

With Miss Wyse's comp.

# NOTES

ON

## Education Reform in Ireland

During the First Half of the 19th Century :

COMPILED FROM

SPEECHES, LETTERS, &c.,

CONTAINED IN

THE UNPUBLISHED MEMOIRS

OF THE

R<sup>t</sup>. H<sup>on</sup>. Sir Thomas Wyse, K.C.B.,

*Member for the County Tipperary and City of Waterford, from 1830 to 1847; afterwards Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Greece; also Senator of the Royal University of Ireland, founded in 1849.*

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BY HIS NIECE,

WINIFREDE M. WYSE.

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WATERFORD:

C. P. REDMOND & CO.,

49 & 50, O'Connell St.

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1901.

PRICE

SIXPENCE.



Houses of the Oireachtas



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# PREFACE.

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His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Reverend Dr. Walsh, recently stated in an address to the Sisters of Mercy at the opening of their Training College at Blackrock, that "It is one of the most lamentable things in Irish public life just now, that the public memory is so short."

Many keen observers are of opinion that not only is the public memory short, but that it at times does not exist in Ireland nowadays. The contrast between the latter half and the first half of the 19th Century is in this respect perfectly astounding, nor is the cause far to seek; yet it does not concern us at present; the fact that it is so is sufficient for our purpose. It has led me to offer to the public the following pages, especially now when the subject of Education and a National University for Ireland is under consideration. This, moreover, is the result of an admission made to me by a leading Nationalist some time ago—that he had no idea a second University for Ireland had ever been spoken of in Parliament until within recent years.

In all other countries the origin and progress of great reforms are found to be familiar—to experts above all—as leading up to their further improvement. The task of editing such documents is not an easy one, and I, therefore, hope that my fellow countrymen will view my humble efforts with indulgence.

WINIFREDE M. WYSE.

London, June 4, 1901.



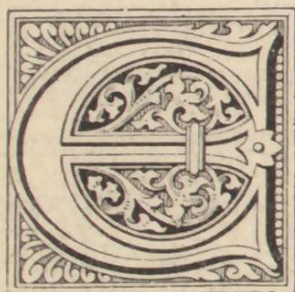






## PART I.

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EVERYONE who is familiar with the history of Ireland during the first half of the 19th Century knows the name and character of Thomas Wyse (later Sir Thomas Wyse), owner of the Manor of St. John, Waterford, where the family, amidst all the vicissitudes of confiscations and the Penal Laws, have held estates from the time of Strongbow. In the foremost rank with O'Connell and Shiel, he laboured unremittingly during the struggle for Catholic Emancipation, and was often affectionately remembered as one of the "Old Guard." Afterwards in Parliament his efforts to frame laws and obtain redress for the hydra-headed grievances of his native land were unceasing. In this view he brought forward, so early as 1831, a Bill for County Boards, much on the same plan as those recently adopted. But like so much else, the English Government was too busy with its own affairs to take the slightest interest in the proposal, especially as it was based on the Elective principle, abhorred by Mr. Stanley, then Irish Secretary. Above all other panacea, however, he considered education as the first and most essential, and



from 1830, onwards, it became with him an absorbing passion.\* To this his training and instinctive love of culture had originally led him; every description of intellectual work was to him a pleasure, but when he found an opportunity of serving his country in Parliament he turned his mind to the study of the minutest details of Education, and soon became an authority on the question, creating warm supporters of the subject, but more frequently "vainly crying in the wilderness."

Born in 1791, when no schools for young Catholics existed in Ireland, he was sent to Stonyhurst, the new Jesuit College in Lancashire, and there remained with his brothers and a brilliant band of schoolfellows who later rose to eminence, until the end of 1807. Then, most of them migrated to Trinity College, Dublin, for strange as it now seems, this University, despite the Protestant bigotry of the Irish Ascendancy, was the only one in the three Kingdoms whose rules had been relaxed by a spontaneous Act of the Irish Parliament in 1793, so as to permit the presence of Roman Catholics within its walls. On the other hand, the Catholics were so timorous that few except Thomas Moore had availed themselves of the privilege. In 1807 and 1808, however, with the approval of the general body of the Catholics, this band of Stonyhurstians was allowed to make the experiment. In their case it decidedly proved successful; they were completely unmolested in their religion, treated courteously by professors and students, and attracted much attention by their classical learning and remarkable ability, which were closely watched by outsiders, as may be seen in

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\*Dr. Bryce, President of the Belfast Academy, and Uncle to the present Right Honorable Sir James Bryce, used to say that Lord Brougham was an enthusiastic Educationalist, but that with Mr. Wyse it was a veritable passion.



letters of that period. Young Wyse in particular, distinguished himself, won the Chancellor's Prize twice, and a higher place in the Historical Society even than Shiel. After the peace of 1815 the young friends went abroad, but soon returned to continue their studies for the Bar, with the exception of Wyse who remained in Italy for two years acquiring an intimate knowledge of the language, the arts, and the people. It was not uncommon at that time for aspirants to political life\* to travel for the object of studying foreign nations.

Mr. Wyse's note books at this period and when he subsequently travelled for two years in the East are singular specimens of his powers of observation and inexhaustible industry, ranging from schools and hospitals to the price of corn and the peasant proprietorship of the Lebanon. Thus on his return to Ireland in 1825, he was fully armed on all these subjects and able to note quickly the defects and backwardness of his own countrymen.

The Irish Catholic Bishops had always deplored the lamentable absence of education for the Irish people, and in 1826 they drew up the following resolutions which on being presented to the Catholic Association were unanimously approved by that body then sitting in Dublin. They are worthy of insertion here:—

RESOLUTIONS DRAWN UP AT A MEETING OF THE ARCH-BISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF IRELAND, HELD IN DUBLIN, ON THE 21st JANUARY, 1826.

1.—That the admission of Protestants and Roman Catholics into the same schools, for the purpose of literary instruction, may, under existing circumstances, be allowed, provided sufficient care be taken to protect the religion of the Roman Catholic

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\* See Lord John Russell; Justin McCarthy's *Reminiscences*.



children, and to furnish them with adequate means of religious instruction.

2.—That in order to secure sufficient protection to the religion of the Roman Catholic children, under such a system of education, we deem it necessary that the master of each school in which the majority of the pupils profess the Roman Catholic faith, be a Roman Catholic; and that, in schools in which the Roman Catholic children form only a minority, a permanent Roman Catholic assistant be employed; and that such master and assistant be appointed upon the recommendation or with the express approval of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the Diocese in which they are to be employed; and further, that they or either of them be removed, upon the representation of such Bishops; the same rule to be observed for the appointment or dismissal of mistresses and assistants in female schools.

3.—That we consider it improper that masters and mistresses intended for the religious instruction of Roman Catholic youth should be trained or educated by or under the control of persons professing a different faith; and that we conceive it most desirable that a male and female Model School shall be established in each Province in Ireland, to be supported at the public expense, for the purpose of qualifying such masters and mistresses for the important duties which they shall be appointed to discharge.

4.—That in conformity with the principle of protecting the religion of Roman Catholic children, the books intended for their particular instruction in religion shall be selected or approved by the Roman Catholic Prelates, and that no book or tract of common instruction in literature shall be introduced into any school in which Roman Catholic children are educated which book or tract may be objected to, on religious grounds, by The Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese in which such school is established.

5.—That a transfer of the property in several schools which now exist or may hereafter exist in Ireland, may be utterly



impracticable from the nature of the tenure by which they are or may hereafter be held, and from the number of persons having a legal interest in them, as well as from a variety of other causes; and that, in our opinion, any regulation which should require such transfer to be made, as a necessary condition for receiving Parliamentary support, would operate to the exclusion of many useful schools from all participation in the public bounty.

6.—That appointed as we have been by Divine Providence to watch over and preserve the deposit of Catholic faith in Ireland, and responsible as we are to God for the souls of our flocks, we will, in our respective Dioceses, withhold our concurrence and support from an system of Education which will not fully accord with the principles expressed in the foregoing resolutions.

Patrick Curtis, D.D.

Oliver Kelly, D.D.

F. O'Reilly, D.D.

P. McLoughlin, D.D.

J. Maguran, D.D.

G. T. Plunkett, D.D.

James Keating, D.D.

Chas. Tuohy, D.D.

Edw. Kiernan, D.D.

Patrick Kelly, D.D.

Corn. Egan, D.D.

Wm. Crolly, D.D.

Pat. Maguire, D.D.

P. McMahon, D.D.

John McHale, D.D.

Dan. Murray, D.D.

Robt. Laffen, D.D.

J. O'Shaughnessy, D.D.

Thos. Costello, D.D.

K. Marum, D.D.

P. Waldron, D.D.

John Murphy, D.D.

James Doyle, D.D.

P. McNicholas, D.D.

P. McGettigan, D.D.

Edm. French, D.D.

Thomas Coen, D.D.

Robert Logan, D.D.

Pat. Burke, D.D.

John Ryan, D.D.

But no further action was taken on this subject until 1830, when in consequence of Catholic Emancipation having been granted, Catholics were for the first time returned to the English Parliament. The question was then taken up by Mr. Wyse and never abandoned during his political career.

The most noteworthy point in the above Resolutions of



the Bishops is, that in No. 1 they propose the principle of the so-called "Mixed Education," the first mention of it on record, and which remained uncontested for many years. The cause of this is not far to seek, all thinking men being united in the desire to make Education the basis of peace and good-will among the distracted races of Ireland.

Few have expressed this more eloquently than the greatest Prelate of the Irish Hierarchy, the Most Reverend Dr. Doyle, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, the famous "J.K.L.," who, by his statesmanlike letters in the newspapers, over this signature, had done so much to rouse the apathy of England. In his examination before the Parliamentary Committee on the state of Ireland, early in 1830, he thus expressed himself:—

"I do not see how any man, wishing well to the public peace, and who looks to Ireland as his country, can think that peace can ever be permanently established, or the prosperity of the country ever well secured, if children are separated at the commencement of life on account of their religious opinions. I do not know any measure which would prepare the way for a better feeling in Ireland than uniting children at an early age, and bringing them up in the same school, leading them to commune with one another, and to form those little intimacies and friendships which often subsist through life. Children thus united know and love each other, as children brought up together always will; and to separate them is, I think, to destroy some of the finest feelings in the hearts of men."

In the previous year, 1829, in his Sketch of the Catholic Association, Mr. Wyse taking the same view also wrote in the same strain as follows:—

"It is to be hoped in the present ameliorated state of things, this laudable effort will attract the attention of the legislature and the country, and the great work of National Education be taken up in the spirit in which it ought, not with a view of widening but of closing the breaches which hitherto have existed between man and man, of



providing good members for society. free citizens for our constitution, and steady and enlightened supporters of those several institutions, in which mainly consist the glory and the power of every civilised community.

New links should be formed between the different orders of the State; the relations which a long series of unwise measures and cruel laws have burst and kept asunder should be restored; the National intellect, waste but fertile, should be brought into cultivation, and another people, truly such, and not as they hitherto have been, too frequently a populace, should be raised up, out of the wrecks and lees of the past. England owes us this atonement for her former misrule and spoliation; she it was who made us and kept us ignorant. At her door is to be laid our barbarism, and all our barbarism has entailed upon us. A better order of things has begun; let her nobly aim at its consummation. Power is crime unless it be productive of blessing, and the most brilliant tyranny which ever dazzled and crushed man is not to be compared to the patient evolving happiness out of misery, health out of malady, knowledge out of ignorance, and morning out of night. Such trophies endure; they are well won. She will find in the Irish mind, when fairly dealt with, an enthusiastic and generous co-operators. But this fairness Ireland must have; with it she may do everything; without it—nothing.”\*

Before entering Parliament Mr. Wyse had made up his mind that the best system of the Government of Ireland at that particular period would be the creation of a number of Central Boards in Dublin, such as the Board of Public Works and others, and above all a Board of National Education. On these matters he had frequent conferences with Mr. Stanley, and in the Spring of 1831, succeeded in inducing him to establish a Board of Public Works for the better employment of the poor; he (Mr. Wyse) bringing in a Bill for that purpose which the Government

\* Historical sketch of the Catholic Association of Ireland, by Thomas Wyse, Esq. Appendix Volume II., 104 and 105.



then adopted. Of this the general public knew nothing, Mr. Stanley taking to himself all the credit, as he did later in the case of National Education.

On the latter subject Mr. Wyse went carefully to work, before communicating his plan to the Government. He began in October, 1830, by the following correspondence, which throws interesting side-lights on the state of the country, and the thoughts of those who were anxiously seeking to serve her. He had just been returned enthusiastically for the Co. Tipperary, in a memorable election, and Dr. Slattery, Parish Priest of Borrisoleigh (later Archbishop of Cashel), was one of his warmest supporters. To him, therefore, he first addressed himself, but as no copy of his letter now exists it may be imagined by Dr. Slattery's answer:—

Borrisoleigh,

November 28, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured with your letter of the 18th inst., and am happy to find that you have taken up the important question of Education, with an intention of bringing it speedily before Parliament—the very extraordinary change that has taken place in the administration will, I trust, materially assist in obtaining for your motion a favourable reception, as many of those at present in power must, if they are consistent, adopt your views on the subject. I regret that it is not in my power to afford you much practical information, except upon the want that is felt of a well ordered system of education in this part of the country in general, and of the necessity, in particular, of providing gratuitous instruction for the number of poor children whose parents are unable to pay for them at the common schools—in this parish there are about nine schools of that description. The greater part of them are merely calculated to enable the children to read and write in a very imperfect manner, for want of room and proper accommodation; you may well suppose there can be very little order or



regularity, and that it must be difficult for the master, even supposing he is well qualified, to convey instruction in a manner that may be useful. However, an imperfect education is better than none at all, and we are obliged to put up with all its defects for want of better. There are many, as I mentioned before, who cannot afford their children those advantages, defective as they may be; in this little town there are numbers of children who do not go to school at all. To remedy this evil, we some time ago attempted to build a house for the purpose of a Poor School, and succeeded so far as to erect a very good house, capable of containing from 100 to 150 children, but it still remains unoccupied for want of means to furnish it with school requisites, and particularly for want of a permanent fund to pay the teachers' salary. In this neighbourhood there are none, with the exception of a very few, from whom a yearly subscription could be expected of any consequence and the people of the town, though well disposed, are not wealthy enough to bear the burthen of themselves, without some extrinsic aid. What an advantage it would be if Government afforded some assistance in this case and in others of a similar nature; for what I have said of my own parish will apply to many others that I know of. This is all the information I can at present afford you from my own knowledge, but if there are any particular questions which you may think proper to send me I will endeavour to answer them as correctly as I can. With regard to the misapplication of the funds put into the hands of the Kildare Street Society, I am not competent to say anything in particular, as there are no schools in connection with them in this part of the country at all; but as I am anxious to enable you to make out your case, I sought for information from one whom I think better qualified to afford it than any other person in the Kingdom. I allude to my esteemed friend, Dr. Doyle. Immediately on receipt of your letter I wrote him on the subject and I shall give you in his own words his answer which only reached me yesterday.

"I am not prepared at this moment to offer to you for Mr. Wyse any information. Should I have leisure to look over my papers, I may write to him before the time fixed for his motion. I placed last Session much of the information on this subject which I then possessed



in the hands of Mr. O'Connell, and no doubt, did Mr. Wyse communicate with him, that information, if of any value, would be imparted to him. Nearly all that the Kildare Place Society set forth of the numbers attending their schools in this Province of Leinster is invention or gross exaggeration. I have proved it such throughout those Dioceses, and published in 1827 my proofs on that matter, a copy of which publication of mine, with a history of the proceedings relative to Education of our Bishops and the Irish Government up to the dismissal of Lord Anglesey, are, as I before mentioned, in the hands of Mr. O'Connell. If Mr. Wyse intends to promote Education in Ireland he should look beyond Elementary Schools, and endeavour to turn the attention of the Government to the establishment of four Provincial Academies, in which the sciences, not requiring a previous classical education, would be taught to the middle classes of society; for this purpose the funds of Trinity College would be amply sufficient. But they could be established as well as Agricultural Schools by a Corporation instituted for the purpose, or by an issue of shares by an Association of Governors. I printed, but never published, a pamphlet on the subject, of which I will endeavour to send a copy to Mr. Wyse."

You will pardon me for transcribing his letter into mine, but I thought it better to give his ideas in his own words. I hope you will be able to get access to the documents in the hands of Mr. O'Connell to which he alludes, as they will certainly be of use.

Believe me,

Yours most faithfully,

M. SLATTERY, P.P.

On November 30, Mr. Wyse wrote to Dr. Doyle:—

19 Manchester Buildings,

Westminster,

November 30, 1830.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am much flattered by the kind communication you were so good as to address me in answer to my inquiries on the causes of the Belgian revolution. They are detailed with great accuracy and point, and I am happy to say in all their principal bearings confirmed by the



testimony of one of the chief actors in the late memorable scenes, with whom I had the good fortune to become acquainted during his stay in London. I am inclined to think, however, from the late arrangements the question will be given up. Mr. Hobhouse withdraws his motion of an address to His Majesty, and trusts implicitly to the frequent avowed policy of the new Ministry.

I gave notice, last week, of bringing on a motion immediately after the Christmas recess on the subject of Education in Ireland—"with a view to a greater diffusion of its blessings, and a better allocation of the funds appropriated to its support." I am well aware no subject can be more deeply interesting to all your feelings, and I am quite persuaded no other man in Ireland can afford more important information on every one of its details. I am most anxious to press the consideration of this great National want, in every possible shape, on the House; I shall pursue it without remission, and if defeated in the first instance shall not lose courage, but continue earnestly in the good cause, until something useful be at last done. I have every confidence that the new Administration, liberal and energetic to a degree we could scarcely have hoped for a few years—I might even say a few weeks—since, will direct their immediate attention to the urgent wants of our country, and particularly to the wants of Education. Your suggestions to me, or rather to the House, when such objects would be in course of legislation, would I need not say be most invaluable; I do not therefore hesitate in trespassing on your time, or soliciting your kind assistance. You are in full possession of the opinions of the Catholic Hierarchy, without which, or if imperfectly understood, it is utterly vain to think of any efficient system.

The Easement Burial Bill has always appeared to me to be a serious and very unnecessary grievance to the Catholic portion of the population. It is, in a more particular manner, offensive to our clergy. I have some idea of moving for its total repeal. The country is now ripe for such measures.



With many thanks for the trouble you have taken, and every wish for your good health.

Believe me, My Dear Lord,

Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

THOMAS WYSE.

To the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle.

