

41
Education
Model Schools

2

NOTES OF A VISIT
TO
THE MODEL SCHOOLS IN DUBLIN,
AND
REFLECTIONS
ON THE
STATE OF THE EDUCATION QUESTION
In Ireland,
SUGGESTED BY THAT VISIT.

BY
W. COOKE TAYLOR, LL. D.,

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN ;
AUTHOR OF "THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIETY ;"
"NOTES OF A TOUR IN THE MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS OF ENGLAND ;" "REPORT ON THE
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS OF FRANCE," ETC. ETC.

DUBLIN :
HODGES AND SMITH, GRAFTON-STREET,
BOOKSELLERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.
LONDON : JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

MDCCCXLVII.

1847

DUBLIN:
PRINTED AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
BY M. H. GILL.

NOTES OF A VISIT,

&c. &c.



NATIONAL Education has engaged a large share of my attention for more than a quarter of a century; during that period I have had many opportunities for personally and minutely examining the practical workings of the different systems adopted in Scotland, England, France, and Belgium, while my literary connexions have enabled me to procure tolerably complete details of the methods adopted in Prussia, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and the United States of America. Circumstances having led me to make a short visit to my native land, I was naturally induced to examine the system of public instruction supported by the State or by voluntary associations, and to compare them with my reminiscences of what existed in Ireland when I left the

country twenty years ago, and with what I have since seen in other lands.

Instead of professing impartiality, I must confess that I feel strongly prejudiced in favour of one great department of National Education in Ireland, the Dublin University; few have passed through its course who have more reason to remember it with affection and gratitude; my fellow-students belonged to different grades, creeds, and parties, but all our differences were forgotten when we united in literary pursuits; and I cannot remember a single instance of angry controversy arising to disturb the harmony which united the companions of my youth. Active life has separated us widely in place, and still more widely in opinion; but it has broken no friendship and has chilled no intercourse whenever an opportunity of meeting was afforded. In the arduous and uncertain toils of literary life I have been cheered and encouraged by the sympathies of those who had studied and competed with me in the classic halls of Trinity. In foreign lands, to meet a graduate of my own University was, in most instances, to meet a companion and an associate. "We took sweet counsel together," and whether we went up to the same or to different houses of God, we went "as friends."

It is, therefore, more than probable that I have a strong prejudice in favour of that system of education which most nearly approaches to that established in Trinity College ; and, whatever may be the case in Ireland, I have found few graduates of that University either in England or on the Continent, who had not almost involuntarily set up the same standard. My deceased friend, Mr. David Shea, late Professor of Hindústání at the East India College in Heyleybury, though one of the students removed from the University at the time of Lord Clare's visitation, retained his strong college feelings to the last hour of his life, and would at any period have made every possible sacrifice to change what he called his *Alma Noverca* into an *Alma Mater*. There must, then, be some inherent excellence in a system that inspires kindly feelings too strong to be overpowered by political asperities or religious differences, and which even positive injury failed to extinguish.

The official Visitor of the University and the Provost of Trinity College holding office in the administration of the National Schools, I was naturally led to pay my first visit to their Model Establishment. It is impossible to walk through Dublin without being struck by the force of Pugin's remark, that public edi-

fices have a large and influential share in the public education of the people. To the excellence of our public buildings may probably be attributed that purity of taste in dress and demeanour which foreigners have often marked as characteristic of the Irish capital. The Bank is an excellent lecturer to the College; the Four Courts teach more than law to our barristers; and if the Custom House yields little to the Revenue, it certainly contributes much to the development of correct taste in the general community. It was, therefore, pleasing to find that the Model Schools have been accidentally located in the vicinity of one of the most beautiful modern structures in Dublin: early familiarity with what is excellent in design is the best security against depravation of taste.

The Model Schools of the National Board occupy the ground where Tyrone House and Gardens formerly stood, an area about equal to that of Lansdowne House and Gardens in Berkeley-square. So convenient and ample a site could hardly be procured in any other part of the city; there is space not only for school-houses, but, what is equally important, for play-grounds: it has been justly remarked by the late Minister of Public Instruction in France, that "the play-ground is a school in the

open air." The buildings consist of two lodges and five substantial houses, having no pretensions to architectural beauty. The first house to the right contains the offices of the Board ; the first to the left the lecture-rooms for training masters ; the girls' school is behind the former ; the boys' school is in the rear of the latter ; and the infant school occupies the central building.

More attention is paid to the infant schools in Paris than in any other place which I have visited, because nowhere else is there so much of out-door, and what may be called undomestic, female employment. This, indeed, has led to the establishment of *les crèches*, which, perhaps, may be rendered *cradle-schools*, where infants unable to walk are left by their parents in the morning, and taken home when work is over at night. This institution has greatly diminished the amount of infant mortality in Paris, by taking away the temptation to keep babies quiet by pernicious preparations of laudanum ; and it has also removed the necessity of keeping elder children from school to attend to their little brothers and sisters at home. The economy of industry in Dublin is not such as to require imperatively the establishment of cradle-schools in Dublin, but they

would probably be found advantageous in Belfast and the northern manufacturing districts.

Infant schools require more careful superintendence, and a more constant exercise of vigilant attention, than any other. It is of the utmost importance to avoid *fatiguing* the infant mind or body, and it is, therefore, necessary to have a constant succession of postures and occupations. Wilderspin's system, which is adopted in the Dublin Model School, is probably the most perfect that can be devised ; it is free from the rigid exactness which in France tends to reduce all the training processes employed to mere mechanical routine ; and in the Dublin school there is a wider range for spontaneous development of the faculties than in any other with which I am acquainted. It is curious in all countries to find, that the pervading education idea in all schools seems to be derived from the system established in the national University. Thus, the military character, impressed by Napoleon on the University of France, is observable even in the infant schools of Paris ; and the reforms which Bernadotte effected in Upsal, have had a most healthy influence on the places of primary instruction in Stockholm. Mrs. Austin made an abortive attempt to establish infant schools for the

higher ranks in London, and where she failed no one else is likely to succeed. But it would be a most useful educational exercise if parents of the higher classes would bring their children to see the discipline, and witness the order of the Infant Model School during the hours when it is open to the public. It was my good fortune to meet a gentleman who had brought two intelligent children with him to see the schools, and the observations they made on the sight proved that it was to them a useful and an impressive lesson. In Paris, at an infant school kept by the Sisters of Charity, but receiving pecuniary aid (*subvention*) from the municipality, one of the Sisters informed me that children belonging to the middle and upper classes were occasional visitors to the schools, and were allowed, at their own request, to take a part in the exercises, such as the singing, the marching, the recitations, &c., and that the children so admitted regarded the permission as the greatest of indulgences. She added,—what would be found as true in Dublin as in Paris,—that the pride of parents interfered to prevent children from obtaining this enjoyment as often as the children themselves would desire.

A very little attention to the Model School will convince a visitor that the special qualifications for conducting an infant school are higher in their order and rarer in their combination than those required for conducting a school for adults. All education, of course, includes physical, mental, and moral training ; but in the training of infants the physical considerations are the first in importance : the sound body must be formed before the sound mind can be developed. It is, therefore, gratifying to add, that I have never seen so judicious a system anywhere as that which is established in the Model Schools of Dublin. It preserves as much order as is found in the Parisian schools, while it allows more free play for the natural exercise of the faculties, and more ample scope for the spontaneous development of character.

The advantages of this comparative freedom are best seen in the play-ground. A French *Gymnase* has too much of the martinet discipline of a military drill. In the Model School the children are left to choose their own amusements, to run, or walk, or stand still at their pleasure, "to aggravate their sweet voices, and roar you as it were a sucking dove," or to be mute if such be their inclination. The only

restraint to which they are subject is, that order, and discipline, and silence, are restored at the first signal of the master, with a quickness and perfection that must be witnessed to be fully appreciated.

I wish that I could induce the citizens of Dublin to visit this most interesting establishment ; there can be no more delightful spectacle than the faces of happy infancy ; in the intelligent eye, modest demeanour, and orderly conduct of these infants, may be read the promise of a brighter future for Ireland. Habituated as I have been to school inspection, I never have seen anything like the same intelligence of eye manifested in any schools as in the infant schools in Marlborough-street ; and I would almost undertake, from this evidence alone, to point out the children in the upper school who have had the advantage of previous training in the infant school.

The girls' school is admirably conducted ; its efficiency being of course increased by employing the young women who are in training for school-mistresses as assistants to the regular school-staff. As the literary instruction does not differ essentially from that given in the boys' school, I may defer any remarks on this subject until I come to the upper

male school. But I must express my approbation of the industrial education, which includes knitting and needlework, both executed with great neatness, but not carried to what I regard as the dangerous excess of fancy work.

In some of the Parisian schools an attempt has been made to introduce a course of instruction in domestic economy ; a certain number of the girls take it in rotation to sweep and arrange the school-rooms, make the beds, &c., of the teachers, and cook those cheap vegetable soups which form the ordinary mid-day meal of the working-classes in France. The children form themselves into voluntary messes of eight or ten, and settle the amount of contributions among themselves. The mistress told me that appeals to her interference were rarely made ; and she added, that any one who had the opportunity of seeing how the system worked, would be astonished at the amazing extent of the charity of the poor towards the poor. The party of which I was one offered a contribution to mend the poor children's meal, but this was sternly interdicted by the Director ; he said that one of the most valuable lessons to be taught in a National School was the extent to which even the poorest might turn to advantage re-

sources exclusively their own. The principle was sound, but it may be doubted whether it ought to be rigidly applied in all instances. I find on my notes mention of a school, but the name of the place is obliterated, where the mistress piled all the furniture of her sitting-room into a confused heap, and then sent one of her girls to arrange it. When this was done she criticised the position of every chair and table as scientifically as an artist would the lights and shades of a picture; and I find it noted that girls trained in her school were preferred to others as domestic servants. Though such a course of instruction is hardly practicable in Dublin, there can be no doubt that the habits of cleanliness and order inculcated at the Model School must greatly improve the rising generation of maid-servants. If people only reflected how dependent they must be on their servants for a large amount of their comforts, they would take a far deeper interest than they do at present in seeing young girls receive such a course of orderly training as is given in the Model School of Dublin. The play-ground or gymnasium of the girls is separated from that of the boys by the play-ground of the infant school. The exercises in which the children indulged were conducted with

perfect propriety, and require no particular remark, beyond a wish that means could be devised for multiplying their number and variety. Most people are aware that this subject has engaged a large share of public attention on the Continent; the most intelligent professor of calisthenics I ever met asserted, that the best, the cheapest, and the most amusing instrument of recreation was the skipping-rope.

In the boys' school I found that the head master was not only an excellent educationist, but that he had a pride and enthusiasm in his profession such as are rarely witnessed. He had studied the special characters of the pupils, and knew how to vary his lessons so as to suit not merely the different comprehensions, but the different idiosyncrasies of his pupils. He is one of the rare exceptions to the rule that educational enthusiasts are too apt to indulge in theatrical display. There was nothing dramatic about him; on the contrary, he was as steady a man of business as a railway secretary, who has to fix departures and arrivals not only by minutes but by seconds. He is aided by a very efficient corps of monitors and assistants, and by the young men sent up to be trained as masters, who, of course, require to be exercised in the practical

business of education. The course of instruction is nominally limited to reading, writing, and arithmetic; but the books used for reading contain a vast and varied amount of useful information; and as the pupils are taught to understand what they read, it is found that they have acquired, at the close of their course, a greater amount of general knowledge than is attained by the average of pupils in schools of much higher pretensions. It was not necessary for me to come to Dublin in order to learn the value of the educational books published by the National Board; I use them for the instruction of my own children. I do so principally because they communicate moral and religious instruction in the very mode in which Divine Wisdom has indicated as the best and most efficient: "Line must be upon line, precept upon precept; here a little and there a little." To demand that all the doctrines and precepts of Christianity should be offered to the youthful mind in the lump is not one whit less absurd than to require that the child should study the integral calculus while learning the multiplication table.

Education does not begin and end with the school. Scholastic teaching is but a part of educa-

tion, and the schoolmaster only one of our instructors. In its proper sense, education includes that whole course of physical, mental, and moral discipline or training, by which childhood and youth are prepared to discharge the functions and fulfil the duties of men and citizens: hence, Victor Cousin justly says, "the process of education begins before birth, and should continue to the hour of death." It is no objection to any system of school education that it has large omissions; it must have very large omissions in every one of its branches, which students will have to fill up for themselves when they go into the world. Rational men only cease to learn when they cease to live. To require, therefore, that a school system should include a perfect cycle of theological knowledge, is not more wise than to demand that it should include the whole cycle of mathematical science. In fact, there must be deficiencies in every system of education, which can only be supplied by collateral agencies over which no authority can exercise direct control. In schools and colleges a very large portion of the work of instruction is carried on by the students themselves, in the recesses of their own minds, unknown to their rulers and teachers, often unsus-

pected by the pupils themselves. Hence it was that Pestalozzi was so anxious to recognise self-instruction as a right in the pupil, independent of the will of the master; and hence his efforts to surround youth with agencies calculated to win their affections, and to make them heartily combine with the master in carrying out the great work of improvement for themselves and by themselves. Man must have many educators. The family from which he springs, the society by which he is surrounded, the Church to which he belongs, and the State by which he is governed, are each, in their several departments, educational agencies, at least as important and as influential as the school. It is, therefore, necessary to the perfection of any system of National Education that these several agencies should be maintained in their special rights, so that each should discharge its special duties; but, at the same time, these agencies must be worked in such harmonious combination as to prevent the results produced by one agency from being counteracted or destroyed by another.

A parent cannot delegate all his authority over his child, and all his responsibility to God and man for the due exercise of that authority, to any school-

master(*a*). He cannot do it if he would, and he ought not if he could. No school committee would venture to make such a proposition to me or to any man in an independent position: it is, therefore, unjust to take advantage of poverty, and make a similar demand on the poor man. Parental rights are as dear to the peasant as to the prince, and should be equally revered in both cases(*b*).

(*a*) An exception, as noticed elsewhere, must be made in the case of boarding-schools; but even there parental responsibility is deeply involved, in selecting a master fit to supply the place of a father.

(*b*) This is the great objection to the Prussian system of compulsory education. In France, where an educational test has been established as a qualification for admission to all offices, however small and apparently insignificant, compulsion is found to be unnecessary. The English Educational Committee of Council has, to some extent, adopted the French system, by proffering places in the Customs, Excise, &c., as a reward for educational merit. But the greatest stimulants of education have been the railroads; they employ none but those who are competently instructed, and they pay those whom they employ as skilled labourers. They have thus given premiums to education along the whole course of the lines; and I have found by actual inspection, particularly along the London and Southampton line, that the schools in the vicinity of railways are better attended and more efficient than those in the interior of the country. I have no doubt that a similar result will follow from the extension of railways in Ireland, and that great public good would be effected if the railway companies formed an educational connexion with the National Board.

