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A FREE INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
IRISH EDUCATION QUESTION.

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EDUCATION.

"The economy and the local interest which some amount of local payment and management secures appear to us essential elements in a system of National Education."—*Report of the Royal Commissioners of Inquiry into Primary Education in Great Britain, 1860.*

"The power of the Government presses upon the partially developed faculties of the youth as with a mountain's weight. \* \* \* When the children come out from the school they have little use either for the faculties that have been developed, or for the knowledge that has been acquired. Their resources are not brought into demand; their powers are not roused and strengthened by exercise. \* \* \* The Government steps in to take care of the subject, as the subject takes care of his cattle. \* \* \* He is directed alike how he must obey his king and worship his God. Now, although there is a sleeping ocean in the bosom of every child that is born into the world, yet, if no freshening, life-giving breeze ever sweeps across its surface, why should it not repose in dark stagnation for ever?"—HORACE MANN'S *Tour in Germany.*

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The accompanying pamphlet is issued at the expense of a small committee, formed for the purpose of eliciting public opinion on the Education Question.

It is submitted that, following the example of the people of happier and more advanced countries, the Irish people will best reform the present, and secure themselves against any future, bad system being thrust upon them, by taking the charge of Primary and Intermediate Education into their own hands. And in the matter of such University Education as cannot be provided for by individual or local funds, living as we do in a country governed (nominally at least) under a constitution, the same means should be afforded to the constituencies as in other constitutional countries, of pronouncing upon the system which is to be supported by the public money and by royal authority. Departure from the constitutional maxim that they who pay rates and taxes should, through their representatives, control and direct the expenditure, is as dangerous in Public Education as in any other department of the public service. It tends to set class interests above those of the public, and enables those in whose favor a monopoly in Education is created, to deprive the citizen of his natural right to decide how and by whom his children are to be taught.

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Gentlemen receiving presentation copies are requested to accept the foregoing in lieu of a private letter, (impossible to write to all) and communicate their views of assent or dissent to John McEvoy, Hon. Sec. &c. 25 D'Olier-street, Dublin, who will be happy to act as the medium of communication between such supporters of liberal and constitutional principles as may be pleased to make use of his services.

February 16th, 1866.

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PRELIMINARY.

IN considering the Irish education and other purely domestic Irish questions, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it would have been well if those questions could have been settled by Ireland herself before her union with Great Britain.

When Scotland united herself to England, it was the union, one with another, of two equal nations, equally or nearly equally developed in national life; a union in which each preserved her distinct nationality, her peculiar legal, ecclesiastical, and municipal institutions.

The Irish union was, on the contrary, a union between the conquerors and the conquered; a union which effectually checked the growth or development of Irish national life, as illustrated in legislative changes and reforms suitable to the character of the people and the circumstances of the country.

Let us ask ourselves what would have happened had the union between Great Britain and Ireland

been delayed one half century, and dated from 1851 instead of 1801. In that short interval of 50 years, short in the lifetime of a nation, it is quite certain the Irish Catholics would have relieved themselves of every vestige of Protestant ascendancy. Admitted in 1793 within the pale of the Constitution, their progress in the acquisition of political power, temporarily arrested by the events of 1798 and preceding years, must have proceeded contemporaneously with the triumph of liberal principles in England, until the majority of the Irish legislature truly represented the majority of the Irish people. And with such a legislature to frame the Act of Union, we need hardly say that one of the articles of that international covenant would *not* have been that a Protestant Church establishment should be maintained for all future time, as an Irish national institution.

And while it is certain that this article would have been omitted, it is no less certain that other articles of a different character would have been introduced. It is probable that it would have been stipulated that the Irishman's right to carry arms and associate for purposes of military defence should be co-equal and co-extensive with that of his British fellow-subject. Not that the representatives of the Irish people of 1851 would have laboured under the apprehension that the imperial government might prove neglectful of its police or military duties. Nothing of the sort. But they, as the representatives of a free people, could not, we believe, concede that that people should be liable to be deprived of a free people's right, or that Ireland should ever thereafter appear as a subject, conquered country, united to Great Britain not by and with the free consent of her re-

representatives and her armed citizens, but by the will of another people, and the law of their brute force.

In addition to the stipulation guaranteeing and ensuring the Irish freeman's right to carry arms, it is probable there would have been another, protective of the then established law of the kingdom, on public education. The question of Public Education is one which could not, by any possibility, have escaped discussion and settlement between 1831 and 1851 in Ireland, any more than in any other of the countries of Western Europe; and with the result, probably, that, as in France, Germany, Holland, Belgium, and England herself, we would have had our educational system initiated, discussed, and adopted in our country by Irishmen in the interest solely of the Irish people.

What that sole interest might be would, too, have been determined, as in all free countries, by free discussion, in which all parties would have been fully represented.

#### IRISH CHURCH AND STATE POLICY.

Church and State in Ireland, as rival or contending powers, will appear to many readers as something to be deprecated; and yet, had Ireland been permitted to develop her national or political life, she would have had her controversies between her Church party and her State party, just as in all the advanced countries of Europe. And if this would have been an evil, it is one proper to all adult humanity engaged in the battle of life; one from which childhood, national or individual, is exempt, but one without which no high individual or national character can be formed.

Over every system of National Education, Church

and State must claim an equal or an unequal share of jurisdiction. We may say of education what St. Thomas Aquinas said of matrimony : " Inasmuch as it is ordained to the good of the State, it is subject to the ordinances of the civil law. Inasmuch as it is ordained for the good of the Church, it is meet it should be subject to ecclesiastical authority." But when we come to discuss how much belongs to the Church and how much to the State, we find that if we would do justice to each, and thereby to the nation, we must have the discussion conducted with the fulness and freedom proper only to a free and enlightened people.\*

In the case of Ireland it is not probable that an Irish legislature, freely elected by the Irish people, would have set up at any time, between 1831 and 1851, either the existing system of National Education, or any one of the systems opposed to it. And why ? Because, in no other country was any such system set up in that interval, and there was and is nothing in the character of the Irish people, or their circumstances, to oblige them to differ from the rest of the world.

In all countries which have recently adopted or modified their National System of Education, two principles have been clearly established. 1. That equal justice must be done to all religious creeds ; and 2. That it is the duty and the right of the State to superintend and promote secular education. Outside of England, on the Continent, and in America, in countries whose national character assimilates

\* Of course, in a theoretically perfect state of society, Church and State will have assigned to them each their proper share of authority. But where is our modern Utopia to be found ?

most to the Irish, a third principle prevails, that of local government under local representative institutions.

To understand how the jealousies and pettinesses prevalent under a state of tutelage give place, under national independence, to broader and more liberal views, we have but to glance at the history of the Belgian educational struggle.

#### BELGIAN "FREEDOM OF EDUCATION."

One of the "grievances" which England assisted in redressing by aiding a revolution in Belgium, was that relating to public education. This grievance was so similar to the Irish, that we need but a change of names and dates to transcribe, for one of our Catholic or "Liberal" journals, the articles of those of Belgium of 1829 and 1830. The Belgians at that time demanded "freedom of education, and the abolition of a godless and mixed system," as the Irish do now. There then, as here now, the nationalistic and ecclesiastical parties coalesced, and for the like reason, that they hated or feared the influence of a foreign and Protestant system, which might be directed against their nationality and Catholicity.

This feeling may perhaps be well illustrated by a quotation from a Belgian writer of the Liberal party, Ducpetiaux, who, in his "L'Etat de l'Instruction Belgique," says: "Pourquoi en effet redoutait-on l'influence de l'administration hollandaise en matière d'instruction? Parce qu'on lui soupçonnait la tendance de substituer à la religion, aux mœurs, à l'idiome des Belges, la religion, les mœurs, et l'idiome de la Hollande."

Belgian Catholicism and liberalism were allied in

their suspicions. It was true, no proof of actual proselytism existed. True that the Dutch system of mixed education, conducted in Belgium under the control of the local municipalities, gave every reasonable guarantee against influences hostile to the religion and nationality of the country. True, also, that the same system which Holland gave the Belgians she had herself; but, then, was the system not Dutch? It came from a foreign and Protestant country, and was therefore to be viewed as an object of suspicion, of hostility, and as a justification for a revolution.

Belgium revolted, and, aided by England and France, revolted with success; but in the sequel she has sufficiently proved that, while her "freedom of education" grievance had no foundation but in religious and international jealousies, it would have been much better to have allowed Belgium to legislate for herself in these and other purely domestic matters.

Belgian liberals before the revolution protested against Dutch State colleges; *after* the revolution, they hastened to set up Belgian State colleges on precisely the same principles, only that they were governed from Brussels instead of from the Hague. They gave "freedom of education" in the primary schools a brief trial, but found it would not answer, and they returned in 1838 to the system of providing for popular education out of public funds, and of legislating for its conduct.

#### OTHER FREE COUNTRIES' FREEDOM.

If the Belgian case stood alone, it presents a parallel so complete with that of Ireland, that we would be justified in pressing it as an irresistible argument in favour of Irish self-government in education; but

Belgium by no means stands alone in affording evidence in support of that view. She is in fact one only of many modern civilized States, from whose experience and practice it may be proved that, in public education, the less the government of another country interferes and dogmatizes, and the more those who immediately represent local and parental interests share in its administration, the better for the cause of education and for the national welfare.

This is especially true of primary and middle class education. State colleges and universities being endowed by the State, and founded for students not only of the locality but of the whole nation, they must, in conformity with constitutional doctrine, be vested in the government, which is responsible to the legislature for the management of the national institutions and for the expenditure of the public funds. But, in providing for the support and management of primary schools, or for great middle class academies in the large towns, this argument does not or need not apply; on the contrary, it has no more force than a similar argument urged in favour of a poor law or towns' improvement system conducted by governmental bureaus, and maintained by parliament out of the taxation for imperial purposes.

If, in France and the United States, in Switzerland and in Belgium, in Holland and in Prussia, in Canada and in Germany, in Sweden and in Italy, we find one uniform testimony in favour of the principle of local government in primary education, and more or less in that of middle class education, is not the case made very strong in favour of extending that principle to Ireland, and through that extension solving the difficulty in providing a system of public education, which

shall be not in appearance even forced upon the country, but be one accepted by the people, and managed by them in their own interest in every conceivable point of view ?

#### ENGLAND NOT A MODEL EDUCATIONIST.

In citing the educational systems of other countries as examples, it may be well to draw attention to the fact that England is one of the least experienced of European States in legislating for public education, and for this reason, that she was one of the last in entering upon the task. In Prussia, since 1716, national education has been provided for by law. In nearly all the other German States, very soon after, (in the case of Wirtemberg at an earlier period) similar provision was made. In New England, as the new townships were formed the common school system was put into operation ; so that, so long ago as 1791, it was the proud boast of the Puritanical New Englander, that every native-born child of that country, of the school age, was at school. In 1806, Holland established her system of national education—one so perfect that, with slight modifications, it continues in existence to the present day. In France, by the law of the 25th October, 1795, a national system for primary education was established. In 1802, Napoleon founded secondary or middle-class instruction as it now exists, and by the law of the 18th of May, 1806, he established the Imperial University, and in connexion with it a national system for superior education.

It was not until 1831 that, with a petty grant of £10,000 to aid the efforts of private societies, England first entered on the great work of national education ; and in 1839 her first attempt at a syste-

matic effort, under a committee of the Privy Council, was made. But being made under the auspices of a tottering ministry, which possessed neither the parliamentary nor the popular support to enable it to legislate broadly or effectively, the new scheme was trivial and defective, and endured but for seven years, when it was set aside for a new code, which in turn has given place to the Revised Code of 1861—a code which nobody accepts as either wholly satisfactory or final in legislation. England, it is necessary to remember, may instruct other nations in constitutional government, but in turn she has much to learn from her more experienced neighbours in the matter of public education.

#### ENGLISH EXPERIMENTS IN IRELAND.

The errors of British statesmen or politicians of the ancient *regime*, in their class legislation for Irish education, are now so generally admitted, that it is needless to waste words either on Trinity College or the Charter Schools, and we may at once come to that upon which there is, and must be, serious discussion, the modern legislation for primary, middle-class, and superior education in Ireland.