Dr. Doyle's reply to this appeal is unfortunately missing, not so Mr. Wyse's, very explanatory of his views coinciding with those of the Bishops.

19 Manchester Buildings,

Westminster,

December 11, 1830.

MY DEAR LORD,

A press of private and public business since the receipt of your very interesting communications has prevented me from earlier acknowledging the many obligations I have to your kindness. I am confident you will extend to me a portion of that indulgence, of which I am afraid I too often stand in need.

The information you give, both in your letter and unpublished pamphlet, is most valuable; I read all with the greatest pleasure. The abuses are distinctly set forth, and authenticated in a manner which ought to defy controversy. This is an essential point, for such are the errors, ignorance or prejudices on these facts, that even so late as last night, we had in the House panegyrics on the impartiality and utility of the Kildare Street Society!

My plan, like yours, is general and comprehensive. A more equal distribution of the Kildare Street Funds, on a more impartial or extensive an encouragement of parochial schools, would not satisfy me. Education, like all other civilisation, ought to proceed downwards, and I do not know whether the very reverse of this principle does not appear in Ireland. The lower class proportionally to their position, are better educated than the middle and upper. It is the contrary on the Continent. This, as much as anything else, contributes to sustain the marked distinctions between the classes, which is the curse of Ireland. Under much worse constitutions there is a far closer and much more kindly approximation than with us. The causes of this



are easily discernable to anyone who, like your Lordship, has read in a true spirit the history of our country, but the effects are most pernicious. Take the smallest town in Italy, the most remote from the capital, and you will find there more abundant gratuitous intellectual resources, more disposition to avail themselves of such advantages, a more general appreciation of the value of mental cultivation, than in our largest cities. Englishmen attribute these deficiencies to ourselves, but the Penal Laws—the work of their own ancestors—were the true and pregnant principle of the evil. It is for them to atone for the injury, and for Irishmen to force on their attention, both in and out of the House, the necessity of immediately making this atonement.

Our whole National Education wants reforming. It is impossible any good—really such—any harmony, any sympathy, can arise from the disjointed elements which actually go under that name. We should have, for the higher departments of Art and Science, a well arranged system of University Education. Subordinate to this, for the great body of the middle classes, the Provincial Colleges, to which you refer. Then would come the Secondary, Normal or Elementary Schools in the parishes for the education of the people. All these if well organised and well directed, would mutually assist instead of counter-acting each other. To the Provincial Colleges, agricultural statistics and economy institutions might, with great utility be attached. A Model Farm, on the plan suggested in Cork—not too extensive—with the proper practical instructors for a population so essentially agricultural, I might almost say so exclusively so as ours, would be, I am persuaded, of great value. The masters of the Provincial Schools might be furnished by the University or Universities; of the Elementary, by the schools of the Provinces.

If I were to trace out, in a new country, a plan of education, this would be it; but in an old country burthened with old institutions (not the less tenacious unfortunately because they are ruinous), we are compelled to work with the materials and implements we have. Now both are of the worst kind in Ireland. Every possible obstacle has been interposed by man to stifle the intelligence, as well as the fertility of the country. Our single University from its singleness alone, were



it even pure from other defects, would always be of comparative inutility to the country. Take away competition, and you create monopoly—you give a right “d’octroyer” the blessing of all others, which ought to be unshackled from all patent and privilege. Then its riches—it is a fit daughter of such a mother; none but an Irish Established Church could have given birth and matured such an offspring. Contrast it with the cheap machinery of other countries, and the benefits resulting from each: the strenuous idleness of the one—the modest utility of the other—and no man save a liver upon the abuse but must be compelled to acknowledge the inferiority of our own boasted Alma Mater. To ameliorate or correct this would be as difficult as to ameliorate or correct the Establishment itself, of which this is the Citadel. The evolution of time (a much more rapid and searching reformer now than formerly) may do it if not prevented by the impatient and just indignation of the country in the interval; but in the House of Parliament nothing can be hoped, and nothing ought to be attempted beyond exposing its abuses and urging the establishment as soon as possible, of a second University. The increase of our population, now a strong nation as nations go—the consequent increase of our intellectual as well as all our other wants, or perhaps more than all our others—the still greater urgency of our claims arising from difference of religion, etc., imperatively demand it. Scotland has four Universities, England has now four, why should not we have two? Scarcely a petty State in Germany or Italy that is not as well provided. The Dublin University is a mere Ecclesiastical, and I may in some degree add, an anti-National institution. Catholics have their privilege of entering the lists, not of carrying off the crowns of the athletes. So early as Cromwell this necessity was recognised, and it is even contemplated in the Act of 1793. All future Universities are to be opened by a Clause in that Act to Catholic and Protestant Competition alike; there is to be no caste for Professorships, no qualifying religion to teach mathematics; the nation is to be instructed, and it is sufficient to be a native. I have always had this project at heart, and in a note to the “Sketch of the Association” I urged the relics of that body, the Finance Committee



then sitting—to give a glorious example, to redeem their pledges to the country, and apply the balance in hand to the foundation of an establishment, to which the Government should be invited to accede. This would have been the noblest monument to the genius of Concord, the best memorial of Our New Bill of Rights, which could have been raised by Catholic or Protestant. Personal views, personal wants interfered, and public faith was broken and public money lavished with the profligacy of a Committee of the Treasury. I do not, however, think the matter should be let drop. He who commences shows his successor even by his failures, how he may succeed in the same race.

If money is to be granted at all, to such purposes it should be applied. Or if this be thought too considerable, I see no reason why the £25,000 annually voted to the Kildare Street Society might not be appropriated to the foundation (gradual as it would be) of the Provincial Schools. I should prefer this application, to the grant of small portions to the parochial institutions, which might be supported partly by donations, partly by assessment, equal to the subscriptions and donations in the parish, with the right to return to every ratepayer to send his family to the school for instruction. Religious instruction should be left in the hands of the respective clergy, who might appoint such time or place for conveying it as they thought proper. This would obviate all those innumerable grounds of distrust and dissension so cruelly and unwisely encouraged by the existing system, and allow Catholics and Protestants to lay in early life the seeds of that Christian forbearance and National concord, which might at a later period when such virtues might be most necessary, produce fruits of blessing and prosperity to their common country. From the known opinions of the present Administration confirmed by the strongest expressions in private, I have every rational hope something definite and practical will be done on this most important subject at an early period after the recess. As far as in me lies, the question shall again be pressed on their attention. I should have spoken last night, but anyone who knows what a House of Commons is, will see how injudicious it would be to fritter away in conversation (they are nothing more) arguments and appeals, which to be effective must be made on



solemn occasions, and in a more solemn manner. Yet the Grand Jury Question even in the Aside Debate the other evening, had been already usefully discussed, and the Minister pledged himself to bring forward this very Session a measure for the correction of its abuses, which would meet all parties. I am anxious a similar pledge should be obtained on the employment of the labouring classes. Some gentlemen, should the Minister hold back, ought to give notice of a motion of leave to bring in a Bill to that effect. The Knight of Kerry is active and has a plan which does not exclude Poor Laws. Ministers are favourable to it, but I think still the suggestion I state should be adopted before the Recess. I have called the attention of the House to it more than once, and shall do so again as often as may be required. With many thanks and many apologies for this long trespass on your time and indulgence.

Believe me, my Dear Lord,

Very truly and sincerely yours,

THOMAS WYSE.

P.S.—Parliament rises in a few days. I hope to pass by Carlow and to have the opportunity of conferring with you.

Carlow,

December 31, 1830.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been expecting the great pleasure of a visit from you on your return to Ireland, but I suppose you travelled by Bristol. The Recess, however, will not be to you a time of repose. I shall not interrupt your labours as if I be enabled to separate myself from the fireside, it will be to mix for a few days with my friends in Dublin. May I beg you will present my best respects with the “*Mulcor et Falix*” of this auspicious season to your esteemed family and to be assured I would, if in your vicinity, be most happy in the enjoyment of their society for even a short time.

The children you mention are, no doubt, interesting, but I have not, nor do I know any Prelate who has the power of providing for them in the line of life they propose to walk in. Children of so tender an age are not admissible to any of our Ecclesiastical Establishments, either at home or abroad, and if grown up and educated so that their



fitness for the clerical state could be ascertained, it would still be necessary that they should possess a fund sufficient to provide for their clothing, books, etc., even if favoured with free Commons in a College. I think the dispositions to a clerical state of pauper children so young, are deserving of little attention, and that it would be a kindness to teach them to labour with their hands rather than encourage them to aspire to a state which, now-a-days, is apparently placed beyond their reach.

I have the honour to be,

Most truly yours,

J. DOYLE.

Meanwhile Mr. Wyse had systematised his ideas into a plan for National Education in Ireland; and on December 9, 1830, submitted it to the Government for their serious consideration. It will be remarked that he therein dwells on the necessity of opening Trinity College, or at once establishing a second University; the first occasion on which this subject was touched upon in Parliament:—

HEADS OF A PLAN FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND,  
SUBMITTED TO THE GOVERNMENT—DEC. 9, 1830.

A National system of Education should be applicable to every portion of the Nation. To be generally applicable, it should be generally acceptable.

It should be especially so to the classes which most require it. These are the lowest classes in most communities.

The lower classes in Ireland are principally, and in many places, altogether Catholics.

The Catholics are opposed, and are likely to continue opposed, to any system which labours under the suspicion of Proselytism.

The system of the Kildare Place Society has laboured, and does labour, under this suspicion.

The system of the Kildare Place Society can, therefore, never become National.

Another system has become necessary.



The Irish, generally speaking, are anxious for education. They will try to obtain it through many obstacles. But it may be injurious. Government cannot suppress the passion or prevent its gratification. But they can beneficially direct it. If they are to govern, they are bound to govern well. The first duty of good government is to see that education be beneficially directed.

To effect this, education must be good, it must be widely diffused; it must be widely and permanently supported.

By "good," is meant not only that the education be good in itself—an absolute essential—but that it be in harmony with the special feelings and wants of the great mass of the Nation.

By being "generally diffused," is meant being extended, not to a favoured sect or party, but to every persuasion, class and portion, without distinction, of the Nation.

By being "efficiently and permanently supported," is meant, requisite funds and perfect security for its efficiency and duration.

These principles being admitted, let us now proceed to their application. The lower class of the people stand most in need of Education. Begin with the lower. Establish Elementary or Primary Schools, one at least in every parish.

But Education should not be forced on the people; it should be offered and demanded.

It should, therefore, be at the choice of the Parish; it should determine whether it will have a school or no.

It is right the people should pay for what they derive benefit from. It is also right that Government, which likewise derives such material benefit from the education (well directed) of the people, should assist the people in establishing and directing it.

There should be joint contribution, joint exertion, joint management, between Government and people.

Allow, therefore, every Parish, if it should so think fit, to meet and assess itself for the establishment and support of a school.

On the presentation of such assessment, duly authenticated, require Government to advance *one-third* annually, or to *build and outfit* the school.



Men value little what costs nothing. Children frequenting a school, should, therefore, pay *something*, however trifling, to its support.

The great object of Education being to make men happy, and in order to that, useful and good Religious Education should be the first of all; but it should not be of such a nature, nor given in such a manner, nor by such persons, nor at such times nor in such places, as to neutralize its good effects, or to produce such bad effects as religious discord. The mode of giving them should not render nugatory in after life, those blessed lessons of Christian charity given in childhood and youth.

Therefore—

- 1.—Let Catholics and Protestants be educated, wherever possible, in the same school; each in their quality of citizen contribute to it. Its object is to prepare future citizens for a common country.
- 2.—Let religious instruction be given regularly to the pupils of each persuasion; but by the persons most competent to give, and most interested in giving, such instruction, as it ought to be given, that is, by their respective Pastors.
- 3.—In order to remove all causes of religious discord, let religious instruction be given on a day, and in a place most appropriate to such duty. A separate room in the school, the Church or the Chapel, might be applied to that purpose (if Sunday be insufficient) every Saturday.
- 4.—Let the School-master (who, to educate with effect, ought to have the confidence of the pupils and their parents, *i.e.*, the Parishioners), be chosen by the Parishioners; but in order to guarantee that the choice be good, and not liable to the chances of ignorance or passion, let the selection be made from a Teachers' School, under the superintendence of a proper body.

This body, to execute its duty with utility, ought to possess the confidence of the people and of the Government. It should, therefore, be composed of Protestants and Catholics, of Clergy and Laity, in due proportion. It might be called the Board of



National Education; and to it should be entrusted the application of National Grants, the publication of books, and other objects connected with National Education.

But the middle class require education as well as the lower. Let there be all this established in every Province, Provincial Colleges and Academies, for the education of the middle classes of society, in those departments of knowledge most necessary to such classes, Mathematics, Mechanics, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Agricultural and Commercial Chemistry, etc., etc.

As the advantages derivable from such establishments are considered by many, more in the light of luxuries than necessities, let them be established in part by subscription; but as Government, or more properly the community of which it is the organ, would also derive benefit from their existence—let Government concur in certain conditions with the subscribers, for their establishment and support.

Let these conditions be, that on two-thirds of the sum necessary for their establishment and support being subscribed, Government should grant the remaining third, or let Government build and outfit, and the people support.

Let the establishment be maintained, in addition to such subscriptions by fees from pupils; the subscribers to have a preference in presenting pupils to the establishment.

The Provincial Colleges, though principally destined for the middle and professional classes, might be made, where deemed advisable, subsidiary to the University.

The University is destined principally for the upper classes.

The only University in Ireland is Trinity College, Dublin. Though its gates are open to Catholics it is not *National*, for Catholics are excluded, not indeed from its studies, but from the honours and emoluments to which these studies lead. This is not yet felt as a great grievance by the Catholics; partly because they have been long distracted by their late divided and degraded condition, from all intellectual pursuits; and partly because they form a minority in the upper grades of society. But it is not less clear



that the day must come, and soon, when such effects (these causes no longer existing) must pass away. Catholics must then be admitted, not only to the cultivation, but to the natural rewards of such cultivation, of every branch of human knowledge.\*

The funds of the Dublin University, both in land and fees, are, on its own admission, large. They are in the management and enjoyment of a few. They might be made more usefully available to the many.

It will be urged that this would be impracticable; it would be a direct interference with Ecclesiastical property.

Is the National University of Ireland, then, an exclusively Ecclesiastical Corporation? If so, why are there Lay Fellowships and Scholarships? If one, there may be many. There is no good reason why Catholics, as well as Protestants, should not be eligible to both. If too few—let them be increased.

If, on the contrary, the University be what it has been described, purely Ecclesiastical—purely exclusive, it is high time, in justice to the Irish nation, to whose wants such a body cannot be adapted, to found a second University, either taking advantage of existing institutions, or erecting a new University altogether.

Thus good and ample education, on a fair system, accessible to all, acceptable to all, contributed to by all, and managed by all, would be provided for the present, and be fully secured to future generations. Such a system is a National System—all others, less wide, less enduring are temporary experiments for the advantage of a party; miserable boons to sections of a nation.

THOMAS WYSE.

19 Manchester Buildings.

In February, 1831, Mr. Wyse “drew up a series of queries (as he himself tells us), relative to a most extensive plan of Education, an Education in every sense National, and addressed

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\* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader that Trinity has long since thrown open its honours and emoluments to students of every denomination.—W.M.W.



them to the Catholic Prelates, and to several of the most distinguished members of the Protestant and Presbyterian Communions. The answers received were, with few exceptions, perfectly consonant to my views." \*

In March he made a long speech on the subject, and pressed his views strongly on Mr. Stanley all through the Session but with no effect, until August 2nd. In a letter to his brother on that date he mentions, "I had a conference to-day with Stanley, he promises to lay the whole before Lord Grey, with my observations, and though there be difficulties—and I am conscious of many—I have great hopes." He elsewhere notes having given at the same time all his letters from the Bishops to Mr. Stanley,† adding, "Certainly the Clergy have behaved admirably, they found the school, are willing to open it to all sects and to allow Protestants even amongst their masters. For me it is a triumphant case. Here are the Provincial Colleges ready built." \*

He had decided some weeks before to bring in a Bill for "National Elementary Education in Ireland"; and gave it to a legal friend to be properly drafted. Meanwhile Mr. Stanley unexpectedly became converted. On August 15, Mr. Wyse again writes to his brother; "Last night Stanley told me in most positive terms, little or no opposition would be made by Government to my plan, and begged me to send him the heads

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\* See his speech on Education, May 19th, 1835.

† These invaluable letters from the Bishops cannot be found amongst Mr. Wyse's papers; possibly they may still be in Mr. Stanley's, Earl Derby's or Earl Grey's archives. It is provoking Mr. Wyse kept no copies of these, but it must be remembered that none but Secretaries of State of that period had private secretaries, and probably the work was too heavy for Mr. Wyse with all his other Parliamentary occupations.



of my Bill to look over; he asked explanations, made objections to parts which I fully answered. He says we almost perfectly agree; this was a great triumph, knowing as you do how opposed he was a little time ago."

His Bill was to be brought in at the end of August, but, owing to extraordinary blundering on the part of his friend, he had to cancel it and redraft the whole Bill himself, and thus lost the opportunity of publicly stating his plan before Mr. Stanley came forward. This took place on September 9, when Mr. Stanley unexpectedly announced the intention of the Government to take in hands the National Elementary Education of Ireland, and in a long speech developed their plan which he took verbatim from Mr. Wyse's Bill without the smallest acknowledgment, either then or at any subsequent period. It is needless to say this has always been considered by those who came to know of it, as a most shabby proceeding on the part of such a man. It was, however, in harmony with his general character; Dr. Doyle says:—"He had a judgment of powerful penetration, with a considerable facility for mastering details, and that any views communicated to him would not fall on barren soil";\* and Sir Henry Taylor who was in the Colonial Office, when Lord Stanley was Colonial Secretary, shows that he had little scruple in appropriating the views of others.

Mr. Wyse's feelings were of a mixed nature, it was an undoubted trial to have the result of so much disinterested labour snatched from him, thus unawares; on the other hand this very disinterestedness made him unselfishly rejoice, and he

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\* "Dr. Doyle's Life and Times," by W. Fitzpatrick, Vol. II., pp. 252-3.



congratulated Mr. Stanley with the utmost cordiality in a noble speech on this occasion.\*

The Government proposals were, however, only tentative, embodied in what had been called "Mr. Stanley's Instructions to the Lord Lieutenant," and to make them a law of the land, Mr. Wyse (with Mr. Stanley's approval) brought in his Bill on September 29, 1831.

