35–42.
- . "Defining Happy Childhoods: Assessing a Recent Change." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 3, no. 2 (2010): 165–86.
- . "Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization." *The Journal of Modern History* 69, no. 1 (March 1, 1997): 102–17.
- Steedman, Carolyn. *Strange Dislocations: Childhood and the Idea of Human Interiority, 1780–1930*. London: Virago Press, 1995.

- Steedman, Carolyn, Cathy Unwin, and Valerie Walkerdine, eds. *Language, Gender and Childhood*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.
- Steinbach, Susie. *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. London ; New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Stephens, John. *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction*. Language in Social Life Series. London: Longman, 1992.
- Stewart, Anthony Terence Quincey. *Belfast Royal Academy: The First Century 1785-1885*. Antrim, Co. Antrim: Greystone Press, 1985.
- Stone, Lawrence. *An Open Elite?: England, 1540-1880*. Abridged ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- . *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977.
- Strange, Julie-Marie. "'She Cried a Very Little': Death, Grief and Mourning in Working-Class Culture, c. 1880-1914." *Social History* 27, no. 2 (May 2002): 143-61.
- Styles, Morag, and Evelyn Arizpe, eds. *Acts of Reading: Teachers, Text and Childhood*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham, 2009.
- Suilleabhain, Sean O. *Irish Folk Custom and Belief*. Published for the Cultural Relations Committee of Ireland at the Three Candles, 1967.
- Sullivan, Mary C. *The Path of Mercy: The Life of Catherine McAuley*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012.
- Sunderland, Jane. *Language, Gender and Children's Fiction*. London: Continuum, 2011.
- Twamley, Katherine, Rachel Rosen, and Berry Mayall. "The (Im)possibilities of Dialogue across Feminism and Childhood Scholarship and Activism." *Children's Geographies* 15, no. 2 (March 4, 2017): 249-55.
- Taylor, Brian W. "Richard Lovell Edgeworth." *The Irish Journal of Education / Iris Éireannach an Oideachais* 20, no. 1 (1986): 27-50.
- Taylor, Carol A. "Objects, Bodies and Space: Gender and Embodied Practices of Mattering in the Classroom." *Gender & Education* 25, no. 6 (October 2013): 688-703.
- Theriot, Nancy M. "Women's Voices in Nineteenth-Century Medical Discourse: A Step toward Deconstructing Science." *Signs* 19, no. 1 (October 1993): 1-31.
- Thiel, Elizabeth. *The Fantasy of Family: Nineteenth-Century Children's Literature and the Myth of the Domestic Ideal*. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Thomas, Liz. "The Evolving Moral and Physical Geometry of Childhood in Ulster Workhouses, 1838-55." *Childhood in the Past* 6, no. 1 (May 2013): 22-51.
- Thompson, F. M. L. *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain 1830-1900*. The Fontana Social History of Britain since 1700. London: Fontana, 1988.
- Thompson, Mary Shine. "Jonathan Swift's Childhoods." *Éire-Ireland* 44, no. 1 (2009): 10-36.
- ed. *Young Irelands: Studies in Children's Literature*. Studies in Children's Literature. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010.
- Thompson, Mary Shine, and Valerie Coghlan, eds. *Divided Worlds: Studies in Children's Literature*. Studies in Children's Literature 3. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007.
- Thorne, Barrie. *Gender Play: Girls and Boys in School*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993.
- Tingstad, Vebjør, and David Buckingham, eds. *Childhood and Consumer Culture*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Todd, Dennis. *"Imagining Monsters": Miscreations of the Self in Eighteenth-Century England*. London: University of Chicago P, 1995.

