FAITHFUL TO OUR TRUST

W. J. R. Wallace

Faithful to our Trust

A History of the Erasmus Smith Trust and The High School, Dublin

the columba press

First published in 2004 by
the columba press
55a Spruce Avenue, Stillorgan Industrial Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin

Cover by Liam Furlong
Origination by The Columba Press
Printed in Ireland by ColourBooks Ltd, Dublin

isbn 1-85607-466-8

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations

The illustrations are taken from the Erasmus Smith Archive at Danum, with the exception of those indicated above. I am grateful to the Archivist, Alan Phelan, for preparing them for publication.

Acknowledgements

The publication of this book has been financed by the Governors of the Schools Founded by Erasmus Smith, Esq. I am particularly grateful to them for the freedom they gave me at every stage in the writing of it. Their only wish was that it should be as accurate and full an account of the history of the Trust and The High School as possible. The consequence of that, however, is that the author bears sole responsibility for the the views and interpretations expressed in it. I am especially indebted to David Rowell, the Governor assigned to oversee the production of the book, for his support and encouragement at every stage.

The research for this book was made much easier by the organisation of the archives of the Trust in recent years. To the present archivist, Alan Phelan, I owe an immense debt of gratitude for his unfailing help. No question was too small and no request too large; all were met with unfailing courtesy and good humour, even when his own work was seriously interrupted in the process. I have also benefited from the help of the library staff in the National Library of Ireland, the Library of the Representative Body of the Church of Ireland, Trinity College, the Library of the King's Inns and the Guildhall Library, London.

I am grateful to the Governors for permission to quote from material in the Erasmus Smith archive; also to the authorities of Christ's Hospital for permission to quote from the manuscripts relating to Erasmus Smith lodged in the Guildhall Library, London; to the authorities of the Company of Grocers for permission to use material from a typescript copy of the Minutes of the Court of Assistants, the original of which is in their archives at Grocers' Hall, London. I am also grateful to the Deputy Keeper of the Records, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland, and to the Archbishop of Armagh and Viscount Massarene for permission to quote from the Robinson and Foster papers.

Many people have encouraged me in this work and offered advice and information. I would particularly like to thank Susan Parkes, David Rowell, Frank Sowman, Robin Miller and John Hickey for reading different parts of the text while it was in progress and for making helpful comments. My sister, Eveline, read all the different versions as they emerged and her many corrections of the text prevented me from committing too many errors. I am very grateful for her constant enthusiasm and support.

Introduction

This book began life many years ago as a history of the first century of The High School, Dublin. The completion of that project was postponed by the difficulty in finding adequate time for it in a busy working life. With retirement came renewed opportunity but by then the project had grown to include an outline of the history of the Erasmus Smith Foundation, of which The High School is now the only surviving school. The result is, I fear, a rather uneasy marriage of a conventional school history and a more academic study of a largely ignored part of Irish educational history during the last three centuries. Bringing them together, however, does have an advantage in that both show, on a larger and smaller scale, different facets of the experience of the Protestant community in Ireland during those three centuries.

History has not, or rather historians have not, been kind to Erasmus Smith. To have gained a large estate in Ireland during the Cromwellian period was not a good start but his reputation was savaged when the Trust became a small part of the struggle between Unionists and Nationalists in the 19th century. Discrediting him became part of the argument that the Trust had been maladministered over the centuries. His lands were fraudulently acquired, so the account went, and the gift of lands for charity was part of a bargain with the government, after the restoration of Charles II, to enable him to keep these ill-gotten gains. That there was little or no direct evidence for either of these claims was no hindrance to their wide acceptance.

In fact, these claims went back further than the late 19th century. A variation on them was published in a survey of Galway in 1824: 'Well knowing that his titles and tenure were very precarious, and liable at a future date to be litigated, he very cunningly made a grant of part of the lands for the founding and endowment of Protestant schools … The law officers were appointed Trustees in the 1669 charter so that they would protect the title of his heirs.'[1]

The only published accounts of the Trust were by its opponents, Father Humphreys and Father Myles Ronan, both of whom had made detailed study of the history of the Trust with a view to discrediting it. The more influential

was Father Ronan's publication of his evidence to the High Court during the law case brought to settle the Trust in 1931.[2] In a review of Father Ronan's book, R. Dudley Edwards remarked that 'the suggestion that the frauds were perpetrated with the knowledge of Dublin Castle is rather ingenuous'. He went on to say: 'It is perhaps inevitable that any pamphlet should bear the marks of the legal struggle rather than convey the detachment of the historian's study, but it is unfortunate that this should have precluded the author from appreciating clearly the nature of the great political and social questions of the period.'[3]

I have referred to the principal points of dispute in the chapter on the law case but it is interesting to note how historical 'facts' became accepted. In part of his discrediting of Erasmus Smith, Father Ronan said he had a house on St Stephen's Green beside the notorious 'Buck' Whaley. This grew to a 'fashionable house in St Stephen's Green where he was neighbour of the celebrated 'Buck' Whaley. It speaks volumes for the character of Smith that he became friend of this dissolute figure.'[4] 'Buck' Whaley was living, dissolutely or otherwise, in Stephen's Green almost exactly one hundred years after Erasmus Smith's time. In fact it is unlikely that Erasmus Smith had a house in Dublin. The dramatic account of the rape and abduction of Mary Ware in 1667 mentions that she was kidnapped by a party of armed men while her coach was passing Alderman Smith's house on St Stephen's Green.[5] The reference is more likely to be to Alderman William Smith, an important figure in Dublin city affairs in the 1660s and no relation to Erasmus who was a London alderman.

Father Ronan's account also influenced the introduction to an unpublished thesis on the Erasmus Smith archive.[6] This seems to have led to the description of Erasmus Smith as a 'sleazy Cromwellian land speculator' in a recent biography of an 18th-century Archbishop of Dublin.[7] I do not wish to suggest that land speculators during the Commonwealth and Restoration period were models of ethical business practice but sound evidence is necessary before a man's character is blackened. The Cromwellian conquest and plantation of Ireland was brutal and cruel and those who benefited from it hardly deserve our admiration. However, it must be remembered that they saw themselves as operating within a legal framework, even if we regard that framework as of dubious legality. The involvement of London merchants in plantation in Ireland was already well under way before Erasmus Smith's time, as the Crown sought capital for the development of confiscated lands. The surviving evidence from his papers suggests that Erasmus was a shrewd businessman who took full advantage of the investment opportunities

offered in the wars of the time. He was generous in his assistance to Christ's Hospital in London, as well as in his provision for his charity in Ireland. Evidence for a 'bargain' with Charles II's government to enable him to keep the lands he had gained in the Cromwellian settlement is lacking.

Erasmus Smith lived not only in politically turbulent times but also in times of bitter religious divisions. As well as the fundamental disagreements between Protestants and Roman Catholics, there were differences among Protestants, principally on the question of church government rather than on points of doctrine. Governments did not easily tolerate citizens whose religious views differed from those in power. Like the majority of the Englishmen of his time, Erasmus Smith adapted to the different versions of Protestantism which were favoured by successive governments during the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Since these did not involve denial of any of the fundamentals of his faith, the changes were probably not too painful. He retained his sympathy for the Puritan divines of his youth to the end of his life, as witnessed by some of the bequests in his will.

There was less sympathy for Dissenters among the trustees of his charity in Ireland. Control by the Established Church was secured early on and continued for most of the Trust's history. This meant that the recipients of the Trust's growing wealth were the institutions favoured by the Protestant ascendancy: the Blue Coat School and Trinity College. In the 18th century, these were exclusively Anglican institutions. Later the support of primary education for Church of Ireland children was added to these. If others wished to avail of either the Grammar or the primary schools, they could do so but on condition of accepting the rules laid down by the Governors. Whether that would have satisfied Erasmus Smith is doubtful; in his letter to the Governors, dated 6 June 1682, he wrote: 'My end in founding these schools was to propagate the Protestant faith according to the Scriptures, avoiding all superstition.' Bolstering the position of the Established Church was hardly 'propagating the Protestant faith', although it may have been a realistic acceptance of the impossibility of the larger aim. The history of the Trust mirrors the general abandonment of the mission to convert on a large scale in favour of strengthening the position of the privileged minority. This meant that the education of the majority of the children of the tenants on the estates was also abandoned.

Some of these controversies seem remote from the 21st century, while others still have an uncomfortable relevance. The theme which underlies my account of the history of The High School is the process of adaptation to the political and social changes which have shaped our society. This was accom-

plished relatively smoothly; the Trust's evolution was less smooth. In telling its story I have been obliged to resurrect old controversies. It is easy to condemn those in our past whose actions we disagree with, or even to apologise for some of those actions. It would be equally possible to defend them. I have concentrated on trying to understand the motives which inspired their actions, leaving to the reader the pleasure of condemnation or approval.

As well as outlining the history of the Trust and of The High School, I hope this book will draw attention to the valuable archive which is preserved at Danum in Rathgar. There is material relating to many aspects of Irish history, particularly to the history of the areas where the Trust had estates in Tipperary, Limerick and Galway. A fuller description is given in the bibliography.

CHAPTER I

Erasmus Smith and the Foundation of the Trust

Early Life

Erasmus Smith was born in 1611 and was baptised on 8 April 1611 at Husbands Bosworth, Leicestershire, second son of Sir Roger Smith of Husbands Bosworth and Edmonthorpe in Lincolnshire, and his second wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas Goodman of London. The Smith family were originally called Heriz or Harris but took the name Smith in the reign of Henry VII, on inheriting the manor of Edmonthorpe. Erasmus' grandfather, also called Erasmus, purchased the manor of Husbands Bosworth in 1565. Sir Roger, who was knighted at Whitehall in 1635 and who was also an Alderman of the City of London, died in 1655 at the age of 84.[1]

Erasmus was sent to London to make his way where other members of the family were already influential. In 1628 he was apprenticed to John Sanders, a poultry merchant, and after seven years, became a freeman of the Grocers' Company on 10 February 1635. On 7 July 1649 he was named by a committee of the Court of Assistants (the ruling body) of the Grocers' Co. as one of the members required to take full membership ('to be of the clothing', i.e., to wear the livery), paying £30 and fees and on 19 July he was among those named as new members presented to the Court. However, he did not want the expense and responsibilities of membership of the governing body at this stage of his life and on 7 December 1649 he was one of three who declared themselves unable to pay their fines of admission because of 'unfitness both in estates and years'. The Court refused to accept his excuses, although he seems to have succeeded in delaying the process because it was not until 1 February 1651 that he was summoned, with three others, to appear before the Lord Mayor at the Guildhall for refusing to appear in livery gowns and hoods and to pay their £30. In fact it was not until 8 July 1657 that he became a member of the Court of Assistants. On the 31 July 1657 he was nominated with John Heather as candidate for Second Warden of the Company. 'Mr Smith's absence "about occasions in Ireland" and his uncertain return' ruled him out and Heather was appointed.[2]

Erasmus' reluctance to become too involved in the affairs of the Grocers' Co. was probably linked at this time to commitments in building up his business; he was later quite willing to play a full part. He became involved in

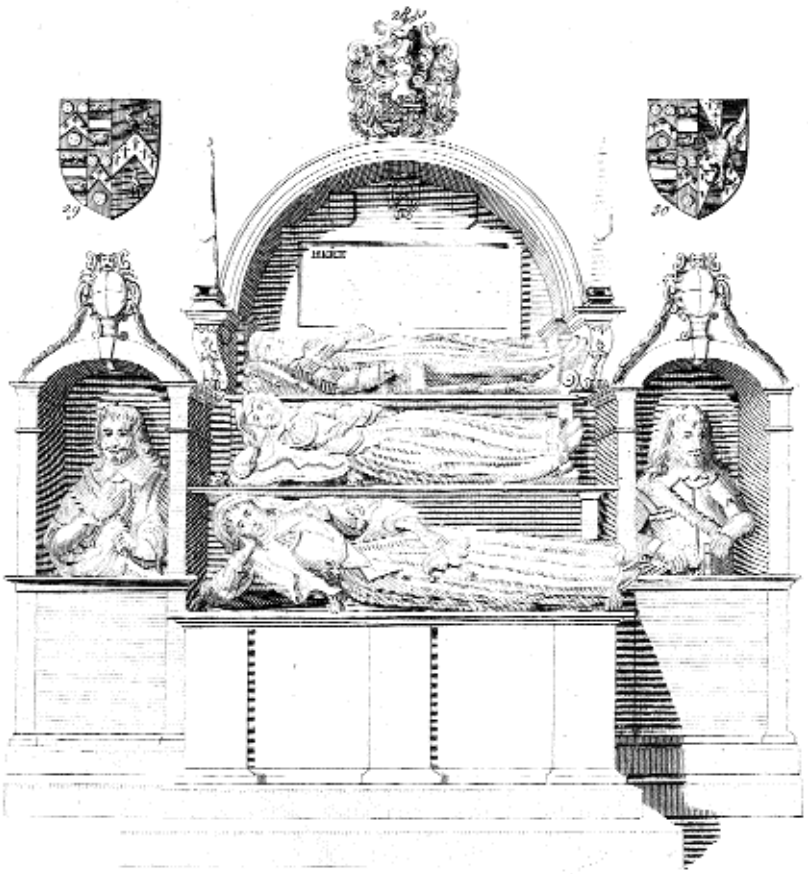

Erasmus Smith Esquire Son of
Sir Roger Smith of Edmondthorp in
the County of Leicester Baronet.

the two main sources of his future wealth: supplying the armies of Parliament and speculating in Irish land. On 3 June 1647 he was paid £1,516 by order of the Derby House Committee, the parliamentary body overseeing the organisation of the war, for supplies of wheat and rye for the army.[3] On 22 March 1650 a warrant was issued to the customs at Lynn to permit Erasmus Smith to contract with Quartermaster Hugh Courtney to ship 100,000 lbs of oatmeal to Youghal for the army and on 10 May another warrant to the customs at Padstow to permit him to send 400 quarters of wheat to Dublin. On the 14 November 1650 he was paid £300 for 50 tons of oatmeal to be sent to Youghal, although this was not paid in full because the meal was sent to Passage by the Governor of Youghal, so a certificate of delivery was not issued. That same autumn he was paid for wheat for the army in Scotland.[4]

Irish Estates

The income from his business as a merchant and army contractor provided the basis for the acquisition of his main fortune, which came from Irish land. When the rebellion began in Ireland in 1641, Parliament passed a large-scale confiscation of Irish land to guarantee the loans it received to meet the expenses of suppressing the rebellion. The Adventurers Act received the royal assent on 19 March 1642, by which subscribers were to receive payment in Irish land at different rates in each province. The act was later opened to people in Holland and to towns and cities, corporate companies, guilds, etc.; on 20 July payment was promised in Irish acres rather than statute acres (a gain of 60%) and on 24 November Adventurers (as these investors were called) were permitted to contract for supplying the army in Ireland. The following year (14 July 1643), by the Doubling Act an investor who paid an additional 25% of his original investment would receive double the amount of Irish land due to him; officers in the army were also allowed to take their pay or arrears in Irish land.

Erasmus Smith did not invest at this stage, presumably because he was as yet too poor, but his father, Sir Roger Smith, invested £225 on 7 July 1642 and £75 on 19 July 1643 under the Doubling Ordinance; two further sums of £75 each were invested on 19 August and 1 October 1643.[5] Sir Roger made over his investment to Erasmus in August 1643; the transfer of ownership of £375 in claims was recorded on 11 July 1653 (i.e., just before the first assignments of land), one of the original receipts for £75 having been lost in the intervening years.[6] The Smiths were typical of the largest group of Adventurers, being London merchants; members of the Grocers' Co. were the second largest investors, after the merchant-tailors, among the guildsmen.[7] The connection



"HERE LIETH THE GRAVE AND RELIGIOUS SIR ROGER SMITH, KNIGHT, LORD OF THIS MANOR, AND FORMERLY ONE OF THE JUSTICES OF THIS COUNTY; WHOSE WORTHY PARTS ARE ADORNED WITH THE WORTH OF HIS DESCENT; WHOSE GREATE GRANDFATHER WILLIAM SMITH, ALIAS HERRZ, DESCENDED OF THE ANCIENT FAMILY OF HERRZ, OF WIVERTON, IN THE COUNTY OF NOTTINGHAM, IS BY FEMALES PASSINGE THROW THE NAMES OF ASHBY, BURDET, ZOUCH, AND CONAN DUKE OF BRITTAINE, DESCENDED FROM HENRY THE FIRST, KINGE OF ENGLAND.
HE DYED ANNO DOMINI 1655,
AGED EIGHTY-FOWER
YEARES."

The memorial to Erasmus Smith's father in Edmonthorpe Church. The two female figures are his two wives and the figures on each side two sons.

between the London guilds and Irish land had been established in the Ulster Plantation at the beginning of the 17th century.

Civil war between King Charles I and Parliament had broken out soon after the Adventurers Act was passed and by 1647 the King's cause was almost lost in both England and Ireland. His representative in Ireland, Lord Ormonde, surrendered Dublin to the Parliamentary army in June 1647 and went to England in August. The first mention of Erasmus Smith in Ireland was on 5 September 1648 when he was in Dublin and acted as agent for Ormonde in a petition to the Commons *re* confiscated property.[8] Ormonde was at Acton near Bristol at that time before he went into exile in France; he had refused to make composition for his estates with Parliament and he was waiting for payment of £3,500 due for his expenses in Ireland.[9] Erasmus was clearly a businessman first and foremost; any attempt to put him into a political stereotype as a Roundhead and then accuse him of double-dealing seems inaccurate.

The end of the wars in Ireland and England came with the triumph of Parliament. An army led by Oliver Cromwell subdued Ireland between 1649 and 1651. The long delay between the passing of the Adventurers Act and the end of the war created a market in 'futures' in Irish land as original investors were unwilling or unable to wait for payment and sold their claims; this market continued after the allocation of land to the Adventurers and was increased by Parliament's decision to pay soldiers and suppliers to the army in Irish land. Those with ready money could buy claims cheaply in the hope of future profit (and the social status which went with land ownership). In 1659 in a speech in Parliament, in reply to accusations from Col. Sankey of dishonestly acquiring land in Ireland, Sir William Petty said that he bought £7,000 in debentures, usually from brokers, so it would appear that the market was a very large one. Erasmus Smith was active in this 'market'. During 1654 there are records of his purchases. On one occasion (4 March 1654) he bought a share worth £100 from Isaac Harrison and sold it on to Peregrine Bradshaw; it related to land near Belfast.[10]

On 1 June 1653 a committee was appointed at Grocers Hall to regulate the drawing of lots for land among the Adventurers and on 20 July the first draws for Irish land took place. Lotteries determined in what province, then what county, barony and quarter each Adventurer received land. The distribution went ahead before Sir William Petty's survey of Ireland was carried out, although some Adventurers agreed to a more accurate survey of their lands by Petty in 1658. On 20 August 1653 a list of those who drew land in Ulster showed that Erasmus Smith got 3750 acres and on 1 September he was listed

as drawing land in Co. Down.[11] On 26 September 1653 the Act of Settlement was passed by ('Barebones') Parliament. Under its terms Irish land was to be used to pay Cromwell's army: those who had served in England before 5 June 1649 and those who had served in Ireland before the same date (later called Forty-nine men). 33,419 debentures were issued to soldiers under this act. The confiscations also applied to the towns which were to be cleared to satisfy the claims of Adventurers, soldiers and creditors. In all, Erasmus Smith drew a total of 10,404 Irish acres in 1653-54 on claims of £2,995.

Irish owners of the land being taken were divided into categories which determined how much of their land they were to lose. If they could show 'constant good affection to the commonwealth of England', they would receive partial 'compensation' in Connaught for the land taken from them; some who could prove their 'innocence' were allowed to pay to keep their lands (composition). Viscount Montgomery of Ards petitioned for composition in 1655. Erasmus Smith and Henry Whaley, Judge Advocate of the army, argued that Montgomery was exempted from pardon under the Act of Settlement but Parliament allowed him to compound (i.e., pay a fine) and he got his lands back; the Adventurers who had drawn lands there lost them and were to be compensated elsewhere. Erasmus Smith lost 5,750 acres for which he was compensated in Connaught.[12] On 27 November 1657 the Council ordered that he was to 'obtain a like quota in Connaught' according to his own selection, provided that the lands had been surveyed and set out by Dr William Petty.[13] Most of Connaught was reserved for the Irish but a strip around the coast ('the mile line') was reserved for the soldiers. This grant implied that Erasmus had bought soldiers' debentures as well as Adventurers' assignments. By 1657 the towns were ready for settlement and on 26 July the Commissioners who ruled Ireland for Parliament asked Cromwell's government to encourage 'some considerable merchants of London' to occupy Galway to revive the town.

The 1657 Indenture

It was at this point, with part of his Irish estates apparently secure, that Erasmus Smith took the first step towards establishing his educational foundation, although more than 10 years of rearranging the Irish land settlement were to intervene before it was finally in operation. On 1 December he drew up an indenture giving 3,881 acres in Galway, the Aran Islands and Roscommon to support schools. There were at this stage to be five Grammar Schools: in Sligo, Galway, Dunluce and where his lands were 'deficient', i.e., where his claims had not yet been determined by the Court of Claims. These

schools were to give free education to children 'of the poor tenants inhabiting the lands aforesaid' and the children of poor labourers. Those fit for university were to be paid £10 per year for maintenance at Trinity College, Dublin, children of tenants having preference. The schoolmasters were to be paid £40 per year. When rents from the estates exceeded £300 per year, the surplus was to be used for five English (primary) schools, each master or mistress to be paid £10 per year. Erasmus Smith was to have the nomination of the first five schoolmasters and he and his heirs and the Masters and Wardens of the Grocers' Co. were to have the power to appoint overseers to examine the schools.

There was an important religious element in his planning: 'Whereas most of the sins which in former times have reigned in this Nation have proceeded chiefly of lack of the bringing up of the youth of this Realm either in public or private Schools whereby through good discipline they might be principled in Literature and good manners and so learn to loath those haynous and manifold offences which when they come to years did daily perpetrate and commit.' Schoolmasters were to pray twice daily with their scholars; pupils absent without cause from these prayers were to be punished. The scholars were to be catechised according to the catechism of the Assembly of Divines (i.e., the Presbyterian catechism) on one day each week and every Lord's Day publicly and copies of the catechism were to be provided for poor children. On 9 December 1657 Erasmus Smith leased the lands so given to Sir Charles Coote (later Earl of Mountrath) for £300 yearly rent and to Richard Kingdon for £230 rent, thus guaranteeing the new foundation an income from the beginning, although collecting those rents was a matter of dispute for many years. A clause in the lease reserved a half acre and the grazing for two cows for the school which Erasmus Smith or his heirs intended to build in Galway.

Eighteen trustees were appointed to administer the new foundation. They fall into three categories. The first was a group of Independent ministers (moderate Puritans) linked to the Church of St Nicholas' Within in Dublin where the Aldermen also worshipped. Samuel Winter had served under John Cotton, a well-known preacher at Boston in Lincolnshire, who was one of the founders of the New England colony. He came to Ireland with Henry Cromwell as chaplain to the Parliametary Commissioners, but moved away from him as Cromwell became more moderate. In 1656 he was appointed Minister at St Nicholas' Within and in 1657 Provost of Trinity College, Dublin; he was deprived at the Restoration (March 1660). He may well have been chosen by Erasmus Smith because he was Provost. Thomas Harrison was an Independent minister who had preached in New England, who came

to Ireland as Henry Cromwell's chaplain. Henry Wooton was another Independent minister; he ministered at St Audoen's. Samuel Mather was born in 1625 in Lancashire but in 1634 his family moved to New England where he was educated at Harvard. In 1654 he was a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; in 1656 he was ordained by Winter and two other ministers at St Nicholas'. He was preacher to the Irish Council and lecturer at Christ Church Cathedral; he did not conform at the Restoration. The last of this group was Robert Chambers, minister at St Patrick's Cathedral in 1652 and one of a committee to advise the government on the effectual preaching of the gospel.

The second group were army officers and government officials. The most extraordinary was Henry Jones who had been a clergyman in the Church of Ireland and was to be so again. He was involved in resistance to the 1641 rebellion when he held the castle of Bellanagh, Co. Cavan, was taken prisoner but escaped to Dublin. In 1645 he was appointed Bishop of Clogher but later served as Scoutmaster in Cromwell's army and in 1657 was one of the Parliamentary Commissioners in Ireland. In 1660 he became Bishop of Meath and died in 1682. William Basil was Attorney-General of Ireland under Henry Cromwell; John Bysse was an MP, one of three MPs excluded from the second Parliament of the Protectorate although 'approved of by all the good and sober people here' (Henry Cromwell); all three eventually took their seats. He was a member of a committee in 1652 on the suppression of lawlessness in Dublin. Thomas Herbert was an army officer and Clerk of the Council in Ireland. Jerome Sankey, educated at Cambridge, Adventurer and army officer, came to Ireland with Oliver Cromwell. He was Governor of Clonmel, a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford and one of the Parliamentary Commissioners in Ireland. In 1654 he was MP for Tipperary. He was knighted by Henry Cromwell but turned against Cromwell over a dispute as to the location of the lands he drew in the soldiers' settlement. He was an Anabaptist (most extreme Puritan) at this period. John Bridges was an army officer, as was Anthony Morgan who was one of the officers (with Henry Jones) sent to reduce the Presbyterians of Ulster in 1653. In 1654 Morgan was MP for Wicklow; he acted as private emissary for Henry Cromwell. Edward Roberts was Auditor-General of Ireland and one of the Commission of the Public Revenue in 1654. James Standish was Receiver-General of Ireland.

The third group were Dublin merchants with Puritan sympathies. These would provide a local quorum for the Trustees' business, as well as providing local knowledge. Daniel Hutchinson was a wealthy Dublin merchant and Alderman who served as Treasurer of Public Revenue in Ireland, sometimes

advancing loans to the government from his own money. In 1652 he was Lord Mayor; he was ordered with Jerome Sankey and others to form a committee to encourage tillage and the settlement on lands by 'such as served Parliament'. In 1653 he was member of a committee, with Hooke, Sankey, Herbert and Jones, to oversee laws relating to the poor. In 1655 he was a member of a committee, with Hooke and Preston, to act as treasurers for the collection for the Waldenses, a Protestant group who had suffered a severe persecution in Europe and whose cause was fashionable among the Puritans. In 1656 he was High Sheriff for Dublin and Wicklow. He bought Adventurers' assignments. He was an elder in Winter's Church (St Nicholas' Within). John Preston was another Dublin merchant who lent money to the government in 1651. Later, he was one of a committee to reform Christmas (i.e., to abolish the traditional ceremonies). He was a benefactor of the Blue Coat School and in 1686 he granted 1,737 acres of his own lands to support schools in Ballyroan and Navan. Richard Tighe, Alderman of Dublin and MP, with Bysse, in 1652 and 1656, also was an Adventurer and bought assignments. Thomas Hooke was a Dublin merchant and army contractor; in 1647 there was an order from the House of Lords Committee to him about the organisation of the army for Ireland and shipping ammunition. In 1657 he was ordered, with Henry Jones and others, to organise a lecture to be given in Irish in Dublin as part of a programme to convert the Irish to Protestantism. He was Lord Mayor in 1657.

Of the 18, Henry Jones, John Bysse (Chief Baron of the Exchequer by 1670), Jerome Sankey, Edward Roberts, Richard Tighe, Daniel Hutchinson and John Preston were to be named in all the legal documents connected with the Trust over the following years, culminating in the Charter of 1669. In 1658 a petition from Erasmus Smith included a request that provision should be made for replacement of trustees by others elected by the Commission in case of the death or resignation of a member, a clause forgotten in the original indenture. This clause was part of a longer petition from Erasmus Smith in which he objected to the proposed criteria for division of baronies because he believed that division on the basis of money was impracticable since money differed from the value of land by 15%. He wanted all reference to land omitted. This would obviously suit a financial investor. In 1664 in the discussions in London for the Act of Explanation, the soldiers and Adventurers agreed to be reprised in quantity of acres only.

The Restoration Land Settlement

The death of Cromwell on 3 September 1658 signalled the beginning of the end of the Commonwealth regime and all the rival factions competed to place themselves in as strong a position as possible. In February 1659 a Convention or Parliament was convened in Dublin by leading Cromwellians; some of Erasmus Smith's associates were prominent in this, notably Sir Charles Coote (soon to be Earl of Mountrath), Sir John Clothworthy (soon to be Lord Massarene) and Lord Aungier. The Convention sent a delegation to London to secure their interests with Parliament there. Included in their 'Instructions' were clauses seeking to assure the Adventurers in possession of their lands. One clause specifically referred to Erasmus Smith: 'and likewise the lands assigned in Connaught to Henry Whaley, Esq. and Mr Erasmus Smith, adventurers, in lieu of their former lotts in the Baronie of Ards in the County of Down may be by Act of Parliament settled upon, granted and confirmed unto them...'[14] Soon afterwards, negotiations began with Charles for the restoration of the monarchy. On 14 April 1660, Charles issued a letter from his exile in Breda in which he promised the Adventurers and soldiers security for their lands. Included in the Declaration was a clause saying that 'innocent Papists' in corporations were not to be restored but to be reprised in the neighbourhood, a significant concession for the Trustees who owned land in Galway. In May Charles was restored to the throne. On 30 November he issued a Declaration which established a committee of 36 people to decide on claims to Irish land. Adventurers were to give proof of title, by survey if necessary; 'concealed' land, i.e., land which had not been settled by the Cromwellian Court of Claims, and forged titles were to be investigated. Possession of land on 7 May 1659 was to be taken as proof of ownership. The Court's decisions had no authority in law, however, so an Irish Parliament was summoned, meeting on 8 May 1661, to provide a statutory basis for a land settlement. This Parliament was dominated by Cromwellian settlers; Erasmus Smith was MP for Ardee.

In London, Erasmus Smith was playing a full part in his guild by this time. On 15 July 1659 he had been elected Second Warden of the Grocers' Co. and a week later was allowed to resign, probably because of business in Ireland. On 21 September he presented £100 'in ready money as a loving gift of his own to this company' to help to reduce the debts of the guild. On 19 May 1660 he was chosen 'of the assistants absent' to be one of the 30 members of the Guild to accompany the King on his entry to London, each paying 30 shillings for livery and habits for their men. He was again chosen as Warden in July 1660 but paid a fine of £50 to avoid office. In August he and John

Sanders were chosen to manage business connected with the lands of the Grocers' Co. in Ireland and on 31 November 1660 he and Sanders were named as trustees of those lands in the Letters Patent confirming the guild's ownership of the lands. On 19 December 1660 he recommended Henry Goslyn, a student of St John's College, Cambridge, for one of the exhibitions funded by the Grocers' Co.; Goslyn received the exhibition on 2 October 1661 when one of the existing exhibitioners died. On 17 May 1661 he moved a resolution in the Court of Assistants to present a gift to the King 'for his high favour in owning this Company'. He also moved a resolution that efforts be made to reduce the debts of the Co. and declared himself willing to contribute.[15] He was also a member of the corporation of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; other members included the Earl of Clarendon and the Duke of Ormonde.[16] He witnessed a legal document in 1662 as Alderman Erasmus Smith of Dublin.[17]

He married Lady Mary Hare, daughter of the first Lord Coleraine who had been a strong Royalist. The marriage licence, issued on 10 June 1670, described him as a 'bachelor of about fifty' (he was 59) and his bride as 'about twenty'; her father was already dead so her mother gave permission for the marriage. They had six sons and three daughters. The baptisms of five of his children were recorded at St James', Clerkenwell. He had a house at St John's Court in Clerkenwell, and later, in 1685, he bought Weald Hall at South Weald in Essex as his country seat.

In Ireland, meanwhile, Erasmus Smith, like all the Cromwellian landholders, was working to secure his lands and those for his educational trust. The Indenture of 1657 would have no authority under the new regime and some of the original trustees, notably the Puritan ministers, were no longer acceptable. The Church of Ireland was restored as the Established Church; in January 1661 two new archbishops and 10 bishops were consecrated. By 1662 Erasmus was negotiating for a bill to give statutory authority to his charity. On 26 April 1662 the Earl of Anglesey, Vice-treasurer in the Dublin government, wrote to the Duke of Ormonde who had been appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland but who was still in London, reminding him that Ormonde had agreed, when last at the Council, to some names for the Commission (trustees) for the Erasmus Smith Bill. The full 32 names had not been agreed and 'some that were agreed are not fit'. Anglesey wrote that a new list has been drawn up and that both lists were being sent to Ormonde for his agreement to the final list. He added that Erasmus Smith asked that Sir Theophilus Jones should not be one of them and pointed out that the Aldermen were necessary to be sure of a quorum in Dublin. Ormonde's reply

does not survive but on 3 May Anglesey wrote to Ormonde that he would settle the Erasmus Smith business as Ormonde directed.[18] Anglesey was one of the new trustees. This was in preparation for the introduction of the bill to give a legal basis to the Trust which was introduced in the Irish House of Commons on 5 July 1662. This is the first version of what came to be known as the Transmitted Bill.

No reason is given for the objection to Jones. He was a brother of Henry Jones, now Bishop of Meath and one of the trustees, but he had been one of the extreme Cromwellians who had plotted to seize Dublin Castle in defiance of the Royal government in 1660. Erasmus may have wished to distance himself from the extremists or it may have been a private quarrel. When the bill received its second reading and was sent to the committee stage on 7 July, Sir Theophilus Jones was a member of the committee. Certainly, Erasmus was establishing himself with the new dispensation. When Charles II married Catherine of Braganza in May 1662, Erasmus petitioned to be appointed Carver in Ordinary to the Queen. In his petition he mentions that he is owed arrears for 22 years' service to the late King and the present King but these services are not specified.[19]

On 29 September 1662 the Act of Settlement, which was to regulate the ownership of land in Ireland, was passed. Adventurers and soldiers were to keep two-thirds of their estates; lands received under the Doubling Act were disallowed; a Court of Claims was to be established in Dublin to determine ownership of land. Clause 192 of the act confirmed to Erasmus Smith the lands allotted to him in Co. Louth for satisfaction of his adventures for land; if these lands were restored to anyone he was to be compensated by land in Co. Louth (one of three counties set aside for compensation). Another clause (94) named him as one of the collectors of the levy on Adventurers to pay the expenses of the Grocers Hall Committee administering the distribution of the lands. Even before the act was passed Erasmus found that one of his estates was challenged. The Marquis of Antrim was working to recover the 107,611 acres he had owned which had been 'allotted to Lord Massarene and a few other Adventurers and soldiers, in consideration of their adventures and pay, which did not in all exceed the sum of £7,000, such excellent bargains had those people for their money'.[20] The new owners petitioned against Antrim but he had powerful friends at Court and on 20 July 1663 a letter from the King in favour of Antrim arrived in Dublin. On 30 July Erasmus Smith and others petitioned against Antrim in Dublin and London[21] to no avail; on 22 August 1663 the Court of Claims decided in favour of Antrim. At the same time Erasmus Smith was petitioning, with others, against a pro-

viso in the Act of Explanation about lands in Sligo purchased for Thomas, Earl of Strafford and Sir George Radcliffe.[22]

The Transmitted Bill

The Bill to establish the Trust had been passed in Dublin and sent to London for approval but had not been passed by the Irish Parliament when it was sent back to Dublin because Parliament had been dissolved. In order to give it statutory force it was included as a clause in the Act of Explanation. On 16 May 1664 a letter from the Privy Council transmitted the Erasmus Smith Trust Act as a clause for the Act which was at that time being prepared in Dublin. The Act of Explanation, which had become necessary because of the conflicting claims to land under the Act of Settlement, was passed in December 1665. Clause 44 of the act exempted the lands of the Trust from the special tax of one year's rent to be paid by all landowners in order to raise £300,000 for the King (Trinity College and parish glebeland were also exempted). By clause 45, Erasmus Smith was one of a large number of Adventurers guaranteed possession of their land. Clause 55 renewed the earlier bill to regulate the Trust. It is the second of the foundation documents and is referred to as the Transmitted Bill because of its earlier history when it was passed in London but not in Dublin.

The details were very similar to the final Charter and thus were a departure from the 1657 Indenture. The amount of land given for the Trust had been increased to 5,694 Irish acres. The Galway lands were the same but the Aran Islands had been purchased by the Duke of Ormonde for his second son, the Earl of Aran. In reprisal the Trust received 1,365 acres of profitable land and 563 acres of unprofitable (in this case bog) land in Co. Limerick, as well as 1,157 acres in Sligo and a reduced amount in Roscommon. There were also claims to more than 1,000 acres in Roscommon and Sligo which had not yet been agreed. The number of Grammar Schools was reduced to three, at Galway and in two other places to be decided by Erasmus Smith after the final settlement of the Adventurers' lands, or by the Trustees if he did not decide. The change in religious establishment is seen in the instruction that the schoolmasters were to be licensed by the bishop of the diocese and that they were to subscribe to the first two canons of the Church of Ireland. Their pay was increased to £66-13-4 per year. Children eligible for free education were 'such poor children as shall dwell on any of the lands aforesaid (i.e., belonging to the Trust) or any of the lands of the said Erasmus Smith, his heirs or assigns within two miles of the said three schools'. Four or five English schools were to be maintained at a cost of £50 per year each in places

to be decided by Erasmus Smith. A new clause dealing with any surplus revenue said that it should be used to apprentice children to Protestant masters, spending up to £6 on each apprentice and giving preference to children of tenants of Erasmus Smith. The number of trustees was increased to 33, as well as the bishops of the dioceses where the schools would be situated. The Archbishop of Dublin and several officials in the Dublin government were to be *ex officio* members. The act received the Royal seal in 1666.[23]

The 1666 Act made detailed provision for the transition from the 1657 Indenture, now declared void, to the new group of trustees, some of whom had served since 1657. There are also later references to the first Registrar, John Price, who was appointed in 1657 but whose papers were lost by 1710 when the Trust went to law against another of its early agents, Joseph Damer. The money received from rents since 1657, less any money spent, was to be paid to the new Treasurer to purchase deficiencies and incumbrances and to supply what was lost when the Doubling Act was disallowed. The new trustees were ordered to send to the government, within one month after being reprised for lands lost, the certificates and receipts on the Adventurers equal to the value of the lands lost by this. This, if carried out, would mean that the Trustees were buying assignments on their own behalf, not relying on Erasmus Smith. Their money came from the leases to the Earl of Mountrath and Richard Kingdon which were confirmed in this Act; Mountrath's rent was reduced from £300 per year to £170 from the time the Aran Islands had been given up but rents due from the islands before that were to be paid to the new trustees. These rents would have amounted to over £4,000 by 1666, if all rents had been paid; even if only part was paid, as seems more likely, it would still leave the Trustees with ample money to purchase debentures and pay all legal expenses. The Primate and other trustees were instructed to examine the accounts of earlier treasurers but we do not know which of the trustees had acted in this capacity.

Land Settlement

While the parliamentary process to give legal basis to the Trust was evolving, both the Trust and Erasmus Smith were seeking settlement of their claims. Only glimpses of what was an extremely complex situation are possible from the surviving records. As well as his losses to Lord Antrim and to Ormonde, Erasmus Smith had a long running dispute with Sir John Stephens, Governor of Dublin Castle. On 19 November 1661 he petitioned that his estate had been given to Sir John (with Henry Parris) because the lands had been concealed.[24] The following year the King wrote to the Lord Lieutenant instruct-

ing him to enquire into Smith's claims and if he had been in possession on 7 May 1659 to see that he was restored.[25] The petition was referred to the Court of Claims.[26] On 27 January 1666 a letter from the Lord Lieutenant to the Secretary of State, Lord Arlington, said that agreement had been reached between Erasmus Smith and Stephens.[27] By clause 86 in the Act of Explanation, Erasmus Smith was to get the land in Tipperary granted to Stephens if he could be shown to have had possession in 1659. There were other disputes. On 18 February 1665 a letter from Lady Isabella Graham to Viscountess Conway asked her to use her, or no doubt her husband's influence as one of the Commissioners of Claims, to stop 'one Alderman Sir Erasmus Smith' getting a clause in the Bill now in hand (the Act of Explanation) which would deprive Sir James Graham of his estate.[28] Carte remarks that many clauses in the act were secured by bribery[29] but no direct evidence survives. On 31 May 1665 a letter from Sir George Rawdon to Lord Conway said that forfeited lands around Sligo were in Alderman Erasmus Smith's hands but the trustees (of his estate) were confident of recovering them.[30]

One story, which Father Ronan accepted, describing how Erasmus Smith secured his lands, was based on a theory that he won the Duke of York's favour by promising him his lands on his death: 'This Erasmus Smith being then an old bachelor made the then Duke of York believe that he should have the remainder of his estate in case he died without issue, and, there being little probability of his having children, the Duke became agent for him, and got him all the favours possible under the Act of Settlement, but the pretence was that several public pious uses should be performed by the said Erasmus Smith after he had passed the patent of his estate which was valued at £4,000 or £5,000 a year.'[31] It goes on to say that the Duke of York was disappointed and the intended pious uses were not carried out. Apart from the improbability of the whole story, Smith was then only in his early fifties, no evidence of his deed in favour of the Duke exists, and the pious uses were carried out.

On 20 June 1666 Erasmus Smith received Letters Patent confirming to him the ownership of 13,005 Irish acres in Tipperary and 7,776 acres in Limerick, Meath and Louth; this was a total of 33,643 statute acres.[32] On 31 July he signed an indenture with Christ's Hospital, London granting them £100 per year for supporting scholars at university and for apprenticing children. He lost no time in beginning to develop his estates; on 16 August he petitioned for the right to hold a fair and market in Tipperary town.[33] In 1669 he received title to further lands in Meath, Kildare, King's Co., Queen's Co., Tipperary and Roscommon,[34] which brought his own lands to over 37,000 statute acres.

At the same time the Trustees were finalising the ownership of the lands of the charity. On 29 January 1665 they petitioned the Court of Claims to ratify their lands and on 26 June 1666 the Court of Claims heard a petition from the Trust that any lands lost under the settlement should be compensated for in Co. Louth or elsewhere. The Court granted title to the Trust on 21 September 1666 for which Letters Patent were issued on 3 November 1666. These confirmed ownership to the Trust of 1,637 Irish acres in Galway, 2,193 acres in Tipperary and 153 acres in Sligo. The Trust still had not received its full allocation in lieu of the Aran Islands and there were also counterclaims. On 23 December 1667 Joseph Damer signed a petition for the Trustees against an appeal to the Court by Dr George Gorges, agent of the Duke of York.[35] The final step in securing the Trust's estates came on 14 July 1668 when the Court of Claims issued certificates for 1,185 Irish acres in Sligo, 921 acres in Tipperary and 1,118 acres in Limerick; these were confirmed by Letters Patent on 28 December 1669. These were enrolled to Erasmus Smith and the Trustees on 19 January 1669 'to hold ye premisses to ye uses of his charity',[36] saving to Gabriel Waters the 16th house and gardens in the town of Tipperary. These official sanctions of the lands given to the Trust by Erasmus Smith cleared the way for the final foundation document, the Royal Charter, which was issued on 29 March 1669.[37] In a letter to the Governors written 10 years later, Erasmus summed up the difficulties of this period: 'There was a great deal of rubbish to be removed before this foundation could be laid, many difficulties one after another for the space of some years and wrestled through before the work could find the way to that issue and state wherein now at length it is presented to you.'[38]

The 1669 Charter

The Charter is usually regarded as the real foundation of the Trust, since it gave a name to the foundation, *The Governors of the Schools Founded by Erasmus Smith, Esq.,* and a seal with the motto *'We are faithful to our Trust'.* The records of meetings of the Governors survive from 1674. However, as outlined above, there was continuity from 1657, with the Trustees taking action on their own to protect their interests. The new corporation was to consist of 32 members, six of whom were *ex officio:* the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, two judges and the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Eight of the 17 members of the Council of Ireland at that time were members; it also contained seven of the original trustees from 1657. The new Governors were given full legal powers but they could not grant any lease for longer than 21 years and land must be valued

before the renewal of a lease or granting a new one. Governors were to serve for life but any Governor who did not attend meetings for more than two years could be removed; vacancies were to be filled by co-option by the Governors. They were to meet twice yearly, on the first Tuesday of May and the first Tuesday of November. A Treasurer was to be elected annually, allowed six pence for every 20 shillings of rent collected and was to have his accounts examined and approved annually by at least two of the *ex officio* governors. The first Treasurer was Richard Tighe, one of the original trustees. It is possible that he had already been acting in this capacity. Governors were not allowed to lease trust lands to any of themselves, although they were permitted to use some of the money for the expenses of the trust, including a Registrar to be paid £10 per year.

There were to be three Grammar Schools: at Galway, Drogheda and Tipperary. Free education was to be given to 'all and every of the children of tenants of the said Erasmus Smith, his heirs, executors or assigns, at what distance soever from the said schools such tenants shall live' and 20 poor children living within two miles of each school. The schoolmasters were to be appointed by Erasmus Smith, and later by the Governors, and paid £66-13-4 per year; ushers (assistant masters) in each school could be appointed when the income of the trust exceeded £300. The schoolmasters were to be licensed by the bishop of the diocese and were to subscribe to the first two canons of the Church of Ireland but the bishops did not have power to visit the schools; only Erasmus Smith or the Governors could do that. Masters were to catechise their scholars each Sunday using Archbishop Ussher's catechism. £100 was to be paid annually to Christ's Hospital, London and £30 per year to Trinity College, Dublin to pay a lecturer in Hebrew. Surplus revenue under the existing leases was to be used for apprenticing children to Protestant masters; when these leases expired, the surplus was to be used (1) for apprenticing children; (2) for clothing poor scholars in the Grammar schools, children of tenants to have preference; and (3) Erasmus Smith was to have power to decide the use of the remaining portion of the surplus.

In March 1673 leases of the new lands were made: 1,657 Irish acres were leased to Richard King for 31 years at £206-5-0; 500 acres to Joseph Damer for 31 years at £59-10-0; Drombane lands, almost 1,000 acres, to John Smeath for 21 years at £70-3-6 and Knockderke to Jason Whiterow for 31 years at £22-7-6. On 3 July Erasmus Smith and the trustees conveyed the lands of the Trust to Gideon de Laune and Samuel Holt of Dublin for one year in trust for the new corporation. The indenture was signed by surviving trustees from 1657, except for John Bysse who was not present, and by Joseph Damer for

Erasmus Smith. The new Board of Governors met for the first time on 28 April 1674 with the Primate presiding. The development of the Trust will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Disputes with the Trust

The relations between the founder and the new board were not harmonious. Erasmus Smith does not seem to have come to Dublin at this time; certainly there is no record of his attending any meeting of the Governors. There is, however, much evidence of his growing dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Trust was being run, in particular the large arrears of rent which were accumulating. In an undated copy of a letter from him to the Governors, probably written about 1674, he urged the Governors to compile a rent roll and said that the arrears in Sligo from 1662 to 1669 were nearly £300.[39] In addition, he became more interested in Christ's Hospital which had close links with the London livery companies. In 1658 he had become a Governor of Christ's Hospital and he was an important benefactor of the hospital following the Great Fire of London in which the hospital was destroyed. In a letter to the Governors of the hospital on 6 April 1691, during a dispute about benefactions with the teasurer of the hospital, he explained why he became so interested in the hospital: 'Providence sometime after the fire directed me to view the Hospital which with grief I beheld in its ashes. The consideration of the many children that had their habitation there but then scattered abroad, made me resolve to encourage others with myself to raise the foundation.'[40] By the clause in the Act of Explanation, £100 per year was to be paid to the hospital from the Trust in Ireland for apprenticing children and supporting students at university. On 31 July 1666 an indenture between Erasmus Smith and Christ's Hospital was signed giving legal force to this. This was repeated in the 1669 Charter. In the letter mentioned above, Erasmus Smith said that £400 from this gift had gone to rebuilding the wards. A minute of a sub-committee of the Governors of Christ's Hospital on 6 June 1673 recorded a decision to build two wards at Erasmus Smith's expense 'to be filled with children now abroad at risk'.[41] Altogether, he listed donations to a total of £1,041 to the hospital. The slowness of the Governors in sending the annual grant of £100 to Christ's Hospital at a time when the hospital was in great need of money was an added irritation to him.

Sometime in the next few years he decided to use the power given to him in the Charter to dispose of a part of the surplus revenue from the Trust lands to increase the endowment of Christ's Hospital. The first surviving evidence

of his change of heart comes from a letter of 3 July 1676 from Sir Robert Redding (a cousin of Erasmus) in Dublin to Erasmus Smith. Redding had recently been in London and he thanked Erasmus and his wife for their kindness and sent best wishes to Erasmus' wife and little boys. They had evidently discussed the affairs of the Trust in detail because Redding tells him that he has spoken to Coote (Galway tenant) about arrears of rent. Coote claimed that he had actually over-paid because the Court of Claims had allowed him a rebate. Redding questioned Erasmus Smith's right to change the Trust, pointing out that a King's grant (i.e., another charter) would be needed. He also mentioned a counter-argument which was to feature regularly in the dispute which followed over the disposition of the Trust. This was that there was a pressing need for an endowment for the Blue Coat Hospital recently founded in Dublin. He painted a pretty picture of 60 boys 'clad like yours [i.e., in Christ's Hospital] in blue coat and yellow stockings and each carrying a wand in his hand and singing before the Corporation' as they tried to raise money for their school. On 7 August Erasmus Smith replied to Redding, arguing that he had the right to make new grants under the Charter but he doubted that the Governors would surrender any land. Redding had suggested that if the Trust were to be reduced, Galway would be the most suitable school to close. Erasmus wrote that he preferred to close Drogheda because he could argue with the Lord Lieutenant and Council (presumably for permission to change the Charter) that a great part of the revenue of the Trust came from lands there. Besides, in Drogheda the inhabitants would not send their sons because of the catechism taught there, 'a condition I cannot yield to'. Redding replied on 24 July that he had shown Erasmus' letter to the Lord Lieutenant 'who is well pleased and will assist so good a work'. If Erasmus surrendered the land to the King, new Letters Patent could be issued as Erasmus wished. However, the matter was not to be anything like as simple as that although in another letter to Redding, written on 7 August, Erasmus told him that he had instructed a solicitor to begin preparation for the changes, 'my intention to the alteration of what I formerly did'.

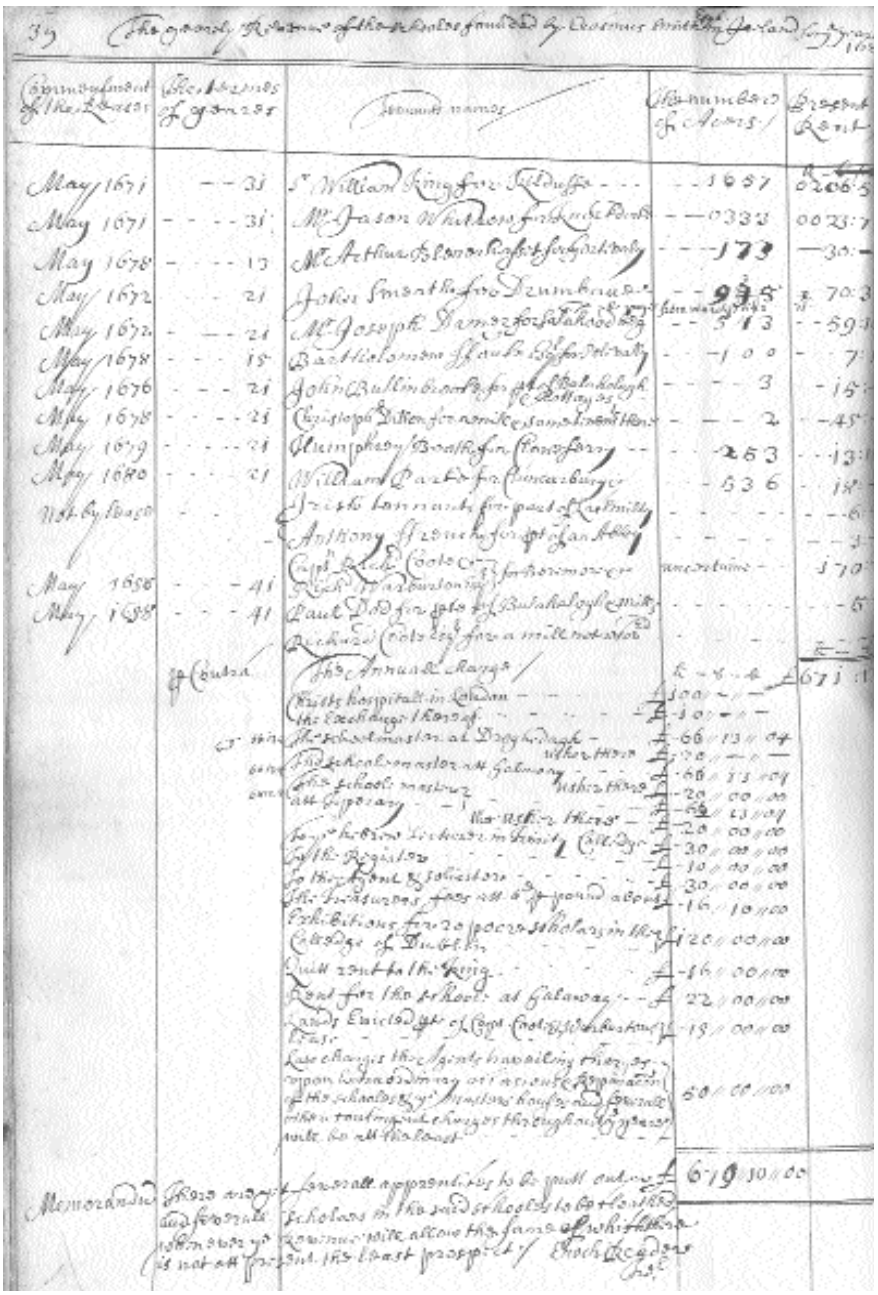
Threat to Change the Trust

The first notification of this intended change to the Trust was officially conveyed to the Governors a few months later in a letter on 7 November 1676 from Erasmus Smith to Sir Joshua Allen, the Treasurer. On 25 June 1678 the Governors replied rejecting the change in the Trust and apologising for not sending information on the Trust. They said that they were working to put all in order so that 'for the future you will have Your Excellency's satisfaction

in your charitable gifts'. This poor communication of information seems to have added to Smith's irritation. He also had a new object of his charity to Christ's Hospital because a Mathematical School was being started there in which he took a special interest. He now took a drastic step which, if it had been implemented, would have broken up the new foundation.