He soon distributed it to the different Bishops, and on November 5, 1831, Dr. Doyle answers:—

Carlow,                   \*                   \*

After a long excuse for delay in writing the letter continues:—

"I fully approve of the leading principle of the Bill which assigns to the State the care of educating the people, and blends with literary instruction the doctrine of the Gospel as understood by the Churches to which the children to be educated respectively belong. I would not provide by law, I would leave the Commissioners to enforce by some bye-laws the attendance of the children on the religious instruction to be given to them. It appears to me sufficient that the Statute should prescribe that the instruction be given in the manner proposed and on the days or times specified, leaving the rest to the Commissioners.

I would give to the Commissioners a power to appoint a second Master or Mistress to schools wherein Catholics and Protestants being mixed, the confidence of both could not otherwise be secured.

I have at all times been and still am averse to the maintenance of schools by taxation on lands or tenements. Whatever is necessary to be added to the payments to be made by the children, let it proceed from the public Treasury. The land is too much burthened, and this new burthen would interpose between the poor and that provision out

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\* In this speech he, disapproved, however, of the limited number of members proposed for the Board of National Education; a system which proved injurious to it later.



of the land to which they have in justice and policy the first claim. If the State is to take into its care the education of the people, that education becomes a public charge, and should, like the expenses of the Army and Navy, be defrayed out of the general Treasury or Exchequer. If parishes are to be burthened with the expenses of education, the State cannot in justice make appointments, or prescribe or control the mode of education though it might inspect and correct it. You perceive that I dissent on this point from the policy of your Bill, it is that part of Mr. Spring Rice's Report which I might say alone displeased me. As I differ from you on this point, so I likewise do as to the enactment which appears to me to place the whole burthen of building and fitting up the school on the Commissioners. I would divide that burthen between the Parishioners and the Commissioners, as the subsequent of maintaining the schools by the payments to be made by the children and the residue of salary to be made up by the Commissioners on the report of their Inspectors, would also be divided between them. I would have no parochial taxation except to aid in building and fitting up the school. On this part of the subject my opinion, at all times of little value, is decided.

I think your plan for the formation and continuation of the Board of Commissioners is equitable. I hope Government will so consider it. I would pray you not to include in the Commission any Moderator of a Synod. He is a temporary officer, and often-times a low-bred fanatic; substitute for him some Elder or Presbyterian gentleman to hold office like the others for life.

I have the honour to be, my Dear Sir,

With perfect esteem,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

J. DOYLE.



The Right Rev. Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin,  
replied thus :—

Mountjoy Square,

Dublin,

December 3, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your obliging letter of the 10th ult., was left at my house during my absence from Dublin. On my return I was uncertain whether or not you had left London. I avail myself of the first moment after that uncertainty was removed to say, that I did not receive the Education Bill which you had the kindness to forward to me. In the meantime I think it right to express my reliance, that whenever you will bring it forward, it will be found to have been framed on an accurate knowledge of our circumstances, and with a very sincere regard to the interests of the country.

I have the honour to remain,

With much respect,

My Dear Sir, yours very truly,

D. MURRAY.

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END OF PART I.







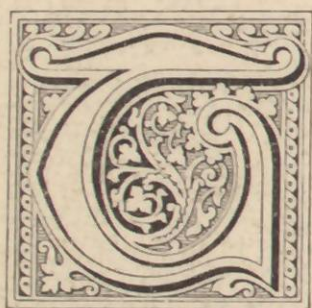






## PART II.

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HIS first Bill of Mr. Wyse's never reached a second reading, in consequence of the General Election during the following Session, 1832. He then resigned his seat for the Co. Tipperary, and stood for the City of

Waterford, but was not returned owing to O'Connell's orders, as he would not, although in favour of a "Local Administration," sign the Repeal Pledge, exacted from all candidates. For three years he lived in retirement, but his mind was still full of his favourite subject, for he occupied himself in writing a volume on "Education Reform," which even now, though little known, is a standard work.\*

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\* In 1892 Sir Patrick Keenan, the then Resident Commissioner of Education in Dublin, told me that during the twenty years of his employment this work has been his "Vade Mecum," always in his hand; and in moments of perplexity regarding Model Schools, and Teachers, he had largely used it as his guide.

[This is the same Sir Patrick Keenan so much praised by the Archbishop of Dublin, Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, on May 8th, for his skilful management of Training Schools.—W.M.W.]



He starts with the principle that religion is the foundation of all education; and in many eloquent passages shows that without it education may prove a curse instead of a blessing. At the same time, he thoroughly opposes denominationalism, and some of his potent arguments are expressed in the following extract:—

“To class our National Schools under partial designations of Protestant, and Catholic, and Presbyterian, is a contradiction. By becoming sectarian, they cease to be National. By thus parcelling out our people in lots, by thus keeping them “parques,” in their respective pasturages, we recognise a sort of inherent incompatibility; we tell the child that it is in his nature and in his duty to live apart and hostile; we grow Protestants, and we grow Catholics for future conflicts; and lest, if confided to their own untutored feelings, they should seek in religion only that in which all agree, we take care to point their attention to that in which each differs. We convert into a law of hate what Heaven gave us as a law of love, and degrade seminaries for the universal mind of the country into rival garrisons for a faction. Half our animosities arise from ignorance of each other; we imagine everything evil, for we are not allowed, either by our own passions, or by those of others, to discover what is really good. “We hate,” as Schiller says, “until we love.” The moment we come into contact, these phantasms disappear. We find that we are, each of us, much about the same kind of human beings and British citizens we should have been bred had we been born under opposite creeds and opinions. But it is some time before these discoveries are made; and of how many evils, and of what evils, is this separation and this ignorance in the interval productive? What years of distrust and dissension, how many generations of misery and crime, has it not sent forth from its prolific womb? We have seen these things, but seen them very late. We have attacked the consequences—but the causes are not yet extinguished. It is easy to pass the sponge over the Statute Book, but not so easy to pass it over the human heart. The sufferers and the



combatants are still alive; it is to those who have been neither—to that generation who were *born free*, and not to the freedman—to that yet untainted generation which is now rising up about us—that the country has chiefly to look. But this will be in vain, if the legislature anathematises the principle, and yet permits the practice. It will be a vain task to preach the union of manhood, if we continue to teach children separation. If we would make the country one, we must begin by gathering up its fragments while they are yet soft. Thanks to our original nature, unsectarian, unpolitical, unsophisticated as it always is, until corrupted by man, this is not difficult. Children, if left to themselves, will naturally unite. Their animosities and prejudices are not *theirs*, but their *fathers'*. Such mixture of sects and classes is the true discipline, by which these pernicious tendencies should be counteracted. There is no place like a school, to teach the universal sympathy, unadulterated Christian benevolence,—I will not say (for it is a very unchristian word)—toleration. Separate at present our children; and the next generation will exhibit all the errors and passions of the old races over again. The Protestant school will turn out its annual show of Protestants—the Catholic school, its rival batch of Catholics, just in the same manner as an aristocratic school shapes its Exclusions, or a corporation school begets its Aldermen and police magistrate. The age and country want Englishmen and Irishmen. Nationalism, not sectarianism, should be the first article of our common character.”

Mr. Stanley's Board in Dublin still existed, but always as a temporary measure, or experiment, and was far from giving universal satisfaction; therefore, on his return to Parliament in 1835, Mr. Wyse after an exhaustive speech on Education, sought and obtained leave to bring in a far more ample Bill than his former one for Irish National Education, supported by the Earl of Kerry (Lord Lansdowne's son), and Mr. William Smith O'Brien. Mr. Wyse had already succeeded in getting a Committee appointed for enquiry into the Diocesan Schools of Ireland, and after much discussion in the House, this new Bill



was referred to the above Committee of which he was chairman. In this speech of his, May 19, 1835, many of his opinions are applicable to the present day, for instance, he says:—

“Of all great objects of national policy which can engage the attention of subject or ruler, Education is by far the greatest—great now, great at all times; not a helper only of the building up of society and of civilisation must it finally rest. He who neglects this, may construct what social edifice he pleases; he will soon find to his cost, that he has been but an ‘architect of ruins.’ He may range institution on institution, without that—which alone can give the structure cohesion and solidity—the pack of cards, at the first of civil commotion, will come tumbling down. Constitutions are good and necessary, but a good constitution may be long in giving a good education; it is scarcely in the nature of moral things that a good education should not, ere long, render necessary and certain a good constitution.”

Further on he states:—

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“He who does not entirely and extensively and properly educate, suffers mis-education to go on, when he can prevent it; and in suffering mis-education, so far virtually mis-educates. He is guilty of the guilt, and author of the misery, which everywhere festers around him. Can the patriot endure—dare the Christian permit this? What more important question, to the conscientious man, than what really constitutes a good or bad system of National Education? Schools are not good Education, nor are books, nor inspectors, nor boards, nor grants, good education; they are but the machinery—the means—that by which good education may be propagated and perpetuated through the land. I care not so much what the canal is as what the canal carries. Tell me not what number of schools you have established, but what your schools are—what and how your schools teach. How am I to know whether it be rank poison or the bread of life you are bestowing all this while? Until you are sure of that, you have no right to bestow it at all. The increase of your schools—if the schools be bad—is the increase only of evil; instead of being a matter of exultation, it



ought to be a matter of reproach. The first thing you ought to do is to assure yourselves of this goodness—that done it then becomes a merit, a duty to extend them as widely as you can. But of what use is it to extend them unless you also provide that they shall last? The better and more numerous they are, the more important surely is such a consideration. These three points embrace, in my mind all the conditions of a good system of National Education. It is here that machinery becomes useful. We look for means to attain with facility and certainty the point which—without such means—we should attain with difficulty or not at all.

What, then, are these means? Is National Education to be left to the Government or to chance? Is there to be system or no system? Which of the two principles, the Directive or the Voluntary, is the best? The question may be argued for ever by taking the extremes, but it is this very mode of arguing it I would avoid. I would not give education altogether to the Government, much less would I leave it altogether to itself. There is a middle term between both, where neither the people nor the Government monopolise or usurp, but where both may usefully combine. And why should they not combine? Do they not do so every day? What is our Police, what are our Public Works, our Charitable Institutions, but a series of similar combinations? Is all this a solecism, an evil, a public wrong? Why not also leave these great National objects as well as Education, to find their level? Why not leave them to the ordinary laws of demand and supply? But the fact is, there is no analogy between the case of the education market and other markets. Our moral wants are not regulated like our physical. The less material food we have the more we hunger for it; but the less education, the less appetite for education we feel. Neither is it quite true—even in the mechanical world—that supply should always follow demand; it very often creates, and should in many cases precede it. Canals have as often produced commerce, as commerce has produced canals. The whole of the argument has arisen from too precipitate a generalisation of Adam Smith's views of bounties and prohibitions. Facts, too are against it. Were I called on to point out the precise



spots where Public Education in every respect is the most flourishing, assuredly I should direct you to those very countries where the Directive system is most, and the Voluntary least in vogue.

But the chief difficulty still remains—how regulate this combination? What share is the Government to have, and what the people, in contributions, powers and duties? I answer that question by another. On what principle do they combine? They unite for mutual assistance. The Government can do some things better than the people; the people, again, many other things better than the Government. Let each do what it can do best. The Government can impel, enlighten and control; the people can aid and maintain. Let the duties and powers, then, of each be regulated by this simple principle; let the Government provide and extend a good system of education to all the people (it is the Government of all) and let all the people, in return, support and perpetuate such a system when provided by the Government.

Such a system has never yet existed in Ireland. She has never had a National Education composed of such elements. Her education has not been an education for all; it has not been under the direction of the Government; it has not been maintained by the sympathies of the people. It has been a mere machine for the maintenance of Protestantism and Oligarchy—fettters to bind the mind, as there were statutes to bind the bone and sinew of the country. Yet there were once in Ireland great and good foundations for a noble structure.\*

In one place he notes having been accused of indifference to religion and observes:—

“Had they taken pains to read the preamble even of the Bill, they would have found that in that very part which is supposed most sacredly and strongly to embody its spirit, I had solemnly consecrated the principle that all education should repose on religion—instruction without may lead to knowledge but cannot lead to virtue. The Tree of Good and Evil should not be separated from the Tree of Life. This,

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\* Then follows a minute and eloquent description of the ancient civilisation of Ireland and its extinction under English rule.



I repeat, was my conviction, but I was also not less sensible that in a country like ours, circumstances and localities must guide in the application of this principle. Prussia has, with punctilious attention, considered the religious feeling of even the smallest sect amongst her subjects; so also has France. There are Protestant Schools and Catholic Schools, and Mixed Schools; schools, in fine, for every class of feeling as well as of individuals. All this is a matter of specific regulation determined by circulars of the Council of Instruction and not by the body of the law. The instruments for communicating education are Teachers and Books. These are the especial province, the highest province of an enlightened body like the Board. They are the all in all of education. To think of diffusing instruction without instructors is beginning like the philosopher of Laputa, from the roof. You build schools, but you do not give education. Hence it is, that the Irish in so many instances are informed, but not educated."

A very noteworthy fact is the emphasis he laid on the education of teachers, who should be trained in the art of imparting their knowledge, and drawing out the qualities of their pupil's minds; education not being, he said, a mere acquisition of a list of facts, or to be obtained at the end of a course by a system of cramming.

He then details his plan for the establishment of Elementary Schools, County Academies and Provincial Colleges, ending with the following striking passage concerning University Education in Ireland, which is still as unsettled a question as it was at that period sixty-six years ago:—

"The Third Grade, superior or University Education, requires more care. As our Universities are now constituted they cannot, without exciting great hostility and resistance, be placed under the jurisdiction of any public Board; but as it is important they should be in relation with it, I see no reason why, of their own body, they might not constitute a Council to communicate with it, or give such powers to the University Board which now exists, limited, if they think



proper, to such purposes. Another more material point is, the nationalising the University, and putting it in harmony with other portions of the National system. This can only be done by enlarging the present University (Trinity College), or by founding a new one. The Fellowships, for the most part Ecclesiastical, cannot be thrown open to all persuasions, but an additional number of Lay Fellowships might be founded, to which, as to the Professorships, Catholics and Dissenters as well as Protestants might be eligible, and the scholarships—to which no such objections exist—be at once thrown open to all communions alike. If this should not be practicable, why not without further delay found a second University? When ours was first established, the nation did not exceed a million; we are now eight. Germany, with 30,000,000 inhabitants, has twenty; the Netherlands have six; Scotland five; Ireland one. Cromwell thought of erecting a second one at Athlone. Is it less necessary now?

The last grade of education to which I shall advert is Supplementary and Subsidiary Education. By the first, I mean that description of education which supplies the want of early culture, such as Adult Schools, Mechanics' Institutes, etc.; by the second, I understand all that contributes to continue or improve education already acquired, such as Literary and Scientific Institutions, learned and other societies, Museums, Galleries, Botanic Gardens, etc. I would deal with these precisely in the same way as with Elementary and Academical Education. The Board should make the first outlay, provided the town or city consented to assess itself in a certain stipulated sum for their support. This expense to the State would, like that of parochial and other schools, be necessarily limited and constantly diminishing, but it would effectually extend such establishments to every town in the land."

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But the deep impression caused by this speech, and the Bill is best seen in the following article, published in the "Evening Freeman":—



## NATIONAL EDUCATION.

"After a long and unexpected delay for which we have to apologise to our readers, assuring them that we could not possibly avoid it, we this day publish the Bill prepared by Mr. Wyse, and brought into the House of Commons by that Hon. Member, by Lord Kerry, and Mr. W. Smith O'Brien. It is entitled: 'A Bill for the establishment of a Board of National Education, and the advancement of Elementary Education in Ireland.' Our first intention was to give an abstract of the Bill; but, on consideration, we felt the impossibility of doing in a summary that justice to the framer of the Bill, and to the measure itself, which in our judgment—and we feel assured in the opinion of the readers of this Journal—both the parent and the progeny eminently deserve. Besides, the Bill is one of paramount importance—it is moreover, likely to become law in less than a year—and it is due to the country to be made more fully acquainted with all its provisions.

There are seventy sections, besides the preamble, and in the entire there is not a vestige of the vile jargon which makes, too frequently, rank nonsense of those Acts of Parliament which are prepared by lawyers. A child just out of the Grammar School may read it and comprehend it all. All the stupid tautology—all the abominable repetition and senseless multiplicity and variety of absurd terms which generally make law a mystery that cannot be expounded unless by a licensed conjuror in wig and gown, and that serves chiefly as a net for the unwary, and a field of profit for barristers and attorneys, to the grievous detriment of the public, all this rubbish is cast aside by Mr. Wyse; for he has evidently a distinct perception of his subject—he has studied it diligently and sifted it in every possible shape and bearing, he is resolved to place clearly and perspicuously before the country his plan and his purpose. In this resolution he has admirably succeeded. His plan is really a grand one. It is based upon impregnable and useful principles, and completed with consummate skill. It embodies the most enlarged notions of Education and the minutest details of the system, by pursuing which alone can education be



beneficial to society. We have the whole organisation at one view—from the Infant School to the University—together with the means by which the entire scheme of ‘Primary Education’ comprising County Academies, Provincial Colleges, and special Academies and Colleges, for engineers for instance;—of ‘University Education,’ and of ‘Supplementary and Subsidiary Education’ comprising Adult Schools, Mechanics’ Institutes, Literary and Scientific Institutions, Libraries, Museums, Botanical and Zoological Gardens, etc.—may be carried into immediate effect. In every line of this almost perfect Bill there are perceptible the learning of the scholar, the prudence of the statesman, the wisdom and circumspection of the philosopher, and the virtue of the patriot.

Mr. Wyse’s doctrine is this—and who will question its soundness?—that every system of National Education ought to be as much as possible comprehensive, simple and consistent; that the simplest elements to which an educational system can be reduced is the subject matter—education itself, and the means by which education can be carried into effect, viz.:—administration. If education be not good—be not well classified, both in respect to the masses of the population, and their wants, and the course and methods of instruction, the very best administration is useless. So also, if ‘administration’ be not intelligent, energetic, embracing and enduring, the best education will be limited, doubtful, slow and temporary in its effects—education should be extended to all ages and all classes, and the system to be useful must be good and permanent. Infancy, adolescence, and manhood—the lower, the middle and the higher classes, ought all to be educated in a manner suited to their several capacities, pursuits and positions—leaving it open to all to reach the highest grade if they will or can. Education then, is to be established, if not diffused.

‘I like the gloomy gnome

That dwells in dark gold mines.’