England has been hugely liberal and eminently paternal in her modern educational policy for Ireland. Before any attempt was made to establish a system of national education in England herself, the experiment was tried in Ireland, and apparently under the happiest auspices, with the concurrence of the chiefs of the rival creeds, and in the name and on behalf of the liberal principles then (1831) in the ascendant. Since that time the liberality of parliament to the Irish national system has been most conspicuously

displayed. In the twenty years ending in 1859, £2,078,950 (*Thom's Statistics*) was voted for national education in Ireland, while only £4,236,000 (*Report of Commissioners of 1860*) was voted for national education in Great Britain. In last year's estimates Great Britain appears for the sum of £693,012, Ireland for £326,312—estimates which, if arranged in proportion to population, would have given Great Britain £1,305,248, or nearly double the sum she received.

But pecuniary liberality is not the only or the best kind of liberality in promoting a system of public education. Had Holland been twice as liberal in her expenditure on Belgian education, she would not have satisfied the Belgians ; on the contrary, the increased grants might have appeared only as an increased supply of materials for the warfare Holland was supposed to be waging against the religion, the manners, and the language of the Belgians. A better and a wiser kind of liberal policy than that of money contribution, is the calling into action the spirit of self-help and local government, under the ægis of the great characteristics of progressive modern society—representative institutions. It is only by this kind of liberality, we are persuaded, the more we study the subject, there can be established in Ireland an Educational System which shall be really national, and be so esteemed by the Irish people.

In 1831 local representative institutions had yet to be created in Ireland. It was not till 1838 that the Poor Law System was extended to Ireland, and that representative Boards of Guardians were called into existence ; not till 1840, to the disgrace of British statesmanship be it said, that the

ban which debarred four-fifths of the population—the Roman Catholics—from participating in municipal affairs was removed. In 1831, then, the Government had no local representative authority to summon to its aid ; and, perhaps, the comparatively very moderate dimensions of the new scheme of education, as represented by the first grant of £25,000, did not appear to warrant the creation of local representative bodies solely for educational purposes.

But now that the representative principle has been fully recognized, and the machinery for local self-government established over the entire country, the time appears to have arrived for seriously inquiring into and discussing whether a system, suitable indeed to a people without local representative institutions—a people under tutelage—answers equally well for a people who, year after year, are being trained in local self-government—a people who, through a cheapened newspaper press, and through their intimate intercourse with republican America, have become imbued with opinions irreconcilably hostile to the assumption of English statesmen, that in a purely local and domestic matter, such as education, Irishmen cannot be permitted the right of self-government.

In no nation, except one in a state of tutelage, could such an educational system as the Irish take root. It is unique among modern systems, in vesting the local government and the central control of the schools in hands perfectly free from responsibility either to the parental or the local municipal authority. In the United States the schools are managed by school-boards elected by the people. Into the working of this system the expatriated Irish-

man enters freely. He finds himself a voter, a candidate, a governor of the common school of his township, and, as such voter, candidate, or governor, he feels the school is his own, to be defended and sustained against all comers. In France and Belgium, with the people of which countries the major part of ours have such strong affinities, elective municipal bodies govern, or share in the government of, the communal schools. So do they in the new kingdom of Italy, in Holland and Prussia, and even in Austria. In England and Scotland, in the large towns, school committees, elected by the subscribers to the school funds, manage the schools; and in the more backward rural districts, where, from the impossibility of forming local committees, the sole management is vested in the rector or some other local magnate, even there pecuniary necessities oblige the manager to make the school useful and acceptable to the locality; for, if he does not, he will find it impossible to provide, either from the school fees or from the voluntary subscriptions, the sum required to be provided before the Council on Education will give its grant.

In Ireland, and in Ireland alone, are local magnates permitted to enact the part of sole arbiters in the management of local state-endowed schools. In Ireland alone is the constitutional maxim of responsibility in the administration of public funds set at nought. The powers of the self-elected and self-constituted patron are extraordinary: no certificate of competency restrains the exercise of his patronage; he may appoint a ploughman under the title of "probationary" teacher, or he may dismiss a most competent and popular teacher without reason as-

signed. If the children are taught badly, the Board seems powerless to remedy the evil ; if they are taught well, the Board appear to be equally powerless to preserve the school or retain the teacher ; and if the Board be powerless, no less so are the people of the locality and the parents of the children. The right of the teachers and parents, the local and general public, exists not at all, or only under the rules and regulations of the National Board, and such interpretation thereof as commissioners and patrons may be pleased to afford.

That under this system the teacher should be more the servant of the patron than of the public appears so self-evident a proposition, that it hardly needs to be proved ; but if proofs were needed, and we were at liberty to publish the details of patronal petty tyranny communicated to us by teachers themselves, we think we could satisfy our readers that it is not to be expected that men of education or manly spirit will be found very willing to undertake the duty of teachers under the National Board and its local patrons.

#### IS IRISH EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS SATISFACTORY ?

But, it will be said, education has made enormous strides in Ireland under the National System. Measured by the comparative number of writers and readers, undoubtedly great progress has been made. That is not, however, the sole, or even the best test of educational progress. If we ask, are our poorer classes better acquainted in 1866 than in 1831 with the principles of the Government under which they live ; or if we ask, does the spirit of enlightened industrial enterprise exist among our middle classes

to a greater extent now than then, the reply must negative the boasts of our educationists. But let us apply even the rude educational test of census returns of reading and writing, and in doing so let us remember that under no conceivable circumstances could Ireland have remained stationary in education during the last thirty years. If no National Board had existed, and not a shilling had been voted for public education, and the Irish people had been left solely to their own resources, they would have made some progress in reading and writing. The true question is not whether in Ireland, under the National system, progress has been made, but whether that progress has been satisfactory, or commensurate with the expenditure and the efforts to attain it.

So far as we can judge by the imperfect statistics on the subject, there is reason, we believe, for thinking that at the present moment the major portion of the adult population of Ireland cannot read and write.

In *Thom's Statistics*, 1865, is given the number of persons of over 5 years, returned by *themselves* or their parents or guardians to the Census Commissioners of 1861 as

Able to read and write ...	...	...	2,105,958
Able to read only ...	...	...	1,022,787
Not able to read or write ...	...	...	1,937,382

These statistics show the third class to be nearly equal in numbers to the first; while the intermediate, if added to the third, to give the number who could not read *and* write, will give an enormous majority on the side of national ignorance.

If we examine the statistics relating to our cities and borough towns, where we may expect to find the

more educated portion of our population, the result is far from pleasing.

In Leinster, Dublin and Portarlington were the only two boroughs in which those who could write decidedly outnumbered those who could not. In Carlow, Dundalk, New Ross, and Wexford, the number of the two classes was nearly equal. In Athlone, Drogheda, and Kilkenny, ignorance predominated. In Munster, Cork, Bandon, Ennis, Kinsale, and Youghal gave small majorities for education. Cashel, Clonmel, Mallow, Tralee presented nearly equal numbers for and against; while Dungarvan, Limerick, and Waterford gave majorities for ignorance. In Connaught, Galway was two to one against education, and Sligo was so by a considerable majority. In Ulster better results were exhibited, Lisburn and Newry being the only towns with anti-educational majorities.

If the application of our tests ended here, no candid inquirer could pronounce the result as at all satisfactory; but our duty obliges us to apply other tests. In no well-governed country are statesmen content to rely on census returns as the sole tests of the educational condition of the people. In the Continental States the conscription system furnishes the governments with the means of ascertaining the precise proportion of the young men of the country who can read and write, at the time they are drawn for military service. The results thus obtained are far more satisfactory than any school or census returns, and for this reason—they show not the number of those who assert they can read or write, or who, while at school, were taught to do so, however imperfectly, but the number of the adult

population who can prove, by filling up a prescribed declaration, that not only were they taught at school, but, also, so well and soundly that their education survived their removal from school. Thus Holland, which seems to take an educational precedence in Europe, had, as we find by Mr. Arnold's report, in 1857 no less than 5,268 out of 6,086 conscripts who were able to read and write. In West Flanders the same year there were 3,822 conscripts out of 5,910 who could read and write; and, in Brabant, 4,353 out of 6,617. In England and Scotland, as well as on the Continent, the signing the marriage register affords a similar kind of educational test which statesmen do not fail to make use of. In the English and Scotch Registrar-General's reports we have the proportions of writers and non-writers in signing the marriage registers, and they exhibit results from year to year illustrative of the slow but steady progress of national education; thus, in 1845, 66.8 per cent of the English males were able to write their names. In 1860, the proportion of writers had risen to 74.5. In Scotland, the same year, 87.9 per cent were able to write. Now, when we compare with these our Irish Registrar's statistics, the result is in no sense satisfactory. Previous to 1864 there was no civil registration of Irish Roman Catholic marriages, and consequently it was only to the Protestant population this educational test could have been applied, and with this result, that whereas, in 1845, 80.55 of the Irish Protestant males could write their names, in 1860 but 74.03 could do so. We regret we cannot give the proportions of writers and non-writers of the whole population in 1864, the first year that the registration of all our marriages was

provided for. We have before us the Registrar's report for that year, with the number of the marriages, but not the proportion of writers. Not only is that valuable information suppressed in respect to the newly registered Roman Catholic marriages, but it is also suppressed in respect to the Protestant ones previously given. Thus our Registrar, instead of presenting a more complete, presents a more incomplete and unsatisfactory report on this matter of vital interest, than in previous years. Left without the official returns which *ought to have been given*, we are obliged to estimate the present proportions of the educated and uneducated at the time of marriage by other statistics. We find the Census Commissioners give the proportions of the respective religious denominations in the city of Dublin, who, in 1861, could neither read nor write, as 25 per cent of the Roman Catholics, and 5 per cent (mean rate) of the Protestant sects. Dublin enjoys a remarkable educational superiority over the other Irish cities and towns, no other having so large a proportion of the population who can read and write;\* but it is very probable that throughout the country the relative denominational proportions are pretty evenly preserved, and thence we may argue, that if the religious minority which has so enormous an educational superiority over the religious majority, should be itself inferior, according to the Marriage Registrar's returns, to the aggregate educational standard of England and Scotland, how greatly inferior must be the educational mean rate of our aggregate population.

\* Dublin and Galway appear at the two opposite poles of our educational world. Dublin has two to one on the side of education; Galway

## SUGGESTED REFORMS.

Two schemes of reform or change have been put forward. The first, that of the Catholic bishops, as promulgated by them in August, 1859, is strictly hierarchical; the other, one not unacceptable to the more moderate section of the Church Education party, proposes to extend the English Privy Council system in all its details to Ireland. The first scheme has been virtually withdrawn.\* By vesting the local government in the bishops, the evils of the patronage system would be seriously aggravated; while, by substituting a board of bishops for the present Board of Education, there would be erected in this country a dangerous *imperium in imperio*, an ecclesiastical government in the direction of secular education, responsible neither to Parliament or the Irish people in a matter which clearly appertains to the lay jurisdiction only.

Not even in the Papal States, under a theocratic form of government, is such power given to the episcopacy as that which was claimed by the Irish bishops in Ireland. In "Maguire's Rome" we read that the rector or parish priest governs the parish school, and that in the middle class schools, or lyceums, the local municipality share in the management. Even if England became a Catholic power, her Minister could not propose to establish in Ireland such a system as that sketched out in August, 1859.

The assimilation scheme has, at first sight, a great deal to recommend it. It would at once correct the apparent anomaly of a Protestant government being two to one on the side of ignorance. Between these two extremes the other towns range themselves.