- Tomaselli, Sylvana. "The Enlightenment Debate on Women." *History Workshop*, no. 20 (1985): 124–101.
- Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press, 2007.
- . "Authority and Nurture in Middle-Class Fatherhood: The Case of Early and Mid-Victorian England." *Gender & History* 8, no. 1 (1996): 48–64.
- . *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire*. Men & Women in History. Harlow: Longman, 2004.
- . "What Should Historians Do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain." *History Workshop*, no. 38 (1994): 179–202.
- Traister, Bryce. "Academic Viagra: The Rise of American Masculinity Studies." *American Quarterly* 52, no. 2 (2000): 274–304.
- Turmel, André. *A Historical Sociology of Childhood: Developmental Thinking, Categorization, and Graphic Visualization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Turner, David. *The Old Boys: The Decline and Rise of the Public School*. Yale University Press, 2015.
- Turner, Michael. "The French Connection with Maynooth College, 1795–1855." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 70, no. 277 (1981): 77–87.
- Upton, Dell. "Lancasterian Schools, Republican Citizenship, and the Spatial Imagination in Early Nineteenth-Century America." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no. 3 (1996): 238–53.
- Vallone, Lynne. "'A Humble Spirit under Correction': Tracts, Hymns, and the Ideology of Evangelical Fiction for Children, 1780–1820." *The Lion and the Unicorn* 15, no. 2 (1991): 72–95.
- Van Der Burgt, Danielle. "How Children Place Themselves and Others in Local Space." *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 90, no. 3 (2008): 257–269.
- Van Reyk, William. "Christian Ideals of Manliness in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries." *The Historical Journal* 52, no. 4 (2009): 1053–73.
- Vance, Norman. *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Vaughan, W. E. *Irish Historical Statistics: Population, 1821–1971*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978.
- Vernon, James. *Distant Strangers: How Britain Became Modern*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.
- Vickery, Amanda. *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*. London: Folio Society, 2006.
- Vincent, David. *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Viner, Russell. "Using the History of Pediatrics." *Health and History* 1, no. 2/3 (1999): 162–68.
- Volk, Anthony. "The Evolution of Childhood." *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 4, no. 3 (2011): 470–94.
- Wagner, Gillian. *Children of the Empire*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982.
- Waldron, Florence Mae. "Re-Evaluating the Role of 'National' Identities in the American Catholic Church at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: The Case of Les Petites Franciscaines de Marie (PFM)." *The Catholic Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (July 2009): 515–45.
- Walford, Geoffrey, ed. *The Private Schooling of Girls: Past and Present*. London: Woburn Press; International Specialized Book Services, 1992.
- Wallace, W. J. R. *Faithful to Our Trust: A History of the Erasmus Smith Trust and The High School, Dublin*. Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Columba Press, 2005.

- Wallis, Frank. "The Revival of the Anti-Maynooth Campaign in Britain, 1850-52." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 19, no. 4 (December 1987): 527-47.
- Walsh, Barbara. *Roman Catholic Nuns in England and Wales, 1800-1937: A Social History*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2002.
- . *When the Shopping Was Good: Woolworths and the Irish Main Street*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011.
- Walsh, Brendan. *Knowing Their Place: The Intellectual Life of Women in the 19th Century*. Dublin: The History Press, 2014.
- Walsh, Dolores. *Grow Where You Are Planted: A History of Tullamore Mercy Sisters, 1836 - 1996*. Tullamore? Dolores Walsh?, 1996.
- Ward, Alex. "Dress and National Identity: Women's Clothing and the Celtic Revival." *Costume* 48, no. 2 (May 2014): 193-212.
- Ward, Conor. "The Royal College of Surgeons 19th-Century Textbook of Paediatrics and Its Authors Evanson and Maunsell." *Journal of the Irish Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons* 31, no. 2 (April 2002): 101-4.
- Warsh, Marie. "Cultivating Citizens: The Children's School Farm in New York City, 1902-1931." *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 18, no. 1 (2011): 64-89.
- Watson, Nancy. *The Politics and Poetics of Irish Children's Literature*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2009.
- Watt, Paul, and Alison Rabinovici. "Alexandra Palace: Music, Leisure, and the Cultivation of 'Higher Civilization' in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Music and Letters* 95, no. 2 (2014): 183-212.
- Weaver, Lawrence T. "In the Balance: Weighing Babies and the Birth of the Infant Welfare Clinic." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 84, no. 1 (2010): 30-57.
- Webb, Alfred. *Alfred Webb: The Autobiography of a Quaker Nationalist*. Cork: Cork University, 1999.
- Weikle-Mills, Courtney. *Imaginary Citizens: Child Readers and the Limits of American Independence, 1640-1868*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013.
- Weiss, Deborah. "Maria Edgeworth's Infant Economics: Capitalist Culture, Good-Will Networks and 'Lazy Lawrence'." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 2014.
- . "The Formation of Social Class and the Reformation of Ireland: Maria Edgeworth's Ennui." *Studies in the Novel* 45, no. 1 (2013): 1-19.
- West, Nancy Martha. *Kodak and the Lens of Nostalgia*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.
- Whelan, Bernadette, ed. *Women and Paid Work in Ireland, 1500-1930*. Dublin: Four Courts, 2000.
- Whelan, Irene. *The Bible War in Ireland: the "Second Reformation" and the Polarization of Protestant-Catholic Relations, 1800-1840*. Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2005.
- White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Fortieth Anniversary ed. edition. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014.
- . *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- White, Ralph. "The Anatomy of a Victorian Debate: An Essay in the History of Liberal Education." *British Journal of Educational Studies* 34, no. 1 (1986): 38-65.
- Whitehead, Maurice. "From Expulsion to Restoration: The Jesuits in Crisis, 1759-1814." *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 103, no. 412 (2014): 447-61.
- Whiteside, Lesley. *A History of the King's Hospital*. Dublin: King's Hospital, 1985.