On 10 December 1678 Erasmus Smith presented a petition to the King to change the Trust, 'finding not the return for the public good and the improvement of the revenues as I expected'; he desired to resettle the Trust 'to settle them for each use upon the corporation where they are or such other way as His Majesty shall appoint'. He wished that lands in Galway should be settled 'by some act or some clause in some act' upon Christ's Hospital 'for the further improving the Mathematical lecture [in Christ's Hospital], founded by His Majesty and such other uses as the Governors there shall think moote in lieu of the £100'. The rest of the lands and revenue may be disposed of 'for those charitable uses there expressed and what other uses His Majesty may think fit, there being £400 over and above what will answer the other uses beside the lands in Galway settled upon Christ's Hospital, London, reckoning what arrears will purchase, there being above £2000 of good arrears in their own report'.[42] On 10 December 1678 he wrote to the Governors, in a letter brought by Mr Coles, the newly appointed master of Galway school, proposing that the lands in Galway be settled upon Christ's Hospital, leaving the rest to the Governors, as this would be more advantageous to Christ's Hospital than what was decided in the Charter. He criticised the Governors for mismanaging the lands, mentioning Blennerhassettt and King as tenants who had received too lenient treatment. If the Governors agreed to these changes he would waive all other privileges granted to him in the Charter. He suggested that arrears, then standing at £2,000, be used to buy more land to increase the income of the Trust.

The Governors were both defensive of their performance of their trust, and defiant in their response to this challenge. A strong thread in the history of the relations between London and Dublin at this period was a dislike in Dublin of the control of London, the emergence of what was later sometimes called colonial nationalism. An echo of that appears in the arguments of the Governors. On 3 May 1679 a letter from the Governors to Erasmus Smith claimed that they were settling the uses of rents as prescribed in the Charter as quickly as they could. They put up a counter-proposal suggesting giving £50 out of £150 surplus to Christ's Hospital and the residue to be used for apprenticeships by its equivalent institution in Dublin, the Blue Coat School. They argued that there were a great number of poor children in



An early balance sheet (May 1682) copied into the Board Register.

Ireland and the hospital in Dublin had not yet a revenue comparable with London; 'how great a concern it is by all ways and means to encourage the Protestants against all Popish endeavours and attempts, we being in that respect exposed to manifold more inconveniences than you are in England'. They hoped Erasmus Smith would settle the whole surplus on the hospital in Dublin which would accept the children of tenants who had fallen into poverty. They also sent him the report of their sub-committee (see Chapter II) proposing the re-organisation of the administration of the Trust. Erasmus Smith went ahead with his plans, however; on 21 July 1680 he drew up an indenture settling the remaining moiety of the surplus rents on Christ's Hospital with the arrears since 1673. The Governors did not pay this although in a letter on 3 September he sent the Governors a copy of the indenture with Christ's Hospital. Damer wrote to the Treasurer of Christ's Hospital on 31 January 1681: 'I do not find that any of the Governors have any kindness for your Hospital.'[43]

There followed a sharp quarrel between the rival claimants to the revenues of the Trust in which both the London and Dublin governments played a leading part. In 1681 Christ's Hospital petitioned the King to order the Lord Chancellor and the Governors in Ireland to send details of yearly rent. When nothing happened they sent a similar petition arguing that authority in the matter flowed from the King, presumably because the Charter had been issued by his authority, 'before whom the performance or non-performance thereof is properly examinable ... and the subject matter lies in Ireland, where the judges of both law and equity are concerned as governors (of the Trust) and endeavour to have all applied to uses in Ireland contrary to the donor's intention'. It would be too expensive to appeal to the courts in Ireland so they appealed to the King to force the governors to send the moiety 'so that the petitioners may be further enabled to perform his Majesty's gracious purposes in founding the said new foundation, and that the said Smith's pious intentions may attain to its due effect'.[44] The hospital used the influence of several people in Dublin over the following period in attempting to advance their cause. One of them, Sir John Davis (agent for the Irish Society in Ireland), approached the Lord Lieutenant (Ormonde) who promised to raise the matter with the Lord Chancellor. In several letters to the hospital during April 1681 Davis reported his growing frustration with the lack of progress. On 17 May he wrote that there had been no meeting of the Governors because the Lord Chancellor had gout, but he had spoken to several of the trustees and they would not agree to pay any money out of Ireland.[45]

The Governors, meanwhile, had taken legal advice on the issue. On 28

March 1681 Sir John Temple, Solicitor General for Ireland, gave his opinion that the Trust's money should only be used in Ireland. In a pattern which was to be repeated in the future, he distinguished between the Transmitted Bill of 1666 and the Charter, using whichever best suited his arguments. His central thesis was that charitable funds in Ireland should only be used in Ireland. In case his legal arguments were not accepted, he added the practical one that there was no surplus since all the uses of the money designated in the Charter had not yet been fulfilled.[46] The Governors, in a letter on 7 June 1681 to Erasmus Smith, referred to Temple's legal opinion to question his power to make a new grant on the Trust (i.e., to Christ's Hospital) and they repeated that there was no surplus as many of the uses laid down in the Charter had not yet been fulfilled. They signed themselves 'Your affectionate friends'. On 6 August Erasmus Smith wrote to the Governors refusing to accept Temple's use of the Transmitted Bill; the exhibitions (to TCD) in the Transmitted Bill were rejected by the Provost and Fellows 'as some of you may remember'; but 'such was my love of learning and the College that I endowed the Hebrew lecture with £30 p.a. which was not in the Bill transmitted, which to this day hath not been taken notice of by the Provost and Fellows'. He indicated that the Charter was the final word on the charity: 'it was not without advice that they [Letters Patent and Charter] were prosecuted and obtained and that at no small charge.' He repeated his wish that the money be given to Christ's Hospital.

London and Dublin Governments Intervene

The governments in London and Dublin now became involved. On 17 December 1681 Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State, in a letter to the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant in Ireland, referred to Erasmus Smith as 'now dead' (he wasn't) and demanded the details of the Trust's accounts: 'Lord Primate and Chancellor, being one of the Trustees will no doubt, if minded of it, promote the bringing of those that have the management of that revenue to account.'[47] On 2 January 1682 Ormonde replied to Jenkins promising a full account of the Trust's 'lands left by Erasmus Smith for pious uses' after the Christmas holidays.[48] Ormonde sent the Secretary of State's letter to the Governors asking for this information. On 16 April the sub-committee wrote to Damer asking him to supply accounts for their reply. They wrote to Ormonde, who was then in London, on 23 May 1682 giving their standard answer: (1) no surplus rent at present as all purposes in the Charter not yet fulfilled, in particular no exhibitions for poor scholars in Trinity College, and apprentices and clothing for poor scholars not provided either; (2) no money

should be applied out of Ireland; (3) they have fulfilled the proper method of auditing the Treasurer's accounts as in Charter, so there is no need for further examination; (4) they are not able to give exact accounts since 1673 because Joseph Damer was in England with Erasmus Smith. They enclosed the rent roll for his information.[49] Ormonde gave the letter to Jenkins.

Christ's Hospital also resorted to legal opinion; on 25 January 1683 they had referred the case to the Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Guilford, and on 23 October 1683 the English Attorney-General, Sir Robert Sawyer, was asked to consider the case and the opinion of Sir John Temple. He gave an opposing opinion. He said (1) the Charter was the final word in the foundation; (2) the clause in the Act of Explanation (the Transmitted Bill) was to secure the land to the trustees and did not limit the charitable uses which were not defined in the Bill; (3) the Act of Explanation did not limit the donor's power to change terms; (4) 'In the settlement of the charities upon the King's letter of Incorporation, Mr Smith is the donor, disposer and director of the charities, the King's Letters Patent are only the instruments to render them effectual in perpetuity'; so (5) Erasmus Smith had power to decide on the moiety of the surplus. On 1 December Lord Chancellor Guilford reported this to the King and advised against an expensive lawsuit. He suggested that the King should ask the Irish judges for an opinion on the issue. This was obviously going to be difficult since the chief law officers in Ireland were *ex officio* Governors. Just how difficult was shown in a letter from Joseph Damer to Erasmus Smith, written in April 1684, which concluded: 'they are not willing that any of the revenue should go out of this kingdom, if they could help it or prevent it.' To emphasise this point, they had forbidden Damer to send the £100 to the hospital without their express consent.[50]

Christ's Hospital continued to press their demands, more vigorously in fact with the appointment of a new Treasurer to the hospital, Nicholas Hawes. On 24 May 1684 the King wrote to the Earl of Arran, Lord Deputy in Ireland, sending him all the papers on the case and asking him to get the judges to give their opinion in writing.[51] Nathaniel Hawes used the services of another supporter, William Strong, a lawyer who was in Dublin, but with no more success. Sir Richard Redding was back in Dublin but he had no success either. He reported that another difficulty was that the judges were very busy, one half of them being on circuit and the other half sitting in the court on defective titles in Dublin. Matters remained in abeyance for the rest of the year. The death of Charles II on 6 February 1685 added to the uncertainty. Hawes wrote to William Strong on 11 April 1685 reproaching him for not having written since December. He said the hospital was 'at a nonplus what

resolutions to take not knowing how the late great revolution may have influenced affairs'.[52] In fact, the death of the King made little difference; the problem was still in Ireland. A letter from Sir Robert Redding in Dublin to Nathaniel Hawes, written on 23 April 1685, described how he had had a difficult meeting with the two Chief Justices 'at the Inns where they dined' at which it was made clear to him that the judges were reluctant to allow any revenue to be taken out of Ireland.

Christ's Hospital petitioned the new King, James II, in same way they had petitioned his brother. On 24 May 1685 a letter from the King to the Lord Deputy ordered the Irish judges to inquire into the case and on 3 August 1685 Lord Sunderland, Secretary of State, writing to the Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, asked that the judges in Ireland would meet to consider the case. In October a deputation from the hospital waited on the new Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Clarendon, at his 'lodgings at the Cockpit at Whitehall', to put their case and he assured them of his assistance. On 4 November 1686 Sunderland wrote again to Dublin asking that the judges in Ireland be ordered to come to a speedy decision on the issue.[53] In December Hawes wrote to Davis telling him that the Lord Lieutenant had gone to Ireland and asking him to use his influence. Eventually the judges met to consider the case but postponed a decision, requesting further information.[54] Hawes replied that he was not surprised at this 'considering the Irish air'. No further progress was made. The minutes of a meeting of the Governors of Christ's Hospital on 13 February 1688, at which Erasmus Smith was present, record a long debate on the matter and consultations with Davis and Damer who had come from Ireland. They decided that no further action was possible at that time.[55]

At this point bigger events intervened and before they were ended Erasmus Smith was dead, leaving the disputed benefaction to Christ's Hospital undecided. Protestant leaders opposed to James's religious policies invited William of Orange to invade England; war, fought mainly in Ireland, resulted in the defeat of James and the accession of William and Mary to the Throne.

Death of Erasmus Smith

Erasmus Smith was now approaching 80 years of age. On 9 July 1688 he was chosen as Warden of the Grocers' Co. but on 19 July he 'declared he looked upon himself as exempted by reason of his great age and refused to accept or hold the same office'.[56] A fragment of a letter of 25 May 1691 from him to the Governors of Christ's Hospital survives in the archive in Dublin. It seems to have been written as a result of a quarrel with the Governors of the hospital.

He is angry that his name as a benefactor has been 'obscured' and outlines what he has done for the hospital (see above p. 30). He would have done more 'if Ireland had continued in peace'. When peace is restored more (money) will come 'if the Governors there be honest to you. But it's a regret to them that any of the charity should go out of Ireland, and therefore you must fortify yourselves against them, for I fear that I shall not live to see it settled.' He was right; sometime between 25 August and 9 October 1691 Erasmus died.

His will was characteristically businesslike, giving detailed instructions as to the disposal of his estate. He had made his will on 6 May 1690 and added a codicil on 25 August 1691. He wished to be buried beside his wife in the parish church of Homerton, Huntington and named as executors Sir Edward Smith (nephew) and Richard Bayly of Gray's Inn. Mourning was to be provided only for children, servants, executors and Thomas Cole, at a maximum cost of £50. He left £50 to the poor of St James's, Clerkenwell provided his pew in the church was settled on relations or family living in the parish, £5 to the poor of Weald and £5 to the poor of Homerton; £100 each to four London hospitals (Christ's, Bridewell, Bethlehem and St Thomas the Apostle).

He left £10 each to 20 poor ministers as Cole, Bates, Taylor and Cockaigne would decide. There were modest gifts to named ministers: £10 each to Thomas Taylor, Dr Bates of Hackney and George Cockayne, with £20 to Thomas Cole. Since these were all Independent ministers, it seems that, while Erasmus conformed to the Established Church, his sympathies were still with the Puritans. Thomas Cole had been principal of St Mary's Hall, Oxford but lost his position at the Restoration. After that he ministered to Independent congregations in London, as did George Cockayne who had been deprived of his parish in 1660. Dr Bates was one of the leading Independent clergymen of the period.

There were generous legacies to his servants: £100 each to servants Sarah Cox, Margaret New and butler Joshua Ripley, £50 from his English estate and £50 from his Irish estate; £20 to servant Anne Fagus and £3 each to coachman James Newman, footman Robert Ainsworth and maidservants Mary Hodson and Sarah Gools. Joseph Damer 'whom I have found faithful in his management of my Irish concerns' was to be kept as agent and paid one shilling and three pence in the pound from all money remitted from Ireland; he was instructed to provide a full rental each year; Damer was also given lease of land in Ireland for 40 years and was left £100. Simon Norwich was to be paid £100 from the Irish estates for helping to manage them.

Erasmus left £1,000 to Sir Edward Smith; £100 to nephew John Smith (son of his brother Roger) from his estates in Ireland and £100 to his niece Katherine Kirkham's youngest daughter, born after her husband's death. The final bequest to his relations was £1,000 to William Smith, grandson of Sir Edward, on condition that he was brought up and educated in the Protestant religion and faith and that he made a solemn acknowledgement of that when he received the money.

His family were all well looked after, the individual bequests giving us a glimpse of the everyday life of a prosperous family of the period, as well as the uncertainty of life in its arrangements for succession in the event of death. To daughter Lucy he left all her mother's books, her childbed linen and chinaware except the blue pots and jars which were ornaments in his house in St John's Court; to his eldest son Erasmus his gold cup, necklace of pearl and his best diamond ring. Lucy and his other daughters were to receive £3,300 on reaching 18 or marrying; £800 each to sons Samuel, Hugh, Roger and Montague on reaching 21, over and above their shares already settled of the £3,500 on security with Christ's Hospital. His son Henry was also to receive £1,500 at the age of 21. The residue of his personal estate, including books, household goods, was left to whichever son first reached the age of 21, that son to pay £100 to each of all sons and daughters on reaching 21 or marrying. The residue of his personal estate was to go to Christ's Hospital if no son survived. The trustees were to pay for the maintenance and education of the children: £200 per year to his eldest son until he reached the age of 21 and £400 per year to the age of 27; the rest of children to be paid at the discretion of executors, not more than £60 each. If his estates in Ireland were restored to him (i.e., when the war was over) and amounted to £500 or more per year, then he left £1,000 to each of his younger children. The money from Ireland was to be placed in an iron chest in Christ's Hospital and, as it accumulated, to be invested and used for the benefit of the younger children.

All his estates in England and Ireland, except those given to charity, and the rents from estates in the County of York, were to be controlled by the executors for 99 years or by the sons in turn; they would pass to all his daughters equally if the sons did not survive; in default of heirs, his estates were to pass to Christ's Hospital. A loose leaf receipt put into Ms 13,823 in the Guildhall Library records his son Erasmus withdrawing jewellery and the family silver from storage in Christ's Hospital in 1693 and 1697.

His children died young, for the most part. Weald Hall passed to his sons, Erasmus, who died in 1707, then to Samuel until his death in 1732 and finally to his fourth son, Hugh, who died in 1748. Hugh married Dorothy Dacre,

granddaughter of Arthur Chichester, Earl of Donegal, and left two daughters; the Smith property was divided between them. Dorothy married John Barry, son of Lord Barrymore, and Lucy married James Stanley, Lord Strange, eldest son of the Earl of Derby. The latter took the name Smith Stanley which is still held by the Earls of Derby. Weald Hall was sold by the family in 1752. The house was demolished in 1953 but the park was bought by Essex County Council to form Weald Country Park.[57]

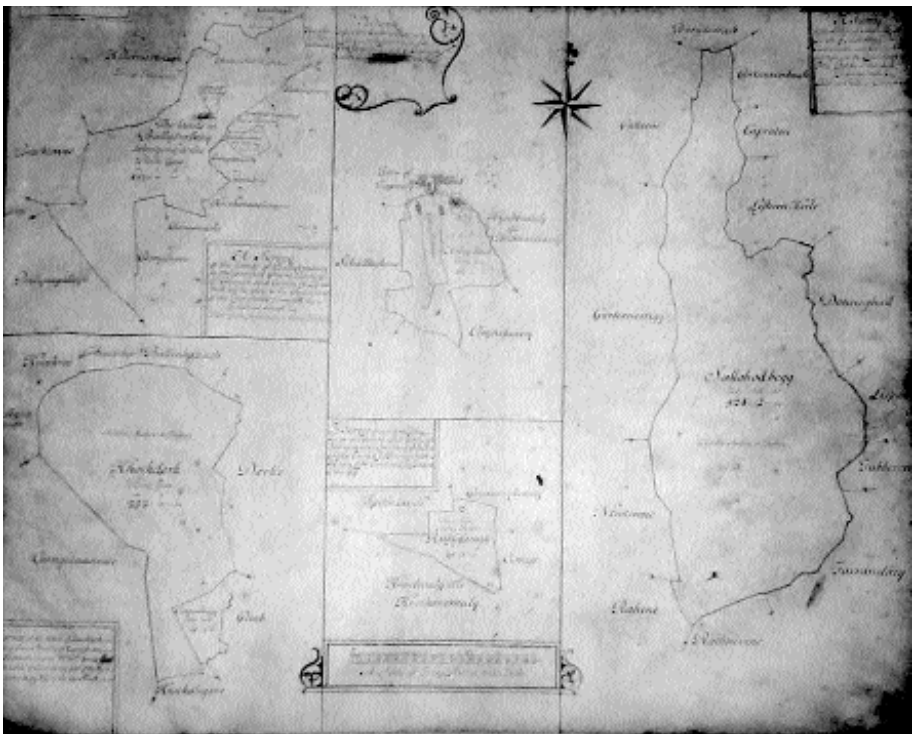
CHAPTER II

The First Fifty Years of the Trust

The Board of the Trust held its first recorded meeting on 28 April 1674 when 13 members were present, presided over by the Primate (Archbishop Margetson).[1] The only business recorded at that meeting, and at the next meeting on 5 May, was the replacement of Governors by new members as some of those who had been named in the Charter five years earlier had either died or left Ireland. Among those who had died was Richard Tighe, the Treasurer; at their second meeting Sir Joshua Allen was elected to succeed him. The Board were not to have a house of their own until the 19th century so their meeting places were varied, mainly depending on the treasurer (or chairman). The palace of St Sepulchre, which was the residence of the Archbishops of Dublin, Dublin Castle, Trinity College and the Tholsel were among their usual venues. The accounts show small payments to the attendants at these places, for example the 1706 accounts include '2-8½ [two shillings and eight pence halfpenny] given to woman who attended the committee at the Tholsel' and in 1714 payment to the 'doorkeeper of the Council chamber, the Castle'. The accounts for the years 1696-99 record an item of nine shillings 'for coach hire for carrying some of the committee of the Governors to Sir John Coghill's house at Drumconragh, three shillings and sixpence and five shillings and sixpence in all'.[2] On 24 February 1679 a subcommittee of the Board ordered a chest to be bought for the Treasurer to store legal documents, accounts and other papers; each treasurer passed the chest on to his successor. Later they purchased an escritoire for the same purpose.

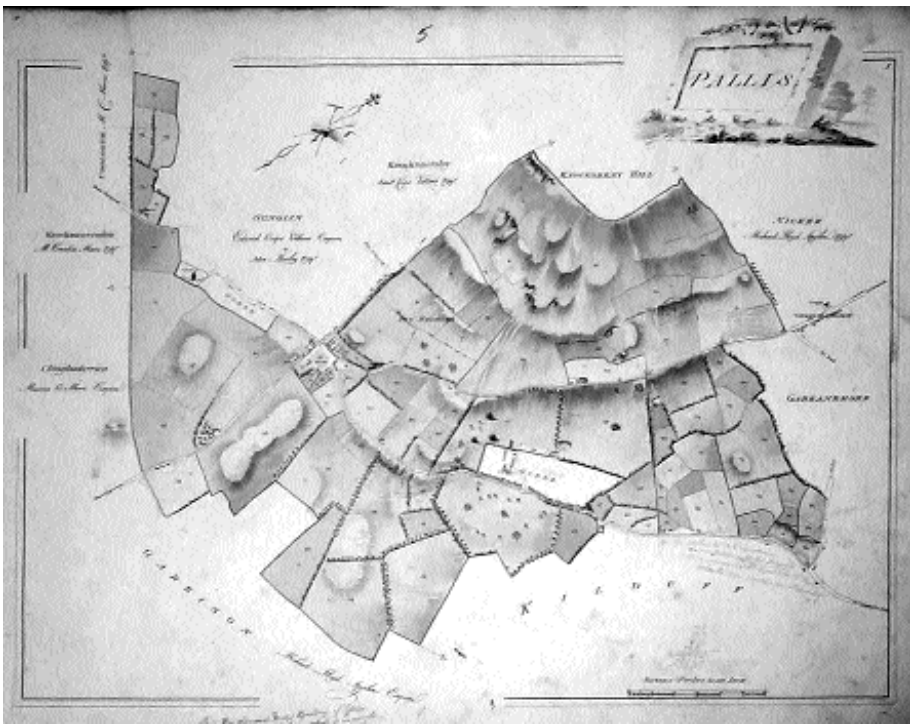
The Estates

The estates of the Trust were situated in four counties: Tipperary, Limerick, Galway and Sligo. The Tipperary estate included two areas in the town of Tipperary called Abbeylands, one south of the town and separated from it by a river. This was where the Grammar School was built. The other was Abbeylands Rathserragh which was at the east end of the town on the road to Cashel. Two and a half miles north of Tipperary was Soloheadbeg, which contained over 800 acres; further north were Drumbane and Poolevarla,



The Tipperary Estate. Map by Thomas Moland, 1713. The centre panel shows Tipperary town.

which amounted to almost 2,000 acres. The Limerick estate centred around the village of Pallasgrean (the traditional spelling) and contained over 2,500 acres. Between three and four hundred acres, situated where the Bilboa and Dead rivers meet, were subject to severe flooding until they were drained in the 19th century. The Galway lands included part of the town and much of the land on which the city expanded later as the Board developed it in the 18th century. The units were smaller here, the biggest being the village and lands of Ballybane which amounted to over 300 acres. Much of the Sligo estate was mountain, including Ben Bulben. Until the 19th century the Governors leased almost all of the lands to middlemen, that is to tenants of large holdings who rented the land to lesser tenants. The same families often kept their holdings over several generations. In the early 18th century there were only eight tenants holding directly from the Governors, as well as the government for the barracks in Galway. Occasionally they leased directly to the occupiers of the land: the 1696 accounts included twelve pounds ten shillings 'from several Irish persons for their cabbins and gardens on the lands of Drumbane for three years (that is to say from 25 March 1692 to 25 March 1695 inclusive), the said lands lay waste for that time and Polevarly'. The early



The Limerick Estate around Pallasgrean. Map by Sharrard's, Brassington and Greene, 1818.

leases include clauses for the development of the lands. The 1672 lease of 1,657 acres in Co. Limerick to Richard King included clauses binding him to build five farm houses, each two storeys high with a slated roof, together with an acre enclosed for an orchard. He was also to plant 4,000 oak and ash trees and sow a quantity of flax or hemp.[3] When the lease came up for renewal in 1702 these conditions were said to have been fulfilled.

There were still some disputed titles to the lands at the end of the 17th century. In 1696 payments included three pounds ten shillings to Damer for 'suite brought against the lands of Sallaghoodbeg by the agents and tenants of the late King James's private estate'. Also included was one pound six shillings to a surveyor to 'survey and set out the lands of Knockderke by which the Governors have gained about 17 acres of land'. When King James succeeded, some hitherto disappointed claimants renewed their appeals. On 11 July 1685 the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Rochester, ordered Erasmus Smith, Captain Coote, Col. George Jepson and Edward Stubbers (tenants of the Trust) to appear before him to hear a petition from Matthew and Mary Quinn and Margaret Butler (Mary's mother) concerning lands near Galway. The family had owned property in Galway and were included in the Articles

(Treaty) of Galway signed after the conquest of the city by the Cromwellian army in 1652. The articles were broken and the property confiscated. Although Matthew had served the King (Charles II) in Flanders, the Court of Claims refused his claims because he was a Roman Catholic. In 1677 Matthew 'discovered' 800 acres in possession of Erasmus Smith and others in the suburbs of Galway, as well as five houses and a mill. A schedule of lands accompanied the petition. The Quinns asked for the restoration of their property only, in return for which they promised to restore the marble coat of arms of Queen Elizabeth in Galway, defaced by the Cromwellian soldiers. They were disappointed. On 27 July 1685, in a report to the Lord Treasurer, Samuel Langford said that he had examined the title to the 433 Irish acres in the schedule and found that by Letters Patent and Act of Parliament they were well conveyed to Erasmus Smith and afterwards by him settled for several charitable purposes and the Charter of 1669 created the Trust. The King, he reported, had no title to these lands.[4]

The Administration of the Estates

The administration of the estates suffered in the early years because there was no clear structure in place for the purpose. This was summed up in a report by a sub-committee of the Governors to the Board on 27 January 1709 when they explained the large arrears thus: 'the reason whereof they conceive to be that no person has been hitherto appointed collector or receiver of the tenants' rents in the country, and the tenants being by their leases obliged to pay the same to the Treasurer who constantly resides in Dublin, have neglected to do so.' John Dexter, the Registrar since 1705, was appointed receiver of rents in 1709 at one shilling in the pound for expenses. He had already been paid £30 for work on the lands from the original patents and for making a rent roll. The following December the Governors ordered a full survey of the Trust's lands, the first to be undertaken. It was carried out by Thomas Moland whose work survives in handsome volumes of maps.

Some idea of the problems of collecting the rents can be gained from a letter written on 24 August 1676 by Joseph Damer to William Gibbon, Treasurer of Christ's Hospital, who had written asking why the money (£800) due to the Hospital had not been paid. He said that the tenants would not pay. Two Galway tenants owed more than £1,000 and the matter was before the Court of Chancery. Another tenant in Co. Limerick owed more than £300; Damer had had him arrested and he was then in prison in Dublin.[5] The problem of arrears first began to be systematically tackled in 1677 when a sub-committe of Governors was set up on 22 February to exam-

ine the state of the revenue and to report on ways of preventing arrears accumulating further. This may have been prompted by the growing criticism from Erasmus Smith of these arrears and from his threats to remove some of the revenue from the Trust, as described in the last chapter. The sub-committee included Dr Ward, the Provost of Trinity College, Sir Joshua Allen, the Treasurer, Col. Jerome Sankey and several aldermen. Their report was written on 30 April and accepted by the Board on 6 May 1678. It showed that three tenants owed the majority of the arrears. Richard King had paid £323-3-7 but owed £2,278-9-8, although he claimed that he should be allowed £30 for legal fees in defending the Trust's title to part of the lands against Trinity College.The other two who were in serious arrears were Col. Coote and Richard Warburton whose joint lease dated from 1657. The sub-committee divided their arrears into two parts. The first dated from 17 August 1666, that is from the new arrangements made under the Transmitted Bill, to 1673, when the new Trust was established. The second period was from 1673 to 1677. In all, Coote owed £1015-12-6 for the two periods combined; Richard Warburton seems to have paid for the earlier period because he was only billed for £427 for the period after 1673. The sub-committee reported that legal proceedings were already in action in the High Court of Chancery and in King's Bench for the recovery of these arrears; a later report said that the Sheriff of Galway had executed judgements against Coote. Coote had already been ejected from part of the lands he held in August 1677. By 1680 Coote had admitted the Governors' rights to rent from the trustees' time but legal actions against him were continuing.

The recommendations of the sub-committee give an indication of how lax the administration was in the early years. They were accepted in full by the Board. In future no payments were to be made except by the Treasurer, apart from those made by the agent in defence of title. The Registrar was instructed to prepare orders for payment. The sub-committee had ordered books to be prepared to record leases and rents; one of these survives. Arrears were to be entered separately in the accounts and not to be mixed with rents received. The Treasurer was to have his accounts audited every year. Trouble with Joseph Damer, which was to grow steadily, is hinted at in their order to him to make up his account with the Treasurer with no excuse for neglect. Damer was close to Erasmus Smith and was also agent for Christ's Hospital in Ireland, so his position as agent of the Trust was always difficult. The sub-committee estimated that the rent roll would be £635, including moderate estimates for lands not yet let. This sub-committee continued to do most of the business of the Trust. For a few years the minutes of its meetings, which

were sometimes as frequent as once a week, were entered in the Board book interspersed with the minutes of the full Board. They usually met at the house of Alderman Enoch Reader who was elected Treasurer when Sir Joshua Allen had to go to England for a time. This sub-committee was the driving force in establishing the Grammar Schools.

The Establishment of the Grammar Schools

Schoolmasters in Drogheda and Tipperary seem to have been appointed from 1673; in the accounts for 1676 Mr Scott of Drogheda and his usher, Mr Loromord, were shown as having received three years' salary. In an undated letter from Erasmus Smith to the Governors, written about 1674, he told them that he had appointed Joseph Scott for the school at Drogheda and James Wood for the school in or near Tipperary. He would make no appointment for Galway until he was fully satisfied as to the number of scholars. In this letter he also said that he was sending the rules for the schools and he urged the Governors to do all they could to ensure 'that the scholars of the said schools be well instructed in the Protestant Religion and good literature'.[6]

The rules referred to in this letter were a detailed working out of the instructions given for the schools in the Charter. They are entitled 'Laws and directions given by Erasmus Smith under his hand and seal for the better government and ordering of the public schools late by him founded and erected'.[7] They are divided into three sections: for the schools, for the schoolmasters and ushers and for the scholars. In the section on the schools it is made clear that the education of children of tenants, both on the Trust's lands and on Erasmus Smith's own lands, is to be completely free. This also extended to the 'children of any sub-tenant that is by the present occupier of the said lands in possession'. Twenty poor children of the inhabitants of each of those towns or living within two miles from the schools were to have exactly the same privileges. Names were to be submitted by three or four of the aldermen of Drogheda and Galway, and in Tipperary by the schoolmaster or 'by two or three of the ablest of the inhabitants upon my lands'. The children were to be taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew to be prepared for the university if they had sufficient ability; if not, they were to be taught writing and arithmetic to fit them for trade and employment. Poor children were to be given clothing while at school. Schoolmasters were allowed to take paying pupils also.

The section of the rules directed at the schoolmasters laid strong emphasis on religion. 'None are to be admitted schoolmaster of the said schools but such as are of the Protestant religion and well known for their ability, indus-

try and good conversation.' They must read a chapter from the scriptures to the pupils every morning and pray with them morning and evening. This is to be done 'in the English tongue that all may be edified'. They were to encourage the children to read the scriptures frequently and to examine them on what they had read. Even the youngest children should be able 'readily to give an account of how many books and the order in which they stand and also the number of chapters in each book both of the Old and New Testament'. Because 'the weakness of children is such as many varieties of church catechism do confound their understanding', masters were to use Archbishop Ussher's catechism as laid down in the Charter. (That catechism gave scriptural references for all points of doctrine.) The children were to be constantly catechised and on Sundays the masters were to expound the catechism before or after Public Worship.

School hours were to be from seven o'clock in the morning to three or four in the afternoon 'according to the season'. Pupils were to be free on Saturday afternoons and after three o'clock on Thursdays. Holidays were to begin seven days before Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide. Masters were instructed to set work to be done during the holidays and to admonish the pupils to behave themselves with 'much humility, sobriety, respect and submission as thereby may credit their education and breeding'. Pupils were to be dismissed for the holidays with prayer and none of those 'rude customs' as were customary in schools. No child was to be admitted to the Grammar Schools 'but such as are fit and learned in the "Accidences" or some other introductory book of the Grammar'. Children were to speak Latin with the master and with each other if they were able. The master might take children of the tenants to teach them to write, provided that it did not prejudice his attendance at the Grammar School. Masters or ushers were not to be absent except through illness or by permission of at least three or more of the Governors. They were to have no other employment. Schoolrooms were to be kept clean and wholesome. Children were not to be allowed to break windows or cut or scribble or deface walls, desks, doors or windows.

The guidelines laid down for the students reflect the religious ethos which runs through all the rules. There must be no cursing or swearing or quarrelling, fighting or unlawful games. In words clearly echoing a famous passage in St Paul, Erasmus wrote: 'But on the other hand whosoever is comely and decent among you in clothes or otherwise and whatsoever is pious and may render you lovely in the lives of others, let such things be constantly and carefully endeavoured by every child of you in the fear of the Lord.' The pupils must take off their caps and show respect to governors, magistrates, minis-

ters, masters and ushers. They were instructed to be punctual and must not leave school without permission; neither must they 'go up and down from place to place to the disturbance of others more studious'. Any student who refused correction was to be expelled. To encourage industry, the best scholars from each class were to be chosen by the master on 1 May each year 'to pronounce some solemn exercise' in public before the Governors. If no Governors were able to attend, the exercises 'fairly written' were to be sent to the Governors who were to reward them with Latin or Greek books 'fairly bound and gilded'.

These rules were to be posted in each school and read out once every month after prayers.

There were as yet no fully organised schools to which these rules could apply but progress was being made. In a letter to Erasmus Smith on 25 June 1678, which, among other business, asked him to appoint a master for Galway, the Governors explained that they had dismissed Mr Davidson whom they had appointed usher there. They had appointed him on local recommendation but further enquiries had shown him to be unsuitable. These masters conducted their schools in temporary accommodation; when the new master appointed by Erasmus Smith for Galway arrived, he was told that he should make use of the Sessions House until a decision was made on whether to buy a house or build one. This is later referred to in a letter from the Board to the Archbishop of Tuam as the 'Abbey called the Abbey Greene now the Sessions house of the County which belongs to the Governors'. The early masters seem to have been appointed by the founder but within a relatively short time that power passed to the Governors, partly because they were in a better position to recommend suitable men and partly because Erasmus Smith's appointments did not always meet with approval. At a meeting on 22 January 1678 at Alderman Reader's house, the sub-committee decided to try to solve their two most pressing problems at the same time by allocating specific rent arrears for the purchase or building of three schoolhouses. In fact, at a meeting a month earlier, on 24 December 1678, they had already ordered Col. Coote to obtain a suitable house for a school in Galway. Now the schoolmasters in Drogheda and Galway were asked to report on suitable houses in each town. Within the year houses in Drogheda and Galway were acquired.

Drogheda Grammar School

On 16 June 1679 the minutes record that a house in St Lawrence Street, Drogheda, in which Scott was keeping his school, was to be bought from Dr

Coghill for £200, as a house for the schoolmaster, with ground beside it on which a schoolhouse was to be built, £125 being allocated to Mr Baron to build it, to be finished by the following January. The conveyance of the house from John Coghill to the Trust was signed on 19 July 1679. By then the sub-committee had recommended that two houses should be bought. At their meeting on 26 February 1680 the Board sanctioned the purchase of two adjoining houses from Dr Coghill; they were described as having a good garden and a large walled yard for the boys to play in.

However, problems were already developing with the new schools. On 3 May 1679 the sub-committee reported to the Governors that Drogheda and Galway schools were not flourishing 'by reason that other schools are permitted in those places and that those who are of the Popish religion will not suffer their children to be educated in those schools nor by your schoolmasters which seems a discouragement to them'.[8] In Drogheda, there were problems with some of the Church of Ireland inhabitants of the town also. At their meeting on 3 May 1680, the Board received an address from the Mayor and Corporation complaining against Scott for his Dissenting principles. In his defence to the Governors, Scott claimed that this opposition had been stirred up by Dr Coghill. Meanwhile, on 26 February 1680 the Board had appointed the Treasurer, the Provost and Dr Coghill to visit the school as laid down in the Charter. On 4 June 1681 the Visitors' report on the school was considered and it was decided that the usher should be discharged as there were not enough pupils. The report was sent to Scott, and to Erasmus Smith in London with a letter on 27 June 1681 which referred to the complaint from the Corporation of Drogheda and which asked him for 'an orthodox master' qualified to take charge of the school. Scott protested unsuccessfully to the Board who 'allowed, approved and confirmed' the Visitor's report on 22 April 1682 which was ordered to be sent to Erasmus Smith.

His reply, dated 6 June 1682, was entered in the Board Book.[9] In it he thanked the Board for their report on Drogheda and went on to say: 'My end in founding these schools was to propagate the Protestant faith according to the scriptures avoiding all superstition.' Pupils must be catechised according to Ussher's catechism or leave the school. He hoped that in appointing Scott's successor preference would be given to those educated in the schools of the foundation in order to encourage others. If none such were qualified, he left the appointment 'at large' and added 'as I find faithfulness herein I shall be encouraged to trust them for the future', presumably referring to the employment of graduates of Trinity College as teachers.

The following year on 30 August 1682 John Morris, schoolmaster at

Derry, was appointed to Drogheda by the Board and in December John Hickey was appointed usher, the Rector of Drogheda and the Chancellor of the diocese to report on his fitness. Bernard Doyle, who ran the school in the interval between Scott and Morris, was ordered to be paid. Dr Morris was to remain in charge of the school until 1694 when he was succeeded by Rev. Dr Ellis Walker.

Galway Grammar School

As described above, the first attempt to establish a school in Galway had not been successful. Now, on 14 December 1678 Elisha Coles' appointment to Galway by Erasmus Smith was approved by the Governors; his expenses from London were to be paid. Erasmus described him, in his letter to the Governors brought by Coles himself, as 'worthy of your encouragement which his dictionary will testify which hath the probation of the judges here and most of the learned schoolmasters here'. Coles had published two dictionaries: *An English Dictionary explaining difficult terms that are used in divinity, husbandry, physic, law, navigation, mathematics, and other arts and sciences* in 1676 and a Latin-English one in 1677. He also wrote a pioneering book on shorthand. He was teaching at Merchants Taylors' School when he was appointed to Galway. At this time the Governors were considering whether to build a school outside the town or buy a house in the town. The following May a house was rented from Patrick Smith for three years; it was reported to have room for the master, usher and the boys, and to be satisfactory to the master.

However, that same report of the sub-committee, written on 14 January 1680, said that Mr Coles was dead: 'it hath pleased God lately to remove the late master Elisha Coles by death.' In a letter to Erasmus Smith the Governors praised him and recommended McArthur Brenan, a Trinity College graduate, to succeed him. They enclosed letters from the Mayor, Aldermen and 'persons of quality near adjacent whose children profited more in that school', asking for a speedy appointment of a new master. In his reply on 4 June 1681, Erasmus Smith named John Carre as master if he was approved by the Governors; if not, McArthur Brenan was to be appointed. Significantly, the Governors did not accept Carre; Provost Narcissus Marsh rejected him because of 'his unskilfulness in the Hebrew language which the Charter requires'. On 7 July Brenan was appointed. At the same time, Coles' widow was paid arrears of salary and 'one Nolan', appointed to supply Galway by Lord Chief Justice Keating during the vacancy, was to be paid £10. On 3 November 1681 the new master was instructed not to refuse Erasmus

Smith's tenants' children so long as they conformed to the rules. A letter to Erasmus Smith reported 80 scholars so there was a need for an usher, the previous one having run away 'for some vile practices among the boys'. They recommended John Creary, a Trinity College graduate, who was schoolmaster at Finglas, to whom they granted £10 to cover the expenses of his move. He acted as master the following year when McArthur Brenan died.

At their meeting on 26 January 1682, the Governors discussed the need for a proper schoolhouse; the Mayor of Galway and the Archbishop of Tuam were asked to report on a suitable site. At the end of that year the Governors were considering building on the site of the old abbey or within the town. At the end of 1682 Fielding Shaw, born in England but a graduate of Trinity College Dublin, was appointed master, subject to the Provost's approval. At a meeting of the sub-committee on 10 January 1683, Provost Narcissus Marsh's judgement on Shaw was entered in the minutes. He found Shaw sufficiently well grounded in Latin, Greek and Hebrew to teach these languages. He was 'likewise well grounded in the heathen mythology, in rhetoric and in poetry; and [had] a competent knowledge of the method of teaching young lads. Wherein I doubt not but he will quickly improve'. The Provost evidently considered this recommendation too detailed or too enthusiastic because it is crossed out and a more impersonal one inserted in its place. The Galway school finally got permanent premises in 1684 when £380 was paid to Sir Robert Ward for a house. Shaw remained master until 1700 when he was appointed Rector of Galway. At that time he was given a gratuity of £100 in recognition of his care for the school during the Williamite War.

Tipperary Grammar School

In 1676 James Wood received three years' salary as schoolmaster in Tipperary but it is difficult to know to what extent a school functioned during this time. On 14 December 1678 Erasmus Smith was asked to appoint a master for Tipperary and the following month, at their meeting on 22 January 1679, the sub-committee decided that the old abbey in Tipperary should be demolished and the materials used to build the school. When John Shaw, schoolmaster in Dublin, was appointed on 26 February 1681, it was noted that the building would be finished in September. At their meeting on 19 April 1681 the Board authorised their agent to spend £300 on the school; in fact £413 was eventually spent. In the earliest account book, when Treasurer George Browne's accounts were audited, an item of £9 was allowed to Joseph Damer from his rent to the Governors for land in Tipperary because of 'a house, schoole, orchard, gardens, yards taken from his land'.

Following an inquiry by the Provost if Shaw had conformed to the rules and subscribed to the Church of Ireland canons, on 4 June Shaw's appointment was approved by the Governors. At their meeting in the following January they were told that there were 70 scholars and so there was a need for an usher; they authorised £3-12-0 to be spent on a dictionary and a lexicon for the school. The Tipperary school buildings suffered severely during the Williamite War; on 27 July 1693 the school and the master's house were reported burnt in the war. Rebuilding was slow. It was not until 27 July 1699 that there is any mention of it, when Damer was ordered to have timber ready for rebuilding the master's house. On 13 January 1701 Damer was asked to report on the building of the master's house and was authorised to spend up to £400 on it. In 1703 Robert Morgan, recommended by the Archbishop of Cashel, was appointed as master and £20 was to be paid to fit up the house for scholars. The school resumed but there is no evidence as to the number of pupils at this time. On 3 February 1708 payment to Bernard Meccan, usher since May 1707, was ordered so numbers probably exceeded 40. On 24 June 1709 £50 was paid to Tipperary Church to build a gallery for the school pupils and to repair the bridge and causeway to the school.

Anglican Control Established

In the period following the Protestant victory in the Williamite War, the Irish parliament passed a series of laws known as the Penal Laws whose aim was to restrict the rights of Roman Catholics and Dissenters in almost all aspects of their lives, although the practice of their religion was not outlawed. Several of these laws affected education. In 1695 Roman Catholics were forbidden to teach; parents could not send their sons abroad to be educated. There was no university education open to them in Ireland. Although these laws were never fully enforced, they indicated the thinking of the governing classes. Since the Board of the Trust was drawn exclusively from the higher echelons of the ruling class, it is not surprising that they shared these sentiments. At their meeting on 12 July 1712, the Governors drew up new rules 'to prevent youths educated in the Free Schools founded by Erasmus Smith from turning or continuing Papists, to be duly observed in the said schools':

1. Prayers to be read morning and evening out of the Liturgy by law established, every youth to attend.
2. Every youth to be instructed in the Church Catechism and examined publicly upon it in Church.
3. All scholars to attend public services in the Parish Church every Sunday.
4. Every scholar to be confirmed when sufficiently instructed.

The changes seem to have been felt most keenly in Galway. At their meeting on 1 December 1714 the Governors considered a report from John Price, master there, that the new rules resulted in the expulsion of 85 Roman Catholics, 70 of whom paid for tuition. He asked to be allowed to educate Roman Catholics he was sure would not become priests. This was refused but the next year, on 6 April a decision was made to spend £124 on the school to improve 'the reputation of the said school and increase the number of scholars by encouraging Protestants in remote parts of that country to send their children to be educated in the said school'. However, numbers never really recovered. After the death of John Price in 1729, the new master at Galway, Rev. John Garnett, found only 16 boys at the school. There seems to have been a relaxation of the rules because the Archbishop of Tuam was asked to give directions to Garnett on the admission of 'children of Popish parents' and within three months the number of pupils had risen to 40.

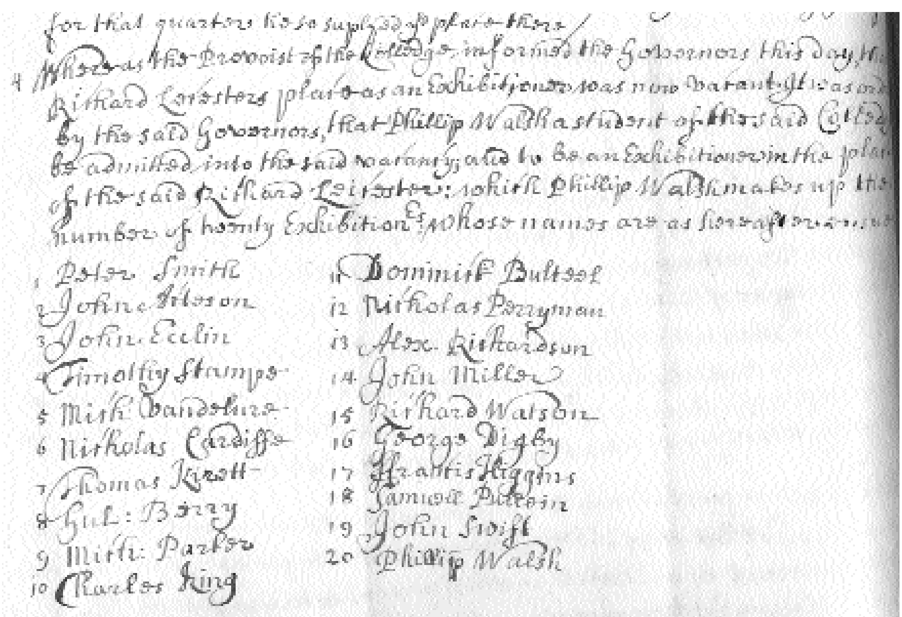
The new rules of 1712 represented more than an attempt to restrict the access of Roman Catholics to education. They also represent the final victory of the Established Church in controlling the Trust. Erasmus Smith was a Puritan and his first Indenture in 1657 prescribed the catechism of the Assembly of Divines for his schools. This was the catechism of the Presbyterians whose ministers featured prominently among the first Trustees. After the Restoration of Charles II, the Church of Ireland was re-established and this catechism was unacceptable. Bishops replaced the Puritan divines among the Trustees; schoolmasters were required to subscribe to the first two canons of the Established Church. The 1666 Transmitted Bill made no mention of any catechism but the Charter ordered that Archbishop Ussher's catechism was to be used in the schools. This was more rigorously Protestant than the church catechism laid down for use in 1712. Erasmus Smith's early appointments as schoolmasters ran into opposition because they were not acceptable to the Church of Ireland. Now under the leadership of such strong defenders of the position of the Established Church as Archbishops William King of Dublin and Richard Vesey of Tuam, the Governors made the Trust conform. In fact, in the early years of the 18th century, the Board was dominated by Tories whose principal policy was the exclusion of Dissenters from political life in Ireland. These included Samuel Dopping, the Treasurer, son of a Bishop of Meath, MP for Armagh from 1695 to 1714 and for Trinity College from 1715 until his death in 1720. Another influential Tory on the Board was Marmaduke Coghill, also MP for Armagh and Trinity, a specialist in ecclesiastical law, Judge of the Prerogative Court and Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1735 to 1739.[10] He succeeded Dopping as Treasurer in 1719.

Trinity College Dublin

The Charter had made provision for payment of a lecturer in Hebrew in Trinity College Dublin and for establishing exhibitions for poor students. The lecturer seems to have been paid from 1674 since William Palliser received two and a half years' salary in November 1677.[11] He continued to be paid to 1682 when he was succeeded by Richard Acton. On 19 April 1681 the Provost was asked to join the sub-committee to plan a scheme for the exhibitions. On 4 June he presented a list of 20 names of exhibitioners which was approved by the Board. These lists continued to be recorded in succeeding years. The list presented on 2 November 1686 included Jonathan Swift who was later to play an active part in the Trust as a Governor when he was Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral. (He was elected a Governor on 3 September 1719.) Many of the students on the lists went on to be ordained in the Church of Ireland. The first step towards providing help for boys seeking apprenticeships was taken on 4 June 1681 when the sub-committee were instructed to draw up a plan for that purpose.

Joseph Damer and the Administration of the Estates

The period of the war between James II and William of Orange interrupted the work of organising the affairs of the Trust. No rents were collected during that period. John Nicholas was appointed Treasurer on 7 November 1688 and re-elected in 1691 when it was noted that he had received no revenue


for that quarter ...
4 Whereas the Provost of the Colledge informed the Governors this day th[at]
Richard Leicester's place as an Exhibitioner was now vacant, It was or[dered]
by the said Governors, that Phillip Walsh a student of the said Colledge
be admitted into the said vacancy, and to be an Exhibitioner in the place
of the said Richard Leicester: which Phillip Walsh makes up the
number of twenty Exhibitioners, whose names are as hereafter mentioned

1 Peter Smith	11 Dominick Bulteel
2 John Ililson	12 Nicholas Perryman
3 John Echlin	13 Alex. Richardson
4 Timothy Stampe	14 John Miller
5 Mich. Vandelure	15 Richard Watson
6 Nicholas Cardiffe	16 George Digby
7 Thomas Knott	17 Francis Higgins
8 Gul: Berry	18 Samuel Putroin
9 Mich: Parker	19 John Swift
10 Charles King	20 Phillip Walsh

List of exhibitioners in Trinity College presented to the Board on 20 January 1687. It includes the name of Jonathan Swift.

'because of the troubles that hath been continued ever since'. The schoolmasters were not paid for three and a half years and other payments were suspended for longer; only Fielding Shaw in Galway is recorded as protesting against this. The Board did not meet from 1688 until 1691 by which time 10 members were reported dead, including Sir Joshua Allen and Enoch Reader. At first the Governors tried to enforce payment of arrears of rent but by 1697 most tenants had received abatements for the war years. The long struggle to secure the arrears from Coote and Warburton resumed with limited success. Their lease was due to run out in 1699 which strengthened the Governors' position. On 6 April 1699 Warburton secured a lease of the joint holding for 21 years at a rent of £370. He paid off almost £500 and his son Richard gave a bond for a further £1,000.

The appointment of William King as Archbishop of Dublin in 1704 began a new phase in the administration of the Trust. He was a man of great ability and energy and soon realised that the Trust needed to be more thorough in its control of the administration. Some arrears had been collected as the original leases expired and a condition of renewal was the clearing of at least some of the money owed, but much remained to be done. Most of the Archbishop's reservations seem to have been directed towards the work of the longest-serving employee of the Trust, Joseph Damer, who had become a law unto himself. For five years relations were merely strained but in 1709 the disputes came to a head and Damer was dismissed.

Joseph Damer had been the agent between 1670 and 1709 (previous agents were Robert Clarke and Capt. Samuel Gibson) and he played a large, if controversial, part in the early years of the Trust. He was also Erasmus Smith's agent in Ireland and was close to him. In his will, Erasmus Smith described him as one 'whom I have found faithful in his management of my Irish concerns'. In his submission to the Court of Chancery on 11 April 1711, Damer enlarged on the history of his role . In 1662/63 the Court of Claims had left the Trust deficient by many hundreds of acres. In 1667 he, as agent for Erasmus Smith, at the Court of Claims, 'did find out the lands of Sallaghhood begg and several parcels of abbey lands and obtained a patent to be past to the trustees with a saving therein to the Duke of Ormond and James Walter who were in possession of them as their estate in the year 1641'. He went to England in July and August 1669 and found on his return that the trustees had done nothing to secure the land, although they had paid quit rent. The Governors then employed him as agent to recover these lands and others and he instituted suits of ejectment by which he recovered many hundreds of acres, in the process 'riding some thousands of miles and laying out

several hundred pounds of his own money'. The State Papers record him as signing a petition for the Trustees against an appeal by Dr George Gorges, agent of the Duke of York. In 1672 the Trust gave him a lease of the recovered lands at £59-10-0 per year. He claimed to have suffered heavy losses in the Williamite Wars and to have lost documents in Cashel and Dublin while he was absent in England during that war.

The Governors' attitude to Damer had been growing more and more suspicious since before the Williamite Wars but successive attempts to get him to clear his accounts seem to have petered out. Adding to their dissatisfaction was the fact that Damer was also the agent of Christ's Hospital in Ireland and tended to favour the hospital in the dispute with them. His relationship with the hospital was not always without trouble either; a letter from Hawes to William Strong on 27 August 1684 criticised Damer for his conduct and says that over payments Damer wanted 'some boon (not to say bribe) from us'.[12] By the beginning of the new century a combination of factors, as well as the arrival of Archbishop King, made his position with the Trust more insecure. Many of the original leases were coming to an end and each case was being reviewed, often highlighting large arrears. A new Treasurer, Dr John Hall, and a new Registrar, John Dexter, were more thorough in their administration. The last problems arising from the war, notably in relation to payments to Trinity College, were being sorted out. The Governors reviewed their dealings with him in 1705 when they ordered a bill to be stated against him. Damer produced an account but no vouchers for payments made. On 13 February 1708 he was once more ordered to make up his account and to see that a survey of the lands leased by Sir William King was carried out; he had already been instructed to do this in 1700. On 24 June 1709 the Governors decided to dismiss Damer, thus beginning an acrimonious dispute which lasted for several years. The submissions made by both parties cast a fascinating light on the workings of the Trust in its first 50 years.