The great error in all the plans that have been formed for the improvement of the lower classes of society is, that these classes have not been consulted either in the formation or in the application of these plans. "The inner life of the classes below us in society," says the Rev. Mr. Mosely, "is never penetrated by us." "Until we take the courage to overcome this difficulty," says the Rev. Mr. Dufton, "we cannot enter into their feelings, or afford them our honest sympathy. But it is *sympathy* which gives life and feeling to the exertions of benevolence. 'Add to godliness brotherly kindness,' says St. Peter, 'and to brotherly kindness charity.' But nowhere has this want of brotherly kindness been more pernicious than in the question of education, where its evils on all classes have been aggravated by the contentions of party strife. In our battles, and squabbles, and controversies, about 'who is to educate the people?'—in nearly all of which it has been taken for granted that the people themselves have no right to a voice in the matter,—we have forgotten that they were not uninterested spectators. On too many of them the impression has been deeply made, that parties had some sinister object in view, some interest to serve, some passion to gratify, some

favourite project to promote. It is no use to tell them that this opinion is a groundless delusion ; your disavowals leave the existence of the opinion where they found it ; the opinion does exist, it *has* increased, and it *is* increasing." I know this to be true in England, and I am sure that it would be more dangerously experienced in Ireland if a system of National Education were established, which did not respect the consciences, the opinions, and even the prejudices of parents.

Neither the schoolmaster nor the school committee has a right to usurp that educational agency which God and nature have bestowed upon parents. The agency of neighbourhood and social example is beyond their grasp. A great point, however, would be gained, if they could only be persuaded to recognize its existence. Experience has shewn that it is one of the most difficult things in the world to make men understand that they are responsible not only for their conduct, but for the influence which their example produces on those around them. Experience has also shewn, that a thorough conviction of this truth is one of the most powerful checks on a mind at all susceptible of healthy influences. Now, when persons set up the school as the sole agent of educa-

tion, they virtually set aside, or at least greatly underrate, the educational influences of example, and thus destroy a most powerful and salutary incentive to moral conduct.

It appears to me hardly less dangerous to set the schoolmaster up in the position which properly belongs to the spiritual pastor. It is the opinion, not merely of clergymen of the Established Church, but of the leading dissenting ministers, that we have rather too much of lay and volunteer teaching in religion at the present day. The spiritual pastor who would transfer to the parish schoolmaster his own proper function of communicating religious instruction, goes far to confess either his own personal disability to teach, or the inutility of his Church as an educational institution. If there are clergymen unable or unwilling to give spiritual instruction to the youth of their flocks, it is not surprising that they should desire schoolmasters to perform this necessary duty ; but it is rather too much to say, that the want of leisure, knowledge, or zeal in these should be made the foundation of a universal and rather a dangerous principle.

Let it, then, be understood, that no school can give a complete education, whether religious or secu-

lar,—that in both these great divisions of instructions it must of necessity leave large gaps to be supplied by the family, by society, by the Church or congregation, by subsequent experience, and by future development of intelligence,—and we shall get rid of that captious criticism which assails a National System of education, for not bestowing that instruction, which, however valuable or necessary for a child to possess, is precisely of that kind which no National School can or ought to bestow.

In the primary schools of France drawing occupies a much more prominent place than in the schools of England or Ireland. The simplicity of the decimal system of coins, weights, and measures, saves French children from the toil of learning multitudinous tables, and spares teachers the interminable toil of explaining our arbitrary and complex divisions of every form of measurement. All other things being equal, let a British and a French child start fair in arithmetic, and before the British boy comprehends reduction, the French boy will have mastered the theory of decimal fractions. There is, therefore, more leisure in the French school for teaching drawing. In the National Model School of Dublin this instruction is given chiefly to the evening classes.

Here I may be permitted to remark, that what the French call "drawing with the lifted hand" is a very useful form of instruction, easily given, generally pleasing to the children, and desirable as a variety in the infant schools. It is simply to begin by drawing short lines on the black board with a piece of chalk, and then proceeding to the most simple combinations of straight lines, and so on, until the pupil can dash off every complex geometric figure. Curves are not to be introduced until the pupil is quite perfect in straight lines. In the municipal primary school of the Faubourg St. Antoine, I saw children of seven or eight years of age, who could, with the chalk and black board, draw most accurate diagrams of complicated machinery and elaborate furniture. In the elements of civil history, geography, and zoology, I found the children of the Dublin Model School above the general average of primary schools in other countries. I particularly mention zoology and botany, because the manufacturers of Lyons attribute the superiority of their workmen in taste and design to the habits of observation nurtured by the study of the mere elements of these studies in their primary schools. The text-book of zoology used in the Model Schools of Dublin, com-

piled by Mr. Paterson of Belfast, is one of the best introductory works I have ever seen; it leads the pupil onward from the most simple manifestations of organic life to the most complex forms of animal existence, and combines the charms of a pleasing popular style with the strict accuracy of rigid science.

But, perhaps, the most interesting spectacle in these schools is the boys' play-ground. An old proverb says, "play heartily when you do play, and work when you work;" and, in truth, experience proves that those who are most earnest in the former will not be slow in the latter. These boys play with all their heart, soul, and spirit; every muscle is in action, every drop of blood in flow; eagerness is manifest in every motion, and exuberant delight in every feature. Whatever may be the destiny of these boys in after life, the memory of school will be among their most treasured recollections, and they will instinctively feel a love for the institutions which thus provided for their youthful pleasures. I do not think that the loyalizing influence of these schools has sufficiently attracted the attention of statesmen and politicians. "Associations of sympathy and affection," says an eloquent writer, "are the cords of man." It is in the play-

ground that sympathies and affection are best developed by their own impulsive action. The educational processes there are free from restraint, and for that very reason are the more effective. I was much struck with an observation of Mr. Horace Say, the great municipal reformer of France. Comparing the rigid monastic rule of the Jesuit schools with the greater latitude allowed in the municipal schools, he said: "Compulsion and repulsion have the same relations as action and reaction; they are equal and contrary to each other."

The educational course for training masters deserves to be attentively studied by all who feel interested in the future welfare of their country. It is a very common error to suppose that a schoolmaster need know nothing beyond the subjects which he is required to teach; it would be just as wise to suppose that a clergyman requires no greater amount of theology than is possessed by the members of his congregation. But both require a larger and more abundant store, that they may be able to solve the doubts and difficulties which naturally present themselves to inquisitive minds. Every one knows that the most cruel schoolmaster is always the most ignorant; with him a bribe or a blow takes the place

of an explanation ; in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, the punishment inflicted for literary delinquency is caused not by the negligence of the boy, but by the sheer incapacity of the master. "It is almost incredible," said Horace Say, to whom I am deeply indebted for aid and instruction during my educational inquiries in France,—“it is almost incredible how much the character of our teachers has been improved since we have prohibited the use of the rod.” In Ireland, the process has been happily reversed ; the character of the teacher has been raised by training in the Model School, and the rod has fallen into disuse, as moral means of enforcing authority have been brought into play. I have given in the Appendix a synopsis of the lectures delivered by the professors to the teachers of the National Schools in training. It was my wish to have made some observations on them, and particularly on the agricultural course, in connexion with the model farm at Glasnevin, but a long residence in London has disqualified me for discussing rural and farming affairs ; but I trust that this pamphlet will fall into the hands of many fully competent to supply the deficiency.

The evening school is a recent and most impor-

tant addition to the system. It goes far to supply that "intermediate instruction" between the mere primary and secondary or classical school, which has been most beneficially worked in Paris and Lyons, and which will, in all human probability, be introduced into England and Ireland so soon as the national finances are in a condition to bear the expense of the experiment. At the evening school I found adults receiving instruction after the toil and labour of the day, without being ashamed to be taught by those younger than themselves, and youths acquiring that kind of scientific information which is necessary to connect the primary school with the Mechanics' Institute, and the want of which has proved the cause of the failure of many of these Institutes in England. Still I feel persuaded that "intermediate schools" are necessary to the completion of the National System; but I need not here dwell on the subject, as all that I have to say is contained in my Report on the Industrial Schools of France, particularly that of La Rue Neuve St. Laurent in Paris, and La Martinière in Lyons, addressed to the Marquis of Lansdowne, and printed by the Educational Committee of the Privy Council in England.

I come now to the religious instruction com-

municated in the schools ; and I must begin by expressing my pleasure at finding that singing forms a part of it. Those who have rambled along the Rhine, through the valleys of Switzerland, or the less romantic plains of Alsace, must remember how often, when weary and foot-sore at the close of the day, the distant notes of the peasant's hymn, or vesper song, broke upon his ear as an invitation to the weary wanderer to repose. It spread through the mind that undefined religious feeling to which all holy thoughts are welcome, and all devout aspirations natural. It taught that "glory to God in the highest" did really imply "peace upon earth, good will towards men." But it needs not to seek such instances in foreign lands ; during a recent visit to the South of Ireland I visited in company with an English friend a rural district,

" Where once my careless childhood stray'd,
A stranger yet to pain."

Some youthful voices were heard in the distance. Painfully remembering the nature of the songs likely to be heard in such a locality, when I was familiar with it several years before, I tried to draw my companion away, but he insisted on remaining. Never shall I forget the pleasure and surprise of us

both when we found that the children were singing Bishop Heber's Missionary Hymn ; never till that moment did I feel the force of the first verse which met my ear :

“ Waft, waft, ye winds, his story,
 And you, ye oceans, roll,
 Till, like a sea of glory,
 It spreads from pole to pole.”

While passing through the schools I heard the magnificent music of the “ Gloria in Excelsis ” finely chanted by youthful voices ; and I went to the room where the young choristers were assembled, to witness the performance. The last time I had heard this anthem was in the church of La Madeleine, where all the adjuncts of sight and sound, the storied windows, the fretted roof, the sculptured walls, and the pealing organ, combined to increase its effect ; and yet it seemed to me more touching and more influential on the feelings when sung by these poor Irish boys, whose voices gave more evidence of sincerity of heart than those of the Parisian choir did of perfection of tune. The Lutheran churches were, I believe, the first who pointed out the importance of making religious music a leading part of religious education, and hence I am informed that the congregational singing in Denmark, Sweden, and Northern

Germany, is regarded as the most impressive and interesting part of the service. I deem it a great improvement that so much attention is beginning to be paid to this matter both in England and in Ireland; it will increase the efficacy of the Churches into which it is introduced, and greatly strengthen religious feeling throughout the general community.

For reasons of obvious delicacy, I was present only at the Protestant catechetical instruction, and I found that in all respects as complete as could be desired. The Bible is not only read but minutely explained; there was probably not a child there who could not have given an affirmative answer to Philip's question, "Understandest thou what thou readest?" It is true that the Roman Catholic and Protestant children are instructed in religion separately; and perhaps it would be desirable, if practicable, that they should receive instruction in the doctrines which are common to the two Churches, together. But religious unity, to be real and permanent, should be founded on freedom and not on compulsion. The history of the efforts made to establish a national system of education in Ireland fully proves this truth. Henry VIII. was the author

of the first attempt. In the twenty-eighth year of his reign a Statute was passed, directing every archbishop and bishop "to give a corporal oath to every person, on admission to his dignity, &c., that he would keep, or cause to be kept, a school to learn English, if any children of his parish came to him to learn the same." This plan totally failed; but the blame of its failure is very unfairly thrown upon the clergy. In fact, the Legislature committed a blunder just similar to that of Goldsmith when he went to Holland to teach English, forgetting that he was himself ignorant of Dutch. The schools were English; the people Irish: there were no scholars, and consequently, in a short time, there were no masters. It is beyond doubt that the monarch and the Legislature desired to make education a means of proselytism; but, whatever might have been their success if they had followed the plainest dictates of common sense, the result notoriously was, that they neither proselytized nor educated.

The Act of William III. was even worse; it made no change in the schools, which experience had proved utterly worthless, and it shut up all others. The Government of that day inflicted severe penalties on Roman Catholic instruction, whether abroad

or at home ; and it tendered the property of the Roman Catholic father as a bribe for the proselytism and revolt of the Roman Catholic child. Such a system was an outrage against human nature ; it neither advanced education nor the Established Church ; on the contrary, it seriously injured both. Barbarism, not proselytism, was the result ; and, in spite of Acts of Parliament, the parochial schools remained untenanted until they crumbled into ruins. Here the fault again must be imputed chiefly to the Legislature ; it was Parliament, not the clergy, which sought to destroy parental responsibility and filial affection,—to introduce deadly feuds into every family, and to legalize treachery in every domestic circle. It was *not* the Protestant clergy who framed such a system, for, from the time of William III. to that of George III., the Established Church had very little influence in Parliament, and was stripped of its legal property without any scruple checking confiscation, as, for instance, by the memorable vote respecting tithe of agistment. “ Owing to the sometimes honest, but always mistaken policy of the nonjurors,” says an able writer, “ and of others who thought with them, though they had not the courage or the honour to act with them, the Church had been ex-

posed either to the avowed hostility, or, what was still worse, to the sneering and contemptuous patronage of the courts which succeeded the Revolution." The precious scheme of educating by penal laws signally failed ; a new plan was proposed, and charter-schools were established, with the full expectation that, in the course of one or two generations, they would Protestantize Ireland.

The unhappy history of the charter-schools may be very briefly related. A great point appeared to be gained, when the State interfered in the education of the people ; but the State delegated its authority to irresponsible bodies, abandoned the funds and the duties to volunteers, exercised no control over the expenditure of the one or the performance of the other. The system of the schools involved in it, as reasonable men must confess, much moral evil ; children were taken from their homes, their names were changed, they were made orphans in the lifetime of their parents, and placed under the care of teachers appointed by a system of jobbing. They were worse than failures, they were abuses ; the Report of the Commissioners of Education, presented to Parliament in 1825, supported by unquestionable evidence, declared that one million and a

half of the public money had been lavished on a mere bubble. The Parliament instituted proceedings against the administrators of the schools, and solemnly declared, that "the evil was so monstrous, it could not be corrected." Still there were persons found who clung to the delusion that these schools were efficacious instruments of conversion, and some years elapsed before Parliament gave effect to the condemnation it pronounced by withdrawing the annual grant.

The Association for Discountenancing Vice was, and is, a highly useful Society for conferring a Protestant education; but it had not the slightest claim to be called National. It required that all the teachers and patrons should belong to the Established Church, and this exclusiveness was fatal to the utility of the system. One highly beneficial result from the Association's labours was, the increased attention paid by clergymen to the duty of catechising the Protestant children in their churches: the impulse thus given has not been lost, and to the Association must, I think, be attributed the great change, almost amounting to revolution, which has taken place within the last century in the efficiency and energy of the Irish clergy. But the

Association was too rigidly exclusive, not merely for Roman Catholics, but for Protestants, and it soon raised up as rivals, the Baptist, the Hibernian, and the Kildare-place Societies.

In these Societies the great object sought was, to produce *united* education. The Kildare-place Society was the best managed and the most successful. Though its conductors clung with sad pertinacity to their rule for the compulsory reading of the Scriptures daily in the schools, they winked at its evasion in various parts of the country. In many schools the reading of the Bible was a melancholy farce; a few verses were gabbled, to which nobody attended, and the rule thus observed in the letter was utterly nugatory in the spirit. It would, in my opinion, have fallen into desuetude, had not the Protestant mind of Ireland been kindled into partisanship by the New Reformation. Of that strange delusion I have already spoken. It was apparently an effort to carry Popery by storm, and establish Protestantism by a *coup de main*; but those who volunteered on this desperate service forgot, or were ignorant of, the first principles of war; the forlorn-hope, before it had mastered an outwork, raised a shout of triumph as if it had planted its banners in the citadel;

the garrison was alarmed, and stood to its arms; as Woodfall said in a similar case, pretending a mistake of the print, "the assailants were repulsed with great laughter."