\* See Appendix.

denominational in its educational policy with its own people, while it is anti-denominational in its policy with another people, the majority of whom belong to a different creed. Uniformity in the laws and in the administration, throughout all parts of the United Kingdom, is in itself one of the most valuable principles for which we in Ireland can contend; but in this case we have to deal with what in England is confessedly imperfect and provisional. The very many and serious defects in the English system of primary education were pointed out by the Royal Commissioners of 1860. They showed conclusively enough, that until the principle of local rating has provided for, and local representative control secured the rights of all sects, the richer one, the one to which the great majority of the landed proprietors belong—that of the Established Church—must continue to monopolize nearly the whole of the grant; while the poorer sects, those who need help the most, must, on account of their poverty and want of influence in obtaining local subscriptions, continue to be excluded from their fair share of the public money. The following statistics will illustrate this palpable injustice :—

Year 1864.	Average attendance of children.		No. of certified teachers.	Share of parliamentary grant for year 1864.	Share since 1839.
	Day Schools.	Night Schools.			
Church of England,	627,368	18,617	6,790	£436,262	£5,550,125
Wesleyan ...	161,089	2,605	1,442	28,302	372,538
Catholic --	40,489	4,782	355	26,451	284,438

How enormously this injustice would be aggravated in Ireland, where wealth and poverty differ so much in religion, we need hardly point out. Public opinion, it is true, does not as yet appear sufficiently favourable to the views of the Royal Commissioners ;

but when we find these views are shared in by our leading statesmen and educationists, and that the present Prime Minister, Earl Russell, is committed to that line of policy, by having introduced in 1853 a Bill for local rating and local educational management; and further, when we find that outside of the United Kingdom the principle is universally established, and that unquestionably under no other can justice be done to the poorer sects, or to landlord-neglected localities, is it too much to say we should wait the not very distant period, when English public opinion will come round to be in accord with that of its statesmen, and the present system of primary education be fundamentally reformed?

The great objection to local rating and management, the one which as yet in England interposes a barrier to its adoption, is the popular repugnance to the imposition of new taxes. It would be, of course, absurd to ask the Irish ratepayers to consent to an education rate, while such a rate was refused in England and Scotland; but the objection is one which a judicious statesman will have no difficulty in overcoming. Something over one million is annually voted by parliament for primary education; that million comes as much out of the pockets of the local ratepayers as would a special rate for education. Let us suppose a Gladstone or a Stanley introducing a comprehensive scheme of education, which, because based upon the principle of local government, would be capable of adapting itself to the circumstances of the three great sections of the empire. He could easily balance its local rating provisions, by granting an equivalent remission of imperial taxation. In

taking, say, one penny in the pound off the income tax, and returning it to the pockets of the taxpayers to pay a local education rate, the Minister could say he was returning this large sum to the ratepayers, to be managed not as hitherto, by Government Boards and irresponsible patrons, but by the ratepayers themselves, through their elected representatives. They in possession of this fund, and made to feel that it was not other peoples' money but their own, would look much better to its proper application than can be done at present. They would not permit their education rate to go to provide upper servants for any local patrons; nor would they suffer themselves to be annually mulcted for teachers who did not teach, for schools for which there were no scholars, or to provide gratuitous education for the children of mean or vulgar rich.\*

#### OUTLINE OF A NEW SYSTEM.

If we suppose that sometime hereafter public opinion may sanction the system of local management, it will be necessary to supersede the many conflicting bureaus which, under various names, now meddle in education, by one office presided over by a statesman of high rank, under the title of Minister of Public Instruction.

Under this minister, state-assisted Training Schools should exist in the chief cities of the empire.

\*In Ireland no such an absurdity would be permitted as maintaining among an Irish-speaking population schools in which English only was spoken. (See remonstrance of Chief Inspectors, in Report for 1856.) No Commissioner of Education would pay out of his private funds, for the education of his English-speaking children, at a school where French or German only was spoken. But let the State be the paymaster, and it would be quite another affair.

Here the teachers should be trained for the duties of their future career, and certificates of competency of various grades, to suit the requirements of the different classes of primary schools, should be granted by Commissioners appointed for the purpose. These certificates should be indispensable in seeking employment from the local authority governing the local primary schools. Taking the Poor Law system as the best for the purpose, it might be provided that in every dispensary district or electoral division it should be the duty of the board of poor-law guardians to provide and maintain a common school for the gratuitous education in elementary knowledge of the children of all too poor to provide for themselves. This school should be managed by a local committee, similarly chosen to the existing dispensary committees; of this committee the clergymen of all persuasions in the district should be ex-officio members. In it should be vested the appointment, suspension, and dismissal of the teacher, the supervision and choice of books, subject to an appeal to the Board of Guardians and the general law on education. The teacher, if one teacher only, should be of the religion of the majority of the population, and he should, if required by the school committee, instruct the children of that religion in such manner and at such times as might be determined by a general law on the subject, provided that at no such instruction the children of the religious minority should be suffered to be present. Where two teachers were required, and a religious minority existed in the district, the second teacher should be chosen from the religion of that minority.

In the matter of inspection the central authority

should provide the funds and appoint the officers for secular inspection. For religious inspection, the bishops and other heads of the various religious denominations should be allowed to provide such a satisfactory system as would not interfere with the local management. The secular inspectors should report on the state of secular education, the observance of the rules, the condition of the school-house, and the conduct of the teacher. The religious inspectors should examine the children of their respective creeds in religious knowledge, and generally report on their condition.

Infractions of the law and abuses in the administration should be, in the first instance, reported by the respective inspectors to the school committees, then to the board of guardians, and finally to the Minister, who should be empowered to institute an inquiry where needful; and, on proof of gross maladministration, or breach of the law, by sealed order to the board of guardians, compel them, either by dismissal of the offending parties or otherwise, to give effect to the law.

Gratuitous admission to the schools should only be obtained on publication of the names of the applicants for a certain period in the board-room of the guardians, and after inquiry by the school committee into the circumstances of the parents. None should be admitted free but the children of those unable to pay; any others, if admitted in consequence of the non-existence of private schools in the neighbourhood, should be charged at the same rate as at an ordinary private school, so that the expense of their education should not fall on the ratepayers, or the rich and well-to-do be encouraged in acts of meanness and pauperism.

Denominational schools would undoubtedly be the rule under this system ; that is, they would be denominational in the same sense as some three-fourths of our country parishes are denominational, the people being all, or nearly all, of one religion. The Commissioners of National Education are satisfied to count as non-denominational a school in which one solitary child of a creed different from the rest appears on the register, for perhaps half a dozen attendances in the year. We are not disposed to trouble ourselves with such fictions; a school in which all or nearly all the children and the teacher are of one creed is a denominational school in the true sense of the word, no matter what other name may be given to it, or what "Rules and Regulations" may be suspended on the walls. If the Irish people, as represented through the proposed school-committees, desire to be denominational, we can see no reason why they should be forced to appear to be otherwise. In all the continental states, Holland excepted, the privilege we contend for is conceded, and in England and Scotland the Commissioners of 1860 report, "the general body of the population are determined that religion and education must be clearly connected." We bow to what is inevitable, to what is a just exercise of the people's will, when we advocate the establishment of such schools, denominational or otherwise, as the population, Protestant and Catholic as they may be, choose to establish with their own money and for their own use; and we feel assured that among our mixed population in towns and in the North of Ireland, there will be a much greater chance of harmony and mutual toleration, when each side will be called upon to be honorable and just in the

administration of funds contributed by all, than now, when no discretion is allowed, and nothing but the decrees of an irresponsible Board permitted. Indeed, if we look to the fact that there are latterly but comparatively few squabbles about paupers' religions at our boards of guardians, we may look forward with confidence to the result of any proposed extension to educational relief, of the principles now acted upon in medical and other pauper relief. We may depend upon it, self-government is the best school for training us in notions of justice and toleration.

#### MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATION.

The incorporation of primary and gratuitous education into the poor-law system, would lay the foundation for the establishment of superior primary schools for middle-class education. From all parts of Ireland there may be heard the common complaint that middle-class schools are rapidly disappearing, and that soon there will be no schools worthy of the name, between the eleemosynary on the one hand, and the colleges and schools for the upper and richer classes on the other. We believe every thoughtful citizen must view this state of things with serious concern; and agree with us in the opinion that the creation of good middle-class schools in all our cities, towns, and elsewhere, where a sufficient middle class population is to be found, is a work of national utility and of paramount importance.

We have said that it is by connecting eleemosynary education with the poor-law system, and treating it as what it is, a species of outdoor relief, that we lay the foundation for a good middle-class system; and

why? Because so long as the State provides gratuitously, or nearly so, for middle-class education, no matter how indifferent the schools, or how defective the system, it is but too true that the great majority of the middle-classes will be content with them. Freed from the obligation to provide for the education of their children, and degraded in their views of education itself, they become passive and submissive; incapable alike of understanding and appreciating the value of a good system of education, or of struggling for its establishment.

In the Irish National Education Reports we are not favoured with a classification of the condition in life of the parents of the children in the ordinary schools; we have such a classification, however, in the case of the Model National Schools; and as the apparently chance establishment of these "model" rather than the ordinary national schools, is regulated more by the pleasure of the local bishop than by the number of the population, or by the importance of the city or town, we may take their classification of parents as indicative of the general average of our ordinary civic or semi-rural national schools. Taking up at random one of the Reports, that for 1856, we find in the school first in order in the report (Clonmel), that of 274 pupils, 2 were contributed by an architect, 2 by an apothecary, 5 by coach-builders, 4 by clergymen, 3 by corn-merchants, 2 by a head-constable, 1 by an M.D., 8 by persons of private means, 2 by a surveyor, 72 by farmers, 158 by tradesmen, shopkeepers, &c., and 15 only by the labourers, the class for whom Parliament is supposed to vote the annual grant for the "Education of the Poor of Ireland." Passing from Clonmel to the northern

town of Coleraine, we find in the Model School there only 12 labourers' children out of a total of 203. The farmers had 42; the shopkeepers, 42; the clerks and public officers, 14; private persons, 6; mechanics, 51; "other occupations," 36. With these statistics before us, we at once see the true cause of the decline of middle-class schools in Ireland. The scholars are absorbed in the national and other eleemosynary systems; the parents, getting the education for nothing, or next to nothing, are perfectly content, and look for nothing better; just as they probably would be content with inferior clothing or food, if government opened gratuitous or semi-gratuitous inferior clothes or bread shops, to supply all who claimed them as paupers, or as some of the "poor of Ireland." The model schools, confessedly, are not good middle-class schools, in any sense of the term, the exigencies of the mixed system requiring the prohibition of the study of history, thus leaving the future administrators of much of our constitutional system ignorant of the foundation of that system, unacquainted with its maxims and policy, and unable, so far as their school education goes, to understand its excellencies, or to know by what sacrifices of heroic men, by what legislative wisdom, by what exercise of unselfish public spirit, those excellencies were attained. The future model-school town councillor, poor-law guardian, or mayhap M.P., may be expected to suppose, as too many of them do now suppose, constitutional government a contrivance invented chiefly for providing clever politicians with places and pensions, or with grants and subsidies. In a so-called "confidential" inquiry, made in 1856, into a project of the Commissioners to

extend the curriculum of the model-schools, so as to include some classics and science in the course, the Commissioners seem to admit that, having grasped the education of the middle classes, they were bound to give them something more than what they were giving. They, therefore, called on their head-inspectors to inquire and report. These officials did so, and it was found that Commissioners and Inspectors were in accord ; improvement was found to be much needed, and it was recommended, if possible to be effected ; but somehow the " possible" way was not easily discovered, and the system continues to be one unsuitable for the class it educates—one confessedly requiring improvement, but found to be unimproved and unimproveable.

The superior primary or middle-class schools which should be established in Ireland might be of two classes, the inferior for the small towns, the superior for the large towns and cities. In Belgium, whose population is but slightly less than that of Ireland, it is found necessary to maintain no less than 50 of the inferior, and 10 of the superior class of middle class schools or athenés. Ireland would probably require a provision equally large. These schools should be as nearly as possible self-supporting ; on no other principle can we hope to rear up an independent middle-class in Ireland. It is true, the government should lend a helping hand in the foundation. We may look in vain now-a-days for much of that enlightened public spirit, or that practical, unselfish zeal for education, which in other countries, and in times gone by, induced the wealthy to devote their wealth to the endowment of grammar schools, or the foundation of colleges. We must look to public

funds for that which would be needful in establishing over the entire country, in every city and large town, good schools for the education of the middle classes. In France and Belgium, the State aids the department or province in the establishment of this class of school. Whether from our county funds aided by the State, or from State funds alone, the building and fitting up of middle-class schools should be provided, is a matter not at present very material. Provided in either way, the expense to the rate or tax-payers would not be so great as to justify opposition to a scheme of such manifest utility. But let the institution be fairly established and put into working-order, and the school fees should, if possible, provide the rest. With the exception of a certain number of children from the primary schools, who, as a prize for superior answering, good attendance, and general conduct, might be admitted free at the expense of some public fund, all the scholars should pay such fees, not necessarily extravagant in amount, or much, if anything, in excess of the fees at a good private school, but yet sufficient to pay the salaries of the professors or teachers, and provide for the other annual expenses of the school.