- Whyte, Pádraic. *Irish Childhoods: Children's Fiction and Irish History*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2011.
- Whyte, William. "Building a Public School Community 1860-1910." *History of Education* 32, no. 6 (November 2003): 601-26.
- Wickberg, Daniel. "Heterosexual White Male: Some Recent Inversions in American Cultural History." *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (2005): 136-57.
- . "Homophobia: On the Cultural History of an Idea." *Critical Inquiry* 27, no. 1 (October 2000): 42-57.
- . "What Is the History of Sensibilities? On Cultural Histories, Old and New." *The American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 661-84.
- Wiley, Amber N. "The Dunbar High School Dilemma: Architecture, Power, and African American Cultural Heritage." *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 20, no. 1 (2013): 95-128.
- Wilkie, Laurie. "Not Merely Children's Play: Creating a Historical Archeology of Children and Childhood." In *Children and Material Culture*, edited by Joanna Sofaer Derevenski, 100-113. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Wilkie, Laurie A. *"Never Leave Me Alone": An Archaeological Study of African-American Ethnicity, Race Relations and Community at Oakley Plantation*. University of California, Los Angeles, 1994.
- Wilson, D. S. "The Treatment of Education in the Encyclopédie." *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 11, no. 1 (1988): 27-38.
- Wilson, Elizabeth. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2003.
- Wilson, Philip K. "Eighteenth-Century 'Monsters' and Nineteenth-Century 'Freaks': Reading the Maternally Marked Child." *Literature and Medicine* 21, no. 1 (2002): 1-25.
- Wolf, Nicholas M. "Advocacy, the Enlightenment, and the Catholic Print Trade in Mathew Carey's Dublin." *Éire-Ireland* 49, no. 3 (2014): 244-69.
- Woods, Audrey. *Dublin Outsiders: A History of the Mendicity Institution, 1818-1998*. Dublin: A. & A. Farmar, 1998.
- Woods, C. J. "Irish Travel Writings as Source Material." *Irish Historical Studies* 28, no. 110 (November 1, 1992): 171-83.
- Wyver, Shirley R., and Peter Whiteman, eds. *Images of Childhood*. Children and Childhoods 2. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2012.
- Yacovazzi, Cassandra L. "'Are You Allowed to Read the Bible in a Convent?': Protestant Perspectives on the Catholic Approach to Scripture in Convent Narratives, 1830-1860." *U.S. Catholic Historian* 31, no. 3 (March 2014): 23-46.
- Yeager, Gertrude Matyoka. "Religion, Gender Ideology, and the Training of Female Public Elementary School Teachers in Nineteenth Century Chile." *The Americas* 62, no. 2 (2005): 209-43.
- Yeo, Eileen Janes. "'The Boy Is the Father of the Man': Moral Panic Over Working-Class Youth, 1850 to the Present." *Labour History Review (Maney Publishing)* 69, no. 2 (August 2004): 185-99.
- Young, Barbara Ann. *The Child as Emblem of the Nation in Twentieth-Century Irish Literature*. New York: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 2006.
- Zeitlyn, Benjamin, and Kanwal Mand. "Researching Transnational Childhoods." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38, no. 6 (2012): 987-1006.
- Zelizer, Viviana A. Rotman. *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*. Princeton, N.J.; Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Zucchi, John E. *The Little Slaves of the Harp: Italian Child Street Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Paris, London, and New York*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1998.

Zunshine, Lisa. "Rhetoric, Cognition, and Ideology in A. L. Barbauld's Hymns in Prose for Children (1781)." *Poetics Today* 23, no. 1 (2002): 123–39.