Some of those who had been the active partisans of the Kildare-Place Society took an active part in this Quixotic enterprise; the suspicions of the Roman Catholics extended to the entire, and not without some show of reason, for the manifestoes of the Reformation Society professed to speak the sentiments of all the Protestants of Ireland. The three tailors of Tooley-street, who called themselves the people of England, are but a faint type of the knots, cliques, and parties who have at various times hazarded the assertion that they exclusively speak the sentiments of the Protestants of Ireland. From this time the Society's disclaimers of proselytism were disregarded, or rather resented as insults to common sense; some schools were deserted; a few were filled by means tending to endanger the peace of the country. Irish pride was roused; landlords claimed a right to legislate for the consciences of their tenants, and believed themselves aggrieved or insulted when the system of education which they in their wisdom had patronized was contemptuously

rejected ; ejections were threatened against those who withheld their children. This aggravated the hostility which other circumstances had excited between the landlords and the priests, and it increased the alienation between the landlord and the tenant. Under these circumstances the Society's operations were becoming positively mischievous, and, had the Government continued its grants, it would have been paying money for the disturbance of the public tranquillity.

United Education was thus lost for ever to the Kildare-place Society, and the cause of the Society's failure was obvious to all but the wilfully blind. The Society, in addition to its proper functions as schoolmaster, arrogated to itself the rights and duties of the clergyman and the parent. The process in the charter-schools was much more logical ; there the children were boarded, priests and parents being equally excluded from influential contact with the inmates. Every one must see that in a boarding-school a very large share of the rights and duties of the clergyman and the parent *must* be delegated to the schoolmaster ; indeed the grave objections raised to the boarding-school system by most of the writers

on education, in the Protestant states of the Continent, are based on the existence of this necessity; and for the very same reason boarding-schools are always preferred by the Jesuits to mere schools of attendance.

United education in schools of attendance is only possible when the rights of the clergymen and the parents are respected. Out of school-hours the pupil must inevitably be subjected to the influences of his pastor and his family; and it would be a source of utter demoralization to set the home and the school in direct opposition to each other. Let any honest man ask himself how he would like to have his own child instructed in a faith which he believed perilous to his child's salvation, and hazardous to his immortal soul! What men would resist to the death in their own case, they attempted to force upon their brethren, simply because they were poor.

Compulsion was the vice of the Kildare-place System, and the cause, not merely of its failure, but of the mischievous disunion and contention which it spread over the country. A united system could only be based on the principle OF NO RESTRICTION AND NO COMPULSION,—a rule recommended by the

most zealous Churchmen, including the late Bishop of Ferns, in the Fourteenth Report of the Commissioners of Education. On this principle the National Board has been founded ; it opened the Bible to all, and it forced the Bible upon none. And yet there are persons who assert that the Bible is *withheld* from children in the National Schools, an assertion that could only be hazarded by the most culpable ignorance, or the most wanton spirit of misrepresentation.

Another falsehood was connected with that which I have exposed. It has been asserted that the Board set forth the Scripture Extracts as a *substitute* for the Bible ; the fact being that the Board never forbade the Bible, and never enjoined the Scripture Extracts. That much-calumniated work is simply a reading-book recommended by the Board, which the patrons of schools may use or not just as they please. The National System of Education would be just what it is if no such book had ever been compiled. On this subject it is curious to remark the difference between "the cry" addressed to the multitude, and the objections offered to the Legislature. Outside the doors of Parliament, such unmeaning and mischievous nonsense as "Mutilation

of the Bible,"—"Burking the Bible,"—"The whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible,"—was repeated with rather less variety than is to be found in the chattering of parrots or the song of the cuckoo. But before the parliamentary committees nobody objected to the principle of Extracts,—the only complaint made was against the details. "The cry" happens to be directed against the Church of England itself rather than against the Board; for the Church of England publishes and circulates Scripture Extracts; it issues from its own presses the Church Services, containing only those portions of Scripture which are read as Lessons at the Morning and Evening Prayer.

As the Scripture Extracts are only recommended, and as the patrons of schools may or may not use them at their pleasure, it is clear that a defence of them forms no part of the duty of an advocate of the National Board. I believe that they are useful and valuable; I am prepared to defend all their details, and to prove that the objections made to them are wholly false or utterly futile.

But it has been said that the translation of some passages, and the notes on others, tend to favour the tenets of the Romish Church. Not one passage

or note has been shewn likely to lead Protestants or indifferent readers to adopt any such tenets. Roman Catholics, indeed, believe that they have such a tendency, but this is a matter of fact, not of opinion ; and a note stating that fact no more favours the Romish doctrine, than the historical statement, that Moham-med called himself the Paraclete, favours Islamism. Had the compiler entered into a critical comparison of the relative value of the two versions, and given a preference, justly or unjustly, to the Vulgate, there might have been grounds of complaint ; but he has simply stated the fact of diversity, which is about as notorious and uncontroversial as the existence of the two Churches. Never, perhaps, was a book subjected to such malignant criticism, in which so few faults have been discovered, as the Scripture Extracts ; and those who have so loudly trumpeted the blemishes supposed to be detected by microscopic vigilance, have, in fact, pronounced the highest eulogy on its merits.

The value of the Scripture Extracts is, that they allow of a united religious education to such as wish to use them. The best and most efficacious way to prevent the Bible from being read is to abstain from teaching reading ; next to this ranks the offering

of the Bible in a form calculated to provoke rejection. The Board avoids both errors, and only seeks perfect union through perfect freedom.

I may be pardoned for relating an anecdote illustrative of this subject. When l'Ecole Rue Neuve St. Laurent was opened at Paris a few years ago, the governors made a rule that the Protestant children should not be required to attend the lectures of the Catholic almoner, but that opportunity should be afforded for their receiving religious instruction from ministers of their own persuasion. In the course of time, habits of strict friendship were formed between the almoner and the Protestant ministers; they dwelt in their lectures more on points of agreement, and less on points of difference, until, at length, the Protestant children were sent by their own ministers to attend the lectures of the almoner, because, as they themselves declared, he was superior to them in setting forth the moral loveliness of the Gospel. For more than three years the almoner, by common consent, gives a united moral and religious instruction; the Protestant ministers occasionally attend his lectures, but very rarely interfere to alter or to add; and not a single instance of proselytism, or attempt at pro-

selytism, is known in the history of the school. Now the French Protestants are more strict in adherence to their religious faith than any denomination of Christians with which I am acquainted in Europe. Through centuries of persecution they have clung to the doctrines of Calvin and Beza with a desperate fidelity; they have withstood the sword, the stake, the menace, and the bribe,—severe penalties on adherence to their faith, and still more dangerous rewards affixed as a premium on conversion. It is my privilege to know several of this faithful remnant, and I am persuaded that no men in the world would make greater sacrifices to preserve the purity of the faith of their children. My pencil notes of my visit to this school have become so illegible that I cannot be quite certain of all the details. I can vouch, however, that perfect freedom is allowed to the pupils; that the Protestant children attend the lectures of the almoner with the full consent of their parents and pastors; and that it was from a Protestant pastor I heard the remarkable expression I have quoted. But there is a difficulty about the religious instruction in the class of schools to which this belongs, which I have found almost everywhere, but particularly in England and Ire-

land. The establishment to which I have referred is a school for the middle classes; and while the utmost attention is bestowed on providing religious education for the poor, no one bestows a thought on the nature and amount of the religious instruction given to the higher and the middle classes. To such an extent does this prevail, that I have found those who were apparently the most anxious for the religious instruction of the poor, utterly ignorant of the nature and amount of the religious instruction which their own children received at the schools which they attended.

In Ireland, as in France, the road to union of all lies through the recognition of the rights of each. Had all the French clergy proclaimed what the Jesuit portion of them did, that their functions were parochial and not congregational, and that they, therefore, had an exclusive right to give religious instruction to *all* the children of their congregation, the happy scene of Christian union exhibited in l'Ecole Rue Neuve St. Laurent would never have existed. Indeed, had I met some recent pamphlets in a French translation, I would have taken them for some of the multitudinous and inflammatory *brochures* issued from the pamphlet

manufactory of the Jesuit congregation at Lyons. There is a perfect identity in the argument, and sometimes in the very expressions. It is to be hoped that they will not obtain continental circulation, for they would be formidable weapons to be used by the Jesuit allies of ultra-Protestant divines, against the educational liberties now happily enjoyed by the Protestants of France.

“Quam temerè in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam.”

About a hundred years ago, the Irish penal laws furnished the Empress Maria Theresa with an excuse for rejecting the interference of Sir Robert Walpole in favour of the Protestants of Hungary and Bohemia(*a*). It will not be the fault of some very zealous Protestants if Irish intolerance does not arm the Jesuit party with similar weapons for warring against the freedom of instruction enjoyed by the Protestants of France.

It would, I think, be very desirable if provision

(*a*) More recently the King of Sardinia made the condition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland an excuse for continuing the disqualifications to which the congregations of the Vaudois were subjected. It is melancholy to see how bigotry becomes an excuse for bigotry; we seem to be quite satisfied with ourselves when we can say to an adversary, “you’re another.”

were made by the Board for the payment of catechists in the National Schools. The working clergy of Ireland, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, have more demands on their time and money than they can adequately meet; it is, therefore, unfair to expect that they should undertake the onerous task of giving religious instruction to youth without some reasonable remuneration. We should hear less of the demand that schoolmasters should give religious instruction, if clerical and ministerial instructors were provided by the Board. I am well aware that this proposal to employ catechists for the three great denominations in Ireland,—Protestant Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics,—will be denounced as leading to payment for the diffusion of religious error; but it is not necessary to open any such controversy, for the principle has been long since conceded by the opponents; those who have consented to the payment of Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Catholic chaplains in gaols and workhouses, are precluded from objecting, on principle, to the employment of denominational catechists in the schools.

Should there be any reluctance on the part of the Government to institute catechists, I cannot

conceive an object more worthy the attention of a Church Association. If the Church Education Society followed after the National Board, and sowed the good seed in the land which the teachers under the Board have ploughed and harrowed, there is little doubt that a rich harvest would be reaped for time and for eternity. But, saving the lands of utter barbarism, Ireland is the country most deplorably ignorant of the very first principles of economic science; the "division of labour" is not appreciated; everybody wants to do everything; and the Church Education Society sets Adam Smith at nought, when, in addition to the proper functions which its name denotes,—the Church-education of Churchmen,—it claims to control the entire secular education of the country.

Should this plan be adopted, it would be desirable to give the bishop of the diocese a concurrent voice in the appointment of the Episcopalian catechists, and to grant the same privilege to the Catholic prelates and the Presbyterian synods in their several districts. Though I feel very strongly the impropriety of confiding the important duty of spiritual instruction to the schoolmaster, I must confess that the teachers trained in the National School

might be more safely trusted with the duty than the ordinary class of teachers in other countries. What may be called the hierarchy of the schools is admirably arranged: the boy whose merits raise him to the rank of an unpaid monitor has the prospect of becoming a paid monitor, and then in succession a master of the second class, a master of the first class, and a superintendent or inspector. This prospect of promotion would be a strong check on attempts at proselytism, as it is on other forms of abuse; but, at best, religious instruction given by lay teachers, independent of clerical control, must be defective in itself, and dangerous in its example.

My next visit was to the Model Schools of the Kildare-place Society. I went thither with a grateful recollection of the immense benefits which that Society conferred on Irish education. I am old enough to remember the race of hedge-schoolmasters, and the sort of cheap literature which flourished under their auspices. The mass of immorality, absurdity, and disloyalty, destroyed by the exertions of the Kildare-place Society,—the abominable schools which they subverted, and the abominable books which they consigned to desuetude,—will hardly be credited in the next generation. Pride in the good it had

done was the greatest impediment to its effecting the good it might have done; but while I deeply lament that it clung to one principle of compulsion, which, like every other compulsion, generated repulsion and exclusion,—while I grieve that it forged fetters to impair its own efficiency, and check its own progress,—I shall ever be ready to testify that it destroyed a vast amount of evil though it did not produce a corresponding amount of good. I found the management of the Model Schools excellent; the teacher of the boys' school is as enlightened an educationist as ever I met; he is a thorough Pestalozzian, and has completely worked out Pestalozzi's admirable system of mental arithmetic and drawing from description. The only circumstance connected with the schools which can be noticed as a defect, is the want of a separate infant school; young children are received into the girls' school, as otherwise their sisters would be detained at home to take care of them; but the poor things are either condemned to an unnatural state of quietude and silence, the source of great misery to themselves, or must be a cause of great annoyance to the rest of the pupils. In my simplicity I suggested an application to the National Board for a grant to aid in the building of an

infant school, but I found that I had stumbled on a controversy quite as unpleasant as disturbing a nest of hornets, and which had the additional demerit of not being got rid of with the same facility as the troublesome insects.

Before taking any notice of this controversy, I beg to direct the attention of the gentlemen connected with these schools, to the importance of attaching play-grounds to all places of public education. There were some in their body, when I had a practical acquaintance with the working of their system some five years ago, who looked upon all proposals for combining recreation and amusement with instruction, as suspiciously as the Puritans of old regarded King James's Book of Sports. Changes of realm, and chances of time, have removed the old familiar faces, and I know not whether the same prejudice still exists, but I do know, that there is no *gymnase* attached to the school, and therefore that the physical education of the children is neglected.

The most obvious difference between the Marlborough-street and the Kildare-place schools is, that the former are administered by a Board of Commissioners appointed by the State, and the latter by a committee elected out of a voluntary association. Far

be it from me to deny the noble efforts of voluntaryism in the British empire, as manifested in the erection of churches, chapels, hospitals, and schools; but in Ireland, for more than a century, it has been practically confessed on all hands, that voluntaryism is inadequate to meet the educational wants of the community, and grants in aid have been obtained from the State. The demand for these grants, and the acceptance of them, are a public recognition that the State has educational functions and duties, and, as a necessary consequence, that the State has educational rights. To perform those duties, and exercise those rights, there must, of necessity, be some State agency; and we must appeal to constitutional law and precedent to determine what the nature of that agency should be.

The educational agency of the State is intrusted, in Ireland, to a Board of Commissioners, appointed by the Crown, and responsible to Parliament for the due exercise of their functions. I cannot conceive any other mode in which parliamentary grants could be constitutionally made, and constitutionally distributed. In every civilized country on the face of the earth, responsibility is regarded as the primary element in the right discharge of administrative func-

tions, and such responsibility no voluntary association can ever have. A Church Education Society, a Kildare-place Society, or such an association of the Catholic clergy as Archbishop Mac Hale has recommended, has no more right to demand public money for the erection and maintenance of public schools, than it has to demand the management of the public funds for levying soldiers and sailors, or building ships of war. The Bishop of Cashel, and after him Dr. Miller, have, indeed, very erroneously stated, "An education law has been enacted for England, in which separate grants have been authorized for the Established Church, for Protestant Dissenters, and even for Romanists." But, in fact, no such law has been enacted, and no such law can be enacted, until we are governed by the Parliament of St. Luke's instead of the Parliament of St. Stephen's.

An educational grant is made to a Committee of the Privy Council in England, as to the National Board in Ireland, and the grant is distributed by the Committee, not to Societies, but to individual schools. The National, the British and Foreign, and the Catholic School Societies, are only recognised by the Committee of Council as guarantees for the character of the schools. The only instance I know of

administrative functions exercised by voluntaries, is that ultra-democratic usurpation known by the name of "Lynch Law" in America, and even there I never heard of Lynchers requiring that the self-constituted judges should be pensioned out of the public funds.