In 1710 the Governors, in their first submission to the Lord Chancellor, gave a detailed statement of the rents due under the leases and claimed that Damer owed the Trust £23,097-5-0 in rents received but not paid to the Trust going back to 1683. They also claimed that he owed arrears of rent for the land he rented from the Trust. They charged Damer with refusing to provide accounts or to attend the meetings of the Board when requested and accused him of keeping all original documents. These documents included a survey of the lands in Connaught which Erasmus Smith gave 'for pious uses in or about 1655' and the account book of the first agent John Price, from 1655 to

1673. Their statement claimed that there was no record of Damer's having made up his account with the Treasurer, Alderman John Smith, from 1673 to 1683. They denied his claim to have a lease for lands in Tipperary from 1672 at £59-10-0. They were appealing to the Court of Chancery because so many witnesses were dead or dispersed that it was impossible to take a case in Common Law.

Damer presented a lengthy account of his stewardship in two submissions, one to Dr Henry Ussher for the Governors, and a second to the Court. In the first, dated 11 April 1711, he said that he was not appointed in 1670 to receive all rents but to receive and pay some sums for which he rendered an account to the Treasurer whose duty it was to control the accounts of the Trust. He did not receive all rents but only at the request of the Treasurer and he accounted for them all. He claimed that he should not be charged with rents which he had not received and presented a claim for £209-18-9½ due to him from the Trust. In the second, dated 10 May 1711, he repeated his definition of his limited role in the Trust's affairs and gave a detailed account of receipts and payments. He presented accounts for all the years since 1683 which showed that he had overpaid in his returns to the Governors. He had paid £782 on 7 July 1710 at the Archbishop's house but he now felt that this was too much.

A detailed analysis of these accounts, apparently by Dexter, survives and it was the basis of the next submission by the Governors which showed that Damer owed them a more realistic £1,658-1-6½, including rent for Soloheadbeg from May 1703 when his lease expired, to 1711. This land had been let to Edward Croker in 1710 but Damer kept possession to 1711. The case was to be heard in the Court of Chancery on 20 November 1712 but no record survives of the result. Damer certainly established that he had a lease for the Soloheadbeg land; in 1713 he paid £50-13-4 for the outstanding amount due on it.

The Quarrel with Christ's Hospital Renewed

Christ's Hospital had continued trying to persuade the Governors to agree to pay the extra endowment promised by Erasmus Smith from the Trust lands, although they were even having difficulty in getting the £100 per year promised in the Charter. They seem to have abandoned any idea of using government influence to force the Governors to pay, relying instead on the persuasive powers of Damer and various other agents. Damer reported on 31 May 1694 that Ireland was still showing the effects of the war. Within 30 miles of Dublin, the land was well planted and rents were paid but beyond

that much was laid waste, including the lands of the Trust. Many houses had been destroyed in Galway. It was difficult to collect rents but 'I think the governors here do not take the care they should in the management of that estate, they should make the tenants to pay their rents or make them surrender their leases or make them void by law'. Any money the Governors had was needed to pay arrears of salaries and to rebuild Tipperary Grammar School.[13] In 1696 Damer was given powers of attorney by the hospital, including power to collect rents and to bring any legal actions necessary. At the end of 1696 he wrote that he had met the Governors who promised to send £120 but they had no ready money. Damer sent the money from his own funds. He reported that the Lord Chancellor was dead: 'he sat that day in court and dined and within less than half an hour after was dead.'[14] By the beginnng of the year 1700, the Governors had cleared most of the debt arising from the annuity, although the hospital had been forced to forgo £350 for the years of the war. Damer wrote of his discontent with the hospital. He had served them for 30 years but had 'not received the value of a pair of gloves'. Nevertheless, he continued as their agent because 'it was the desire of the founder that I would take care that the money due to your governors may be returned to the hospital'.[15] The following year the governors of the hospital presented him with a piece of plate in recognition of his services.

By this time there was a considerable surplus of funds building up as leases fell in and rents rose, which led the Governors to devise a scheme for its use. The principal mover in this seems to have been Erasmus Smith's son, Samuel, who, with his brother Hugh, became a Governor in 1709. Their proposals had an echo of their father's interest in a mathematical school but this time it was to be in Dublin. They proposed to give the scheme statutory authority, no doubt to guard against the claims by Christ's Hospital to a share in the surplus revenue arising from Erasmus Smith's gift of 1680. The terms of the proposed bill received the approval of the Governors at a meeting on 24 June 1709. The petition to Parliament 'humbly prays that the surplus rents of the said estates may be appropriated for the support of a mathematical school in the City of Dublin for instructing the tenants' children of the estates, the scholars educated at the schools aforesaid [the Grammar Schools], the poor boys in the City of Dublin as shall resort to said mathematical school'. This school was to be in or adjoining the Blue Coat School and was to be built at a cost of £500. There were in addition to be three public professors in Trinity College, of anatomy, chemistry and Hebrew, each to be paid £50 per year. Samuel Smith was to appoint the first three professors. £20 per year was to be added to the salary of the Professor of Divinity in return for twice weekly

lectures to be given by him. £2,000 was to be granted from Trust funds to build a Divinity school, an anatomical lecture theatre and a chemistry laboratory in Trinity College. A building was also to be erected in the college to provide lodging for the Erasmus Smith exhibitioners, to be called Smith Buildings. The residue of income was to be used to support boys in the Blue Coat School and for apprenticing boys. These boys were to be chosen by Samuel Smith and were to wear a distinguishing badge and be called Smith's Boys.

This ambitious scheme ran into immediate opposition from Christ's Hospital. The minutes of the governors of the hospital for 5 August 1709 record a discussion of a letter from Damer telling them of the bill to be introduced to use the whole remaining surplus revenue in Ireland. Immediately following the receipt of the letter, the Treasurer of the hospital had gone to Windsor with a petition to the Queen which had successfully stopped the passing of the bill. They decided to take all necessary legal action to assert their claim.[16] Damer wrote to the Treasurer, Sir Frederick Lockington, on 20 September 1709 giving further details of the proposed bill. He sent £200 from money in hand from the Trust without the Governors' sanction. He no longer cared what the Governors did as 'I understand that I am to be dismissed by the Governors here from being their agent for my being so much concerned for your hospital. When I am discharged as their agent, I doubt their loss will be greater than mine.'[17] No evidence survives to explain why Samuel Smith should have gone against his father's wishes in the disposing of the surplus revenue. He was also a governor of Christ's Hospital.

On 9 March 1711 the Governors received a report from the Provost, Dr Hall, who was in London, that the hospital were preparing a rival bill for Parliament to settle the surplus. Both sides took legal advice and the arguments of 40 years earlier were rehearsed again, although both sides seem to have been anxious not to waste the revenues on costly legal actions. Archbishop King undertook the negotiations. On 13 April 1716 the Governors gave authority to the Archbishop who was going to England to act for them in the case. King's letters to the Treasurer survive in the Trust's archive. On 29 November the Archbishop wrote from London to Samuel Dopping, the Treasurer; he reported that he had met Sir Richard Hoare and the Secretary of Christ's Hospital and outlined the arguments he used against them. He threatened to reduce the revenues so that there would be no surplus. He argued that Erasmus Smith had no power to decide the uses of the land as he was only a trustee of the lands given for charitable purposes by the government and settled in the Transmitted Bill: 'The truth is the Parliament of

Ireland considered themselves as donors.' The Charter was only to secure the lands in perpetuity and therefore ought not to have meddled with limiting the uses otherwise than in the Transmitted Bill. He refused to provide any accounts, saying that it was 'not easy to get a quorum of them [the Governors] they consisting of the greatest men and the most busy in Ireland'. These were ingenious arguments but were not historically sound. The Christ's Hospital case was as Sawyer and Guilford stated it 40 years earlier. The Archbishop judged that Christ's Hospital were inclined to accept a settlement and offered £2000. Dopping replied to the Archbishop on 13 December; the Governors had considered the Archbishop's letters and papers and, while they continued to deny Christ's Hospital claims, they would agree to any terms drawn up by the Archbishop provided they were part of an act of Parliament.

The Archbishop was using the arguments put forward by Sir John Temple in the earlier phase of the dispute; these laid more emphasis on the Transmitted Bill than the Charter because the Charter was clear in granting power to Erasmus Smith to decide on the use of part of the surplus revenue. The Archbishop was going much further, however, in claiming that the Parliament of Ireland were the donors. Not surprisingly, the Governors were uneasy with Archbishop King's interpretation of the origins of the Trust which was both inaccurate and risky. To make matters worse, important documents could not be found. On 20 December Dopping wrote again to the Archbishop; no copy of the Transmitted Bill could be found so the Governors' case was in difficulty, but 'want of the Transmitted Bill had this good effect that it soon brought the board to a resolution to loose your Grace's hands and to entreat you to come to an agreement with the Governors of Christ's Hospital'.

The Archbishop's next letter, on 22 January 1717, said that the Transmitted Bill could not be found in England either. He had had a meeting with the Secretary of Christ's Hospital; they were asking £3,400 as a final payment and were ready to settle. Dopping's next letter to the Archbishop, on 2 February, said that a copy of the Transmitted Bill had been found and it confirmed Sir John Temple's interpretation. The Archbishop reported further conversations with the representatives of Christ's Hospital in his next letter, on 12 February: they too had been doing their research, having discovered that the Governors had admitted to a surplus in 1679 and had offered to pay £50 from that. Calculating from that, Christ's Hospital were now demanding £3,300, a figure which the Archbishop disputed.

When he wrote next, on 12 March, the Archbishop was about to leave for Bath. He left affairs in the hands of Francis Annesley whom he highly rec-

ommended. Annesley was a barrister and a member of both the Irish and English parliaments. In fact, the Archbishop continued to negotiate. On 20 May he wrote to Dopping from Bath to say that Sir Richard Hoare and some other Christ's Hospital governors were in Bath and he had been working to convince them but they wanted more money. On the back of the letter are figures: Christ's Hospital £3,300 arrears + £1800 in futures (i.e. compensation for future payments) = £5,100; Governors £2,200 arrears + £1,200 purchase out = £3,400. These suggest a large gap between the parties but subsequent events show that they were simply negotiating ploys, because on 8 July 1717 the Christ's Hospital committee decided to make an agreement.

Settlement with Christ's Hospital

On 8 November Francis Annesley was given power of attorney to act for the Governors in place of the Archbishop. During the following year final agreement was reached and steps were taken to secure an act of Parliament to give statutory authority to it. The Governors gave their formal agreement on 15 December 1718 and two days later an Indenture was signed with Christ's Hospital. By this the Governors agreed to pay £3,000 to Christ's Hospital in three instalments, beginning on the day the Act of Parliament was passed; Christ's Hospital agreed that there would be no further demands for the moiety of the surplus rent, or any other claims except the £100 per year granted in the Charter. The Trust agreed to pay all legal costs involved. The Bill to ratify these terms went through Parliament in 1719; the Registrar, John Dexter, was sent to London to look after the interests of the Trust. The final £1,000 was paid on 29 September 1720.

By the end of these first 50 years, the Trust was now firmly established, with most of its disputes settled and its administration working well. The latter part of the period brought an increase in rents as peace returned after the storms of the 17th century. Paying off the claims of Christ's Hospital was not an unduly heavy burden and the surplus continued to grow. Later generations were to criticise the Governors for 'neglect' of the Grammar schools, a criticism which seems fair to a modern observer. Yet, the 18th century saw it differently. The Governors fulfilled their obligations to the schools as laid down in the Charter, generously when occasion called, as in the provision of new buildings. Beyond that, they seemed to regard the success or failure of the schools as the responsibility of the masters they appointed. In this they may have reflected the prevailing view; when students registered in Trinity College they were recorded as educated by an individual teacher, not by a school. Another factor, which is still a familiar pattern in Irish life, was that

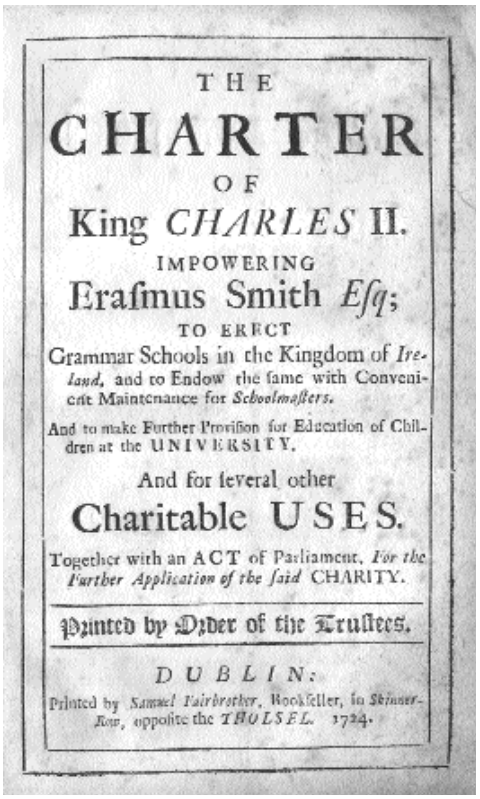
the Governors were all in Dublin, while the schools were in the provinces; only the bishops had some local concerns and even they spent most of their time in Dublin. In these circumstances, it is not really surprising that institutions in the capital, like Trinity College and the Blue Coat School, received more favourable treatment. In addition the Provosts were active members of the Board during all of the 18th century. The Treasurers were very influential figures and their individual interests also played a part in deciding the directions in which the Trust's activities developed. All of them were reasonably careful to keep within the terms of the foundation documents, even securing a new act of Parliament in 1723 to make this doubly sure.

CHAPTER III

The Eighteenth Century: New Directions for the Trust

The long period of peace after the Williamite War resulted in growing prosperity in Ireland. Landowners benefited greatly from the increases in rents which this brought and the Trust, as an extensive landowner, saw its income increase also. By the middle of the century there was a surplus of over £7,000 in cash and investments. How the growing revenue and accumulating surplus was to be used occupied the business of Board meetings during most of the century. It was almost always spent within the terms of the foundation documents but the influence of successive Treasurers, several of whom were the Provosts of Trinity College, can be discerned. Only once, when Provost Hely Hutchinson was giving even greater largesse to the College than was usual, did the rest of the Governors rebel and part of his scheme was refused after a stormy meeting. Much of the policy which governed the decisions of the Board during the 18th century was decided in the immediate aftermath of the settlement with Christ's Hospital and was embodied in an Act of Parliament. Parliamentary sanction was deemed necessary, in part because the agreement with Christ's Hospital left part of the surplus not allocated to any specific purpose under the Charter.

The settlement with Christ's Hospital coincided with the settlement of his arrears by one of the principal tenants, Richard King. The King family had been tenants of Kilduffe in Co. Limerick since 30 March 1672 when Richard King signed a lease for 31 years, promising to pay £206-5-0 per year (payable at Strongbow's tomb in Christ Church Cathedral). A new lease for 21 years was signed by Sir William King, Richard's brother, in 1702 at a rent of £450 per year. During all that time there had been large arrears of rent, with continuous disputes and threats of lawsuits. In September 1721, as his lease came towards the end, King settled to pay £800 arrears, accepting the decision of the Archbishop of Dublin which cancelled a further £1,030 arrears and avoided a lawsuit. The combination of these two factors, together with the rise in rents as leases were renewed, made the Trust's financial situation very favourable. On 1 April 1721 a sub-committee of the Board was appointed to 'consider of the disposal of the surplus growing rents and the money now


THE
CHARTER
OF
King *CHARLES* II.
IMPOWERING
Erasmus Smith *Esq*;
TO ERECT
Grammar Schools in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to Endow the same with Convenient Maintenance for *Schoolmasters*.
And to make Further Provision for Education of Children at the UNIVERSITY.
And for several other
Charitable USES.
Together with an ACT of Parliament, *For the Further Application of the said* CHARITY.
Printed by Order of the Trustees.
DUBLIN:
Printed by *Samuel Fairbrother*, Bookseller, in *Skinner-Row*, opposite the *THOLSEL*. 1724.

The earliest copy of the Charter to survive. It was printed following the Act of Parliament of 1723.

in the Bank'. The committee was made up of Archbishop King, Lord Charlemont, Marmaduke Coghill, Provost Baldwin of Trinity College and Dean Jonathan Swift.[1] They met at the Palace of St Sepulchre and included the Archbishop of Tuam, Rev. Dr Claudius Gilbert (Regius Professor of Divinity at Trinity College) and Henry Singleton, Recorder of Drogheda, at times. On 24 May this sub-committee reported that the annual rent roll was £1,255-17-0 and the expenses of the Trust came to £769-19-8, leaving an annual surplus of £769-17-3. They recommended that £85-17-3 be set aside each year for emergencies and any remaining money should be put to 'such uses as they shall think most proper for the public good and the benefit of the Trust pursuant to the Charter and the Transmitted Bill'. They went on:

> Your committee have considered the said Bill and Charter; finding some differences betwixt the Charter and the Bill are of opinion that the Bill is what the Governors are to be directed by, especially since the agreement made with Christ's Hospital, London, by which the moiety of the surplus rents which that Hospital pretended a right to are now vested in the Governors for the disposal whereof there is no direction given by the Charter. By the Transmitted Bill three quarters of the surplus rents are to be directed and employed in Pensions or Exhibitions to such poor scholars as shall be educated at the schools founded by said Erasmus Smith and shall become students at the University of Dublin, not exceeding £8 p.a. a piece and for want of such poor scholars to other poor scholars at the same University.

They recommended that pensions of existing scholars be increased by £2 p.a. to bring them to £8. They also proposed that 15 new exhibitions at £6 p.a. be awarded.

Apprentices

On 22 June 1721 a second report of the sub-committee showed an existing cash surplus of £1,200. They proposed that £300 be spent on apprenticing suitable boys, as this purpose was in both the Transmitted Bill and the Charter. The schoolmasters of the Grammar schools were to be asked to send up lists of suitable boys each Whitsuntide. Masters of apprentices were to be vouched for by the minister and churchwardens of their parishes as suitable and Church of Ireland masters had to teach the church catechism to the apprentices and send them to church. On 16 February 1723 the sons of six tenants of Mr Smith's lands in Tipperary were apprenticed. Full lists of these boys and the masters to whom they were apprenticed survive in the minutes of the sub-committee. They include Andrew King apprenticed to James Read, cutler, of Dublin in 1722 and Alex Douglas apprenticed to John Pope, tanner, of Gurtdrum, Tipperary in 1723. When Timothy Mahoney of Tipperary School refused to be apprenticed to Mark Bayly of Tipperary, shoemaker, and would not be bound to anyone except a 'Popish smith', his apprenticeship was discharged. By May 1725, 59 names were approved for apprenticeships at a total cost of £298.

The Blue Coat School

The third report of this sub-committee put forward the most ambitious part of the new plans, involving both the Blue Coat Hospital and Trinity College. The sub-committee decided that the most efficient method of discharging their responsibility for apprenticing boys was to join with the Blue Coat Hospital. This was a watered-down version of the earlier plan. There was to be no mathematical school but the Erasmus Smith Trust would support boys at the school and pay their apprenticeship fees. When the report was submitted to the Governors on 19 July 1723, the scheme was already agreed with the Governors of the Blue Coat School, the sub-committee having held meetings with those governors at which terms were worked out. £100 (the remaining quarter) of the surplus was to be used to maintain and educate poor boys, 'children of the tenants of Erasmus Smith, or if none such are to be had, of such other boys as the Governors shall think fit' in the Blue Coat Hospital. The members of the sub-committee had met the Governors of the hospital several times. 'Your committee are of the opinion the boys in this hospital will be taught to read and write English, cast Accounts and be duly qualified to be put out apprentices to substantial trades, with the appropriate fee, allowed by the Bill and Charter, which your committee are of opinion can't be expected in the Grammar Schools.' The architect, Thomas

Burgh, was to be commissioned to design an 'infirmary', i.e., dormitories, for the Blue Coat Hospital for 40 boys. £300 was to be spent on this and another £50 was set aside for bedding for the boys. The Governors were to have the right to nominate up to 20 boys for admission to the hospital. They were to pay £5 per year for a schoolmaster and were to pay the same rate as other boys paid for their boys to learn mathematics.

Trinity College Dublin

The plans for Trinity College were even more ambitious. The sub-committee had consulted with the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College and recommended that two public lecturers be established, one in History and one in Natural and Experimental Philosophy. The lecturers were to be chosen from the Erasmus Smith exhibitioners if qualified, or from others if not, after examination by the Provost and Fellows. Erasmus Smith exhibitioners were to be taught free by these lecturers who were to deliver four public lectures each year, two of which were to be published. The salary was to be £35 per year. In addition, there were to be three new Fellows, each to be paid £33-6-8 per year, 'the better to instruct and take care of those who are or shall be sent to the said College for Education', as the act put it later. Part of the money in hand (now £1,100 + £1,200 mentioned in earlier reports of the sub-committee) was to be given to Trinity College for a building to house the exhibitioners who would not have to pay chamber rent. There were to be 20 exhibitions at £8 per year each and 15 at £6 per year.

The report also made provision for the future when rents would increase so the Governors were advised that they should make sure that clauses were inserted in the proposed Act of Parliament to give them power to dispose of this: (1) for public use in the College; (2) by adding to the number of boys in the Blue Coat Hospital; (3) by setting up English Schools 'with regard had to the proportions allowed to each according to the Transmitted Bill'.

The 1723 Act of Parliament

The Board at that meeting on 19 July 1723 accepted all the recommendations of the sub-committee and orders were given to Counsel to draft a Bill. By September copies of the Bill had been sent to Trinity College and to the Blue Coat Hospital, so on 17 October John Dexter, the Registrar, was sent to London to lay the Bill before the Council and to inform Christ's Hospital. On 9 January 1724 the Bill returned from London to be submitted to the Irish Parliament, the Archbishop of Tuam and Lord Charlemont being asked to secure the Lord Chancellor's support. By April the Bill had been passed as

An Act for further application of the Rents and Profits of the lands and tenements formerly given by Erasmus Smith, Esq., Deceased, to Charitable uses. It received the Royal assent on 10 December 1723.

Grants to Trinity College

Before that, on 22 May the Earl of Abercorn, Marmaduke Coghill, Dr James Coghill and Rev. Robert Dougatt were appointed to meet the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College to discuss the buildings to be erected. They reported that 16 chambers were to be built on the north side of the new quadrangle for £942-2-9. At the same time Lords Abercorn and Charlemont, Dean Jonathan Swift and the Treasurer were elected to be representatives on the Board of the Blue Coat Hospital. The new plans were quickly put into operation. The lecturers were appointed, Rev. Dr Patrick Delany to Oratory and History and Dr Helsham to Natural and Experimental Philosophy. The obligation to publish their lectures was never strictly enforced, although in 1738, £40 was granted to Dr Robinson, the Trinity College printer, for publishing Dr Helsham's lectures in Natural Philosophy on condition that the Governors received 100 copies. In 1726, the Board granted £121-3-0 to build a room for the 'operator' beside the laboratory. The new buildings in Trinity College had an inauspicious beginning; at their meeting on 10 March 1726 the Board learned that one of the new buildings was burnt down and the other badly damaged. The Board granted £480 to the college to rebuild them and an added £100 for another building provided three extra exhibitioners were given free accommodation. While the grants to Trinity College were generous, the provision for the lecturers and fellows was not, the fellows, for example, being paid only half of the salary paid to the schoolmasters.

The Blue Coat School

In choosing boys for the Blue Coat Hospital the Governors were mindful of their obligations to the children of tenants, although the religious restrictions in force very seriously narrowed the field of choice. Mr Smith's agent was asked to recommend suitable boys for the hospital from sons of tenants on the Smith estates and on 24 July 1724 Mr Haywood, the agent, sent a list of eight boys, one from Rath parish, one from Termonfeckin, three from Clonmore and three from Dunleer. They were sent to the Blue Coat but not all of them appreciated their opportunity; at their meeting on 21 November the Governors heard that John Curry and Edward Jones from Clonmore parish and Henry Mead from Dunleer had run away from the hospital. In future the Governors usually made their own recommendations for replace-

ments as places became vacant at the Blue Coat, although there are some references to the agent of the Smith estates being consulted. In 1728 it was decided that three more boys were to be supported there, bringing the number to 12.

Plans for English Schools

The 1723 Act had also given power to the Governors to found English, i.e., primary, schools, taking up the provision in the Transmitted Bill of 1666 for such schools. This was to become the main activity of the Trust in the next century but it made slow progress at this stage, although there was plenty of money available. Another sub-committee reported cash in hand in 1728 as £1,661 and they were asked to advise on the best way of spending £500 of it according to the Charter or Act. They recommended that the money be used to buy land for two schools for teaching English, writing and arithmetic 'in some remote parts of this kingdom pursuant to the late Act of Parliament'. The Registrar was instructed to write to the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishops of Elphin, Clonfert and Killala for suggestions as to suitable places. Letters from the bishops were received, with one concrete proposal: the Archbishop of Tuam recommended Ballinasloe where Mr Trench was prepared to sell land for a site for a school. No further action was taken on this scheme, for reasons which are not now apparent, and it was to be over 50 years before the first English school was founded. To some extent this is surprising as the most active governors during this period were clergy. The Primate, Hugh Boulter, took a leading role and meetings were usually held at his house but the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, Cloyne, Derry and Elphin, as well as the Archbishop of Cashel, were regular attenders at meetings of the Board. Archbishop Boulter became Treasurer in 1739. In April 1734 Thomas Prior, one of the principal founders of the (Royal) Dublin Society, was appointed a Governor.

The Grammar Schools

The Grammar schools continue to feature in the business of the Board all during this period but mainly in connection with routine maintenance of the buildings and the appointment, and occasionally the dismissal, of ushers or masters. On 9 August 1710 the Board heard a report from Lord Chief Justice Broderick that William Blake, the usher at Drogheda, had questioned King William's right to the throne and had been convicted by a jury. He was ordered to be dismissed. In 1724 there are rare details from one of the schools when a list of names of boys at Drogheda was entered in the Board Register:

one had gone to the army; three had gone or were going to Trinity College; 12 had left to be apprentices; six had gone to learn mathematics. In all, there were 40 boys at the school; one boy, Hugh Chambers, aged 14, whose father, a glazier, was dead was received 'for charity'. In 1734 the master of Galway, Rev. John Garnett, applied for permission to exchange places with the master of Tipperary as the doctors advised that the sea air did not agree with his health. He reported 62 boys in his school at Galway. The Governors agreed to his request but he died at Tipperary two years later. There were 30 boys in the Tipperary school.

The most important improvement in the schools in the first half of the 18th century was the provision of a new building for Drogheda. Rev. Samuel Clarke, recommended by the Primate, was appointed master in 1728 and on 16 May 1629 the Board decided that the master's house should be pulled down and a new one erected. Thomas Burgh, the well-known architect, who was also a Governor, was asked to supervise. The following March the contract was agreed for building the house; it was to have two storeys over a cellar, with garrets in the roof. The accounts for that year show payments of £460 and £55 to Alderman Rencher, builder, and £11-10-0 to Mr Hansard, overseer.[2] In 1733 the new house for the master and boarders was reported complete at a total cost of £881-10-0. It was then decided to build a new house for the usher to cost £403-14-9; the plans had been submitted to Sir Edward Pearce for his comments. By 1741, there were 60 boys at Drogheda. In 1753, the schoolhouse there was reported to be in poor condition; it was ordered to be rebuilt and enlarged under the supervision of Henry Darly, architect, of Dublin. In both Tipperary and Drogheda, the Governors made grants to build galleries in the parish churches to accommodate the boys from the schools.

Sligo Charter School

The influence of the Treasurer in deciding how money should be spent is very clearly seen in the decision to support a Charter school in Sligo, although the fact that the Trust possessed land there was also a factor. Surplus money had continued to accumulate; in 1746 some of it was invested in 4% government stock. In addition, in 1748 large arrears of rent were paid on threat of evictions, including £685 from a successful legal case against Richard Warburton, whose family had been tenants from 1657 and who were usually in arrears. This was the background to the decision on 2 February 1751 to use some of the surplus to aid a 'Protestant Working School' in Sligo for 60 boys or girls. Owen Wynne, a local landowner, and a tenant of the Trust, would

provide four acres of land. The proposal came from Edward Synge, Bishop of Elphin. The final scheme resulted in £500 being granted on condition (1) the school should be large enough to receive and accommodate 60 pupils; (2) 'children of poor Protestants and Papists to be indifferently admitted'; (3) up to 20 children of tenants to be taken. £200 per year was granted to the Incorporated Society (who ran the Charter schools) and 16 acres of land were provided from the Trust's lands when the leases fell in. In fact, when the school in Sligo was completed in 1753 the annual grant was increased to £250, which continued to be paid until the Charter School was closed in 1833.

The Sligo school was one of the Charter schools most heavily criticised by the Commissioners of Irish Education in their first report in 1825.[3] After its closure the Incorporated Society and Owen Wynne petitioned the Governors for a continuation of the grant. On 14 November 1834 a sub-committee was appointed to consider the matter and, following their report, the school seems to have become an English school with an annual grant of £230. Sligo was the only Charter school supported by the Trust. The Board were not always sympathetic to requests for help. On 5 February 1763 the Archbishop of Tuam was refused a grant of £100 for erecting a diocesan school at Tuam; 'The Board were of the opinion that as there was no instance of money being paid out of their funds to Diocesan Schools they cannot safely comply with His Grace's request, besides it would bring on many applications of this sort from other Dioceses.' In 1785 a similar petition from the Bishop of Limerick for help in starting a diocesan school was refused as not being within the Charter.

Two land transactions of this period suggest that other Governors were prepared to use their influence to their own advantage, although there is no evidence of any dishonesty. These involved the purchase of estates, the first time that the estates had been increased since the foundation of the Trust. By 1762 investments and cash in hand had reached £13,205. In 1765 the Board applied to the Attorney-General for a legal opinion on their power to buy land. The following year they received a favourable opinion from the Attorney-General, so on 26 March 1766 the decison was made to buy the Tighe estate at Kilpatrick, Co. Westmeath, consisting of 360 acres, with 107 unprofitable acres, for £6,900. Nathaniel Clements, a Governor and a former Treasurer, held a mortgage on the land. In 1768 an estate at Ballywilliam, King's Co., was purchased for £500 from Dr Henry Mercier, another Governor.

Further Grants to Trinity College

The Bishop of Elphin died in 1762 and his successor as Treasurer was Francis Andrews, Provost of Trinity College. He was succeeded as Treasurer by Provost Hely Hutchinson in 1774. It is, therefore, no surprise that the college was a large beneficiary from the very favourable position of the funds of the Trust. On 1 November 1762 the Board decided that £425 be paid to the college for Professors of Mathematics, Oriental Tongues (formerly Hebrew), History and Oratory and their assistants. This meant that the annual grant to Trinity was now £940:

3 Fellows @ £33-6-8	£100
20 Exhibitioners @ £8	£160
15 Exhibitioners @ £6	£90
Professor of Mathematics and two assistants	£110
Professor of Oriental Tongues and two assistants	£140
Professor of Oratory and one assistant	£120
Professor of History and one assistant	£120
Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy	£100

When Hely Hutchinson succeeded as Treasurer, the Trust's gifts to Trinity College grew. John Hely Hutchinson was a lawyer, an MP and Secretary of State and was one of the ablest men of his generation. He was autocratic and ambitious with a reputation of never losing an opportunity of enriching himself and his family. His time as Provost in Trinity (1774-92) was stormy. He was apparently prepared to use the resources of the Trust to further his ambitious schemes for the college, so his period as Treasurer saw unusual disagreements at Board meetings. He was elected Treasurer on 9 July 1774 and on 23 July the Board granted £200 per year to Trinity College for premiums for composition in Greek and English and for elocution in Latin and English. The masters of the schools were to be notified so that they could prepare students to be candidates for these premiums. On 10 December £2,500 was granted to Trinity College for building a Public Theatre, now called the Examination Hall. All this was too much for some of the Governors who took a little time to mount their objections. On Monday, 25 March 1776, the meeting was adjourned to Friday 'to take into account several petitions and matters agitated at this Board into consideration'. (Even the syntax seems agitated). At the renewed meeting on Friday 29 March the resolution granting £2,500 to Trinity College was approved, with 16 Governors voting for it and five against. This is the first time a vote is recorded in the minutes. The resolution giving £200 per year for premiums was also approved. However, at a meeting on 3 April the debate was continued. A motion of adjournment was

Map (1786) of the development of the Galway Estate when Hely Hutchinson was Treasurer.

rejected but the minutes took the unusual step of listing each Governor present and their actions. The Archbishop of Dublin was in the chair:

The Primate (Archbishop Robinson) went away before the question was put;

Lord Chief Justice Foster left after the adjournment motion failed;

The Bishop of Killaloe left before the question was put;

The Bishop of Cork left before the question was put;

Lord Crosbie left before the question was put;

The Speaker left before question was discussed;

Sir Lucius O'Brien left before question was discussed;

Mr Gamble left before question was discussed.

The minutes record that the unanimous sense of the Board was that the question of the £200 grant to Trinity College should only be decided at a Board meeting with a majority of the 'constituent governors' present, i.e., the *ex officio* members. The matter rested there until 8 August 1780 when it was decided that the funds were feared not to be adequate for all demands and the £200 per year to Trinity College for premiums was to cease. As well as opposition to Hely Hutchinson, another reason why these grants to Trinity College were contentious was that the Board were considering a number of other schemes which would require large sums of money. The Blue Coat School was embarking on ambitious building plans for a new school in Blackhall Place, designed by Thomas Ivory,[4] and appealed to the Trust for assistance. At the meeting on 3 April 1776 it was agreed to grant £500. The first steps were also being taken to establish English schools, a subject which will be considered fully in the next chapter.

Ennis Grammar School

One small group of Governors was pursuing another expensive project. This was the establishment of a fourth Grammar school, this one at Ennis. The main movers of this scheme were two Co. Clare men. Lord Chief Justice Paterson was born in Ennis and had property in the town. Sir Lucius O'Brien was the head of an ancient Clare family whose seat was at Dromoland. Sir Lucius was well known for his work for improving agriculture, manufactures and navigation. He was MP for Ennis from 1761 to 1768 and for Co. Clare after that. On 19 May 1773 an order to buy lands from Josias Veatch in Co. Clare to produce £100 p.a. to endow a school at Ennis was approved, with an additional £1,000 to build the school. This must have been subject to further discussion because it was not until 5 July 1774 that a resolution was passed to build a school at Ennis; a sub-committee of the Bishop of Killaloe, who was

not elected a Governor until 1775, Lord Chief Justice Paterson, Sir Lucius O'Brien and Francis Pierpoint Burton was appointed to oversee the building. In December Lord Paterson and Sir Lucius O'Brien reported that a site had been obtained at rent of £9-2-0 per year for two acres and that plans had been drawn up for a building, to cost £1,200. The following year Richard Crump was appointed master at a salary of £100 per year. A further £300 was granted to the Lord Chief Justice to finish the work on the school. Crump was given an usher in 1777 but he himself was dismissed with effect from 1 May 1783. Michael Fitzgerald was appointed master. No reason is given for Crump's dismissal but it may be significant that Fitzgerald was married to Jane, daughter of Lord Justice Paterson. By 1795 there were 50 boys at the school.

Success of Drogheda Grammar School

The importance of the master in the success or failure of his school is particularly clear in the success of Drogheda under Dr Richard Norris in the late 18th century when it was generally regarded as the leading school in Ireland. He was appointed on 17 April 1753 and quickly made his mark. He persuaded the Board that the schoolhouse was in such poor condition that it had to be rebuilt and enlarged. The master's house also needed repairs to accommodate boarders; in 1761, £400 was spent on building a kitchen, eating room and four lodging rooms. The following year there were 84 pupils and within the next few years this had grown to 130, when he appealed for an extension to be built to the schoolroom because there were three assistants and himself, with 100 boys, in the existing schoolroom. The Board approved £537-9-0 for the extension and allowed him £100 for extra ushers. All this showed that the Board were willing to spend money on the Grammar schools when a master applied to them. What they did not seem to see as their duty was to question why some of their schools were not so successful. In 1773 Dr Norris was given a salary of £100 per year and £150 per year for salaries to ushers and for repairs to the buildings.

Some years later, in 1778, a petition from Dr Norris to the Governors gives an insight into the conditions under which he worked. The school site measured 100 ft by 260 ft, the schoolmaster's and usher's houses and offices taking up two-thirds of this area, so only one-third was left for the boys to play in. The reason for his petition was that a site next door with a 'very commodious house' had become available. It had been occupied for many years by Rev. Dr Ferguson who took boarders but he was now dead and, because his widow was no longer taking boarders, the boys had lost half of their play area and the master's house was crowded with more than 100 boarders. The

neighbouring house belonged to Sydenham Singleton who was prepared to let it to the school. After a sub-committee of Lord Chief Justice Paterson, John Foster, Joshua Cooper and the Provost reported a surplus of £2,877 in the funds and arrears of £600 due from Owen Wynne, it was decided to purchase Singleton's house. In May £1,050 was paid for Singleton's house (to be paid in instalments of £250) and in August £200 was voted for repairs to the new house.

By the end of the century, the Irish government was anxious to make provision for improvements in education. Particular attention to the matter was given by Thomas Orde, Chief Secretary from 1784 to 1787, who was supported in his plans for reform by Hely Hutchinson. One result of his interest was a bill, introduced in the Irish House of Commons in May 1788 by Orde's successor Alleyn Fitzherbert, which established a commission to inquire into all aspects of schools in Ireland. This coincided with the resignation of Dr Norris from Drogheda on 6 February 1789 after 35 years service and provided a striking testament to his success. The Lord Lieutenant first asked that no appointment should be made until the Education Commission reported but then agreed to an appointment because of the outstanding position of Drogheda where there were 'one hundred young gentlemen, many of them of families of the first consequence … this school famous for its good discipline and excellent system of education'.[5] When the Commissioners reported in 1791, there was glowing praise for Drogheda: 'to the grammar school at Drogheda the Governors have been very liberal, and the success had in great measure rewarded their endeavours, the school having been, for many years past, of considerable celebrity, with one radical defect, common to most of the schools in this kingdom – a total neglect of composition.'[6] The praise seems justified, although the fact that the Treasurer, Hely Hutchinson, was the chairman of the Commission might give pause for doubt.

Education Commission Report 1791

The Report was generally very complimentary to the work of the Governors of the Trust. The new school at Ennis received favourable comment, being 'in high reputation and very carefully attended to'. It had 56 boarders and 24 day pupils, 12 of whom were free pupils. Galway Grammar School differed from the others because all pupils were free and were day pupils. The master there, Rev. D. Y. Campbell, had 'for the past twenty years, voluntarily relinquished all idea of advantage from his scholars for the purpose, as he stated to us, of extinguishing jealousies which sometimes took place between the scholars for whose education he was paid and the free scholars'.[7] Tipperary

was the only one of the schools to come in for criticism. Although there was a an 'excellent house' in a convenient situation, there were only five boarders and 13 day pupils, of whom 13 were free. The Commissioners blamed the master and censured the Governors for not inspecting the school.

The Commissioners were largely satisfied with the Board's arrangements with Trinity College and the Blue Coat School. They did, however, criticise the Governors for not passing the Treasurer's accounts annually, as required by the Charter, blaming the difficulty of securing the attendance of the number of Governors required by the Charter for the purpose. Hely Hutchinson (Treasurer since 1774) was careful to point out that the accounts had been properly prepared every year. He also patted himself on the back: 'during the incumbency of the present treasurer the estates have been raised from £2,772-10-1 to £4,249-4-10 yearly.' The Report concluded the section on the Trust: 'The Governors do not appear to us to have incurred any unnecessary expense; and upon the whole, we are of the opinion that this trust has been executed with fidelity to the designs of the founder, and that great care has been taken in managing the funds and estates of the charity.'[8] These favourable comments were in contrast to the Commissioners' sharp criticisms of almost all the other schools which they inspected.

The Commissioners put forward an ambitious plan for a Professional Academy to teach mathematics, science and modern languages 'to train up useful members for the army, navy and commerce'. They estimated the cost at £2,100 annually and suggested that the Governors of the Erasmus Smith Schools might consider using their surplus for this purpose, the Governors of the Trust to have full control of the academy in return.[9] In doing so they said that the Erasmus Smith Trust might be considered a public institution because of the interventions of the State in its management at diffrernent times, although they were careful to indicate that the consent of the Governors would be necessary. The report was not published at the time and the scheme for the academy was not pursued. The report did appear in 1858 as part of the report of the Endowed Schools Commission, and since the Governors began to consider a Dublin school of a similar nature in the early 1860s, it seems reasonable to suggest a link between the two events.

The Fagel Library

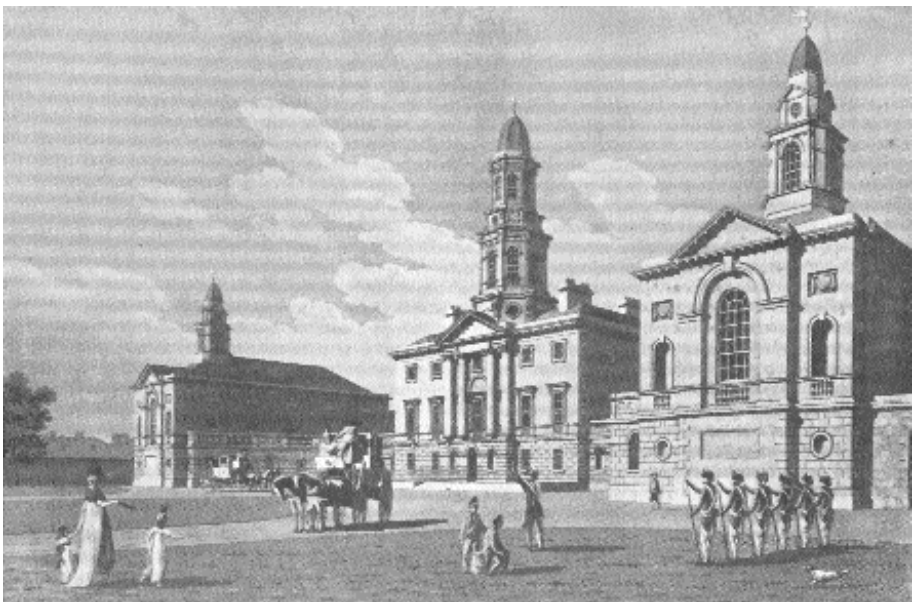
The largest single donation from the Trust to Trinity College was made at the end of the 18th century when the Board made a grant for the purchase of the Fagel Library for the college. On 11 July 1797, the decision was taken to purchase the library of Griffier (Chief Minister) Fagel of the Hague; it had been

James Malton: The Long Room, Trinity College Library. The Fagel Library was housed at the end of this room. Its acquisition increased the library's stock of books by almost 50%.

moved to London for safe-keeping during the wars following the French Revolution. On 6 March 1802 the Board approved the provision of £10,000 to buy the library and a sub-committee of Lord Kilwarden, the Provost, and the Right Hon. James Fitzgerald was appointed to oversee the matter. They reported on 1 February 1803 that they had paid £9,000 for the library plus £437-4-4 for packaging, freight and insurance. In addition they had granted £200 to Dr Thomas Elrington, who was a Governor, for his trouble in going to London for two months to arrange the purchase. The power to spend such a large amount of money on the college came from the last part of the 1723 Act: 'Then [i.e., when there is a surplus], and in such case, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governors of the said schools for the time being, from time to time, for ever hereafter, to apply and dispose of the residue and overplus of the said yearly rents, for and towards some public work or use, in the said college …'

Further Help to the Blue Coat School

The Blue Coat School continued to appeal to the Trust for help with their financial problems. Thomas Ivory's design for the school was elegant but too expensive for the funds available, particularly when Parliament failed to make a contribution. On 12 November 1802 the Board responded to another appeal with a donation of £1,000. When Lord Chief Justice Downes became



James Malton: The Blue Coat School. The Erasmus Smith Governors advised taking down the unfinished steeple and the turrets on each wing.

Treasurer in 1806 the relations between the two charities became closer because he was also a governor of the Blue Coat School. On 12 March 1810, £3,000 was granted to the Blue Coat School for repairs and improvements to the new school building as laid down by the architect, Francis Johnston. The Erasmus Smith Board do not seem to have had full confidence in the Blue Coat Board because they appointed a committee of their own to supervise the work and to employ an architect. Their report to the Board rejected the Blue Coat plans as being 'a great part … merely ornamental, such as completing the steeple at present in an unfinished state'. The sub-committee advised taking down the part of the steeple which had been built and 'the turrets built on each of the wings (which are represented by the architect, Mr Johnston, to be as much out of repair as to be in danger of falling)'. The committee had visited the new building at Blackhall Place with Johnston and consequently approved spending £2,029-12-10 as specified by Francis Johnston in February 1810. The accounts for 1809-10 include payments of £130-16-1 and £32-19-4 to Francis Johnston, architect. The Board Register recorded very detailed accounts of these improvements to the Blue Coat building in a memorial from the Board to the Blue Coat governors.[10] In 1811, it was decided that 13 extra boys were to be maintained by the Trust at the school. At the same time £4 per year was added to the value of the Trinity College exhibitions given by the Trust.

Changes in the administration of the Trust

Meanwhile there had been one of the infrequent re-organisations of the Board's methods of conducting their business. This had occurred under Lord Downes' predecessor as Treasurer, Lord Redesdale, who was Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The principal reform was to create a permanent Standing Committee to handle the growing business of the Trust in place of the *ad hoc* sub-committees which had dealt with specific business until now (including one which examined the working of the Board whose report led to these changes). The new committee was to be chosen by the Board at their February meeting and was to consist of five members, of whom three would form a quorum. All reports of the committee were to be left with the Registrar for all Governors to read them and matters to be considered by the full Board were to be included in the summons to meetings. There was also a recommendation that the Board should acquire a permanent headquarters but this was not acted upon until 1836 when 11 Kildare St was rented at £80 per year from the Kildare Place Society.

Lord Redesdale and Lord Downes personally made another important change in the conduct of the business of the Trust. Each of them gave up his claim to the Treasurer's poundage which was allowed to the Treasurer by the Charter on all rents collected. Lord Redesdale gave his share to create a separate fund called the Redesdale Charity, the interest on which was to be paid annually to St Peter's parish to support schools there. Lord Downes decided that his, and all subsequent Treasurers' fees (each incoming Treasurer was required to sign a renunciation of his rights)[11] should be used to support extra boys at the Blue Coat. At first this fund was kept separate in the accounts but as time passed it became part of the general fund, which caused some confusion when The High School was founded later on.

The general policy towards the management of the estates remained substantially the same during the 18th century. The biggest change was in the Galway estate where, during the Treasurership of Hely Hutchinson, the Trust began to develop the city part of the estate. This was facilitated by new legislation which allowed charities to grant longer leases for building purposes, since 21 year leases were too short for the kind of investment needed for erecting houses on land leased. The new laws[12] allowed leases for 41 years with guaranteed renewals every seven years on payment of a fine of one year's rent. Under this the Governors began the development of Eyre Square and the area around it. Ultimately, the whole of Newtown Smith and Fair Green and most of Bohermore were developed in this way. While this produced an increase of income in the short term, the rents became steadily less than the market

value of the land as the 19th century progressed. On the other hand, the tenants disliked the uncertainty of this tenure although there did not seem to be any examples of tenants suffering under it.[13]

In Tipperary an inn was built by the Trust at Pallasgrean in 1802 and let, with 20 acres, to Thomas Apjohn at a rent of £50 per year. Some years later a new road to Limerick was built which by-passed Pallasgrean but the Apjohn family were to continue as tenants of the Trust for many years. The years of the Revolutionary Wars from 1793 to 1815 were years of rapidly increasing prosperity as prices for agricultural produce responded to wartime demand. However, the population was also increasing rapidly as the potato became the staple diet of a large part of the population. Middlemen and their tenants sub-let to a dangerous degree. If prices fell, as they did after the battle of Waterloo ended the war in 1815, a crisis was almost inevitable. The Trust could not hope to escape such a crisis. Neither, of course could those who guided its fortunes at this time have foreseen this, as they embarked on ambitious expansion of their educational provisions in the development of large numbers of English schools.

CHAPTER IV

The English Schools

The largest commitment of funds in the early 19th century was to the founding and support of English schools. The idea of such schools for primary education, in contrast to the Grammar schools which provided a preparation for university, was present from the time of Erasmus Smith, most notably in the Transmitted Bill of 1666. As the name suggests, one of the main aims of such schools in the early period was to convert children to English ways and to the Protestant religion. While the Grammar schools would provide education suitable for the sons of the prosperous tenants (and others) who might go on to university, these schools would educate the children of the under-tenants. The 1723 Act made specific the authority of the Transmitted Bill for the Governors of the Trust to found such schools. Nevertheless, little or nothing was done about this for over 50 years, perhaps because such education was not a popular issue for most of the 18th century. By the last quarter of the century, this attitude was changing. Some societies were founded for the promotion of education among the poor, usually with the intention of conversion as well as education. Both were seen by Protestants as essential if the condition of the poor was to be improved. A quarrel between the master of the Grammar school in Galway and the master of the English school in the town produced a neat summary of their aims from the Governors. On 16 February 1829 they told the master of the English school: 'The legitimate object of this school is the instruction of the lower orders in reading, writing, arithmetic and scriptural knowledge and this must be first and scrupulously attended to.' As the Evangelical Revival among Protestants gained momentum in the 19th century, this work was extended. Naturally, Roman Catholics resented such activities and, as that church grew in power and confidence in the same century, accusations of proselytism multiplied. In embarking on an ambitious development of such schools, the Board were, unwittingly at the start, entering stormy waters. Since most of the schools were not on Trust estates, they were even more vulnerable to criticism. Even the Kildare Place Society, whose schools attempted to be more neutral on denominational issues by reading the Bible without comment, was under attack by the 1820s from the Roman Catholic hierarchy and Daniel O'Connell.[1]

The English School at Valentia

The first decision to build such a school combined the twin motivations mentioned above, although with an interesting historical twist. On 21 March 1776, a letter from Robert Fitzgerald to Archbishop Robinson of Armagh asked for his support for a projected school in Valentia, Co. Kerry. He wanted the school to be free, explaining that he owned 5,000 acres on the island with a population of 900 people. His motive was openly proselytising: 'The country is remarkably populous but exceedingly poor and if the children can obtain a decent education at no expense there will be an amazing report to the school and I'll pawn my life for it there will be in a few years, a total change in that country, to the advantage of the Protestant religion ...'[2] However, in an accompanying memorial to the Governors, Fitzgerald outlined an unusual situation: 'Your memorialist, in conversing with the people, hath discovered a tendency in many to embrace the Protestant religion, several of them being descended from a body of troops quartered there by Oliver Cromwell ... they have (many of them) degenerated into popery yet they still retain in their minds an impression of what they fancy their ancestors to have been, and are far from being tainted with the bigotry of the native Irish.'[3] On 3 April Fitzgerald was granted £300 for building a school and £20 per year for the salary of the master (he had asked for £40). On 19 June the Board examined the plans drawn up by Mr Cooley for the Valentia school and considered them 'extremely proper to be adopted for all future English schools'.

The Early English Schools

The pattern thus established lasted for the next 40 years: the standard contribution towards building a school was £300 and £20 was the usual salary granted. There were variations: Nenagh school, established in the same year by Peter Holmes, was described as a Grammar school in the 1791 report of the Commission on Education. Some schools were short lived. In 1777, a school was established at Xelva, Co. Kerry and the accounts for 1778-81 include payment of a salary to Joseph Smith, 'master of the school at Xelva' but there are no payments after 1795. The school at Templederry, Co. Tipperary, which received a grant for salary only, was conducted by the curate, Rev. Edward Jordan, who had established an English school in the church porch to teach Roman Catholic and Protestant children. By 1792, there were 50 pupils and 15 boarders; by then the local landowner, Cook Otway, was prepared to lease five acres for a school building. Nothing seems to have come of this and the school eventually went downhill. On 20 May 1819, Mr Jordan or his son was ordered to attend the Board to explain the

position of the school or face a prosecution for fraud for drawing salary, presumably after the school had ceased. The last salary paid was £10 on 1 May 1819. Most schools were built on land given by a local landowner but Ardee was built on part of the fair green given by W. P. Ruxton, the Portreeve, and the Corporation. The Corporation gave £20 per year towards the master's salary.

These early schools seem to have been developed in an *ad hoc* manner, but in 1803, when Lord Chancellor Redesdale became Treasurer, a more coherent strategy developed. On 3 March 1803 the Board decided that (1) no grant for an English school would be made unless local money was also subscribed; (2) the Registrar was instructed to prepare abstracts from the Charter and Act of Parliament on 'the rights and privileges attached to the children of the tenants … and whether the same may be properly printed and distributed to the tenants and posted up in the schools and other fit places'. A sub-committee on English schools recommended in May 1803 that a school should be built in the Liberties of Dublin where there were only parochial schools with limited numbers and where Protestant children were going to Roman Catholic schools. The school should take boys and girls, and 'regularity of manner and habits of cleanliness be particularly insisted upon'. One good meal should be provided for the pupils each day. They also proposed that a higher school be established where children would be taken from their parents, 'as they increase in years, it is of more importance to prevent their associating with idle and immoral persons who might by their example reduce them from those habits of industry and virtue which it is your desire to confirm in them'.

The result, when the Board accepted the first part of the plan, was the establishment of probably the most ambitious of all the English schools of the Trust. The Coombe School, at Pimlico in Dublin, was the result of a plan presented to the Board on 21 April 1804 for a school for 150 boys, to be built at a cost of £845-5-0, Francis Johnston to supervise the building. James Fox (already running a small school in the area) was appointed master at £30 per year. The drawings for the building survive. The first, by Alexander Wilson, shows a long single-storey building with a street frontage of 114 feet, with a two-storey master's house in the centre. The schoolrooms on either side of the master's house measured 41 feet by 20 feet each. A second plan, drawn up by Johnston, was more ambitious with both wings being two storied. By 1806 when the building was finished, £1,411-2-9 had been spent on it. The Board agreed to provide seven tons of coal annually to keep fires in the schoolrooms from 1 October to 1 May. Mr and Mrs Fox were to be paid £60 and £40 as salaries; 10 boys and 10 girls were to be appointed to act as monitors, each

receiving a suit of clothes worth 40 shillings in return. The following year there were 150 boys and 105 girls at the school. A writing master and catechist were appointed and £10 was to be given to buy shoes to be distributed every November to the poorest children. Advertisements were placed in newspapers inviting proposals for English schools in Dublin but there were few replies, although the advertisements were repeated. Plans survive for a school on Derby Square to be built on a plot leased from David La Touche but the plan was abandoned because the site was considered unsuitable. In 1814 a large school was set up in Donnybrook, on the proposal of Lord Chief Justice Downes, the Treasurer, whose family had lands there. It cost over £2,000. A short-lived school at Linenhall Street was established in 1837 at the request of the Rectors of the parishes of St Michan, St Paul and Grangegorman.