In consideration of this payment, the secular course of teaching should, in the inferior schools, comprise, in addition to the elementary course of the primary schools, history, drawing, geometry, elementary classics, or French, book-keeping, geography, and the elements of practical science. For the superior middle-class schools, or mixed colleges, we should require, in addition to these, the higher mathematics, and a more advanced course of classics,

modern languages and science, in a word, everything to fit the young Irish merchant, trader, or farmer to be the equal of the young Belgian or Frenchman of the same class, everything to prepare the student who intends graduating in a college or university for a creditable entrance examination.

The government and the chiefs of the religious bodies should interfere, through their inspectors (who might be the same as for the primary schools), no further than to ensure the due observance of the education-laws of the empire. They should see that duly qualified teachers were employed; that the building and the public property therein were properly preserved; and, generally, that the local governing body and the teachers carried into effect all the provisions of the law, both as to the prescribed course of teaching, and as to the rights of conscience—the right of the religious minority to share in the public education provided at the public expense. For religious instruction, the local clergymen, as in France, of the respective denominations, or persons deputed by them, should attend, and in separate apartments, for so many hours per week as might be prescribed by law, instruct the children, each of his own denomination, in the doctrines thereof. In his choice of books and his method of instruction no interference of the secular inspectors, or of the local governing body, should be permitted.

There would be some difficulty in determining the constitution of the local governing body. Our nearest parallels to the Continental provincial and departmental councils are our county grand juries; but these are not, as in the case of the Continental councils, elective or ministerially appointed bodies. The Irish grand

juries, chosen by the sheriff from the roll of the county gentry, belong for the greater part to the religion of the Established Church, and for that reason alone, even if they were not what they are, a virtually self-elected and self-constituted body, they would be unfit to be entrusted with the charge of Irish middle-class education. The local town commissioners, too, we must reject; because, in the first place, every town in which it would be desirable to establish a middle-class school might not have a board of such commissioners; secondly, the school would be one not for the town but for the surrounding rural district, in most cases for many miles; and, thirdly, boards of town commissioners in Ireland, elected solely on a £4 franchise, do not adequately represent the intelligent and educated, and have not that admixture of the propertied classes amongst them which, under the poor law system, is secured upon the boards of guardians. But when we come to the board of guardians, we are compelled to reject them in turn, and for the reason that it is essential to the success of our scheme that no connection whatever with the union, or the poor law, or out-door relief system should exist. We have to provide for a class able to pay for their school education—a class in which it is most desirable to cultivate a spirit of independence of everything eleemosynary, of everything depending upon or connected with public grants or local rates.

All existing local bodies being found unsuitable, and it being yet necessary to establish local government over the schools, we are obliged to have recourse to foreign precedents for our guidance. In France, under the Imperial government, the depart-

mental councils who control the primary education have lost their elective character, and have been constituted in part of local functionaries, and in part of the nominees of the Government. Perhaps we might adopt the local functionaries, and, instead of nominees of the Government, place with them a certain number of persons elected by those who would support the schools—namely, the parents of the children. There might be the mayor or chairman of the local municipal body ; some one to represent the local magistracy, the local bishops, or other local chiefs of the respective religious denominations ; and with these an equal number of persons, the nominees of the parents or guardians of the pupils. This plan of local government is the best we can, under the circumstances, sketch out.

THE IRISH QUEEN'S COLLEGES *versus* THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.

It is but a few months since an opportunity was afforded to Government of ascertaining what was the opinion of the Irish constituencies on the University question. In last June or July it had but to announce to the Irish public, clearly and distinctly, what its future policy was to be, to obtain, at the then general election, that constitutional expression of Irish public opinion before which it should be alike the duty and the pleasure of every good citizen to bow. This course was not taken, and instead another course, equally unconstitutional and anti-British, is said to have been adopted.

But, although the spirit of anti-constitutionalism is said to be for the present in the ascendant in the councils of her Majesty's Ministers, they have yet

before them such striking indications of the national will, such remarkable evidence in the current history of France and Belgium, of what a people such as the Irish would do for themselves if left to themselves, that blind indeed must they be to their own interests, and that of their party, if they rashly, and without giving time for fair inquiry and discussion, stake the future of the Liberal Government, and of Irish Liberalism itself, on a retrograde, unconstitutional, and anti-Irish policy.

THE BELGIAN STATE COLLEGES *versus* THE  
UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN.

We have, in a preceding chapter, taken occasion to draw attention to the religious and national party coalition in Belgium in 1828 and 1829, and the remarkable resemblance to it of our Irish coalitions of the present time. In Belgium then, as in Ireland now, a Protestant Government, having its seat in another country, appeared to be forcing on a Catholic people an educational system not chosen by that people for themselves, but chosen for them by people of another creed and nation. Had France and England not interfered on behalf of the Belgian "revolutionists," Belgium would, probably, have remained to this day united to Holland, perhaps as a discontented province, or perhaps as an equal or sister (not step-sister) kingdom; but in neither case could we have had the hollowness, if not the hypocrisy, of the clerico-nationalistic coalition so fully exposed.

Belgium, as a province of Holland, repudiated State interference with education; denounced mixed schools and State colleges, and demanded "freedom of education." But what has Belgium done as an in-

dependent kingdom? What did the "Liberals" and the "Nationalists" do when they found themselves invested with official responsibility, and obliged to decide whether they would be governed by ecclesiastics, or that the law and the constitution should govern ecclesiastics equally with all the other subjects of the realm? What is the policy which, after a thirty years' struggle in the senate, in the press, and at the polling-booth, now predominates in free, Catholic, constitutional Belgium, equally as does the free-trade policy in England? The policy, the national policy, the liberal policy, which thus predominates, is that of modern constitutionalism, with its great doctrine of ministerial responsibility, and the equality of all citizens before the laws. Belgium required universities or colleges for superior education. She found she should provide for them out of the funds of the state, and that they should be established in the great centres of population, and be open equally to the religious minority as to the majority. She had the ancient University of Louvain—one possessed of large endowments, some 300,000*l.* per annum—and enjoying a *prestige* and a reputation for learning second but to few in Europe. But Louvain was a theological university; the larger part of her endowments were given for theology—Catholic theology—and nothing else; and Catholic Belgium, a country 99 per cent. Catholic, refused to set up Louvain as her State university, and refused to hand over to her bishops, there or elsewhere, the control of the secular education of the kingdom. Louvain, with her endowments, were handed over to the bishops, but side by side were erected the State universities of Liege and Ghent, on

principles, we would say, the same as those of our Irish Queen's Colleges, were it not that the Irish are modelled after the Belgian—Liege and Ghent having been taken by Sir Robert Peel in 1845 as the prototypes of his new colleges at Cork, Galway, and Belfast; and, therefore, so far from the Irish Queen's Colleges being, as they appear, and as they are popularly represented, English Protestant, they are Belgian Catholic institutions. By an annual grant which has risen from 190,000*l.* in 1830 to 1,100,000*l.* in 1865, the Belgian legislature provides for the state colleges of Ghent and Liege. By an annual grant, which has risen from nothing, and continues to be nothing, the Belgian legislature leaves Louvain to provide for herself. The State providing the funds for the State colleges, the King, acting with the advice of his constitutional advisers, appoints and dismisses the rectors and professors; who, in turn, but subject to ministerial authority, prescribe the course of study, the college fees, and all the details of the secular administration; the bishop of the diocese, and the other chiefs of the religious bodies, being empowered to appoint deans (just as in the Irish colleges) to superintend the students of their respective creeds in religion and morals. Louvain, in the hands of a board composed of the six Belgian bishops, and maintained by its endowments and private subscriptions, is governed solely by them and through them. They appoint and dismiss the professors, and under them the rector and university council govern the institution. Of Louvain the Dublin Catholic University is a copy, or attempted copy; as the Cork, Galway, and Belfast Colleges are copies, or attempted copies, of those of Ghent and Liege.

In addition to the three colleges or universities, Belgium maintains a fourth, "the free" College of Brussels. This institution is equally free from State endowments and State control on the one hand, and from theological endowments and episcopal control on the other. Although aided by the municipal funds of Brussels, it is, for the larger part, self-supporting. The government is in a council of seventeen, twelve of whom are permanent, and five chosen annually by the professors. The burgomaster, as the representative of the municipality, presides over this council. Its rule for religious instruction is similar to those of the State colleges.

It will be interesting to the candid inquirer to trace the progress of these four institutions, established as they are on the three different principles now struggling for ascendancy. From the Decennial Report of the Belgian Minister of the Interior (1840 to 1850), and from the annual volumes of Scholer's Belgian Statistics, we have obtained the facts which we now present.

In the four universities there are established the four faculties of—1. Philosophy and Letters; 2. Science; 3. Law; and 4. Medicine. Besides these, at Louvain there has always been the fifth faculty of theology (to which alone is there free admission), and at Ghent and Liege, since 1850, special schools for civil engineering in the one, and for mining in the other. In order that we might, for the purpose of comparison, present the number of students at each university with the utmost possible fairness, we have taken, between 1835 and 1850, the number enrolled as attending on the courses of the four faculties; and, after 1850, we give Louvain the benefit of its theo-

logical students, as a counterpoise to the special mining students at Liege, and the engineering students at Ghent; Brussels, it being recollected, having at no period any but the students of the four faculties to be enumerated:—

	1835 to 1840.		1840 to 1845.		1845 to 1850	
	Total.	Annual mean.	Total.	An. mean.	Total.	Mean
Ghent	1371	274	1274	255	1459	292
Liege	1883	376	2113	432	2395	479
Brussels	1301	260	1587	317	1670	334
Louvain	2087	417	3493	698	3516	703
	1850 to 1855.		1855 to 1860.		1863.	
Ghent	1603	321	1625	325	367	
Liege	2726	545	3849	770	591	
	Mean of 3 years, '53, '54, and '55.		year 1859.			
Brussels	—	372	—	405	419	
Louvain	—	599	—	793	768	

These statistics show the great progress which has been made in all the universities during the last 30 years. Mutual rivalry, whether friendly or unfriendly, had, no doubt, a great deal to do in stimulating the professors and the governing bodies to increased activity. Government and its professors could not afford to allow either the Free University on the one hand, or the Catholic University on the other, to out-distance Liege or Ghent in the race. Neither could the Catholic bishops or the free professors permit the State colleges to run away with their students. Hence great activity, great exertions—in fact, all the benefits of free competition—of all of which benefits, let us observe incidentally, the Irish episcopal scheme proposed to deprive the Irish people. The progress of the “Free University” we cannot avoid noticing as the steadiest and the least depending on extraordinary adjuncts of all the others.

From Scholer’s “Annuaire” for 1855 we have obtained some statistics illustrative of the success of the

teaching at the respective universities, and, in giving them, we have to express our regret that in the "Annales" for subsequent years we do not find a continuation of these highly interesting statistics. The Belgian government established in 1845 bourses for university students, open to the competition of all, whether graduating in Liege, Ghent, Brussels, or Louvain. These bourses are of two classes: the first is of 1,000f. value, and is conferred for two years on those who take the degree of doctor with the greatest distinction. The number of these bourses is limited to six, to be given annually. The second class is of 400f. value, for one year, for the 60 students who take the inferior degrees with the greatest distinction. The jury who grant both the degrees and the bourses is, we should observe, composed of twelve professors, selected by the King in equal proportions from the State, the Free, and the Catholic universities. It is thus, while open to objections of another character to which we shall hereafter allude, a body fairly constituted to secure fair play for the students of all the rival institutions.