The difference between the English educational Committee of Council and the Irish National Board, is the same as that between the University systems of the two countries. In England, where Oxford and Cambridge are exclusive, aid is given to schools conducted on an exclusive principle. In Ireland, where Trinity College is open to students of all religious denominations, the Board does not give aid to schools conducted on exclusive principles. I confess that I have felt pride in finding my Alma Mater taken as the best model for a system of National Education, and that I have been equally grieved and surprised to find those who have profited most by our National University, denouncing the National System for too closely following that University's liberal and honourable example.

I am, of course, well aware, that for a time a grant in aid was given to the Kildare-place Society; but this was avowedly done as a temporary expe-

dient; Government used an agency it found in existence until it could frame machinery of its own. But no man ever denied that the practice was in itself unconstitutional and dangerous as a precedent; and I apprehend that no reasonable man now would contend that the public funds should be administered by other than public and responsible officers.

Now if men had calmly considered that the educational functions, like all other functions of the State, must be administered by the agency of the State, and can be administered by no other agency, if regard be had to constitutional propriety, a great deal of the unhappy controversy which has raged on this subject would have been avoided. They would have seen that the Board has been called into existence, not by ministerial caprice, but by constitutional necessity; they would have recognised it as part of the State, and therefore possessing a right to its fair share of the allegiance due to the State. The persons by whom, so far as I know, this proposition has been controverted intelligibly, are the Protestant Bishop of Down and some Roman Catholic bishops in the province of Lyons; they contend that the State has delegated its educational functions to the Church, or that the Church some way or other

possesses them of right, and that it is, therefore, an usurpation to transfer them from the Church to the University in France, the National Board in Ireland, or the Committee of Council in England. Europe generally has admitted the conclusiveness of Guizot's answer, that the State could not divest itself of its functions ; and we may add, that neither in England nor Ireland could the Church exercise any State functions, for the very simple reason that the Church and the State are not co-extensive and identical. It is perfectly notorious that dissenters from the Established Church not only form constituent elements of the State, but exercise some of its highest functions. A man would be deemed irrational who would now gravely propose to repeal the great measures of 1828 and 1829 ; but I confess that such a man would appear to me a model of wisdom compared to him who would confess that these measures should be undisturbed, but that the administration should be conducted as if they never had existed. It would be well if certain Irish and French prelates could be brought to understand that we are living not in the sixteenth but in the nineteenth century. I wish heartily that Moore's lines would cease to be applicable to many episcopal pamphlets :

" 'Tis but the author's old portfolio,
 With all its theologic olio,
 Of bulls half Irish and half Roman,
 Of doctrines now believed by no man,
 With other controversial scraps;
 Proving—what we've long proved perhaps—
 That, mad as Christians used to be
 About the sixteenth century,
 There's lots of Christians to be had
 In this, the nineteenth, just as bad."

The Church Education Society tacitly admits that there ought to be a Government-Board, but declares that it cannot cooperate with the present body for the following exquisite reason :

" They cannot cooperate with it, because of the constitution of the Board itself. Not only are the clergy of the Established Church *deprived of the trust committed to their hands by the Legislature*, of superintending National Education, but this superintendence is taken from them, for the purpose of being vested in a Board composed of persons whose qualification for the office essentially consists in their being representatives of the most conflicting religious opinions. The principle thus practically acted on, that professors of all religions are equally fitted to guard and conduct the education of the country, has a manifest tendency, by overlooking the distinctions of truth and error in a matter of such vital

importance, to make them be overlooked in all, and thereby lead to that indifference respecting any particular form of religion, which, at least in the vulgar mind, is almost identical with attachment to none."

I cannot boast a very intimate acquaintance with that very interesting series of volumes denominated "the Statutes at large," but I have hunted over Indexes and Digests, and I can find no trace of any Act of the Legislature now in existence which commits the superintendence of National Education to the hands of the clergy of the Established Church. Far be it from me to say that the Committee have knowingly hazarded a false assertion, but I fear that they have fallen into a grievous error. In their defence it must be pleaded, that such errors are almost unavoidable when men first resolve on a particular course of conduct, and then proceed to hunt out reasons or excuses for its justification. To give sentence on the conclusion after having adjourned the consideration of the premises, is a very common but not a very logical process, and, in college, would procure for undergraduates what those who use it sadly want, that is to say, *caution*(a).

(a) "A caution" in Dublin is precisely similar to what is called "a plucking" in Oxford and Cambridge.

But this assertion implies that the Legislature has the right to commit the trust of National Education to somebody. In other words, it recognises the State as the great educator ; but in the next breath it denounces the State as having, on educational matters, no claim to allegiance ; for Parliament, like the Board, is composed of persons who represent "the most conflicting religious opinions," and to Parliament, not to the Board, belong the powers of making laws upon the subject of education. It would be an advantage if people would sometimes reflect on the meaning of what they say : the Committee has so worded their objection to the Board, as to make it little short of a disavowal of allegiance to the State. Monsieur Jourdain, according to Moliere, talked prose all his life without knowing it ; the Committee, with equal unconsciousness, have been contending, not against the Board, but against the Queen's exercise of the prerogative conferred upon her by the law of the land, and the constitution of the realm. Their principle is either utterly untenable, or it necessitates the Irish clergy to persevere for ever in an attitude of alienation, if not of downright hostility, not only to Her Majesty's present Government, but to every Government now possible in England.

The question about the reading of the Scriptures in the schools is really one of very easy solution. It is admitted that the holy Scriptures may be read in the National Schools by all pupils whose parents or guardians make no objection. The only point, then, is to determine whether the reading of the Scriptures should be rendered compulsory on those pupils whose parents do object. I can find no person directly maintaining that compulsion should be used, though most indirectly assert the principle by denouncing, what Mr. C. K. Irwin calls, "a concession to the unlawful authority by which the Church of Rome withholds the holy Scriptures from its members." It would puzzle Mr. Irwin to point out any direct law which a Church would violate by exercising such an authority over its members. But in truth, the Church of Rome imposes no such restriction ; it does not forbid any one of its members to study the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament, and *these are the Scriptures*. The Church of Rome does discountenance the use by its members of any other translation than that which it has itself authorized, "the Vulgate ;" but the Church of England merely authorizes one translation, without pronouncing on the merit of any other. Many persons

must have heard of the disputes raised by the introduction of the Unitarian version of the New Testament into a school frequented by Episcopalian children in the North of England ; the Unitarians had just as much right to denounce the Anglican clergy for imposing restrictions upon the Scriptures, when they prohibited the children of their congregation from using the Unitarian version, as we have to make a similar charge against the Catholic clergy when they object to Romanists using our version.

The Church of Rome imposes no restriction on the reading of the original Scriptures, but it does prohibit their private interpretation, and it regards a translation as an interpretation. It has provided an authorized version in Latin, the Vulgate. It may be said that this is a version in an unknown tongue, but it must be remarked that Latin was not an unknown tongue when that translation was made ; and that if it be now unknown the fault rests not with the Church of Rome, for in all its schools of ecclesiastical foundation, many of which still exist in England, after having passed into Protestant hands, the very first condition is that children should be instructed in the Latin tongue. The Douay version is permitted in the Church of Rome by prelates in

their several dioceses(*a*), but it is not authorized by any supreme authority, and I trust it never will be, for its style is barbarous, uncouth, and obscure; it is a translation that needs to be translated.

Now, no Protestant can fairly require that Catholics should be required to read *our* version of the Scriptures, or to receive *any* version as possessing the authority of the Scriptures. The observations which the Archbishop of Dublin has made on this subject, in his recent Address to the young teachers in the Model Schools, are quite conclusive, and I beg to call attention to the following passage:

“ In placing in your hands a copy of our Authorized Version of the Bible, and also the Prayer-book

(*a*) The following return shews the extent to which the Douay version is circulated in a single diocese :

“ *Copies of Catholic Scriptures published in Belfast under the sanction of Most Rev. Dr. Crollly and Right Rev. Dr. Denvir.*

Printed by Joseph Smyth before 1839, . .	18,000	copies.
„ Mr. Main, do. do. . .	9000	do.
„ Mr. Archer, do. do. . .	2000	do.
„ Simms and M'Intyre since 1839,	22,000	do.
„ Mr. Archer, do. do. . .	3600	do.
	72,600	

“ During last year Reid and Brothers printed a new stereotype edition, many thousands of which are since sold.

“ † C. DENVIR.”

of our Church, I wish to convey to you my strong sense of the inestimable value of those books, and my earnest desire that you should make them your habitual study, and that you should endeavour to shew in your lives the fruits of such study. I wish you to remember, and to remember practically, that the greatest advantage any one can derive from being able to read, is his attentive perusal of whatever may tend to make him a better Christian, and especially of the holy Scriptures, in which he may study for himself those instructions which the earliest disciples received from the very mouths of our blessed Lord and His Apostles. If any one who possesses so great a privilege as this, shall neglect, or make an ill use of it, he will have to render a much heavier account at the last Day than those who have been brought up in unavoidable ignorance.

“I wish, at the same time, to mark my strong conviction of the general faithfulness and great excellence of our Authorized Version of the Scriptures. Our translators did not indeed claim to be infallible, nor does our Church make any such claim on behalf of them, or of any other translators. But they were learned, and wise, and pious men, and the version they have produced is a highly valuable one.

“ It is, however, important to remark, that, when our Church speaks of ‘ holy Scripture ’ as being the rule of faith, and the standard to which everything must be referred in our religious teaching, the term ‘ holy Scripture ’ means,—not, as some seem to imagine, our Authorized Version, nor any other *version*,—but the Original, as written by the inspired authors themselves, in Hebrew and in Greek. It is to the very works which they composed, that the term ‘ Scripture ’ is strictly and properly applicable. It is often, indeed, applied to *translations* of Scripture, and there is no objection to such a use of the word, provided we take care not to be misled by it, and that we do not apply the word ‘ Scripture ’ to one translation *more* than to another. Our Church attributes *inspiration* to the Apostles and Evangelists, and other Writers of those books which we call, collectively, the Bible ; it does *not* attribute inspiration to any translators of the Bible. We have good reason, indeed, to believe that many translations of Scripture into various languages are substantially correct in sense, and give, on the whole, a just view of the meaning of the sacred writers, and of the great doctrines of the Gospel. And one translation may give the sense of the original *more exactly*

than another ; but no man has a right to apply the name 'BIBLE' more to one translation than to another.

“As for our *Authorized Version*,—the one in common use in this country,—it is so called from its being the one ‘authorized to be read in churches,’ in order to secure uniformity in our Divine Service: but it was never authorized as the *standard* of our Church, in the sense of being that ‘holy Scripture’ by which, it is declared, all doctrine is to be proved. Indeed it was not even composed till several years after the framing of the Thirty-nine Articles, which declare Scripture to be our rule of Faith. The version which was at that time in use was one commonly called the ‘Bishops’ Bible;’ parts of which are retained in our Prayer-book ; namely, the Psalms and the Sentences from Scripture introduced into the Communion Service.

“But, as I have already said, the framers of our Articles meant by ‘holy Scripture’ neither that nor any other *version*; but,—what is most literally and strictly so called,—the very works composed by the inspired writers themselves.”

But this effort to require the use of the Authorized Version really defeats its own end; it leads

Catholics to suspect that Protestant doctrines can only be found in the Protestant version of the Bible ; and if gentlemen will take the trouble of investigating the current opinions of the Catholic peasantry, they will find that this notion is almost universal. In fact, it is this belief which leads them to identify the requisition for Scripture reading with covert designs of proselytism ; and it is not wonderful that the unbounded eagerness of Protestants on the subject should awaken Roman Catholic suspicion.

But the error of setting forth our Authorized Version of the Scriptures as the Scriptures themselves has been injurious to the Church itself. Some time since I met a person whom I had known in early youth as a zealous Churchman ; to my surprise, he had become a very strong Dissenter. I inquired the cause, and he told me that he had found out that the Prayer-book falsified the Bible. On seeking an explanation of such a monstrous charge, he pointed out the variations between the Psalms in the Prayer-book and in the Authorized Version. Here, at all events, is an instance of a person who became a Dissenter for want of that wholesome caution which Archbishop Whately has been so severely censured for administering to the teachers of the National Schools.

“ God preserve us from the evil spirit and from metaphors !” was the wise exclamation of Louis Paul Courier ; Philarete Chasles, taking the exclamation for his text, has shewn that far the greater part of the delusions by which mankind has been deceived, had their origin in the literal interpretation of metaphorical adjectives. Should he fulfil his promise of writing a work on the use and abuse of adjectives, I will certainly translate it for the benefit of the people of Ireland, and particularly those who are sticklers for what they are pleased to call scriptural education.

If by scriptural education is meant, that all the religious and moral doctrines taught in the schools should be deduced from the holy Scriptures, then the National System is as truly scriptural as any other existing in the country. It is, however, attempted to be set up that scriptural education means nothing more than reading the Scriptures, which is a proposition as untenable as that physical education consists in taking physic. Indeed, if the interpretation for which these gentlemen contend should be conceded, it would at once follow that the education given to the clergymen of the Church of England is decidedly unscriptural: no such rule as that

which these gentlemen seek to enforce exists in any of the great classical schools of England ; and I have yet to learn that the souls of the English clergy are less precious than those of the Irish laity, and that the salvation of the rich is a matter of less national import than the salvation of the poor.

Whatever may be my opinion of the wisdom of those who avow designs of proselytism more or less remote, I must confess that I respect their sincerity. I believe that some remote hope of a contingency of some kind or other arising, which will bring all or the greater part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland over to the Reformed Church, is the unavowed motive of much of the hostility which the National Board has encountered, and I believe that many are influenced by this feeling who are hardly conscious of it themselves. But, really, when a man of ordinary common sense looks at the men, the means, and the appliances by which the patrons of what has been called the New Reformation propose to effect the conversion of the whole Irish people to Protestantism, he cannot be surprised that the Irish Catholics should reject them with something like disdain.

To the believers, and affected believers in the

New Reformation, I know how useless it would be to offer a word of argument or remonstrance. But they are reduced to this dilemma ; either they design in their system of education to exert undue influence on the Roman Catholic mind for the sake of proselytism, or they are bound to shew that the system of the National Board,—which is precisely that of the Dublin University,—acts as a preservative of Romanism. When they take the latter alternative, they will find themselves suddenly at issue with those whose arguments they unconsciously adopt, the Jesuits of France, who object to the analogous National System there as a preservative of Protestantism. I wish those gentlemen would extend their survey beyond the limits of Ireland. Well and wisely is it said in the Gentoo proverb, “The snail sees nothing beyond its shell, and believes it the finest palace in the universe.”

Mr. Irwin informs us that “the conduct of the Irish Church in this controversy is the chief, if not the only thing, that has given her such a hold upon the sympathy and respect of the English people.” I beg leave to assure him that the sympathy and respect of the English people are not to be estimated by the phenomena of meetings in Exeter Hall or

Hanging Ditch in Manchester. If he studies the signs of the times, and particularly that index of popular opinion in England, the *Times* newspaper, he will see that there is a dangerous and spreading reaction against the mischievous crusade of Messrs. M'Ghee and O'Sullivan. England is not in the precise mood for countenancing any revolutionary projects, and least of all a revolution to restore ecclesiastical domination. The proceedings of the opponents of the National Board are decidedly revolutionary, for they are opposed not merely to the Whig administration, but to any administration that could possibly be formed. The Church Education Society could only succeed by such a revolution as would restore the rampant days of Laud and Strafford, and they would do well to inquire whether the results of the late elections give them a shade of a hope that such a revolution would obtain either sympathy or respect in the present temper of the English people.