As to the third position, if a good, well established and diffused education be not permanently maintained, it is good—to be sure—for the existing generation, but what becomes of their posterity? Hence



the necessity of a permanent measure, such as Mr. Wyse proposes, in place of that temporary scheme of Lord Stanley's concoction, which has neither the character of stability—nor the means of being useful on a large scale. There are two powers necessary to give due effect to the proposed plan—a 'directive' power, to establish and extend—and an 'aiding' power to maintain it. The Government constitutes the most efficient directive—the people the best aiding power. The former should organise, enlighten and control—the latter should maintain and extend in concurrence with the directive power. This cannot, however, be done in masses. Each power must have a distinct acting body through which to exercise their respective functions. This brings us to the classification of the provisions of the Bill. And first of the organisation. Under this head we range all that regards the first establishment of a school, academy, etc.—the mere material, the land on which to build, the built school, the outfit, the playground; these are particularly referred to in Clause 18, 19, 20, 21. Under the head of enlightenment may be ranged the rules and regulations of the schools, the instruments—such as well educated teachers, well written books, which are requisite; and these matters are provided for in Clause 22 to 33 inclusive. Under the head of controlling are to be enumerated inspectors, records, reports, instructions, rewards and punishment of teachers; and the power necessary to this control cannot be well exercised than by a well constituted Board, which is admirably arranged in Clauses 1 to 17 inclusive. So far for the directive power—that is the Government. The first duty of the aiding power—the people—is to maintain the schools. Under this head come salaries of teachers, repairs of buildings, and the charge of the schools when once fitted out. These expenses to be borne by the people, are also to be voted by the people. This can be done properly only in a fairly constituted meeting of the payers, and in a "school meeting of the parish," called, constituted and acting under and by rules prescribed according to Sections 34 to 55 inclusive, of the Bill. The controlling power of the people refers to the check they are to have over the expenditure and management of the schools, academies, etc. This



power can be well exercised only through a permanent body, chosen and empowered by those who maintain these schools. The 'School Meeting' shall, therefore, constitute a 'School Committee'—and this Committee, visitors to superintend the schools, according to the Bill. Clauses 56 to 63 inclusive. The seven remaining Sections are formal and will explain themselves.

We have thus taken a rapid view of this entire Bill itself, and we are sure that no friend of Ireland can object to a single principle, a single clause, or a single provision it contains. It is judiciously silent respecting the system of Education in the schools, leaving this critical part of the details to the Government and the Board—which is to consist of nine members, viz.:—The Catholic and Protestant Archbishops of Dublin; the Irish Secretary for the time being; a Presbyterian Clergyman and five Laymen—one from each of the four provinces, and one from the City of Dublin, care being taken that one moiety be always Protestant and the other Catholic. The Chief Secretary to be Chairman, and in his absence the duties of President to devolve on the Vice-President, who shall be one of the body and chosen by themselves with the approbation of the Chief Governor for the time being—with whom the original appointment of the Board and the filling up of future vacancies is to rest.

We doubt if Lord Roden or Mr. Shaw can find in this measure a solitary peg whereon to hang the most frivolous objection. And with this impression on our mind, we unhesitatingly submit it to public consideration. We know it is highly approved by many of the most enlightened men of every religious denomination in England and Scotland, and we can also mention that it meets the warm approbation of several of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland. We might perhaps be safe in saying that it was approved by them all—but when we speak of the opinions of several, we say that of which we have personal knowledge."

As soon as the Bill was printed, Mr. Wyse sent copies to all the Bishops; unfortunately his old and deeply valued friend, Dr. Doyle, had died in 1833. A loss to Ireland quite



irreparable. But a new and striking figure had meanwhile arisen in the person of Dr. McHale, the celebrated Archbishop of Tuam. His letter in reply in view of his later antagonism must here be inserted:—

Tuam, July 9, 1835.

MY DEAR SIR,

I have been favoured with your kind letter together with your admirable speech on Education, as well as your no less admirable plan for extending its benefits to our unhappy country. You should have had my acknowledgments sooner were I not absent in Dublin at the time they reached Tuam. We are all much indebted to you for the persevering spirit with which you have pursued your original laudable intention of opening to the poor of this country—and I may add to the rich who have been often so badly reared—the long locked treasures of a useful and practical education. To give you, however, a sincere proof of my estimation (which is indeed of little value) of your labours, I have directed petitions to be forwarded from all parishes of this district, praying for the benefits of an enlarged system of education such as you contemplate. I take the liberty of enclosing to you two copies of those petitions, which I believe have been already forwarded. I think it is the duty of all who appreciate the blessings of knowledge to aid you in your noble exertions to impart it, and if the people petition for this as strenuously as for other objects, there can be no doubt of the final triumph of your efforts in their cause.

I have spoken of your plan with regard to its practical details, allow me to respectfully suggest that I should adopt them such as they are now—with the most hesitating caution. I was going to make some observations on the tendency of knowledge itself when not under the guidance of religion. You have spared me the trouble, since more appropriate reflections on the subject could not be found than in your admirable speech (page 8, beginning with “the great point” and closing at the end of the paragraph). It is unnecessary to offer any further observations on the subject to a person who conceived so justly, and so happily expressed his thoughts regarding the paramount influence of



early impressions in fixing during after time the moral destiny of man. It will be then for you to labour to reduce your own valuable theory to practice, and to adopt every precaution in guarding education from the infection of that poison which hitherto vitiated the fountains of knowledge. The composition of your Board—not to talk of the peculiar jealousy which must ever preside over Catholic education—is not fair or equitable according to the rules of arithmetic. There is only one Roman Catholic Ecclesiastic for near seven millions, two Protestants for about one; for though they may have different denominations and adopt some different shades of opinion, in every question regarding the Catholic religion, the sects unite in one Holy Alliance. The Chief Secretary will be most probably always a Protestant, so that of the first four persons who constitute the Board, three are to be of the Protestant religion. If of the other five laymen four would not be generally Catholics—which is very improbable—there would be uniformly a preponderating influence (should the spirit of the country and the times permit its exercise) in favour of that old system of bigoted ascendancy which was so long the curse of Ireland. It may be said that such is the progress of an enlightened and tolerant system that my fears are groundless. But I address myself to you as to an enlightened and conscientious Catholic whose duty it is, in originating a measure which you confess may be a powerful machine of good or mischief, to adopt every precaution to make it a source of unmixed blessing to the people. There is now a spirit of liberality in the Government, but it cannot be denied that it is an adopted rather than a natural one, and that much of the legislation regarding the Protestant Church is forced on the Government by the apprehension that if they were longer to tolerate those abuses they should forfeit the support of that people without whose aid they could not stand. From similar motives they are relaxing their bigotry with regard to education. This is the favourable time to insist on the most favourable terms; for were an intolerant Government to come in—conscious of their strength and unawed by any popular control—they should not fail to wield the Board of National Education to renew and push on with vigour their old unrelenting hostility to the Catholic Church.



From the first section the Board has an unlimited power of making bye-laws, and from the 25th has the appointment of the teachers, with reference to any certificate of moral character from their pastor. It is true from the 25th Section an enquiry is to be made into their moral fitness, but still should any be found objectionable the ordinary of the Diocese has no control in preventing such appointment.

You may think that an Archbishop being member of the Board is sufficient to guard it against any danger to the Catholic religion. It is much wiser and safer to leave the Bishops of their respective Dioceses their ordinary control, than supersede it by any artificial corporations. There is something exclusive and monopolising about corporations—I instance Maynooth. You will not suspect me of any bias as I am a member of that Board; if I were not, I should speak with more reserve. Without imputing blame to any, I am sure that the circumstance of being members of this exclusive corporation enabled some to make regulations which were not palatable to all the Bishops, and which would not be adopted where all could enjoy the freedom and privileges of the body. But it would be inconvenient to extend the number. In much more extensive assemblies it happens there are but few who act; yet the most silent and apparently the most indifferent are of use controlling those who have energy and talent, so as to direct them to best purposes.

The University of Bonn is anything but a model of a good system of education, and in Bavaria—where from the influence of a Catholic Government and the Catholic religion, there are stronger fences against abuse than in the other countries—I have heard men of the most enlightened and rational views deplore the alarming extent of religious indifference that was following in the train of the modern system of education.

I have fairly and conscientiously thrown out those hints for your consideration. I suppose the Bill will not pass into law until next Session. I have only had time to throw out hastily those objections; if you consider that I can be of any use either in smoothing



the way for your Bill, or making its details more safe and practicable, you may command my slender services. In the meantime allow me to remain with sincere respect,

Your very faithful Servant,

JOHN MACHALE.

Private letters confirmed this Archbishop's warm approval. One says: "I dined last night with Dr. McHale, he could talk of nothing but your Bill, and was in raptures about yourself."

The general expectation that this Bill would pass into law, within the next year, was not fulfilled, then, or at any future time, for it was never taken up by the Government; nor any other provision made by them for the settlement of Irish Education. The Whig Government of those years ruled Ireland through O'Connell; and O'Connell did not wish to promote any comprehensive scheme of this description until he could obtain the Repeal of the Union; the Tories on the other hand considered Mr. Stanley's Board sufficient for all purposes. Meanwhile the Committee on the Diocesan Schools, to which the Bill had been referred, was used by its Chairman as a means of eliciting information, especially on the effects of Mixed Education in various countries of Europe.

The most important witness on this matter was Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman,\* who gave valuable evidence on Catholic teaching in the Roman States, where he had hitherto lived, and when questioned as to the double University of Bonn, thus answered:—

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\* Dr. Wiseman was then paying his first visit since his ordination to England and was creating a great sensation in London in the winter of 1836, by his lectures on "The Connection between Science and Revealed Religion."



## EDUCATION REPORT.

Question 6,023. Page 37.

Cardinal Wiseman questioned by Lord Mahon:—

*Q.*—From your experience and judgment do you think it desirable or not that the Catholics and Protestants should be educated in the same places of education?

*A.*—I think that in this country and in Ireland such an arrangement could be made, that both Protestants and Catholics could attend anything in the form of an University or Public School, without any harm ensuing: on the contrary, good perhaps might be done. I think also that in the lower branches of education it might easily be managed to give them a common education, reserving the religious education of their respective classes to their own pastors. But with respect to Colleges in which all must board, and must be subject to a certain discipline, I do not see how it is possible to make arrangements that would suit both classes.

*Q.*—Would you consider that there was any decided objection to an arrangement which would annex to any University a Catholic Theological College and a Protestant Theological College, putting out of the question altogether the consideration of boarding?

*A.*—The College to which such a case would apply, would of course be equivalent to an establishment having the forms and the power of a University, inasmuch as having a Theological College attached to it implies that it has the power of a University. Now there are examples in Germany of a double faculty—for instance at Bonn, where there is a Protestant and Catholic faculty, and I am not aware that they ever interfere materially with one another, or that they cause any unpleasant feeling.

*Q.*—And you do not fancy that it would be a necessary consequence, as the adoption of a similar system in Ireland, that any unpleasant feeling should occur?

*A.*—I cannot say that I am sufficiently acquainted with the state of Ireland to answer that question, which I think refers to a matter very much of a local nature. I can answer in general from the



analogy I have given of Bonn, that such a thing is practicable, but how far the peculiar feelings existing in Ireland would allow such an establishment is, of course, a question for those that are more experienced.

The only dissenters from these opinions were to be found amongst the members of Mr. Stanley's Board of National Education in Dublin; they had had a free hand during the past four years, no enquiries having been made in Parliament as to their proceedings, and no report was issued by them, except a meagre one in 1834. Dr. Murray, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, had been absent, on duty in Rome for a whole year. Of all the Irish Prelates he was the most highly respected, spiritual minded and dignified; but during this long absence, the lay Catholic member, Mr. Blake, rarely attended. The Presbyterian Moderator, a Mr. Carlyle, was the acting President, and his two secretaries were Scotch Presbyterians, these with the famous Dr. Whateley, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, exercised complete control over everything. Into this circle Mr. Wyse's Bill fell like a bomb-shell. Private letters give many details of their consternation and anger. Mr. White, an eminent educationalist, said it bewildered some of these men, and others would not read it; Mr. White himself considered it a perfect plan but added: "There was no man in Ireland capable of carrying it out except Mr. Wyse himself." To Dr. Murray on his return Mr. Wyse sent a copy of his Bill and Speech.

Receiving no reply and being anxious to obtain his opinion, he wrote to him as follows:—

15 Duke Street, St. James',

July, 18, 1835.

MY LORD,

I only learned a few days since from Mr. Blake that your Grace had not received the Bill for the advancement of Elementary Education,



and accompanying speech, which I requested my brother—then in Dublin—immediately on its being printed, to lay before you; nor that the copies sent to Mr. Kelly for the observation of the Board had been submitted to your Grace's inspection. Regretting as I did this neglect, and on my part apparent want of deference which I owe and feel, and I can assure you have always felt to your superior judgment and experience, I should immediately have forwarded both had I been informed that you were on the point of departure for England. I preferred, therefore, waiting your arrival, especially as the Bill being referred to a Select Committee on my motion did not require immediate attention. I now beg to enclose the two documents in question for your examination, and shall feel honoured at being allowed, at any time most convenient to your Grace during your stay in town, an opportunity of waiting on you and affording in person any explanation required, and profiting by any improvements or suggestions. Allow me to add that whatever errors may be observed (and I am conscious there are too many), in principle or detail—either in the Bill itself or the observations with which it was introduced—are wholly my own; neither Lord Kerry nor Mr. Smith O'Brien having had any share further than giving me the advancement and names and influence in their introduction. Full time and opportunity will be allowed for their correction, it not being intended—nor indeed possible—to advance farther than taking evidence, or offering suggestions on its provisions during the present Session.

I have the honour to be, with every respect,

Your Grace's most obedient Servant,

THOMAS WYSE.

To His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

Unfortunately no record exists of the personal interview he had with His Grace, which took place in London soon afterwards.

The report on this Committee was not issued until August, 1838. The whole document was drawn up by the Chairman, Mr. Wyse alone, and was a minute and elaborate



examination of the Royal Diocesan and other Foundation Schools in Ireland—of the methods of the National Board—of the manner in which they could be made to harmonise—and of a general scheme. The “Scotsman” declared that it was so clear that no future inquiry would be necessary, and that it would be a document to refer to in future times.

Needing much rest after this laborious task, Mr. Wyse went to the Rhine to join his family, then residing at Bonn; here, however, he could remain only a month, for there came to him a far off cry in the cause of Education, which, under the circumstances was irresistible; in fact, it was a mine that had been laid by himself and proved unexpectedly ready for explosion. He had left London in very low spirits as to his Education projects, and had no idea that his Report of the Select Committee would have attracted attention in Ireland, for a considerable time. The contrary, however, proved to be the fact, its great value being immediately recognised. The “Dublin Evening Post” published it with the most favourable comments, and this tone of approval was taken up by all the Irish Provincial papers. Cork, always foremost in such matters, was the first to make a substantial move and act on the suggestions of Mr. Wyse’s Report. The papers soon announced that on September 4 a Committee which had been appointed by the friends to the establishment of an University in the South of Ireland held a meeting at which the following resolutions were passed:—

Resolved—“That in accordance with the Resolutions of the public meeting held on the 31st October last, we do request a meeting of the Citizens of Cork, and of the Landlords and Gentry of the South of Ireland to prepare a memorial to Her Gracious Majesty the Queen,



and a Petition to both Houses of the Legislature, for the establishment in Ireland of a National System of Education, embracing the higher departments of knowledge; and praying that in the application of such system of National Education, a College may be founded in the City of Cork."

Resolved—"That our Chairman, Mr. Roche, be requested to express to Thomas Wyse, Esq., M.P., the deep interest and consideration with which we regard his untiring and zealous labours in the cause of Education Reform; and requesting that he may favour the Committee with his opinions as to the most eligible manner of bringing this important subject before the local public of the South of Ireland. And that whilst the Committee especially invite Mr. Wyse to honour the proposed public meeting with his presence, they conceive it would be attended with the happiest results if Mr. Wyse could make it his convenience to visit the City of Cork a few days previous to the day for which the public meeting shall have been called, to assist the Committee in directing the attention of the Citizens of Cork to his views upon this great national question—thereby giving greater effect and weight to the intended public meeting."

It was this invitation which Mr. Wyse received from Mr. Roche while at Bonn, and to which he instantly responded—although it cannot be called a modest request to an over-tired legislator thus to interrupt his well-earned rest, in order to come to their assistance from such a distance.

Meanwhile various letters passed between Dr. Bullen and himself. This gentleman was a leading physician in Cork, a man of great intelligence and zeal—had given valuable evidence before the Select Committee—and in personal devotion to Mr. Wyse he was enthusiastic.

The meeting took place on November 15. The Earl of Listowel in the chair; ten Resolutions were passed by the Mayor of Cork and a number of Catholic and Protestant gentlemen,



1. Resolved—"That while we recognise the wisdom and necessity of extending the advantages of instruction to the poorer classes of Ireland, we feel convinced that any system of National Education which does not afford proportionate opportunities of acquiring knowledge to the middle and more affluent classes of society, is essentially imperfect and ineffective."

2. Resolved—"That increasing numbers of the educated youth of the middle classes in Ireland are obliged for want of other sources of active enterprise to enter the learned professions, in which the demand for services being necessarily limited, their prospects of success are daily diminished; while the direction given by the Physical Sciences in other countries to the development of industrial energy, demands an education of a more practical character than the almost exclusively professional system of instruction afforded by the University."

3. Resolved—"That the Educational Institutions of this country are not adequate to meet the wants of this rapidly increasing population, and as Ireland is fully entitled to equal rights and privileges with England and Scotland, we feel it a duty to take measures for the establishment of a liberal and comprehensive system of Collegiate Education in Ireland."

4. Resolved—"That disclaiming all undue interference with existing public institutions, we fully concur in the suggestions and general plan of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons presented last Session, and more especially in that part of the Report which recommends the establishment of Provincial Colleges in Ireland."

5.—Resolved—"That Cork, the most populous and commercial City in the South of Ireland is the appropriate site for such an Establishment, as in addition to many other advantages, there already exist several Scientific and Literary Institutions, which present a suitable basis for the formation of a Provincial College for Munster."

6. Resolved—"That the Address to the Queen be adopted."

7. Resolved—"That the petition be adopted and confided to Lord Melbourne for presentation to the House of Lords, and to Mr.



Wyse for presentation to the House of Commons, and that all the Peers and Representatives of the Province be solicited to support its prayer."

8. Resolved—"That a certain number of the Representatives of the Province be appointed as a deputation from this meeting to wait upon the members of Her Majesty's Government, and to urge upon them the propriety of immediately establishing a College in Munster."