During this period the Trust's policy on English schools was continuing to evolve. In 1808 the Board resolved that land for schools must be conveyed to the Trust within two years or the grant would lapse; under this rule plans for several schools were cancelled. In 'considerable towns' persons applying for grants were expected to pay at least a quarter of the expense of the building. In no case was the Board to pay more than £1,000. When the Ninth Report of the Commissioners of Education was published in 1809 (for full details see next chapter) the Trust had founded English schools at Nenagh, Tarbert, Templederry and the Coombe in Dublin. Eleven more were already planned, including one in St Mark's parish in Dublin and one or two more in 'the poorer and more populous districts of the city'. The Commissioners praised these plans which they judged 'generally and extensively useful'. This seems to have encouraged the Governors to expand their plans for English schools in the next few years. However, a change of policy was forced upon the Board by a combination of too rapid expansion of the scheme, leading to a shortage of funds to meet all the costs, and the downturn in the economy after the end of the European war. From 1815 fewer grants would be given for building schools; instead, available funds would be used to pay salaries of £30 per year to masters or mistresses in schools privately built. In these schools, free pupils were to be nominated by a person (usually the Rector of the parish) approved by the Board and the master was free to charge pupils above this number. In addition one penny per week was to be charged to pupils in English schools to help with repairs to the school. Pupils from Trust estates were exempt from this charge. Under these new conditions there was a rapid increase in the number of schools in connection with the Trust.

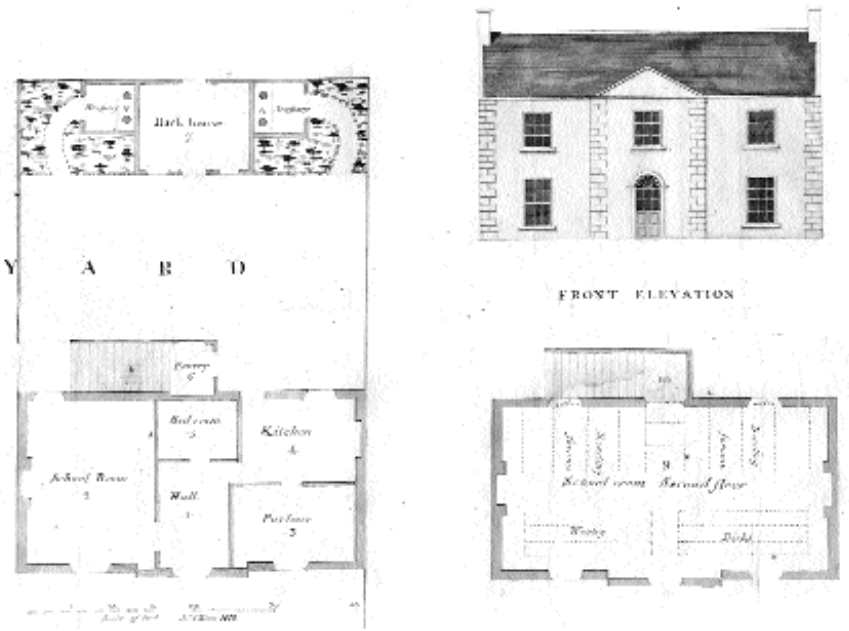
The religious policy for the schools was evolving too. On 3 May 1816 the Standing Committee replied to a letter from Rev. E. Dowling, Curate of

Philipstown, King's Co., requesting guidance on the matter. They ruled that the Protestant translation of the New Testament must be the general reading book in the school and the Church of England catechism must be taught to Protestant children. However, the 'master may arrange his business in such a manner as to teach it when the childen of a different persuasion are not in school'. On 22 May 1820 more rules were issued: masters were not to employ Roman Catholic assistants, nor to teach the Roman Catholic catechism, nor permit it to be taught. Masters must admit poor children recommended by the Minister of the parish or the Patron without charge, up to 30 at least. The Board at the same time urged the Standing Committee to be careful not to appoint 'Methodists or other Sectarians' as masters of English schools.

The Early School Buildings

The architectural plans for a large number of these first schools survive, sometimes accompanied by detailed estimates of the cost of the building. These plans were drawn up by local architects and builders and sent to Dublin for approval. They show considerable variation and differing levels of sophistication. The schoolrooms were usually 30 feet long and 16 feet wide. In many of the schools, especially in Ulster, the schoolrooms were on the first floor over the master's accommodation. In Belturbet the girls' schoolroom and the master's house were on the ground floor, while the boys' schoolroom took up the whole of the first floor. In Collon the two schoolrooms were in a two-storey block, one on each floor, with the master and mistress's houses at either end of the block. Usually the furnishing of the schoolrooms is not shown but in the plans for the school at Ballymoney, reading forms were placed on one side of the room and writing desks on the other: 'one side a double desk will contain about 26 writers, about 7½ feet in breadth including seats in front side. [The] other side will contain about 16 forms 8 feet long and 2 feet asunder, [and] will contain about 6 children each.' This schoolroom was on the first floor and was reached by an outside staircase. Another note on the plan said that there would be 'a small back house for the accommodation of the master's cow'.

In fact, a cow house (and occasionally a house for a pig) was a usual feature of the plans. The master's house was normally two storeys, containing two or three bedrooms, a sitting room, kitchen and scullery. At Mullafarry (near Killala) there was a dairy as well as a cowhouse. On that plan someone, presumably the Rector of the parish, wrote comments, including, 'As turf is the fuel to be used, may not grates be omitted in the schoolroom?' and 'May not the necessaries (lavatories) be of mud wall and thatched?' At Pallasgrean



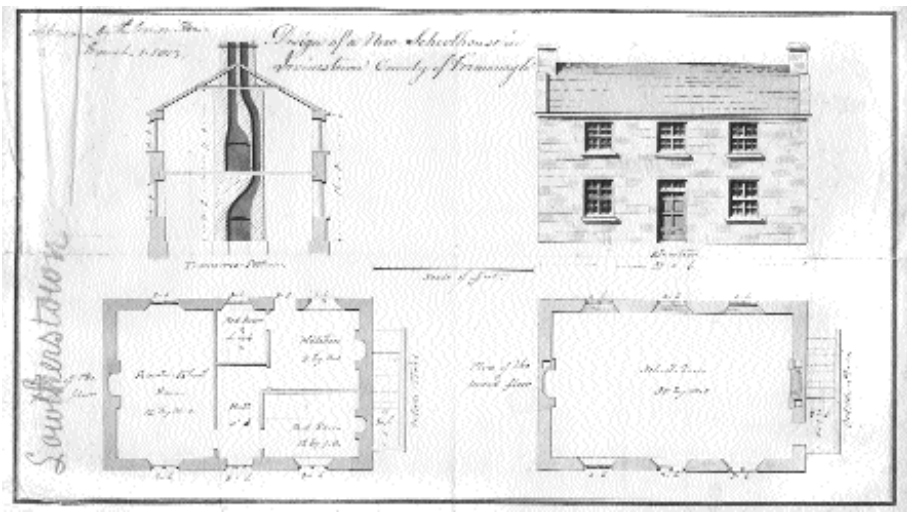
The plans for Ballymoney English School. The schoolroom shows the arrangement of the furniture.

in Co. Limerick, on the Governors' estate, there was a kitchen, parlour, master's bedroom and servant's room on the ground floor, while on the first floor there were two schoolrooms and a child's bedroom. The plans for the school at Kinnity had a girls' workroom, not a schoolroom. That plan showed a classical style porch with a pediment over the entrance, which had two pilasters on each side of the door. In the pediment was inscribed 'Free School'. The grant for the school at Kinnity was forfeited because the conveyance of the ground for the school was not completed within the required two years.

New Rules for the Schools

By 1827 the number of schools had grown to such an extent that firmer regulation was necessary. A special report found that many were neglected or misconducted, with buildings falling down and funds misapplied. The Standing Committee drew up an elaborate set of rules which were accepted by the Board on 2 March 1829. The religious policy remained strongly Anglican but there was no obligation to teach Protestant doctrine to all pupils. The principal points were:

- A permanent system of inspection of the schools was to be established: two men to be appointed, one for Munster/Leinster and one for Ulster/Connaught.



Plans for Irvingstown / Lowtherstown English School, 1813.

- Bishops were to be asked to draw clergy's attention to the schools and to encourage personal inspection and efficient local committees.
- There was to be a system of education on uniform principles for all schools in which scriptural instruction and additional information on the doctrines of the Protestant Church were to be a prominent feature.
- Appointments of teachers were to be as before but masters were to go through a course of instruction in one of the training schools in Dublin.
- Salaries were to be reduced to £20; gratuities of £10 were to be paid annually for good conduct and strict adherence to the rules; £10 was to be the maximum gratuity for improvement but £10 extra would be paid to the teachers in the four best schools in each inspector's district.
- For every £1 of salary a master must instruct one free pupil.
- Salaries and gratuities would be withheld unless the teachers read a portion of scriptures in school each day, as well as a portion to be read by the children able to read.
- The Board would supply books and requisites up to £6-10-0 for each school; masters were to keep up supplies after that.
- Patron was to keep the school in repair; part of the master's salary was to be withheld if not in repair.
- No master was to hold more than three acres of land within one mile of the school.
- Inspectors were to be paid £150 per year including expenses.

On 16 March the Standing Committee resolved on extra rules:

- The system of education was to be adapted to Protestants but so that no Roman Catholic may be precluded from availing of it if they chose.
- Kildare Place spelling and reading books were to be used unless local committee or inspectors approved others.
- The Church catechism was to be taught on Wednesdays and Saturdays at close of school; school was to close one hour earlier on those days. Such classes were for the children of the Established Church and such others as chose to remain.
- School every weekday from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. (4 p.m. in Summer); three vacations of one week each in the year.

On 3 June George Stokes and Charles Robertson were appointed inspectors.

Opposition to the National Board Schools

The establishment of the National System of Education by the Whig government of Lord Grey in 1831 was intended to provide a secular system of primary education but that aim failed in the face of opposition from the churches, who wanted control of the schools for themselves. The Church of Ireland was overwhelmingly opposed to the new system, although Archbishop Whately of Dublin was one of the Commissioners. The Church Education Society was founded in 1839 to support schools which would provide Church of Ireland children with a scriptural education. By 1850 it was supporting almost 2,000 schools. The Erasmus Smith Trust was bound to be affected in a similar way since its Board was totally Anglican and its Treasurer during this period (1833-50) was Rev. Charles Richard Elrington, Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College. When asked about this in his evidence to the Endowed Schools Commission, the then Treasurer, John Barlow, justified this policy by saying that the Trust's schools were 'of quite a different character from the national Schools'.[4] In 1839 the Board embarked on a new phase of giving grants for building schools. One-third to two-thirds of the cost of a school would be given, provided a minimum of two acres was made over in perpetuity to the Trust and plans for the school and for the source of the salary for the teacher were submitted. During the next few years, more than 50 schools were funded in this way. All of them were parish schools; the grants recorded were to the clergy and varied from as low as £20 to Rev. Richard Graves at Ballinamara in Co. Kilkenny to £200 to the Dean of Connor for a school at Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim. The advent of the Famine and the consequent financial difficulties brought this expansion to a halt, although there was a renewal of the policy in the 1850s when more than 30 grants for schools were given.

The Religious Question

It is difficult to judge how far the Governors saw their schools as instruments of conversion, although the accusations of proselytism were certainly made against them. From the evidence of the deliberations of the Board over several generations, and enshrined in their rules, it would seem that their first concern was the education of Church of Ireland children in schools considered suitable for them. If other children came to them, the Governors were prepared to be flexible up to a point. This was where the problems arose: the Governors insisted that all pupils must read the Authorised Version of the Bible and answer questions to show their understanding. These questions were not to include matters of controversy. In the heated atmosphere of religious rivalry in 19th-century Ireland, this was probably an impossible balance to maintain. Detailed investigation of all the schools is impossible here but some examples may be considered. In his evidence to the Endowed Schools Commission in 1855, Peter Hickey, Chairman of Ardee Town Commissioners, said that there were 'whispers' of discontent among parents at the religious policy in the school there.[5]

The most extensive attempts at proselytism affecting an English school arose in Pallasgrean and Doon on the Governors' estate in Co. Limerick, although it largely occurred independently of the Governors. There had been disturbances there during the tithe 'war' following a dispute between the Rector of Doon, Canon J. Coote, and the Parish Priest. During the Famine the area was the scene of a concerted effort by Protestant Evangelicals to convert the people. At Doon the Scripture Readers of the Irish Society (founded in 1818) preached to the people and secured a considerable number of converts. A colony was established which claimed over a thousand converts in 1851. The Bishop of Cashel, Robert Daly, was one of the few bishops of the Established Church who encouraged these activities; at a Confirmation service in 1851, he received 274 converts into the Church of Ireland.[6]

There is no evidence that the Governors supported these activities but Pallas school was certainly used as part of the effort. In September 1855, Thomas Murphy, the schoolmaster there, was examined at length at the Endowed Schools Commission session at Limerick. He reported that there were 29 boys on the roll in 1855 compared to 80 in 1854 and 110 in 1853. Of these 110, about 100 had converted during the Famine. When asked about the large drop in numbers, he replied: 'Most of the scholars were converts and some have gone back to their old religious professions.' He had distributed food to the children between November 1852 and March 1853. The meal had been bought from money from local subscriptions raised by the Rector,

Rev. W. Scott, and the Missionary Curate, Mr Turner. When asked if this had caused the children to forsake their own religion, Murphy replied that the children were too young to think 'anything serious'; they were taught only spelling and reading. During 1854 clothing had been given to five or six boys and some girls for regular attendance and good conduct. The money for this (£12) had been given by the Governors and the clothing purchased by the daughter of the agent, Thomas Kearney.[7]

The money for clothes had been sanctioned by the Standing Committee on 11 January 1854. The previous month they had decided to give money premiums in all the English schools to children who attended regularly. Mr Kearney was told of the plan and asked for suggestions for the schools at Pallasgrean and Tipperary. He advised that £5 each be given to the masters of the two schools and that money be given for clothing. The Board accepted his suggestions and £20 was given to Mr Kearney's family 'to be expended on suitable clothing for deserving children resident on their estates and regularly attending those schools'. £12 was spent at Pallas and £8 at Tipperary English school. The giving of clothes was very unusual. In January 1869 when the Rector of Doon asked for money for clothing and bread for the pupils at the school, the minutes of the Standing Committe say that they 'must decline – as they always do – grants in aid of clothing and of bread for pupils'.

The inspection records for the English schools begin in 1851 so it is not possible to trace in detail from the Governors' records what happened at Pallasgrean during the Famine. The schoolmaster, Mr Airay, was dismissed in April 1849 but he was allowed to stay on to the end of the year. A new master, Thomas Murphy, was appointed in May 1850 but he was sent to train at the Kildare Place Training School in Dublin before he could take up his appointment. The Rector asked that Murphy's wife be paid for teaching an infants class but the Governors refused. She was paid for at least one year by the Irish Society. The school was in bad repair but the Governors postponed a grant because money was still scarce, leading the clergy of the parish to comment in their half-yearly return at the end of October 1852: 'The clergy of the parish feel called to say that if the school is to be properly kept up, they must have much more sympathy and co-operation on the part of the Board.' At his inspection that month, Rev. Hugh Hamilton, the Governors' inspector of English schools, wrote that Pallasgrean was: 'very different from every other school. The children are nearly all converts and of a very poor class. The boys did better than the girls: they are from seventeen to eighteen years of age. They are well taught in some difficult parts of the scriptures.' In his report in July 1854, the Inspector said: 'Many of the boys who answered best

last year (I had first rate answering then) are now learning to be readers or schoolmasters under the Irish Society … The Doon district gives more employment and many converts have gone to it.' By 1855 the Inspector commented: 'The school at Pallasgrean has fallen almost to nothing. Mr Scott says that the converts have emigrated or gone into life and the supply has not been kept up.' In his comment on the report, the Rector, Mr Scott, gave a fuller account of the whole episode, and one which differed from that given by the schoolmaster, as reported above. He said that over a period of six to eight years there had been 300 converts.

> Those pupils are now men and women filling different stations in life with great credit to themselves and the school from whence they came. One is a commissioned officer, all who entered the militia were made non-commissioned officers; upwards of forty became Scripture readers and schoolmasters, several entered the police, many females good servants … The converts have almost all removed to fields of labour and three National schools have been established within the parish where Roman Catholic children attend.

In 1857 the Inspector reported, after his visit in June, that there were 22 pupils present, of whom seven were Roman Catholic. 'The converts have now mostly emigrated and the boys who now attend are of a higher class than formerly. The head class, including one young man who has been to the Crimea, answered very well in all subjects including Euclid and Algebra.' Mr Scott explained:

> The young man from the Crimea was educated entirely at the school. He took first place about five years ago and was induced to join the Commissariat service in the Crimea from which he brings home the highest testimonials on his return. He joined the school and at the examination took second mark.

The Rector ended by suggesting that the Governors should find the boy a suitable situation! Meanwhile in 1852, the Rector of Doon, Canon T. Atkinson, asked for an acre of land to be let by the Governors to build a school. This was agreed and in 1856 a lease for the plot was signed with the Irish Society. The Governors said that the school was not to be under the Board. They also refused to give money towards the re-building of Doon church.

The Doon Reformation Society

The Rector of Doon was also pressing for the converts to be leased farms at favourable rents. On 9 October 1850 the Standing Committee had a meeting with the agent about this request. They allowed Kearney to communicate

with Canon Atkinson: 'If the persons alluded to can be given small portions of land with probable advantage to themselves, and without injurying the funds of this charity, the Governors will agree to set to these persons.' It is impossible to know from the rental ledgers if any were leased farms. Canon Atkinson persevered in his 'crusade'; in Jan 1851 the Standing Committee considered a letter from him requesting a lease of a farm for the Doon District Reformation Society. The Committee replied that they 'desire to know who will be responsible for the rent; how it is to be secured, and who is proposed as the immediate tenant.' In February they refused Mr Scott as tenant. He then said that the Bishop of Cashel would guarantee the rent but when the Registrar had an interview with the Bishop in April, he was not satisfied and reported to the Board that the land should not be let. By the end of 1851, however, agreement had been reached with the Bishop. The Governors accepted that the Society would pay a half-year's rent in lieu of the total arrears due from the previous tenant but they refused to reduce the rent. In March 1852 the Governors agreed to pay for timber and slates for two houses on the Doon Reformation Society farm, if the houses were satisfactorily built. This was their usual grant for building houses; they refused to help if the houses were thatched. Canon Atkinson, on behalf of the Society, held the farm until his death in 1865, although he gave up part of it to the Bishop of Cashel in 1861. At his death there were six tenants on the farm, including John Connell, a Scripture Reader who had a house and one acre of land. The Governors allowed these to remain except Connell and another who was in arrears of rent.

The Bishop of Cashel was anxious to provide work for the converts. He leased a farm of 40 acres of bog at Gurtavalla from the Trust and began to drain it. Three 'double houses' were built to contain six families. According to his biographer, the Bishop invested £1,200 in the farm and eventually employed a farm manager.[8] However, by April 1863 he was writing to the Governors for permission to sell his interest, which was refused, particularly as sub-tenants had been placed there contrary to the terms of the lease. In October 1864, the Governors' agent, Walter Hore, wrote to the Bishop's agent complaining of the neglect of the farm; part of it had been let to under-tenants who had exhausted the land. These had then been removed and the farm was let on conacre. In addition the tenants were cutting turf and selling it unchecked. In April 1866 the Bishop asked for permission to transfer the farm to the new Rector of Doon; this was refused for the same reasons. After the Bishop's death in 1872, the Governors agreed to the transfer of the farm to the Rector of Doon if no claim was made for improvements.

Endowed Schools Report 1858

The Report of the Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission published in 1858 gives an overall view of the English schools of the Trust in the middle of the 19th century when there were 140 of them in all. Of these, in 117 schools the Board paid the salaries of the teacher and in 23 the only endowment was the site and the building. There were just over 7,000 pupils enrolled in the schools with an average daily attendance of 4,200. The schools mainly served the Church of Ireland population but there were 875 Roman Catholic pupils and over 1,400 Presbyterians. The Commissioners' inspectors visited only the schools about which evidence was given at the public sessions of the Commission in various localities. Just over a dozen schools were reported on individually. In two of these instruction was described as unsatisfactory; all the others were satisfactory or good. In Sligo there were 96 pupils under the care of one master. The inspector said the school was 'promising' although, not surprisingly, 'a want of order was observable'.

The general reports of the inspectors of the Commissioners varied according to the religious composition of their districts. The report of the inspector for the north east, where there was a large Protestant population, was generally favourable, while the report from the centre and west of the country was uncomplimentary. The schools there were 'miserably inefficient' with incompetent teachers and inferior schoolbooks. The clergy of The Church of Ireland parishes were also criticised: 'In many cases the parochial clergy, who made use of the school as their parochial school, did not add any thing to the salary of the master; and thus the objects of the charity of Erasmus Smith seemed to be, in practice, the neighbouring proprietors of land and the parochial clergy.'[9]

The Report made general points about the system adopted by the Governors with regard to the English schools. The principal criticisms were (1) salaries paid to the teachers were too low, resulting in poorly qualified people being employed; (2) the system of inspection was inadequate since only one inspector was employed and he also functioned as Registrar; this situation had arisen as a result of economies during the Famine but no one seems to have pointed this out to the Commission; (3) not enough school requisites were supplied; (4) some schools were not under the sole control of the Governors; the Church Education Society inspected some and one received money from the Incorporated Society. This led the Commissioners to conclude: 'Such divided responsibility as this connexion with other bodies produces must be injurious' and the example of one school (Galway) is cited. The Commissioners did not seem to notice that the reliance on one

example from 140 is not a very secure foundation for such a sweeping generalisation, nor that it could be argued that sharing responsibility for some schools with other bodies allowed funds to be spread more widely. The same internal contradictions in the report are to be found in the final criticism (5) that the schools were not successful in areas where there was a small Protestant population. This is combined with strictures on the failure to enforce the rule on religious teaching, without any attempt to balance the two points. They concluded on the English schools that the Governors 'have not managed prudently the secondary trust of the English schools which they have developed to an extent disproportionate to their resources'.[10]

Reforms in the System

The Governors seem to have taken only limited notice of the criticism of their English schools in the Endowed Schools Commission Report. They returned to the system of having a separate inspector of schools; he was W. H. Rudkin who had run a successful school in Dublin. He was to visit each school twice each year, once with prior notice and once unannounced. On 24 February 1860 the Governors set up a sub-committee to examine 'small, inefficient and hopeless schools which should be discontinued, and also to suggest means for the improvement of the others generally, and to fix upon a certain number in which a superior style of education might be introduced, with hope of success'. The sub-committee reported on 25 March listing 12 schools to be discontinued and 10 others which were to be warned that they faced a similar fate. In fact, most of them continued because the Board were reluctant to abandon local communities. They selected six schools where the superior style of education could be introduced: Enniscorthy, Sligo, Bandon, Tralee, Derry and Gorey. A number of new schools received aid towards paying the salary of their teacher, usually £25 per year which was to be supplemented by local subscriptions.

The Powis Commission 1870

The next government inquiry into primary education in Ireland was conducted by the Powis Commission in 1870. Its focus was principally on the National Schools but there was some examination of the Trust's English schools. The Registrar, Eustace Thorp, gave evidence that there were 5,267 Church of Ireland pupils on the rolls, 1,206 Protestants of other denominations and 372 Roman Catholics. He was asked about the issue of proselytism in the schools and replied that in his time (he had been in the Trust's employment for nearly 30 years) there had been only one case that he was aware of;

in that case food and clothing had been offered to pupils. This presumably was a reference to the Pallasgrean school dispute 25 years earlier, described above. He outlined the policy of the Governors: all children must stay for the reading of scripture but only the Church of Ireland pupils had to be present for the teaching of the catechism.[11]

The Commission's inspector for the West Connaught area, William Jack, reporting on Mullafarry and Killala schools, bore out the Registrar's evidence. Although there were many Roman Catholic and Presbyterian schools in the area, some parents chose the Trust's schools. Children were free to leave during religious instruction but they had never done so: 'The people do not themselves look upon the children as endangered by their association with other denominations, even in schools like those of the Erasmus Smith charity, so long as they see no reason to be afraid of proselytism.'[12] The Trust's inspector, W. H. Rudkin, was also pressed on this. He replied that there had been no complaints by parents of Roman Catholic children about the religious teaching in the schools. There had been one or two complaints from Roman Catholic clergy. In one case (Eglington) a priest withdrew the Roman Catholic pupils but following a meeting with the inspector, and a visit by the priest to observe the teaching in the school, the pupils were allowed to return.[13]

Re-Organising the System

One of the changes introduced by Vice-Chancellor Eyre Chatterton, when he became Treasurer, was to set up a sub-committee to review the whole operation of the English schools. Their report, which was presented to the Board on 19 December 1873, identified four main areas of concern. The salaries paid by the Board to the teachers in their schools were insufficient. This resulted in the loss of teachers to the National Board schools. This was made worse by the lack of opportunities for promotion for good teachers. The fourth problem was that local contributions to the schools were uncertain and unequal. The sub-committee proposed a re-organisation of the schools which was adopted by the Board. Schools were to be divided into four classes according to the numbers of pupils:

- class 1: over 70 pupils — salary £60 for a man, £45 for a woman
- class 2 — 50-70 pupils — salary £50/£40
- class 3 — 30-50 pupils — salary £45/£35
- class 4 — under 30 pupils — salary £40/£30

In addition, pupils were to pay one penny per week, the proceeds of

which were to be the perquisite of the teacher. The local contribution was fixed at one-third of the cost of the school.

The sub-committee also drew up general guidelines which were to govern the policy on English schools for the rest of their history. These recommendations reflected the changed position of the Church of Ireland after Disestablishment, which had made it more difficult for poor parishes to support their own schools. The Board decided to direct their money to where they considered it to be most needed; in practice, this meant giving relatively small sums to help to maintain parish schools where the numbers of Protestant pupils were too few to qualify for grants from the National Board. Where English schools could avail of grants from the National Board, they were to be encouraged to do so and by this means the Board divested themselves of responsibility for many schools. By 1885, the number of schools was down to 44 when the Board's inspector's salary was reduced from £500 to £300 because of his reduced workload.

Aid to Small Schools Scheme

By the end of the 19th century, the English school system was entering its final phase; its demise was hastened by reduced income and the impossibility of competing with the schools under the National Board. In 1899, yet another sub-committee was set up to consider their future. There were now 23 schools supported by the Trust at a cost of £800 per year. The sub-committee's report recommended that not more than £500 per year should be spent on English schools. They identified a new area of need: many Church of Ireland parish schools had fewer than 30 pupils, so receiving only capitation grants and money for requisites from the National Board. Such parishes were often too poor to pay a teacher adequately and the Governors had received an appeal for help from the General Synod of the Church of Ireland. The sub-committee's suggestions came to be called the Aid to Small Schools Scheme. By this the Governors would set up schools under the National Board (to be called Erasmus Smith National Schools) to which they would pay money to supplement the capitation grants from the National Board and money raised locally. The Board would have the right to appoint the teachers, the National Board would inspect these schools and the local Rectors would be the managers. Applications to the Board for grants under this scheme would have to come through the relevant Diocesan Boards of Education. Almost 20 schools received modest aid under this scheme.

The number of English schools receiving help from the Board fell steadily during and after the First World War. By the 1920s there were only six and

by 1935 only four. In one of these, Carrickfin in Co. Donegal, the teacher was 81 years of age. He had been appointed in 1882 and was still receiving good reports from the inspector. The Board had severed its connection with all of the schools before the outbreak of the Second World War.

English Schools

Date of Sanction	*Place*	*Patron*	*Grant*	*Discontinued**
1776	Xelva, Co. Kerry	Robert Fitzgerald	£300	1797
1776	Nenagh, Co. Tipperary	Peter Holmes	£300	1843
		new grant of salary in 1861		1868
1785	Tarbert, Co. Kerry	Sir Edward Leslie	£300	1894
1786	Templederry, Co. Tipperary	Rev. Edward Jordan	salary	1819
1791	Rathmore, Co. Kildare	Richard Neville	£300	1851
1804	The Coombe, Dublin	The Trust	£1,411	1849
1807	Ardee, Co. Louth	Corporation	£300	1860
1808	Templemore, Co. Tipperarry	Sir John Craven	£300	1860
1808	Littleton, Co. Tipperary	Rev. Thomas Grady	£300	1812
1808	Ballingarry, Co. Tipperary	Richard Pennefather	£300	1860
1808	Kilrush, Co. Clare	John O. Vandaleur (salary for mistress 1855)	£300	1877
1808	Kiltegan, Co. Wicklow	William Hoare Hume	£300	1883
1808	Pallasgrean, Co. Limerick	The Trust	£300	1912
1808	Castlerea, Co. Roscommon	Lord Mount Sanford	£300	1839
1808	Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh	Alexander Hamilton	£450	1885
1808	Muff, Co. Derry	David Babington	£300	1882
1808	Lombard St, Dublin	The Trust	£2,485	1901
1808	Tipperary	The Trust	£300	1915
1808	Stranorlar, Co. Donegal	Henry Stewart	£300	1895
1808	Loughgall, Co. Armagh	Robert C. Cope	£300	1895
1808	Newtownbarry (Bunclody), Co. Wexford	Col. John Barry	£300	1898
1808	Slane, Co. Meath	Earl Conyngham	£300	1865
1809	Derry	Bishop of Derry	£975	1883
1809	Killucan, Co. Westmeath	Earl of Longford	£300	1865
1810	Dundalk, Co. Louth	Earl of Roden	£750	1885
1810	Newtownards, Co. Down	Earl of Londonderry	£600	1884
1810	Killashee, Co. Longford	Rev. Sir J. Hutchinson	£300	1896
1810	Upr Cumber, Co. Derry	Rev. J. Goldsberry	£300	1883
1810	Ballyclog, Co. Tyrone	Rev. James Gore	£300	1876
1811	Dungannon, Co. Tyrone	Hon. Thomas Knox	£600	1880
1811	Lurgan, Co. Armagh	William Brownlow	£600	1884
1811	Kilskyre, Co. Meath	Robert Wade	£300	1849
1811	Kilpipe, Co. Wicklow	Earl Fitzwilliam	£300	1939
1811	Buncrana, Co. Donegal	William Todd	£300	1904
1811	Longford	Earl of Longford	£300	1884
1811	Philipstown, King's Co.			

	(Daingean, Co. Offaly)	Baroness Ponsonby	£300	1868
1811	Kill, Co. Kildare	Earl of Mayo	£300	1916
1811	Drumshambo (Kildress), Co. Tyrone	Dean Bourke	£300	1897
1811	Ferns, Co. Wexford	Bishop of Ferns (building grant of £100 in 1840)	£300	1883
1811	Drumachose (Limavady), Co. Derry	Robert Ogilvy (salary granted 1854)	£300	1836
1811	Collon, Co. Louth	John Foster	£553	1949
1811	Gortin, Co. Tyrone	Claude Cole Hamilton	£300	1883
1811	Leckpatrick, Co. Derry	Rev. A. C. Downing	£300	1874
1811	Camus, Co. Tyrone	Rev. Stewart Hamilton	£300	1860
1811	Seaforde, Co. Down	Matthew Ford	£300	1884
1811	Rossdroit, Co. Wexford	Stephen Ram	£300	1850
1811	Mullavilly, Co. Armagh	Count de Salis	£400	1884
1811	Milford, Co. Donegal	Earl of Leitrim	£300	1873
1811	Templepatrick (Craigarogan), Co. Antrim	Lady Caroline Longford	£300	1860
1811	Killeshil, Co. Tyrone	Rev. Daniel Kelly (salary for mistress 1855)	£300	1895
1811	Mullafarry, Co. Mayo	Earl of Arran	£300	1879
1811	Killala, Co. Mayo	Bishop of Killala	£300	1869
1811	Belturbet, Co. Cavan	Corporation	£300	1892
1811	Agherton, Co. Derry	John Cromie	£300	1865
1811	Billy (Bushmills), Co. Antrim	George A. Wray	£300	1878
1811	Blennerville, Co. Kerry	Sir R. Blennerhasset (new school built 1840)	£300	1839
1811	Dromard, Co. Sligo	Col. Irwin (salary for mistress 1855)	£300	1876
1811	Ballymoney, Co. Antrim	Rev. A. H. Symes	£300	1860
1811	Templeshambo, Co. Wexford	Rev. Henry Wynne	£300	1897
1811	Drumbane, Co. Tipperary	The Trust	£300	1845
1811	Cahir, Co. Tipperary	Lord Cahir	£600	1860
1812	Mount Charles, Co. Donegal	Earl of Massarene	£300	1884
1812	Cumber, Co. Down	Earl of Londonderry	£300	1886
1812	Mount Stewart, Co. Down	Earl of Londonderry	£300	1888
1812	Clonaslee, Queen's Co. (Co. Laois)	General Dunne	£300	1839
1812	Dysert, Co. Kilkenny	William Humphreys	£300	1842
1812	Sturgan, Co. Armagh	James Bell	£300	1850
1812	Portglenone, Co. Antrim	Bishop of Down	£450	1848
1812	Antrim	Earl of Massarene	£600	1883
1812	Roscrea, Co. Tipperary	Lady Caroline Damer	£600	1887
1812	Kilrea, Co. Derry	Mercers' Co.	£650	1848
1812	Beltiny, Co. Tyrone	Rev. Francis Gervais	£300	1883

1812	Irvinestown, Co. Fermanagh	George D'Arcy	£300	1841
1812	Kilmeen, Co. Cork	Michael Cox	£300	1864
1812	Lombard St, Dublin (later Brunswick St)	The Trust	£2,602	1901
1814	Loughgilly, Co. Armagh	Rev. W. Bisset (another building grant £100 in 1841)	£300	1877
1814	Donnybrook, Dublin	The Trust	£2,063	1874
1815	Tynan, Co. Armagh	James Strong	salary	1889
1815	Lissan, Co. Derry	Rev. J. M. Staples	salary	1884
1816	Coolaghy, Queen's Co. (Co. Laois)	John Chetwoode	salary	1844
1817	Kilranelagh, Co. Wicklow	F. W. Greene	salary	1850
1819	Richhill, Co. Armagh	Archbishop of Armagh	salary	1895
1819	Glyde Farm, Co. Louth	Chichester Fortescue	salary	1854
1819	Windgates, Co. Wicklow		salary	1903
1819	Coolkenno, Co. Wicklow		salary	1900
1819	Ardglass, Co. Down	Mr Ogilvy	salary	1878
1819	Hill Hall, Co. Down		salary	1867
1820	Tallow, Co. Waterford	Duke of Devonshire	salary	1849
1821	Mountrath, Queen's Co. (Co. Laois)	Sir Charles Coote	salary	1831
1821	Innishannon, Co. Cork		salary	1884
1821	Ballymacbrennan, Co. Down		salary	1851
1821	Kilcooley, Co. Tipperary	Rev. G. St Georges	salary	1902
1821	Bandon, Co. Cork		salary	1882
1821	Tralee, Co. Kerry		salary	1873
1821	Kilmood, Co. Down	Earl of Londonderry	salary	1908
1821	Arklow, Co. Wicklow		salary	1842
1821	Shillelagh, Co. Wicklow		salary	1829
1821	Wexford		salary	1883
1822	Lohort, Co. Cork	Lord Arden	salary	1837
1823	Donadea, Co. Kildare	Sir G. Alymer	salary	1854
1823	Ardmurchan, Co. Meath	Robert Bourke	£47	1857
1824	Carnew, Co. Wicklow	Earl Fitzwilliam (another grant £200 1841)	salary	1829
1825	Galway	The Trust	£300	1863
1826	Athlone, Co. Westmeath	Corporation	salary	1890
1828	Aghadown (later Whitehall), Co. Cork	Rev. H. H. Beecher	salary	1919
1831	Rathdrum, Co. Wicklow		salary	1883
1831	Granard, Co. Longford	Rev. J. Beresford	£300	1895
1834	Sligo	Owen Wynne (salary granted in 1845)	£230	1876
1837	Linenhall St, Dublin	The Trust	salary	1845
1838	Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford	Rev. J. W. Stokes	salary	1883
1840	Grouse Hall (Lissan), Co. Donegal	Archdeacon Torrens	£189	1865
1840	Drumbo, Co. Down	Rev. H. Maunsell	£120	

1840	Lr Cumber, Co. Derry	Rev. J. Hayden	£140	1886
1840	Ullard, Co. Kilkenny	Rev. J. Stubbs	£65	1859
1840	Williamstown (Rathvilly), Co. Wicklow	Rev. Whitty	£92 building grant only	
1840	Omeath, Co. Louth	Henry Hamilton	£200	1903
1840	Salruck, Co. Galway	Rev. J. Duncan	£94 building grant only	
1840	Ballymacarrett, Co. Down	Rev. C. Courtney	£150 building grant only	
1840	Ballymena, Co. Antrim	Rev. H. J. Cumming	£200 building grant only	
1840	Killeshin, Co. Carlow	Rev. R. O'Connor	£142 building grant only	
1840	Lavy, Co. Cavan	Rev. J. H. Lewis	£100 building grant only	
1840	Monart, Co. Wexford	Rev. R. S. Singleton	£162 building grant only	
1840	Killedmond, Co. Carlow	Rev. H. S. King	£131 building grant only	
1840	Derryvollen (Castle Archdall), Co. Fermanagh	Rev. C. Miller	£110	1884
1840	Gorey, Co. Wexford	Stephen Ram (salary granted in 1854)	£200	1884
1840	Kilmore, Co. Cavan	Rev. L. Lewis	£100	1883 (male teacher)
1840	Grange, Co. Armagh	Rev. W. Pennefather	£96 building grant only	
1840	Inchigeela, Co. Cork	Rev. H. Sadleir	£31 building grant only	
1840	Laracor, Co. Meath	Rev. R. Irwin	£60 building grant only	
1840	Clondullane, Co. Cork	Rev. M. H. Crampton	£74 building grant only	
1840	Columbkill, Co. Longford	John Maconchy	£100 building grant only	
1840	Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo	Rev. J. Anderson	£100 building grant only	
1840	Ballinamara, Co. Kilkenny	Rev. Richard Graves	£20 building grant only	
1840	Ballincarrig, Co. Cork	Rev. R. Meade	£100 building grant only	
1840	Ballyhuskard, Co. Longford	Rev. W. Greene	£28 building grant only	
1840	Keady, Co. Armagh	Rev. C. J. Mangan	£80 building grant only	
1840	Ballymore, Co. Wexford	Richard Donovan	£200 building grant only	
1840	Derryhaw, Co. Armagh	Rev. W. McClean (salary granted in 1857)	£75	1910
1840	Whitehouse, Co. Antrim	Rev. A. Orr	£133 building grant only	
1840	Clabby, Co. Fermanagh	Rev. J. G. Porter	£100 building grant only	
1840	Allmartin, Co. Fermanagh	Rev. J. G. Porter	£50 building grant only	
1840	Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim	Dean of Connor	£200 building grant only	
1840	Gortnacorriga, Co. Cork	Rev. W. A. Fisher	£53 building grant only	
1840	Kinnigo, Co. Armagh	Rev. J. Disney (salary granted in 1857)	£61	1874
1840	Kildavin, Co. Carlow	Rev. J. Morton	£30 building grant only	
1840	Kilnagross, Co. Cork	Rev. H. Townsend (salary granted in 1858)	£80	1860
1840	Craigs, Co. Antrim	Rev. G. Kirkpatrick	£200 building grant only	
1840	Beleek, Co. Armagh	Rev. A. Miller (salary granted in 1858)	£49	1865
1841	Lorum, Co. Carlow	Rev. J. G. Wynne	£98 building grant only	
1841	Youghalara, Co. Tipperary	Rev. G. Ross	£66 building grant only	

1841	Lauragh, Queen's Co. (Co. Laois)	Rev. G. Stopford	£84 building grant only	
1841	Bonnyclassock, (Dunluce) Co. Antrim	Rev. G. Morewood (salary granted in 1854)	£100	1873
1841	Kilmore, Co. Armagh	Rev. J. Jones (salary granted in 1855)	£200	1884
1841	Ballyrashane, Co. Derry	Rev. Dr Cupples (salary granted in 1854)	£87	1860
1841	Graigue-na-Spidogue, Co. Carlow	Mrs Faulkener (admitted as 4th class school in 1876)	£75	1883
1841	Derryharney, Co. Fermanagh	Rev. W. Going	£100	1857
1841	Collone, Co. Armagh	Rev. H. P. Disney	£104	1849
1841	Drumcliffe, Co. Sligo	Owen Wynne (salary granted in 1856)	£47	1903
1841	Aughalurcher, Co. Fermanagh	Rev. J. G. Porter	£50 building grant only	
1841	Tullyvullen, Co. Armagh	Rev. Savage Hall	£41 building grant only	
1841	Derryaghy, Co. Antrim	Dean of Connor	£109 building grant only	
1841	Killylea, Co. Armagh	Rev. J. C. McCausland (salary granted in 1861)	£183	1883
1841	Aughavilly, Co. Armagh	Vicars Choral	£200 building grant only	
1841	Ahoghill, Co. Antrim	J. McNeill	£200 building grant only	
1841	Kildalkey, Co. Meath	Henry Potterton (salary granted in 1855)	£180	1860
1841	Kilmailey, Co. Clare	Marquess Conyngham	£105 building grant only	
1841	Clare, Co. Armagh	Rev. Edward Bruce	£133 building grant only	
1841	Corofin, Co. Clare	Sir Lucius O'Brien	£50 building grant only	
1841	Ballinacargy, Co. Cork	Thomas Hungerford	£100 building grant only	
1841	Coachford (Magoney), Co. Cork	Rev. W. Halloran	£99 building grant only	
1841	Newmarket, Co. Cork	Richard Alworth	£146	1874
1841	Knockskragh, Co. Cork	Rev. J. Quarry (salary granted in 1857)	£50	1864
1841	Ralloo, Co. Antrim	Dean of Connor	£105 building grant only	
1841	Castletown, Co. Meath	Rev. E. Niven (salary granted in 1858)	£107	1860
1842	Donaghadee, Co. Down	Daniel Delacherois	salary	1884
1846	St Michan's, Dublin	Rev. Charles Stanford	salary	1916
1855	Tullamore, King's Co. (Co. Offaly)	Rev. E. J. Berry	salary	1870
1855	Hayes, Co. Meath	Lord Mayo	salary	1857
1856	Balbriggan, Co. Dublin	George A. Hamilton	salary	1858
1856	Killyman	Rev. J. J. Disney	salary	1868
1857	Moate, Co. Westmeath	Rev. R. Gibbings	salary	1894
1857	Tyrrellspass (Newtownlow), Co. Meath	Rev. Joseph Daly	salary	1867

1857	Collinstown, Co. Westmeath	William B. Smythe	salary	1882
1857	Cookstown, Co. Tyrone	Rev. A. Malony	salary	1883
1857	Calry, Co. Sligo	Rev. S. Shine	salary	1874
1858	Rynagh, Co. Meath		salary	1869
1858	Tessauran, King's Co. (Co. Offaly)	Rev. R. Gibbings	salary	1915
1858	Lowtherstown (Irvinestown), Co. Fermanagh		salary	1875
1858	Downpatrick, Co. Down	Dean of Down	salary	1879
1860	Aughnacloy, Co. Tyrone	Archdeacon of Armagh	salary	1883
1863	Derryheehan, Co. Fermanagh	Earl of Enniskillen	salary	1883
1863	Gerah, Co. Cork	Earl of Bandon	salary	1882
1863	Banbridge, Co. Down		salary	1874
1864	Blacklion, Co. Cavan	Rev. Dr Dickson	salary	1883
1866	Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh	Rev. L. Greer	salary	1884
1867	Brackley, Co. Armagh	Rev. C. Crossle	salary	1871
1867	Kilmore, Co. Down	Rev. H. Stewart	salary	1896
1867	Doon, Co. Limerick	Rev. I. B. Gordon	salary	1918
1872	Mellifont, Co. Louth	inspection/requisites only		
1873	Wicklow	Rev. H. Brownrigg	salary	1886
1873	Beleek, Co. Fermanagh	A. Tredennick	salary	1873
1875	Tamlaght, (Derryvullen) Co. Fermanagh	admitted as 4th class school		1916
1875	Bundoran, Co. Donegal	admitted as 4th class school		1877
1876	Derrygonnely, Co. Fermanagh	admitted as 3rd class school		1882
1878	Timoleague, Co. Cork	admitted as 4th class school		1931
1883	Baltimore, Co. Cork	Rev. J. Jones	salary	1916
1885	Macroom, Co. Cork	Rev. D. O'Sullivan	salary	1896
1885	Rathbarry, Co. Cork	Rev. J. W. Atkin	salary	1920
1902	Kells, Co. Kilkenny	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1936
1902	Carrickfin, Co. Donegal	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1937
1902	Killorglin, Co. Kerry	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1938
1902	Glencolumbkille, (Malinmore), Co. Donegal	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1942
1902	Burtonport, Co. Donegal	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1912
1903	Donaghmore, Co. Down	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1911
1903	Claremorris, Co. Mayo	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1911
1903	Ballybunion, Co. Kerry	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1914
1903	Fethard, Co. Tipperary	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1932
1903	St Johnstown, Co. Tipperary	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1916
1903	Clonbeg, Co. Tipperary	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1921
1903	Callan, Co. Kilkenny	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1914
1903	Ventry, Co. Kerry	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1916
1903	Valentia, Co. Kerry	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1907
1903	Killeenduff, Co. Sligo	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1912
1903	Annstown, Co. Waterford	Aid to Small Schools Scheme		1907

1903	Ballycastle, Co. Mayo	Aid to Small Schools Scheme	1912
1904	Aclare, Co. Sligo	Aid to Small Schools Scheme	1915
1907	Bunbeg, Co. Donegal	Aid to Small Schools Scheme	1914
1909	Ballingarry, Co. Limerick	Aid to Small Schools Scheme	1914
1909	Cleenish, Co. Fermanagh	Special grant for one year £6	
1910	Inver, Co. Donegal	Aid to Small Schools Scheme	1914
1911	Tubberkeen, Co. Donegal	Aid to Small Schools Scheme	1915
1911	Headford, Co. Galway	Aid to Small Schools Scheme	1914

** discontinued = ended connection with the Trust. This does not necessarily mean that the school was closed.*

CHAPTER V

The Nineteenth Century

At the beginning of the 19th century the Trust was at the height of its success but the new century was to bring many challenges. Not least of these was the change in the economic position in Ireland after 1815 which resulted in falling rents and increasing difficulties in collecting them. For a few years the surpluses continued, financing the expansion of the system of English schools, but most of the first half of the century saw a different situation. As well as the weakening of the economic position, the Trust came to face a very different political and social situation. The Anglican elite which controlled the country was challenged with increasing success as the century progressed. Educational privilege was one area where governments and political opponents were quick to find fault, demanding strict fidelity to the original intentions of those who provided endowments and efficient administration of resources. In general the Erasmus Smith Trust had little to fear from any examination of its administration but as Irish politics became increasingly polarised, it could expect little mercy from those who saw useful ammunition for a larger battle.

Board of Education Reports

Although the 1791 Report of the Commission of Education had not been published, the idea of state supervision of education was not abandoned. In fact, the idea was extended as the century progressed. The next step came in 1806 when an Act was passed to enable the Lord Lieutenant to appoint commissioners to inquire into Irish education. They were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant and by the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests and produced a total of 14 reports. In 1809 their ninth report dealt with the Erasmus Smith schools. The Commissioners involved were Isaac Corry, Robert Lovell Edgeworth, George Hall, Provost of TCD, Very Rev. James Verschoyle, Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral, Rev. James Whitelaw, Vicar of St Catherine's and William Disney. Provost Hall and Dean Verschoyle were Erasmus Smith Governors, while Rev. James Whitelaw was catechist and supervisor of their Coombe school which was in his parish.

The report put the Trust income at £6,717-1-0 with annual expenses of about £4,000. There was £6,000 invested in 5% stock and £29,000 in 3½%

stock. English schools had already been founded at Nenagh, Tarbert, Templederry and the Coombe in Dublin. Eleven more were already planned, including one in St Mark's parish in Dublin and one or two more in 'the poorer and more populous districts of the city'. The Commissioners praised these plans which they judged 'generally and extensively useful'. This seems to have encouraged the Governors to expand their plans for English schools, as described in the last chapter.

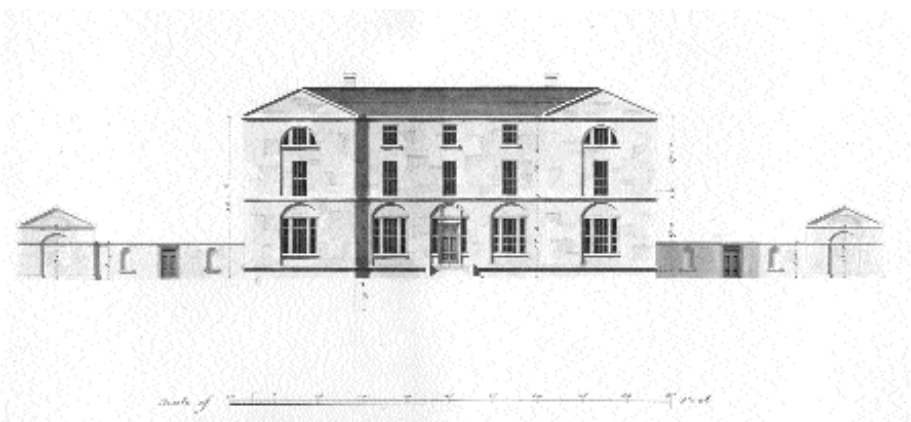
In their report on the grammar schools run by the Trust, the Commissioners found that Drogheda had declined from its success in Dr Norris' time. From 80 pupils in 1789 it had fallen to 20 in 1807, when they examined Rev. Charles Crawford, the master during that time. When they interviewed the new master, Dr Lancelot Dowdall, in May 1809, the numbers had risen to 90, of whom 66 were boarders. The Governors paid the master and two other teachers, while the master paid three other teachers himself. There was accommodation for 130 boarders in two houses. The master of Galway was financially well provided for, being paid £100 and given 33 acres which he let at £4 per acre. He was also allowed to let the lower floor of the school in High Street which brought in £96-14-6. One other teacher was paid by the Governors. The number of pupils was disappointing; although there was accommodation for 16 boarders, there was never more than one. There were 31 pupils, 14 learning Classics, while the rest received an English education. The situation of the school was unfavourable, on a busy street with no playground, but the report noted that the Governors were planning a new school on another site.

Rev. Marshall Clarke, Master of Tipperary Grammar School, was examined on 12 January 1807. Although the school was well sited and had accommodation for 100 boarders, there were only 36 boarders and 24 day pupils, 15 of them free. One assistant was paid by the Governors and he also was given 10 acres of land rent free; one assistant was paid by the master. The Commissioners concluded that the main reason why the schools at Tipperary and Galway were not flourishing was due to the masters, although they also criticised the Governors for not visiting and for not taking more care in appointing masters. The report on Ennis was more favourable, the Commissioners being 'well satisfied with the state of the school'. The house had a capacity for 42 boarders; there were 31 boarders and 16 day pupils, eight of whom were free. The Governors paid one assistant £50 per year with his board; the master paid another assistant £40 and his board. The master also paid two writing masters and a French master.

A New Building for Galway Grammar School

Two Grammar schools received new buildings at the beginning of the century, Galway and Tipperary. The first suggestions for a new building for Galway had been made by the Archbishop of Tuam as early as 1789 and a sub-committee had been set up to consider a site and plans in 1792. Events moved slowly, however, and it was not until 1807 that firm steps were taken on the matter. A new master, Rev. Thomas Cranham Wade, had been appointed in 1800, the Governors rejecting an approach from Dublin Castle to appoint a Mr Wilson who had 'suffered greatly at Castlebar during the rebellion'.[1] On 23 February 1807 the Board accepted plans drawn up by Richard Morrison for the new school on a site of four acres at Font Hill. Morrison was paid £50 for the plans. Events continued to move slowly. In 1810 it was decided to rent a house until the new building was ready, the old schoolhouse to be demolished and the site let on a building lease. Morrison's plans seem to have been dropped. By 1812 the builder, Mr Colbourne, was ordered to prepare plans for the new school and, after some amendments were made by the Standing Committee, the Board authorised him to proceed on 18 June 1812. On 13 July Francis Johnston reported to the Standing Committee that he had inspected Colbourne's plans and approved of them. Johnson received £5 for inspecting the plans.

The Governors wanted the new school to be a success and they had no confidence in Wade to lead it properly, so they decided in 1814 that he would not be appointed in charge of the new school. He had not improved his case by demanding compensation for the loss of income sustained when he could no longer lease the lower storey of the old schoolhouse to local traders. Wade sent a letter of protest at his dismissal on 18 April 1814, backed up by references from leading citizens of Galway and from parents.[2] The advertisements for the post mentioned at least 60 boarders; the master was to receive £100



Front elevation of Galway Grammar School by Richard Morrison, 1807. The building erected was to a slightly different plan by the builder, Mr Colbourne.

per year, as well as 16 acres of land rent free and an allowance for an usher. There were 16 candidates, of whom three were short listed and Rev. John Whitely was appointed on 24 February 1815. When the tenants petitioned for free education as laid down in the Charter, the Board decided, on 2 December 1815:

> Resolved that the terms of the Charter being imperative and leaving no discretion to this Board in this respect, the Register be directed to inform the Master that, on the application of parents or friends of any child entitled as above mentioned to free education in the said school, the Schoolmaster be directed to acquaint such persons so applying, with the course of education established by the Charter and the regulations of the Board for scholars on the foundation of the said school.

He was also told to accept 20 free pupils nominated by the Board. During the year the Board voted extra money for a new road to the school, for furnishing the dining hall, schoolroom and writing room and for a ball court. By 1816 it was clear that all was not well with the school. The Board received a report that there were few scholars and that Whitely 'actually threshed corn in the schoolroom'.