The bourses of the first-class and second-class were thus won:—

	By Ghent.		Liege.		Brussels.		Louvain.	
	1st.	2nd.	1st.	2nd.	1st.	2nd.	1st.	2nd.
In 1845	...	1 ... *	1 ... *	...	1 ... *	...	1 ... *	...
— 1846	...	3 ... —	0 ... —	...	0 ... —	...	1 ... —	...
— 1847	...	1 ... —	0 ... —	...	0 ... —	...	0 ... —	...
— 1848	...	0 ... —	2 ... —	...	1 ... —	...	1 ... —	...
— 1849	...	0 ... 14	3 ... 20	...	0 ... 11	...	0 ... 15	...
— 1850	...	0 ... 14	1 ... 24	...	0 ... 8	...	0 ... 14	...
— 1851	...	0 ... 17	1 ... 28	...	2 ... 4	...	0 ... 11	...
— 1852	...	1 ... 26	2 ... 28	...	0 ... 3	...	0 ... 3	...
	6 ... 71		10 ... 100		4 ... 26		3 ... 43	

\* Results of the examination from 1845 to 1848 not given.

Thus by results we can test the rival systems of Belgium, and by these statistics prove that the application of constitutional principles to the management of its State-endowed universities has been eminently successful ; but there is, perhaps, a yet more satisfactory test, the opinion of the constituencies constitutionally expressed at the Belgian elections. In 1863, the number inscribed on the Belgian electoral roll was 101,308,\* or 20 to every 1000 male inhabitants, a proportion not very dissimilar to that now existing in Ireland. At the general elections in that year, about three-fourths of this electoral body exercised their franchise in supporting the candidates of either the liberal or the conservative parties, and returned 32 liberals and 26 conservatives to the Senate, and 64 liberals and 52 conservatives to the Legislative Assembly. The liberal party is the party of the present system of education ; the conservative is mainly, but not wholly, the party of opposition to that system. On the introduction of the educational budget for 1865 into the Assembly, on the 12th December, 1864, a discussion and a division took place, when the budget—and consequently the principle of the system for which the money was voted—was approved by 73 to 4, shewing a preponderance of national assent in its favour, after a 30 years' trial, which is unmistakably decisive.

#### IRISH PUBLIC OPINION.

In Ireland we cannot apply tests such as these ; but

\* The franchise for voters in the communes at the elections for the local municipal bodies is lower than the parliamentary, and in consequence the number of electors on the communal rolls was, in 1863, 227,333, of whom 72 per cent. voted at the annual election of that year.

we may, nevertheless, apply others which, however imperfect, are yet, so far as they go, indicative enough both of the opinion of the great majority of our constituencies, and of those who require university education. For the constitutional expression of Irish public opinion, so far as obtained, we refer the reader to the Appendix ; noticing here very briefly that of the university students themselves, as expressed by the use they, on the one hand, make of the Queen's Colleges, and the non-use of the Catholic University on the other. From Thom's Statistics (1865) we obtain the following table of entrances and attendance at the three Queen's Colleges of Cork, Belfast, and Galway :—

	Number entering.	Number attending.		Number entering.	Number attending.
1857-1858,	155	445	1861-1862,	310	758
1858-1859,	197	493	1862-1863,	273	787
1859-1860,	207	546	1863-1864,	289	810
1860-1861,	283	657	1864-1865,	288	835

Of these, about 28 per cent were Roman Catholics.

Thus we have in the short space of eight years the number of freshmen entering and of the graduates in attendance very nearly doubled ; a result which, if not as satisfactory as we might wish, is yet triumphant indeed in comparison with what can be shewn on the side of the opposition.\* Against these statistics, the Catholic University has none whatever to present. In general terms, the authorities of that institution content themselves with boasting of their extraordinary success. They speak of "crowded

\* The average annual entrances at Trinity College, Dublin, were—between 1845 and 1849, 351 ; between 1850 and 1855, 271. In 1863 the number was 325.—*Thom's Statistics*.

lecture halls," "professors of European reputation," an "Atalantis," a publication known from "Petersburgh to the prairies of the West." But when we ask for the statistics of the attendance at the "crowded" lectures, and for the names and addresses of the students, we find ourselves angrily repelled. Last June, the O'Donoghue could quote the statistics of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges, but he appeared to be quite ignorant of Catholic University statistics. We know, however, that the "crowded lecture halls," established now nearly twelve years, have as yet failed to produce any appreciable result. While many ordinary middle-class schools have sent up pupils to compete successfully at the Civil Service examinations,\* not one pupil has been sent up by the Catholic University, after its eleven years of "crowded" lecturing, extraordinary teaching, and oratorical efforts in newspapers, in the pulpit, and on the public platform.

If we judge by plain facts rather than turgid oratory, the conclusion is obvious that the Catholic University has not succeeded even as a tolerable academy or middle-class school. It has failed not only where a charter might have aided it, but also where a charter would have been no aid whatever.

Internal mismanagement is not to be cured by a charter nor by a subsidy. If this canker can be proved to exist, or evidence afforded of the probabi-

\* One of these we may mention. The school of Dr. Stacpoole, Kingstown. From this school students are sent forward to almost every Civil Service examination, and with most satisfactory results. Dr. Stacpoole, it is true, has no parliamentary party to sustain him, no annual subscription, no incessant newspaper puffing, no urgent ecclesiastical canvass: he depends solely on the merit of his teaching. What if the Catholic University tried that plan for a year or two?

lity of its existence, we venture to say the statesman who would propose to grant exceptional privileges, or a contribution from the public exchequer without any inquiry whatever, must be one with a strange notion indeed of his moral obligations and public responsibility. In November, 1859, after the unexplained withdrawal of the Rev. Dr. Newman from the management, the Catholic bishops assembled in synod found it necessary to apologize for the then admitted "defects." They said (Address of Catholic Bishops, *Dublin Evening Post* 22nd November, 1859): "We cannot be surprised if the defects ordinarily incident to infant establishments of human institution were to be found in our university, but these, we trust, will be completely removed by the measures we have now been enabled to take." "*Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*" The "human institution" of the Catholic University was then defective. Have the intended measures of reform realized the expectations of the Catholic bishops? *We have never met with any official statement that they have.* We believe, on the contrary, *it would be impossible to obtain from all the Catholic bishops of Ireland a written declaration that, in their opinion, at the present moment the Catholic University is a well-managed institution; and if that be true, need we write another word to demonstrate the necessity for a searching investigation into this institution, before granting it a State endowment or exceptional privileges?*

#### DUBLIN'S RIGHT TO A STATE COLLEGE.

It is absurd to assert that the Roman Catholics of Dublin and of the province of Leinster are sufficiently provided for in Trinity College, with

its average 6 per cent. of Roman Catholic freshmen. It is an outrage against our common sense to assert that an institution, termed by its friends "the bulwark of Protestantism," fitly provides for Roman Catholic education. Dublin and Leinster have equal claims on the liberality of Parliament with the three other chief cities and provinces of the kingdom ; we should have our State-endowed college or university in Dublin for Leinster, just as our provincial friends have theirs in Belfast for Ulster, in Cork for Munster, and in Galway for Connaught.

Is the Catholic University to be that State-endowed college? Then if, together with denominationalism, common equity is to prevail in Dublin, Government must be prepared to provide on similar principles for the Protestant Dissenters, and for that large section of the Roman Catholics who have hitherto rejected the Catholic University, and who may not be as ready as a facile Minister to ignore the evidence of its mismanagement, and its unsuitability for secular education. If the ministerial recognition of the rights of conscience is not to appear hypocritical and partizan, it must be of universal, not partial application ; it must equally recognize the rights of the Church of England Protestants, the Presbyterians, and the other Protestant Dissenters. And if it recognizes the right of Irish Catholics to universities modelled after those of the Papal States, it must also recognize the right of Irish Catholics to others modelled after those of France or Belgium, or of Ireland herself, if she were a free and independent kingdom. Under this system of equity in denominationalism, we should have—1. Trinity College as the Protestant bulwark, with its two

M.Ps. to represent that interest\* ; 2. The Catholic University as the Catholic bulwark, with two other M.Ps. to speak on its behalf ; and 3. A Metropolitan State College or University, the bulwark of Irish liberalism, toleration, and national progress, with its two M.Ps. to represent those important interests. This, we need hardly say, is much too comprehensive a scheme for the present ministry to take up ; but, instead, it is said they are likely to propose a little piece of patchwork legislation ; that is, to refuse an inquiry or a grant to the Catholic University, but, without inquiry, give it similar privileges in the obtaining of degrees as those now enjoyed by the University of Louvain. This plan is, in effect, to constitute an examining board or jury to sit in Dublin, for the granting of degrees to the students of the three Queen's Colleges and the Catholic University, the board or jury to be composed of twelve professors, selected by the crown from the professors in the four institutions in equal proportions, three from each.

This project has such an appearance of fairness, and is so much in accordance with the temporizing, make-shift policy now in the ascendant, that it is necessary to discuss it at some length. Although at first sight it appears small and unimportant, in reality it yields the whole question. Dublin, it must be granted, should have other provision for university education than what is provided in Trinity College. Government proposes to shirk the question whether that provision should be made by the establishment of two new denominational colleges, or of one college for all creeds ; but it concedes to one Dublin

\* Why should T.C.D. be the only "bulwark" represented in parliament ? Has not Maynooth as good a claim ?

denominational institution, and to that one only, the right to come forward on equal terms with the graduates of Cork, Belfast, and Galway, to compete for the degrees of the "Queen's University." What is that but conceding the denominational principle in Dublin, and conceding it, too, covertly, and treacherously, and without due investigation? Probably—nay, almost certainly—the Catholic University would have but few students to present for examination. English statesmen may be prepared to argue from thence the failure of the institution, but will they be allowed so easy a victory? Will it not be replied to them, with irresistible logic: You admitted that we failed to attract students, because we were not recognised by the State as an University. You have given us that recognition, but you have not given the materials to enable us to make that recognition of any value. Our students are equal with those of the Queen's Colleges in the privilege of presenting themselves for degrees, but are they equal in the means for qualifying themselves for them? Is it right that you should compel us to either educate a larger number of students in an inferior manner, or else, owing to our limited resources, be compelled to limit our exertions to the small number we present? We should very much like to know what answer our diplomatic ministers have prepared for this argument. But the Belgian precedent? Why take Belgium as our model in all other parts of her educational system, and not in this? Because we see no analogy between the University of Louvain and the Catholic University of Dublin—no similarity whatever, but that both call themselves Catholic universities. Louvain is the Trinity College of Belgium,

the oldest university in that country ; nay more, one of the oldest in Europe, and as such she has ample endowments for her support, a reputation for learning, and a muster roll of students—all sufficient to justify her in demanding, and the Belgian Government in conceding to her equality as a seat of learning with the newly provided State universities. Compared with Louvain, the Dublin institution is no better than a third-rate academy, without endowments, or reputation, or students. Nor is this all the difference between the two cases. The Belgian Government, in conceding equal university privileges to Louvain, conceded nothing fatal to the principle or the existence of her State universities. Louvain is not the capital of the kingdom, the head-quarters of government, or the central point of all the educational and other institutions of the country. Neither is Louvain, like Dublin, the chief town of one of four provinces, in three of which State-endowed colleges now exist. The University of Louvain is situated, like our Maynooth, in a country town. It is an ecclesiastical rather than a secular institution, without metropolitan pretensions or provincial claims.

Let the Government make the Catholic University the only recognised college in Dublin in its Queen's College system, and that system must quickly be modified to be in accord with its metropolitan head, and to be consistent with itself.

Maynooth is the nearest parallel we have in Ireland to Louvain. It has a liberal endowment, some reputation as a seat of learning, and a presentable muster-roll of students. Could not Government provide for such Catholics as believe ecclesiastics alone can teach

or appoint to teach them, by giving a small increased grant to Maynooth for a lay-college, wherein students might be taught by the professors of the Catholic University. This college, and indeed the whole of Maynooth, might have the privilege of being represented on the board of Queen's University examiners, and of sending up its students to compete for degrees.