Mr. Irwin tells us that by "the Establishment of the Church is meant that supremacy in religion with which the State has invested it as the common trustee of the religious interests of the whole community:" the wildest advocate of the Papacy never

made so extravagant a claim for the Romish Church in the palmiest days of its ascendancy. If Mr. Irwin possesses a particle of common sense, he ought to offer up the most ardent prayers that none of his readers will believe him. The State, that is, the Imperial Parliament, has invested the English Church with no supremacy whatever over the dissenting churches and congregations of the realm. How, in the name of wonder, could it do so, when dissenting churches and congregations supply a very large proportion of the constituent elements of the State? The very charge made by the enemies of the Anglican Church,—the very source of that anti-church feeling so bitterly and powerfully manifested in all the elections for the metropolitan boroughs, and in the elections for Manchester, Oldham, Nottingham, and the West Riding of Yorkshire,—is, that the Church covertly aims at establishing such a supremacy. That which no friend of the Church would set forth in England, where the Church is consecrated in the minds of the great bulk of the people by old and hallowed associations, an Irish clergyman has the rashness to set forth in a country where the Establishment can only be maintained by the utmost forbearance and caution. It was justly said by a

clever writer: "Ignorance turned up with temerity is a livery all the worse for its facings, and there is nothing on earth so tremendous as the magnanimity of a dunce."

The Church neither is, can, nor ought to be "the common trustee of the religious interests of the whole community,"—a community which includes Catholics, Unitarians, and Jews, to say nothing of Hindoos, Parsees, and Mohammedans, whom the facilities of steam navigation are bringing in increasing numbers to England. To state such a proposition is quite a sufficient refutation. Dr. Elrington does not call upon the Irish Church to *renounce* any supremacy, for supremacy, in any sense of the word, neither Church nor clergy possess. If Mr. Irwin could prove that supremacy was identified with establishment, the disestablishing of the Church would hardly be delayed beyond the next session of the British Parliament. To Mr. Irwin himself should properly be addressed the Appeal which he has himself made to Dr. Elrington: "Just conceive the effect of a series of *tranchant* articles in the *Times*, dealing with the clergy by the same spiteful logic which has charged upon the whole landed proprietary the conduct of a few of their

class, and assuming that your pamphlet was more than the echo of your own reflections,—that you were rather the vane than the finger-post, going with the wind of an already decided course, rather than seeking to guide it,—how soon would that English sympathy and respect, which are now our main support, give place to the unjust conclusion, that the Church, like everything else Irish, was factious, self-seeking, and venal?" He might have added, utterly preposterous and absurd into the bargain. It was said that when the Bourbons returned to France they had forgotten nothing and learned nothing; they refused to recognise the Revolution as *un fait accompli*; and the whole of Mr. Irwin's argument is, that the Irish clergy should withhold a similar recognition from the measures of 1828 and 1829.

But Mr. Irwin is not the dupe of his own arguments; he has recourse to the same system of insinuations which has been still more flagrantly manifested by Dr. Miller. It is, perhaps, desirable to deal with the plainer speaker.

"For my part," says the venerable Doctor, "the only danger which appears formidably to threaten the Church is *the abuse of its patronage in rewarding*

the compliance of the clergy. In the varieties of the human mind there must be individuals who contemplate the same moral object in very different aspects, as even our senses, in some cases, receive impressions from external things different from those communicated to the rest of mankind. I do not, therefore, pronounce every man corrupt, who may determine to yield in a case in which my mind tells me that it is my duty to be firm. But it is certain that many cases must and will occur, to which this charitable consideration cannot be extended: the base and sordid will eagerly avail themselves of such an opportunity for attracting the favourable notice of the Government; and the weak and apprehensive will seek to justify submission to their own consciences, by a consideration of the necessity of the case. But God will in His own time avert even this danger from His Church, and it never can be our duty to protect it from the mischief of corrupt appointments by submitting to be ourselves corrupted."

Now Dr. Miller and his party should not be in such a hurry to throw stones, because, so far as patronage could be imputed as a motive, the greater part of the clergy had far more temptations to op-

pose than to support the Board. The vast preponderance of episcopal patronage and influence was directed against the National System of Education, and continues to be exerted in the same direction at the present moment. What friend of the Board has the slightest chance of promotion in the southern dioceses, where the Bishop of Cashel absolutely denounced the system as "the devil's work?" It is no part of my business to enter into any defence or vindication of Lord Stanley, but I must protest against Bishop Daly's identifying the noble Lord with Satan, and I trust that he will retract so unjust and so unseemly a declaration. It is, however, clear that a Conservative prelate who would thus assail one of the greatest ornaments of the Conservative party, is not the most likely to promote a clergyman disposed to carry out "Satan" Stanley's work. Great as has been the amount of actual patronage exerted against the Board, the prospective patronage seemed still greater. Which of us can ever forget the rickety days of the Melbourne administration, when the report of the Whigs being on the point of going out appeared in all the Conservative journals about every fourth morning for some thirty months in succession? Is there a man,

woman, or child in the empire who does not know that the cry of anti-scriptural education was the great leverage employed for their overthrow? One knows not whether it is with a smile or a tear that the recollection comes to the mind, of Lord Sandon's election at Liverpool, when a block of wood, bound like a Bible, was exhibited in place of his banner on his coach-box; and when similar exhibitions, in other boroughs, were prevented by the tart comment, that, in devising a cognizance, the noble Lord had devised a most happy symbol for his party, since it comprised hypocrisy outside and stupidity within. Who can remember those palmy days of Exeter Hall, and the Rotunda, and Hanging Ditch, and some dozen of other places, without feeling at a loss to determine whether he was more inclined to turn a Democritus or a Heraclitus,—to laugh at the absurdity, or to weep over the scandal to religion, until, like the poet, he compromised the matter, and considered the whole matter as "*flebile ludibrium*." (a)

(a) Cheap martyrdom seems to be an object of ambition in Ireland, and opposition to the National Board furnishes plausible pretexts for canonization. A clergyman who makes an unreasonable or inopportune application to Government has only to

It was, no doubt, very good sport in England, but it was very serious mischief in Ireland; the Conservative organs proclaimed that the National Board was to be overthrown, and that all who had opposed it might expect ecclesiastical dignities from the Castle, in exact proportion to their vehemence and their violence.

I remember, on the formation of the Peel Ministry in 1841, congratulating a Conservative friend on his chances of promotion in consequence of the success of his party. He shook his head and said: "Our triumph and our majority are equally hollow and deceptive; our past opposition was too factious to render the designed honesty of our future administration practicable and possible." As before, Ireland was Sir Robert Peel's "principal difficulty."

During eighteen months the Government exhibited the strange inconsistency of supporting the Board as a national institution, and bestowing all its favours on the most bitter enemies of the Board. How long

attribute the refusal of his demand to his not having joined the National Board, and he is sure to be hailed by other clerical dissidents with applauses as loud as those bestowed on Mr. Smith O'Brien after the memorable "martyrdom of the cellar."

such a monstrous and mischievous system could have continued may be a difficult subject of calculation; but it was brought to an end by the Archbishop of Dublin, who formally tendered his resignation as a Commissioner of National Education. A copy of the Archbishop's letter lies before me, and without any breach of confidence I may venture to give the following extract:

“No one can doubt that, in all cases, even a moderately good system, administered by men of but moderate qualifications, would, if heartily approved and supported by Government, be likely to succeed better than the most perfect system in the hands of the ablest men, if distrusted or disliked by Government. In fact, no system, in any country,—least of all a system of *National Education in Ireland*,—could have a reasonable prospect of success, could have anything like a fair trial, if disapproved and *known* to be disapproved by those under whose supreme control it was placed.

“In no case, therefore, more than the present, does Lord Bacon's maxim apply, that ‘*not to resolve is to resolve.*’

“Delay in making known the views and decision of Government would be as fatal to the National

System (if not more so), as an early and open declaration of hostility.

“ And permit me to add, that the matter is of a character to produce greater and more immediate agitation of the public mind than almost any other, such as, for instance, what was called the Catholic question: first, because it was only *indirectly* and remotely that the continuance or removal of the disabilities could affect a cottager, whereas whether he can send his child to school is a question that comes home to ‘men’s business and bosoms;’ and, secondly, because the matter itself is one which leaves more openings for doubts and suspicions. The only doubt in the other case was, whether the disabilities would be removed or not: if the door was but opened, a man felt that he could safely enter; whereas, in reference to the education question, it would be very easy to introduce a single line into the regulations which would have the effect of totally altering the system, and of converting what is now considered the greatest boon ever bestowed upon Ireland, into what the majority of the people would regard as a system of oppression or delusion.

“ With such suspicions afloat, the National Board would be a source no longer of satisfaction and of

peace, but of growing discontent and discord,—evils which I trust will be guarded against, but to which, at any rate, I will not be a party.

“On these grounds I have come to the resolution of tendering my resignation of the office of Commissioner, declaring, at the same time, my perfect readiness to continue to hold it, if Ministers are of opinion that they could not supply my place with a person more entitled to their confidence; supposing always that it is their intention to carry out the System *bonâ fide* on its original principles.”

I am far from agreeing with my friend, Mr. B. D’Israeli, that the late administration was in any proper sense “an organized hypocrisy;” but I believe that none of its members will deny that they had connived at agencies to unseat the Whigs, which they found to be most dangerous in their operation, so soon as they had undertaken the Government of the country. It is within my knowledge that they were, from the outset, involved in the most complicated, and sometimes the most whimsical perplexities, by zealots in politics and religion, whom they were unwilling to snub, and afraid to encourage. Indeed, unless my memory deceives me, the Archbishop’s letter must have come before the Cabinet about the

time when the shallow artifice of a young magistrate in Lancashire had nearly brought them into collision with the whole society of Friends. I doubt whether I am at liberty, and, if at liberty, I question the propriety of telling all I know about the history of the Archbishop's letter from the time it left his hands ; it must suffice to say, that when it reached the Cabinet it put an end, though not immediately, to indecision and vacillation. The flirtation with the Church Education Society was brought to a close ; the application made by that Society for a grant was rejected, and the National Board was declared to enjoy in its constitution the full confidence, and in its administration the entire approbation, of Sir Robert Peel's Cabinet. Had similar decision been manifested eighteen months before, I greatly doubt whether we should now hear of a Church Education Society. I have too much respect for those members of it whom I happen to know, to believe that they would have formed an association not against a particular Ministry or a particular system, but against every possible form of British Government. Their own heated imaginations were to a great extent strengthened and confirmed by the first eighteen months of the administration of Sir Robert Peel, and, without at

all imitating Dr. Miller and Mr. Irwin in ascribing mercenary motives to honourable men, I state fairly what every man in Ireland knows as well as myself, that any one who calculated the chances of promotion from the aspect of affairs in the summer of 1841, would have found that they were rather more than ten to one against having any connexion with the Board.

Bishops, of course, must exercise their patronage according to their judgment; and those who were of opinion that Lord Stanley's institutions were "the devil's works," were bound in consistency to withhold patronage from those who were likely to advance such institutions. But more than this was done: secret remonstrances were addressed to influential members of the late Government, denouncing the adherents of the Board, and declaring that they were, one and all, unworthy of the patronage of a Conservative Ministry. One such letter has actually been printed by its Right Reverend author, and one is it a loss whether to admire most the good taste and good feeling of the production or the good sense of its publication. As a letter from the Bishop of Ossory cannot come under the category of *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, I shall venture to make some extracts:

doors, that if they will be regarded as sincere in their support of the National System of Education in Ireland, they must give up promoting its opponents in the Church. It is very much to be lamented, that when this alternative was offered to the Ministry, the right choice was not promptly and decidedly made, and this insidious and most audacious attempt met as it deserved. This principle, fairly and steadily followed out by the present Government, would do more to degrade and injure the Church than their predecessors ever had the power of doing. Indeed, this must, I think, be apparent, from what I have been saying of the actual state of the Church. At the outset it would oblige Government to advance men of no character in the Church, or much worse than none, the objects of the patronage of the late Government, or unsuccessful candidates for it. But as the principle continued to be applied, it is hardly to be doubted, that the resolution of some of the opponents of the system would give way, and that some who have earned some reputation for principle by holding out against the varied temptations, by which the clergy of this country were so long and so severely tried, would sell it at last, worn out in what would be felt to be an hopeless struggle.

Such promotions would be even worse than the former."

Le Clerc's chapter on the *Argumentum Theologicum ab invidiâ ductum* has clearly not escaped Bishop O'Brien's logical researches; but he has fallen into the mistake of imitating the processes of reasoning which Le Clerc exposed, in order that they might be avoided. His letter would be a proper companion to St. Jerome's attack on Vigilantius, or the Jesuit Maimbourg's History of the League. His sublime indifference to facts is worthy of his exalted station; he calls the Whigs "enemies to the Church," though he knows that they lost several large boroughs in England by their zealous adherence to the cause of the Establishment; he says, that "the opponents of National Education were proscribed by Lord Normanby's Government," referring probably to the promotion of the Hon. and Rev. Ludlow Tonson. When such are his facts, I condescend not to reply to his insinuations; I will not parade the list of clergymen supporting the Board, whose character for learning, piety, and firm adherence to the Anglican Church, would bear comparison with the very best of the opposite party: Bishop O'Brien knows that I could do so triumphantly, and his memory will not re-

quire any fatiguing exertion to discover and appreciate the reasons of my forbearance. I have only called Bishop O'Brien into court to rebut the evidence of Dr. Miller, and to shew, that if Castle patronage be introduced for the purpose of imputing unworthy motive on one side, a much stronger case of episcopal patronage could easily be made out at the other. If Bishop O'Brien does not do himself much credit in the witness-box, that is his fault, not mine, and for the sake of old times I am very sorry for it.

To come back to Dr. Miller. I find him closing his warnings with a prophecy. Bless the man! prophecies have been used as arguments against all projects of improvement and reform ever since the days of Martin Luther; indeed they were very liberally employed by Pharisees and Pagans against the progress of Christianity. Dr. Miller has just reversed the proper order of reasoning; he hazards his prophecy to verify his miracle, but what we want is his miracle as warrant for his prophecy.

It has often been remarked that when any men or any party, for the last three hundred years, were about to do anything pre-eminently foolish, their first

step is to rail against expediency. Now, in the practical business of life, men are far more frequently called upon to exercise their reason upon the modifying influence of circumstances than upon abstract principles. "No man," says Burke, "can safely disregard circumstances, and he who attempts to regulate his life by abstract principles, irrespective of circumstances,

'Dat operam ut cum ratione insaniat.'

He is metaphysically mad." To reject expediency is to protest against the practical exercise of reason in human affairs; but it has been long ago observed, "men set themselves against reason when they find that reason is set against them." I am not willing to add to what I deem a great evil in Ireland the irreverent use of Scripture in every petty controversy or election squabble which may arise; otherwise I might, from the highest of all authorities, prove to denouncers of expediency, and sticklers for invariable principle, in the present day, that "Wisdom is justified of *all* her children."

I do not see why I should disguise in Ireland that of which I boast in England, that I am a disciple of Archbishop Whately; and, as a disciple, I

prefer quoting the words of my master on this subject to adducing further arguments of my own.