Whitely seems to have ignored the ruling on accepting sons of tenants as free pupils because, a few years later, on 18 January the Board received a petition on the matter from a group of citizens. They had written to the Registrar but he had referred them to the 1815 resolution of the Board. Now they asked that the resolution be enforced:

> while every enlightened mind in the Empire has education on its lips … will the Governors of Erasmus Smith turn their backs on a population of 50,000 souls, several thousand of whom are tenants and inhabitants on the lands of Erasmus Smith in the town of Galway, and who this day know less of the English language than the Indians in the Pacific Islands?[3]

Some idea of the problems in this area can be glimpsed a few years later, in 1836, when there were complaints against Daniel Foley, the usher, for insulting the Roman Catholic pupils by comparing their priests to pagan priests. Both Folely and Whitely were summoned to attend the Standing Committee but no decision was taken, in spite of further letters of complaint. The school did not prosper under Whitely; by 1835 there were only three boarders and 19 day pupils.

A New Building for Tipperary Grammar School

Unlike Galway, which had never had a purpose-built school, the school in Tipperary had been built for the school at the beginning of the 18th century

and the schoolhouse had been rebuilt at a cost of £129-15-6 in 1774. Nevertheless, in 1811 a decision was taken to build a new school on a better site. Francis Johnston was asked to draw up plans for a school for 'one hundred boys, the sons of clergymen', together with accommodation for the master and two ushers. No further action was taken until 1815 when it was decided that the new school should be built on the same general plan as Galway. Advertisements inviting tenders from builders were placed in newspapers in Dublin, Limerick and Clonmel. Mr Colbourne was appointed and instructed to prepare plans for the building. When the Standing Committee received the plans in March 1816 they asked the architect, John Bowder, who was also working on the Galway building at this time, to examine them. They decided to increase the accommodation from 60 to 100 boarders. Bowder eventually received £210-4-0 in fees. The Governors continued to spend money on the new building; in 1820 Colbourne, the builder, was paid an additional £890 for building a bridge, enclosing the playground, and building a porter's lodge.

There were tensions on religious policies in Tipperary as in Galway. In 1818 Mortimer O' Sullivan, a convert from Roman Catholicism, was appointed usher. During his term as usher (1818-25) he was ordained for the curacy of Tipperary; he went on to be a leading figure in the Evangelical Revival and a strong controversialist. His appointment caused some parents to withdraw their sons from the school. In March 1831 the Standing Committee heard a memorial from some of the inhabitants of Tipperary complaining that the master, Rev. Denny O'Riordan, refused to accept children of those privileged by the Charter. The issue was shunted from the Committee to the Archbishop of Cashel to the Archdeacon. Eventually the Board replied that it was the duty of the master to admit the sons of tenants and that he did not need to consult them on the matter. They also pointed out that up to 20 other free pupils could be admitted on the recommendation of the Governors. They said that they did not believe that any child of a tenant had been refused admission. On 28 October the Standing Committee received a letter from Mr Edmund Scully on behalf of the townspeople, asking for further explanation of the Board's decision and claiming an extension of the privileges of free education. The Committee replied that his interpretation of the Charter was incorrect.

The school in Tipperary made slow progress under O'Riordan but the Board followed their usual policy of leaving matters in the hands of the master. This remained so even in the face of evidence of very serious failure. On 16 November 1843 they considered a letter from Major General Lord Downes (a Governor), who on a visit to the school found that there were only four

boarders and no plan of instruction for the pupils. He requested the use of the school as a barracks: 'I am induced to make this request to the Board in the hope that in the present alarming state of the country, they will enable me, by permitting the School House to be thus converted, to send immediately a force of 200 or 300 men to Tipperary.' The Board agreed, provided that Lord Downes would provide suitable accommodation for the master. Later, in 1845 a plot of land of 21 acres was leased to the government for a barracks. Finally, the Governors took action prompted by criticisms of the school in the evidence given to the Endowed Schools Commission. The Treasurer, John Barlow, visited the school and was shocked to find that there was no system of education in place there, one of the ushers was a Roman Catholic and no religious instruction was given. O'Riordan was forced to resign, although he was awarded a generous pension.

Revision of the Charter

The most important change to the Trust in the early 19th century was a revision of the Charter enacted in 1833. The revisions are largely technical and seem to have arisen from uneasiness about the exact terms of the original Charter with regard to the election of the Treasurer. Lord Downes had been Treasurer from 1812 to 1822 and when he died he was succeeded by his son, even though he was not at that time a member of the Board. He resigned in 1826 and was succeeded by Rev. John Pomeroy who was Vicar of St Ann's and who held several other church offices. He succeeded as Viscount Harberton in 1832. He initiated the moves for a new Charter before his death in 1833. This was one of the few periods in the history of the Trust when there was sometimes difficulty in finding a quorum of Governors and some meetings had to be postponed. At the beginning of the century, laymen had dominated the Board but now clergymen were again the dominant group. The new Treasurer, elected in May 1833, was Dr Charles Richard Elrington, Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, who had been a Governor for more than 30 years; his father (Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin) had also been a Governor. The Attorney-General had been consulted on the terms of the new Charter and on 8 January 1833 the Standing Committee considered his opinion on the election of the Treasurer. He stated that, according to the Charter, (1) at least 19 Governors must be present; (2) the election must be on the first Tuesday of May or first Tuesday of November. He concluded: 'in order to avoid the discussion of some serious legal questions,' he strongly recommended that an application be made for a new charter.

The Board accepted this opinion and on 12 April the law agent submitted the draft of the new charter which was passed by the Board on 31 October.

1833 Charter

The main changes were:

- The Treasuerer to be elected annually by a quorum of at least any five Governors; same person may be re-elected annually for any number of years.
- Any five Governors may audit the accounts of the Treasurer, Agent or Registrar.
- No payment to be made to the Treasurer; sixpence in the pound on all rents received to be put in a separate fund called The Treasurer's Poundage, to be used as the Governors decide.
- Power to make leases of 41 years of land situated in or near any market town
- Governors may appoint ushers as they consider necessary, without restriction, according to the number of pupils in any school, and at whatever stipend they consider suitable.
- Quorum reduced from seven to five.

The new charter was issued on 5 August 1833.

As can be seen from the above summary, the new Charter only revised the original in the technicalities of the election and functioning of the Treasurer. In fact, no Treasurer since Lord Redesdale in 1803 had taken the fees due to the office. It was already allocated to support of boys in the Blue Coat School.

The Estates: Problems of Violence

Management of the estates occupied a much larger proportion of the Board's time in the 19th century than in the previous period. This was partly because of the economic difficulties following 1815 and partly because they decided to end the system of middlemen gradually and to deal directly with the occupiers of the land. In this they were following a broadly similar policy to many other landowners at the time. Kilduffe in 1819 was the first part of the estate to be let directly, in 13 divisions, but it was another 20 years before the system of middlemen finally ended. In 1834 the under-tenants of Soloheadbeg petitioned not to have a middleman; they were told that the lease would be up in 1835 when the land would be let to the highest bidder. On 3 May 1836 the Soloheadbeg tenants were given one-year leases on probation for three years. During the same time abatements of rent were being granted to tenants in difficulties, usually of 25%, and rent arrears were rising.

Generally the estates of the Trust seem to have been free of violence in the 18th century, although there was one case of 'houghing' (cutting the achilles

tendon in cattle) reported to the Board on 11 January 1751 in a letter from the new tenant of Drumbane, Lambert Pepper. The Governors placed advertisements in the newspapers offering £100 reward for information but there is no further mention of it in the Board records. However, the 19th century was not so peaceful. On 5 April 1838 Mr Cooper, the Board's agent in Tipperary/Limerick, was murdered with Mr Neyland on the way to the fair in Tipperary.[4] At their meeting on 1 May the Board offered a reward of £100 for the apprehension of the murderer. In 1845 in evidence given in Tipperary to the Devon Commission, Michael Doheny connected the murder to the eviction of 'persons named Dwyer' by order of the Governors for the recovey of lands of Knockderk in May 1832, suggesting that Cooper had misled the Dwyers. The Governors ordered an inquiry into the truth of this allegation. This showed that Dwyer owed two years' rent (£941-6-11). The first ejectment proceedings resulted in some rent being paid, leaving £416-5-0 outstanding. When the tenant refused to give possession, a second ejectment proceedings resulted in the eviction of Dwyer and the land was let to Darby O'Grady. A memorial from Dwyer led to an investigation by the Governors which showed that a mistake of £220 had been made by the agent. Dwyer was allowed to remain. The Governors concluded that there was no likelihood that Cooper had deceived the Dwyers; in any case these events occurred six years before the murder. The murder of Cooper had wider repercussions too. It provoked the Tipperary magistrates to write to Dublin Castle demanding that strong measures should be taken against lawlessness. This produced a famous reply from Thomas Drummond, Under Secretary of State, in which he reminded the magistrates that 'property has its duties as well as its rights' and linked agrarian crime with evictions.[5]

Later that year the Standing Committee considered a letter from the Lord Lieutenant, supported by evidence from Lord Guillamore, Vice-Lieutenant of Co. Limerick, accusing the Board of keeping in their employment a bog ranger, James McNamara, who, it was alleged, was a murderer who carried arms, and of evicting the brother of the murdered man. The investigation produced a tangled tale. In October 1844 the Governors' bog ranger, Thomas McNamara, was murdered; the murderer, named O' Brien, was convicted by the Assize Court in 1845 and transported for life. The Board employed the murdered man's son, James McNamara, as bog ranger but he was subject to much hostility; so much so, that the magistrates allowed him to carry a firearm. In September 1845 in a quarrel with Matthew O'Brien, the brother of the convict, McNamara fired at him and wounded him. McNamara gave himself up to the police and was allowed bail. Further letters from Lord

Guillamore spoke of other accusations of murder against the McNamaras and repeated the accusations that the Governors had protected a criminal and evicted his victim. The Board replied that they had served notice of eviction on O'Brien's mother six months before the assault by McNamara. It may be no coincidence that Lord Guillamore was the head of the O'Grady family who were long-term tenants of the Trust but who were heavily in arrears and facing the end of their tenancy under the policy of getting rid of middlemen.

Distress and Famine

There were appeals for assistance from the Governors in meeting distress as famine and disease became more common. On 4 June 1822 the Board granted a second £100 to Rev. Charles Coote, Rector of Doone, to build roads from the bogs of Gortevally and Carrigeenagonagh in order to help relieve distress in that area of Co. Limerick. In July £244-1-0 was granted for work on the quay wall in Galway for the same purpose. In 1833 Rev. Charles Coote was granted £25 to help relieve the distress caused by cholera. But none of this came near the problems which arose in the Great Famine between 1845 and 1850. The Governors were caught between meeting the needs of two poor groups. On the one hand, there were the tenants who were in great distress; on the other hand there were the many poorly paid schoolmasters and mistresses who would quickly be reduced to starvation if there was no money to pay them. The Board followed a mixture of policies in dealing with the distress on their estates, relying heavily for advice on their land agents in the different areas.

One aspect of their actions was to subscribe to the Relief Committees in the different districts where they had estates. They had actually written to Captain Kennedy, Secretary to the Commissioners for Relief, on 20 April 1846 asking if they should contribute to a central fund. He replied on 22 April that the Commissioners did not distribute money directly and referred them to the local committees. The Board sent £15 each to the relief committees in Tipperary and Doon and £25 to Pallas, with the promise of more as necessary. They also provided £200 to create work in the area. They continued to give sums of money to these and other relief committees over the following years, including those in Galway. They also gave direct help to their own tenants, examples being £15 for seed potatoes for Drumbane in May 1846 and £70 for seed oats for 40 named Drumbane tenants, at the same time sending £20 to Rev. Mr Tressor for immediate distribution to the Drumbane poor. In March 1847, £16 was granted to buy turnip seed for the Drumbane tenants but by May funds were exhausted and no help could be sent to the

Pallasgrean Relief Committee. In May 1848 the Drumbane tenants were granted £45 to purchase seed potatoes and again in 1849 money was given to them for parsnip, carrot and pea seeds.

The Board told the land agents in 1846 that it was essential to collect the rents as they were to be used for charitable purposes but that they could exercise indulgence in suitable cases. By 1847 the distress was much greater. On 15 March 1847 the Standing Committee agreed to reductions in rent for the Drumbane tenants of 50% for those paying under £10 and 33% to those paying more than £10. Two weeks later a similar but more restricted scheme was introduced on all the Limerick and Tipperary lands. As late as 1851 abatements were being allowed if losses had been caused by the failure of the potatoes. In May 1847, £2,500 of investments were sold and later an overdraft facility of £4,000 was agreed with the Bank of Ireland.

The crisis caused a rapid rethink on leasing policies, if the landlords as a whole could have been said to have had such a policy before this. Landlords had long turned a blind eye to the multiplication of sub-tenancies on their estates. The determination was now to prevent further sub-division and the multiplication of cottier tenants. In March 1847 the Standing Committee told the agent for the Limerick/Tipperary estate to find out farms which might be amalgamated by emigration or other means. The Governors told him that they did not wish him to interfere in emigration but only to encourage it if the opportunity arose. At the same time they accepted a proposal from the agent that arrears of rent should be remitted to tenants who took up lands for their own use which had previously been sub-let. However, when the agent proposed, in February 1848, to build cottages for sub-tenants who had been evicted, he received a sharp answer: 'The Governors are of the opinion that this plan would be perpetuating a race of idle paupers. The Board never acknowledged these people as tenants, and if they must be put upon the Poor Rates, the Governors would rather bear the burden than venture to adopt Mr Galwey's suggestion.'

In April Galwey was told that he could allow tenants to purchase tenancies from one another to enlarge farms, forgiving as much arrears of rent as he thought just to encourage this. A glimpse of this policy in action is gained in July 1848 when the agent was authorised to offer gratuities to under-tenants on one holding (Robert and George Airey's at Garraune) to pull down their houses. He was also to vet 'Dr White and other respectable tenants'. In August the agent was told that the Board approved of the manner in which he had cleared the Airey holding: 'They would much prefer reasonable compensation to the two widows of whom Mr Galwey writes, to retaining them;

as the erecting of any small cabins they cannot admit of.' They had already said much the same thing in July: 'The Board will not sanction any plan for locating small cottier tenants, as they are of the opinion that farmers should locate their own labourers; the Board trusts that Mr Galwey will get rid of several cottiers in the manner he has already been pursuing.' However, later in August the agent asked, and received, sanction to pay the Sheriff's fees required 'in such cases as it will be indispensible to throw down cabins and to eject the occupants by force'. £5 seems to have been the usual sum paid to smaller tenants to give up their farms when they were in arrears, or £2-10-0 if they waited until legal proceedings against them had begun. The same policy was still in operation in 1849; on 26 February the agent was told to try to remove four families: 'The Board would rather give a moderate sum than eject. But if the families persist in refusing to remove, the ejectment must issue.' In May 1849 it was agreed that compensation should be given for the value of crops on holdings being bought out. Rent arrears were remitted in many cases, presumably to tenants who were judged capable of making a success of their holding. In April 1849 the agent was authorised to give money for improvements to those without leases.

One of the main ways of meeting the distress caused by the failure of the potato crop was to provide employment. The Governors applied for grants for improvements in Drumbane, Soloheadbeg and Kilduffe, mainly for drainage to the Dead river and the Bilboa river. £3,250 was borrowed from the Government between 1848 and 1850 for this purpose. Under the Landed Property Improvement Act (10 Vic. 32) by which these loans were granted, a report had to be prepared on the proposals. On 12 February 1848 the Governors considered the report of James Jocelyn Poe on Drumbane. Poe had previously been agent for the Governors but was now an inspector with the Board of Works. His report was very critical of the Governors who, he said, never visited the area. This part of the estate (nearly 2,000 acres) had been let to a middleman under stringent conditions which had not been enforced, leading to large-scale sub-division and little or no encouragement for improvements except the provision of timber and slates for houses. There was now a very large number of tenants. The drainage applied for was on the agent's land and other areas where tenants were given notice to quit but it was needed everywhere. There was also a need for a road since the tenants were obliged to use a rocky bed of one of the mountain streams as a passage to their farms. The distress in the area was a cause of crime. A schoolhouse had been built but 'from some cause or other, it as well as other schools of the Governors, was avoided by the people'. In their reply, the Governors pointed

out that Poe had been their agent when the middleman, Rev. W. Armstrong, had been ejected in 1838. Poe had been allowed to reduce the rents but, instead of dealing only with Armstrong's tenants, he dealt with all the occupiers, thus increasing the tenants from 74 to 122. From 1838 to 1848 Poe had managed the estate and had reported improvements. Grants for roads had been refused on Poe's advice, although £50 had been granted on one occasion.

Edward Galwey was the agent for the Southern estate after Poe and, during the Famine, as has been described, did much to shape the Board's policies. He seems to have had hopes of making some changes in the methods of agriculture. In March 1847 he asked permission to purchase 100 copies of Clapperton on *Green Cropping* (i.e., cultivating turnips and mangolds), and the purchase of different seeds for the Drumbane tenants, as mentioned above, suggests a wish to break the hold of the potato. He resigned in 1850, mainly because the Governors refused his application for an increase in his fees consequent on his increased work. The final quarrel was over the contentious issue of clearances, this time in Gortevalla. There 137 families had been dispossessed by 'forcibly dragging down their houses, and leaving the old, the infirm and the young without shelter'. This had been done without the sanction of the Governors: 'Such a proceeding, had it been proposed to them, they would have condemned, and in the most peremptory manner forbidden the execution of it by anyone acting under their authority.'[6]

Financial Cutbacks

The Famine drastically affected the work of the Trust. By the middle of 1847 the Board were considering their expenditure. A survey reported on 23 July 1847 showed:

Grammar schools	£321-7-2
Blue Coat (20 boys)	£496-0-0
Trinity College	£960-0-0
English Schools (123)	£4,307-0-0

On 6 December 1847 large reductions were imposed on all payments. Professors were reduced from £92 to £60, Grammar school masters from £92 to £66-13-4 and assistants from £73 to £60. The two English school inspectors were to be reduced to one and masters and mistresses in the English schools were to lose on average £5 to £15. The return of the Governors to the Endowed Schools Commission showed the position in 1849. On the Southern Estate, for example, the full rental was £5,543 but the actual amount collected was £1,450. The overall income was just over £9,000 but the actual amount collected for the year was £4,257.[7] In 1850 further reduc-

tions were imposed on Trinity College, bringing them back to the amounts laid down in the Charter. When the Registrar resigned, the post was combined with the Inspector of Schools; Rev. Hugh Hamilton was paid £220 and had the use of 11 Kildare Street, now the Trust's headquarters. His assistant, Eustace Thorp, was paid £100. By 1854 the reductions in salaries were being removed and on 2 March 1855 the English school masters and mistresses were restored to their pre-Famine salaries.

Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission 1854-58

It was at this time, one of the most difficult in its history so far, that the Trust was subjected to a sharp and largely hostile examination by another government commission on endowed schools. This commission was made up of the Marquis of Kildare, Rev. Charles Graves and three barristers. The Board got off to a bad start with the commission by challenging its right to examine the Trust's schools. The Endowed Schools, Ireland, Commission was established on 14 November 1854. On 27 January 1855 the Governors resolved not to co-operate with the Commision, telling all employees to refuse to answer questions. A sub-committee of Judge Jackson, Henry Kemmis, Theophilus Jones, and W. D. La Touche was appointed to draft a letter of reply to the Commissioners. Their letter included the opinion of Counsel (Francis Fitzgerald), citing the Charter which 'exempted from any visitation but that of Erasmus Smith'. The Commission refused to accept this weakening of their authority and on 13 July 1855 a supplementary Act of Parliament was passed to give power to the Commissioners to receive evidence from all schools. The Board had invited a clash and it certainly received little mercy from the Commission, which took pleasure, in its final report, in pointing out that while the Governors claimed that their schools were exempt from all visitation by outsiders, the Governors themselves had failed in their own duty of supervision.

On 29 January 1858 the Commissioners submitted their report to Parliament. The Erasmus Smith Trust received considerable attention. The section of the report on the Trust's English schools was dealt with in Chapter IV. In their report on the Grammar schools of the Trust, the Commissioners were critical of the neglect of the rules of the Charter and the wishes of the founder. The masters of the schools had no knowledge of the Charter and had never been given a copy of rules, nor were the schools inspected. The Treasurer, John Barlow, in his evidence, argued that the Board appointed well-qualified masters and expected them to conduct their schools properly but the Commissioners did not accept this as sufficient. The Commissioners also criticised the lack of money spent on these schools, although they did

acknowledge that the buildings were themselves adequate; the Charter's instructions as to 'beautifying' were neglected. Mr Barlow countered that it was the Governors' policy to make the master dependent on the income from his pupils, since they believed that this was a spur to efficiency. The inadequacy of the exhibitions given to students from the Grammar schools entering Trinity College was pointed out: the Erasmus Smith exhibitions were £8 and £6 per year, while the exhibitions from the Royal Schools were £30 and £50 p.a. Consequently these exhibitions were no inducement to the Grammar schools to improve their standards. The masters (and, indeed, the Governors) were unaware that the Grammar schools were not confined to teaching Classics, as the Charter allowed for an English education where the parents wished and for pupils for whom it was more suitable. The master of Drogheda school was particularly surprised by this discovery. Nor were the masters aware that all pupils should be catechised; all four schools had Roman Catholic pupils and each made different arrangements for religious instruction. In Tipperary, when an Assistant Commissioner examined it, there were 13 pupils present, of whom 12 were Roman Catholics and one was Presbyterian. The Charter's instructions regarding free pupils and free education for the children of tenants were also disregarded.

The Governors had resisted their schools being included within the terms of the Commission as they claimed that the Charter gave them exclusive rights of visitation and, as mentioned above, a special Act of Parliament had to be passed to bring them under the terms of the Commission. The Commissioners, therefore, took particular pleasure in censuring the Governors for their failure to visit the Grammar schools: 'We found, however, that the Governors had not for years performed the duty which they thus claimed for themselves.' In fact throughout the report and in the examination of witnesses, there is a noticeable hint of pleasure in finding fault, with very little acknowledgement of achievements, in particular, the fact that over 7,000 pupils were receiving education. They criticise the Governors for not fulfilling the recommendations of the 1791 Report, apparently overlooking the fact (which they themselves had discovered) that the report had never been published.

The biggest fault the Commissioners found in the administrative structure of the Trust was that there was no system of double-entry bookeeping. The public examination of the officers of the Trust is almost comical in the refusal of the Treasurer, the Registrar, the Assistant Registrar and the Law Agent to accept final responsibility for keeping the accounts. In fact there is a strong indication of 19th-century class divisions and the lowly position of 'trade' in some parts of society, in Mr Barlow's evidence:

> I know nothing of it, as I never looked into the ledger in my life; I am not an accountant, I am not a book-keeper, and if I did look to it, I dare say, I would not be much wiser than I am at present; I am glad to have the the opportunity of saying, I never looked into a page of it.[8]

The Trust's enemies, and some politicians, notably Lord Randolph Churchill in 1878, made wide use of this exchange. However, the really important point was that there was no evidence of serious loss or fraud, as the Report acknowledges: 'no wilful misapplication of the funds was discovered' when the books were submitted to a professional accountant. This echoed the remark of the Chairman of the Commission to Mr Barlow when his evidence was completed: 'Mr Barlow, the Commissioners wish me to say that they have gone over the accounts of the Board very carefully, and they do not believe that there has been the wilful misapplication of a single farthing of the funds entrusted to their management.'[9] Curiously, the examination of the Charter had not caused the Commissioners to ask why the Treasurer did not claim the Treasurer's poundage or when it had been given up by the Treasurers to benefit the charity.

The Commission made several recommendations for more efficient administration of the Trust, mainly arising from the criticisms noted above. They were very critical of the leases on which the early English schools were set up because they did not secure the land and buildings to the Trust if the school failed (they reverted to original donor). However, they made rather impractical suggestions as to what the Governors were to do with scattered plots of (on average) two acres in many parts of the country. They suggested that the landowners should be forced to buy the buildings; if that had been the condition when the schools were established, it is unlikely that the landowners would have been favourable. They suggested that the salaries of the teachers in the English schools should be increased, either by securing additional local support or by reducing the number of schools.

Central to the Commission's criticisms of the Trust was that the English schools were too big a drain on resources, to the detriment of the Grammar schools. This was certainly a sustainable view and the Comissioners backed it up by saying that these schools were not 'contemplated by the founder'. They do not seem to have been aware of the Transmitted Bill which authorised spending part of any surplus on such schools, and on which the Governors based their decisions in 1721 which led to the Act of 1723 which, as the Commissioners agreed, made this spending perfectly legal. The Commissioners admitted that the deviations from the Charter were the result of long usage and not wilful mismanagement:

> Many of the objectionable arrangements we have noticed seem to have gradually grown up, and to be attributable to a system of routine, resting on the authority of persons of dignity and influence, who had been active Governors in past times, and whose acquaintance with the affairs of the charity and the trusts of the foundation was supposed to be extensive and accurate.[10]

Most of the recommendations of the Commissioners in regard to administration were carried out. In 1857 an accountant and book-keeper was appointed and two members of the Board were appointed to carry out annual audits. Proper balance sheets were issued annually. In 1859 the offices of Registrar and Inspector of English Schools were again separated and a new Inspector of Schools was appointed. However, it was not until 1875 that an Inspector of Grammar Schools was appointed.

Improved Finances

By the end of the 1850s the financial position of the Trust had recovered from the difficulties of the Famine. In addition the Trust benefited from the railway building which was proceeding rapidly in Ireland during those years. Lands in Limerick and Westmeath were compulsorily acquired by the Great Southern and Western, the Midland and the Waterford and Limerick Railway Companies. These factors, as well as a reduction in the number of English schools, gave the opportunity to the Governors to turn their minds to new developments. They did take some note of the criticisms of the Commissioners with regard to the Grammar schools but their central policy towards those schools did not change in any substantial way. They made arrangements for Drogheda and Tipperay to be inspected by two or three Fellows of Trinity College and book prizes were to be awarded to senior classes on their answering at these inspections. There was a new master in Tipperary, Rev. Arthur Gore Ryder, as mentioned above, and both Drogheda and Ennis also had new masters in the following years. In 1858, Rev. George Lacey resigned from Drogheda and Rev. Edward Maynard Goslett was appointed. In Ennis, Dr King resigned in 1860 and his successor was Rev. Frederick Eldon Barnes. However, it was a completely new development which was to preoccupy the Board in the next decade. This was the foundation of a new school in Dublin.

CHAPTER VI

The Harcourt Street School

The idea of a school in Dublin had occasionally surfaced in discussions of the affairs of the Trust. In 1709 Erasmus Smith's son, Samuel, had petitioned the House of Commons to have a Mathematical School established in Dublin, but the project was dropped. In the period that followed, the Board made no move to provide a secondary school in Dublin, although several English schools were established, as described in chapter four. One of these, founded in Lombard (later Brunswick) Street in 1812, developed into a Commercial School. The publication of the 1791 Report of the Commissioners of Education as part of the 1858 Report of the Endowed Schools Commission must have stirred interest in Hely Hutchinson's plan for a Dublin Academy funded from the resources of the Erasmus Smith Trust.[1] Now, in 1862, they took the first steps which led to the opening of The High School eight years later. The first mention of the project is in the minutes of the Standing Committee of the Governors on 14 March 1862, when a resolution was passed to consider the establishment of 'a first class English school for the instruction of the middle classes', to fit them for 'competitive examinations, mercantile situations, etc'.

A sub-committee was appointed to examine the possibilities of a large school in Dublin. It consisted of the Ven. John West, Archdeacon of Dublin and later Dean of Christ Church and St Patrick's Cathedrals, Mr Jones, Mr Lendrick and Rev. W. C. Greene. They were given the following guidelines: (1) it was to be an institution providing an English education (i.e., not a Grammar school), including modern languages; (2) it was to be in Dublin; (3) it was to consist of 50 boarders and about 100 day boys; (4) there were to be first-rate masters in all departments. The sub-committee were also ordered to report on the approximate cost which the Governors would have to bear. The sub-committee reported on 4 April 1863, and the full Board sanctioned their proposals on 12 April, authorising the Standing Committee to look for a suitable site, with or without a house. Unfortunately, the report of the sub-committee has not survived but their main suggestions seem to have followed closely the guidelines outlined above. It was an innovation which would be quite difficult to reconcile with the Charter. In fact, in 1865, Dean West

seems to have had second thoughts on this, because he presented a strongly argued objection to the plans for the new school. The Governors decided to press on.

Reasons for a Dublin School

What reasons had the Governors for such an important change in the policy of the Trust? It is possible to deduce a variety of answers to this question. Perhaps the most important reason for expanding the work of the Trust was the surplus revenue which the Board had in hand. After the terrible depression of the Famine period, the next decades were a time of relative prosperity in Ireland and rents rose. In the middle of the 1850s the Board had excess income of £3,000 p.a. In addition they had sold land for railway building and that money had not yet been used. In the second place, there was a growing need for 'middle-class' education because the traditional Grammar schools gave a classical education that was out of line with the requirements of industrial towns. The Report of the Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission referred to this need and to the difficulties facing the middle classes in obtaining education for their children.[2] Prince Albert encouraged a movement in England to provide such schools, since he had experience of similar education in Germany. A typical example was Leeds Church Middle Class School.[3] As the century passed the need for middle-class education grew, especially in Dublin. The city had long ago recovered from the loss of the Irish Parliament by the Act of Union, and was expanding rapidly, especially to the south and west.[4] The Endowed Schools Commission (Ireland) report in 1858 said that there was 'a very strong feeling respecting the deficiencies which now, to a great extent, debar the middle classes from the enjoyment of the inestimable advantages of good instruction'.[5] In the 1861 census the proportion of the eligible population attending secondary schools was: Church of Ireland 3.2%; Presbyterians 4.39% and Roman Catholics 0.92%.

The type of education demanded was also changing. After 1855 some positions in the Civil Service were opened to competitive examination and it was only a matter of time until all posts in the Civil Service would be filled in the same way. In fact, this came in 1871. This led to more emphasis on Modern Languages, English and Science, while the old Grammar school insistence on Classics was diminished. At the same time, universities were founding courses in new subjects, for example in Trinity College professional chairs were established in English Literature in 1855, in Modern languages in 1862 and in Zoology in 1871.[6] Perhaps most important of all, the development of business led to a demand for the kind of education which would prepare boys for commercial careers.

The Search for a Site

The search for suitable premises in which to conduct the new school proved to be a lengthy process. The first proposal was to buy 40 Harcourt Street, the property of the late Dean Pakenham, who had been Dean of both the Dublin cathedrals at the same time. This was discussed by the Standing Committee on 15 June 1864 and in August an offer of £3,000 was made, which was refused. In February 1865, negotiations began for the lease of one English acre from Henry Joly, Esq., on Adelaide Road and Harcourt Terrace. The Standing Committee agreed to proceed with the negotiations on 17 March but the following month these were also abandoned, apparently because the price was too high. The problem seemed solved on 4 May 1865 when William Sandford Pakenham agreed to accept £3,750 for 40 Harcourt Street. However, when the Governors' solicitors examined the title, difficulties arose. At a Board meeting on 16 June 1865, it was decided that it would be impossible to proceed with the purchase of the Harcourt Street house 'unless it is shown … with perfect certainty that neither of the railway lines, which at present have power to run through the premises, can be proceeded with'.

Following this setback, the Governors resumed negotiations in September 1865 with Mr Joly, but again with no result. On 19 January 1866 they declined an offer of Nos 16 and 17 Harcourt Street. In May 1866 they began negotiations with I. H. Synge, Esq., for ground on South Circular Road, but his conditions were also found to be unacceptable. A year passed with no further moves towards securing premises for the new school until, on 3 May 1867, the Chairman of the Board ordered the solicitors to contact Mr Pakenham again. These negotiations moved slowly and, for a time, the Synge property was reconsidered. Finally, on 26 September 1868, Mr Pakenham was reported to be willing to accept £4,000 for 40 Harcourt Street. The Governors were now satisfied that the railways would not interfere with the property, so matters were quickly finalised. On 8 January 1869, the purchase was completed, £4,000 being paid. It is interesting to note that the Erasmus Smith Board sold the premises of 40 Harcourt Street exactly 100 years later, in January 1969; this time the price was £400,000.

The choice of a site for the new school was clearly dictated by position as well as price . All the places considered were on the southern approaches to the city, serving the areas where the Protestant middle classes lived. Horse-drawn omnibuses had begun services in the 1840s and by 1870 there was a network of 25 miles in Dublin. The first horse-drawn tramway opened in 1872 and by 1880 all routes were tramways. The Harcourt Street railway

station opened in 1853 and the line went through Ranelagh, Milltown, Dundrum and on to Bray. Commuter traffic was already developing.[7]

The School Buildings

The Board's architect was now ordered to draw up plans for the conversion of the newly acquired house. It had been built at the end of the 18th century by John Hatch, Seneschal of the Manor of St Sepulchre, who laid out a new street from St Stephen's Green, which he named Harcourt Street after the Viceroy of the time, Lord Harcourt.[8] In February 1869, advertisements were placed inviting tenders for building and alterations; 14 were received and considered and on 7 June 1869 the contract was signed, an optimistic promise being given that the work would be finished on 10 November 1869.

The plans for these additions and alterations to 40 Harcourt Street show that by far the most important addition was the large schoolroom, 80 feet long and 28 feet wide, which became known, to generations of schoolboys, as the Clockroom. It was built in the gardens, parallel to the main house; beside it was a porter's lodge and further along a classroom was added (which later became the Headmaster's study), with another one above it. A stairs from outside the Clockroom was also added. The ground floor of No. 40 was to be used for a reading room, a library, a masters' room and an office. On the first floor the large front drawing-room was to become the Board room, with the small room beside it as a waiting-room. The adjoining large room was to be a classroom.

The remainder of the house was reserved for the Headmaster's use. He had a drawing-room, study and breakfast room on the second floor, and four bedrooms and a dressing room on the top floor. Lighting was by gas, which was already installed. Outside, comparatively few changes were made. In November 1869, the railings along the street were erected at a cost of £300, and the following August the school clock was installed. Fifty tons of gravel were purchased for the walks in the pleasure grounds. In December 1872 a financial review by the Governors showed that a total of £7,300 had been spent on buying and converting the new premises, and a further £450 had been spent on furniture and fittings.

The Treasurer's Poundage

Meanwhile the main features of the organisation of the new school were gradually emerging. The biggest difficulty was to fit the new school into the powers granted to the Governors by their Charter. For this reason great emphasis was placed on the English nature of the school, that is on the fact

that it was not a Grammar school, since the Governors had no power to found a new Grammar school. However, since all the other English schools run by the Governors were primary schools and the new Dublin school was to be secondary, this was not very convincing. On 10 May 1870, a special meeting of the Board was summoned to consider their power to open a school in Dublin and they seem to have satisfied themselves that they could proceed. Commenting on this, the Endowed Schools Commission of 1878 said that these difficulties had been 'evaded rather than met'.[9]

Another difficulty was that a school which did not offer a classical education would not be able to prepare boys to enter university. To meet this difficulty, the Treasurer, Mr Barlow, gave £4,000 to found a Classical department in the new school. This represented his fees since his appointment as Treasurer in 1850. John Barlow was a leading Dublin businessman, a Director of the Bank of Ireland, Chairman of the Dublin and Belfast Railway Co., Chairman of the Railway Clearing House, to which 80 companies were associated, and a member of the Loan Fund Commission. His gift was recorded by the standing Committee on 11 June 1869, but on 29 April 1870 the Treasurer's £4,000 was discovered to have been 'previously otherwise appropriated'.

This confusion arose because of the changes which had been made over the centuries in the Treasurer's Poundage. By the Charter of 1669 the Treasurer was entitled to six pence in the pound on all rents collected, as payment for his duties. This continued until 1807 when the then Treasurer, Lord Redesdale, at the end of his three-year term of office, decided to use his accumulated poundage to found what became known as Lord Redesdale's Charity. The annual interest was to be paid to the Rectors of the parish of St Bride and St Peter, for the benefit of poor children in their schools.[10] The new Treasurer, elected in 1807, was the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Downes, who decided that in future the Treasurer's fees should be used to support additional boys in the Blue Coat School. All future Treasurers were to be elected subject to the condition of relinquishing their fees for this purpose. In the 1834 revision of the Charter, it was laid down that the Treasurer's poundage was to be kept as a separate fund to be applied at the discretion of the Board. Until 1863 the Board's Blue Coat account showed the boys maintained there on the Treasurer's account separately from the main account. After this it was merged with the main Blue Coat account and the Governors do not seem to have realised that the Treasurer's Poundage was still being spent on the boys there. Accordingly when Mr Barlow gave the £4,000 for the new Harcourt Street School he was unaware that it was already spent.

When this was discovered , the number of boys at the Blue Coat School was again reduced to 20, in order to leave the Treasurer's Poundage free for use in the new school.

Appointing the First Staff

On 19 April 1870 the Standing Committee set up a sub-committee, consisting of the Provost, the Archdeacon of Dublin and the Right Hon. Alexander Hamilton, to draw up a prospectus for the new school. In his evidence to the Endowed School Commission of 1878, the Treasurer said that the model for the new school was The High School, Edinburgh,[12] and that a prospectus was also obtained from Manchester. Manchester Grammar School had been re-organised at this time under a great Headmaster, F. H. Walker, who was called 'the Apostle of the Day School system'. He had introduced new subjects to the curriculum and pioneered the development of day-school education. His pupils had great success in the universities.[13] In the advertisements for the Headmaster of the new school, the Grammar schools in Birmingham and Liverpool were also mentioned as models.

This advertisement was placed in the newspapers on 19 October 1869, and four candidates, all clergymen, were shortlisted to attend the Board on 11 January 1870. On 4 January 1870, the Registrar wrote to each of the candidates to say that as the school buildings were not yet ready, the election of the Headmaster was postponed. On 2 May 1870, the Standing Committee selected 10 candidates for interview; on 5 May, the shortlist was reduced to four: Rev. S. F. Cresswell, Rev. W. Hatch, Rev. T. A. Marshall and Mr Robert W. Griffin. Mr Hatch did not attend the final interviews on 17 May, at which Mr Cresswell was appointed.

The new Headmaster was born in Nottinghamshire, the son of a clergyman, and educated at St John's College, Cambridge, where he had been a Scholar. He taught Mathematics at Tonbridge Grammar School, Durham Grammar School and Lancaster Grammar School. He had been Headmaster of Dartford Grammar School since 1866. His salary was to be £400 p.a. and he was to receive a capitation fee of £1 for each boy over 200, when the school numbers rose above that figure. The discipline of the school and full control over the people in it were entrusted to him, but the Board reserved the power to appoint the staff. He was forbidden to take boarders. During the summer the Board appointed the first staff for the new school. On 11 July 1870 they appointed Rev. R. B. Carson as senior Classics master at a salary of £150 p.a. He, however, resigned in August and Mr B. Wallace was appointed. He had been a civil servant in the Land Courts and seems to have had unusual ideas

on the running of schools. He applied for permission to attend school at 10.40 a.m. each day, because he lived at Sydney Parade and the most convenient train brought him to Harcourt Street at that time. He also asked that a small furnished dressing-room be provided for his use in the school. Both requests were refused. In spite of this he seems to have continued to come in late, because in February 1871 he was told that his contract would not be renewed after the following June. Two other masters were appointed in August: Mr Charles J. Hinkson (later a clergyman and Headmaster of a school in India) to teach writing, arithmetic and book-keeping, and Mr Oscar Krahmer to teach French and German. Both were to be paid £100 p.a. This was the full staff when the school opened but in March 1871 two further masters were appointed. They were a senior Mathematics master, Mr T. W. Foster, who was paid £200 p.a., and a second Mathematics master, Mr W. S. Cooney, who received £120 p.a. Cooney was a Mathematical scholar and graduate of Trinity College. He was to spend the whole of his teaching career in the school until his retirement in 1908.

There was also a school porter. His duties were described by the Board's Accountant, Mr Barnes, to the Endowed Schools Commission of 1878, as follows:

> He has to be up at 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning to light the furnace, as the school, which is warmed by metal pipes, takes several hours to heat in winter. He has to attend to see the boys coming in and going away, and also at lunch hour, when they are playing, to see all right, and has also to keep the passages and stairs scoured and cleaned.[14]

He was nicknamed 'Moses' by the boys, although his name was Kenny. 'He was a little bent old man with a long beard, and when he rang the bell was popularly regarded as "calling the dead".'[15] He was caretaker for the first 12 years, after which the institution of the 'School Sergeant' began.

CHAPTER VII

The High School

The first mention of the name 'The High School' is in a letter from Mr Cresswell to the Treasurer on 5 August 1870, when he agreed to it. It does not seem to have been generally used during the first eight years of the school's existence. The Board called it the Harcourt Street School or the Intermediate School until 1879, and in some early advertisements it is referred to as the Harcourt Street Daily School. In their correspondence, however, parents usually referred to it as The High School.

The new school, which opened its doors on 1 October 1870, was in fact two schools. There was an English or Intermediate section which offered courses in English, arithmetic, book-keeping and writing. For this the fees were £7 per year in both the upper and the lower divisions. There was, in addition, a series of optional courses in Latin, Greek, Natural Sciences, French, German, advanced Mathematics and Drawing at fees of £2 or £3 per year for each subject. The school year was divided into four terms, which began in October, January, April and August. (This arrangement lasted until 1913 when the familiar three-term division was adopted.) Each day began at 9.30 with prayers conducted by the Headmaster and school ended at 3 o'clock. There was a break from 12 to 12.30. On 8 November 1870, the boys petitioned the Governors to allow a half-day on Wednesdays but this was refused. During the break the boys were allowed to go into the pleasure grounds which adjoined the school; in January 1872 the Standing Committee agreed to allow them to walk on the grass, but ordered that the junior masters were to supervise the boys during the lunch break.

The First Pupils

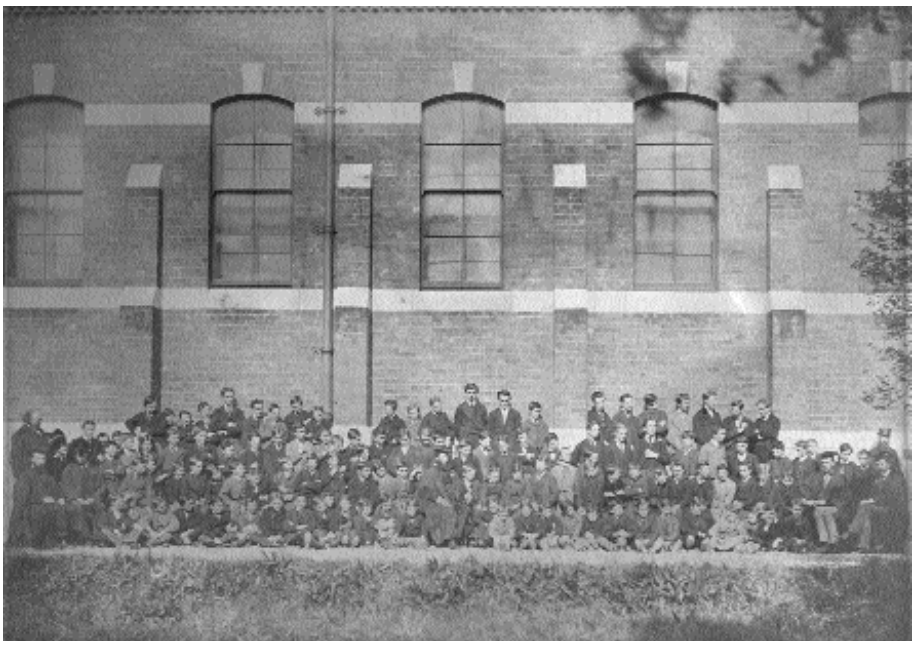
Thirty-five boys were enrolled when the school opened. Some came from considerable distances, for example one from Clontarf and two brothers from Malahide. Most came from the southside suburbs of Ballsbridge, Ranelagh, Rathmines and Rathgar. A number had addresses in areas near the school, Harcourt Street, St Stephen's Green and York Street, indicating that this area was still very much residential. Among the early entrants were some who distinguished themselves in later life. Charles Frederick D'Arcy (1870-77), who

was enrolled on 10 October 1870, eventually became Archbishop of Armagh. He had been Bishop of Down and Connor where he was succeeded in 1920 by another of this early group, Charles T. P. Grierson (1870-72). Dr D'Arcy, then Archbishop of Dublin, preached at his consecration. Another future churchman was John Henry Thorpe (1871-72), who became Archdeacon of Macclesfield. Stanley Shaw (1870-73), youngest son of Dr Shaw, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, was later a journalist in India; Alfred Ernest Smyth (1875-76) published several novels, including *A New Faust* and *The Warlock.* Richard Henry Stewart Sawyer (1870-72) joined the RAMC after Trinity, served in the Egyptian campaign of 1898, the Boer War and the First World War. He retired with the rank of Major-General and served on the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland. (Sir) W. J. Goulding (1873-74) became Chairman of the Great Southern and Western Railway Co. and a Governor of the Trust. E. T. Burd (1871-76) became a teacher and, after spending time in the United Staes, returned to Dublin and taught at the School from 1901 to his death in 1922.

On 7 December 1870 the first five free pupils were elected by the Governors from 31 candidates. This system was to last until 1907, although it was heavily criticised. The 1858 Commission on Endowed Schools had condemned such patronage and even before that the Incorporated Society had abandoned the system in 1838. Mr Cresswell consistently argued against it but the Governors ignored his suggestions. There were usually 15 to 20 candidates for four or five places; regular reports were presented on the pupils elected to free places and sharp reprimands were issued to those who were idle or badly behaved. In January 1889, Mr Wilkins reported that in the previous 10 years 36 free pupils were removed by the Governors compared with 24 leaving in the ordinary way. He judged that the education given was of too high a standard for these boys whose parents only desired an elementary education for them.

Timetable Difficulties

From the beginning the difficulties of drawing up a timetable were considerable, partly because of the dual nature of the school and partly because the Governors regularly interfered. In 1873 at the suggestion of the Archdeacon of Dublin, the Board ordered that two hours each day should be given to English, Classics and Modern Languages. Mr Cresswell pointed out that this was impossible since the school day consisted of four hours 45 minutes. Boys all took English and Mathematics with some History and Geography but could choose Classics, French or German in any combination they wished.



The High School, 1871. This is the first group photograph of the school. Mr Cresswell is in the middle of the front row.

To fit in all subjects there had to be two subjects going on at the same time, so some boys had to miss one or other. This led to criticism from the parents and boys, and some pupils were withdrawn from the school. To add to the difficulties, Drawing, another optional subject, had to be fitted in on Tuesdays and Fridays.

At this time one master sometimes taught several classes at the same time. On 25 February 1871, Mr Hinkson complained in a letter to the Board:

> Since Christmas my duties have been of a most laborious kind. During the early part of the day I have entire charge of an English class amounting at present to 41 boys, besides having to teach writing to the Middle class. In the afternoon I have between 40 and 50 boys to instruct in Arithmetic, Algebra and Euclid, besides having a Latin class, also writing and Book-keeping, so that during a large portion of every day I have nearly 70 boys under my immediate supervision.

Soon after this two Mathematics masters were appointed so the position must have improved.

In the absence of any state examinations at this time, examinations were conducted by external examiners, usually lecturers in Trinity College, who were appointed by the Governors. The examinations were partly written and partly oral. Afterwards the examiners submitted detailed reports to the Board. The general progress of the school, as revealed in those reports which

have survived, seems to have been good. For example, in June 1872, the Rev. R. Townsend, FTCD, reporting on the Senior classes, said:

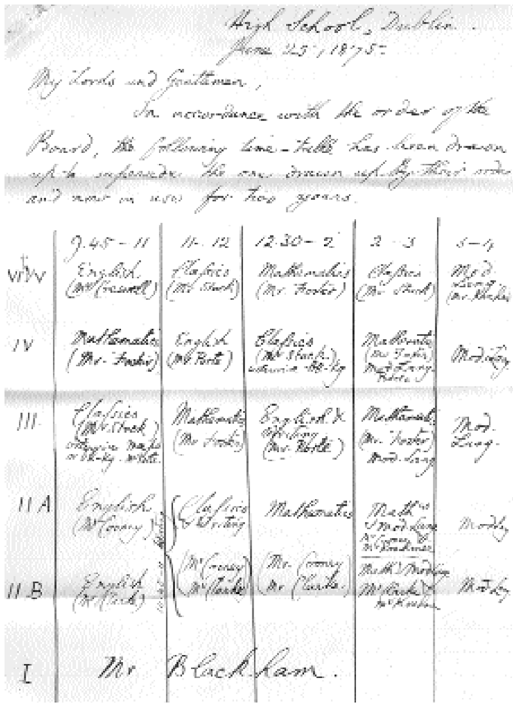
> While the performance of some individual pupils, especially in the senior classes, was such as would have done credit to any institution, the general progress in all classes considering the short time the school has been in existence, is in my opinion as satisfactory as could reasonably be expected and the system of instruction prescribed to, and carried out by, all the masters is well calculated in my judgement to produce in time the best results.

Number of Pupils Disappointing

Nevertheless, all was not well with the school in these early years. The most serious problem was that the number of boys failed to come up to expectations. When the school opened on 1 October 1870, it was designed for 300 boys. By October 1871 there were 123 in the school and in October 1872, the number was 129. The following year the total had fallen to 110, of whom 20 were free pupils elected by the Governors without any competitive examination. Alarmed by the fall in numbers, and by the failure of the expectation that the school would pay for itself, the Governors wrote to Mr Cresswell in January 1874 to ask for an explanation. The report of the examiners in June of that year was bad, particularly in Modern Languages, and on 12 November 1874, Mr Cresswell and the Modern Languages teacher, Mr Khramer, were asked to attend a meeting of the Schools Committee. Mr Cresswell blamed the timetable, saying, as he had frequently said already, that the Board's regulations made it unworkable. Mr Khramer agreed, claiming that his difficulties arose from the irregularity of the time given to languages, and from his having to teach in the big schoolroom. An Old Boy later recalled:

> French and German were taught by a German Rev. Oscar Khramer, who attended during the afternoon. He was a very tall man, over six feet high and built in proportion. He wore a sort of frock coat, with tails which flew about as he walked. He had a large gold chain across his breast; he opened the door (of the Clockroom), came in, passed Dr Cresswell with a bow and the Doctor returned the greeting. A time came when there was no recognition![1] (Mr Cresswell received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Trinity College, Dublin in 1876.)

The Schools Committee prepared a printed report which was read by the Board on 15 December 1874. It could find no substantial reason to account for the failure of the school to grow; the teaching was superior to most Dublin schools and the charges were less. They suggested a new system of



The Timetable for 1875.

organisation which, after consultations with Mr Cresswell, was adopted by the Board on 19 March 1875. By this the school was to be divided into a Junior section, consisting of first, second and third years, and an upper school. Boys in the Junior school were to follow a general course in English, Latin, Greek, French and Mathematics, as the Headmaster decided. In the Upper school English was still compulsory, but otherwise boys had a choice between a course which would fit them for university, or one which would fit them for business. All arrangements of the timetable and classes were to be in the control of the Headmaster, though they had to be submitted to the Schools Committee one month before they were put into operation. This seems to have solved the main problem in the organisation, though it did mean abandoning the original dual organisation of the school which had been adopted in an attemt to bring the new school within the powers granted to the Board by the Act of 1723. Mr Cresswell had also suggested that the school should take boarders, saying that 40 Harcourt St could accommodate 100 boys. As early as December 1872, he had asked the Board to buy the Rev. Mr North's school on Rathmines Road when the owner was emigrating to Australia, in order to use it as a boarding establishment. The Governors, however, always refused these suggestions, in spite of their concern over the low numbers in the school.

Discipline

Discipline in the new school, as in the majority of schools at this time, was strict, though Mr Cresswell seems to have been less addicted to corporal punishment than most. On 18 June 1872, at his suggestion, the Standing Committee ruled that assistant masters were not to give corporal punishment:

The assistant masters are imperatively desired not on any occasion to

> inflict corporal punishment on any of the pupils in the school but in any case when required, to report the pupils for punishment to the Headmaster whose authority on this point is by them to be considered absolute.

On 21 February 1874, a Mr Crawford complained that one of his two sons at the school had been excessively punished; he had been beaten on the back so that the skin was taken off in two places, and he had been given '15 pandies' on the hands. Mr Cresswell, however, denied this and he had taken the precaution of administering the punishment in the presence of witnesses. He added in his report to the Board:

> When I took this school in charge, the miscellaneous character of the pupils, and the turbulent nature of some, necessitated the maintenance of strict discipline. The causes for this stringency have gradually diminished from quarter to quarter, so that now we proceed very quietly.

Mr Cresswell faced more formidable difficulties in disciplining his staff. Because they had been appointed by the Governors and not by the Headmaster, they did not feel bound to follow Mr Cresswell's instructions. In January 1872, in one of his regular complaints to the Governors on this subject, this time about refusals to supervise recreation time, he said:'If on such points as this, no discretion be vested in the Headmaster, then his office is practically useless.' On another occasion a rather mysterious complaint was made against one of the staff that 'he was in London, and during another interval of absence he is said to have been driving about with men in cars'. On the other hand some of the fault may have been with Mr Cresswell. He disagreed with the Bursar, Mr Hamilton, whom he considered as being inefficient, while Mr Hamilton described the Headmaster as 'disagreeably chuff, sometimes disposed to be dictatorial'.