This plan would leave the claims of Dublin for a Queen's College uncompromised. It would avoid the blunder of giving royal sanction, without inquiry, to a badly managed and unsuccessful institution; and at the same time would amply provide for the conscientious scruples of the limited class who believe it to be their duty to accept episcopal direction in providing for the secular education of their children.

#### AIDS TO ADULT POPULAR EDUCATION.

There is a branch of popular education hitherto but little attended to in Ireland—the education of the adult population, through the instrumentality of free libraries, schools of science and art, picture galleries, museums, public works, and gardens botanical, zoological, and ornamental. In Dublin, although these institutions have existed for a long time, until very recently nearly all of them were closed against the general public, and even now some of the most valuable continue to be so. On this point we cannot do better than to quote the language of one of the learned judges who presided at the late State prosecutions. Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, so lately as last July, in his address to the grand jury of the city of Dublin, said “he knew of no city in western Europe in which so little was done for the people as in Dublin.”

We know not whether, in sentencing some of the unfortunate Fenian youths, it has not occurred to this learned judge that perhaps the convicts were as much sinned against as sinning. In a pamphlet on the Subsidized Scientific Institutions of Dublin, published by the present writer in December, 1864, he ventured to ask, "Where in Dublin can the masses of the population by any possibility acquire a correct knowledge of the principles of the government and constitution under which they live?" Not in the national schools. There history is a sealed-up volume, and political education strictly prohibited. Not from the Irish newspapers; not from pulpit exhortations or pastorals; not from the corporation or other public orators. If not from any of these, where then? This question is now again put, and with the evidence produced at the Fenian trials before us, we unhesitatingly declare that it is more than probable that very many of the truthful, generous, high-spirited young men, now consigned to convict prisons, to herd with criminal outcasts, might, if society had done its duty by them, have been reared up to public usefulness and high civic virtue.\*

Government, we are happy to observe, seems disposed to correct former errors, and atone for past indifference and neglect, by reforming the system of

\* We would ask our English reader, before he censures this language, to reflect what would be the state of things now in England, if Cobden, Bright, and all the other popular English agitators had for the last twenty-five years agitated free trade, reform, and other public questions, as repeal and tenant-right have been agitated in Ireland? Will any honest Englishman venture to say that if such had been the case, the people of England would now have any confidence in constitutional agitation as a mode for the redress of grievances. Would not the thing appear to them a sham, a humbug, or a means only for obtaining places for mock patriots?

our Dublin subsidized institutions. It is now no secret that the Royal Dublin Society's ancient monopoly is about to be terminated, and that the library, botanic garden, and natural history museum, supported wholly by parliamentary grants, will in future be managed by the council of the society as trustees for the public; and as such trustees their management must be conducted on the principle of throwing open each and every one of these departments, as widely and as freely as the British Museum library, Kew Gardens, and the South Kensington Museum are now thrown open. Nothing could be more just and equitable than such an assimilation as this.

But it is impossible for us to admit that Government will discharge all its duty in effecting this reform. For the same reasons that we cannot rely upon individual benevolence to establish in Ireland non-proselytizing primary schools, we cannot rely upon it to establish free libraries, or public parks or gardens. In England and Scotland, where the wealthy classes are in accord with the poor and the humble, we find a Sir W. Brown grandly endowing a free library with his £40,000; a Baxter giving his £30,000 for a public park; and merchants, manufacturers and corporate bodies rivalling one another in doing something to elevate the people about them, and subscribing for that purpose their thousands in individual contributions, or their millions of pence in self-imposed small local rates.

But where, alas, is this spirit to be found in Ireland? There is not yet one single solitary instance of any library, garden, or park open to all and free to all being established or endowed by private benevolence in Ireland. Last year a member

of the Dublin Corporation liberally contributed £1,000 for educational purposes, but his liberality was not for all classes and creeds. Instead of heading a subscription list for a Dublin free library with this sum, he gave it to the members of the "Young Men's Christian Association in connexion with the United Church of England and Ireland." To these he limited his bounty, and in a few days after he voted against a halfpenny rate to utilize Stephen's-green for the benefit of all the people. Under these circumstances, would it not be worthy of consideration whether, if Government were relieved of the charge of primary education, it might not turn its attention to the establishment of free libraries, public gardens, schools of science and art all over the country, with a like liberality to that displayed by the continental governments.

While in the primary school the central authority cannot always act freely or beneficially, it can do so to the fullest extent in the institutions we are now considering. In the case of infant education, the claims of the local and ecclesiastical authorities must always be a source of danger and difficulty to any government system, however liberal or non-proselytizing. But in a free library or school of science, in a picture-gallery or public garden, the Government will deal with adult citizens who require no protection from the local town council, or from their landlord or clergyman. In a free library the Government have but to honestly and impartially provide books for all classes and creeds, and, throwing all open, let each choose for himself. In the picture gallery let the Dutch school correct or be corrected by the Italian or Spanish. In the laboratory let the

laws of alkalis, acids, and gases be solely studied to promote Irish industry, and in the public garden let the orange lily and the green shamrock grow side by side with other, and, as we must confess, more beautiful specimens of floriculture or herbage, and so please, educate, and humanize all parties and all religious denominations.

In our Appendix will be found what France, Belgium, and other countries are doing in this branch of popular education. Is it not time some effort should be made in Ireland in the same direction? Beginning with Dublin, should we not call for the conversion of the whole of Leinster House to the purposes of a National Library, to which the privileges of Trinity College Library should be transferred, together with a sufficient endowment to make it in time one of the great libraries of Europe. Belfast, Cork, Limerick, &c., should each have its free library, its school of science and art, and public garden, to diffuse widely, and throughout the length and breadth of the land, the knowledge, the refinement, the civilization, without which neither this or any other country, in this age of social, industrial, and material progress, can be otherwise than miserable, ignorant, and discontented.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

The reader, whose patience or whose interest in the subject may have led him to proceed with us step by step in this investigation, will, we trust, give us the credit for endeavouring to present nothing for his consideration but that which has been tried, and successfully tried, in the more advanced educational countries of Europe and America.

In this respect we believe we may fairly claim some little advantage over others who write on this subject in a style which more resembles an act of parliament or an imperial decree, than an essay intended to demonstrate and convince.

We do not expect that any serious attempt at legislation will be made during the present session ; we think "the rest and be thankful" policy will finally prevail, and, after some little peddling measure about "affiliated colleges" shall have been proposed, duly debated, and rejected, the ministry, should they remain in office, will adopt the course usual on such occasions, and conciliate our educationists as Irish agitators are usually conciliated, and thereupon let the matter quietly drop into oblivion.

But as the state of Irish education cannot be pronounced satisfactory, a serious thoughtful discussion of the subject is most necessary with a view to future remedial legislation. In what direction should that legislation tend ? The state of things in Ireland is so very peculiar, that we cannot be too cautious in framing our educational policy. There are two Irelands widely distinct—the Ireland of Protestantism, and the Ireland of Catholicism.

The experience of the advanced educational countries furnishes us with examples for a policy which might be suitable for *either* Ireland, or for both.

In Protestant States we have the American Union, with its common-school system, proved to be acceptable to the Irish-American ; and we have Prussia, with its centralizing, complicated system. Which will we choose ?

Again, if considering the great preponderance of Catholicism in Ireland, we think it our better policy

to take a Catholic State as our model, we have before us the educational policy of those States wherein the Protestant minority have equal rights with their fellow-citizens, and those others wherein even Protestant public worship is prohibited. To which shall we tend ?

The Catholic States of Europe are of two classes—the progressive and the stationary ; those which have established the equality of all subjects before the law, and those which maintain a class ascendancy ; those which have adopted the great principles of modern liberalism, and those which yet cling to the maxims of antiquated despotism.

In Europe, England and Russia are the two opposite poles of the political world, and therefore, as we find anywhere English or Russian principles in the ascendant, we say there the government is a liberal or a despotic one. So in educational policy, among Roman Catholic States France and Belgium occupy positions opposite to those of Rome and Spain ; and as we find the policy of our statesmen or rulers leaning to the one or the other, we may safely pronounce it progressive, and in accord with the ideas of modern civilization ; or retrogressive, and in sympathy with enforced stagnation.

Which will our statesmen have—the Roman, the French, the American, or the Belgian system and policy ?—Whether do we go forward to local government and representative institutions, or backwards to centralized despotism and popular debasement ?

## APPENDIX.

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### PRIMARY EDUCATION.

#### FRANCE.

The law of 1833 obliges every commune, either by itself or in conjunction with a neighbouring one, to maintain a school for the gratuitous education of the poor. The laws of 1852 and 1854 have changed the local governing body from a communal committee to the mayor and curé of the place.

Over these are the departmental council, meeting twice a month in the chief town of the department. This body, elective under Louis Philippe, is now composed of the prefect, the procureur, the bishop, and ten other members named by the Minister of Public Instruction. The prefect presides in the council. Its powers are extensive. It nominates the cantonal delegates to inspect and report on the communal schools; the commission to grant teachers their certificates of competency, without which none but the religious orders can teach. It fixes the schoolmasters' salaries, and can refuse without appeal a license to any teacher, public or private, however certified, to teach within the department. The prefect alone names, suspends, and dismisses the teachers, on the report of the "academy inspector," 16 of whom exercise a general supervision over the primary education of France. At the head of the system is the Imperial Council of Public Instruction, presided over by the Minister of Public Instruction.

All the members of this council are named by the Emperor. It appoints the academy or general inspectors, and exercises a general supervision over the whole empire, and is the last court of appeal from all subordinate jurisdictions. A tax of three centimes on the property in each commune is levied for the support of the communal school. If this and the school fees charged for the non-indigent children do not suffice for the support of the school, the department must contribute a rate in aid, not exceeding two centimes on the property of the department, to which rate the State contributes wherever it is necessary.

Religious minorities in the schools are placed under the special protection of the fundamental law, that no child shall be instructed in any but its parents' religion. In 1857 there were 3,850,000 children in the primary schools of France; of these, 1,250,000 were free.

The total expense was 42,300,000 francs, contributed thus :—

In school fees	...	10,413,000f.
By the communal 3 centimes	...	21,855,000f.
By departmental 2 do.	...	5,273,000f.
By State	... ..	5,170,000f.,
besides 654,000f. for the central office.		

#### BELGIUM.

By every commune, or by two neighbouring communes, as in France, a free school for the children of the poor must be maintained.

The "poor" are defined to be, 1,—persons receiving out-door relief from the bureaux de bienfaisance; 2, persons working for daily wages; 3, all other persons who, in the opinion of the bureau (under

\* Arnold's Report to the Commissioners of 1860.

appeal to the council), are unable to pay for their children's education.

The schools are managed by the communal councils (bodies elected for managing local affairs by the ratepayers), who appoint the teachers, and, subject to appeal to the Minister of the Interior, suspend and dismiss.

In these schools there must be taught, 1,—religion and morals ; 2, reading ; 3, writing ; 4, elements of French, Flemish or German, according to the locality ; 5, elementary mathematics ; 6, the legal system of weights and measures.

The teaching of religion and morals is under the direction of the clergy of the majority of the scholars, the children of other creeds being prohibited from attendance at such teaching.

The inspection for secular purposes is conducted by 108 cantonal inspectors, named by the provincial councils. In each province (9) there is one provincial inspector who superintends the cantonal inspectors, and reports to the Minister of the Interior.

Besides these, the Catholic bishops have their cantonal inspectors, 148 in number, for religious purposes. These are under the control of 6 diocesan inspectors, one for each diocese, all named by the bishops ; the other creeds having their religious inspectors also. In October every year the bishops and the chiefs of the other religious bodies send in reports to the Minister on the state of religion and morals.