“ So great is the outcry which it has been the fashion among some persons for several years past to raise against *expediency*, that the very word has become almost an ill-omened sound. It seems to be thought by many a sufficient ground of condemnation of any legislator to say, that he is guided by views of expediency. And, some seem even to be ashamed of acknowledging that they are in any degree so guided. I, for one, however, am content to submit to the imputation of being a votary of expediency. And what is more, I do not see what right any one who is not so has to sit in Parliament, or to take any part in public affairs. Any one who may choose to acknowledge that the measures he opposes are expedient, or that those he recommends are inexpedient, ought manifestly to have no seat in a deliberative assembly, which is constituted for the express and sole purpose of considering what measures are *conducive to the public good*;—in other words, ‘expedient.’ I say, the ‘*public good*,’ because, of course, by ‘expediency’ we mean, not that which may benefit some individual, or some party or class of men, at the expense of the public, but

what conduces to the good of the nation. Now this, it is evident, is the very object for which deliberative assemblies are constituted. And so far is this from being regarded by our Church, at least, as something at variance with religious duty, that we have a prayer specially appointed to be offered up during the sitting of the Houses of Parliament, that their consultations may be ‘directed and prospered for the *safety, honour, and welfare* of our Sovereign and her dominions.’ Now, if this be not the very definition of political expediency, let any one say what is.

“But some persons are so much at variance with the doctrine of our Church on this point,—and, I may add, with all sound moralists,—as to speak of expediency as something that is, or may be, at variance with duty. If any one really holds that it can ever be expedient to violate the injunctions of duty,—that he who does so is not sacrificing a greater good to a less (which all would admit to be inexpedient),—that it can be really advantageous to do what is morally wrong,—and will come forward and acknowledge that to be his belief, I have only to protest, for my own part, with the deepest abhorrence, against what I conceive to be so profligate a

principle. It shocks all the notions of morality that I have been accustomed from childhood to entertain, to speak of expediency being possibly or conceivably opposed to rectitude.

“There are, indeed, many questions of expediency in which morality has no concern, one way or the other. In what way, for example, a husbandman should cultivate his field, or in what branch of trade a merchant should invest his capital, are questions of expediency in which there is usually no moral right or wrong on either side. But where there *is* moral right and wrong, it can never be expedient to choose the wrong. If the husbandman or the merchant should seek to gain increased profits by defrauding his neighbour, this would be at variance with expediency, because it would be sacrificing a greater good to a less. ‘For what would it *profit* a man if he should gain the whole world and lose his own soul?’

“I believe, however, that the greater part of those who raise a clamour against expediency mean, in reality, an *apparent*, but false and delusive expediency;—that which is *represented* as expedient, but in truth is not so. But if this be their meaning, it would surely be better, with a view to cutting short

empty declamation, and understanding clearly whatever matter is under discussion, that they should express distinctly, and according to the ordinary use of language, what they do mean. It would be thought absurd for a man to declaim against 'virtue,' and then, at length, to explain that what he meant was not *real* virtue, but an hypocritical semblance of it; or to argue against the use of 'coin,' meaning all the time not real genuine coin, but fraudulent counterfeits. And surely it is not at all more reasonable for any one to declaim against 'expediency,' if what he means be, not what is really expedient, but what is erroneously mistaken for it."

Leaving the question of being guided by expediency to be decided by the common sense of mankind, and passing over the uncommon nonsense that whatever coincides with expediency must be opposed to principle, I come to consider the special case of expediency raised by Dr. Elrington.

In all affairs of life, public and private, that which men regard as the most desirable is not always, and, indeed, is very rarely, the most practicable. Dr. Elrington deems that a certain system of education is more desirable than that established by the National Board: on this point I differed from

him some years ago, and I am bound to say that I could not desire to meet a more honourable and candid opponent. Dr. Elrington now says that what he deemed most desirable he finds to be quite impracticable, and that he, therefore, accepts the possibility which approaches nearest his standard of ideal perfection. This is at once denounced as a dereliction of principle! We shall next hear it said that the aphorism, "half a loaf is better than no bread," is a dereliction of principle! It has been a proverbial principle from time immemorial that "when the sky falls we shall catch larks;" but I wonder what the people of Dunstable would say to Mr. Irwin or Dr. Miller, if they proposed to set neither snares nor springes, but wait patiently for the nebular contingency which would give them larks in flocks? I fear they would irreverently say that these grave divines were out upon a lark themselves.

It will be said that this is trifling with the subject, but it is no such thing; the example I have adduced bears directly on the point in issue. The contingency that the Church of England shall be recognised as "supreme" in Ireland, and regarded as "the common trustee of all religions in the com-

munity," is, in the apprehension of all reasonable men as remote and improbable as "the falling of the sky;" flocks of Dissenters would be caught, in the improbable event of the former occurrence, as easily as flocks of larks in the equally improbable event of the latter : but if we are to wait for such a contingency, we shall have to wait until the Millennium, the near approach of which, by the way, has been gravely assigned as a reason for opposing the Board of National Education.

It gives me no pleasure to dispel cherished delusions ; few men can pass through life without having occasion to exclaim, with the visionary recorded by Horace :

"Pol me occidistis amici

Non servastis, ait; cui sic extorta voluptas

Et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error."

More than one *Fata Morgana* must have been formed in the dim imagination of all men : that period of mental twilight, when the night of ignorance begins to go down the sky, and the light of knowledge obscurely reveals itself on the verge of our intellectual horizon, is as certain to recur in the world of mind as in the world of matter ; but over the mental phenomena we can exercise volition, and protract the

duration of the misty edifice, while the physical and optical delusion has its limits assigned by the laws of Nature. It is no pleasing task to be the iconoclast of these "chambers of imagery;" every man has had his *Idola*, as Bacon calls them, and must remember "that such things were, and were most dear." It is not because such imagery as Mr. Irwin's ideal "supremacy" of the Anglican Church, and his still more ideal "common trusteeship of the religious opinions of the community," are mere delusions that I am anxious for their removal; it is because they are mischievous and not harmless delusions,—because they lead men, while grasping at worthless shadows, to lose a valuable substance. It is because they lead men, while seeking an impossible ideality, to allow the mind of the nation to slip from their hands. "The blank sheet of paper to which the mind of infancy has been compared, cannot long retain its vacuity; if the wise will not trace upon it the characters of good, fools will so sully it as to render it unsusceptible of any useful impression, or the wicked will cover it all over with the ineffaceable spells of evil."

"Dum loquimur fugerit invida
Ætas."

Fathers and rulers in our Church, while you are

discussing ideal dignity, imaginary points of honour, and questions of etiquette, which were settled for ever in 1829, you are absolutely resigning all influence over an entire generation. I find from the published Report that, at the close of last year, the number of children receiving instruction in the National Schools amounted to 456,410; and I have reason to believe that it now exceeds half a million, of whom from seventy to eighty thousand are Protestants. It should not be a matter of indifference to you what this half-million of intelligent beings, who in a few years will be added to the adult population, may think of the Established Church of Ireland. Entering on the world, with a full confidence in the benefits which they have derived from the National System, and with an ardent desire that similar benefits should be secured to their future offspring, will it add to the safety and permanence of the Church, that the rising intellect of the country will look upon its clergy as the enemies of that knowledge by which this rising intelligence was fostered, strengthened, and applied to individual and national advancement? Fear not to put this question to yourselves, and, when you have done so, fear not to reply.

It is impossible to read over the many pamphlets on the National System now piled before me, without discovering that there is a principle common to all, more or less concealed, but nowhere distinctly avowed. It is a lurking hope that the measure of 1829 may yet be repealed, or that means may be found to defeat its full effect by administrative artifices. This, indeed, is not peculiar to the Education Question ; it pervades the whole system of what is called "Protestant policy" in Ireland. Now the difficulty of dealing with such a principle consists simply in this, that men act on it while they will hardly acknowledge its existence even to themselves. This, indeed, is no unusual mental phenomenon : men, I believe, are more frequently hypocrites to themselves than to mankind : perhaps there is hardly a man on earth who has not at some time or other been more or less of a self-impostor. A painful truth must be received like nauseous medicine ; it must be swallowed in spite of all reluctance : and there is one painful truth, which, if the Irish clergy and aristocracy do not receive voluntarily, they will find forced upon them most disagreeably, namely, that the restoration of the Protestant ascendancy, or any other ascendancy of the minority, which has been once

subverted, is utterly impossible. The efforts to protract its duration beyond the natural term of its existence, are worse than attempts

“To lull the roaring winds to sleep,
Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep;”

for the efforts are not only hopeless, but destructive. There would be hopes even now of the regeneration of Turkey, if the Mohammedans thoroughly believed in the emancipation of the Christians. But it is the hardest thing in the world to persuade men that when they admit a fact they also admit all its consequences. There are men who refuse even now to recognise the natural and necessary consequences of the measure of 1829, who were foremost actually amongst its supporters.

I am well aware that, in entering upon this delicate ground, *incedimus per ignes cineri suppositos doloso*; but I intreat those who may differ from me, to believe that I am more anxious to trace out the source of honest error than to expose or ridicule the error itself. The objections made to the National Board are not new to me; as I have already said, I have read them all, and in nearly the same words, in the Jesuit and other ultramontane pamphlets against the system of National Education in France, and in the

English writers against toleration of an age that is past for ever. It was with pain that I found so many of the clergy of a Church to which I belong from conviction, and a land to which I cling from affection, adopting, however unconsciously, the hackneyed arguments of the enemies of civil and religious liberty throughout Europe; it was necessary for me to investigate the causes that led to their being placed in so false a position before I could venture to suggest any feasible means of extrication. A great point is gained by shewing that the real difficulty is not a principle of theology but a point of chronology. It is simply whether we are living before or after 1829? Political equality involves social equality: Catholic Emancipation put an end to that supremacy which seems to haunt the imagination of the opponents of the Board. Their ideal supremacy is a mischievous tradition of the real ascendancy which has been subverted. A similar tradition misleads the Mohammedans in India, the Turks in south-eastern Europe, the Jesuits in France, the Monks in Spain, and the Absolutists in Portugal. It is a phenomenon familiar to every student of modern history, and to every traveller who visits the Continent with his eyes open.

In every part of the world vague but fond recollections of an irrecoverable past, disincline men to the reality of a practical present, and thus lead them to throw away the chances of a possible future(*a*).

The opponents of the Board are advised in 1847 to rely for aid upon the people of England ; they forget that the same recommendation was given to the opponents of Catholic Emancipation in 1828, and the results of the advice being taken. Most of those who were then my companions and acquaintances in College are active clergymen in various parts of Ireland, and many of them will remember that I then hazarded a prediction, that the Brunswick Clubs would be found the best allies of the emancipators. Twenty years of active life in London, under circumstances which compelled me to keep a constant watch on the progress of public opinion, and to form almost daily estimates of its progress and direction, enable me to know something more of the state of opinion in England than Mr. Irwin or Dr. Miller, though I would hardly venture to speak on the sub-

(*a*) "We are haunted with the ghost—the remnant—of intolerance, more harassing than the substance :

‘————— be alive again,
And dare me to the desert with thy sword.’ ”

ject as positively as either. But of one thing the opponents of the Board may be assured, and that is, that the opinion of the English people is not in their favour ; indeed it is wondrous how they could believe such a thing, when they know that they have not the support of their own Protestant laity in Ireland.

Throughout all Europe there is at this moment a strong popular movement against Church Establishments : in France it is perfectly notorious that the hierarchy will be abridged both in wealth and power at the first crisis that gives the popular party opportunity of action. No man can look at the history of the last elections without seeing that a strong anti-state-church movement has begun in England. It is notorious that the attachment of the present Ministry, and particularly the strengthening of the Establishment by creating a new Bishop of Manchester, was the chief cause of the defeat of the Whigs in Nottingham, Lambeth, and the Tower-Hamlets. It is sometimes well to see ourselves as others see us, and I shall therefore quote a passage from *La National*, a journal conducted by one of the soundest politicians and philosophers in Europe :

“The only remarkable fact is, *that the antique and*

savage intolerance of Anglicanism has been warmly attacked in front, and vanquished in the city of London.

We cannot be astonished at that fact. When we consider the years of labour which have been accomplishing this in England, we see the work of destruction pursue a parallel line, and the hammer of intellect strike at the same moment against the two shattered pillars of the Constitution,—the landed aristocracy and the Church. It was evident that on the day when the first should be expelled from its fortress, the breach would be opened against that other power, entrenched in its prejudices, and which appeared to be impenetrable to the spirit of the time.”

The character given of Anglicanism is grossly unjust, but the fact is as the writer has stated ; the Church of England has been assailed by voluntarism, and the struggle will be long and sharp. I have strong hopes that the Church of England will triumph, but I am not without apprehensions ; the Nonconformists are terribly in earnest ; they are in possession of many of the large manufacturing constituencies, and, worse than all, they are efficiently aided by anti-Catholic pamphleteers, who supply arguments which tell as strongly against Lambeth as they do against the Vatican. It is a lamentable proof

of the blindness of party spirit, that, in the fervour of their anti-Catholic zeal, men too frequently become anti-Church and anti-Christian ; and it is because the Bishop of London sees that Irishmen are peculiarly liable to this imprudence that he is reluctant to receive them into the diocese of London. There is a remarkable passage in one of the Essays of Edgar Quinet, which I would recommend to the notice of eager controversialists: "When Protestants and Romanists," says he, "rush into the controversial arena, and call on reason to act as judge of the field, they should address her as the gladiators of old did the Roman Emperors:—*Behold! those who are come to die before thee, salute thee.*"

Ten years ago, in a short series of published letters, addressed to the Bishop of Norwich, I pointed out opposition to the National Board as a symptom of the diseased state of the Church in Ireland; what I then stated I shall now repeat, for time has confirmed my opinions.

"Itinerant oratory and periodical fits of ranting, are not merely symptoms, but actual disease. An effort ought to be made to cure young clergymen of this perverted ambition; they should be taught that the chief duties of a pastor are not sermons and

speeches, but the unostentatious ministration of the ordinances, and the peaceful superintendence of his flock. They must learn that a Church militant is not necessarily a Church belligerent; they must be warned against raising the cry of 'wolf' on every occasion, and on no occasion; and they must have their eyes opened to the danger of the cry of 'No Popery' degenerating in the cry of 'No Church,' or, perhaps, 'No religion.'

"I have written this letter, my Lord, with great pain, because, while I cannot forbear smiling at the absurdities of the party I have described, I cannot hide from myself that it is a party possessing great influence over the Protestants of Ireland, and exercising that influence to pernicious purposes. Its course of policy is perfectly suicidal, and unless the English episcopacy discourage and disavow that policy, the Established Church in Ireland will be exposed to serious peril. I cannot too strongly express my fears, that the encouragement given by some English prelates to the opposition made by the Irish clergy to the Board of Education, has endangered the Church more than any event of the last ten years. A spirit of schism, of ill-concealed dissent, and impatience of episcopal restraint, has been long growing

up among the Irish clergy, and especially among the more popular part of that body. This spirit is augmented by the real or affected sympathy with which their complaints are heard by right reverend hunters after grievances; and if the system be longer continued, schism will be the least pernicious of the consequences. *One of the Earls of Kildare pleaded, as an apology for burning a church; that he thought the Archbishop of Dublin was in it; and it seems as if there were some willing to sacrifice the Church of Ireland from a similar motive.*"

Although it may seem like vanity to quote one's self, there is another passage in these letters which I deem it advisable to repeat here:

"Indulgence in declamation enfeebles a strong mind, and ruins a weak one; instead of the orator being the master of language, language becomes the master of him; it is impossible for him to control his excitement;—the horse has run away with the rider, while some foolish spectators applaud the fleetness of the steed.