9. Resolved—"That a Provincial Committee be appointed to carry into effect the Resolutions of this meeting."

10. Resolved—"That the thanks of the meeting be given to the Chairman."

Writing to his brother of this event on November 17, Mr. Wyse says:—

Camden Place, Cork,

November 17, 1838.

MY DEAR GEORGE,

You must not be surprised at my not answering you ere now; I have been incessantly occupied and have scarcely had a moment.

The meeting went off most admirably, it was really one of the most imposing I have seen in Ireland, in point especially of respectability; the numbers also were great, and the sympathy of every class very marked and expressive. It is a new thing in this country to see such enthusiasm for a purely intellectual question. We had all religions, professions and orders; the Tories made a feeble show indeed of resistance; beyond a few growls of the "Constitution," we could hear of nothing. Though I had my cold still on me, and in no great mood after the dreadful roads and tossing about in the Purcell coach the night before, they say I made a marvellous speech. It had a strong effect, and removed all that still lingered of doubt on the matter. I spoke for an hour and a half; the cheers were very encouraging for the future progress of the measure. The Report cost me the whole of Friday;\* it has been copied as usual full of blunders in the spelling.

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\* The report of his speech, which, as the Press reporters of that period were so inefficient, he usually had to draft himself.



They entreat me here to publish it in a pamphlet with shoals of notes, after the fashion of the former speeches, they say it will do infinite good; I have agreed to do so. They will publish it here and expect a great sale. There is nothing at all literary in the town which does not join heart and hand in the whole report. Having now got the double sanction of that and the public meeting, I have every hope of succeeding with ministers; at last I shall put them to the proof. You will see from the proceedings what the feeling of the meeting has been towards me. I have got acquainted with the whole world here, and to-day, by public vote of the Committee, been with Bullen appointed Secretary to the Provincial Committee, and got summary and dictatorial powers to work the matter in the name of the Province as I like. The gratitude here is unbounded—the civility extreme; I have been dining in every direction, and were I to remain a month it would not cease.

I was obliged to wait to-day to organise the Committee. Sunday (to-morrow) I dine with Dr. Bullen's father, and I was obliged to promise Jephson to give him Monday and Tuesday.

I leave this about two o'clock Monday; I trust I shall be with you Wednesday or Thursday at latest. \* \* \* \* \*

The meeting has thoroughly succeeded beyond my most sanguine anticipations, and with a permanent Committee will succeed. The plan I traced out to-day for them, and which is now in course of execution is this:—A Provincial Committee here, to be composed of Cork men, with additions if they choose to send them—from the Counties, to meet every week; the Representatives of the Province to form a similar one in London; a deputation to Lord Normanby, another to Ministers; letters to all the papers in the Province, and successively to all the Parish Priests, Parsons, Ministers, and influential gentlemen, with the Resolutions; the Petition and Address to be entrusted to a Committee of three in each County for signature.

Bianconi, who is here and called to-day, promises all assistance, and to give his cars for conveyance hereof gratis. He is quite earnest about it, and thinks it is one of the greatest measures yet devised. I think with exertion we shall have 60,000 signatures, they cannot resist this, now is the time to strike vigorously, before I see Lord Normanby



If he thinks the Province has really set its heart upon it, he will advise the measure.

I was to-day at the Ursuline Convent, the Institution, and Cork Library, and minutely examined them—there are good materials.

Sir W. Beecher asked me to come to him for even a day; I would not. So also many others. I feel having satisfactorily accomplished this work, I must without delay get back to town. Were Jephson\* not in the case, I should be off Monday.

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Your affectionate Brother,

THOMAS WYSE.

As a result of the meeting an Address to the Queen was unanimously adopted, and is so remarkable that it requires insertion here:—

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY,

We, your Majesty's attached and dutiful subjects, residents of the Province of Munster, and assembled at a meeting duly convened in the City of Cork, approach the Throne with every sentiment of loyalty and devotion to your Majesty's person and dignity, humbly to solicit your Royal consideration to the wishes and prayers of the inhabitants of this populous and extensive Province, on a subject deeply involving the best interests of the country—the securing to all classes of your Majesty's subjects in Ireland an enlarged and ameliorated System of Education.

Your Majesty's accession to the Throne of these Kingdoms was hailed by the people of Ireland with enthusiasm; they felt that an era had arrived in their history which justified the hope that an enlightened and impartial policy guiding the Councils of their Sovereign, this country would receive a new and powerful impulse in its progress to improvement, and by the full and unimpeded develop-

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\* Better known as Sir Denham Norreys, of Mallow Castle, and M.P., an intimate friend of Mr. Wyse's and to whom he now paid a visit for two days.



ment of its own resources, be ultimately placed on an equality with the sister Kingdoms in the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of the Constitution.

In this spirit of full reliance on your Majesty's well known benevolent intentions towards this country, We, your Majesty's faithful subjects, approach the Throne, humbly to submit to your Majesty's consideration, that, while all classes of the people of England and Scotland have possessed for centuries, and are daily increasing, the means of attaining high intellectual cultivation—While your Majesty's Government has provided for the poor of Ireland opportunities of Education, the middle and more affluent classes of this Kingdom, those which impress their own character on National habits and feelings, are in a great measure deprived of that higher form of mental instruction, demanded, as well by their social position, as by the spread of knowledge among the people.

In England four Universities and numerous Colleges flourish under the sanction of Royal Charters—Scotland with two millions of inhabitants has four Universities, and the intellectual character of her people, the order and industry of her population, are notable proofs of the wide-spreading and beneficial influence of these institutions. Ireland, numbering eight millions of your Majesty's subjects, has but one University, and it is obvious, that at a period when a demand has arisen for an Education proportioned to the rapid progress of knowledge, a single institution, even under the most favourable circumstances, unless aided by Provincial Establishments, cannot afford sufficient opportunities of instruction to the middle classes of an entire nation.

In humbly soliciting your Majesty's most Gracious sanction to the establishment of a Provincial College in Munster, we adopt the suggestions and general plan recommended in the Report presented during the last Session by a Committee of the House of Commons—we are influenced by no adverse feeling to any existing Institution, we only seek for the extension of the privileges of education to every class and denomination of your Majesty's subjects—we do not wish or intend to interrupt private enterprise, it is rather to be expected that Provincial



Colleges, by facilitating the acquisition of knowledge, will increase the demand for education, and give a new impulse to the lower schools, and a more useful direction to their studies. And may it please your Majesty, we look forward to a still higher good, a still nobler result from this undertaking; excluding as it does, in the first principles on which it is founded, all political or sectarian considerations and uniting men of all parties and opinions in a great and national object, we earnestly and confidently hope that it will be the means of softening down those irritating asperities, which create much misery and so effectually retard the progress of improvement in Ireland.

When we reflect on the progress Education is making under Royal protection in other countries, where the principles of Constitutional liberty are inoperative, we cannot but hope that in a free country, and under the auspices of your Majesty, this national object will be accomplished. Ireland already owes her University to a Queen, and may it be permitted to us to hope that the commencement of the reign of another Queen, who has already manifested the most favourable dispositions towards this country, will be made memorable by the establishment of Institutions which will place an extensive course of Education within the reach of all—will satisfy the desire of knowledge that is springing up amongst your Majesty's subjects in Ireland—will tend to raise our country to an equality with the other portions of the Empire, and will rally round the Throne of a beloved Sovereign, during, as we trust, a long succession of prosperous years, a grateful, happy, and enlightened people.

Before leaving Cork three gentlemen were selected to present the Address to the Lord Lieutenant—Sir William Chatterton, Bart., Mr. Crawford, and Mr. Wyse. In December they were received by Lord Normanby at the Vice-Regal Lodge. In a letter to a friend Mr. Wyse writes:—

“The Deputation has had the honour of an interview with His Excellency, and been much gratified at finding that he was not unwilling to lay the proposition before Her Majesty's Government on the other side.”



The most novel point in Mr. Wyse's speech at Cork was his description of the Prussian system of Education, which he had lately closely examined, at Bonn. His mind was always on the "qui vive" to find a solution for the problem of separate religious teaching, combined with the mixed Secular Education, which, in the peculiar circumstances of the United Kingdom, he always thought would be the most satisfactory system. These Rhenish Provinces seemed to afford the desired example. Here he found a country as Catholic as Catholic Ireland, and yet the mixed system under the control of a Protestant Government was a complete success. The very University at Bonn was the one which Cardinal Wiseman had cited before the Select Committee of 1835, as possessing two Chairs of Divinity—one Catholic and the other Protestant—and yet working together in peace. From Mr. Wyse's personal examination at this time he came to the conclusion that the harmony arose solely from justice and goodwill on both sides.

The Government on its part respected the consciences of its subjects; for instance, in Silesia, which is entirely Catholic, it placed the great school for teachers under the control of the Prince Bishop of Breslau, whilst on his side he allowed the priests chosen to be inspectors to be specially trained for the purpose in this State institution.

In the Rhine land the religious instruction was given apart; Mr. Wyse writes:—

"At Bonn in the gymnasium, for instance, Catholics and Protestants are found constantly side by side. Their religious instruction is minute and ample, embracing not only religious dogma, but Sacred and Church History, as appears from the school cursus; it is given regularly to each persuasion by their respective religious teachers, under the same roof, but apart. No evil seems to result from this



arrangement; it leads neither to religious discord nor to religious indifference. Each adheres to his own faith but respects that of others."

This example of successful "Mixed Education" in a thoroughly Catholic Country under Protestant Government produced one effect, the most unlooked for, that of turning his former admirer, Dr. MacHale, into a bitter and most uncompromising enemy. He was in most respects a remarkable contrast to Dr. Doyle, the great Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin; both had vigorous intellects and most patriotic sentiments; but Dr. Doyle, who after becoming an Augustinian Monk in County Wexford, of which he was a native, went to College in Portugal and attended the ancient University of Coimbra, brought knowledge and breadth of view to bear on the consideration of all Irish grievances.\* Whilst Dr. MacHale, born and nurtured in the mountainous districts of Connaught, where Irish was his mother tongue, was afterwards brought up at Maynooth, and never travelled on the Continent, until he had been six years as "Coadjutor Bishop" in 1831.

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\* The following remarks, most illustrative of his character, were addressed on his memorable Parliamentary examination, March 1825, to the Lord President of the Peers. Dr. Doyle was asked whether those who were educated on the Continent were better educated than those at home. "I think the education at home is as good as can be had at most of the Continental Colleges; but our Irish students who receive an education at the Universities abroad are better educated than they can be educated at home." Q.—"You make a distinction between the Colleges and Universities; have the goodness to state the grounds of that distinction." A.—"At the Colleges on the Continent there is generally at each a course of studies, and by attending to those studies a young man may get a certificate, and be rendered fit to serve in the Church in Ireland. Now, besides this course of studies, which is found within the College at home, there are public Halls at the University where lectures are given, where public examinations are held, where public exhibitions are performed, where degrees are given to those who have most distinguished themselves, and where, of course, there is that emulation and excitement of genius which tend to improve the mind, and to increase the knowledge of men. For instance, I studied at Coimbra, but in the College in which I lived, there were several students educated who never attended the University; some few others, as well as myself, did attend the University; and hence there was a difference in the education." Q.—



The suspicion that Atheism of the 18th Century lurked in all systems of Foreign Education, even those sanctioned by Rome, was the dominating note of his otherwise great mind; nor did he give others the credit of being on the alert on this matter. None in fact was more aware of this special danger than Mr. Wyse, but the two men differed in their methods of averting the evil; Dr. MacHale aiming at the repudiation of everything foreign, Mr. Wyse bent on extracting whatever was good in the systems and on the basis of religion, adapting it to the wants of his native country. The Bishop moreover would not brook comparison with any other country; Ireland for the Irish, to its greatest extreme, was his motto from first to last. Hence he took instant umbrage at Mr. Wyse's eulogy of the Prussian system, and said publicly: "We have heard enough about foreigners, and don't wish to hear any more of them."

Circumstances and politics concurred to delay all consideration of the Provincial Colleges for the next few years; the Repeal agitation was commenced systematically by O'Connell in the Spring of 1840, and as everyone knows absorbed the thoughts of all Irishmen, until it terminated by his imprisonment in 1844.

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"In what do you apprehend the superiority to consist of an education at the foreign Universities over any domestic education procurable in Ireland?" A.—"On the Continent they have men of more extensive learning to teach in their Universities than we can find in our Colleges at home; there are greater rewards held forth; genius is better cultivated; and for these reasons I have found that a person receives greater information, and improves his talent more, by studying at a University than at any private Colleges."

Life and Times of Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, by W. J. Fitzpatrick, LL.D. Volume I., pp. 16-17.

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END OF PART II.













## PART III.

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THE first noteworthy revival of the subject was a speech on Maynooth and University Education, by Mr. Wyse, on July 19, 1844, in which he again urges the opening of Trinity College; and his favourite scheme of annexing to it Maynooth,\* as the Catholic Theological Faculty, or the foundation of a similar but Catholic University. In view of these aspirations, unfulfilled at the present day, and the prevailing ignorance of his efforts and opinions on this point, the following speech must here be inserted:—

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\* The College was then small and in a dilapidated condition; but next Session Sir Robert Peel gave £30,000 towards its rebuilding, and Mr. Wyse persuaded the authorities to employ for this purpose Augustus Welby Pugin, then in the zenith of his fame, and who constructed the handsome edifice we now know as Maynooth College.



"Times," July 20, 1844.

SPEECH BY MR. THOMAS WYSE, JULY 19, 1844.

EDUCATION. SUPPLY.

Mr. Wyse had given notice of the following Motion:—"That a dutiful Address be presented to Her Majesty, humbly representing to Her Majesty the importance of due provision being made for the University Education of her own Catholic subjects of Ireland, specially of such as are intended for the priesthood, and the inadequacy of the means and system now existing for the attainment of such object; and further praying Her Majesty that she will be graciously pleased to give directions, by an enlargement and improvement of existing arrangements, either by opening the emoluments and honours as well as studies of the University of Dublin to Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, and raising the College of Maynooth to the dignity of a theological faculty of the said University, or by founding and maintaining a Roman Catholic University, with equal rank, endowments, and privileges with those of the University of Dublin, or by such other means as Her Majesty in her wisdom and benevolence may deem fit, adequately to supply the deficiencies now complained of, and as far as may be, effectually provide for the future moral and intellectual wants of the Roman Catholic inhabitants; thus promoting the advancement and happiness, not of the Roman Catholics only, but of all classes and persuasions of the Irish people."

It was presumed that, in reference to the foregoing the observations of the hon. member were made. He said that an impression had gone abroad that he intended to make an attack on the University of Dublin. He had been educated in that University, and there did not exist a man more devoted to its interests than he was. Though amongst the first of the Catholics who entered Trinity College, Dublin, he had never any reason to feel that distinctions were made on religious grounds. But, without meaning for a moment to point out imperfections in that establishment, he did hope it would be practicable to make improvements, and to render it more efficient for the



purposes of education. The difficulties were by no means so great as they were supposed to be. In his opinion, the period had at length arrived when that important object might be accomplished. There was no Government in Europe which did not make better provision for the education of the people than the Government of England. In the year 1830 he had for the first time laid his views on the subject before the House, in reference to a scheme of general education, of which the elementary education of the people was intended to form part. He then proposed to carry out his views by the appointment of a Central Board, under the Government, and local authorities, to be appointed by the people; and to extend the system through each gradation up to the University itself. On that occasion he ventured to suggest a revision of the University Education of Ireland, and he put a memorial into the hands of the noble lord opposite, to be presented to the then head of the Government, Lord Grey, pointing out the novel position in which Ireland stood. He called upon the Government of that day to open the University to all Catholics, and to set aside the prejudices which had prevailed for so many centuries. He would ask how many Universities there were in Ireland? Only one. Was there any country in Europe, East, West, North, or South, which stood in a similar situation? There were 8,000,000 of inhabitants with only one University, whereas Germany had forty Universities; Prussia, with 12,000,000 of inhabitants, had six Universities; Poland, four; Belgium, four; and other Continental countries in the same proportion. In Italy there were five subordinate Universities, and two principal ones; in Florence two Universities. In America, Universities were every day increasing, North and South, in importance and magnitude, and to these examples he had to add the institutions of England. Within the last four years the magnificence of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been added to, and the Universities of London and Durham had been established. In Scotland they had been called on to vote for no less than four Universities, that country not containing more than two million of inhabitants. Now, with eight millions of inhabitants in Ireland they had only one University, which was not



sufficient for that country in the time of Cromwell, when a second University was intended to be established. Would they say that only one University should exist there, and that the people of that country should be confined specially to such an University as that of Dublin? It was said to be impossible to convert the University of Dublin to Catholic purposes; on this point, however, there was much misconception. That University might be opened to national purposes whether those purposes were Roman Catholic or Protestant. The University was generally supposed to have been founded by Elizabeth. Strictly speaking, it undoubtedly was; but that foundation was only an atonement for the destruction of the old University of Ireland. The old University of Ireland was founded in the year 1312, by John, Archbishop of Dublin. After a few years that University became tolerably richly endowed. At the period of the confiscation of monasteries this University, which was then established for the education of Catholics, fell, and Ireland remained without an University till the time of Elizabeth, when, in consequence of the interference of Sir H. Sidney, Elizabeth was induced to found the present University for the education of the youth of Ireland, without reference to their creed. During successive troubles there had been many interferences with the University, which had established precedence for the right of interference, and in process of time Roman Catholics had been excluded from the University. By the Acts of 1793, Roman Catholics were again admitted to the education of the University, but were excluded from Fellowships, and this was now the case. The University was governed by Fellows who were obliged to take Orders and the Sacrament previously to taking their Degree, and consequently Catholics were excluded; but there was no reason why the Fellows should be compelled to take Orders or the Sacrament, and the authority of the Crown, which had abrogated the statute compelling the Fellows not to marry, might exempt the Fellows from taking Orders, and render Roman Catholics as well as Protestants eligible for Fellowships. At this present moment there were four Lay Fellowships; so that the principle for which he contended was not a