In 1828 the number of children at school was 247,496 ; and of teachers, 2,145 certificated, and 1,885 not certificated. The expenditure was 1,862,600f., contributed thus : from the communal (local) funds, 1,080,800f. ; provincial funds, 89,616f. ; by the

State, 692,190f. In 1860 the number of children at school was 515,892 ; of whom 408,233 were at the communal, and 107,659 at private schools : the number of teachers was 9,220, all certificated : the expenditure was 6,783,300f. ; contributed thus : by the communes, 2,446,600 ; by the provinces, 687,200f. ; by the State, 2,289,900f. ; by school fees, from the non-indigent, 863,700f. ; by the bureaux de bien-faisance, 392,200f.\*

#### UNITED STATES.

In every township (not compulsory in all the States) there is a common school to which every inhabitant of the town has a right to send his children for gratuitous instruction. These schools are managed by school committees, elected by the people of the township, who appoint, dismiss, or suspend the teachers at pleasure, and do all other things necessary for the government of the school.

In some of the New England States and other old States large endowments for the support of those schools exist ; in these cases the school-tax is supplementary to the endowment. In the new States the school tax provides all, or nearly all, the outlay.

In New England and the Western States modelled after the New England pattern, each town has its own school-tax ; but in New York and some other States the schools are supported by a State school-tax, which is administered by a State board of education, to which all the local school committees report.

We regret we have not recent statistics of the

\* Reports of the Belgian Minister of the Interior.

American schools ; the latest at hand are those of 1840, when the number of primary schools was 47,207, and of scholars, 1,845,113. In Massachusetts the scholars were one to four of the entire population ; in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, about one to three.\*

#### GERMANY.

The German system of public education, like all other German systems, is extremely complicated, and not easily understood. We shall attempt to generalize its leading principles. In Prussia, and generally throughout Germany, the obligation to maintain at least one primary school is imposed upon every town and commune. The attendance thereat, or at some other certified school, is compulsory, and enforced by fine or imprisonment. These schools are of two classes : one for the rural districts (inferior), teaching only reading, writing, arithmetic, &c. ; the other for the towns, &c., of a superior character, teaching, in addition, book-keeping, elementary chemistry, grammar, gymnastics, hygiène, &c.

Practically, according to the Rev. Mr. Pattison, in the rural districts the pastor of the parish, although associated with a local board, is the real manager of the school ; but in the towns the elective bodies have latterly obtained the whole or greater part of the management. These boards have different designations, and are differently constituted in the different States of Germany ; but, in all, the elective principle obtains. Over them is the School Council of the province, which, in turn, is controlled by the Minister of Education.

\* Horace Mann's Report for 1840 ; American facts by James (1851)

The inspection system is very complicated. Partly in the hands of the local clergy, and partly in the hands of the government, it may be said to secure in Germany what is secured in Belgium through the two sets of cantonal inspectors, the care of religious instruction on the one hand, and of secular on the other.

There appears to be an evident struggle between the local representative principle and the central and hierarchical one. Mr. Pattison says the government sides with the church to check the instincts of self-government. They find that once the clergy become public functionaries or allies of the State, they invariably sustain the absolutest theories of German governments. "No matter who is named to the office, however zealous a champion of ultramontane principles he may have been before, he insensibly comes round in a year or two to view the business of his department from the government side."

But centralizing or ultramontane policy does not promote education.

It is found that in Wurtemberg, where the policy has been pushed farther than elsewhere, that the people have become negligent of a matter in which they are not permitted to interfere. "The more perfect Government makes its machinery, the more rigidly it administers, the more it destroys that vital sap which the school ought to draw from the community." The consequence is, public opinion calls loudly for decentralization and local government.

The schools are supported by—1, school fees from non-indigent children ; 2, a local rate ; 3, the general taxation of the country ; and 4, endowments, which, however, are generally very small in amount. The

local rate is levied on different principles in the different States of Germany ; but, in all, this rate seems to be considered as an aid to the school-fees and endowment ; while, in turn, the contribution from the general taxation is in aid of the deficiencies of the poorer parishes. In Prussia, in 1857, the schoolmasters' salaries were thus provided:

Out of the local rate	...	...	...	117,934 thalers.
„ Endowments	...	...	...	11,908 „
„ General taxation	...	...	...	35,000 „

In that year the number of children of the school age in Prussia was 2,943,251, of which there were at school 2,828,692. The number of schools was 24,292.\*

#### HOLLAND.

The obligation is imposed upon the commune to support the communal school, aided, where needed, by the province and the state, as in Germany and France.

The teacher is appointed after a competitive examination by the communal council, who are obliged to choose from the three, four, five, or six who acquitted themselves the best at the examination.

Religious instruction is left to the different religious communions, the teacher not interfering. This law was attempted to be altered in 1857 in favour of denominationalism. In the debates in the Dutch Chambers, the Roman Catholics sided with the Liberals in opposing the change, and succeeded in out-voting the Protestant "reformers."

\* Rev. Mr. Pattison's Report to Royal Commissioners, 1860.

The primary schools of Holland are, Mr. Arnold seems to think, the best in Europe. The results are such as are obtained nowhere else. To the excellent training-schools for teachers, and the good system of inspection, much of this superiority is attributed.

The inspectors, both the Provincial, of whom there are 11, and the District, of whom there are 92, are appointed by the Government, on the presentation of the provincial commissions, from such laymen and clergymen as take an interest in education, are considered competent, and are willing to give their services gratuitously. Their powers are very extensive. The district inspector assists at the competitive examinations of the teachers, grants certificates of competency, and inspects all the schools in his district twice every year. The provincial commission, which governs the provincial school system, is composed of all the district inspectors of the province, presided over by the provincial inspector. From each of the eleven provincial commissions one of the board is deputed to represent it on the State Commission, presided over by the Minister of the Interior conjointly with the Inspector-General. This commission is the Supreme Council of Education in Holland. If a good system of inspection does much for the Dutch schools, the liberal payment of the teacher does more. His minimum salary is fixed by law at about £34 per annum, £8 being the minimum in France and Belgium.

The number of children in Dutch primary schools was, in 1857, 322,767, or about one-eighth of the entire population. Towards the expenses of the schools the provinces contributed 52,581 florins, or £4,380 ;

the State, 25,490fl., or £2,120 ; the rest was provided by the communes.\*

#### SWITZERLAND.

In all the cantons the communes provide and maintain the public schools, but the State assists them when their resources fall short.

The communal school committees appoint the teacher, after a competitive examination. Religious instruction, if given by the teacher, is given under the direction of the clergyman, whose place he fills ; but the hours for this instruction are limited, and the children are separated before it takes place. The Council of State in each canton has its board of public instruction, which appoints the inspectors and generally governs the system. Teachers can be dismissed only by the Council of State. In some of the cantons the education is gratuitous and compulsory. In the majority, school fees are charged to those able to pay.†

#### CANADA.

Upper and Lower Canada have separate school laws adapted to the religious elements prevailing in each. The common schools in both are maintained partly by Government, and partly by local, self-imposed taxation, aided in some places by school fees. In French or Lower Canada, communal councils, in which the curé is more or less supreme, govern the schools. In British or Upper Canada, the schools are governed by elective corporations called school trustees. Separate schools for Roman Catholics are sanctioned under certain regulations.

\* Arnold's Report, 1860.      † Arnold's Report, 1860.

Teachers must pass an examination before the county board of education (an elective body), or receive a license from the provincial normal school before they can receive the Government allowance. This provincial normal school is described as a highly effective institution, sending forth annually from 100 to 150 qualified teachers. It is maintained by the Government, which also provides the local schools with small libraries. The total number of books thus distributed was, in 1858, 533,000 volumes. The number of children at school in Upper Canada was in that year 293,683 ; the expenditure, £208,627.\*

#### GREAT BRITAIN.

The schools aided by the Privy Council are not necessarily denominational, but they are nearly all so; in 1860 they were 86 per cent. In the local clergyman of the denomination to which the school belongs is vested the care of the religious instruction. In all other respects the school is vested in a school committee, or in the local clergy, as it may be placed under one of four classes, A. B. C. or D. In Class A, chiefly in large towns the clergy, with a certain number of persons annually elected by the subscribers form the school committee. In Class B the subscribers elect, not annually, but only on the occurrence of a vacancy in the committee by death or resignation. In Class C the school committee fill up the vacancies in their own body. In Class D in poor rural districts, where there are no laymen qualified to act on the committee, the rector or other local clergyman is the sole manager.

In cases of disputes between the clergy and the

\* Emigration Pamphlet, issued by Canadian Government, in 1861.

Church school committees, the matter, if it refer to religious teaching, is decided by the bishop of the diocese ; if otherwise, the President of the Council on Education sends down an inspector, who, with a clergyman named by the bishop, act as arbiters, and in case of difference call in an umpire to decide.

In the Roman Catholic schools the local clergyman has the power of suspending the teacher, and excluding any book on religious grounds, subject to an appeal to his bishop.

Under the Revised Code, the State-aid is given contingent upon the number of the average attendance of children and their success at an examination. The inspection is denominational ; the inspectors must be of the religion of the schools they inspect, and they are appointed subject to the veto of the bishops or other heads of the religious denominations.

The primary schools in England in 1859 were :

Number aided by Privy Council,	6,897.	No. of scholars ...	917,225
Unaided	... .. 15,952.	„	654,393
Proprietary or private enterprize schools		„	573,436
			2,145,054
Total school population	... ..	... ..	2,145,054

The number of certificated teachers in Great Britain was 6,788 ; and of pupil teachers, 15,224.

The average salary and emoluments of certificated teachers				
was	... ..	.. ..	.. ..	£95 per annum.
Ditto of Pupil teachers	... ..	... ..	... ..	62 „
The expenditure was £1,401,236 ; thus provided :—				
Out of parliamentary grant	... ..	... ..	... ..	£723,115
Voluntary subscriptions	... ..	... ..	... ..	244,514
School pence (1d. to 6d. per week)	... ..	... ..	... ..	270,205
Endowments	... ..	... ..	... ..	117,402

Under the operation of the Revised Code the parliamentary grant has been reduced, with a corresponding

increase in the sums which the localities are obliged to provide. The grant last year was, with an increased population, reduced to £693,078. Sir J. K. Shuttleworth, late Secretary of the Education Council, said, in a recent speech, that public education in England, under the gale of the Revised Code, is being driven upon the rocks where it must be shattered to pieces.\*

#### IRELAND.

The national schools are governed by local patrons, by whom the teachers are appointed and dismissed. The patrons of 4,705 schools, classified in the report for 1850, were :—Clergymen, 3,418 ; laymen, 1,124 ; jointly lay and clerical, 163. The Roman Catholic clergy had 2,778 ; the Presbyterian, 475 ; and the Established Church, 147 schools.

The system of inspection and the normal training school are under the control of the Board of Education, the members of which are nominated by the Government. On the 17th May, 1861, the primary school population of Ireland was thus distributed:—

In 5,663 National Schools	...	...	304,162 scholars.
— 1,450 Church Education, &c.	...	...	43,842 „
— 131 Christian Brothers, &c.	...	...	25,819 „
— 658 Other Societies,	...	...	25,128 „
— 22 Orphanages,	...	...	858 „
— 1,504 Private,	...	...	43,624 „
			<hr/>
9,428			443,433

or only about thirty per cent. of the children of the school age. The number of the trained teachers under the National Board was, in 1864, 3,365 ; other teachers and monitors, 7,927. The

\* Report of Royal Commissioners of 1860, and other parliamentary papers.

expenditure of the Board was £322,859, of which the central establishment and the inspection took £43,357; the model schools, £37,248; the Albert and other model farms, £11,903; books and maps, £19,279; teachers' salaries, £211,072. The receipts were £13,298 from sale of books; £5,590 from model farms [these institutions would require a very liberal tenant-right law to make them pay]; fees from model scholars, £4,298. The balance was provided by parliament.

The local subscriptions in aid of teachers' salaries were £12,054, and the school fees, £36,935.

#### PLAN OF THE IRISH CATHOLIC BISHOPS.

“That no books may be used in them (the national schools) for secular instruction to which the ordinary shall object; and that the teachers, both as to appointment and removal, and the selection of all books for religious instruction, shall be under the control of the same ordinary.” National system “especially objectionable,” from its “non-recognition of the control over education which the Catholic Church holds to have been conferred on bishops.” Instead of this control there is “substituted in its stead the control of a board consisting of members of different religions,” &c.\*

#### ROMAN STATES.

Pope Leo XII., in 1825, placed the elementary schools under the control of the Cardinal-Vicar, who delegates to a committee of ecclesiastics the general superintendence of the schools. This committee grants certificates of competency, without which none can teach either in public or private schools.