"But this passion for declamation cannot be indulged without producing vanity, self-confidence, and a lurking belief that the orator is effecting some vast good. The clerical orators of Ireland persuaded

themselves and others that they were battering to pieces the fortress of error, and that the bulwarks of the Roman Catholic Church, like the walls of Jericho, might be tumbled by the blowing of trumpets, and by shouting. Public meetings, more especially those connected with education, became normal schools of agitation; some of the teachers were clever, all the pupils were apt; in a few years, a set of phrases became current, the mere repetition of which constituted an orator. 'In Ireland,' said Lady Osborne, 'reviewers are paid to think for the people;' they certainly perform the task for the popular orators; they have only to supply them with a cry, the more unmeaning the better, and they are sure to find it echoed from one end of the land to the other. I need only mention the senseless phrase, 'Mutilation of the Bible,' to shew your Lordship the influence of mischievous nonsense.

"It is sufficiently clear that the Church of England has from the beginning discouraged oratorical display in its ministers, and that its wise legislators foresaw that unlicensed 'liberty of prophesying' might prove fatal to 'the form of sound words,' in which it embodied 'the common faith.' The fathers of our Church foresaw the tendency to schism, which

arises from popular preaching, from appeals to passion rather than reason, from the love of dazzling rather than convincing. The state of the Irish Church proves their wisdom; clerical conventicles already exist in Dublin; proprietary chapels, independent of episcopal jurisdiction, are eagerly sought; it has been even proposed that the evangelical section of the clergy should form a convocation, elect bishops, get them consecrated either in Scotland or America, and place a synod instead of Queen Victoria at the head of the Church(*a*). There is no central power, no appellate jurisdiction in matters of discipline or doctrine, which can deal with this growing evil in the Irish Church; it is the result of old Puritanism and modern excitement; and it is so flattering to the vanity of the orators, that its abatement can scarcely be expected.

“ It is not necessary to shew that the Board of Education, or any other sober and rational institution, must have encountered the hostility of the ex-

(*a*) In this respect the Irish Church appears to be much improved; it would be curious to determine whether the greater reverence for episcopal authority dates from the promotion of the clerical agitators to the episcopal bench.

citable and excited spirits in the Irish Church. Its success would cut off countless opportunities for display, and remove a thousand hackneyed topics of declamation. Itinerant oratory would be at a discount; choice phrases, which are now current coin, would be depreciated to base counters, and opportunities would be wanting for proving one's self better than one's neighbours, which would be exceedingly unpleasant to many good kind of people."

I fear that when I wrote these passages I was a little intolerant myself. Since that time I have seen much and read more of the history and condition of European parties, and have found that the phenomena of which I complained in Ireland are reproduced in every country in the world, where an ascendancy of the minority has been subverted. Lord Clarendon must often be perplexed between his recollections of Spain and his observations in Ireland, for three-fourths of the pamphlets against the National Board must read to him like the translations of manifestoes of the Carlist clergy against the Spanish Constitution.

It will be said, and with some truth, that my letters produced little effect, and that English subsidies and subscriptions were lavishly given in aid of

the opposition to the National Board, and indeed to the opposition of everything Whiggish at the time. But is Mr. Irwin insane enough to suppose that this liberality had any basis in principle or in any real preference for any rival system set up in opposition to the National Board? Every man in Britain who can exercise judgment is now well aware that the whole movement was nothing better than a factious demonstration of party, and that the Irish clergy were treated as the broken tools which leaders of party throw away when their own objects are attained. Now, I believe that the mortification arising from the discovery of this truth is at this moment the principal impediment to a great body of the Irish clergy at once giving in their adhesion to the National Board. I have known men confess themselves knaves, and even boast of their knavery, but I never knew anybody ready to confess himself a dupe in my life. On the contrary, I have known men who maintained a melancholy consistency against their own convictions, and who could not hide from themselves that their secret conscience said every hour,

“ Video meliora proboque
Deteriora sequor.”

Now, the world is not half so intolerant as peo-

ple believe it to be ; let any man fairly set forth the strength of the agencies by which he was deceived, and nobody will laugh at him for being the subject of deception. He is far more likely to be ridiculed when he perseveres in a course after his conviction in its propriety has been destroyed, for he then exchanges one apparent inconsistency for multitudinous real inconsistencies which beset every step in his path of life. Deceived by English and partisan support, the opponents of the National Board undoubtedly were, but all the world knows the fact as well as themselves, and they cannot hope to escape by adopting the policy ascribed to the ostrich, which bird is said to hide its head in the bushes, and to suppose that it is not seen by its pursuers from the moment that it ceases to see them.

If there ever was a time when the hierarchy could hope to mould and form the civil institutions of the realm at their pleasure, certainly that time is not now ; and if ever there was a country in which a hierarchy perilled its existence in making such an attempt, that country is Ireland. Is it forgotten how loudly throughout England was echoed the dictum of the *Times*, that "too much Church is one of the worst grievances of Ireland." The *Times*

was wrong when it made such a declaration; but too much assumption on the part of Churchmen would go far to lead people to believe that the leading Journal was right. In the very question before us there has been a sad jumbling of ecclesiastical and civil claims to jurisdiction; and indeed this confusion lies at the basis of most of the objections made to the National Board. The Board is a civil, not an ecclesiastical body; it is a department of the State, not of the Church. In acting with it, or under it, a Protestant clergyman commits himself to nothing, he becomes in no way responsible for the system; and certainly not for the conduct of others acting under the system. But on looking over the evidence before the Committees of both Houses, and in reading the parliamentary debates, it is sufficiently evident that many of the opponents of the Board have looked upon education as a part of the ecclesiastical system, and have measured its details by the constitutions of the Established Church, instead of the exigencies of the country. This is a natural error, because, unfortunately, the circumstances of Ireland rendered religion the most prominent matter of arrangement when first the Board was constituted, and a series of debates arose as to the ade-

quate representation of the different religious denominations in that body. But the error was and is rather mischievous; the Board should represent nothing but the intentions of the Government; it ought not, and it does not, pretend to pronounce upon points of doctrine or Church discipline, and yet we find it constantly called upon to do both. What else can be the meaning of the objection that it sanctions the propagation of error? How is such a body to determine what is or what is not error? The Board is really as much a civil body as a gaol-committee, and yet clergymen who act under the one refuse to perform the self-same functions under the other. Had the Board put itself forward as an ecclesiastical body, it would have been charged with a design to supersede the Church of England, and it is made a grave charge that they did not emulate the Home Mission, and grasp the ecclesiastical authority of the realm.

It only now remains to notice some of the minor objections made against the administration of the schools by the National Board, for I am no more bound to defend the personal constitution of the Board than I am that of the Cabinet, or any other State department formed by the royal prerogative.

It is said that, as the Board has changed or modified some of its rules, there is no security that it may not, at some future time, introduce regulations which would banish Protestantism from the schools altogether. Now this objection is started, if not in wilful, at least in culpable ignorance of the fact, that the principles on which National Education is to be conducted are laid down by Parliament, and that the power of the Board is limited to devising such rules as the Commissioners deem best calculated to carry these principles into operation. Thus, the Commissioners of Customs have varied the rules for collecting duties, month after month, but they have not the power of altering a single item in the tariff. There has been no rule issued under the authority of the Board which has swerved in the slightest degree from any one of the great principles on which it was originally founded. Closely watched on all hands as the Board has been, any such deviation would have been at once detected, exposed, and brought under the consideration of Parliament. It is nothing better than the most miserable quibbling to say, that if rules are varied in expression, to render them more intelligible or more easy of practical application, that, therefore, principles are

changed. It might as well be asserted that a mathematician departs from the principles of his geometry if he varies the forms of definitions in the successive editions of his works. But in this, as in several other objections, what is really impugned is, not the authority of the Board, but the prerogatives of the Crown and the power of the Parliament. Some glimmerings of this truth appear to have dawned on the mind of Mr. Irwin, and he endeavours to evade the unwelcome revelation by declaring that a charter is not an Act of Parliament. He is quite right; a charter rests only on the authority of the Sovereign of his country and the head of his Church, and must, therefore, be a matter of trifling import to a loyal subject and a faithful Churchman. But there happens to be something more than a charter: the House of Commons annually places a large grant at the disposal of the National Board, and the House of Lords annually sanctions that grant by passing the Appropriation Act. Opposition, then, to the National Board, is not merely opposition to the royal prerogative, as exercised by charter, of which Mr. Irwin is pleased to make so light, but it is opposition to that which is legislatively established by the three estates of the realm.

Now I should like to know whether the opponents of the Board have a shade of hope that they will be able to induce the Imperial Parliament to revoke its recorded and repeated decisions? Can they point out the elements of a party which will outnumber the combined parties of Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord George Bentinck? In the very first place, who is to be their leader? Mr. G. A. Hamilton would assuredly not venture to repeat in the House of Commons the gross misrepresentations of the Board with which he flattered ignorant prejudice at the College hustings. Mr. Frederick Shaw had done some bold things in his political life, but he had not the temerity to resist the grant made to the Board of Education. Yet Mr. Irwin advises his friends to maintain active hostility to the Government, though his party possesses neither generals, officers, nor privates, and cannot even make so respectable a show as the army of Bombastes, which consisted of a captain, an ensign, two drummers, and one private. O Cervantes, Cervantes! what additions you could have made to the exaggerated chivalry of Don Quixote, if you had sought your hero in the diocese of Armagh instead of the province of La Mancha!

There is nothing more characteristic of little minds than to suppose that the whole world is concerned about them and their petty affairs. "I knew," says Scrub in the play, "I knew that the folks were talking about me, for they laughed consumedly." The Archdeacon of Meath gravely insinuates that a conspiracy exists for the overthrow of *non-vested* schools, primarily concocted by the Board, but in which the Government and the Parliament are clearly accomplices. Dr Elrington replies with becoming dignity, that the high personal character of the Commissioners should shield them from any such suspicion of "forecasting knavery." It remains for me to clear the character of Her Majesty's Government and the Imperial Parliament from this strange imputation. What, I would ask, is the market value of these schools? Does it amount to a sum exceeding the resources of the imperial treasury? I am inclined to believe that it would be, on the whole, cheaper to buy them than to steal them, even if it were necessary to go into the money-market and raise a loan for the purpose. It is impossible to read the alarms which have been propagated on this subject without being reminded of the sailor who, on presenting a check

for twenty pounds at Coutts', offered to take the money by instalments, for fear such a sum drawn at once might break the bank. It is said of a peasant in the barony of Forth, that when he ascended the mountain which separates that district from the rest of the county of Wexford, he exclaimed in surprise, "I never thought that the world was half so big." If Mr. Irwin would take the trouble of enlarging his horizon, he will hardly fail to make a similar discovery.

It is not unusual to hear complaints made of the inflexibility of the Board, and of its reluctance to make such concessions as would conciliate their clerical opponents. What the nature and amount of the concessions might be that would produce so salutary an effect, has nowhere been stated. It is Swift, I think, who says, that "if you open a door ever so wide, you cannot get people to come in who are resolved to stay out;" and there is no doubt that more than once hollow offers of negotiation have been made to the Board, for the mere purpose of discovering or inventing difficulties which would furnish excuses for continued hostility. But the Board can make no concessions inconsistent with the great principles established by the Government,

and confirmed by Parliament. Its functions are administrative, and not legislative; those, therefore, who require concessions, should first see how far their demands coincide with the laws which the Board is bound by its constitution to observe; and if they find reason to complain of the law, the remedy must be sought, not from the Board, but from Parliament. The want of respect for law is one of the greatest evils of Ireland, and it is truly lamentable to find this evil encouraged by clerical example in high places.

In the very same breath that this charge is made, we find it stated, that "important modifications and concessions have been made in the working of the National System, but that the *manner* of these concessions has not been satisfactory;" and this is followed by a mass of verbal quibbling and minute criticism, which amounts simply to this, that the Board has changed the wording of some rules which were either misunderstood or misrepresented. There is no attempt whatever to shew, that either the old or the new rules are inconsistent with the principles on which the Board was established by the Sovereign and by Parliament. As everything else is indifferent to the issue, I must, with due respect, decline

to waste my time in studying Archdeacon Stopford's new examples in special pleading.

The objection to manner has been introduced to cover the insinuation that Protestant Members of the Board are lax in their attendance, and that, therefore, rules to which they have not assented, do or may receive the sanction of their names. I have procured a Return of such attendances for the years to which the Archdeacon refers, and I give it here for his satisfaction.

STATEMENT

Of the Number of Meetings of the Board of National Education held during the Years 1842, 1844, and 1845 ; and of the Number of Meetings at which the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, were present during those Years.

Year.	Number of Board Meetings.	Number of Meetings attended by the Archbishop of Dublin.	Number of Meetings attended by the Provost of Trin. Coll.
1842	60	42	38
1844	56	38	56
1845	53	38	39
	169	118	133

MAURICE CROSS, }
 JAMES KELLY, } Secretaries.

So that, even during the years when the Archbishop is for a considerable time absent in England, he has attended on the average two-thirds of the meetings of the Board, and the Provost about three-fourths. This, however, is but a small part of the time and attention which the Archbishop devotes to the Board and its concerns. I can testify from my own knowledge, and as may be most surely known by all who wish to ascertain truth, that he takes a lively interest in the progress of National Education throughout Europe, and that he seeks the earliest information on improvements in educational processes, for the purpose of having them introduced into the schools.

I have answered all the objections to the National Board which are "level to the meanest capacity," *Davus sum, non Ædipus*, and I cannot manage those purposely involved in deeper mystery than the riddle of the Sphinx. But, before I conclude, I may be allowed to address myself to the clerical opponents of the Board, many of whom I know and value, indeed their names are treasured in my most cherished recollections of my early youth. I beg of them to concede to me some of the freedom of old times, especially as I am not going to ask them to join the

Board, but am only anxious to remove some difficulties which prevent them from giving the propriety of doing so a fair consideration.

In the first place, I beg of them to beware of mistaking metaphors for arguments. Metaphors are borrowed language, and those who use borrowed language, like those who use borrowed money, may often have to pay a most usurious rate of interest. Take, for instance, the following phrase, which I find in the report of a great Protestant meeting to have been received with unbounded applause: "Popery, like a serpent, sits crouching at the ears of the Queen." We need not object to the classification of Popery among the Reptilia in metaphorical zoology; but a sitting serpent would assuredly be a most strange phenomenon(*a*). I remember hearing a story of a Dutchman who visited London before the days of railroads, and at a time when animal phenomena were the rage of the day. Among the advertisements of learned pigs, dancing dogs, intellectual deer, industrious

(*a*) When several cherubs, all busts and wings, hovered round St. Cecilia, delighted with her music, she said to them, "Sit down, my children;" to which they modestly replied, "Madame, we have not the means of sitting. (Nous n'avons pas de quoi)." — *Vie de St. Cecile*.

fleas, &c., he stumbled upon the announcement of a new coach, the Reading Fly.—“ Vat, a fly dat reads,” exclaimed the perplexed Hollander, “ dis is voonders upon voonders.” The sitting serpent is quite as great a *voonder* as the Reading Fly. But this metaphorical serpent sat *crouching*; and here is *voonder* upon *voonder*, for it is incomprehensible how any animal could combine the two attitudes. Furthermore, it sat at the ear of the Queen; perched upon her shoulders, it is to be supposed, as the Brazillian dandies used to carry their pet monkeys some half-century ago. Now this terrific metaphor meant nothing more than that Messrs. Sheil and Wyse had been admitted to office; a legal exercise of the royal prerogative, to which, simply stated, few, even of the most violent Protestants, would have started any objection(*a*). Now, if the

(*a*) The blundering metaphor was founded on a mistake of the fact. Mr. Wyse was appointed a junior Lord of the Treasury, which brought him into no closer contact with the Queen than he previously enjoyed as a Member of Parliament. Mr. Sheil was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade; and, *virtute officii*, became a member of the Committee of the Privy Council for managing the affairs of Trade, just as Dr. Lushington, Sir Edward Ryan, and others, are members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; but this gives them no more access to the Queen, and no more power of sitting or crouching

metaphors employed against the National Board were similarly analysed, they would be found to resemble the bugbears which terrify a country village, where, on examination, the grisly ghost which scared the peasant out of his senses, is found to be nothing better than a white sheet and a scooped turnip.