Numbers in the school remained low, although they had grown to 140 by June 1879. In his evidence to the Endowed Schools Commission of 1878, the Treasurer blamed Mr Cresswell, not so much for his own fault, as for the general reason that 'Irish schools under English masters have not generally succeeded'.[2] From another part of the Treasurer's evidence to the Commission we gain a glimpse of one part of the school:

> *Lord Justice Fitzgibbon:* From what class of life are the free boys in the Harcourt St School drawn? *Treasurer:* A great many from the smaller or middle class shopkeepers. Some are the children of assistants in shops, some of conducting clerks to solicitors and some of persons who have seen better days, but are now unable to pay for their children's education.[3]

Dr Cresswell Resigns

Dr Cresswell resigned in January 1879 on being offered a parish in Norfolk, but remained in office until June, partly in order not to disturb the candidates preparing for the new Intermediate Certificate, and partly so that there would be ample time to appoint his successor. His years as Headmaster had been difficult ones, as was bound to be the case when a new school was being organised. Although the Treasurer had said that as an Englishman he did not suit an Irish school, he also paid tribute to his qualities:'He is a good master, a good scholar, a good teacher and a thoroughly upright man; the boys like him very much.'[4] Archbishop D'Arcy praised him as a teacher but judged that he 'had not the qualities which make for success as a chief'. He added:

> But he could not understand the Irish character. From the first, he was out of his element in Dublin. He never agreed with the Board of Governors, who were, I believe, far too fussy and interfering. Often did I hear him say to himself, *sotto voce,* "This cursed country."[5]

He had also served as Curate in the Parish of Castleknock during most of his years in Dublin. He was founder and Treasurer of the Dublin Diocesan Union of Choirs and President of the Literary Teachers Friendly Society. He was Secretary to the first Conference of Protestant Headmasters in 1878-79. His departure coincided with the introduction of the new Intermediate Examination and these two factors mark the end of the first period in the development of the school.

Dr Cresswell died in March 1904, having been Rector of North Repps, near Cromer in Norfolk, since leaving Dublin.

CHAPTER VIII

Wilkins: The Successful Years

The new Headmaster, William Wilkins, was 27; he had been born at Zante, one of the Greek Ionian Islands, then a British garrison, where his father was regimental surgeon. He was educated at Dundalk Grammar School and was a graduate of Trinity College. Before that he had, in his own words in recommending a member of the staff some years later, 'suffered the disadvantage of a Wesleyan education at St Stephen's Green'. His career in Trinity had been a distinguished one, graduating with a double first in Mathematics and Modern Literature, and he came to the High School with experience in private teaching. He was ambitious for the school; to raise its academic standards, to broaden its curriculum and to improve the school buildings. In all these aims he was notably successful in his first 15 years.

Mr Wilkins had many interests outside the school. He was a poet who had won prizes in college and in 1881 he published a volume of verse, *Songs of Study*. The longest poem, 'Actaeon', was said to have been a favourite of Lord Tennyson,[1] and another, 'In the Engine Shed', was a popular piece for recitation. 'Acteon' was written in the 'erotic' style, after the manner of Swinburne. When it was published in *Kottabos* (a magazine published in Trinity College, Dublin) it earned the disapproval of the Board, so Mr Wilkins wrote a poem in praise of the river Dodder to appease them.[2] He was also interested in politics. In March 1880 he was reprimanded by the Treasurer of the Board for supporting women's suffrage. In fact he had done so only at a 'private drawing room meeting', but it was reported in the press and the Treasurer wrote to tell him that masters in the Board's schools were not permitted to engage in politics. He might interest himself in the promotion of women's education, but not in their suffrage.

The Intermediate Examination

The change in Headmasters coincided with the first Intermediate Examination. The Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878, was the first attempt by the government to regulate and give some financial support to secondary education in Ireland. It established an Intermediate Education Board of seven members whose main function was to hold public examinations. This exam-

ination was divided into three sections: for candidates under 16, under 17 and under 18 repectively. On the results of the examination the Intermediate Board awarded exhibitions of £20 per year for three years to first-year students, £30 per year for two years to second-year students and prizes of £50 to senior candidates. They also paid results fees to the schools for each successful candidate. These fees varied; for example, a first year boy who passed two divisions earned the school £3, while a third-year boy who passed six divisions earned £10 for his school. The new Act began a period of intense competition among the schools. Newspapers published comparative tables of the exhibitions and prizes won by the schools. The financial rewards of success also spurred on the schools; in High School the results fees were divided into three equal parts, one part going to the Governors, another to the Headmaster and the third was divided among the staff, partly in proportion to their salary and partly according to the discretion of the Headmaster.

Mr Wilkins quickly used the new system efficiently and he was well aware of how to obtain the maximum publicity from the successes which followed. In the first examination in 1879 the school presented 41 candidates (29 in Junior grade, six in Middle grade and six in Senior), of whom 15 passed. In 1880, however, six exhibitions were won and seven other prizes. This, as Mr Wilkins proudly informed the Governors, was not surpassed by any other school in Ireland, although Wesley College won an equal number. In 1881 High School boys won more awards than any other Dublin school. These successes produced an influx of new pupils. On 20 October 1880, Mr Wilkins wrote to the Governors: 'Boys who have distinguished themselves at the Intermediate Examination as pupils of rival schools are now joining us from every quarter.' This brought problems of overcrowding and lack of staff. Mr Wilkins warned that unless more staff were appointed and new rooms provided, results would disappoint and numbers would fall again. He submitted estimates for three new classrooms. The Board, however, had already refused these requests the previous year and now refused them again. The examinations conducted by the Board's own examiners at the end of 1880 produced unsatisfactory reports and the Governors set up a sub-committee to inquire into the matter. They found matters to be exactly as the Headmaster had reported and recommended more staff. The Board still postponed a decision. On 17 December 1880 the Board passed a resolution that 'the general education of the boys in their schools should not be subordinated to the preparation of pupils for the Intermediate Examinations'.

The School Expands

William Wilkins

The reluctance of the Governors to spend money at this time is easily understood by reference to the land disputes then in progress all over Ireland, resulting in widespread refusal to pay rents. The effects of this on the Trust's estates are described in chapter 12. However, the growth in numbers in High School made it impossible to postpone a decision much longer. In June 1881 the examiners all commented on the improvement in the school but drew attention to the need for more staff and rooms. This seems to have convinced the Board, who decided to spend £400 on converting three of the stables in the yard into classrooms and £100 on furnishing them. The number of boys in the school had increased from 130 in 1879 to 209 in 1881.

At the same time new masters were appointed. The new classrooms went part of the way towards solving the problem of overcrowding but there were still difficulties. The new rooms were outside and parents complained that boys got wet going to and from them in bad weather; Mr Wilkins tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Board to provide a covered way across the yard. Already the consequences of trying to convert a private house into a school were becoming evident and this was made worse by the apparent neglect during the first decade. In November 1879, Rev. J. P. Mahaffy (later the famous Provost of Trinity) visited the school on behalf of the Endowed Schools Commission. He reported:

> I was detained some time at the door, owing to the deafness of the porter, and thus having ample leisure to inspect the front of the house, found that the exceeding dirt of the windows made it pre-eminent, even among its shabbiest neighbours. I learned on inquiry that most of the window sashes are not movable, and that accordingly the cleaning of them is attended with danger to life, and never (I suppose) attempted unless some adventurous person can be induced to do it. It is surprising that the members of the Board are not offended by this aspect of squalor and decay.[3]

The pleasure grounds had long since succumbed to the ravages of boys at play, for Dr Mahaffy also reported: 'I found the playground a mass of mud, which was carried on the boys' boots through the stairs and school-rooms, thus making the inside of the house correspond with the outside.'[4] Mr Wilkins succeeded in having the playground drained and the front of the house renovated.

New Subjects in the Curriculum

Mr Wilkins was anxious to introduce Religious Knowledge into the curriculum. When the school started, some religious teaching had been given but now, in March 1880 a catechist was appointed. He was Canon Jellett, curate of St Peter's, the parish in which the school was situated. This was at that time a huge parish with three other churches (Rathmines, St Stephen's and St Kevin's) and seven curates. Later, in 1884, an assistant catechist was appointed when the school began to teach the courses prescribed by the General Synod of the Church of Ireland for Grammar schools. Rapid success in the Synod examinations followed, boys from the school winning six medals for Greek Testament in eight years. In 1881 Rev. R. M. Edgar of Adelaide Road Church was asked to give classes to the Presbyterians in the school. In a letter to the Board on 8 March 1886, Mr Wilkins gave a breakdown of the religious affiliations of the pupils: 209 Church of Ireland, 41 Presbyterians, 8 Plymouth Brethren, 5 Methodists, 3 'Separatists', 3 Baptists, 3 Jews, 2 Roman Catholics, 2 Moravians and 1 Congregationalist. In the same letter he said that 'the Presbyterian boys have always been the intellectual cream of the school. We have the sons of all the Presbyterian clergy, though only five sons (all invalids) of the Church clergy, who are given cheap terms for their boys at Wesley College and Rathmines [School].'

Drill was another subject on which the new Headmaster had decided opinions and he immediately pressed the Board to appoint a drill-master. In fact, the boys had long wished for such a provision. As early as 9 November 1872, they had written to the Governors to ask for a gymnasium, the need for which, they said, was 'much more felt in a metropolitan school where there are not the same facilities for outdoor exercise, and where there is consequently greater difficulty in attaining the *mens sana in corpore sano*'. In 1880 drill was begun on a part-time basis, and in 1882 a drill-sergeant was appointed, at a salary of £45 p.a., to instruct in gymnastics, to oversee the buildings, fires, etc., to supervise playtime and to open and close the school. Lance Corporal W. J. Cummins was the first school sergeant. Later, gymnastic equipment

was bought from a subscription from parents and from Mr Wilkins, and was erected in the schoolyard.

Corporal Punishment

Mr Wilkins later gained a reputation as a severe disciplinarian, which seems to have been well merited. However, a glimpse of the problems he faced can be found in a letter on the subject which he wrote to the Governors on 20 July 1880. He described some serious misdemeanours, including a fire kindled against the wall of a classroom, windows broken and locks and doors damaged. 'A year ago the school had the worst name in the country for the disorder and mischief that took place in it.' He recounted a particularly serious incident:

> A sergeant of cavalry was riding by on a spirited horse and the animal, a well aimed firework having exploded in his nostril, bolted at the top of his speed narrowly escaping collision with a passing tram. On recovering command of his horse the soldier returned with a police sergeant and told me what had occurred.

The culprits were caught and punished.

Changes in Administration

In 1883 the Board made new arrangements for dealing with routine business in connection with The High School. A High School Committee of four governors was set up to manage general business and the funds of the school; free boys were still to be elected by the whole Board and any spending from the general funds of the Trust also had to be approved by them. Two of the first members of the committee were men who had been closely associated with the new school since it had first been considered by the Board 20 years earlier. They were the Ven. William Lee, Archdeacon of Dublin and Very Rev. William Conyngham Greene, Dean of Christ Church Cathedral. Archdeacon Lee, who had been closely involved in the organisation of the school, died in May 1883; Archbishop D'Arcy described him as 'a man of large scholarship and was at the same time a very rigid theologian of the old-fashioned High Church sort'.[5] He was also Archbishop King's Professor of Divinity in Trinity. Dean Greene was active in the affairs of the school from 1861, when he joined the Board, until 1909 when he went to live in London. He was popularly known as 'Bowling Greene' because he was among the first to bowl overarm in Irish cricket.[6] The new committee were able to respond more quickly to the changing needs of the school as it developed under Mr Wilkins.

An even more important change in the running of the school was the

result of a resolution passed by the Board on 16 March 1883, giving the Headmaster power to appoint and dismiss assistant masters and to have their salaries paid through him. Masters already appointed were excluded from this change. Mr Cresswell had many times protested about his lack of power in appointing staff and Mr Wilkins felt equally strongly about it. In spite of the change, however, the Board continued to interfere in the relations between the staff and the Headmaster, much to the indignation of Mr Wilkins. The previous year the Governors had instituted the High School Exhibition to Trinity College, worth £30 per year with free rooms, to be competed for by senior boys each year. The first winner, in 1882, was G. F. Courtenay (1877-82); he was later Rector of St Luke's, Sunderland.

CHAPTER IX

Literary Connections

During the early years of Mr Wilkins' headmastership the school came into contact with the beginnings of a very important phase in the development of the Irish Literary movement. This was due to a group of clever boys who centred on William Butler Yeats. They included W. K. Magee (John Eglinton), Charles Johnston and Charles Weekes.

W. B. Yeats at School

Yeats entered The High School in the autumn of 1881 after his family had returned to Dublin from London. They lived in Howth (although the address given on his entry form was 78 Leeson Street), and later in Harold's Cross, and Yeats' father had a studio in York Street. He describes his first impressions of the school in his *Autobiographies:* 'I found a bleak eighteenth century house, a small playing field full of mud and pebbles, fenced by an iron railing, and opposite a long hoarding, and a squalid, ornamental railway station.'[1] In London Yeats had attended the Godolphin School and he found many differences in The High School.

> Here, as I soon found, nobody gave any thought to decorum … on the other hand there was no bullying, and I had not thought that boys could work so hard. Cricket and football, the collecting of moths and butterflies, though not forbidden, were discouraged. I did not know, as I used to, the mass of my school-fellows, for we had little in common outside the clasroom.[2]

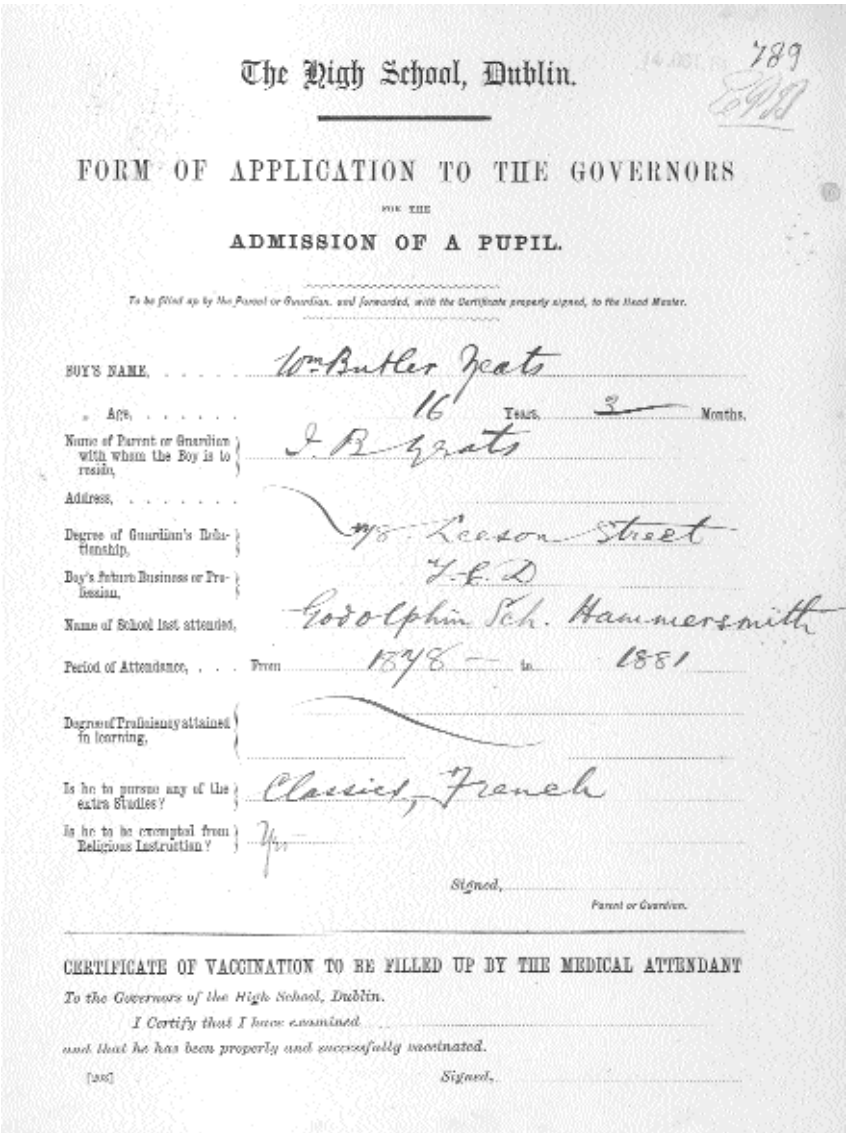
He was placed in Form V under Mr Foster, the senior Mathematics master, who later became Headmaster of Belfast Royal Academy. Yeats was good at mathematics having, as he tells us himself, 'always done Euclid easily',[3] but he found the 150 lines of Virgil which he was expected to learn each night a heavy burden. Nevertheless in his report at the end of his first term, his Classics were described as 'fair', though by the following year this comment had been replaced by 'defective'.

Yeats, as we might expect, was not an ideal schoolboy. His main interest at this time was in natural history and he disliked and avoided all work in which he was not interested. His father did not help matters, for he would

interfere in his homework, telling the boy that he need not learn his Geography or History tasks, since all the knowledge he needed of these subjects he would pick up from general reading. On other occasions his father would force him to learn his Latin lessons so that it would be 'a nine days' wonder'. Mr Wilkins objected strongly to such interference and on one occasion he said: 'I am going to give you an imposition because I cannot get at your father to give him one.'[4] Wilkins was not impressed by Yeats himself: 'It must be said that Mr Wilkins had neither then nor subsequently a very high opinion of Yeats: "the flighty poet", he used to call him, though he admitted later that Yeats was able to "get about".'[5]

In English literature the future poet claimed to have fared little better. 'I was worst of all at literature, for we read Shakespeare for his grammar exclusively.' In writing essays he was handicapped because they 'were judged by handwriting and spelling'.[6] Here perhaps the poet's memory may have played him false when he came to write this account in *Reveries over Childhood and Youth* in 1914. John Eglinton, who was one of his close friends at school, says that Yeats was good at English essays which were read aloud weekly by the boys. He describes how the famous manner was already developing: 'He held his manuscript thrust out in front of him and declaimed his sentences.'[7] Eglinton's account is supported by Yeats' reports in English. Although the first at Christmas 1881 said 'fair', those that followed were either 'good' or 'excellent' and in October 1883 he was awarded a prize in English. It was at this time that he seems to have started writing poetry, partly as a result of a school friend, Frederick J. Gregg (1880-84), later editor of the *New York Evening Sun,* inviting him to collaborate in writing verse plays. Interestingly, Dr J. P. Mahaffy, the Inspector appointed by the 1878 Commission on Endowed Schools in Ireland, commented in his report on the school that 'the headmaster is working hard, and after original methods of his own, to implant intelligent interest in English literature in his pupils'.[8]

Opinion among the boys seems to have been divided on this unusual boy who kept himself consciously aloof from most of them. A boy who was in his class, and who called himself one of the 'vulgar herd', writing when Yeats was well known, said 'there was something quietly repellent in his manner at school which affected even his relations with the masters'.[9] The writer was, in fact, Thomas Patrick Stuart (1880-83), one of Yeats' classmates in Form V. An earlier signed version of the article had appeared in *Dublin Figaro* of 24 September 1892. It mentioned that Yeats played chess with another student on a portable chessboard on his knee under the desk in Mr Foster's Mathematics class. It also told of Yeats' habit of bringing live specimens of



The High School, Dublin.

789

FORM OF APPLICATION TO THE GOVERNORS

FOR THE

ADMISSION OF A PUPIL.

To be filled up by the Parent or Guardian, and forwarded, with the Certificate properly signed, to the Head Master.

BOY'S NAME. . . . . Wm Butler Yeats

Age. . . . . 16 Years, 3 Months.

Name of Parent or Guardian with whom the Boy is to reside, J. B. Yeats

Address. . . . . 23 Fitzroy Road

Degree of Guardian's Relationship, Father

Boy's future Business or Profession, Y.C.D

Name of School last attended, Godolphin Sch. Hammersmith

Period of Attendance, . . . From 1878 — to 1881

Degree of Proficiency attained in learning,

Is he to pursue any of the extra Studies? Classics, French

Is he to be exempted from Religious Instruction? Yes

Signed,

Parent or Guardian.

CERTIFICATE OF VACCINATION TO BE FILLED UP BY THE MEDICAL ATTENDANT

To the Governors of the High School, Dublin.

I Certify that I have examined

and that he has been properly and successfully vaccinated.

[205] *Signed,*

Admission application of W. B. Yeats

his natural history studies to school in matchboxes. On one occasion, a bloody nosed beetle escaped from its matchbox and its owner caused chaos by chasing it among his classmates. Yeats wrote to Stuart when the article was published: 'I have vivid memories of that chessboard and the hot water it used to get me into.'[10] On the other hand, John Eglinton said that Yeats stood out as someone of distinction even then, and remarked: 'I think we all felt a kind of distinction to be seen walking with him.' Eglinton also recalled him as 'a yellow-skinned, lank, loose-coated figure, for he was several years

older than any of us, and even then had the beginnings of a beard'.[11] He took no interest in the games played by the boys in the playground. Another contemporary gives us a glimpse of him: 'In the exercise yard the boys would play hurley, the forerunner of hockey, and the masters used to parade up and down to keep themselves warm – gowns flapping in the wind. I don't think W. B. ever bent down to pick up a ball! I don't remember ever having seen him run.'[12]

At Christmas 1883 Yeats left The High School. He had remained in the fifth form all his time there, coming usually about the middle of his class and his reports show his erratic progress. Sometimes they read 'classical preparation defective' or 'always forgetting his books', but on other occasions he was awarded a certificate of Exemplary Conduct. His father wished him to go to Trinity College but Yeats refused, concealing the real reason from his father. 'I did not tell him that neither my Classics nor my Mathematics were good enough for any examination.'[13] He went instead to the College of Art in Kildare Street.

The Theosophical Society

After leaving school Yeats did not entirely lose contact with his friends there. One of these contacts led to surprising results in the foundation of the Dublin Theosophical Society which played an important part in the Irish Literary Movement and, in particular, influenced Æ (George Russell). This came about when Yeats lent a book on Theosophy (A. P. Sinnett's *Esoteric Buddhism*) to Charles Johnston and it 'captured the intelligence of half a dozen youths who were preparing to enter Trinity College'.[14] Charles Johnston (1881-86) was the son of William Johnston of Ballykilbeg, Unionist MP for South Belfast, a noted Orangeman. The address on his entry form was 131 Leinster Road, Rathmines. He entered The High School in January 1881 and had a brilliant career, winning several exhibitions and prizes at the Intermediate Examination. He had another brother in the school, Lewis A. M. (1881-83), and Katherine Tynan, who knew them well, gives an amusing account of them. According to her, Lewis Johnston founded the first vegetarian restaurant in Dublin,[15] although the school records indicate that he joined the Colonial Civil Service.

Charles Johnston fell under the spell of *Esoteric Buddhism*, went over to London to interview Madame Blavatsky, the chief exponent of its ideas, and returned a fellow of the Theosophical Society. He founded a Dublin Lodge of the Society in 1886 at 3 Upper Ely Place. Its aims were to encourage the study of Oriental religions and Theosophy. Johnston, 'a handsome, almost

Olympic youth', won converts among his school fellows. John Eglinton tells us that his brother lent him *Esoteric Buddhism* and he was converted.[16] Mr Wilkins was alarmed that these interests might interfere with the brilliant academic career which Johnston had so far achieved and he blamed Yeats. Yeats describes how Mr Wilkins met him in the street and asked him to use his influence on Johnston so that he would not fail his examination. Yeats replied enigmatically that the children of this world were wiser than the children of light, and Mr Wilkins went away angrily.[17]

However, Johnston did well in his examination, winning Second High Place at entrance to Trinity College and soon after secured entrance to the Indian Civil Service, a much prized achievement. He later married Madame Blavatsky's niece, which caused some surprise since theosophists were expected to remain celibate. He left his career in the Indian Civil Service (some said it was because of his Russian wife)[18] after a short time. He published a Sanskrit grammar (*Useful Sanskrit Nouns and Verbs in English Letters* (1892)). Later he went to live in the United States, where he published *Ireland: Historic and Picturesque* in 1902. He was president of the New York branch of the Irish Literary Society which sponsored the production of three of Yeats' plays at the Lyceum Theatre in June 1903, a few months before Yeats' first lecture tour in America.

John Eglinton and Charles Weekes

Another member of this clever and unusual group of boys who were at The High School together was W. K. Magee (1882-84), better known by his pen-name, John Eglinton. He was the son of a clergyman and entered the school in August 1882. He too fell under the spell of Johnston and the Theosophical Society and some of the graceful essays for which he is best remembered today expound its ideas, for example *Two Essays on a Remnant* which he published in 1895. He was also a poet. The last of this group whom we may mention was Charles Weekes (1880-83), who entered the school in August 1880 with his brother, William (1880-84). There was already an older brother, Francis (1879-81), in the school. Charles published *Reflections and Refractions,* a book of poems of uneven quality which he later withdrew. The book was published by Fisher Unwin in 1893 and Yeats, at his own request, reviewed it for *Academy* (4 November 1893). He said that it was 'as interesting as it is rugged and obscure'. There was 'not a poem in it without some unusual thought or pleasant phrase'.[19] Charles Weekes played a valuable part in the Irish Literary Movement as a publisher, beginning with Æ's first book of poems, *Homeward: Songs by the Way*, which Æ dedicated to him in 1894. In

1896 Weekes went to London where he published another book of poems, *Among Women*, in 1907. Katherine Tynan (who was married to Henry Albert Hinkson (1878-82), another of this High School group and also a classmate of Yeats in Form V) tells how, when Charles Johnston told her that Weekes was going to publish a book of poems, she suggested the title 'Mr Weekes, His Squeaks'. Johnston reported this to Weekes and Katherine Tynan lost a friend.[20] H. A. Hinkson was himself a writer who published novels, including *Silk and Steel* and *O'Grady of Trinity* and edited a *Book of Dublin Verses* by members of Trinity College, including Wilkins. He was also a barrister and in 1914 he became a Resident Magistrate in Co. Mayo.

Later Developments

They were inveterate organisers of societies, usually under the leadership of Yeats. In 1885 the Dublin Hermetic Society was founded: 'A little group of young men hired a room in York Street … and began to read papers to one another on the Vedas, and the Upanishads, and the Neoplatonists, and on modern mystics and spiritualists.'[21] The following year it became the Dublin Theosophical Society. High School boys involved included, as well as Yeats himself, F. T. Gregg, H. M. Magee (1880-84), W. F. Smeeth (1875-85) and Charles Johnston.

Another member of the theosophical group became a teacher at the school a little later. This was J. H. Cousins, a Belfast man who had published several books of poems and had written plays for the Irish National Theatre. In 1905 he needed a job and sent an application to Wilkins. He was appointed on interview to teach English, although he had no formal qualifications. On his first day in the school, he noticed Johnston's name on an honour board and enquired about him. Mr Wilkins replied: 'Oh! that fellow, Charles Johnston. He was an Olympian. He might have gone to the very top, but he made a fool of himself by marrying the niece of the charlatan, Madame Blavatsky.'[22] Cousins claimed that he was responsible for the fact that AE sent his two sons to the school, Brian Russell (1911-17) and Diarmuid Russell (1911-19). Cousins and his wife were active in promoting vegetarianism and women's suffrage. He describes how he was taking a class in Harcourt Street when he heard the newsboys shouting headlines of a suffragette attack on Dublin Castle. His wife was sentenced to a month's imprisonment in Tullamore Jail for her part in the attack.[23] In 1913 he accepted an offer to go to India to set up a branch of a vegetarian food business.

In the years that followed, the group largely seems to have lost touch, with the exception of Johnston and Gregg who helped John Quinn to promote

Yeats' work in America. The school, however, continued to follow the poet's career closely and to record its development in the school magazine. In 1937 Yeats allowed *The Erasmian* to publish a hitherto unpublished poem.

What Then?

His chosen comrades thought at school
He must grow a famous man;
He thought the same and lived by rule,
All his twenties crammed with toil:
What then, sang Plato's ghost, what then?

Everything he wrote was read,
After certain years he won
Sufficient money for his need,
Friends that have been friends indeed:
What then, sang Plato's ghost, what then?

All his happier dreams came true –
A small old house, wife, daughter, son,
Grounds where plum and cabbage grew,
Poets and Wits about him drew:
What then, sang Plato's ghost, what then?

The work is done, grown old he thought,
According to my boyish plan;
Let the fools rage, I swerved in nought,
Something to perfection brought:
What then, sang Plato's ghost, what then?

The editor of that edition of the magazine was A. Norman Jeffares (1930-39) who was to become a foremost scholar on the work of Yeats. In a letter to Jeffares at the time, Yeats said that the poem was 'one of the few poems he had written lately that might be fit for a school magazine'.[24] When the centenary of the poet's birth was celebrated in the school in 1965, A. Norman Jeffares, then Professor of English Literature at the University of Leeds, gave a lecture entitled 'W. B. Yeats, man and poet'.

CHAPTER X

Wilkins: The Later Years

Under Mr Wilkins' leadership the school continued to grow in the last two decades of the 19th century. By 1887 there were nearly 300 boys in the school. Mr Wilkins reported to the Governors that there were 11 classes to be accommodated in eight classrooms and the Clockroom. As well as the three classes, boys from other classes (those not taking Greek or Latin or Religious Knowledge) were also in the Clockroom, so that sometimes as many as 130 were in the room with three masters. The subjects taught there were the 'quiet' ones: Drawing, Writing, Book-keeping and Mathematics. In March 1887 Mr Wilkins listed the classes in the school as follows:

Upper VI:	8 boys:	preparing for university
Lower VI:	13 boys:	Intermediate Senior Grade
V:	19 boys:	Intermediate Middle Grade
Upp IV:	18 boys:	Intermediate Junior Grade
Lr IV:	34 boys:	Intermediate Junior Grade
Upp III:	34 boys:	pre-Intermediate
Lr III:	34 boys:	pre-Intermediate
Upp II:	34 boys:	pre-Intermediate
Lr II:	34 boys:	pre-Intermediate
Upp I:	34 boys:	pre-Intermediate
Lr I:	34 boys:	pre-Intermediate

Although the Governors refused to consider taking boarders in No. 40, some of the masters took private boarders in their houses. The first of these was Mr Cooney, one of the Mathematics masters, who took a house opposite the school (60 Harcourt Street) in 1881. Later, Rev. W. B. Morris and his brother, both on the staff, took boarders at 5 Sandford Parade and the French and German master, Mr York, took them at 24 Mount Pleasant Square. These boarding houses were popular with parents in the army or in the colonial service who were serving overseas.

Academic Successes

During these years the outstanding academic record which had been built up under the new Headmaster was maintained. Each year Mr Wilkins had a

booklet listing these successes printed for circulation to the parents. These booklets show a truly astonishing record. In 1887 it was reported that boys of the school had won £1,300 in prizes in that year alone. The most brilliant pupil of this period was John Arbuthnot Nairn (1887-93) whom the *Journal of Education* described as the finest classicist Cambridge had produced since Jebb. In 1891, after winning a series of prizes in the Intermediate Examinations, Nairn won the First Major Scholarship at entrance to Trinity College, Cambridge, and the following year he won the Pitt Scholarship, the most distinguished classical award at Cambridge. It had only once before been won by an undergraduate in his first year. He later became a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Headmaster of Merchant Taylors School. Closely rivalling him was G. A. Exham (1887-88) who had a distinguished classical career in Trinity College, Dublin, later becoming a Fellow. In 1924 a bronze tablet was unveiled in the School of Anatomy in Trinity College to his memory and to mark his support for the South African students in the college; his brother, R. M. Exham (1888-90), became Professor of Classics at Stellenbosch College in South Africa.

W. E. Thrift (1879-89) in 1889 won the Kidd Scholarship in Mathematics at entrance, the beginning of a brilliant career which culminated in his election as Provost of Trinity College in 1937. He was by far the most successful of the early free pupils. Another future Provost of Trinity was a fellow pupil of Thrift at The High School. This was E. H. Alton (1885-92) who became Provost in 1942 in succession to Thrift. Alton won the second Classical Sizarship at entrance to Trinity in 1892. (Sir) F. N. Greer (1881-87) had an outstanding career in Classics in Trinity, became a lawyer and was later appointed Parliamentary Draftsman to the Irish Office. James Sealy (1886-94) was another able classicist, as well as a very talented rugby footballer. He was appointed a Circuit Court judge in 1924. He married Douglas Hyde's daughter.

Henry Homan Jeffcott (1892-95) won a Gold Medal at Moderatorship in Trinity, became Professor of Engineering in the Royal College of Science (Ireland) and later in the University of London. He patented several engineering inventions and published numerous papers on scientific and engineering subjects. D. C. Patton (1883-87) became Professor of Anatomy at Sheffield University; he was also a noted ornithologist and published several books on the subject. Walter Clegg Stevenson (1888-94) made important discoveries in the use of radium in medicine, inventing the needle with which radium was then administered to the affected part of the body. When the RDS established the Radium Institute of Ireland in 1914, Dr Stevenson was its leading researcher. When he died at an early age, in 1930, the OBU erected a tablet

Walter Clegg Stevenson. Died 19 February 1931.

in the school to his memory. His obituary in the *British Medical Journal* in 1931 said that he treated over 2,000 patients with radium. 'His poor patients were many, and by them he was beloved. There is no reason to believe that he might be with us still if it was not for self-sacrifice in the cause of duty.'

Careers after School

Where did the majority of boys leaving the school go, at this time? It is difficult to form an overall picture, since *The Erasmians* of later years tend, inevitably, to record the successful, or those who chose to keep in touch with the school. Undoubtedly, a very big proportion went into Dublin businesses, some owned by their families. Lewis H. Beatty (1881-82) became Chairman of Miller and Beatty, a well-known shop on Grafton Street; C. E. Jacob (1885) became Chairman of the family biscuit-making business. Allan Osborne Exham (1883-90) became a stockbroker. Guinness' brewery and the banks, especially the Royal Bank of Ireland, were also common destinations, as were insurance companies. S. F. Jackson (1892-95), for example, worked in Sun Insurance for 50 years. Again it is the very successful whose names are mentioned: (Sir) Simon Maddock (1881-85) (knighted for his work for recruiting during the War) became a director of Johnston, Mooney and O'Brien and other companies and Chairman of the Rathmines Urban Council; (Sir) Hildebrand Harmsworth (1883-88), brother of Lord Northcliffe, was very successful in journalism and publishing. He wrote an interesting article in the first issue of *The Erasmian* on journalism in London. (Sir) Arthur Maxwell (1886-89) became a director of many shipping concerns and President of the Institute of Bankers in London. Not all who went into business were completely happy, as a letter from an Old Boy (F. W. Saunders 1881-82) published in *The Erasmian* in April 1935 testifies: 'Personally, I was shunted into that backwater of life, a bank clerkship, "that last infirmity of noble lives (sic)", having escaped being sacked, reached the Woolsack, in the shape of Manager of this, the first established branch of the National bank. I have been in this

capacity for 25 years.' The letter was written from Carrick-on-Suir. W. P. Black (1884-88) was manager of the Headquarters Branch of the Provincial Bank in Belfast.

About one-third of each year's leavers went to Trinity or to the Royal College of Surgeons and thence into the professions. The ministry of the Church of Ireland attracted a considerable number, and at least six, W. S. Jaffray (1881-83), E. A. E. Burrows (1892-96), J. R. Prenter (1885-91), James Mitchell (1871-73), W. S. M'Caughey (1885-88) and W. S. Glover (1916-25), entered the Presbyterian ministry. Some of these clergymen became missionaries; both Rev. G. F. Carpenter (1908-14) and Rev. A. W. Norton (1897-1901) worked with the Dublin University Mission in China, and Rev. J. G. F. Hearn (1883) served with the DU Mission at Chota Nagpur in India. Rev. George A. Rice (1913-20) went to Argentina and Rev. E. E. S. Forrester (1892-96) to Brazil. Most of the clergymen worked in Ireland and England, men like Rev. Charles Coote Duggan (1896-1902) who was catechist in the school and later Rector of Tallaght and, afterwards, of Harold's Cross, or Rev. R. E. Weir (1888-94) who was Rector of Irishtown. G. A. Joynt (1891-98) worked as an engineer before entering the Methodist Ministry; he was President of the Methodist Church in Ireland in 1943-44. Others became doctors, sometimes combining this with an army career, for example (Major-General) R. W. D. Leslie (1891-92) of the RAMC. (Sir) William I. de Courcy Wheeler (1894-96) was President of Royal College of Surgeons and was succeeded in that office by another Old Boy, R. C. B. Maunsell (1885-87). Sir William joined the RNVR in the Second World War, reached the rank of Rear-Admiral and died on active service in 1943.

The Indian Civil Service was one of the most coveted positions at this time for boys at schools like The High School, with a very competitive examination for entry. Mr Wilkins, like many of his Irish Protestant contemporaries, was an imperialist: 'He combined an intense pride in his Irish race with a vehement imperialism; without the Irish brains and courage, he said, the English could never have founded or maintained their empire; empire building he described as the greatest of all games.'[1] A new member of staff was struck by the choice of photographs in the hall: 'Its special pride was indulged in the entrance in the photographs of old-boy bishops and members of the Indian Civil Service.'[2] So, imperial service was a career towards which Mr Wilkins steered many boys and a number were very successful. (Sir) James Alexander Ossory Fitzpatrick (1889-98) ended as agent to the Governor-General of the Punjab; J. C. Stodart (1889-95) became a High Court judge in Madras. Another magistrate in Madras, R. W. d'E. Ashe (1885-1901)

was assassinated in June 1911, probably on account of the sentences he had imposed on the Tuticorin rioters the previous year. A memorial tablet was erected to him in the school the following year. *The Erasmian* of December 1908 mentioned four Old Boys who had recently gone out to India: W. W. Powell (1893-1901) of the Indian Civil Service; D. A. Smith (1899-1905) and M. R. Richardson (1895-1903) of the Indian Police and Rev. J. C. Forrester (1888-93) who had gone as a missionary. N. H. Prender (1887-93) wrote from Gurdaspur in the Punjab where he was a magistrate: 'Frankly, if I must speak my mind, splendid though the life out here is, and bright though all our prospects are, I would give it all up for the chance of now and again walking the streets of dear old Dublin and living once more in the harmony and fellowship of home.'[3] Some worked in other areas of the Raj: R. B. B. Foster (1890-95) and William Hardcastle Neilson (1888-93) as doctors, Neilson in the Bombay Port medical service; Rev. Edward Ridley Day (1891-1900) was garrison Chaplain at Nazirabad; Thomas E. O. Moore (1913-18) was engineer to the Nizam railway; Col. A. A. Gibbs (1887-88) became Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust and F. E. A. Campbell (1890-97) was stationed at Quetta with the army.

Other colonies and countries overseas also provided careers. (Sir) Joseph Hosford Kemp (1889-91) became Attorney-General and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Hong Kong, where L. A. M. Johnston (1881-83) was Post Master General. W. E. Abbott (1912-18) was Chief Sanitary chemist to the municipality of Shanghai. James Espinasse (1881-82) worked as an engineer in South Africa. H. Fletcher (1879-83) went to work for the Queensland National Bank. Others went to North America: Alan M. Coulter (1922-25) was in banking in New York, S. R. Benner (1890-93) ran his own chemical company in Chicago and H. R. Ardill (1896-1904) was making dynamite at Brownsburg in Quebec.

Criticisms of Wilkins

In 1893 the number of boys in the school passed 300 for the first time and so it was decided in 1895 to build six new classrooms. For this purpose a two-storey, red-brick building was erected on the south side of the yard, dividing it from the playground, with three classrooms on each floor. However, while these rooms were being built, there was a change in the school's fortunes. Numbers began to fall; first to 235 and by 1898 they were down to 204. At the same time, inevitably, the school balance sheet began to show a loss. Since 1888 the school had been making a small profit, as the Governors had originally intended since it was doubtful if they had the right, under the Charter,

The High School Staff c. 1900. Back row: W. Wilkins, Rev. W. J. Mayne, W. S. Cooney, C. H. Ward, — E. T. Burd, — — — Sgt Browne. Front row: Rev. W. P. Morris, W. E. Patterson, Governess, Lucy Wilkins, Mrs Wilkins, Mr Wilkinson

to spend large sums on The High School. By 1896 this profit had turned into a loss and when, at the end of 1897, this was found to have been £420 for that year, the Board became alarmed. In May 1898 a sub-committee was set up to inquire into the working of the school.

The report of this committee was very critical of the Headmaster. Having interviewed each member of the staff, and the Headmaster twice, they came to the conclusion that the decline in the school could be attributed to many causes:

- Poor equipment in furniture, maps and other appliances.
- Excessive corporal punishment which had given the school a reputation for caning. On Saturdays about 100 boys were detained, of whom about half were caned. This caning was for failure at lessons only and not for 'moral offences'.
- The Headmaster was sometimes rude to parents and he was on good terms with only two of his 11 assistants. In particular, the staff complained of the spy-holes which Mr Wilkins had had opened in the doors of the classrooms.
- The teaching was too dominated by the Intermediate Examinations which had led to bad arrangements for promoting boys and to lack of facilities for older boys to specialise for definite purposes, such as commercial life and Civil Service examinations.
- There was no laboratory which meant that no physics or chemistry was taught.

- Deficiencies in the building 'such as the bad reception room, and the absence of a gymnasium, or even a covered place for the boys during the interval in rainy weather'.

Most of these, the committee felt, were largely the fault of the Headmaster, but even more serious was a quarrel which existed between Mr Wilkins and Mr Cooney, the second Mathematics master. This was widely known, was of long duration and had become a 'scandal'. The committee were of the opinion 'that the conduct of the Headmaster generally in regard to Mr Cooney, and the fact which he admits of having himself worked up a case against him, and the means he adopted in doing so, render it a most serious question whether the Board will be justified in retaining him in his present position'. Mr Cooney had been at the school since 1871 and during that time remained second Mathematics master, refusing promotion in 1890 when Mr Foster left. He had been appointed by the Governors, not by the Headmaster, a fact which Mr Wilkins resented. In June 1888 Mr Wilkins had reported Cooney (and the senior Mathematics master, Mr Foster) to the Governors as being less successful than the other masters, but no action had been taken. Foster left in 1890 but Cooney refused to look for promotion and in 1893, when Cooney applied for an increase in salary, Mr Wilkins blocked it. In 1896 Mr Cooney was again reported for inefficiency, disobedience and failure to improve discipline. On enquiry, the Governors found these charges unproven. The quarrel developed and Mr Wilkins sought signed statements from boys and from one junior master to substantiate his charges. It was the methods he used in doing this which the committee had censured so strongly.

On receiving this report, the Governors asked Mr Wilkins to reply to the charges contained in it. This he did in a long letter dated 25 May 1898. He argued that the corporal punishment had been necessary to improve the school when he came and pointed out that no parent had ever complained; the idea of excessive corporal punishment was a fable spread by jealous rivals. He denied the accusation of spying on masters; most of the staff stayed with him a long time. He also defended himself against the accusation of dishonourable conduct with regard to Mr Cooney. The Board met on 25 May to consider this reply and declared the charges not to have been satisfactorily answered. A motion calling on Mr Wilkins to resign was proposed by Sir Henry Lawrence (one of the sub-committee) and passed unanimously, a previous one giving him a year's grace to make improvements being refused. There followed a period in which Mr Wilkins worked to have this decision reversed and on 17 June a special meeting of the Board was summoned to

reconsider the case. Sir Henry Lawrence withdrew his resolution calling for dismissal and another was passed instructing Mr Wilkins to put right the matters complained of in the report. The spy-holes in the doors of the classrooms were ordered to be closed. On 8 July the Standing Committee drew up a letter which was sent to Mr Wilkins. He was ordered to improve relations between himself and the assistant masters and to end the quarrel with Mr Cooney. Corporal punishment was not to be used on a wide scale and was to be considered more suitable for moral offences than for failure at lessons. The Headmaster was to take an active part in the teaching in the school.

Competition from Other Schools

It will be seen that most of the blame for the decline of the school was laid on the Headmaster. There was, however, at least one very important cause which the sub-committee had not considered, since it was outside their terms of reference. This was the growing competition from other schools. Mr Wilkins had been warning the Governors about this for several years, especially from what he called 'dissenting competition', i.e., St Andrew's College and Wesley College. In typically forthright language he described this competition to Mr Brown, the Registrar, in a letter on 23 February 1898:

> Their governors being shopkeepers, like David Drummond and Sir John Arnott, have notions of keeping shop, of puffing, of commercial travelling, of public speaking, of advertising perpetually, of making a dividend, of stealing as many as they can of my ideas, in which our Governors are babes. St Andrew's was started by a public breakfast in the Shelbourne! Imagine our Governors condescending to such claptrap, but it pays commercially nevertheless.

More to the point, these schools were better equipped and their fees were lower. St Andrew's had a laboratory and charged £4-10 per year for younger pupils, while The High School charged £8. The new Diocesan School for Boys which had opened in Molesworth Street in 1895 charged only £4 for all boys, junior or senior, while Mountjoy School, which had been opened in 1896, charged £7. The High School's fees, at £8 per year for all boys, were higher than their rivals. Eventually, in 1904, the Board agreed to reduce the fees for junior boys (under 10) to £4 and abolished some extra charges. The pressures remained and on 22 January 1894 Mr Wilkins reported:

> The less promising part of our Presbyterian boys, and some Church boys who were idle, have been withdrawn to go to St Andrew's. The more promising half remain, with one exception, in spite of clerical pressure.

> But the new school has done us harm in intercepting new boys, who would otherwise have come to us.

Widening the Curriculum

Meanwhile arrangements were made to start teaching Physics and Chemistry in the school. Mr Roberts, FTCD, the Governors' inspector of Grammar schools, was asked to recommend what was needed to establish science teaching in all three Grammar schools and in The High School, £200 being set aside for the latter. It was decided to use the 1895 building which had three classrooms on each floor. The ground floor was converted into a Physics laboratory by removing a wall between two of the classrooms; the same was done on the top floor to make a Chemistry laboratory. A. E. Lyster was appointed the first Science master. He had been on the staff since 1890 as a mathematician, but he had gained a double first in Mathematics and Experimental Physics in Trinity. These changes coincided with a reorganisation of the Intermediate system as a result of the Intermediate Act of 1900. In the new courses, Science had a much more important part. The whole course covered four years, the first two being a preliminary course in elementary Physics and Chemistry; the last two allowed for specialisation in one branch of Science. Science was also linked with Drawing; three hours each week had to be given to Science and one hour to Drawing. However, it proved difficult to attract pupils to the new courses and schools were slow to develop these subjects. By 1905 only about six schools in Ireland had laboratories, according to the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Report of that year.

To broaden the curriculum of the school further, a full Commercial department was established in 1903. Shorthand had been taught in 1896, although not many boys took it and it was dropped in 1897. Now typewriting was added. In their instructions to Mr Wilkins, the Governors laid down a detailed list of the subjects to be taught in the new department: hand-writing; orthography; commercial arithmetic; copying manuscripts; indexing and docketing; digesting returns into summaries; precis writing; book-keeping; shorthand; commercial geography; English history; French and German. Many of these were, of course, already taught in the school and some of them would be taught as part of other subjects anyway.

The reduction in fees and the introduction of Science did not improve the school's fortunes. By 1905 the yearly loss had increased to over £1,000 and the Governors again looked for ways of attracting more pupils and of economising. They asked for a detailed timetable for each member of the staff, which Mr Wilkins supplied. It showed that the staff worked on average

30 to 32½ hours per week (Mr Wilkins said that 25 to 27 hours was the English average) and that the elaborate arrangements for the Intermediate made it impossible to reduce the number of staff.

The Erasmian

In May 1899 the first issue of *The Erasmian* appeared; it has continued with only a few interruptions to the present. It had been preceded by several hand-written and fairly short-lived magazines produced by the boys alone. The earliest to have survived was *The Monthly Buzzer* produced by J. A. Joynt (1891-98) and J. F. Butler (1891-97) between May 1893 and February 1894 when it became the *Red and Black*. This one ended in February 1895. Both had a surprisingly large amount of space devoted to Westminster politics. At first *The Erasmian* was mainly a staff production, with the boys playing only a small part. The first editor was Mr John Thompson, then Classics master and later Headmaster, assisted by Mr C. H. Ward and Mr W. E. Paterson. Boys involved in the early numbers were Newport White (1894-99) (later Librarian of Marsh's Library) and his brother George W. (1894-99), A. W. McFarlane (1890-99) and C. H. McComas (1894-99). There were four issues per year with material not very dissimilar to school magazines today. One interesting feature was a news column from other Dublin schools.

In the first issues it was reported that 12 Old Boys were serving in the South African war and more names were added later. Six were reported to have died by the end of the war. They were: T. A. Taylor (1883-84) who died of fever while serving with Col. Baden Powell in Mafeking and George Scarr (1893-94) who died during the siege of Ladysmith, while serving with the Royal Irish Rifles. Walter Danby Jeffares (1891-94) and A. W. Spence (1878-82) were killed at the battle of Driefontein in 1901; both were serving with the Imperial Yeomanry. James Thompson Seeds (1881-89), serving with the Royal Irish Rifles, died of dysentery at Kroonstadt in June 1901. Harold William Goodwin (1891-96) died of pneumonia at Pretoria in 1902. Arthur Conan, who had been in business in Johannesburg in the Boer Republic of Transvaal, wrote several letters which were published in *The Erasmian*, describing his escape to the coast. W. Rossiter (1876-79) fought with the Canadian contingent from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

Retirement of Mr Wilkins

By 1907 the number of pupils in the school had fallen to 126 and the Board set up yet another sub-committee to inquire into the matter. They advised a considerable reorganisation of the school (which will be considered in the

next chapter). They also advised that Mr Wilkins should retire on pension. On 28 June 1907 the Board gave notice to him that his appointment would be terminated on 31 December. In July Mr Wilkins sent a letter to parents announcing his resignation. In fact, he remained in office for another year, leaving the school in July 1908. *The Erasmian* said: 'So passed the most famous Headmaster The High School has yet known. His honest bluntness veiled, for the less penetrating, especially among the lower forms, the true gold of his character, but by those whose privilege it was to know him well, his poetic spirit and deep enthusiastic knowledge of English Literature, will ever be enshrined amid their most sacred memories.'[4]

A much less flattering picture of him was given by John Eglinton (William Kirkpatrick Magee, 1881-86):

> To most of the boys he seemed a cruel man, and was much feared by the youngsters whose ears he pinched; and at his canings, conducted in the presence of the whole school, the more sensitive of us looked on with horror. He called all the boys by their Christian names (his own name amongst them all being 'Billy'), but this hardly made his sarcasms, delivered in his hearty Dundalk brogue, more endearing. He had no wish, however, to make himself popular – apparently rather the contrary.

Magee goes on to praise him as a highly competent and conscientious Headmaster who made a point of knowing each of his pupils well. Outside school he was friendly and kind. He also describes Wilkins as an inspiring teacher of English.[5] The controversies surrounding his punishments continued long after his death. In 1964 an article in *The Irish Times* about the school spoke of a 'sadistic streak' in him. It produced a letter from I. J. North-Bomford (1897-99) who claimed that Wilkins caned only on the hand for neglect of work and misconduct: 'No one could have been kinder and more encouraging than he, as I know in my own case.'[6] An aspiring member of staff, who had written asking for a job and who had been summoned for interview in 1905, described him: 'He was tall, large, bald, bearded, raucous, cold-eyed, gowned, bespectacled, infallible, almighty; his dispatch box was an inverted university cap, his mace of authority a cane.'[7]

His last years had been clouded by the decline of the school, by his disagreements with the Governors and staff and by ill health and bereavement (his daughter Lucy died in 1903). Yet his achievement in The High School had been enormous. He had made it a fine school with a distinctive spirit of its own and an enviable reputation for academic success. In 1887, when he was President of the Headmasters' Association, he said jokingly that a headmaster would be exhausted in 15 years: 'The work of a headmaster is a

Minotaur that demands for its food the energy of youth, and whatever be the energies of the victim they will be exhausted in fifteen years.'[8] Perhaps he was not joking.

He died on 31 July 1912 at Harrogate where he had gone for health reasons; his widow, Mary, died in 1940. His daughter, Una, had received part of her education at the school and was the first girl to be a pupil there, long before co-education was considered. He had two sons, Maurice (1893-1904) who became Headmaster of Bangor Grammar School, and Edgar Henry (1895-1902) who was a doctor. Maurice continued the family's literary tradition, publishing two books of poems: *Sonnets of Love and Friendship* (Hull, 1958) and *The Seeker* (Dublin, 1960).

CHAPTER XI

John Thompson

John Thompson had already been on the staff of the school for 17 years when he was appointed Headmaster. He had been engaged to teach Classics in 1891 in succession to George Wilkins who was made a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin in that year. Mr Thompson was an Englishman and Mr Wilkins reported to the Governors that 'the risk of taking an Englishman was lessened by his getting our Classical department in good order from his precedessor'. There was no risk, however, for in 1892 in his report to the Governors we find: 'Mr Thompson could not have done better. He is a good disciplinarian and popular with the boys.'

Educated at the City of London School, John Thompson had a brilliant career at Cambridge where he entered with a scholarship to Christ's College in 1885. He won many prizes, including two gold medals, one for an English dissertation and the other for a Latin dissertation, and took a First Class in both parts of the Classical Tripos. He later edited many Greek authors for schools and wrote a Greek grammar for schools and a Latin primer which were highly praised. He had a good knowledge of French and German and assisted in the translation of Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* from German. He also drew up a Sanskrit course for the University Correspondence College. He was elected a member of the Royal Irish Academy in 1912. As well as being a first-class scholar, Mr Thompson was a fine teacher. He took a wide interest in education and was active on many committees, especially those which promoted the welfare of the teaching profession. He was a man of high principles, tactful and a good organiser; he handled people well and his years as Headmaster were a contrast, in the peaceful ordering of the school, to the stormy disputes of the previous period. A member of the staff who had served under Wilkins and Thompson remarked: 'He had more real education in his tassel than W. W. had in his whole gown.'[1]

Reorganisation

In consultation with the sub-committee which had been set up to reorganise the school in 1907, the new Headmaster set about the task of rebuilding the school. The most important member of the sub-committee was the Rev.

Kingsmill Moore, Principal of the Church of Ireland Training College from 1884 to 1927, who took a deep interest in High School affairs. He recalled this work and the other members of the sub-committee: 'working with him [Provost Traill] and ably helped by the present Registrar, Mr A. L. B. Moore, I had the pleasure of taking part in the re-awakening of the Erasmus Smith Board, one of whose results has been the great success of the High School, Dublin.'[2] It was decided that the staff was to be reduced by three to a total of nine plus the Headmaster. The sub-committee had suggested that the old division of the school into two parts, a Grammar school part and a Commercial department, should be maintained, English and French being common to both parts, but Mr Thompson advised against this since the two parts would inevitably overlap, and his advice was accepted. So the theoretical division came to an end, although it had to be maintained in the accounts in order to bring High School within the terms of the Erasmus Smith Trust.