\* Pastoral signed by 28 bishops in August, 1859.

The gratuitous schools are of different kinds; the parish schools under the control of the rector or parish priest, and the schools of the Christian Brothers and other orders. There does not appear to be any State aid or local rate for the support of these schools, which seem to depend upon voluntary and charitable contributions. In 1841, according to Cardinal Morichini, there were 14,157 children at school in the city of Rome; of these, 7,579 were free.\*

#### MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATION.

Since 1833, superior primary or middle class schools have been established in every town in France of ten thousand inhabitants and upwards. In the German States similar schools or gymnases exist. They are subvented by the municipalities and the State. Their government is vested in the local authorities, controlled more or less by the central authority. In Belgium, where the athenés and lycées are largely aided by the State, the patronage is in the King. In last year's budget, the Belgian Ministry allowed 1,207,452fs. or £43,000, subvention for middle class education. The number of scholars had risen from 4,438 in 1848, to 11,065 in 1864. They are taught, in addition to what is taught in primary schools, drawing, practical science, music, history, and geography. In the Roman States, according to Mr. Maguire, there is a gymnasium in every town of over 2,000 inhabitants. They teach, "besides other matters, reading, writing, arithmetic, elementary philosophy, and the principles of jurisprudence." The appointment of the teachers belongs "generally to the local municipality," subject to the approbation

\* Rome and its Ruler; by J. F. Maguire.

of the bishop of the diocese, and the Congregation of Studies. The education is wholly gratuitous, the municipality providing the expenses.

#### FREE LIBRARIES, &c.

In every Continental State there is to be found a National or State Library. The admission is "entirely free" at Basle, Berne, Brussels, Breda, Cassel, Dresden, Florence (three public libraries), Frankfort, Gottingen, The Hague, Hanover, Leyden, Lisbon, Madrid, Milan (two libraries), Munich, Naples, Orleans, Paris (four public libraries), Parma, Prague, Turin, Vienna, Venice, and Wolfenbuttel. Free on obtaining an introduction at Berlin, Copenhagen, and Geneva. In nearly all a selected portion of the books are lent out to known or respectable persons. And not only in the capital cities but also in the provincial towns the free libraries are to be found. As an example of this kind of provision for popular education, we may give the statistics of the 21 public libraries of Belgium. They are :—

	No. of vols. &c.		Annual Grant in francs, and its source.		Open.
1 Brussels,	200,000	...	State 65,000	...	Free every day except Sundays
2 Ghent,	83,000	...	" 15,500	...	" "
3 Liege,	84,000	...	" 14,000	...	" "
4 Louvain,	60,000	...	C. University	...	" "
5 Anvers,	20,000	...	Town 5,400	...	—
6 Malines,	4,000	...	" 2,200	...	Two days a week
7 Bruges,	10,500	...	" 2,200	...	Five "
8 Ypres,	9,500	...	" 1,400	...	Three "
9 Mons	15,000	...	" 3,200	...	Six "
10 D'Ath,	3,000	...	—	...	—
11 Tournay,	26,000	...	Town 3,000	...	3 days a week
12 Namur,	17,000	...	—	...	—
13 D'Arlin,	3,000	...	Town 1,100	...	Sundays and Tuesdays
14 Oudenarde,	4,300	...	" 1,100	...	Every day

The libraries at Furnes, Courtrai, Hasselt, Verviers, Chimay, Torlemond, and Termonde having been opened, or in course of formation, in 1850, (the date of Report) we have no statistics to present respecting them.

In all the libraries from which there are returns the books are lent out, and only twenty volumes are reported as having been lost in five years from the library of Ghent, and one volume in twelve years from that of Bruges.

In England the free library system has made considerable progress. Previous to 1865, 23 cities or towns had adopted the provisions of the Free Libraries Act, and established free libraries supported by a rate of one penny in the pound.

Of these, the most considerable are those of Liverpool and Manchester. The number of volumes in the Liverpool Library was, in 1863, 72,760, about equally divided between a reference and a lending department. In the Reference Library 472,000 books were issued during the year, to be read in the room; 8,638 persons (chiefly artizans) were enrolled on the lists of those privileged to borrow from the Lending Library. They took out 461,080 volumes, or 53 for each borrower during the year.

In the Manchester Library there were the same year 65,368 volumes, also divided nearly equally between a reference and a lending department. The number on the list of borrowers was 10,224, and they borrowed during the year an aggregate of 306,635 volumes, 886,848 persons had visited the Reference Library and News Room attached, and 122,171 volumes had been issued in this department to readers.

Contrast with the foregoing what is done, or, rather, what is not done in Ireland.

## APPENDIX B.

## IRISH EDUCATIONAL POLITICS.

In December, 1859, a meeting of Irish members was held "for the purpose of taking measures to promote the policy enunciated by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, in their pastoral address published on the 5th August." Only eleven attended, Messrs. Corbally, Bellew, Blake, Brady, Hennessy, Lanigan, McEvoy, Maguire, O'Brien, O'Donoghue, and White. Four others wrote to express their readiness to adopt the resolutions, whatever they might be, of the meeting. These were Sir George Bowyer, Messrs. Dunne, McMahan, and Redmond. From a fifth member of Parliament, Mr. Deasy, there came a letter declining to attend, and referring to Parliament as the proper place for discussing the question.

In the following January, Mr. Deasy having accepted the office of Attorney General, the important Catholic constituency of Cork county had the opportunity afforded it of pronouncing upon the claims of the Bishops' pastoral. Mr. Deasy went to the poll with Viscount Campden, an English convert and supporter of the episcopalian views; the result was, Mr. Deasy obtained 5,674 votes, and Viscount Campden 3,395.

The same year (1860), Colonel White was unseated on petition.

In February, 1865, Mr. J. F. Maguire came forward as a candidate for Cork city, but being opposed by Mr. Murphy, a supporter of the Queen's Colleges, he retired without going to the poll. In April, 1865, Mr. R. M. Bellew accepted office, and retired from

Parliament. At the general election in July, the remainder of the 15 fared thus. Mr. Dunne retired, and was succeeded by Mr. J. W. Fitzpatrick, a liberal Protestant. Messrs. Hennessy, Lanigan, McMahon, and Redmond went to the poll, and were rejected by their respective constituencies. The remaining 8 were re-elected.

In December, 1864, there was founded, under the patronage of Archbishop Cullen, a new National Association, for procuring tenant right, Church Disendowment, and "Freedom of Education." Nearly the whole of the Roman Catholic lay politicians kept aloof, and have since continued to keep aloof. In a report, adopted on the 26th July, 1865, some statistics are given which strikingly illustrate the popularity of the three points of the Association's charter. They issued petition-forms to every parish in Ireland, and obtained in return,

580 petitions, with 195,107 signatures attached in favor of Tenant-Right.

Number not given, with 146,119 signatures attached in favor of Church Disendowment.

Number not given, with 31,018 signatures attached in favor of "Freedom of Education."

In November, 23 Irish Catholic Members met to consider their course on the education and other questions. It is remarkable they did not revoke the resolutions of 1859. They resolved only to call for the extension of the "British plan" to Ireland, with such modifications as the circumstances of the country may require, a resolution which might be adopted at Kildare Place with equal sincerity as at City Hall. It is just as sincere and explicit as the pledge to vote for everything the circumstances of the coun-

try requires. If Ireland is to be governed on constitutional principles, there is every reason for demanding that we should have the opinion of the constituencies unequivocally ascertained before any serious change in our educational policy is attempted.

#### SECULAR EDUCATION AND NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

If secular education is to be considered as the training for a man's secular career, it follows that those the best qualified to direct it cannot be ecclesiastics, who have been brought up in the seclusion of conventual or collegiate life, but men living in the world, and knowing how secular prosperity is best promoted. The young artizan is sent at fourteen to the workshop, to learn the handicraft by which he is to live. Would it be thought a good plan to supersede the workshop by reformatories or religious alms-houses, conducted by monastic tradesmen? And if not, on what principle can it be conceived possible to satisfactorily educate merchants or manufacturers in institutions conducted by bishops or clergymen?

On this point the evidence which history presents is clear and irresistible. In all the advanced and progressive nations of the world, secular education is legislated for and controlled by the secular authority. We find it so in France and Belgium, and we find in those countries a degree of national prosperity and a civilization which are not attained elsewhere under other maxims of government.

In Forbes's "California" (1845), we read that for two centuries missionary establishments had existed for promoting education and civilization among the natives of that country. These establishments were the very models of what we might presume, from

their speeches, our Irish "liberal" educationists would wish to set up. The natives were kindly treated; they were taken when young, and carefully and religiously brought up; they were taught trades, and employed in light and wholesome labour. They were not let to starve; their every want was provided for; they were not permitted to wander from religious or moral rectitude. The vigilance of their monastic guardians, always at hand, preserved them, and prescribed their course of daily and hourly life, according to the rules of the most approved theologians.

But when we come to look for results, we find that under this system California might have remained for ever all but unknown and uninhabited; the good natives and their good preceptors having been perfectly incapable of understanding, much less of developing the great natural resources of the country. A less carefully nurtured and a more energetic people came, and a change as marvellous as that wrought by Aladdin's lamp took place.

Under the missionaries California was destined to remain a desert. Under the Yankees it has risen into an Empire State.

In Mr. Maguire's "Rome" we meet, at page 394, a passage which, written as it was by an enthusiastic admirer of the Papal system of government, seems very suggestive. After stating that the people of the Roman States prefer to be ruled in secular matters by ecclesiastics, Mr. Maguire gives as the reason that "it is notorious that ecclesiastics, by choice and from necessity, by training and cultivation, are far in advance of other Italians in education and general knowledge." Is he a good patriot who would increase the tendency to a similar state of things in Ire-

land? Let us, if we would have the prosperity of happy and prosperous countries, take them as our model in drawing the line firmly and temperately between the ecclesiastical and the secular jurisdictions in public education.\*

#### AMERICAN PUBLIC SPIRIT.

To the greater portion of the Irish people the United States must appear as their land of promise—their true home—their real country. It is therefore important to note some of the most recent manifestations of American spirit.

We read that Mr. George Peabody, American citizen, has just given £100,000 to make up the colossal donation of a quarter of a million sterling, for improving the dwellings of the working classes in London of all creeds,—mark, *of all creeds*. What Irish philanthropist, or what number of Irish philanthropists combined have ever done any thing like this?

At Harvard University, Massachusetts, which is open to all creeds and classes, and is governed by an elective board of “overseers,” the following donations were received last year from American citizens:—

1. Charles Sanders, 20,000 dollars for a Public Hall.
2. John A. Lowell, 12,000 dollars for a Botanic Library.

\* No impartial observer can be satisfied with the position occupied in politics or commerce by Irish Roman Catholics. What M.P. worthy of the name of statesman has arisen in Catholic Ireland? In banking, in manufactures, &c. where are they beside their Protestant fellow-citizens?

3. Thomas Lee, 15,000 dollars to found a Chair of Elocution.

4. Messrs. Story, Bigelow, and Thomas, 5,000 dollars each, to found four new Scholarships.

5. Hon. Samuel Hooper, 50,000 dollars to found a Professorship of Geology.

6. James Lawrence, 50,000 dollars in aid of the Chemical and Engineering departments of the University.

These are the donations for one year and to one only of the 176 Universities established in the United States. Will it not be odd if Irish merchants and traders should be obliged to ship their sons to Yankeeland for their education? Certainly, if in Dublin we are to have nothing but Trinity College on the one hand, and Archbishop Cullen's University on the other, to some place out of Dublin and probably out of Ireland, the middle classes must send such of their sons as they do not intend for parsons or priests.

\* \* \* In the effort to compress a large quantity of matter into a small space, a great deal of what is most valuable has been omitted, or is not given in full detail. The reader is referred to the numerous authorities cited, and is requested to weigh well the facts they present, before hastily condemning the views of the writer.

Houses of the Oireachtas