novel one or injurious to the University. It might be said that the Scholarships were within the reach of the Roman Catholics, but the actual practice had been, that no Catholic had found the means of placing himself in the rank of the Scholars of the University. Recently a gentleman, who had obtained a fifth place among the candidates for Scholarships, when about to place himself to receive the fair reward of his exertions, was told that he could not do so without taking the Sacrament. The only openings for Roman Catholics were to Professorships, and there was one instance of a Roman Catholic Professor with an emolument of £100 a year. Now, what were the funds of the College? Though he had taken all the usual means of obtaining information, he had not been able to arrive at any accurate statement of the funds of this body, he had been obliged to obtain his information in an indirect manner. He understood that the landed property of the University was 23,100 acres in extent, the value of which he was not able to state; but it ranked in point of cultivation and improvement like the Bishop's land, being remarkable for its neglect, and for the want of that attention bestowed on the land of individual proprietors. The funds derived from fees on matriculations, fees paid by Fellow Commoners during their continuance in College, and for conferring Degrees and for keeping gentlemen's names on the books, amounted in the whole to £5,609 15s. 0d.; and then the fees to tutors went a great way to keep the Junior Fellows in their station. With very little assistance from the Government these means might be enlarged, and the question was, looking at the original title of Roman Catholics to be educated in this University, whether they had not a right to be now educated in it. Under an Act of Parliament passed in the 14th and 15th years of the reign of Charles II., the Government had given power to the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the consent of the Privy Council, to establish a new constitution for the University, and to extend its usefulness. What then remained for him to shew? Simply this, and there was sufficient ground and justification for following out the suggestions given under that Act. They had a large population; they had admitted by their acts and by their votes that the lower



classes ought to be instructed, and that their education ought not to be connected with religion; was it not a natural conclusion from these premises that they should be most careful of the education of the educated, and above all, of the education of the religious educators? Was it not their bounden duty to educate the priests of Ireland, in order that the people should be properly educated? That being the case, how had they educated, and how were they educating the priesthood of Ireland? Could they be educated in an establishment similar even to the present University of Dublin? The University of Dublin was advancing every year, and having improvements conferred upon it. He saw nothing of that kind distinguishing Maynooth. The stinted grant of 1793 had been lessened with an increased population. They had cut down the grant to Maynooth, and, besides, it stood shut up, the University of Dublin. Before the establishment of Maynooth, an Irish Catholic College was to be found in every other nation; and when they began to apprehend that her clergy were appreciated in foreign lands, and were to be found in the Courts of Kings, merely from political motives, and from apprehensions of the violence of revolutionary France, they had at last given to the Irish priesthood a miserable hovel (which their own writers had described as an Union House), with education doled out to them pitifully, and gave to those teachers of the clergy a pittance scarce equal to what they would give their cooks; and then they were surprised that the Irish people were not grateful, and that the Irish clergy were not that enlightened, liberal, attached, and fascinating body which they boasted so pre-eminently marked the character of the English priesthood. He would beg of the hon. members opposite not to regard this matter in a political light, but, casting aside all personal feeling, and looking down upon all prejudices, really to legislate for the people of Ireland in a worthy spirit of friendship. They might legislate so as to satisfy the people of Ireland, either by annexing Maynooth to the University of Dublin, as that new College of which the Act of Charles II. spoke, making it one of those Colleges and Belfast the other, so that Dublin should be the proper place for the education of the Protestant clergy, and Maynooth the



proper place for the education of the Catholic Clergy, and Belfast the proper place for the education of the Presbyterian clergy, and thus furnishing a proper representation of a Christian intellectual brotherhood by providing Academical Institutions for all sects. It might be asked, however, will the Church stoop to be the handmaid of Popery; become the abettor and accomplice of Popery; or permit Presbyterians to claim her honours?" But that did not at all follow from his proposition; nothing of the sort would be the result. Let them look at Oscott, and the other Colleges connected with the University of London, and he for one must say that he did not believe that King's College suffered much from its intimacy with the highly Jesuit College of Stoneyhurst. They all belonged to the University of London, but they agreed to differ at home, and each followed in its own sphere its respective works, each doing its own behest as the State had pointed out, and each contributing to the public advantage. A similar course might be pursued in Ireland, having already been acted upon on the Continent, the Theological faculty at Montpellier being connected with the Catholic College at Sarbonne in France, whilst in Bonn there were both a Catholic and Protestant chair. His desire then was to aggregate the two Colleges in Ireland, giving to each the power of conferring Degrees in Divinity and Arts, leaving to Dublin the matriculation of pupils, the hearing of examinations, and the final conferring of Degrees in every other branch except theology. He would also strike down every barrier which prevented Catholics entering the ranks on the same footing as their brother Protestants—first with respect to Scholarships, and with regard to everything else; and if existing charters interfered with such a course, he could see no reason why additional charters might not be granted for additional Fellowships which might be thrown open to Catholics, Presbyterians, and Protestants alike. He believed that Belfast was equally anxious with Maynooth to see such an arrangement effected; at all events, he thought that the Academical Body would have no objection to have the power of conferring Degrees with the same fulness and authority as that possessed by Dublin. If that were not done—if it should be



found that their prejudices or their passions, or that unsurmountable legal objections, or other causes with which he was not acquainted, would not permit of its being effected after a fair trial, then he would say there was no other remedy than to establish at once a Catholic University in Ireland. He said, if they would not give the Irish nation in all its ranks the fullest participation in that which a nation should value above all other things—the opportunity of intellectual improvement—they should not hesitate to establish a Catholic University. There were plenty of places where such a University might be established; in Cork, for example, where there were large educational wants, they might lay the foundation of a Catholic University, which, whilst it would secure protection to the Catholics, would cause a spirit of emulation to be generated between the youth of the two Colleges which would be highly advantageous to both. He was not, however, ignorant of the advantages of a communion in these matters. He had been himself first educated in a Jesuit College, and had subsequently entered the University of Dublin, and from that communion he had received the greatest benefit. He might observe here that the Catholic Clergy of Ireland would not receive salaries, and that they did not wish to have their Church endowed. It would be for any Government a noble task to exert itself in such a cause. They (the Catholics) had done much in laying the foundation, but much still remained to be done. In Secondary Education they had the Diocesan Schools and the Royal Schools, which, with better arrangements and under abler superintendence might be made most efficient auxiliaries to education. By opening Dublin University as he had mentioned, and making Maynooth and Belfast a portion of that University, they might constitute an University of Ireland in a truly national sense. Doing that they would be conferring a boon upon the whole Irish people. At present education had been provided only for the lower classes. The middle class had been neglected, and the upper classes had been left in a state of sectarianism and hostility. A few years must pass by, and then the lower class, superior in many particulars to the middle, and sometimes to the upper classes, no longer reading



boys but acting men, stimulated by their grievances and encouraged by their power, seeing others half instructed over them, no longer regarding their superiority of rank, but directing their attention to the inferiority of intellect, would begin to ask if it would not be proper that they should change their places; a spurious love of equality would take the place of that subordination without which freedom was a name, and they would have to fight the worst of all battles—that of class and of religion—because in due time the House of Commons would not grant a simple remedy to a crying and notorious evil. He did not intend at this period of the Session to take the opinion of the House upon what he had proposed; but, if the Government would not take up the matter, he should bring it forward more definitely next Session. In sitting down he would only repeat that if Maynooth were not reconstituted it would be better to take away the privilege which it possessed, and establish a Catholic University in Ireland.

Sir Robert Peel followed and said:—

I am sure I shall state what is in conformity with the feelings of hon. members on this side as well as with the general feelings of the House, when I state that I think no member of this House is better entitled to take up this subject than the hon. gentleman who has just sat down. I know no member of this House who has devoted more time and attention to the consideration of the subject and to devising means by which the advantages of education can be distributed throughout the country. I must also say that the hon. gentleman has another qualification besides that of experience on this subject—he has the high qualification of discussing with temper and with moderation which ensures, amidst all the animosities which may divide us, an impartial and favourable consideration of anything he proposes.

On November 13, 1844, another great meeting was held at Cork, Mr. Wyse being as before, its leading spirit; his speech on this occasion was optimistic, as Sir Robert Peel had promised him during the last Session to take the matter up. Nevertheless the astonishment was great, when, on May 19,



1845, "Sir James Graham moves to bring in a Bill to enable Her Majesty to endow new Colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland." Practically, for the foundation of Provincial Colleges. In closing his speech he, in contradistinction to Lord Stanley, generously acknowledged that this Bill for Colleges was grounded on Mr. Wyse's plan, and giving him praise in the following words:—

"I should certainly very imperfectly perform the task which I have undertaken, if I fail to pay a tribute of well merited applause to the hon. gentleman, the Member for Waterford (Mr. Wyse), whose exertions on this subject entitle him to great praise. Under the most adverse circumstances—through good report and evil report, he has struggled for this object—he has forced it upon the attention of reluctant Governments and adverse Parliaments—he has, greatly to his honour, done his utmost to give effect to his own views—and then without a particle of jealousy, of illfeeling even towards an Administration not generally possessing his confidence, but one which, he believed, was willing and had the power to give effect to his opinions, he has renounced for himself the glory and relinquished it in favour of his adversaries. Conduct more honourable could not be exhibited by any gentleman; and whatever the success of this measure may be, and whosoever the hands in which it may succeed, I shall never cease to think that a large portion of the merit of that success will belong to him. Now I have stated what I feel with reference to the praise due to the hon. gentleman, and I may ask the House to pay some attention to his opinions; he has considered the subject carefully and attentively."

Mr. Wyse in his reply, thanked Sir James Graham cordially for the measure; and then proceeded to suggest various amendments, the first of these was the establishment of Conservatoria, or Boarding Houses for the reception of students coming from distant parts of the country, and that they should



be subjected to the strictest surveillance on the part of the College authorities.\*

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He wound up by saying:—

It is well known that the middle classes in that country were not as anxious for literary and scientific attainments as it was desirable they should be; he hailed, therefore, with infinite satisfaction the propositions that night made by Her Majesty's Government; he regarded it as a great boon that establishments were now to be created for the purpose of communicating that knowledge which should teach men to forget their prejudices which would remove the scales of ignorance from their eyes—which would make them remember not the differences between them and their fellowmen, but the points in which they resembled each other; which would induce them to contend for the wealth that knowledge gave, as well as that which flowed from the Treasury. To do that was to obtain for every investment the largest amount of return—it was to place it out at the best usury. The course which Her Majesty's Government were now pursuing was one which the country would view with satisfaction, and which they themselves would hereafter recollect with pleasure, to which so judicious a proceeding would entitle them. He begged to thank the Right Hon. Baronet for the terms in which he had mentioned his name; and he heartily rejoiced at the near approach of that time when Ireland might hope to be regenerated by improved intelligence, morality and education rather than by force and violence."

Mr. Wyse's anticipation on the reception of this measure by his countrymen proved too sanguine, for, despite the long

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\* In his Cork speech he had proposed the erection of Halls of Residence, "Dean's Halls" as they were afterwards called, for those students who were expected to come from a distance. These residences were to be under the charge of Clergy, appointed by the Bishops, and designed to guard the faith and morals of the scholars

In short a better guarantee even than that recently approved of by the English Hierarchy for the Catholic students at Oxford and Cambridge under the sanction of Pope Leo XIII.



agitation in Ireland the realisation of this project was so little anticipated that decided opinions on the matter were not at once formed. The great majority of the laity unhesitatingly approved of the scheme; individual Bishops—such as Dr. Murphy, of Cork; Dr. Murray, Archbishop of Dublin; Dr. Crolly, the Catholic Primate, and Dr. Ryan, of Limerick, were in favour of accepting it and adopting the improvements pointed out by Mr. Wyse in his speech, especially the residences of Dean's Halls and the appointments of Catholic Professors. But on May 27, the whole of the Bishops published a Memorial requiring the appointment of Catholics to the Chairs of Theology, Logic, Physics, Humanity, Scripture, and History.

The most uncompromising opponent of this measure in the Hierarchy was, as might have been foretold, Dr. MacHale, in public and in private he anathematised it as dangerous to faith and morals, and with O'Connell christened it "Godless"—an epithet which, however, was originated by Sir Robert Inglis\* in the House of Commons, and which, despite all effort at amendment, stamped itself utterly regardless of foundation on the public mind; whilst he and his friends, O'Connell and his son, John, in particular, recklessly stigmatised Mr. Wyse as an infidel and indifferent to moral discipline.†

Though deeply hurt by this misrepresentation, Mr. Wyse having a clear conscience, determined to pursue his even course. On the second reading of the Bill he drew the attention

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\* Sir Robert Inglis was a Low Churchman of the most extreme type, and a fierce opponent to Mr. Wyse's plans for Education in England.

† Mr. John O'Connell was very soon forced to make a most ample apology in the House of Commons to Mr. Wyse for the reckless, abusive language he had on this occasion used regarding him.



of the Government to the Bishop's Memorial, and the necessity of Chairs of Religion (as distinct from Theology), the different Professors of which should be appointed by their respective Bishops. As a natural corollary to this arrangement, the Chairs of Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, and Philosophy of History should be made separate for each denomination. These proposals, however, Sir J. Graham rejected, but, as will be seen further on, eventually granted many of them, if secured by private endowment.

The following extracts show how reckless and groundless was the O'Connell assertion, and the unceasing efforts Mr. Wyse made for amendments in the Bill.

EXTRACT FROM SPEECH OF MAY 9, 1845.

"Far from undervaluing the importance of religious instruction or discipline, he had always his strong opinion that it was most desirable that such instruction be rigidly enforced, and he would go even further than the Right Hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) and say that he considered the moral and religious conduct of the pupil should in some degree be taken as a test for the fitness for degrees.

He advocated the establishment of Theological Chairs and of the Catholic Professorship, separate professors of each religion, and for Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, and Philosophy of History, with the approval of their respective Bishops; the same system of appointments to be carried out in the Dean's Halls which he proposed for the residence of the pupils.

He called upon the Government instead of founding what they called a King's University to affiliate the Colleges to Trinity, and to found another College in Trinity College under the Act of Settlement of Charles II. That this had been contemplated in the Act was evident in the Irish Act of 1793, which stated that any future College to be founded and annexed to the University of Dublin should be open alike to Protestant and Catholic, not only to its instruction, but also



to its emoluments, its fellowships, and its scholarships, and Catholics should also be admitted to the Governing Body."

FROM SPEECH OF JUNE 2, 1845.

"He did not agree with those who pronounced the plan to be 'a gigantic scheme of Godless education.' Had he conceived it to be a system which would tend to irreligion, to the demoralisation direct or indirect of Ireland, or of any personal class in Ireland, he, for one, would at once have repudiated it. He differed from those who alleged that the Bill excluded religious instruction. \* \* \* \*

The Government had not excluded; on the contrary, they had permitted, nay more, they had invited (by allowing the College rooms and the College hours to be applied to the purpose) the communication of religious instruction in these Colleges."

FROM SPEECH OF JUNE 23, 1845.

"Holding always in view the necessity of religious instruction as the basis and foundation of education, they were called upon to adopt that principle to the necessities of Ireland." \* \* \*

"Now he, for one, while he admitted fully the importance of religious education in Elementary Schools, was equally alive to its necessity in the Colleges founded for the more advanced students. In fact, of the two he considered the latter institution the more important in that respect. The youth educated therein arrived at a period of life when the battle necessary to be fought became stronger, when the intelligence was more active, and became more liable to be misdirected."

It will have been seen that the Government refused to promise special Catholic Chairs of Moral Philosophy, of History, and the like; but before the end of the Session Mr. Wyse obtained an amendment to the effect that the first appointments for three years should be made by the Government, and after that period were to be by competition; they likewise allotted Halls for separate religious teaching, in fact encouraged it in every way, except by the payment of the teachers, that was to be a matter of private endowment, a system on which from the



known generosity of the Irish people every reliance was placed.

The private assurances of the Government were most encouraging, and they consulted Mr. Wyse very frequently on their choice of Professors. In his opinion there was little disadvantage in their having the selection for the first three years, for there was an unusual dearth of learning amongst the Catholics at that moment in Ireland; but he fully anticipated that the intellectual stimulus of the Colleges would draw forth their talents; and that when competition came into practice they would rapidly become the successful occupants of all the Professorships.

These views he endeavoured to promulgate right and left; later on he tells us in a speech, that his first care after the Session was to call on Dr. Foran, the Bishop of Waterford, who had succeeded his staunch old friend, Dr. Abraham; and he then gave him a document to lay before the Bishops at the approaching Synod of Maynooth. Dr. Foran was a pious, but not a gifted man, and did not appear to understand these questions; anyhow he seemed apathetic and Mr. Wyse could never ascertain whether he had shown his explanatory document to the Hierarchy or not.

As in so many cases, Mr. Wyse had kept no copy of the paper, but doubtless it was of the same character as his letter to the Committee at Cork, which we here print in extenso:—

17 Wilton Place,

Belgrave Square,

August, 1845.

MY DEAR SIR,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th, enclosing me a Resolution of thanks from the Provincial College Committee of Munster, unanimously and warmly adopted as you inform me, at a most numerous meeting of that body, for my humble efforts



(in common with theirs), for the promotion of National Education, but more especially for the establishment of Provincial Colleges in Ireland.

In requesting you to convey to them the sincere expression of my gratitude for this high honour, I should ill satisfy my own feelings, and sense of the obligation I owe them, were I not in turn to add my acknowledgments for the zeal, tempered with the sound discretion, and true Christian charity, with which under every trial of apathy or opposition they cheered as well as aided my labours. Without such co-operators, I much fear, however resolute, I could scarcely have been successful, but like many others should have been consigned to the consolation of having honestly, but foolishly, aimed at an unpracticable object—rendered such by those, who were loud in condemning it as impracticable.

Much, however, as I feel this proof of personal kindness, I confess I am more gratified, by the hopes it inspires for our common country. The resolution you have communicated was preached by others of far greater importance, declaratory “after mature consideration of the various discussions and proceedings connected with its passing this Parliament, your strongest approbation of the measure itself, and your earnest desire to co-operate with the Government in carrying it into effect.” I further learn from a report of the proceedings, that these resolutions were carried with scarcely a dissentient and with the cognizance, and without the disapprobation of the Hierarchy and Clergy of the district.—And strong and clear as the demonstration may appear, it is followed by a still clearer and stronger in the North. The Most Reverend Dr. Crolly, the Catholic Primate of all Ireland, whom to name is to honour, whose character not less than dignity is richer for all that is truly religious and enlightened, amongst all persuasions of a Catholic Prelate in deeds as well as words—he not only does not disapprove but calls for the establishment of one of these Colleges in his own Diocese.—With these facts we do not require words, and can look with compassion on the past and composure to the future. They are the very results which every rational man, despite the misapprehensions of the pious, the misrepresentations of others,



the apathy of the Press, the trick of party, might naturally have anticipated. For my own part, I never for a moment doubted that what we now hear, many if not most thought, and waited—in that reliance which I have on the natural intelligence of my countrymen—with perfect tranquillity through good report and bad report, through hostility, vituperation, and slander, for its development. But not to the past or its defence—as far as we are concerned it requires none—but to the future we have now to direct our attention. In this spirit is conceived your resolution; in this spirit I write. We have too much to do for Ireland to waste time or means in recrimination; we can bear to be judged by results; and in answer to paragraphs, anathemas and resolutions oppose no other name (for it is enough), the venerable name of Dr. Crolly.