At the same time the system of free pupils, against which Mr Wilkins had protested so often, was ended and a scheme of scholarships was introduced instead. There were to be 20 first-class scholarships giving free education for five years, and 20 second-class giving education at a reduced fee of £5 per year. All were to be open to Protestant boys between the ages of 12 and 14 and were to be awarded on the results of a competitive examination. The High School Exhibitions were also reorganised. Four at £25 p.a. for four years replaced those at £30 p.a. for five years. On 19 June 1908 the Board passed a resolution of thanks to Dr Kingsmill Moore for 'the great trouble and ability expended by him in drawing up an admirable scheme for the reorganisation of the High School'. Five assistant masters were retired or did not have their contracts renewed; three new staff were appointed to replace them. New methods of teaching were introduced, especially in Geography where the purchase of a lantern for showing slides made lessons more interesting. The teacher, J. H. Cousins, published a textbook on new methods of teaching the subject, *A Modern Geography for Irish Intermediate Schools*, in 1909. The timetable was redrawn so that the junior classes had a separate lunch and play time. In 1910 electricity was installed in the Clockroom and a bicycle shed was built. The school Sergeant also retired; the new one (Millet) was an ex-Colour Sergeant in the Lancashire Regiment who had seen service in the Afghan and South African campaigns. *The Erasmian* of March 1911 said:

> The Sergeant's new dark-blue uniform, with shining brass buttons and glittering medals, is a great source of attraction to the smaller pupils and certainly invests the Waiting-Room with a military atmosphere, while it lends an air of stricter discipline to the drill ground.

All this attracted many new pupils and numbers rose from 84 in 1908 to 180 in 1909 and 215 in 1910. As was to be expected, school life in all its aspects was revivified under the new leadership. *The Erasmian* was re-started after a lapse of four years and a Literary and Debating Society was re-founded. In its first debates the society, which included members of staff, defeated motions in favour of solving international disputes by arbitration and one in favour of women's suffrage. A Miniature Rifle Club was formed, with an early membership of 19, and met regularly in the Clockroom until the proclamation of martial law after the rebellion in 1916 made its meetings impossible. They played their first match, against Monkstown Park Miniature Rifle Club, in March 1909. A silver medal for the best marksman was presented by the National Service League; the first winner was W. G. Tomlinson (1905-09). Annual Old Boys' dinners began, held in the Gresham Hotel and well attended.

Academic Successes

Mr Thompson continued the classical tradition of the school. One of his early outstanding pupils was Max Nurock (1904-11) who won first-class Classical Exhibitions in each of the three grades of the Intermediate examination, an Entrance Exhibition to Trinity College, and a Classical Scholarship there in his first year. After winning many prizes in Trinity, he graduated with first place and large gold medal in Classics and mental and moral Philosophy and was awarded the University Studentship in Classics. He went on to a distinguisged career in diplomacy. He was followed by L. J. D. Richardson (1903-12) who won a first-class Classical Exhibition at the Intermediate with gold medals for first place in Greek and in Latin in 1911 and a Classical Sizarship to Trinity College in 1912. He too won a Classical Scholarship and graduated with first-class honours and gold medal and won the Classical Studentship. He was later Professor of Greek at Cardiff University and, in 1963, Honorary Professor of Classical Literature in Trinity. The war interrupted the university careers of many students, such as W. H. B. Mack (1910-13), another outstanding classicist who went on to a career in diplomacy. J. V. Bateman (1913-15) won an entrance sizarship in Hebrew and later became Professor of Classics at Saskatoon University.

First World War

Life in High School continued in an uneventful but constructive way in the years before the First World War. In 1912 a half-day closing on Wednesdays was introduced and the following year the school year was divided into three terms, instead of four. When the war began it brought some changes, though

none of them was very serious. Drill was stopped because the Sergeant was called up and no replacement could be found. Every effort was made to reduce expense; prize distributions were only held in private, with prizes mainly given as vouchers in the National War Loan, and Sports Day was not held again until 1919.

There was immediate support for the war. The editorial in *The Erasmian* in December 1914 said:

> Soon the hopes that Great Britain could maintain a neutrality were rudely shattered, yet amid the horror which accompanied the declaration of war, we all felt thankful that the step which had been taken by us, was only in the interests of righteousness and justice, and also as the event proved, in the sacred cause of liberty against the armed aggressiveness of the Germans. It is our duty as members and citizens of our great empire to do all in our power to help our land in her hour of need. One thing we suggest is that every boy in the upper school, who is not yet a member of the Rifle Club, should join at once. We earnestly pray that our armies and those of our allies may soon prove completely victorious, but it is impossible to say for how long the war may not last.

In 1915 Mr Thompson reported that 250 boys were serving in the army; of the 24 boys in sixth form in August 1914, 15 had joined within the year. Two of the masters had also gone to the front. The first Old Boys to be killed were C. R. Young (1902-03) of the RAMC who died on 27 September 1914 from wounds received at the battle of Aisne, and Major R. T. Roper (1883-88) of the Dorsetshire Regiment who was killed in action near Béthune on 12 October. By the end of 1915 the number killed had risen to 15, 10 of them at the Dardanelles, including two brothers, G. G. Duggan (1896-1904) and J. R. Duggan (1904-12), both killed on the same day. Captain G. G. Duggan had been an outstanding athlete at school and at Trinity, where he inaugurated Trinity Week. Another of those killed at Gallipoli was A. H. Bailey (1882-86) who was fighting with the New Zealand contingent.

The 1916 Rebellion

At Easter 1916 the rebellion broke out in Dublin. The opening of the summer term had to be delayed because the school was occupied as a Red Cross hospital. The Rifle Club could not function because of the imposition of martial law and the Swimming Club was delayed because the military had taken over the Iveagh Baths. Two Old Boys were killed during the rebellion: W. J. Rice (1890-97), a clerk in Guinness' Brewery was shot while helping troops in the Brewery, and Holden Stodart (1894-95) of the St John's

Ambulance was shot in Pembroke Lane while picking up the wounded on Wednesday, 26 April. There was little sympathy in the school for the aims of the rebellion, as *The Erasmian* of June 1916 makes clear, although there was admiration for the courage of the insurgents:

> With a few thousand followers they defied the might of the British Empire, and as the promised help of men and munitions did not arrive, the effort was doomed to failure from the outset. They behaved gallantly under fire, and however much we may deplore the motives that inspired them, still we ought to give due meed of honour to those who died for what they considered their country's good.

The editorial reserved the harshest words for the Chief Secretary of Ireland, Augustine Birrell, 'the cynical scoffer, who cracked feeble jokes if any disturbances in Ireland were reported to him who, perhaps, once a year visited the country of which he was supposed to be Chief Secretary'. The writer (G. S. B. Mack 1906-16), feared that the rebellion 'may have sowed the seeds of bloodshed and civil commotion, to be reaped by undeserving people in the days to come'.[3]

As mirrored in *The Erasmians,* however, school loyalty was uncompromisingly to the war effort and to Old Boys fighting in it. Lists of all those on active service were published, and there were many poems of support of those who were fighting or in memory of those who died. Old Boys on leave visited the school and others wrote home to tell of their adventures. One member of staff, Mr Wyon, who was serving as Adjutant to the Second Battalion of the South Staffordshire regiment, wrote on 21 March 1917:

> I had one march of 15 kilometres, at night, through shell-pitted area over trackless country. Heavy mud of the sticky glutinous type and had several spills. Boot nails of no avail. Strong wind and rain and pitch dark. Also no meal or halt … slept afterwards on ammunition baskets just as I was, wet, with wet blankets over me and orderlies popping in all night with despatches.[4]

By June 1917 the Roll of Honour numbered 36 and four others were listed as wounded and missing. The U-boat campaign was taking its toll too; the December issue of *The Erasmian* in 1917 urged a reduction in festivity: 'There is a general shortage of food all over the country – tea, sugar, butter and many other articles are well nigh impossible to obtain – and therefore we must not waste what little food there is coming into the country in Christmas-tide rejoicings.' The final number of Old Boys who were killed in the war was 69; a memorial service for them was held in Christ Church Cathedral on 27 March 1919.

War Memorial

On 21 September 1919, a group of Old Boys met with Mr Thompson to consider erecting a suitable memorial to the memory of Old Boys of the school who had died in the war. They decided on a stained-glass window. In March 1920 Mr Thompson reported to the Governors that £450 had been collected to which the Board added a contribution. The window was placed at the end of the Clockroom and was unveiled by the Provost of Trinity College, W. E. Thrift, on the third anniversary of the Armstice, 11 November 1921. Almost 1,000 High School boys had fought in the war, a considerable number of them in the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and South African armies, and the names of 69 who died were recorded on the memorial tablets beside the window. In his address, the Provost said that he was sure that the boys who went to the war would have found it difficult to explain exactly why they went.

> But we know that their breeding and their tradition called them, and they felt, unconsciously it may be, that faithfulness to their citizenship demanded of them that they fulfil their citizenship at any hazard of ease, of interest, of life itself. And we ought not to forget that the boys from Irish schools who went forth in this way were volunteers, not conscripts.[5]

The window was designed and executed by W. MacBride of Craftworkers Ltd who had designed War Memorial windows in several churches, including St Patrick's Cathedral and St George's in Dublin. It consists of three lights, the centre one representing victory. It shows the figure of a young knight resting on his sword; in the background another knight carries the school banner. In the right-hand light is a figure representing peace, surrounded by symbolic doves and holding aloft the torch of learning. The left-hand light shows the figure of justice carrying a pair of scales and a sword. When the school moved to Danum, the window was re-erected in the hall of the new building in a sadly inadequate position.

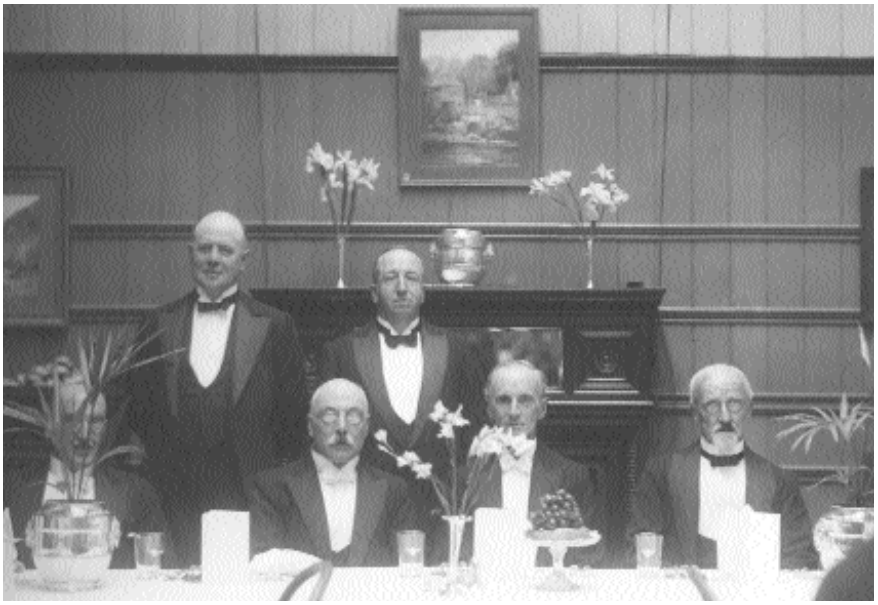
Post-War Developments

The end of the war in 1918 brought a return of some features of school life which had been suspended. The Sports Day was again held at Lansdowne Road in 1919 and the prize distributions were revived. A new school Sergeant was appointed. This was the formidable John Nelson ('Frosty') who had been Farrier Sergeant-Major in the 11th Hussars, and who was to terrorise successive generations of boys – and perhaps some staff – until his death in 1951. In 1918 the programme for Science and Drawing for the Intermediate Certificate was altered to make Science an alternative to Drawing in the

The Clockroom in full use.

preparatory grade. Since The High School had two classes working for this grade, Mr Thompson suggested that one should take Science and the other manual instruction. Previously both had taken Science. The Governors approved of the suggestion and the lower laboratory, which was no longer needed for Physics, was converted, the benches being sold to Methodist College, Belfast for £70. Mr W. R. ('Willie') Wilson was appointed to teach the new subject and he continued to do so until his death in 1957. He was beloved by generations of boys who came to his Art and Woodwork classes and he gave his time and talents freely in the service of the school. He painted the portraits of the early Headmasters, now in the Reynolds Hall; he also constructed a stage which was erected each year in the Clockroom in Harcourt Street for the school concert. As a sculptor and painter he exhibited at the Royal Hibernian Academy.

The years following the First World War were years of great change everywhere in Europe and Ireland was no exception. The shock of the war had not only transformed the political map, it had also had profound effects on society. Many of the old certainties had been exposed to sharp questioning and had been shown to be far less acceptable than formerly. New ideologies were gaining support. Inflation, rare before 1914, had surged ahead, bringing economic difficulties to many. Employment was scarcer as war industries were



Old Boys Dinner 1929

reduced. Schools are surprisingly slow to change and education was not then seen as an instrument of social policy to the extent that it is today. Nevertheless, schools like High School could not escape the inevitable consequences of the upheavals taking place around them. In Ireland this also involved living under a new political dispensation which, at first at any rate, was not necessarily to their liking.

CHAPTER XII

The Trust in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

When John Barlow resigned as Treasurer in 1872, he had been in office for 22 years. He and the Trust had been subjected to fairly severe criticism, not all of it wholly merited, by the Endowed Schools Commission in 1858. However, these were as nothing compared to the attacks on the Trust in the half-century that followed his resignation, as it became embroiled in the politics of the time. As a large landowner, it experienced the attacks that were the result of the Land 'Wars' at the end of the 19th century and by the end of those 50 years little of the estates remained in its possession. As an exclusively Anglican foundation, it was subject to attack from those who wished to share in its wealth but who were excluded on religious grounds, and to attacks from political parties anxious to appeal to the majority of voters in Ireland.

The new Treasurer was Hedges Eyre Chatterton, Vice Chancellor of Ireland since 1867, the only holder of that legal office which was abolished on his resignation in 1903. He represented Trinity College in the House of Commons in 1867. He was very active in the affairs of the Trust until his resignation from the office of Treasurer in 1906. Tim Healy described him: 'a decent upright old Tory. I won't say that to know him is to love him, but at any rate it is to appreciate and respect him.'[1] However, in his evidence to the 1878 Commission on Endowed Schools, the Vice Chancellor showed himself to be in favour of educating all religions together. 'I think it would be of great advantage to the boys of this country if they could be educated together.'[2] He had been educated in such a school himself in Cork. It is unlikely that Healy would have shared this view but Healy could hardly be described as a liberal. Another contemporary described the Vice Chancellor in action:

> an able judge but uncomfortably technical. On one occasion in an administration action, counsel produced letters of administration granted in the case of Timothy Doolan, deceased; then Timothy Doolan stood up in Court and said:'I'm the man, and I'm not dead at all!'
>
> *The Vice Chancellor:* 'For the purposes of this suit you must be treated as dead at present, and if you continue to interrupt, I shall commit you for contempt of court.'[3]

The Grammar Schools

The Grammar schools were receiving more attention from the Governors than they had in the past and more money was being spent on them. A sub-committee set up to consider the expenditure of the Trust after the Vice Chancellor's appointment reported that £1,530 per year was spent on them. In 1875 an Inspector of the Grammar Schools was appointed at a salary of £100 per year and travelling expenses. He was to inspect the schools twice a year, both their educational work and the state of the buildings. The first inspector was Rev. Thomas Gray, FTCD. When Hallewell, Headmaster of Drogheda, resigned 1875, the Governors had to spend £3,000 on repairs to the school building. As a result of this there was a change in policy: the responsibility for keeping the buildings in repair, previously the duty of the Headmasters and the source of much confusion, was now to be undertaken by the Board. An architect was appointed to carry out triennial surveys and recommend work to be done. By the end of the century, gymnasiums and laboratories were being provided in the schools and very necessary improvements in sanitation carried out, although outbreaks of infectious diseases were still regular occurrences.

The individual schools had varying fortunes during this period, as usual largely dependent on the reputation of the Headmaster. By 1874 Tipperary under Matthews, who was ill, was down to 21 pupils and the Governors forced his resignation. His successor, Rev. Walter Brocas Lindesey, brought the number to over 100 by 1878. The Inspector of Grammar Schools for the Endowed Schools Commission of 1878 was Rev. J. P. Mahaffy (later Provost of Trinity). He visited Tipperary in January 1879, 'only two days after the boys had returned from home and thus I found them in lower spirits than they might otherwise have been, and also not so fresh in the knowledge'. He did not find the answering very good but the discipline was strict, 'perhaps too strict, for the boys did not talk freely at meals'. There was no gymnasium and no library. 'The diet is good and the whole tone of the school gentlemanly.'[4] Lindesey was succeeded by Dr Flynn, who had been Headmaster at Ennis, and under him the social exclusiveness of the school was emphasised. When the Governors attempted to extend the benefits of the endowment more widely in 1911, the sub-committee considering more scholarships reported that nothing should be done to lower the social status of the Tipperary school or which would be against the wishes of Dr Flynn. They described the pupils there as being the sons of clergymen, bank officials, gentlemen farmers and professional men. Many such people were said to prefer to send their sons to schools in England, so the numbers in Tipperary were low.

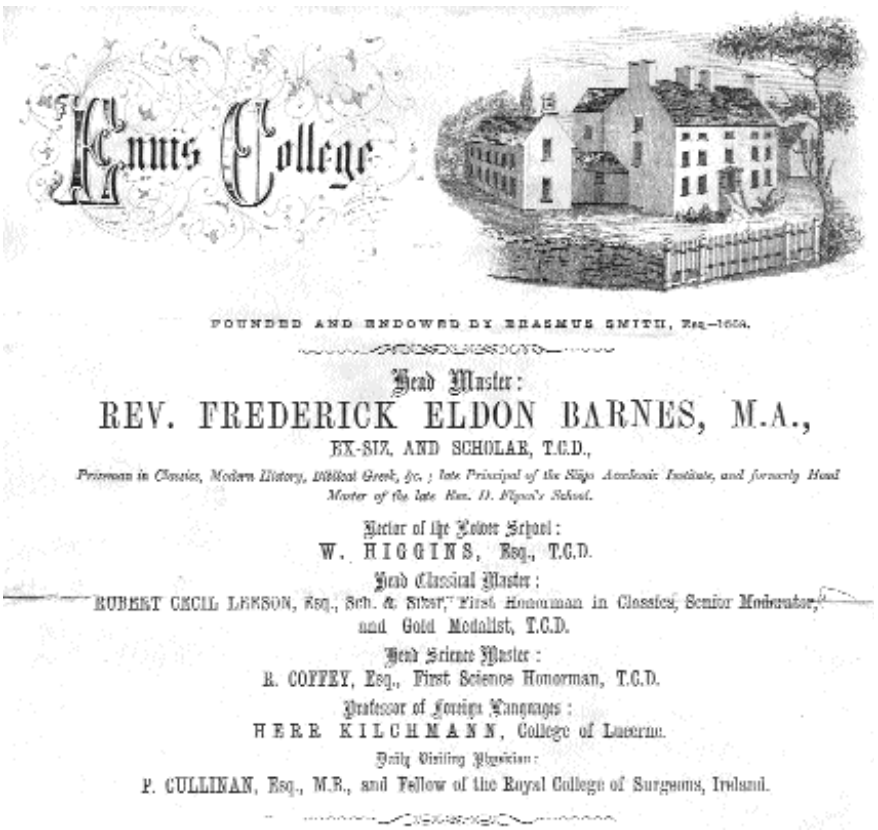
Vice-Chancellor Hedges Eyre Chatterton, Treasurer 1872-1906.

Drogheda had a succession of Headmasters who stayed only a few years and so by 1870 was not flourishing. Its revival began under J. Langley Whitty who was appointed in 1871, and continued under Rev. F. L. Aldhouse who succeeded him in 1877 and who remained for over 40 years. Extensive repairs were carried out and a gymnasium was built. Numbers improved and averaged 50 in following years. Mahaffy was very impressed by the buildings: 'The buildings are very commodious – indeed the schoolroom, with its adjoining classrooms, is a model of what such a building ought to be.' He was also impressed by the gymnasium, the dormitories and the washing facilities. 'The master's residence is also a fine mansion, with a great deal of valuable oak panelling – partly, alas, covered with paint.' He was not so impressed by the boys' answering.[5] As funds became scarcer and the need to economise grew, the Board several times considered some arrangement between Drogheda and Dundalk Grammar School but nothing was done about this.

Galway flourished under a new Headmaster, Dr Biggs, who was appointed in 1875 from Parsonstown School. Within 15 years numbers had increased to almost 90. This occurred in spite of conditions which Mahaffy described as unfavourable to a boarding school: 'No advantage is offered by Galway except good sea bathing. The town is full of decay and pauperism. Idle boys trespass on the school grounds, and molest the school, because it is respectable.' Neverthless, Mahaffy was impressed by the school, although both the schoolroom and the boys 'wanted brushing and cleaning'. The Headmaster was 'a very able man and thoughtful man, full of new ideas and very attentive to his school' and his staff were also praised.[6]

The Closure of Ennis Grammar School

One Grammar school was closed during this period: Ennis in 1891. Its numbers had never been high during the 19th century. For a time there was growth following the appointment of Dr R. H. Flynn in 1879. He had been


Ennis College

FOUNDED AND ENDOWED BY ERASMUS SMITH, Esq.—1658.

Head Master:

REV. FREDERICK ELDON BARNES, M.A.,

EX-SIZ. AND SCHOLAR, T.C.D.,

Prizeman in Classics, Modern History, Biblical Greek, &c.; late Principal of the Skye Academic Institute, and formerly Head Master of the late Rev. D. Flynn's School.

Rector of the Junior School:

W. HIGGINS, Esq., T.C.D.

Head Classical Master:

RUBERT CECIL LEKSON, Esq., Sch. & Silver, First Honorman in Classics, Senior Moderator, and Gold Medalist, T.C.D.

Head Science Master:

R. COFFEY, Esq., First Science Honorman, T.C.D.

Professor of Foreign Languages:

HERR KILCHMANN, College of Lucerne.

Daily Visiting Physician:

P. CULLINAN, Esq., M.B., and Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland.

Prospectus for Ennis Grammar School, 1861.

a popular headmaster of Dundalk Grammar School and many boarders followed him to Ennis, so that there were 50 pupils by 1881. He was a scientist and Mahaffy was much impressed by his teaching; in fact, Mahaffy was generally favourable in his comments on the school.[7] However, the situation of Ennis was not suitable for a Protestant boarding school and numbers dropped in spite of Dr Flynn's reputation. Since the school was not named in any of the founding documents of the Trust, the Board were free to close it at will. In 1886 they began to consider the closure of the school, although they told Dr Flynn that no action would be taken as long as he remained Headmaster. That obstacle was removed when Flynn was appointed to Tipperary in December 1890. At a special meeting of the Board on 30 January 1891 the decision was taken to close the Ennis school, in spite of the receipt of a letter of protest from a public meeting in Ennis. The building was leased to the Ordnance Survey. During the First World War it was occupied by Belgian refugees and later by the British military until 1922.

Ennis Grammar School building, taken soon after the school closed.

Closure of Brunswick Street School

Brunswick Street School was also closed during this period. It had begun its career as an English school at Lombard Street in St Mark's parish, one of two schools in Dublin on which the Trust spent large sums of money at the beginning of the 19th century. By the end of the century it had become principally a Commercial school, occupying an anomalous position among the Trust's schools. The foundation of The High School, which had a Commercial department, made its existence more problematic, although the boys it catered for came from a different section of society. It had 100 pupils in the middle of the 19th century but numbers were declining by the end of the century. When the long-serving master, Mr Porte, died in 1892 the Board carried out a review of the school and its future. They found that there were 49 pupils on the roll, 15 of whom had free places. Fees were from £5 to £10 per year. They decided to continue the school as a Commercial school with no Classics taught and no preparation for the Intermediate Certificate.

However, fundamental problems remained, in particular the inadequacy of the school building and its unsuitable site, plagued by noise and with no playground. In addition, there were new schools in competition with it. In 1899 the Board briefly considered moving the school to Rathmines. The Treasurer, with Rev. Maurice Day and the Dean of Christ Church Cathedral,

inspected the premises of Dr Benson's School at 24 Rathmines Road. They reported that Dr Benson was willing to sell for £500 and £100 for the organ but that the lease on the premises was short. On 19 November 1899, the Board decided not to proceed with the purchase. After briefly considering, and then rejecting, the possibility of amalgamation of Brunswick Street School with The High School, the decision was taken, on 8 February 1901, to close Brunswick Street. Free pupils would be paid for at the Diocesan Boys' School in Molesworth Street.

The Estates: The Land 'War'

During the last quarter of the 19th century, much of the Board's time was taken up by the estates. This was because of the Land 'War' which began with the founding of the Land League and which eventually resulted in the Land Purchase Acts by which the tenants bought their holdings from landlords. The western estates of the Trust were relatively quiet but the southern estates were the scene of a sharp contest. Some parts of the estate were very poor. On 18 January 1880 the agent, Walter Hore, reported that on the Drombane estate there were 50 to 60 labourers in want of work. He proposed drainage works to create employment which the Governors accepted, borrowing from the Board of Works for the purpose. Preparatory work for this was slow. By March outdoor relief from the state had stopped and Hore reported that some families were in want of food. The Board sanctioned £30 for road repairs to create temporary work.

At the same time, tenants were asking for abatements in their rents and the Governors refused to grant overall reductions. When tenants refused to pay, the Governors considered ejectments. These legal proceedings seem to have been mainly intended to persuade tenants to pay rather than to lead to evictions. Hore described the case of one tenant, Walter Corbett, who owed three years' rent (£104-3-6) and who 'took advantage of every quibble that a clever solicitor could make for him, and fought the case at three different Quarter Sessions before I could get an ejectment against him. He is the worst disposed man in the townland (and there are some bad enough).' However, references submitted to the Board for Corbett described him as 'honest, sober, steady and industrious'.

Hore resigned in July 1880 and the Board decided to split the agency for the estates into two, one for the western and another for the southern estates. The man appointed agent for the southern estate was Thomas Sanders of Sanders Park, Charleville, Co. Cork. He was prepared to take a much firmer line against tenants who refused to pay their rents. His lengthy reports to the

Governors provide an interesting account of events in the struggle from a landlord's perspective. On 27 August 1880 he wrote, advising the Board that Corbett and another tenant, Timothy Bourke, should be evicted (a third, William McCarthy, had paid up in full with costs):

> I am fully aware that in doing so I will be brought into conflict with the Land League and that the usual system of threatening notices to any tenant who may propose to take the farm and to any labourers who might be employed upon it will be resorted to ...

He was prepared to allow Bourke to sell his interest in the farm but would make no concession to Corbett. The main reason for this was that:

> on Corbett's there is a good slate house that can be held by resolute men, provided with arms, against any attack which may be made upon it, whereas Bourke's is a thatched one, in which, with the present state of the country, it would not be safe, under any circumstances, for a caretaker to remain.

On 25 October he described his efforts to evict Corbett. No caretaker could be obtained locally so he hired five ex-army men from Dublin and provided them with weapons and provisions. When Corbett discovered that he was not to be restored to his farm as caretaker, he offered one year's rent, then two years'. Sanders accepted and Corbett borrowed a deposit of £90 from neighbours and the bargain was made.

Timothy Bourke was not so easily intimidated, or perhaps his circumstances were so bad that he could not pay. On 10 November Sanders wrote that Bourke did not sell his interest in his farm, nor pay arrears so the eviction took place on 5 November and six army pensioners were placed in possession. 'The system of intimidation in the neighbourhood is, however, so great that no one will supply them with any article of food and their supplies have to be sent by railway.' No rents had been paid at the gale day except by Michael Gleeson, the bailiff on the estate, who told Sanders that 'a few days previously a meeting presided over by the Roman Catholic priest had been held at Drumbane Chapel at which it was resolved that no tenant would pay any rent above Griffith's valuation'. On 18 November McKenna, one of the caretakers on Bourke's farm, was shot at and wounded. The police arrested a man named Coffey whom McKenna identified as one of his assailants.

Sanders ordered the erection of an iron hut for the protection of the caretakers and the Treasurer requested Dublin Castle to provide extra police for the area. On 19 November the Governors told Sanders not to 'incur any personal risk by going on the lands of Pallas at present'. However, he ignored this and on 25 November came to Pallas to collect the rents.The tenants came

in a body and refused to pay more than Griffith's valuation. Sanders reported:

> a very noisy and violent mob many of whom, I was informed, had collected from a distance, assembled outside and Thompson, the steward of the drainage works who had gone across the road, received blows of stones in the face. The crowd followed me vociferating and threatening the entire way to and from T. Bourke's.

There was widespread violence when the materials for the caretakers' hut were being taken from the railway station.

Against the more prosperous tenants, Sanders took proceedings for bankruptcy, choosing those who had a lot to lose, such as James O'Brien of Old Pallas 'who has valuable house property on his holding and is a publican; an eviction would consequently be ruinous for him and he is well able to pay the rent due'. In addition, he was 'the provincial leader in the agitation'. O'Brien paid and others followed, some paying through the Dublin solicitor in order to avoid local pressure. However, during the early part of 1881, most tenants paid little or no rent. On 13 October 1881 Sanders was still writing: 'I regret to say that the lamentable state of lawlessness and terrorism exercised by the Land League still prevails without abatement in the districts in which the Governors' estates are situated.' He was taking legal proceedings against 77 tenants at the next Limerick, Tipperary and Thurles Sessions. On 3 December he wrote:

> I propose in cases of ejectment to evict unflinchingly tenants who have hitherto paid me nothing unless they pay a year and a half's rent and costs. The horrors of eviction consist merely in their spending a night with their friends and coming in the morning with the money.[8]

The passing of the Land Act in 1881 and the promise of an Arrears Act began the process of easing the situation. By the Land Act tenants could go to Land Courts to have a fair rent fixed which was to last for 15 years. On 30 December 1881, the Governors received a petition from the tenants at Pallas for fixing rents under the Act. They wrote that they were willing to accept the arbitration of three competent men rather than go to the Land Commission 'as we have always been on friendly terms with our agent'. Nevertheless, there were some bitter contests ahead. In January 1882 Sanders reported that he had secured 35 ejectments at Limerick Sessions: 17 settled at once and two soon afterwards; he received about £900 'in single payments, tenants not venturing to pay at New Pallas on the rent days appointed. On each occasion, the priests of Doon and Pallas attended to watch and mark any tenant who might venture to do so.'

The other side of the contest is vividly portrayed in a petition which the

Standing Committee considered on 12 May from the tenants of Drumbane and Gortnacoolrush in which they gave a very detailed account of their land and of their difficulties:

> Very few of us ever taste meat, we live on milk and potatoes until the latter are out and then upon milk and Indian meal and when the cows run dry we often have to eat the potatoes and Indian meal without anything.

Sanders commented on the petition by pointing out the history of their refusal to pay. 'Many of the tenants would willingly have paid their rents had they not been prevented by a system of organised intimidation.' He alleged that one of the signatories while withholding his rent had spent a large sum of money to purchase the interest of other tenants. The Governors refused the petition 'having reason to believe that their tenants on these lands have entered a combination to resist payment of rents except on terms dictated by themselves'. They were prepared to deal fairly with individuals.

By the Autumn of 1882 Sanders was more confident that the opposition to him was weakening. On 13 September he reported that on 16 August he had secured seizures of stock 'before daybreak' but 'many had driven off cattle as soon as it became known that the military and police had arrived. Not only those tenants, however, whose cattle had been seized but also immediately afterwards several others paid me the year's rent and costs.' A similar operation on 6 September, although it resulted in only small numbers of cattle seized, 'has had the result of breaking the combination and the defaulting tenants arranged to come in a body and pay unconditionally on 9 September'.

There were difficulties in Drumbane and Gortnacoolrush. Three tenants had agreed to pay one year's rent with costs in order not to be excluded from the Arrears Act. 'Father Humphreys having come up induced the rest to refuse' so evictions began. A total of 29 evictions took place in Gortnacoolrush. On 18 October Sanders wrote:

> In my report of 13 ult I was enabled to state that the organised resistance to the payment of rent had at length been completely broken down on all parts of the Governors' estates and that a great many of the tenants were anxious to avail themselves of the Arrears of Rent Act.

James Conway of Gortevalla, a leader of the Land League in the area, had been evicted on 10 February 1882; he was now living in a Land League hut; Daniel Ryan, leader of the League in Drumbane, whose holding had been purchased by the Property Defence Association (a landlord organisation) and whose eviction was pending, offered a year's rent if the Governors allowed him to come in under the Arrears Act. It was not surprising that on 20 October 1882 the Standing Committee decided 'that the Board be recom-

mended to record and express to Mr Sanders their sense of the courage, vigilance and discretion with which he has acted on all matters reported by him, the results of which have been so successful'.

Sales of the Estates Begin

Land disputes on the Trust's estates rumbled on during the next few years but the worst was over. If the cost to the tenants had been high, the cost to the Trust was also significant in lost revenue, leading to the necessity of reductions in spending. It also marked the beginning of the end of the Trust as a large owner of land, although the process of disengagement was a slow one. The most successful of the Land Purchase Acts was the Balfour Act of 1903 because it balanced landlord and tenant rights reasonably fairly. At first the Governors were reluctant to sell. On 18 December 1903 they replied to a petition from the tenants that at that time they had no intention of selling the estates. However, the terms of sale were good and the tide was running against landlords, so on 9 November 1906 the Board declared that they were prepared to open negotiations for the sale of the southern estate. A year later the first 52 purchase agreements were signed at a Board meeting on 17 November and similar agreements followed. In 1908 the first sale agreements on the western estate were signed.

Political Opposition

The Land 'War' and the Home Rule movement were united in the last 20 years of the 19th century. As the Home Rule Party grew in strength in the House of Commons, sometimes holding the balance between the Liberals and Conservatives, both English parties offered concessions to them to win their support. Changes in the educational system were very desirable to another important ally of Home Rule, the Roman Catholic Church. The wealth of educational endowments inherited from the past by the Church of Ireland was a very desirable prize; the maladministration of some of them made their position weaker. As one of the richest of these endowments, the Erasmus Smith Schools Trust was likely to be a prime target. In his speech moving the establishment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to enquire into the state of endowed schools in Ireland in June 1878, Lord Randolph Churchill quoted selectively from the 1858 Commission Report the passages showing the inadequacies of the Trust's accounting procedures. It was a sign of things to come: political point scoring was to be more important than accuracy. The *Freeman's Journal* took up the attack in an article accusing the Governors of departing from the original terms of the Charter.

Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission 1878

The 1878 Commission was set up by the Conservative Government; its members were the Earl of Rosse; Lord Randolph Churchill; Gerald Fitzgibbon, Solicitor General; Richard O'Shaughnessy, William Wilson, MP (died 1879); Andrew Searle Hart, Vice-Provost of TCD; Arthur Hill Curtis. Rev. J. P. Mahaffy was appointed Inspector of Grammar Schools and Hugh Keys Moore Inspector of Primary and Commercial schools. The Commission was ordered 'to ascertain and report upon the existing system and present management of the Endowed Schools in Ireland' but was not asked to put forward suggestions for changes or improvements, so its powers were much more limited than the 1854 Commission.

This time the Governors made no objections to having their work examined; in fact, they instructed their employees to co-operate fully with the Commission. On 9 April 1879 the Treasurer was examined. He began by rebutting the charges made by Lord Randolph Churchill in the House of Commons in his speech introducing the bill to set up the Commission. He had taken passages from the Report of the 1858 Commission out of context to accuse the Governors of mismanagement. The Treasurer was closely examined on the administration of the Trust, on the Grammar schools and on the English schools.

Of particular interest was the question of religion in the schools. The Treasurer outlined two different policies: in the Grammar schools the Board did not enquire into the treatment of the Roman Catholic pupils except to indicate that they were not to be present at prayers or religious teaching which their parents objected to. He said: 'I have never, during the entire of my connection with the schools, known any sectarian questions to arise, or any difference of opinion exist with regard to religious instruction.'[9] In fact, as mentioned above, the Treasurer said that he was in favour of mixed education. In the English schools, on the other hand, the policy was to insist on all pupils being present for the reading of the scriptures, though not for instruction in the catechism if their parents objected. The Treasurer justified this difference by claiming that while the parents of the middle-class children in the Grammar schools could be relied upon to instruct their sons in religion, the poorer parents of children in the English schools could not be relied on to do so: 'I believe that that object cannot be satisfactorily attained in reference to the poor children whose parents, from ignorance or carelessness, are not as capable of instructing them in religion as the parents of the better classes, or may not be as active in looking after their religious instruction, or may have motives to induce them not to look to it.'[10]

The Report examined the management of the estates, giving some detailed criticisms of the rents charged, usually because they were considered too low. They acknowledged that improvements had been effected in the Grammar schools since the report of the 1854 Commission. In particular, the Governors had put in place a system for repairing and maintaining the school buildings. The Commission coincided with the reorganisation of the English schools by the Governors and the Commission reported the sub-committee's recommendations (see chapter four) extensively with little comment and no criticism. The Commission's inspector visited six of the English schools judged to be typical of them all; he was largely satisfied with what he found. He judged the schools to be similar to parochial schools 'but they were much superior to the schools usually called by that name though not, in his opinion, as useful as National schools'.[11] The Commission was obviously impressed by the evidence of the Treasurer. In their concluding remarks, they said: 'Considerable improvements have been introduced (chiefly since the appointment of the present Treasurer) in the management of the schools and property under the control of the Governors of the schools founded by Erasmus Smith.'[12]

In evidence to the Commission, the Anglican control of the endowment was questioned. Rev. Todd Martin submitted a statement arguing that the Presbyterian Church was entitled to a share in the endowment because all the original trustees were 'noted Puritans'. He also objected to the diversion of funds to English schools because the National Board made such schools unnecessary. He summed up his case:

> The Presbyterian Church has an indisputable claim to an equal share with the Protestant Episcopal Church in all the educational benefits derivable from the liberal endowment of Erasmus Smith. The Presbyterian Church is the only body in this country really representing the Puritan Creed, and the mode of worship to which the donor was attached.[13]

The Conservatives had lost power before the Report of the Commission was published in 1881. They came back to office briefly in 1885 and again concessions on educational endowments were part of their programme. The Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, passed in that year, set up a Commission which had the power to draw up schemes for reform of existing endowments. There were two judicial commissioners, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon and Lord John Naish, and three assistant commissioners: Professor Anthony Traill, Rev. J. B. Dougherty (Presbyterian) and Rev. Gerald Molloy (Roman Catholic). The Roman Catholic Hierarchy considered Naish and Molloy too Unionist in their views and called for better representation for Roman Catholics. They also objected

to the power of veto given to each judicial commissioner, since no scheme could be formulated unless agreed to by both commissioners. The endowments of the Royal Schools were divided equally between the Roman Catholic and Protestant communities but the Incorporated Society was classed as a private endowment. The Erasmus Smith Trust was the only other large endowment so its fate was important to all.

The Educational Endowments Commission and the Trust

On 4 December 1885 the Governors claimed exemption as a private trust but a month later, on 29 January 1886 they approved a draft scheme for submission to the Commissioners, as they were entitled to do by the terms of the Act. This scheme was designed to keep the Trust as little changed as possible except to underline its Anglican nature. The only *ex-officio* governors were to be the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin; the number of governors was to be reduced to 25, including the King's Hospital governors and new governors must be members of the Church of Ireland, chosen by co-option. The quorum was to be five and at least six meetings were to be held each year. Most of the other points in the scheme were concerned with preserving the existing framework of activities, although a notable exception was the exclusion of any mention of support for Trinity College. The Anglican nature of the work of the Trust was to be preserved by ensuring that all schoolmasters were to be members of the Church of Ireland and that Religious Education was to be taught according to the tenets of that church, although non-church pupils could withdraw from such lessons.

The Commissioners held public sessions throughout the country during 1886; at some of these representatives of the other main Christian churches put in claims for a share in the Erasmus Smith endowment. Finally, on 9 November 1889 the Commission issued a scheme for this endowment based on two principles: first, that the Trust was a private foundation so any scheme must have regard to the founder's intentions; and second, that it was an exclusively Protestant charity. At the beginning of January 1890 Lord Justice Naish, the Roman Catholic judicial commissioner, endorsed these principles but it was not until 15 November 1890 that these directions were reported to the Lord Lieutenant. Public objections were invited to each scheme; only Father Humphreys, who had given evidence to the Commission at their public meeting at Tipperary, lodged an objection to the principles of the Erasmus Smith scheme.

At this point the Governors must have felt a sense of relief that the endowment would not be substantially altered. However, that relief was short lived. Lord Naish soon afterwards withdrew from the Commission because

of ill health, and later died. In 1891 Mr Justice O'Brien (Naish's successor) and Professor Dougherty, one of the non-judicial commissioners, proposed a new scheme with a neutral or mixed governing body, elected by the universities and local committees connected with the Grammar schools, and the benefits of the endowment were to be available to all. The English schools were to be discontinued and the surplus money was to be used to fund Intermediate schools where none existed at that time, together with scholarships to secondary and university education. Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, the other judicial commissioner, and Dr Traill proposed an amendment recognising the Protestant character of the Trust. This amendment failed and the main proposal was passed by a majority of the Commissioners.

In reply to that decision, on 12 May 1892 a protest was lodged by Professor Traill in which he described the new scheme as an 'undisguised attempt to rob the Church of Ireland of a property which she has possessed under a Royal charter for two and a quarter centuries'. It was a 'scheme [which] has neither law nor equity for a basis'. He pointed out that both judicial commissioners had agreed as a matter of law that the endowments were of a private origin and Lord Justice Naish had inserted a memorandum to this effect in the minutes of the Commission on 14 January 1890. The General Synod of the Church of Ireland, meeting in June 1892, passed a resolution in which they 'strongly protested against the alienation of those Endowments to any other objects and uses than those for which they were intended by the Founder'.

Soon afterwards, another resignation from the Commission changed the situation again. In July 1892 Professor Dougherty resigned; he was succeeded by Dr Wilson who believed the Trust to be Protestant so the majority in favour of the draft scheme was lost. It was now up to the two judicial commissioners to make a decision. On 22 October 1892 their judgements on the Erasmus Smith draft scheme were delivered but since they could not agree, under the terms of the Act which established the Commission, the scheme could not go forward. The Commissioners framed over 200 schemes for endowments; this was the only one to fail through the disageement of the two judicial commissioners.

Arguments on the Nature of the Trust

Since the arguments which the two Commissioners presented on this occasion were to dominate much of the public discussions of the Trust for the next 50 years, it is worth examining them in some detail. Lord Justice Fitzgibbon confined himself to legal arguments. The Erasmus Smith Trust

was a private endowment: 'We have nothing here to do with public property, or with public rights: we have only to administer the charity of a private person according to his intentions.' He found 'no evidence whatsoever' that Erasmus Smith was forced by the government to grant lands for schools, thus rejecting the main argument by which it was claimed that the endowment was public, not private. He accepted that Erasmus Smith's first and paramount intention was to establish Protestant Grammar schools and backed up his argument by a detailed examination of the three foundation documents and the letter of 16 June 1682 to the Governors from Erasmus Smith. He rejected the tenants' (Father Humphrey's) argument that Erasmus Smith's primary intention in founding the charity was educational rather than religious: 'a child of a tenant who cannot conscientiously accept this bounty cannot alter it by refusing it.' At the end of his judgement, Lord Fitzgibbon suggested that the English schools might be discontinued as no longer serving a useful purpose and as much as a third of the revenue should be used to fund 'technical and agricultural teaching to be given upon the estates of Erasmus Smith and to be brought within the reach of the children of the tenants and inhabitants thereof'.

Mr Justice O'Brien's judgement was eloquent but seemed more like a political speech than a judicial summary. He strongly condemned the policy of the Trust over the centuries:

> lavished, wasted, cut up and carved upon mistaken projects, or upon the incessant cravings of personal interests, given away to one institution or another without, or in abuse of or excess of legal authority; and a prodigious amount of it sunk in a vain and idle war against progress, on maintaining the rivalry of the so-called English schools with the National system, which it is now admitted must be abandoned with all the oceans of money spent on them.

Natural justice gave the state power to intervene and, in any case, he believed it was 'extremely likely to be well founded' that Erasmus Smith was coerced into giving land for schools. He accepted that the main purpose of the endowment was the education of the children of the tenants. The other aim was to proselytise Roman Catholics but this aim did not negate education as the primary object.

> Catholics would not have his schools. They turned away with loathing from the system that was offered to them. The bread, they said, which you have tendered us is poison … Vast palaces have been constructed out of this Endowment which the tenants view like haunted houses.

He argued that the ending of the restrictions on Roman Catholics through

the 19th century was ample reason to change the Trust. In his view, Erasmus Smith's two main aims were incompatible so the aim of educating the tenants must prevail. He refused to accept that the 'intentions of the founder' in the Act included religion and made a sarcastic attack on Fitzgibbon for that interpretation. T. M. Healy later wrote that a compromise would have been possible if O'Brien had been prepared to discuss the matter with Fitzgibbon. 'Fitzgibbon confided to me (when we served together on the Trinity College Estates Commission) that if O'Brien had sought a compromise he would have awarded a generous share of the rentals to Catholic uses.'[14]

On 7 February 1896 the Treasurer reported to the Board that the Chief Secretary was considering a Bill on the endowment, so the Board decided to register an objection. On 14 February 1896, the Governors submitted a statement to the Lord Lieutenant in which they claimed that 'no sufficient grounds exist for any special legislation' because the endowment was a private endowment. Erasmus Smith was the absolute owner of the lands he gave, so there could be no discussion of the intentions of the founder according to the 13th section of the Act which had set up the Commission. The failure of the judicial commissioners to agree was one of the safeguards under the Act. They pointed to the consistent administration of the property over 200 years, 'by people of the highest rank, sanctioned by statute and Royal Charter'. The ordinary courts had the power to correct any departure from the Trust, if such existed.

However, the issue had now become part of the agenda of the Nationalists and Unionists at Westminster. T. M. Healy asked a question in the Commons in January 1897 on the government's intentions in the matter and when he did not receive a favourable answer, he introduced a private bill. In February 1897 the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act 1885 Amendment Bill was before parliament. It aimed to give power to the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Chief Justice to appoint a Commission for carrying out the Act where a scheme had not been submitted to the Lord Lieutenant. At their meeting on 12 February 1897 the Board decided to lobby Irish Unionist MPs and others against the bill. Several Unionist MPs took up the issue, the leading one being William Johnston (S. Belfast) who wrote to the *Standard* on 1 February to oppose Healy's bill 'in the name of the Protestants of Ireland'. Others who wrote to the Registrar asking for details so that they could oppose the bill included Sir Edward Carson ('I am doing all I can to work up opposition'), H. O. Arnold Forster (Belfast W.), W. Lecky (Trinity College) and W. H. Haslett. The bill was discussed in the Commons on 4 February 1897 but postponed to 16 June when it was dropped. Healy describes Balfour's prob-

lem: 'Thenceforth enemies buzzed round him, and sectarian passion blazed forth. He became a "traitor to Protestantism", though his opponents cared as little for the destination of Erasmus Smith's rents as for the evangelisation of the Cannibal Islands.'[15]

Father David Humphreys

That this was far from the end of the matter was largely due to the efforts of Father David Humphreys for whom opposition to the Trust became something in the nature of a crusade. He came from a farming family who were evicted during the Land 'Wars'. He was ordained in 1869 and was Professor of Logic at St Patrick's College, Thurles, followed by periods as curate successively at Galbally, Clonoulty, Newport and Tipperary, all in the Diocese of Cashel and Emly, whose Archbishop was Dr Croke. In 1894 he was appointed Parish Priest of Killenaule. While curate in Tipperary, he was the leader of the struggle against the local landlord, Arthur Smith Barry, and organised the building of 'New Tipperary' to house those evicted during that struggle between 1886 and 1891. However, it was the visit of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to Tipperary to hear evidence in 1887 which first brought the Erasmus Smith Trust to his attention, when he gave evidence on behalf of the tenants on their claims to a share in the endowment. He made a study of the history of the Trust, published pamphlets on it[16] and waged a campaign to open its benefits to the children of Roman Catholic tenants. His central argument was that the primary aim of Erasmus Smith was to educate the children of his tenants. The religious aim was secondary and only imposed because of the laws in force in the 17th century. Since all laws discriminating on religious grounds were by the end of the 19th no longer in existence, he argued that the Endowment should be taken from the existing governing body.

When the scheme for this purpose under the Educational Endowments Act failed, Father Humphreys tried both direct approaches to the government and action through the courts. In January 1901 a delegation led by the Bishop of Galway met the Chief Secretary, George Wyndham, to press for action on the Erasmus Smith Trust. The delegation was introduced by T. M. Healy and included Father Humphreys. Wyndham refused to act.[17] On 8 February 1901 the Board considered Father Humphreys' statement to the Chief Secretary about The High School which he saw as a prime example of the 'mismanagement' of the Trust and which he described as 'a big infant school; there were in it nearing one hundred boys less than ten years old'. The Governors decided to write to the Chief Secretary to say that there were only

six boys below 10 years of age in the school but at their next meeting they chose to take no action.

Father Humphreys next turned his attention to action through the courts. On 30 July 1909 the Attorney-General issued a writ in the name of Father Humphreys, followed on 18 October 1909 by a Statement of Claim in which Father Humphreys accused the Governors of a breach of trust in not educating the children of tenants. He argued that the property was primarily for the education of the children of tenants with no Puritan or Anglican qualifications. He asked the court that the Governors should be dismissed and he lodged £400 towards the costs of the case. The Governors consulted counsel who gave the opinion that the action was wrongfully instituted. On 8 December 1909 Counsel wrote to Father Humphreys warning him that he could not sign a writ or statement of claim personally, since the action was in the name of the Attorney-General. Father Humphreys did not appear before the Master of the Rolls and the Court gave him formal notice to attend. On 17 December 1909 the Master of the Rolls decreed that the case was wrongly constituted and so could not proceed. Father Humphreys appealed this judgement, and in February 1910 the case was heard by the Court of Appeal which dismissed the appeal. In June 1910 a further appeal failed and in October 1913 Father Humphreys terminated the case and asked for the return of his £400. Although the law case had been unsuccessful, the Governors were apparently sufficiently alarmed to consider all means of securing their control over the endowment. In the same month in 1913 they were told by their solicitor that it would be impossible to have a clause relating to the endowment inserted in the (Third) Home Rule Bill, then going through Parliament. In February 1915 a question was asked in the House of Commons on the details of the endowment, its uses and, significantly, on who was entitled to challenge its administration. The Chief Secretary asked the Governors for information and gave a factual answer, referring the questioner, Laurence Ginnell, MP for Westmeath, to the foundation documents.

Changes in the Administration

The Governors also reacted to the challenge by making every effort to have all their work clearly covered by the terms of the foundation documents and the subsequent legislation. On 11 November 1910 a sub-committee was set up to consider in what ways the endowments might be more beneficially applied. In their report on 17 February 1911 the committee identified the central point: how to benefit the boys or class of boys in the Charter? They suggested that scholarships should be means tested in future and that they

should draw the scholars from the counties where Erasmus Smith estates were. Fifteen new scholarships to Galway Grammar were created at £30 per year each. Three new scholarships to Tipperary were created but none to Drogheda, pending discussion as to a possible amalgamation with Dundalk Grammar School. In May it was decided that all scholarships to the Grammar schools should in future be confined to those born in the counties in which there were, or had been, Smith estates. In 1915 Governors were appointed from the areas in which the Grammar schools were situated.

In a further effort to strengthen the legal basis of their work, the Governors decided on the reorganisation of the accounts to reflect the structure of the Trust set up by the Charter and later legislation. In future, there would be four accounts:

- *The Endowment revenue account:* this would include all payments laid down in the Charter and 1723 Act; revenue in this account would be from the original endowment or the investments arising from them. In 1911 the income from these sources was £5,857-9-4; Charter expenses included £381 to TCD, £602 to King's Hospital, £2,484 to Grammar schools, £185 to the Treasurer's poundage. This left a balance to be transferred to the Residue account of £1,599.
- *Residue revenue account:* expenditure from this was to include items on page 44 (apprentices, TCD, English schools) of the Charter; its income would come from the residue of the endowment income plus investments accumulated from the residue over the years. In 1911 income here was £2,509; payments were to TCD £433 to augment salaries and pay supplemental exhibitions, English schools £1,529.
- *The High School account:* including the costs of 40 Harcourt Street less £100 rent to be paid by the Trust. Pensions were to be transferred to the Treasurer's poundage. The High School loss for 1911 was £861.
- *Treasurer's Poundage account:* This was made up of the annual fee due under the Charter to the Treasurer and the accumulated fund since treasurers no longer claimed it from the beginning of the 19th century. The accumulated losses to date on The High School (£26,000) were charged to this account but no charge for interest had been made since 1870. Continuing losses on the school would eventually exhaust this account and so make the payments to the school illegal.

The overall balance sheet for 1911 showed a bank overdraft of £4,438.

In 1912 further attempts were made to 'legalise' spending on The High School. The English and Classical departments had been kept separate in the accounts until 1890 but then amalgamated. It was important to legalise the

position as the Treasurer's poundage, which was at the complete disposal of the Board to use as they wished, was being eroded. The total income from investments and the poundage was £335 but the loss on The High School annually was eroding the capital of the Treasurer's poundage. Rev. Robert Miller proposed that the Treasurer's poundage be applied to The High School Classical department and the balance of the deficit to the English school account. High School pensions would be charged to the English schools account. Another sign of the impact of Father Humphreys' criticisms of how the funds were used can be seen in a long drawn-out discussion on the legality of giving a grant to Sligo High School for Girls. This provoked sharp disagreements on the Board and was several times sent to counsel for a legal opinion. Eventually, at a special meeting of the Board on 8 April 1913, it was decided to place the Junior School of Sligo Girls School under the Trust as an English school. In 1917 a further grant of £50 was made towards new buildings at the school.

The turbulent years between 1916 and 1923 saw the end of the Union between Britain and Ireland, the partition of Ireland and the creation of a new Irish State. The first shots of the guerilla campaign which became the War of Independence were fired in January 1919 at Soloheadbeg in Tipperary where a large part of the Trust's estates had been. The emergence of the Irish Free State was followed by a bitter civil war during which the forces of the new state occupied the buildings of Tipperary Grammar School. Although the troops left quite quickly, the school did not re-open in circumstances which will be described in a later chapter. A new social and political world was coming into existence in which the future of the Trust would be more insecure than at any time in the previous two and a half centuries.