Secondly, I beg of them not to confound recollections with facts. Protestant ascendancy is remembered, but it no longer has existence. The attempt to bring it back is as hopeless as to restore the Heptarchy. They must accept the fact with all its consequences. If they hope that they can procure the immediate repeal of the Emancipation Act let them by all means make the effort ; but, so long as it is law, they are bound to treat it as law : an attempt to defeat its operations by indirect means is not very safe, and I doubt whether it is very honest.

Before they take their final stand against the National Board, I wish that they would examine

close to the royal ear, than it does to any clerk in office. Indeed they have less access than is possessed by any Roman Catholic or Whig-radical peer, each of whom has a right to demand audience of the sovereign.

Ignorant persons confound the Privy Council with the Cabinet, or Cabinet-Council, as it is called ; it is to the latter that the responsible advisers of the Crown belong.

the consistency and the feasibility of any system proposed as a substitute.

The Church Education Society has virtually declared its own incompetency for the task it professed to undertake. Having begun by framing rules to gain *subscribers*, it has dispensed with these rules to gain *scholars*. It adopted and circulated Bishop Mant's Sermon as an exposition of its principles ; a sermon in which the reading of the holy Scriptures, without the Catechism and Formularies of the Church, is denounced as necessarily leading to Unitarianism ; and it sends its teachers to be trained at the Model School in Kildare-place, where the use of such Formularies is absolutely prohibited. And, when pressed by Dr. Elrington, it advocates a disingenuous oral interpretation of Scripture as a substitute for the formularies :

“ Quo teneam vinclo mutantem Protea vultum ? ”

I wish not to speak harshly of these inconsistencies, it is sufficient to establish the fact of their existence. But, I would ask, is it quite consistent to collect money under the banner of Bishop Mant, and to expend it on a system which the Bishop declares to be unorthodox and heretical ? Is it correct to set

forth principles, and to pursue a contrary course in practice? The leaders of the Society are said to have resolved to go on so long as they have money; I trust that, for the future, they will avoid even the appearance of raising money under false pretences.

Finally, I recommend the opponents of the Board to calculate the chances of success in a struggle in which they are not supported by the Protestant laity of Ireland, and in which they are opposed by every party, and every combination of party, which can by possibility form a government in England. To enter on such a strife is to provoke a certain defeat, aggravated by a series of previous galling mortifications. So soon as the struggle is found to be serious, the timid will draw off from peril, the proud will shrink from the shame of an overthrow, and the lovers of order will refuse to war against established law. Calculate how many, at such a crisis, will exclaim with Falstaff, "I will not march with them through Coventry, that's flat;" and then calculate how many will be left when the proper time to draw out your forces will arrive. I fear that you will then exhibit no greater strength than Lord Ligonier's Black Horse. When the soldiers employed in Carolina were inspected on their return to England after the

close of the American war, the reviewing general finding the number of regiments not in accordance with his muster-roll, inquired, "Where is Lord Ligonier's Black Horse?" upon which a solitary survivor presented himself, and replied, "Here I am, please your honour!"

And let me ask how much longer can they calculate even upon clerical support in opposition to the National Board? Seven years ago the great body of the English prelacy and clergy denounced the Educational Committee of the Privy Council in England, as fiercely as ever the National Board was denounced in Ireland; indeed, on the motion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Committee was condemned by a majority in the House of Lords, and only saved by a narrow majority in the House of Commons. But the English clergy, having witnessed the working of the system, have manfully acknowledged their error, and they are now to a man zealous and energetic in carrying out the measures adopted by the Educational Committee of the Privy Council. But, as I have already shewn, the constitution and system of the Educational Committee of Council in England, and the National Board in Ireland, are as identical as the different circumstances of the two countries

would admit ; both systems being obviously taken from the University systems already established. The English clergy cannot, without the grossest inconsistency, support the Educational Committee of Council in England, and oppose the National Board in Ireland ; the more especially as such opposition can no longer be employed as an influential agency in turning out the Whigs.

I doubt if the opponents of the Board can safely calculate on the continuance of clerical support even in Ireland. No party that can ever be in power will again make the fatal mistake of Earl De Grey, and appoint bishops to wage war against a system which Parliament has sanctioned, and which every Government, of whatever party, must henceforward honestly and cordially support. No statesman can or will encourage revolutionary opposition, and give prizes on impediments to the march of his administration. The preponderance of the Episcopal Bench, and, consequently, of Church patronage in Ireland, is now *against* the National Board, but in a few short years the natural course of events must inevitably turn the balance the other way.

But I should do injustice to your characters and my own convictions if I did not address to you

higher and nobler considerations. You can, by joining the Board, accomplish much good and avert some evil. Government cannot much longer safely neglect the education of the middle classes, the operatives, the traders, and the artificers. The Report which I presented last year to the Earl of Clarendon, as President of the Board of Trade, on the French Schools of Arts, Manufactures, and Design (*les Ecoles des Arts et Metiers*), shews that the Continental States are keenly alive to the importance of intellectual and practical training for success in all industrial pursuits. Britain cannot afford to be left behind in the march of improvement; Ireland has been left behind; there are few countries in Europe in which there is so small a proportion of skilled labour to untrained energies; and nothing can possibly be done for any country until skill has in it a greater economic value than strength. So far, then, as Protestant clergymen have hitherto abstained from connexion with the National Board, they have sacrificed Church influence over the lower classes. If they persevere in such conduct, they will sacrifice Church influence over the middle classes; and should they do so, I am at a loss to discover on what they are to rely for the permanence of the

Establishment. Let me not be misunderstood; I am not aware of the plans contemplated by Her Majesty's Government, but I am aware of the condition of the education question in Europe, and I know that its financial and economic bearings, its relations to the trade, commerce, manufactures, and revenue of the nation, cannot safely be neglected by any Ministry. In the educational movement now advancing in every civilized state, *non progredi est regredi*. England must maintain intellectual superiority, or her industrial superiority will not be worth three years' purchase. Therefore, though I cannot tell what the present Cabinet *will* do, I know well enough what any possible Cabinet *must* do. I know that both in quality and quantity the systems of National Education *must* be largely extended in Ireland and England, as they have been in France, Germany, Holland, and the United States. The English clergy see this fact, for they are for the most part *au courant* with the intellectual progress of the Continent, and they have, therefore, given in their adhesion to the Educational Committee of the Privy Council, to which they were at first opposed. They see that the educational action of the State, once commenced, must continue and must increase ;

they, therefore, seek to retain power of guidance, by participation in a movement which can no longer be resisted, on the same principle, economically viewed, that large coach proprietors have become extensive shareholders in railways. Now, if the Irish clergy had similar opportunities of viewing National Education, not as an insular, but as an European or rather cosmopolitan question, I am persuaded that a great majority of them would join the National Board, not, perhaps, as the best thing desirable, but assuredly as the best thing attainable.

I may be permitted to add, that I do not regard the *fact* of opposition to the National Board as hitherto in any way disgraceful to the great body who have engaged in it; though I do regard the *form* which that opposition has assumed in some individual instances, as pre-eminently discreditable to the individuals and their party. My reason for this opinion is, that the Irish Church has had to pay for every liberal movement which has been made for the last eighteen years; suppressed bishoprics, abolition of vestry-cess, tithe-composition, and even the recent change in the poor-law, have damnified the Irish clergy both substantially and prospectively. So far as I could, I supported all these measures, but

I am not quite sure that, if I had been an Irish clergyman, I would have viewed them with the same favour. On the contrary, I think it likely that I would have been much vexed to find that the policy of conciliation attacked at once my pride and my pocket ; it appears to me quite possible that I might have been among the fiercest opponents of the National Board. Men will endure pecuniary losses with patience, while they regard the loss of power to their party as an intolerable grievance. During the late pressure of famine the Irish clergy have given abundant proof that they are never led astray by any mercenary motive ; what has misled them is a false principle of party honour. To whatever censure this may expose them, I too must offer myself as a participator, for I believe, in opposition to the popular opinion of the day, that no great good ever has been effected, or ever will be effected, without party, and that the cry of "no party" is very often a covert way of expressing "no principle." God gives us not the absolute command of circumstances, but he does give us the power of shaping and moulding circumstances to useful purposes. An inevitable fact is a fact which we may dislike, deprecate, and abhor, but it is a fact which exists independent of

our volition, and with which we must deal irrespective of our desires. Now, the National Board of Education is an inevitable fact: there it is, and there it must remain: its removal is morally and almost physically impossible: changes may occur in its personal constitution, but none are possible in its fundamental principles. Men of sense deal with facts as they are; lunatics deal with facts as they deem that they should be. Between absolute sense and absolute nonsense there are countless shades of difference; a scale for their measurement has indeed never been graduated; but no one has yet broadly set forth that it is a mark of wisdom to find practicability disregarded. The question of practicability I have applied myself to discuss, beyond that I do not hold myself competent to offer an opinion, for I cannot comprehend the proceeding of men who adopt the policy described in George Canning's mock tragedy of "The Rovers,"—men "who sit by the bottomless pool of despondency angling for impossibilities."

APPENDIX.

SYNOPSIS OF LECTURES.

HEADS OF MR. SULLIVAN'S LECTURES AND EXAMINATIONS.

1. BEST method of teaching the alphabet—Lancaster's, Jacotot's, Woods's, Pillan's plans. 2. Improved method of teaching orthography—practical rules for spelling. 3. The most approved method of teaching reading—rules for reading. 4. Best method for teaching the meaning of words—roots and derivations—English grammar and composition. 5. Examinations in the First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Lesson Books, published by the Board; and instructions in the best method of teaching them. 6. Reviews of the different systems of popular education—Bell and Lancaster, Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, &c.; different methods of teaching—the intellectual—the monitorial—the simultaneous—the elliptic or suggestive—and the mixed or eclectic methods. 7. Reviews of the principal treatises on popular education, including Abbott's "Teacher," and Hall's Lectures on School-keeping (American writers). 8. The duties of National schoolmasters:—to their pupils—to the parents or heads of families—to patrons or school managers—to the officers of the board of superintendents—to the public generally. 9. Hints on the selection of sites and construction of schoolhouses—school furniture and requisites, &c. 10. Geography and the elements of astronomy. 11. The elements of political economy, taking Archbishop Whately's "Easy Lessons on Money Matters" as the basis; and touching only on those topics which are plain, prac-

tical, and corrective of popular prejudices. Easy lessons on reading. 12. An outline of general history.

The days and hours of attendance are specified in the next page.

SUBJECTS OF MR. M'GAULEY'S LECTURES GIVEN TO TEACHERS IN TRAINING.

The class being divided into two divisions, according to their proficiency, ascertained by previous examinations; the higher division, or those who are well acquainted with arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and surveying, are lectured on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from half-past 1 until 2 o'clock, in the most important principles of mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, and optics; the lower class (the higher also being present) on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, from 11 until 12 o'clock, in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and surveying; and both classes from 11 until 12 o'clock on Thursdays, and from 2 until 3 o'clock on Tuesdays, in chemistry, particularly with reference to agriculture.

PRACTICE OF TEACHING.

After receiving lectures from the professors, the teachers spend the remainder of the day in learning the practice of teaching in the Model Schools, under Mr. Rintoul, and the superintendence of the professors.

OCCUPATION OF THE TEACHERS' TIME WHILE IN TRAINING.

MALE DEPARTMENT.

Occupation of Time from 10 till 3 o'clock.

MONDAYS.—From 10 till 11 o'clock, with Mr. Sullivan; from 11 till 12, with Mr. M'Gauley; from 5 minutes past 12 till 25

to 1, in the gallery, for instruction in singing; from 25 minutes to 1 till 5 minutes to 1 with Mr. Rintoul, for relaxation; from 1 till half-past 1 with Mr. Sullivan; from half-past 1 till 2 the senior division with Mr. M'Gauley, and the junior with Mr. Rintoul; and from 2 till 3, either in the Museum or the Model School, for the practice of teaching under Mr. Rintoul, and the superintendence of the professors.

TUESDAYS.—From 10 till 11 o'clock, instruction in singing; from 11 till half-past 12, with their respective clergymen for religious instruction; from half-past 12 till 5 minutes before 1, with Mr. Rintoul for relaxation; from 1 till 2 with Mr. Sullivan; and from 2 till 3 with Mr. M'Gauley.

WEDNESDAYS.—Same arrangements as Mondays.

THURSDAYS.—From 10 till 11 o'clock, with Mr. Sullivan; from 11 till 12, with Mr. M'Gauley; from 5 minutes past 12 till 25 to 1, in the gallery, for instruction in singing; from 25 minutes to 1 till 5 minutes to 1 with Mr. Rintoul, for relaxation; from 1 till 2 with Mr. Rintoul; and from 2 till 3, either in the museum or the Model School, for the practice of teaching under Mr. Rintoul, and the superintendence of the professors.

FRIDAYS.—Same arrangements as on Mondays and Wednesdays.

SATURDAYS.—The teachers remain at Glasnevin for agricultural instruction, &c.

FEMALE DEPARTMENT.

Occupation of Time and Subjects taught from 10 till 3 o'clock.

MONDAYS.—From 10 till half-past 10, Scripture Extracts in the Female Model School; from half-past 10 till 11, with Mr. Rintoul for instruction in the books of the Board and practice of teaching; from 11 to 12, lectures from Mr. Sullivan on those parts of his course suitable for female teachers, as grammar, geography, and principles of teaching; from 12 to half-past 12, relaxa-

tion and exercise in the play-ground; from half-past 12 to half-past 1, lectures from Mr. M'Gauley on arithmetic and on those portions of the lesson books connected with natural history, &c.; and from half past 1 till 3, in the Female Model School under Mrs. Campbell, except a portion of about one-third, who attend in rotation from 2 to 3 in the Infant Model School under Mr. Young.

TUESDAYS.—From 10 till 1, separate religious instruction; from 1 till half-past 1, exercises in the play-ground; from half-past 1 to half-past 2, with Mr. Rintoul for practice of teaching; from half-past 2 to 3, in the Female School.

WEDNESDAYS.—Same arrangements as on Mondays.

THURSDAYS.—From 10 till 3, practice of teaching and needle-work in the Female Model School, under Mrs. Campbell, except from half-past 10 to half-past 11, with Mr. Rintoul for the elements of grammar, geography, arithmetic, and writing; and a portion with Mr. Young from 2 to 3.

FRIDAYS.—Same arrangements as on Mondays and Wednesdays.

SATURDAYS.—From 10 till half-past 12 in Female Model School.

N. B.—The occupation of time before and after school includes the periods during which they are expected to prepare for the lectures and examinations by the professors. In the morning they are taught singing, and in the evenings Mr. Rintoul gives them instruction in reading, writing, elements of grammar, geography, arithmetic, &c.

THE END.