We have, or ought to have, two objects in view; the one to render as available as possible to the purposes of religion and knowledge the present measure, the other having advanced thus far to devise means for advancing farther until we arrive at the full establishment of the system so long proposed of National Education for Ireland. The College Act is mere framework, necessarily so; it follows the precedent of other times and places; empowers the execution to carry into execution details not fitted for the decision hardly for the discussion of the Legislature. Its utility, therefore, must depend upon the nature and execution of these details; on the manner in which this framework is filled up; in other words upon its organisation and administration. With reference to each you cannot be too earnest or watchful. If the Charter and Statute be what they ought to be, if the governing body be what it ought to be, I fear nothing; if not, anything. But I see no reason why both should not be what they ought to be; the Act gives ample means, the Government has given solemn pledges in the face of Parliament for both. The Act enables the Government to frame such a Statute as shall secure all the interests of knowledge and religion. It allows the adoption of any course or courses, of any Professorship or Professorships they may think fit to appoint, or rather the circumstances of time and place. In so important a matter



common sense and natural self interest are guarantees that no Government will be found wanting. It is to be hoped, that extending their inquiry and views beyond existing and national systems, specially regarding not antiquated precedents but local and present wants, on one side insisting on the practical, on the other not neglecting the theoretical, cultivating the Spiritual as well as the Material, but neither at the expense of the others, they may be enabled to frame such a system as the country demands, but has not yet seen, and raise an example rather than an opponent to other actual institutions of the Empire.

How each of these ends may be attained is a difficult but not impracticable task, and no one who has diligently examined and compared what has already been effected by countries engaged in similar enterprises can be at a loss to point out what may be best suited to our purposes. Nor ought such arrangement be left for its gradual formation to chance, or delayed too long. The efficiency of a system depends on its harmony, upon its being a system, so well considered as not to be exposed to change, so applicable that it may at once be applied. Above all it should be prompt. The public will not attach itself to an uncertainty, it must know what and whom it is to support. This the Government has admitted, and Sir James Graham in answer to my question on the last day of the Session, promised the Charter should be laid on the table of the House at the earliest period after the meeting of Parliament.

The condition of the Professors and President is determined by the Act as far as emolument and position; they are to have as recommended in the report of 1838 salary and fees; salary to secure that independence which befits the teacher, fees to stimulate to that exertion which is claimed by the pupil. The President is to have the privilege of apartments in the College, I could have wished in accordance to the suggestion of the same report it had been extended to the Professors, and all allowed the advantage of a Common Table and Common Hall, as well as a Common Library—everything, in fine, which could tend to produce the spirit of community. No provision is



yet made for the superannuation after the adequate service of meritorious Professors and Officers. This is a defect felt through the whole of our National system, but which cannot be longer felt without being recognised, nor recognised without being remedied. I see no reason why they should be worse treated than Officers of Customs or Excise; what is given in this way is not thrown away on the Professors or Profession, but returned with advantage to the community for whom both are designed. The appointment in the first instance is in the hands of the Government. There may be objections to this, but to what other course are there not greater objections? This is a mixed system, all parties are to be consulted. Which of all these parties would be recognised by the others as impartial. Responsibility and publicity are the great checks to abuses. Who are subject to a stricter responsibility than the Government, what place more public than the House of Commons? But to have the appointments on all future occasions in the hands of Government is another question. My objections to that course, I have already stated, I believe them to be those of a great majority of my countrymen. I propose that in future vacancies, the appointment by concours should be substituted. The motion was lost, but the Government give every hope, that such course would be subsequently adopted.

A great consideration, however, remains behind; evidently the greatest, and which meets us here as in every point that the interest of morality and religion be protected. No one is so senseless as not to admit that the purity of the waters depends on the channels through which it flows, that the character of knowledge is by those who communicate it. We all concur in the importance of guarding youth against all perversion of faith and morals, but differ as to the mode by which it can best be effected. No one purposes to rest the appointment of all the Professors in the authorities of any one persuasion exclusively; the utmost claim is limited to some. Now the question arises is this limitation just or sufficient. Certain claims are of a necessity exclusive, or connected so closely, as to be nearly identical with those that are. The Chair of Religion must, from its very nature, be such.



No man could listen to the proposition of a Chair of Religion being general. The Protestant cannot take his religious instruction from the Catholic, nor the Catholic from the Protestant. But Moral Philosophy is interwoven with religious instructions, and Metaphysics again with Moral Philosophy, and the Philosophy of History is the exemplification of both in action. There may be grounds similar to those, on which the claim for separate religious chairs is founded for requiring separate chairs for these branches also, but there all parallelism ceases; there is no necessary connection between the Chair of Religion and any other. Danger there may, of the inculcation of irreligious opinion, from any one of them, and from some more than others, but establish what line we may, we may fall too short or go too far; we may omit the very chair from which all the evil flows, and include those from which none had followed.

I look to a more embracing, and equally potent preventative, which will meet the evil where it does exist, but not suspect it where it does not; which will take in all cases and all times, and at the same time preserve that mutual confidence and honourable independence, which is the life and soul of all public bodies. Let the Catholic youth confide in the Protestant Anatomist, Geologist, Astronomer, Chemist, or Mathematician, and let the Protestant youth reciprocate it to his Catholic brother, but let us take precaution, the strongest and surest, than men charged with such solemn responsibilities, can take that to the Protestant or Catholic; no teacher shall be suffered for an instant to infuse or insinuate immoral or irreligious poison into the feelings or understandings of his pupils. How is this to be effected? Simply by constituting a proper governing body—with sufficient powers and sufficient will to control and prevent; a governing body in whom all, clergy, laity, people, Government can have confidence, who will take care that *no* Professor, be he what he may or who he may, of Anatomy or Astronomy, of Chemistry or Geology, shall be appointed or being appointed shall continue, who does not teach.

Will such a body be appointed? It depends upon the Government. I am opposed to the present Government, and was connected



with the last but I believe in the pledge of an adversary given in open Parliament deliberate and repeated, in answer to my question equally repeated and deliberate. I believe Sir James Graham when he tells me, in his character of Minister of the Crown, that in order fully to ensure adaptation to local purposes, the Government will appoint not one central but several local Visitorial Boards, with full powers to govern and control, and that these Boards shall be constituted of such persons, clerical and lay, as possess for their virtue and intelligence the greatest share of public confidence in their respective districts. Such was the promise; it now becomes your duty to watch over the performance. But your duty does not end here; you have two other objects to accomplish before you can satisfy yourselves that the interests of morality and religion are duly protected.

Happily this accomplishment depends upon yourselves. The Act gives the opportunity, you must furnish the means. I refer to the endowment of Chairs of Religion, and Halls or Hospitia for the reception of students.

The Bill was called an "Infidel Bill," "A Pagan Bill"—the system "A gigantic scheme of Godless Education." I believe the same terms, with as much propriety are used still, but so it was, for some years with the system of National Education. Yet some how or other "Infidel," "Pagan," "Godless," as this system is—it is not only suffered but supported, not by Catholic Laity only but by Catholic Prelates and amongst Catholic Prelates, by some by purse and presence as well as protection; they, who have been most remarkable in their denunciation of the Pagan, Infidel and Godless character of these Colleges. If the peril be so menacing, if the guilt be so great, why no anathema, no pastoral, no warning at least to their flocks against the encroaching abomination? How is it that now for the first time this alarming discovery has been made? How is it that being made, all is silence, with the exception only of these Colleges? Either the danger is imaginary or the Hierarchy is criminal, a calumny for which I at least am not prepared, whatever may be the case with those Bishops who have undertaken to prescribe to Bishops themselves,



their orthodoxy, and to usurp as far as in them lies, their functions.

But whatever be the evil or danger, I again repeat it, it is in your power to obviate it, and the greater and more menacing it is, the more it is your duty to employ that power for such excellent and useful purposes. You have only to raise a subscription of some thousand pounds to place it, as authorised by the Act, in the mastership of the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese or of the Bishops of the Province to endow with its proceeds a Chair of Religion, and to give to these Prelates, for the present and in future, sole right of appointment to such chair, in any or in all of the Colleges.

Were Chairs of Religion and Chaplains to be established in these Colleges, would these terms have been applied? I know not, for I cannot calculate the extent of misapprehension and misrepresentation in Ireland. But would they have been applicable? Certainly not. An "Infidel" College teaching "Religion," a "Pagan" College "Christianity," would have been in all logics contradiction in terms. What can preclude at this moment the establishment of both? I will tell you. Not the Act of Parliament, not the Government, but our own indifference, or the insincerity of those, now loudest in complaining of their "exclusion." The Act does not exclude, the Act simply does not endow but at the same time invites, encourages, protects endowment. It does the very thing which the French Catholic Clergy are calling on their Government to do: to endow and appoint to the secular Professorships, but to leave the endowment and appointment of the Religious Professors to them. So little does our measure copy from the French, just as little as from the Prussian the very essence of which is the State endowment and appointment, in all its branches, of teachers and Professors of Religion.

If non-endowment for religious instructions constitute Infidelity and Paganism (with men too, who are the avowed partizans of non-endowed churches), then indeed are all our institutions (with a few exceptions) Infidel and Pagan; the London University, with which are associated eight Catholic Colleges, and two Irish Catholic Colleges



amongst them. The Scotch Universities, Trinity College, our Medical Schools, our Mechanic Institutes are as "Godless" as any and more "gigantic."

Will this be done? I only know that it ought to be done, and that it can be done. We may be poor, but for such purposes I trust we shall be found sufficiently rich and liberal. For my own part, I state now as I have stated before, I shall not be backward in adding, when called on, my offering for such object to those of my fellow-countrymen. The measure is now law; the Colleges about to be built; now is the time to test men's sincerity; you have the power in your own hands—not by denunciation, but by contributions—to convert at once these "Pagan" Colleges into Christian Seminaries.

The same observations, the same conclusions, apply equally to the Halls. From the outset I urged strongly the necessity in such institutions of watching with the greatest solicitude the morals of the pupils. Residents, with their relations and guardians would, of course, be sufficiently protected; it remained only to provide protection for those who could not enjoy such advantage. This was proposed to be effected by the system of licensed lodgings, and public "Halls" or "Hospitia" and Consistoria on the plan of those of France, Germany, Italy, etc., etc. This has been done. None are to be entered on the Books of the College who are not placed in one or other of these localities. But here again the State does not endow, though it invites, encourages, protects endowment. Here again private piety and benevolence must intervene. And I rejoice to hear that it will intervene, and that in the North and in the South we shall soon see rising beside our Colleges, Halls such as those described, on a scale scarcely inferior to them in magnitude or convenience, for the reception of such students as are precluded by distance or other circumstances from residing with their parents. In these Halls under the direction of the Governing Body, the Visitorial Board of the College, as much attention will be given to Religious instruction, moral discipline, and pious practice, through Chaplain, Professor, or Tutor, as in any College however Religious in the country. "Under the direction of the Governing



Board" to some has appeared an objection, but under what other direction is a Collegiate Institution to be placed? If the Governing Body be not properly constituted then neither this nor any other portion of the system can go on right—if otherwise what is to be apprehended?

In a Hall, founded by a Catholic Prelate on such principles, it would be absurd to expect any other than the most Christian education and training, and it is unjust and slanderous to assert it. With Christian teaching in the College and Christian practice in the Hall, I am at a loss to discover the Paganism or Infidelity of which both have been so lavishly accused, in either.

Believing then that these objects can be attained—and attained by ourselves and attained immediately, I cordially concur in the words of your Resolution, in thinking that the enactment just past, founded as it is upon comprehensive principles and providing for the endowment of the Colleges in a liberal and generous spirit, offers every facility for ministering to the intellectual wants of Ireland, by creating educational institutions worthy of an enlightened people, and destined, as we trust, to elevate the intellectual character of the Nation and materially to advance the prosperity of our country. I believe that were such a College to be in operation in Cork to-morrow, with its Chairs of Religion in full action, its Halls regularly established under judicious moral and religious discipline, its Professors distinguished by their learning and virtue, its Governing Body constituted of the most eminent Clerical and Lay Members of the several commissions, with full powers to do good and with the wisdom and charity of a Doyle or Sadleir in doing it, I fear not for one instant, despite the resolutions, paragraphs, speeches or letters, of well meaning ignorance or interested apprehension, that the National people of Munster with sons to educate and education an indispensable in the present state of the world, but especially of their own country, would not send their children in crowds to its Halls, or ask as they would have had a right to ask—show us your alternative.



But this, though much, is not all. We must not stop here. Our education is a system, the whole must be carried out. We have yet to work below and above, to give full offering to the Elementary portion of the plan until it meets the College, to present awards from the College until we have established a National University, not forgetting on our way, important branches, Professional and Subsidiary or Supplementary Education. Much in each has been already effected, much more remains behind. Elementary Schools are established, educating in greater numbers and on a better system than in any former period of our history. All this is well, but up to this hour it has been only an experiment. In the report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1838, the first step recommended was to constitute on a wider and more permanent foundation the Board of National Education itself. The Board has not sufficient powers to the full execution of the system. It is liable at any moment to dissolution. Powers to take or lease land, powers to build schools, to sue and be sued. An Act of Parliament or Charter of Incorporation was suggested. This the Government has adopted. Sir James Graham on the last day of the Session pledged himself in answer to my question, that before the opening of Parliament the Charter of Incorporation should be granted. The effects of this are important. 1. It secures the Board against all contingencies. 2. It enables it to choose its site to senior schools in districts where private patronage or private contributions were wanting. 3. It enables it by vesting the land and buildings in its own Corporation, to dispense where necessary with the complicated and often precarious system of Trusteeship. 4. It enables it to build model schools on a better plan and with more economy than is usually done by individuals. 5. It tends to reduce the charges of management, and allow a more judicious division of expenditure. The recommendations for the improvement of the training of teachers and to a certain degree of their condition have been carried out. (1.) They are regularly taught; (2.) regularly examined; (3.) divided into classes, and promoted from one to another according to service and merit. There are several suggestions, however, which still remain to be adopted. The Government indeed promised during the late Session to see that in



the arrangements to be adopted for establishing a better style of school house, comfortable habitations for the teacher should also be provided, but I still want to see them provided with gardens, and small libraries for their own use and that of the parish. I have also urged annual publication for the use of the public and the benefit of the Teachers of "examination" on "Candidates'" Writs, with all particulars of honours obtained, etc., the establishment of annual Teachers' Conferences, superannuations, etc., etc., which I think necessary in order to make the profession as honoured as it is honourable, as well recompensed as it is meritorious. "Infant Schools" are as yet established in a few localities only. They ought to form the usual accompaniment of every considerable public school.

The "Higher" or "Second" Class of Elementary Schools—which may with propriety be called "Juvenile Schools," have been hitherto unattended to. I rejoice to find that the intimation given has been confirmed, and that Government will immediately establish thirty-two schools of this description, as Model Schools, one in each County of the Kingdom.

So far as Elementary or Primary Education, it will be seen that not a little has been effected even during this Session, and that what still remains for accomplishment will follow, with a little activity as a matter of course.

In Secondary Education our progress as yet has been inconsiderable, or more properly speaking we have only just begun. There is a hiatus of some extent between the proposed Model Schools and the proposed Colleges yet to be filled up. You may remember me going at full into this question, at the meeting last year at Cork, I then urged the carrying out of the recommendations of the Report of 1838. In that Report it is proposed that the existing Diocesan and Royal Schools should be improved and extended, and in those counties where none existed that institutions of a similar and not inferior description should be established, so as to form a series of "County Academies," one at least for each County, throughout the Kingdom, to be founded and maintained in the manner, and from the funds, stated in the Report. It was also urged that the Board of



Commissioners, under whose government they are now placed should be remodelled (there is not, I believe, a Catholic amongst them) or better suppressed and their powers and functions transferred to the Board of National Education. It may be said, will not this be promised by the Provincial Colleges? I say in answer I hope not. If the Education of the Colleges be brought thus low, they will share the fate of the smaller German and Scotch Universities; they must begin where the Academies leave off; fix a high scale of instruction, and take care it be kept up by requiring a high scale examination before entry. Independently of their utility as preliminary or preparatory schools to the Colleges, they will be required as isolated establishments for the ordinary purposes of commercial or agricultural life. Though intimately connected with the rest of the plan, I thought it would have been injudicious in consequence of the other more important portions under discussion before us, to press it this year, but so far from withdrawing it, I have moved for returns in continuation of those given in the Report, and given notice I shall submit a motion to carry it into effect early next Session. I have every hope that during the recess the Government will give it due consideration, and I trust I may look with the same confidence and success to your co-operation in this instance, as in that of the College Bill.

The Provincial Colleges, once organised and in action, cannot be long without requiring the promised aggregation into an University. This will come of itself; circumstances will compel it. As to obstacle, I expect but little; the discussions of last Session have already removed them. The difficulty will be not as to object but mode. For my part I still remain firm in my opinion, that for the Colleges, for the country, Dublin University itself, it would be better that the old University, the venerable Alma Mater of so many and such distinguished generations, should open her arms to receive these new accessions to her glory and strength, than that a new University with the pretensions of years, but with the fulness of youth, should be set up beside her. I should hope also to see a second College in honourable but friendly competition beside Trinity College in Dublin, and



Trinity College itself, with punctilious reserve of that portion of its funds and establishment especially destined for the education of the ministers of the Protestant Church, as open as the other College to the different religious persuasions. When this University—then truly National—was fully in operation, much benefit to the public and to the institution itself might be secured by admitting on the plan of the University of London to its advantages of examination and honours other Colleges in Ireland besides the Provincial Colleges, provided they kept up to the same scale of instruction, if not in all, in those departments at least which were subjects of University examination. These, however, are questions for the present premature. Some years must, some years ought to elapse before they can be entertained with hope or chance of practical or at least beneficial result. When that time shall arrive, I doubt not we shall be well prepared for the discussion, with new and stronger claims from benefits conferred, instead of benefits promised on the part of the intended Colleges.

Professional Education is the natural corollary of Collegiate and University. Independently of the learned professions technically so-called two great departments engage our attention, Science and Art. Of Theology, Medicine, Law, the two first are duly provided for. Trinity College, Maynooth (now endowed), and Belfast which, I think, ought to be treated as a distinct ecclesiastical endowment, present instruction for the ministry of their respective communions. As preparatory establishments, in the Catholic Church, may be erected the Episcopal Seminaries, one of which I should be happy to see, but better endowed, in each Diocese. Some most respectable persons I am aware would have preferred that a portion of the Maynooth grant had been allocated to each of these Seminaries, but whilst admitting the importance of these bodies—I think it is of still greater, that Maynooth should hold as much as possible an University Theological Faculty character of Education, and that nothing should be admitted which could have the effect of impairing it. No grants are made for similar purposes to other Communions, and in addition to the grant to Maynooth would not be acquiesced in by the House of



Commons. I apologise touching on this topic; it is in the hands of the respective Bishops, to whom such topics exclusively belong, and who there is no doubt will manage them with all that zeal and judgment which they require.

Medicine.—It is doubtful, until the Physic and Surgery Bill shall have passed, or at least come under regular discussion, what course in reference to the profession the Colleges and the public would be most advisable, whether to keep the Medical Schools separate and under the immediate jurisdiction of the College of Physicians, Surgeons, etc., or Board of Health, or to incorporate them when found co-existing in the same place with the Colleges. In any case I should hope they would be accessible to the Colleges, under such regulations and conditions as mutual interest and good discipline should require.

Law.—England and Ireland, I believe, are the only countries, in which there is not a regular or collegiate preparation for the legal profession as for any other. In Scotland, whose Code and Universities are modelled on those of the Continent, this is not the case. Jurisprudence constitutes one of the University Faculties and its courses must be gone through by the intended lawyer, in the same manner as those of Theology and Medicine, by the future clergyman and physician. Some departure from the uncontrolled freedom has been of late years observable in the course of education prescribed for and required from solicitors. This is a concession of the principle, but scarcely a carrying it out into practice. The Provincial Colleges offer great facilities for Preparatory or Elementary general legal instruction, especially in connection with Constitutional, Municipal, and Commercial Law, but a special institution might with great advantage be established in Dublin, where theory could so easily be illustrated by practice, and the young student would enjoy the advantage of the protection, example, and instruction afforded by the Bench and Bar. They both could furnish from their members a most appropriate governing body, especially in the Society of Benchers, and funds would not be wanting, even if a portion of the funds of that body, in conjunction with the fees of pupils, were allocated to such



a purpose under the sanction of a Charter of Incorporation or an Act of Parliament. Some years since a most laudable effort was made by a member of the Bar, in conjunction with a few others of the same profession, distinguished by their spirit and intelligence, to originate and maintain an institution of this description, and for a time supported as it was by several of the most eminent names of the Bench and Bar, it was attended with a success the most encouraging. It is not here necessary to refer to the circumstances which checked its progress, but a hope may be entertained that it may yet be resumed under still more favourable auspices. I took the first steps to obtain at least a Parliamentary inquiry into the practicability of such measure, and yet trust such inquiry will be granted.

Science and Art.—Art in its two great divisions, the Industrial and Fine Arts, has still to be considered. In each we have made some though as yet insufficient progress. We require an organisation, a plan somewhat similar to that, for instance, of Bavaria. Whether time or country be considered, we offer great facilities for accomplishing it. It will require a little system, order, superintendence, no dislocation, of existing interests, no great additional means. Bavaria contains somewhat more than four millions of inhabitants and is divided into six circles. For each of these six circles there is an Industrial School, and in each Industrial School, both branches, Industrial purely such and Fine Arts are cultivated. On leaving the higher Elementary School, the student proceeds to these establishments, and selects the department to which he intends to devote himself—on completing the courses taught in which he advances to the Polytechnic Institution of Munich, Augsburg, or Muremberg if destined for the Industrial, if for the Fine Arts to the Royal Academy, and if he thinks proper to the University, where a Technological faculty and degree await him. In each of our Provinces, adopting this model, an Industrial School might be established, as near as possible to the Provincial College, one department of which might be devoted to Agricultural and other industrial institutions strictly such, the other to the studies usually pursued in a School of Design. In Dublin would be found the head Institutions of each of these branches, to each of which the students after completing their



courses in the Provinces, if they found it necessary for their purposes, might advance. The Dublin Society if properly reformed might be placed at the head of the Industrial Branch, to which might be made subservient—1. A High School or College of Agriculture; 2. of Civil Engineering; 3. A High School (in application to Manufacture) of Design.

The Royal Hibernian Academy, also reformed and enlarged, might hold the same situation in reference to the Fine Arts Department. A Technological Degree should be established, and, of course, a Technological examination in the future University.

Parts of this plan are already carried out, others are in progress or preparation.

Agricultural Schools exist in various parts of Ireland, either under the Board of National Education, or conducted by Societies such as that of Templemoyle, or by individuals such as that of Esker, under the enlightened and religious guidance of the Very Reverend Dr. Smith.\*

The Board when incorporated, should be empowered to assist those in action, and to invite the co-operation of other bodies, such as the Provincial Colleges, the Agricultural Association, County Farming Societies, etc., etc., so as to render them efficient for their purposes, and bring them in harmony with the rest of the system, and to found others where required on a general intelligible plan. In this view, I have already moved for returns of the state of existing establishments and given notice I would bring the whole subject under the consideration of Parliament in the commencement of the ensuing Session.

Schools of Design.—There are none in Ireland of the kind and for the object described. Frequent applications have been made through the "High School of Design" in London, hitherto without effect, on grounds and for reasons not attributable to the Council. By the existing regulations of the Board of Trade, no school of the kind can be established, unless distinct from every other establishment.

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\* A celebrated Dominican, who established Agricultural Schools in Connaught, a particular friend of Mr. Wyse's.



The memorials I had the honour to present at the Council came from the Mechanic Institutions in Dublin and Cork. It was also thought right to give the preference to those districts, in which some special manufacture was carried on, such as Staffordshire Potteries, Manchester, Birmingham, etc., etc. These have now been fully provided for, and the original rule alone intervenes. I have often regretted that the first view taken was not carried out, and should still more regret it, if I considered it no longer possible to revert to it. On that plan, Drawing, as all over Germany, France, Holland, etc., was as much to be considered an integral part of Elementary Education as Writing, and accordingly to be taught in such schools as were under the control of the State, assistance given where schools or classes for Drawing were already founded, on their complying with the usual conditions prescribed for the management of their schools by the Council. This would take in the case not only of isolated Drawing Schools, but of classes attached to Mechanics' Institutions, Literary and Scientific Societies, etc., etc. On the pupil leaving this Elementary Grade of instruction, he might proceed to the Provincial School, and from thence to the High School; the High School, however, admitting after examination only, and strict testing of the qualifications of the candidate. To the High School was proposed to be attached a Model Elementary School, male and female, and a school for the instruction and practice of teachers, and finally Chairs in the contiguous Colleges for the rationale and history of Art. On this plan I would still propose that the systems should be remodelled in England, and established in Ireland. Drawing can be introduced without difficulty into our thirty-two intended Model Schools; a branch of our Provincial Industrial School can be formed into a Provincial School of Design, and in our Colleges can be established Chairs of the Philosophy and History of Art, on one side in connection with the technical purposes of the Industrial School, on the other with the Literary and Scientific of the College and University, and Preparatory to the more strictly artistic instruction of the Royal Academy.



The Dublin Society, by the addition of courses and classes to its present series of Lectures, thus taking a tutorial as well as professorial character, might be made a great Polytechnic Institution, embracing all the great industrial departments each with its separate Board or Council, but all under one supreme control.

Many of these suggestions may appear difficult, but some are already favourably received and ere long may be in course of adoption. The Board of Trade, with the approbation of Government and the Council of the High School in London, are both desirous to see established in Dublin a High School of Design, independent of the London School, governed by its own Council, and subject only to the Board of Trade here. A special vote will be necessary and a constitution similar to ours. This Council, once established in connection with, but not a portion, of the Dublin Society, can at once proceed to establish Schools of Design in the Provinces, or rather to carry out the whole plan on its original principles, in conjunction with the Board of National Education on one side, and aided by the Mechanics' Institutions, Literary and Scientific Societies, the great Schools of the Christian Brothers, the Agricultural Schools, and finally the Colleges and University on the other.

The Government speedily made appointments to these Colleges, none of whom were disapproved of; buildings rose and the students steadily increased. But in October, 1847, a rescript from the Council of Cardinals reached Ireland, stating that they considered an institution of the kind as injurious to religion. Dr. Crolly, the Catholic Primate, Dr. Murray and six other Bishops having meanwhile approved of them, explanations were sent by them to Rome; but Dr. MacHale,\* travelling thither himself, so represented the situation, that he obtained

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\* It is curious to note at the Vatican Council of 1870, Dr. MacHale was one of the few Irish Bishops who voted against the opportuneness of defining the Dogma of Infallibility as an Article of Faith.



another rescript of the same description in October, 1848; and in 1849 a third was issued, finally denouncing them as dangerous to faith and morals.

The Young Ireland Party and many leaders of the Catholic laity, on the other hand, were enthusiastic in their praise, which brought them and the Repeal Association into collision. This state of things described by Sir C. Gavan Duffy is especially valuable, as he was then, as co-Editor of the "Nation," with Davis, an actor in the scene. He says:—

"It was a plan for establishing middle-class education in the Irish provinces. Genius or patriotism could not devise a measure more stringently needed. The State, which had endowed Preparatory Schools, Colleges, and a University for Protestant Education, had made no provision for the sons of the Catholic gentry and professional classes. . . . The proposal was welcomed in the House of Commons by the Irish Members, including, on the occasion, a nephew of O'Connell. The middle classes in Dublin and Cork hailed it with rapture. It was proposed to educate Catholic and Protestant students together, an arrangement which seemed to Thomas Davis to insure concord and liberty in the near future. What it was to me, to whom education was the essential and indispensable and preliminary of freedom, I need not describe, but as I was no longer a member of the Association, I could only help it with the pen. The task of safeguarding our policy from misrepresentation fell on Davis, and was performed with the calm enthusiasm and exact knowledge which a great minister gives to a vital law. When the new proposal was mentioned in the General Committee,\* there was universal congratulation, till John O'Connell entered and declared that it was an abominable attempt to undermine religion and morality in Ireland. Amid the wonder and contempt this criticism created, his father arrived, and echoed the objections of his son. Hitherto O'Connell had always advocated the

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\* Of the Repeal Association.



education of Irish youth in the same colleges, that they might become good citizens and good patriots; but he broke with his past opinions on this occasion, as peremptorily as he had broken with the Mallow Defiance. Under these circumstances Davis besought him to keep the question out of the Association. Members had been invited to join as Repealers, whatever were their opinions on other questions, and it would not be fair to compel them to take sides in a controversy like this. By crossing the street it could be discussed outside the Association, and good faith with their colleagues preserved. O'Connell peremptorily refused this concession. At the next meeting of the Association he and his son assailed the Bill without stint, and Davis and Dillon defended it. Next day a requisition was privately presented to O'Connell asking that the subject might be mentioned no more till the Catholic Bishops, who were about to hold a Conference on the Bill, should have spoken; as the requisition was signed by forty members of the General Committee, including all the barristers and country gentlemen, and indeed every man of education outside the O'Connell family, he thought fit to consent. The respective parties were to be at liberty, during the truce, to urge their views on the country outside the Association; Davis and I wrote largely on the subject in the "Nation." O'Connell sent several articles anonymously to the "Freeman's Journal," and Mr. John O'Connell interpreted the truce as authorising him to use the machinery of the Association to get petitions signed for the total rejection of a measure of which the bulk of the governing body approved."†

How this came about has never been made public, the Bishops kept their own council; but it was well known that eight of them, headed by Dr. Crolly and Dr. Murray, continued in favour of at least giving the Colleges a fair trial, though they of course at once submitted to the decision of Rome. It was thought on the other hand that Dr. MacHale merely stated

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† "My Life in Two Hemispheres," by Sir C. Gavan Duffy. Vol., I. p. 107.



the crude fact that Government refused to give salaries to especially Catholic Chairs of History and Religious Teaching, without explaining that the Government made no objection to any of the safe-guards to faith and morals proposed by the Catholics; provided they were paid for by private endowments.

On this subject we find Sir Gavan Duffy lays all the blame on Sir Robert Peel in not having accepted the Amendments demanded by the Bishops:—

“Peel’s Bill passed, and though the Primate and the Bishops of the three cities in which the institutions were planted determined to accept the new colleges, the bulk of the Catholic Episcopacy withheld their sanction, and the institutions maintained only a feeble and unprosperous existence. I have since lived for five and twenty years in a country (Australia), where a system existed which illustrates the wicked policy of refusing to amend a scheme of education which might have been made a strength and a blessing to Ireland.\* I have encountered hundreds of young Irishmen of bright and intelligent natures, but without practical training, and who for want of it, fell into the humblest pursuits; and, on the other hand, there was in Melbourne and Sydney a University, where students of all religious denominations are educated together, without ampler provisions for their morals and religion than Peel was willing to make in Ireland, and on the Senate of each there was a Catholic Archbishop; and while these pages are being written I see with satisfaction that the Sovereign Pontiff is sanctioning rules for the education of Catholic Students at Oxford.”

It is puzzling, however, to understand why Sir Gavan Duffy attributed the failure to Peel’s Government from the fact of their refusing to make amendments in the Bill, for they agreed to the establishment of Dean’s Halls and Chairs for religion in the debate of 1845, merely refusing for the last mentioned its salary, which was to be paid by the pupils or the

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\* “My Life in Two Hemispheres.” Vol. I., p. 117.



Bishop. On the contrary, Mr. Wyse was surprised at their concessions. From his point of view he always maintained that the Colleges were undenominational, purely in the abolition of test, and neutral in the sense of Mr. Balfour's much praised plan for the new Catholic University, proposed by him recently; in fact, much less liberal as regards the appointment of Professors and other details, which were to be revised after three years' experiment; whilst the Catholic students in Cork and Galway would, from local circumstances, become as preponderant as the Presbyterians ultimately became in Belfast, and thus the three Colleges in effect would soon be denominational. College Chapels as a matter of course would follow, whilst Faith and Morals were more amply provided for than in the plan now adopted in Oxford and Cambridge\* under the supervision of the English Bishops. The Irish Catholic Laity in fact, were abundantly satisfied. From their want of alacrity, however, in the matter of endowment, they failed to support the Bishops, who approved of it. In Mr. Wyse's opinion it was O'Connell and Dr. MacHale alone who gave the death-blow to Academical

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\* It is generally supposed that there are Dean's Halls and other arrangements of the kind at Oxford and Cambridge, under sanction of the English Bishops. The exact reverse is the fact, the sixty or seventy Catholic students who now annually go to these Universities, dispersed themselves in twos and threes amongst the various Colleges. The Jesuits and Benedictines alone have "Halls" for their own Ecclesiastical students, each of them presided over by one of their own Order, who must, however, be an M.A. of the University. No distinction is made between the Catholics and their fellow students, except that they are not required to attend to the College Chapels. Permission was at once given to establish a separate Chapel in the town for their separate use; but it is completely supported by private means. And there a course of lectures is given alternately by the Jesuit and Benedictine Fathers.



Education in Ireland. But it is only of late years that the loss sustained by the country has been fully recognised.

After the Bill had become law, O'Connell and Davis came to a complete rupture. By Davis's lamented death in that year, the most important supporter of the Colleges in the National Press was lost to the cause.

Mr. Wyse's assiduous labours for his country were terminated by his defeat at the General Election of 1847; a large majority of his old Waterford constituents then voting against him by orders of Dr. Foran for his advocacy of these Provincial Colleges. One conspicuous Parish Priest—the Rev. Father Sheehan—alone stood up in his defence; the same who had helped him in the great election of 1826, and was thoroughly acquainted with his sentiments. On the other hand, when the first rescript appeared, Mr. Wyse became silent. But, turning away from his unkind countrymen, he accepted the appointment of Minister Plenipotentiary to Greece, and devoted his mind to the stirring diplomatic duties of his post during his remaining years.

On the establishment of the Queen's Royal University, the Earl of Clarendon, then the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, nominated him on the Senate of that institution. It was, no doubt, an honour, but an empty one at such a distance. As he himself says, when describing "An Educated Gentleman" in his work on "Education Reform," published in 1836:—"His efforts were for higher ends than the smiles of Ministers, or the shouts of multitudes. Not for them he toiled, but for his country. A defective law amended; an unjust law repealed; wastes reclaimed into gardens; ports opened or restored to commerce; Knowledge conquering Ignorance; and Virtue dwelling

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\* "The Educated Gentleman," pp. 340 and 341.



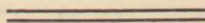
with Peace and Security in the old haunts of Turbulence and Crime—these are the triumphs at which he aimed, in which he glories, even partially, to have shared. Education flattered him with no other promise—it pointed to no other goal. It gave him no hope of utility being recognised, or long and laborious services being requited. It never taught him to believe in the necessary concurrence of exertion and success, of happiness and virtue; but it told him, and truly and sternly told him, that, here below, duty and pain were companions; but that pain or pleasure, successful or not, “duty was obligation,”—the imperative condition laid by the Creator on His creature, by the fulfilment of which he could alone testify his gratitude for the past, or accomplish truly his destiny in the future. This was his education—it hath been his life. If fame and honours come with this, they are accessories and accidents; he neither spurns them, nor strives after them. They change nothing, they add nothing to the interior man, no more than the unsubstantial shadow to the substantial body. In his esteem they bear no fixed value; they are unknown quantities, an  $x$ , or a  $y$ , in moral power, dependent, not upon themselves, but upon what they express, and how they are applied. “Success is everything,” is the axiom of the mere politician; but it is also that of the swindler, the thief, and the assassin. “Success is nothing,” was the creed of Aristides; one may do for the Cleons, the other only can suit Phocion. Success may add to a Washington, but it will not make one. He holds his title to the admiration of mankind by a higher patent than what any fortune, be it that of Sylla or Cæsar, can give or take away.”



As regards his educational labours, his sentiments are, perhaps, more fully expressed in the following sonnet:—

### EDUCATION.

Few are the thoughts on earth, which quite stand out  
The scorching passions, trembling scorn, the wear  
Worse than them all, of inward wolf-like care,  
Therefore I prize thee more, midst all this rout,  
Thou still small thought, heard clear thro' bray and shout,  
Consoling, for whose love for many a year,  
I've plied my task, without reproach or fear—  
Not without scoff and stop and envious doubt—  
Therefore I prize thee, and would lay thee up  
For my death-bed. Oh! could I see thee, then,  
In shape of some poor child,—(midst thy fair troop  
Of Faith, and Love, and Truth),—who else in den  
Of crime, or want had perished, in my cup  
Come, to pour blessed smiles, I'd part from men  
Thankful, that God had let me teach *one* mind  
Or save one soul, nor grieve I'd left all else behind.



THE END.