CHAPTER XIII

The High School in the New State

The events which led to the birth of the Irish Free State elicited surprisingly little comment in the editorials of *The Erasmian*. In February 1920 the Editor seems reluctant to consider these events: 'We would not like to enter into a discussion on the unrest and discontent prevalent in our isles, but let it suffice to say that the Empire needs all its courage and endurance to breast this sea of troubles, for breast it it will, and that too, we trust, at no distant date.' In October 1920 the editorial saluted the victory of the Polish Army over the Red Army 'when the people of Poland heroically stemmed the westward flow of the Bolshevist hordes,' and went on to lament that 'our own island appears to be suffering from that wave of Bolshevistic spirit which seems to have passed over the whole surface of the globe'. In November 1921, 'The memorable visit of the King to the Northern Capital in June gave rise to the armstice, to which we have by now become thoroughly accustomed, just as we became accustomed to what preceded it. As to the future, although no one knows what it holds in store for us, yet much is hoped for from the Conference at present sitting in London.' No mention is made, in subsequent editions, of the Treaty which this Conference produced. The outbreak of the Civil War and the fighting in Dublin were the subject of part of the November 1922 editorial: 'and what a loss our city has sustained in the destruction of the Four Courts, with its store of priceless documents, and in the devastation – for the second time within six years – of one of Europe's noblest thoroughfares! However, if peace is to be gained, it will be won, not by dwelling on the events of the past, but by each doing his best to bring about the happier era which, we cannot doubt, awaits in the near future for our sorely tried country.'

Teachers' Salaries

In the period which followed the war one of the most difficult problems facing secondary schools in Ireland, especially Protestant schools, was the inadequacy of teachers' salaries. Those in Ireland compared very unfavourably with salaries in England and there was a consequent shortage of well-qualified staff. Mr Thompson had always been concerned to improve conditions for teachers and he played an active part in trying to persuade, first the

British and, after 1922, the Irish government to be generous. When The High School was founded teachers were paid entirely by the school. After the Intermediate Examination began in 1878 money was paid to schools according to the results gained by pupils in the examination and part of this (in High School one-third of it) was divided among the staff. In 1914 the government took the first step towards improving conditions for teachers when the Birrell grant (called after Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland) of £40,000 was made to augment salaries. At the same time a register of Intermediate Teachers was established as a first step towards giving teachers the status of a professional body. Mr Thompson was a member of the Registration Council.

The war brought a sharp rise in prices (in 1919, 125% of the 1914 level according to Board of Trade figures), so the relative position of teachers declined. In 1916 the Governors gave a small bonus to the staff. After the war the position of secondary teachers in England and Scotland was improved by parliament. In Ireland a Viceregal Committee on Education, of which Mr Thompson was a member, recommended a similar scheme for Ireland but it was delayed by the unsettled state of affairs after 1919. Between 1919 and 1921 the staff pressed the Governors to increase salaries but, although Mr Thompson strongly supported them, little was done. Similar moves took place in other schools and on 11 May 1920 a joint meeting of headmasters and staff in Protestant schools demanded immediate action. On 21 May 1920 the Erasmus Smith Board increased the salaries of senior assistant masters to £360 per year and juniors to £260, on condition that if the government gave a grant towards salaries, part of that grant would go to the Board. This expenditure resulted in an increase in school fees from £13-10-0 to £15 p.a.

In August 1920 the government gave an interim grant of £50,000 to improve the salaries of secondary teachers in Ireland. The High School's share was £280-18-8. In spite of their reservation, made in May, of the right to withhold part of this, the Governors paid the whole amount to the staff. The 'Interim grant' continued to be paid while Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom. On 5 January 1921 a conference was held in Dublin to consider the position of Intermediate teachers and to recommend a salary scheme. Mr Thompson was elected chairman of the conference. They proposed a scheme based on the Burnham scale in England, with schools to receive government grants to enable them to pay a minimum salary (£240 per year for men) and the government would pay increments of £15 per year to a maximum salary of £500. A pension scheme was also to be implemented. Such a scheme had already been proposed by the 1919 Viceregal Committee.

Political events overtook these proposals, although they had a large influence on policy in the new State. Soon after the Irish Free State was set up, a Commission on Education was appointed by Dáil Éireann. Mr Thompson was again a member. Part of its recommendations resulted in the establishment of a structure for teachers' salaries. In 1924 a system of incremental payments made directly by the government to registered teachers was introduced, while schools were to be compelled to pay £200 per year as a minimum to each registered teacher. The government increments were £12 per year for the first 10 years and £15 per year for the next six years. Thus maximum salary, including the school portion, would be £410. Two extra increments of £20 each were paid to teachers with first- or second-class honours degrees. There was no pension scheme. A quota of incremental teachers for each school according to the number of pupils was laid down. Two High School teachers were not recognised under this scheme as the number of staff exceeded the quota. The High School governors decided to reduce salaries by £30 but this still left all salaries well above the £200 minimum.

However, since Irish salaries remained lower than those in England, and there was no pension scheme, Irish schools still found it difficult to recruit well-qualified staff. Mr Thompson pressed the issue of pensions in his Prize Day address in 1925:

> Last year when I made certain criticisms I was publicly taken to task by the Ministry for looking at Irish education from an English point of view. Well, the Free State is not exactly in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, and if I say that teachers' salaries are incomplete without a scheme of pensions … it is because Britain and Northern Ireland are so near to us that we cannot, without a pension scheme, prevent the cream of our Universities going to those countries, where the conditions of entering the profession are less stringent and where their life's future is much more secure.[1]

Changes to the Curriculum and the Question of Irish

The setting up of the Irish Free State brought considerable changes in secondary education. The Dáil Commission on Education set out a new programme for schools which came into operation on 1 August 1924. The Junior, Middle and Senior grades of the old Intermediate Examination were replaced by two separate examinations, the Intermediate and Leaving Certificates. The prizes, exhibitions and medals of the old examination were abolished and 75 scholarships of £40 per year were to be awarded in order of merit on the results of the Intermediate Examination. In an attempt to free teaching from the rigid control of examinations, no prescribed texts were laid down.

Results fees were also abolished and in their place a capitation grant was to be paid to schools for each pupil over the age of 12. One problem which was not dealt with was the decline in the numbers taking modern languages. Up to 1895 about 95% of boys took French in the Intermediate Examinations; by 1924, the last year of the old Intermediate system, this was down to 23%; in 1929 only 17% took French.

These were all improvements on the old system and at prize distribution in November 1924 Mr Thompson welcomed them all. He saw them as promoting a unified educational system with a simplified administration. He did have some doubts, however, about the wisdom of treating Irish History and Geography as a separate entity from Britain. There was one change which Mr Thompson did not welcome; in fact he, and other leaders of Protestant schools, continued to protest against it for several years. This was the introduction of compulsory Irish which would come into force in the public examinations in 1928. Mr Thompson put forward two main arguments: first, that parents were generally against it and, secondly, that it would cause a serious disruption of the curriculum, involving the dropping of one subject, probably German or Greek. He pointed out that in the recent Intermediate Examination, German was presented only by Protestant schools. He concluded his argument with these words:

> Our scheme of education is not of today or yesterday, it is the growth of experience spread over many years. It expresses our outlook upon life. The introduction of compulsory Irish will destroy it. We are not opposed to the Free State, which has bestowed one of its highest offices upon one of our former pupils, educated on our lines, in appointing Mr James Sealy one of its Circuit Judges. But there is room in the Free State for two types of education, and such diversity will be for its ultimate great advantage. We can make our essential contribution to its welfare in our own way.[2]

In the first Leaving and Intermediate Examinations in 1925, High School boys did well, especially in Classics and Mathematics as might be expected. Of the 75 scholarships awarded on the Intermediate, High School won three: A. W. M. Breakey (1920-36) third place, D. H. Mitchell (1920-27) 13th place and R. W. Reynolds (1919-27) 28th place. Breakey and Mitchell gained full marks and first place in both Latin and French.

The problem of Irish remained, however, and at the prize distribution in 1926 both Mr Thompson and Right Rev. Robert Miller, Bishop of Waterford and Chairman of the Board since 1923, registered their protests. In the Bishop's speech can clearly be discerned the difficulty southern Unionists found in adapting to new circumstances. The idea of withdrawing completely

from the state system seems to have been considered, though probably only in the nature of a threat:

> Advice has been given to us to sever our educational connection with the State in which we live. We will not do that until we can do nothing else, but if we are finally ordered, in effect, to endanger the future of the children under our care we shall have no option. It has also been suggested that an election campaign should be begun in this country. Speaking for myself, I would prefer to put the case as strongly as possible before the Government and leave the decision to them … We are anxious, deeply so, to continue to assist a Government which has succeeded so splendidly in restoring law and order. On this ground they deserve every possible help we can give them. We are, however, convinced that the educational ideals of the Government are opposed to reason, to justice, and to educational efficiency, and if we receive a final refusal from them it may be necessary to withdraw all our schools from Government patronage.[3]

It was not likely that the Chairman really considered withdrawing the school from state support, since this would have imposed very heavy financial burdens. Under the new capitation system The High School's grant had gone up from £939 in 1924-25 to £1,476 in 1925-26 and there were also the government payments to teachers. In the event the government stood firm, in face of all protests, and Irish became compulsory in 1928; from 1933 boys who had not followed a course in Irish were not allowed to sit the Leaving Certificate examination. In fact Irish had already been taught in the school since 1922 by Mr C. L. Dillon, one of the Mathematics teachers, although only about 20 boys took the subject. In 1928 the Inspector's report described 'a very miscellaneous collection of 18 boys who go to form the only Irish class that is being run in the school. It can hardly be said that this is a reasonable proportion of the students of the school especially since Irish is one of the compulsory subjects for the current school year.' Eventually a fully qualified Irish teacher was appointed, on a part-time basis in 1931 and full-time in 1933. In 1932 Irish was made a subject in the entrance scholarship examination. So the battle ended, although it was a long time before the subject was accepted as similar to all the others in the curriculum. The effects on German were as Mr Thompson had predicted. By 1929 High School was the only school presenting candidates in German at the Intermediate Examination.

Protestant Opinion

The aversion to compulsory Irish was probably also a symptom of a deeper sense of alienation from the new State. The High School does not seem to

have been greatly different from the prevailing Protestant opinion: pragmatic accceptance of the new political reality but no real enthusiasm for it. As the existing links with the Crown and the Commonwealth were broken during the next decades, the school seems to have fostered the old sentiment. On the occasions of the funeral of George V and the coronation of George VI, the school assembled to listen to the radio broadcasts of each. As late as 1948, when Ireland was about to leave the Commonwealth, 'God Save The King' was sung at the unveiling of the new tablets added to the War Memorial. Three Old Boys were members of the first Oireachtas: W. B. Yeats was a Senator and W. E. Thrift and E. H. Alton were elected as TDs for Trinity College. When university representation was moved from the Dáil to the Senate in 1937, they became Senators.

Resignation of Mr Thompson

On 6 January 1927 Mr Thompson wrote to the Governors resigning from the position of Headmaster. He had reached the age of 60 and was, he said, tired out and he felt that he should give way to a younger man. He had been a very effective Headmaster who had steered the school successfully through difficult times. During his time numbers in the school had grown from 98 to 265 and the academic standards were impressive. Between 1922 and 1927 pupils had won 13 exhibitions at entrance to Trinity College. During the same time pupils took first place in the Intermediate Examination in Greek (three times), Latin (twice), English (twice), Mathematics, German and Drawing.

He had been active in helping to form educational policy under both British and Free State governments. He had shown a particular interest in the status and conditions of teachers and worked to develop a satisfactory salary scheme. He was Honorary Secretary of the Schoolmasters Association from 1915 to 1927 and President of the Classical Association in 1918. In 1927 the French government made him *Officier d'Académie* in recognition of his work in the French Society in Dublin. In his Prize Day speech in 1927 the Chairman of the Board (the Bishop of Cashel and Waterford) paid this tribute to Mr Thompson:

> When we sum up a school as a marked success, it is only those who have special knowledge who can understand the many-sided work of a headmaster; the individual knowledge of the pupils, the wear and tear of the business life of a big institution; the tact, keen sense of justice, sympathetic insight, firmness, power of decision, clear sense of duty, all absolute essentials to success. In Mr Thompson we find all these qualifications, and it will be safe to say that the results of his splendid work will be seen in the boys he has been instrumental in equipping for their life-work.'[4]

The Editor of *The Erasmian* (T. N. Richardson 1921-28) gave a pupil's perspective:'He expected boys to work hard, but no boy in the school ever worked as hard as he himself did; taking as he did a personal interest in every boy, he was not a mere overseer, but a partner of our work.'[5]

He and his wife retired to Bournemouth where he died on 13 November 1936. In his will he left a substantial sum of money to the school to fund exhibitions for boys entering Trinity College.

CHAPTER XIV

The Trust in the New State

The establishment of the Irish Free State coincided with the beginning of a period of troubles for the Trust. These troubles were caused, to some extent, by the revival of the controversies which were described in chapter thirteen, at a time when the dominant attitudes were far less sympathetic to exclusively Protestant endowments like the Trust, which had its origins in Cromwellian times and which had been closely associated with the old Ascendancy. Although the authorities of the new State were anxious to be tolerant to the Protestant community, it was almost inevitable that new alignments would emerge. In addition, the Trust's income had fallen as the estates were sold under the Land Acts and there was uncertainty about the numbers of Protestant pupils who would require secondary education. It was against this background of insecurity and change that the Governors made a sequence of decisions which were to have serious consequences for the future.

Tipperary Grammar School

The early decisions in this sequence referred mainly to Tipperary Grammar School. The school buildings were returned to the Governors by the army on 16 September 1922 and soon afterwards compensation of £1,126 was paid for the damage sustained during the occupation. The school was not re-opened, however, and pupils continued to be sent to Bishop Foy's School in Waterford. At the beginning of 1927 the Board set up a committee to consider the future of the school and to make recommendations about future educational policy for the Trust. The members of the committeee were the Treasurer (Robert Miller, Bishop of Cashel), the Bishop of Tuam, Professors Alton and Thrift and E. J. Gwynne of Trinity College, Rev. H. Kingsmill Moore, Principal of the Church of Ireland Training College, and Lord Holmpatrick. Their report to the Board on the 17 February 1927 was pessimistic:

> The official classes who supported the Grammar Schools have to a very large degree left the country and the children of the gentry are being sent to England. The pupils are now being drawn from people who are not able to pay high fees. The cost of maintenance and equipment have more than doubled with the result that a very great strain has been thrown upon the income derived from endowments.

Tipperary Grammar School

They recommended that moves should be made to unite with other educational endowments to reduce costs. An act of the Oireachtas would be required to amend the Charter to allow this to happen. They also suggested that the Board should establish a school for the children of the gentry. Not surprisingly, this was never followed up.

Renewed Controversies

The issues involved were discussed at length during the rest of the year and eventually solicitors were instructed to draft a bill for presentation to the government. This draft, which was intended to allow the Governors to close Tipperary Grammar School and to use the resulting money for other purposes in the Trust, was approved by the Board on 16 February 1928. Professors Alton and Thrift, who were members of the Dáil (for Trinity College), undertook to submit it to the government. The government did not oppose the Bill but as a private Bill it would have to go before a joint Committee of the Dáil and Senate. At this point those who had opposed the Governors' policy for the Trust 30 years before, during the Educational Endowments controversy, renewed their opposition. On 18 June 1928 a letter from Father Humphreys was published in the *Irish Independent* setting out the case for the tenants on Erasmus Smith's lands as the principal objects of the charity. In

September 1928 Tipperary Urban District Council urged other Councils to press for the re-opening of the case against the Trust. Several TDs took up the case and opposition to the Bill grew in the Dáil. The Governors attempted to mollify the opposition by withdrawing the Bill and starting to plan the opening of Tipperary Grammar School. This failed for two reasons. The cost of re-opening the school was considerable. More importantly, the opposition in the Dáil and outside it was growing.

On 20 September 1928 a representative group for the tenants, the Erasmus Smith Endowments Association, was formed at a meeting at City Hall in Dublin to lobby members of the Dáil and to gain publicity for their cause. On 6 March 1929 Father Humphreys wrote again to the *Irish Independent* attacking the administration of the Trust. He returned to a charge that he had made long before, that the letter from Erasmus Smith to the Governors in 1682, in which he explicitly expressed his intentions for a Protestant charity, was a forgery. An all-party committee of the Oireachtas met to decide on further action. On 6 March 1929 a letter from the Honorary Secretaries of the Erasmus Smith Endowments Association, J. J. Wyse and P. O'Brien, focused public opinion on the issue. Questions were also tabled in the Dáil. On 15 March the Board held a special meeting to consider how to respond to these questions. Professors Alton and Thrift were instructed to discuss the matter with the Government and report back to the Board which they did on 30 April. The Government suggested a choice of two courses of action: the establishment of a judicial committee of the Dáil or going before the courts to determine the religious status of the endowment. At this point the Governors decided not to begin a legal action on the grounds of the cost to the charity but events soon forced them to change their minds.

At the end of May four TDs (P. Fahy, Martin McDonagh, Patrick Hogan and James Coburn) tabled a motion to establish a Judicial Commission to enquire into the Erasmus Smith Endowment. At another special meeting of the Governors, on 24 May, they heard from Professor Thrift that the Government intended to accept the motion. Since such a commission was unlikely to be sympathetic to the Trust in the prevailing state of public opinion, the Board decided that the better course was to bring the matter before the High Court. When this became known, Mr Fahy TD argued that the tenants should be included in the case as 'special defendants' and have their costs paid from the funds of the Trust. The Governors accepted this on 14 June. Later Presbyterian defendants were also added. In November the summons was issued, naming the Attorney-General as Defendant, together with the Special Defendants. The Governors as Plaintiffs in their Statement of Claim

sought a declaration that the end and object of Erasmus Smith in creating and endowing the trust was to propagate the Protestant faith according to the scriptures and to provide education for Protestants. They pointed out that Erasmus Smith, the founder of the schools, was of the Protestant faith and cited the various deeds and charters which constituted the foundation of the endowment.

The Erasmus Smith Case in the High Court

The case began in the High Court before Mr Justice Meredith[1] on 17 June 1931 and lasted for twenty-five days. In many ways it was a re-run of the arguments before the Endowed Schools Commission; in fact the Trust's barrister, Mr Jellett, had represented the Trust at the commission hearings more than 40 years previously. The main issue to be settled was outlined in the preliminary statements of the parties: was the paramount object of the Trust religious or educational? The Trust's barristers, Mr Jellett and Mr Overend, took five days to cover the early history of the Trust, the main events of Erasmus Smith's life and the foundation of the charity, stressing that Erasmus Smith was a Protestant, all the first trustees were Protestant and the Charter laid down that a Protestant catechism should be used in the schools. He laid particular emphasis on the rules drawn up by Erasmus Smith for the schools and on his letter of 6 June 1682 to the Governors. He also pointed out that 19th century parliamentary commissions had accepted that the endowment was a private Protestant one.

The Oral Evidence

The two principal witnesses for the Governors were Professor Alison Phillips, Lecky Professor of History in Trinity College, Dublin and John Weaver, Lecturer in Modern History at Oxford, who had previously been Professor of Modern History at Trinity College, Dublin. Both gave evidence on the religious situation in the middle of the 17th century and its bearing on educational policy. Neither had any special knowledge of Erasmus Smith or the charity, although Professor Phillips had done some research on Erasmus Smith's religious views for the case. He was a specialist in Modern History. The barrister for the Defendant, Mr Gavan Duffy, took him in detail through the changes in religious settlements in England in the 17th century, combining these details with generalisations which effectively established his point that Erasmus Smith only followed the law of the time in his religious regulations for the schools. This was supposed to prove that Erasmus Smith held no sincere religious beliefs himself. Professor Phillips was unable to pro-

vide detailed and accurate references for Erasmus Smith's acquisition of land and his gifts to the charity, so he was not in a position to challenge Gavan Duffy's account of these events. Even Judge Meredith eventually became tired of this and pointed out:

> Mr Duffy, the witness has said that he has not really investigated this matter himself so you really cannot gain anything by reading out all these Sections (of the Act of Settlement) which are very material to your case, but reading them to the witness seems to be unnecessary.[2]

In fact, Gavan Duffy was enabled to read his contentious version of the foundation of the endowment more or less unchallenged into the record of the court.

After 10 days, when A. B. L. Moore, the Registrar to the Governors, was being cross-examined by Mr Lavery, barrister for the Special Defendants (i.e. the tenants), a long argument occurred as to whether the administration of the Trust over the centuries was admissable as evidence. Mr Jellett argued that the question before the Court was the nature of the Trust at its foundation and that this had been laid down at the beginning of the trial by the Judge's order. Mr Lavery argued that their case was that the Trust had been maladministered from the beginning by denying the children of the majority of the tenants an education. Justice Meredith accepted Jellett's argument but did not rule out the whole question of the administration of the Trust in the future. In fact, Lavery ignored this and several other interruptions by the Justice and continued to examine Moore on the administration of the Trust.

The principal witness for the Presbyterian Special Defendants, Rev. Gordon Clements who was Clerk to the Dublin Presbytery, was in an unusual position in that he agreed with the witnesses for the Trust on almost all matters of Erasmus Smith's religious beliefs except that he held Erasmus Smith to be more Puritan. This meant that he opposed his fellow Special Defendants. Eventually Justice Meredith became weary of the repetition of the evidence on religious differences in the 17th century. He summed it up: 'I cannot allow the Plaintiffs and one set of Defendants to come in and cover the same ground and simply support the same proposition.'[3] Mr Clements argued that the various religious rules laid down in the foundation documents provided evidence that Erasmus Smith remained sympathetic to the Presbyterian/Independent position even after the restoration of the Anglican Church in 1660. He laid most emphasis on the 1657 deed of foundation as it contained the best evidence to support a Presbyterian interpretation of the charity. An exchange at the end of his evidence neatly summed up the question of interpretation in history:

> *Justice Meredith:* Then he (Erasmus Smith) was a hypocrite or not, according to your point of view.
>
> *The Witness:* There is a good deal in that; I mean to say some people will argue that these pious phrases are nothing but phrases, whereas I take them in their plain, straight, unvarnished meaning that they indicate that the man was a religious and pious man.[4]

In his examination of Mr Clements, Gavan Duffy illustrated this repeatedly by dismissing all the leading Protestants of the 17th century as hypocrites. This suited his argument but it may also have been because it saved him from having to understand the finer points of doctrinal differences between the Protestant churchmen at that period.

By 7 July it was the turn of Mr Lavery to open the case for the 'Special Defendants' or tenants, although there were no longer any tenants since the lands had been bought under the Land Acts. His central argument was that the paramount object of the charity was educational, for the children of the tenants. Roman Catholics formed 80% or 90% of the people on the lands and had asserted their claims on previous occasions. He presented figures which showed that of 102 pupils in the Grammar schools, only five were children of tenants and there was one child of a tenant in an English school. In The High School there were no such children. He argued that the charity had been a State endowment from the beginning and the religious directions in the Charter were 'incidental machinery' and should be ignored by the Court. The original trustees, he contended, were not chosen by Erasmus Smith; he confused Theophilus Jones and Henry Jones in the process. He argued that the Court had to restrain the breach of trust which had occurred and regulate the proper administration of the Trust. He concluded with a quotation from Judge O'Brien at the 1894 Judicial Commission to the effect that if a son of a tenant presented himself at the door of one of these schools and asked for admission, the master would call a policeman.[5] So much for the efforts of successive generations of Governors to recruit sons of tenants for the schools!

The expert witnesses for the Special Defendants were Professor Timothy Corcoran SJ, Professor of Education in the National University, and Father Myles Ronan SJ. Professor Corcoran gave lengthy evidence on the history of State education in Ireland and England. Following this he conjectured that the change from the catechism of the Assembly of Divines in the 1657 Foundation Document to Archbishop Ussher's catechism in the 1669 Charter was due not only to the change in the religious establishment during that time but to the intervention of King Charles II. 'I think that the

terms and other terms used by Erasmus Smith seem to show that there was some personal choice by the King in this particular book [Ussher's catechism].'[6] He produced no evidence to support his conjecture and a picture of Charles II interesting himself in the choice of a catechism is not convincing. He then gave evidence on the significance of the phrase used by Erasmus Smith, 'education .... in the fear of God and in good literature' which he said was common in most educational foundations at that time. He went on to say that in Smith's case it would be taken to mean the religious situation existing at the date of the foundation. All of this was to advance his central case that the foundation was a result of State policy and not of Erasmus Smith's own action at all. When Jellett established that the Charter and the rules for schools laid down a Protestant education, Professor Corcoran replied: 'And by law he could not do otherwise.'[7] Towards the end of his cross-examination by Jellett there was a neat summary of the position which was to be expounded in more detail by Father Ronan:

> *Q.* I want you to tell me this. Do you find any suggestion anywhere in any document or Statute showing that this Petition [for the Charter] that was presented by Erasmus Smith to the King had not originated with him, Erasmus Smith?
>
> *A.* It originated with Erasmus Smith, but Erasmus Smith was, in a certain sense, a creature of the circumstances he was placed in. He was bound to take a certain line of action.
>
> *Q.* Was he bound to take any action at all?
>
> *A.* He probably was.
>
> *Q.* Probably?
>
> *A.* Yes.
>
> *Q.* Surely he could have kept these estates for himself if he liked?
>
> *A.* I don't think so.
>
> *Q.* Where did the obligation arise upon him to found schools out of this property?
>
> *A.* From the fact that it was one of the best ways of saving the rest of his property.
>
> *Q.* Where did you get that? I would like to know.
>
> *A.* From the general impression of the time.[8]

In fact it came, as transpired in the following questions, from Judge O'Brien in the 1894 Judicial Commission on Endowed Schools.

Father Ronan was the only one of the witnesses who had made an extensive study of Erasmus Smith and the foundation of the Trust. His main field of study was the 16th and 17th centuries; he was the author of *The*

Reformation in Ireland under Elizabeth 1558-1580 and many other works. He subsequently published his evidence to the court as a study of the subject.[9] He had strong opinions on the subject, not all of them firmly backed up by historical evidence. He was convinced that all of Erasmus Smith's acquisitions of land were based on fraud and that his gift of lands for schools was to prevent the loss of his lands. These frauds included, according to Father Ronan, buying Adventurers' assignments on the open market at less than their face value: 'I can show your Lordship afterwards some of the discounts or frauds that were perpetuated by him.'[10] He was sometimes a bit muddled on details. When he was giving evidence on Erasmus Smith's religion he confused Christ's Hospital, London with The Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin. 'It was absolutely absurd to say that these catechisms were intended for Christ's Hospital, London. It would be impossible for Erasmus Smith or any other man to get a Puritan catechism taught there.'[11] When questioned further on this by the judge, it is clear from his answers that he did not fully understand the situation between the Governors in Ireland and Erasmus Smith in the 1670s.

Father Ronan's account of the Smiths' investment under the Adventurers Act was also not quite accurate; he missed some of the investments made by Sir Roger Smith and misunderstood the details of the transfer of Sir Roger's holding to Erasmus. The process of question and answer in a court is not a good way to arrive at an historically accurate account of events 300 years ago, so it is difficult to follow Father Ronan's thinking clearly. The questions asked by Gavan Duffy ranged backwards and forwards over the Cromwellian and Restoration periods. A matter was raised but not pursued in detail and Father Ronan answered as he was asked. Little attempt was made to put events into their historical contexts. On one occasion there was a dispute as to the chronological order of some of the petitions; Father Ronan answered: 'I didn't bother about whether they do or not [come in chronological order]. I get my facts, and I am not bothering about anything except things which are sufficient for my purpose.'[12]

An example of this indiscriminate use of facts is the treatment of Erasmus Smith's petitions to the King after the Restoration. The suggestion is that Smith was one of the chief petitioners and that he had very great influence. In fact, very large numbers of land claims were the subject of petitions and Smith was successful in some cases and lost in others. When questioned by Jellett about one of these petitions which he had said was from Smith and Massarene but which was from 47 individuals altogether, Father Ronan explained that he only took the evidence which he needed. When Justice

Meredith intervened to soften the criticism of Father Ronan, as he did on several occasions, Jellett exclaimed in exasperation: 'The inaccuracy of this witness is unsurpassable.'[13]

Central to Father Ronan's argument on Erasmus Smith was that he had acquired his lands by fraud and had given land to the Trust to secure this from the government. He had prepared a detailed account of the lands acquired by the Trust for the Court and these were examined in full by the Court. They showed that the total of the Trust's lands was 5,650 acres which was reasonably accurate. He then argued that the Trust was legally entitled to only two-thirds of this under the Act of Explanation. When Justice Meredith correctly pointed out that these lands were acquired by the Trustees acting independently of Erasmus Smith, Gavan Duffy said that there must have been 'some peculiar State intervention' to allow this to happen. No one, including the Trust's barrister, seems to have read the last section of the Transmitted Bill which specifically instructed the Trustees to use some of the money from existing rents to buy assignments of land to equal the third that was forfeited. In fact, Father Ronan seemed to think that the rents went to Erasmus Smith himself.

This misunderstanding led to other confusion in Father Ronan's evidence when he came to deal with the arrears of rent owed by two principal tenants of the Trust, Richard Coote and Richard Warburton, at a later date. Coote and Warburton claimed that they had made a settlement signed by six or seven of the Trustees in 1666. Father Ronan takes this to mean that 'people considered that this was a public charity'. He seems unaware that Coote and Warburton were eventually forced by legal means to pay large parts of their arrears, as was to be expected in any normal lease. He also quotes the Quinn case about disputed lands in Galway to 'prove' the same point, seemingly unaware that an enquiry ordered by the government of James II in 1685 concluded that the Trust's title was fully established.[14] Although he based much of his argument for fraud on the interpretation of the acts of parliament dealing with the settlement of lands in Ireland, when challenged by Jellett he confessed: 'I cannot interpret all these Acts of Explanation as a lawyer. These things are so jumbled up. They contradict themselves half a dozen times in one paragraph.'[15]

The Defendants were anxious to confine the arguments as to the purpose of the Trust solely to the Charter, although Justice Meredith seemed to consider that all the three foundation documents had a bearing on Erasmus Smith's intentions. This arose particularly when Father Ronan was giving evidence on the dispute between Christ's Hospital and the Governors when the Governors relied on the Transmitted Bill and, as Justice Meredith pointed

out, Christ's Hospital had to give in. In addition Archbishop King had then argued that Erasmus Smith had got lands in return for his gift to charity. The Defendants were following the same argument but the judge said that if the Charter was the only document to be considered, how Erasmus Smith got his lands would be irrelevant. Gavan Duffy was not allowed to question Father Ronan on the interpretation of the Charter since that was a matter for the judge to decide. In discussion of the religion of the earliest tenants, it was established that the majority of the poor tenants would have been Roman Catholic. Father Ronan explained that in his view the foundation documents all seemed to be concerned to change the native population from the conditions which led to the 1641 Rebellion. Justice Meredith pointed out the implications of his argument: 'But surely, Father Ronan, if that is the way of looking at it, it would suggest that the predominant idea here was certainly the idea of proselytising, and that it was not an educational business at all.' This led the judge to explore what people in the 17th century understood by proselytism.

When the witness came to discuss the early history of the schools, he argued that Drogheda was a diocesan school of the kind which each bishop of the Church of Ireland was to establish in his diocese. This would reinforce his argument that the Trust was a public one. In his view the move to get rid of Scott, the master there, was a conspiracy by the Archbishop of Armagh and the Mayor and Corporation of Drogheda to gain control of the school. Since the school was four miles from the nearest Erasmus Smith lands, Father Ronan argued that it was never intended for tenants' children: 'It was simply put up by arrangement with the Primate and the Governors to take the place of the school which the Primate himself neglected to erect.'[17] This ignores the link between the places chosen for the schools and the location of Smith's lands which appears in each of the foundation documents.

One of the great difficulties for Father Ronan's argument in relation to Drogheda was that the controversy produced a letter from Erasmus Smith to the Governors in which he stated plainly that his object in founding the schools was to promote Protestantism. Father Humphreys had met this difficulty 40 years earlier by denouncing the letter as a forgery. Father Ronan suggested that the copy in the Board minute book was written much later and that it was not an accurate copy of the original because there were two interpolations which did not make sense. Justice Meredith was not impressed by the arguments and when Jellett questioned Father Ronan on the details of these entries in the Board book, the reasons for the entries not being in chronological order became clear.

In dealing with the surviving evidence of the quarrel between the Governors and Christ's Hospital during and after Erasmus Smith's lifetime, Father Ronan took the pressures from the Hospital in London on the government there to enforce Erasmus Smith's gift to the Hospital as further proof that the charity was a State one because they refer to the King as final arbiter. In fact, the documents make it very plain that the charity originated with Erasmus Smith and that the power of the King was very limited in the matter.

Final Submissions to the Court

When the oral evidence was concluded, Mr McCann addressed the Court on behalf of the Attorney-General. He stressed that there was one question only to be answered: the paramount intention of the charity. When that question was determined, other questions might arise. He reiterated the argument that the paramount intention was educational but the means of carrying it out varied from age to age. 'There never was a case like that of Erasmus Smith, and never would be. It was a case of immense complexity and difficulty.' He stressed that the personnel (i.e., the objects of the charity) were the poor tenants and inhabitants.

> A religious Puritan like Erasmus Smith could not have regarded the Protestants as requiring any civilisation. The people he was thinking of were the poor benighted Papists, who never got a shilling of it … He did put in some provision with regard to religious teaching, but none of these things formed any part of the underlying purpose in the mind of Erasmus Smith, and the effect of adherence to these religious provisions was a frustration of the intentions of the charity.[18]

On the other hand, Mr Dickie, the barrister for the Presbyterian 'Special Defendants', argued that at the time of the foundation of the charity, there was not, and there could not be, Catholics on the lands of Erasmus Smith. Consequently, in his view, the object of the charity was the education of Protestants.

The Judgement

Justice Meredith delivered a reserved judgement in the case on 12 October 1931. His judgement took over three hours to deliver. He found against the Governors and in favour of the 'Special Defendants': 'The said charity is an endowment the paramount intention of which is education and not religious.' The judge paid tribute to Erasmus Smith's 'shrewd judgement'. However, he based his judgement on treating the Charter as the principal foundation document, rejecting all the historical evidence presented as

extrinsic to the case and arguing that the 1682 letter in which Erasmus Smith clearly stated his religious aim was inadmissable as evidence. His judgement went further. Because the paramount intention of the charity was 'to provide a free secondary education for a limited number of poor children residing in close proximity to the said three schools (Drogheda, Galway and Tipperary) and for the children of the tenants and the inhabitants of the lands of Erasmus Smith', if this failed because of religious restrictions, the Trust would have to be transformed and the religious provisions ignored. He invited the 'Special Defendants' to bring this to trial. He also suggested a compromise in which Galway should become Roman Catholic and Drogheda remain Protestant.

In June 1932 the Governors were advised by their solicitors that there were good grounds for an appeal to the Supreme Court. The barristers wrote:

> The situation resulting from this judgement is in our opinion an impossible one in which the Governors as Trustees would not be justified in acquiescing. The whole future of the three schools is left in a state of uncertainty necessarily involving serious injury to their future prospects. At the moment the entire administration of the schools, as carried on for nearly three centuries, is liable to be upset.

Appeal to the Supreme Court

The Governors did appeal and the appeal occupied 39 days in the Supreme Court.'The 39 days during which it was before the Supreme Court put the case in a category of its own.'[19] Mr Jellett took 17 days to present his evidence, which included reading all the oral evidence from the High Court hearing. The Court was presided over by Chief Justice Kennedy, Justice Murnaghan and Justice Johnston of the Chancery Court. He was co-opted because the third judge of the Supreme Court was Lord Fitzgibbon who was disqualified as a Governor of the Trust. The Court made no decision in the following three years at which point the Chief Justice died (Mr Jellett and Mr Dickie also died before the issue was decided). On 18 March 1936 Justice Murnaghan announced that he and Justice Johnston disagreed on important points and so no judgement was possible. On 30 January 1937 the solicitors reported to the Governors that the Court could not give a valid judgement without a complete re-hearing.

On 5 April 1937 Tipperary Urban District Council called on the Dáil to break the deadlock and soon afterwards a letter was received from the lawyers for the 'Special Defendants' saying that they intended to apply to the Attorney-General to have legislation introduced similar to the Educational

Endowments Act of 1885 to set up a commission to administer the charity in accordance with Justice Meredith's judgement. By this time the costs of the original case in the High Court and the appeal to the Supreme Court amounted to £38,308. In addition the income of the Trust was already inadequate for all the outgoings. The balance sheet to May 1937 showed a deficit of £1,058. To risk a further hearing of the appeal seemed foolhardy in these circumstances, so the Governors decided to agree to a settlement and negotiations began with the Attorney-General and the 'Special Defendants'.

A Settlement Agreed

Settlement was agreed on 12 June 1937. The money needed to meet the Trust's purposes other than the schools was first subtracted from the overall reserves of the Trust. This amounted to £43,580 and was to meet commitments to Trinity College, King's Hospital, the English schools (which included The High School) and other expenses like pensions. The remaining resources were to be divided equally with the 'Special Defendants' and the Attorney-General. The Trust handed over Tipperary Grammar School and £64,994 in investments to the Attorney-General; the Trust kept Galway and Drogheda Grammar Schools and £64,994. The Trust's share included the remaining property which was worth about £9,000, producing an income of £600 per year. Legal costs were divided: the Trust paid their own and the Attorney-General's costs in the Supreme Court and the Special Defendants' costs were paid from their allocation. In Dáil Eireann on 14 June 1937, the Taoiseach, Mr De Valera, announced the conclusion of the issue:

> The entire question of the Erasmus Smith schools has been the subject of controversy for generations, and it is highly gratifying that by their public spirited co-operation and understanding the Governors have contributed to what I hope is the final solution of the problem.

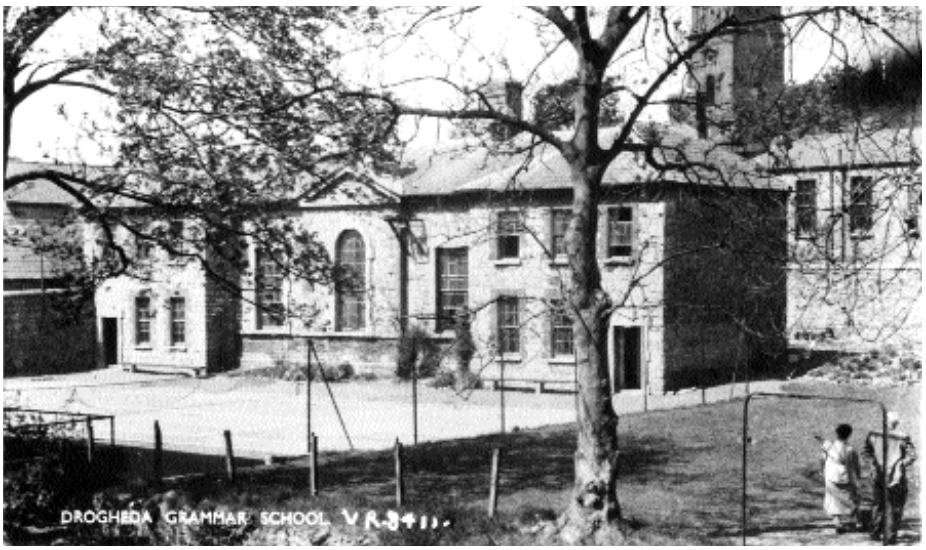
An Act of the Oireachtas was passed on 13 April 1938 to give legal authority to the settlement. By the Erasmus Smith Schools Act *(An Act to amend the Letters Patent and Statutes relating to the Schools founded by Erasmus Smith, Esq.),* the Governors were empowered to apply the funds remaining in their hands for education, including instruction in Protestant doctrine, in such manner and in such places at their absolute discretion as they should think fit, provided that no person of any Protestant denomination should be excluded from the benefit of such education. The Act also made it impossible for any further proceedings to be taken on the previous administration of the Trust. The Act confirmed the agreement between the parties and in a schedule attached the details of the division of the property of the Trust were set out.

In 1941 the Minister for Education drew up a scheme for the use of the share allotted to the 'Special Defendants'. The school in Tipperary was handed over to the Christian Brothers who moved from their old premises in the town. They were to provide secondary education combined with a course suited to preparing boys for careers in farming and agriculture. Seven scholarships were to be provided by the Department for boys from the three towns where there had been Grammar schools and from the areas where Erasmus Smith had lands. In November 1941 the Tipperary building was destroyed by fire. The school was reopened in 1955 as the Father Humphreys Memorial School.

The Effects of the Case

The immediate consequence of the settlement was uncertainty over the future of a large part of Protestant secondary education of the time. On 29 April 1938 the Board received a report of discussions with a delegation from the Presbyterian Church in connection with a merger between the High School and St Andrew's College and a conference was planned with the Incorporated Society about the future of Drogheda Grammar School and Wilson's Hospital. The annual grant to Sligo Girls School, which had been taken over by the Incorporated Society, had already been stopped in 1937. In June a sub-committee of Professor J. Purser, Professor R. R. Hartford and Rev. W. Mayne visited Drogheda, the two schools in Sligo and Wilson's Hospital. In their report they said that there was no need for four schools and that Drogheda was the most suitable for closure. It was suggested that the Incorporated Society might take over the buildings there and transfer Sligo Girls School there. They also suggested that governors from the King's Hospital should be invited to join the co-ordinating committee of governors of Protestant schools.

The idea of a joint control for all Protestant secondary schools continued for some years before fading in the face of the difficulties involved. At a meeting of the Board on 11 December 1942, the Provost suggested a scheme whereby all the funds available for Protestant education should be amalgamated but this did not find much support. In November 1943 the Board accepted an invitation from the Incorporated Society to consider a unified scheme for control of several schools. When the Board heard the report from their delegates to this meeting on 17 Febraury 1944, it was clear that it was not likely to proceed. They reported that an act of the Oireachtas would be necessary which was not an appealing prospect at that time. In addition the Incorporated Society was confined to the Church of Ireland whereas the Erasmus Smith Schools admitted non-conformists. The Primate, Dr Gregg,



Drogheda Grammar School

was against the scheme. In May 1944 it was agreed to set up a joint committee with the Incorporated Society to consider 'matters of mutual interest to both Boards' but there is little evidence of joint action.

Closure of Drogheda Grammar School

Meanwhile the Board had taken a drastic step in relation to Drogheda Grammar. At a meeting on 27 June 1938 they decided to close the school. There were at that time 44 pupils on the roll, 37 boarders and seven day pupils. These pupils were to be given a choice of being supported at Wilson's Hospital or Galway Grammar; 11 chose Wilson's Hospital and 18 Galway. The Headmaster since 1922, Rev. Dr Ferguson, was to receive six months' salary. He was later Curate-in-Charge of Corbally in the Diocese of Killaloe. Local interest was not, however, prepared to allow the school to close. In October the Board received proposals from the Drogheda committee for the continuation of the school. They replied that they would consider detailed proposals but would not contribute any money. On 16 December 1938 the Board agreed to the use of the school buildings by the local committee for a school for three years. In 1940 the lease was extended to 15 years. In 1944 the premises were sold to Mrs Balfour of Townley Hall for £4,000 in trust for Drogheda School. (Adams had valued the premises at £6,500 but advised accepting any offer over £5,000.)

Financial Problems

The closure of Drogheda did not solve the financial problems of the Trust. Annual deficits continued and by 1949 the overdraft was £21,000. In an effort to improve the situation, the Board considered selling part of the playground in Harcourt Street. In 1947 a site of 10,000 square feet was advertised and in September an offer of £15,000 was accepted. In the event, the purchaser was unable to proceed and the Board exercised their right to repurchase in 1953. At the same time, consideration was given to selling 40 Harcourt Street or of letting the upper floors for offices. As preparation for this, a house for the Headmaster was purchased at 66 Cowper Road, Rathmines in April 1948. The plan to raise income from No. 40 was abandoned as impracticable but the need for extra income was pressing. When the High School began to expand rapidly under Dr Reynolds the problems became more pressing. In November 1952 Dr Reynolds presented a report on the future of The High School in which he estimated 515 as the maximum number of pupils who might be enrolled, although he considered that such a figure was unlikely to be reached. His overall figure included 140 in the Junior School and for the first time there was mention of acquiring additional premises.

Extra Accomodation Needed for The High School

The first plan considered was to buy or rent new accommodation for the Junior School. In January 1952 negotiations began for buying Major Wormell's interest in Sandford Park School. The total cost was estimated at £17,700, of which £4,000 was payment to Major Wormell, £8,000 to purchase the annual rent and the remainder for repairs. In the end Wormell refused the offer. At the same time there was urgent need for more playing fields. This was made worse by the refusal of Dublin Corporation to grant planning permission for a new pavilion at Belgrave Square and the possible compulsory purchase by the Corporation of a strip on the east side of the square for road widening. It was against this background that the first mention was made, at a Board meeting on 18 June 1953, of the purchase of Danum in Rathgar. The first thoughts were to transfer the Junior School there but very quickly the idea of moving the whole school to Rathgar came under consideration. In July 1953 a sub-committee was set up to examine the whole scheme. They reported in January 1954 that the new premises must be bought before Harcourt Street could be offered for sale. They estimated that the Harcourt Street site was worth £45,750 and that the total cost of the move, including the purchase of Danum, would be £122,340. After a lengthy debate on the report, the Board voted not to purchase Danum but did estab-

lish another sub-committee to consider how to provide additional classrooms and suitable playing fields.

Galway Grammar School

At this time a debate was taking place on the Board over the rival claims of Galway Grammar School and The High School because it was clear that a large expenditure on the Dublin school would make support for Galway very difficult. In a letter to the Board in July 1953 when they were first considering Danum, the Treasurer (who was unable to attend because of illness) warned that such an ambitious scheme would spell the end for Galway. In fact, the idea of closing the Galway school had been considered as early as 1942 when, at a meeting on 16 April, a motion for closure was defeated by 14 votes to one.

By 1948 the number of pupils in the school had continued to decline; there were only 21, of whom four were living in the school but attending primary school. The annual loss was over £2,000. When the Headmaster, Mr E. B. Coursey, resigned, a special meeting of the Board was held to consider the future of the school. An enthusiastic local committee argued strongly for continuing and won the day: by nine votes to eight it was decided not to close the school but to make every effort to increase the number of pupils. Under a new Headmaster, Mr George Coghlan, the numbers rose to 50, 37 boarders and 13 day pupils. Progress continued but so did financial losses. In 1954 the Board considered a proposal to close the school and open a boarding house at Danum but rejected it. By 1956, in spite of special efforts to publicise the school, the annual loss had risen to £3,195. Some Governors were concerned at the use of increased fees at High School to subsidise Galway. Professor Purser resigned from the Board, writing: 'I look upon as improper use of the Trust fund in an endeavour to keep a moribund school alive for a few years longer.' The following year the loss was more than the endowment income of the Trust and some Governors began to fear for the future of the Trust if the situation continued. By this time the Trust's overdraft was £52,448 and the Bank of Ireland was pressing for its reduction.

In January 1957 two of the Dublin Governors met the local committee in Galway 'to investigate the most workable scheme for the promotion of Protestant education in Galway'. In their report they suggested that secondary education might be provided in association with the primary school in what was then called a 'primary top'; the local committee were not in favour of this. The alternative was the provision of scholarships for children in Galway to enable them to attend schools elsewhere. Consideration of a final decision

was delayed but on 10 March 1958 a special meeting of the Board was called to decide the future of the school. The Governors were told that the market value of the Trust's investments was £68,000 and the overdraft was £52,000. There was a lively exchange of views but eventually this motion was passed:

> On the understanding that the Board will formulate a Scholarship scheme for pupils in schools, preferably outside Dublin, on as generous terms as the funds permit, the Board resolves, with great regret, that Galway Grammar School should be closed as from the end of the Summer term 1958, and that parents be advised accordingly. In awarding scholarships, preference will be given to boys from Galway city and surrounding areas.

Two scholarships were awarded annually from 1959. In July 1958 the buildings of the school were sold to University College, Galway for £20,000. Thus the last of the Charter Grammar Schools ceased and the tendency for the Trust to be centred on Dublin, present from the earliest days, was complete. All efforts could now be concentrated on The High School.

The Sale of Harcourt Street

During these years the problem of classroom accommodation and the lack of suitable playing fields became more acute as The High School expanded. In February 1954 the architect, Hubert Brown, presented a plan for eight classrooms, an art room, a dining room and kitchen for Harcourt Street at a cost of £33,000 but the Board set a maximum of £20,000 to be spent. Advertisements for land for playing fields produced eight offers of which only one or two were real possibilities. The sub-committee dealing with plans for development again recommended Danum and advised that the value of the Harcourt Street site might be more than earlier expected. The new Treasurer, Malcolm Ellis, called a special meeting of the Board on 10 May 1954, at which it was agreed to purchase Danum at a price not to exceed £25,000. In June they were told that the purchase price agreed was £22,000 although in fact the eventual sum paid was £21,000.

The development of playing fields began immediately but it was to be 16 years before the whole school could move to Rathgar. The move became definite policy from 1962 when a sub-committee of Dr Delaney, R. E. M. Clarke, W. S. Cunningham and Dr Reynolds rejected the idea of a new school at Harcourt Street. The following year auctioneers were appointed to sell Harcourt Street and they received good offers, although the price greatly depended on the date on which possession could be given. Consequently, planning began for a new school at Danum. In the event, the sale of Harcourt Street was delayed because of uncertainty over planning permission; the

Corporation were considering running a road through the playground and there were restrictions on the uses to which the site could be put. These doubts were removed in August 1968 when it became clear that the Corporation were not going ahead with the new road. This opened the way for the sale of the Harcourt Street site in January 1969 to Linden Properties for £400,000. For both The High School and the Trust a new phase in their history was beginning.

CHAPTER XV

John Bennett

There were eighteen candidates for the position of Headmaster, all of them from England or Wales (including one teaching in Cairo), except two: the Headmasters of Sligo Grammar School and Midleton College. In the end it was narrowed down to these two and John Bennett was elected by the Governors by 11 votes to 10 for Dr Arthur E. Layng. John Bennett was no stranger to The High School, having taught classics there for six years before being appointed Headmaster of Sligo Grammar School. He was 44 years old and had been a headmaster for nine years. The Governors took special interest in the fact that he had decreased the cost of the school to the Incorporated Society during that time, while increasing its numbers and making many improvements. He was born in Cork and educated at Cork Grammar School, won a junior exhibition to TCD and later a scholarship in Classics and graduated with a senior moderatorship in Classics and a junior moderatorship in Ethics and Logic, winning a studentship in Classics. He was Auditor of the Classical Society and editor of *T.C.D.* during his college career. He entered the Divinity School after graduation but did not proceed to ordination. In 1940 he was awarded a Doctorate in Philosophy for a study of Empedocles. The same year he published *The Teaching of Latin* in the 'Modern Teaching Series' published by the School of Education in TCD.

As well as his scholarship, the qualities which were most mentioned by those who remembered John Bennett were his kindness and his willingness to help others. In his Obituary in *The Irish Times* one of his fellow headmasters said: 'Apart from his practical services to education, he will be best remembered for his very human and lovable qualities. He was kindness personified, and ever ready to give of his time and wealth of experience to advise and counsel those in difficulty or doubt.'[1] A friend wrote of him:

> He was a quiet man, and gentle. Quietness dwelt in his voice and in his manner. His very views were distilled from him with such careful lack of emphasis, such skilled avoidance of the aggressive phrase, that they won their way to a ready and sympathetic acceptance. He eschewed the gambit and was a master of the positional opening. If he found opposition he never pressed, but in a few minutes, by an oblique approach and a new

argument which seemed to appear from nowhere, he would be found turning the flank of his opponent.[2]

The State of the School

Mr Bennett took over a school which was in a satisfactory, if not a thriving, condition. In his 1929 report to the Governors he spoke of the staff as satisfactory and the academic results as good, although Irish was causing some trouble. Nevertheless, there were problems, in particular a fall in the number of pupils. The average number on the roll in the period 1918 to 1928 was 244 but in 1928 it was only 206. Mr Bennett ascribed this to several causes: the fall in the Protestant population, inadequate facilities, especially for games, and fees being too high. Belgrave Square was too small to provide adequate room for sports, with only one football pitch which also had to be used as a cricket ground, and there was no gymnasium. This compared unfavourably with schools such as St Andrew's. Mr Bennett argued strongly in favour of a preparatory school which would act as a 'feeder' to the senior school, again citing St Andrew's (and Wesley College) as examples. The governors refused to consider this suggestion and continued to do so, in spite of Mr Bennett's repeated requests. They did agree to another of his suggestions by providing equipment for cooking a hot meal for pupils who wished to avail of it each day. In 1931 Mr Bennett reported strong demand for this, although some parents complained that one shilling (about 8c) per week was too expensive. The Governors also decided to build a gymnasium which was erected in the playground in 1928.

In 1930 a House system was introduced, largely as a means of bringing more boys to play games. At first there were four houses, each named after the master in charge. This was changed in 1934 when the number of houses was reduced to three, named Abbey, Harcourt and Belgrave. Lord Holmpatrick, one of the Governors, presented a cup to be awarded to the champion house. In that first report to the Governors, the new Headmaster wrote about the need to foster the corporate spirit of the school and to widen the scope of activities. He later spoke about his philosophy of education:

> Schools should be more than grinding machines, and should provide means of expression and development for the various sides of pupils' personalities. So far is this from injuring class work that I have found in experience that, with a few exceptions, the boys who have been most successful in examinations have also been most prominent in these activities.[3]

School Concerts and Other Activities

The school library was reorganised and enlarged. A school concert was held on 7 December 1928, the first in a tradition which has continued, in various forms, to the present. At that first concert a French play (scenes from Molière's *L'Avare*) was presented, musical items were performed by soloists, mainly Old Boys, and by the School Choir, and there were three dances by sisters of pupils. The proceeds were given to the Athletic fund. In 1930 the first Greek play was performed. The production was of part of *The Acharnians* of Aristophanes and it was the main feature of the second school concert. These concerts varied from year to year; for several years a pantomime was presented and in 1935 this was replaced by a comic opera. In 1937 a Gilbert and Sullivan opera (*The Pirates of Penzance*) was performed. A Debating Society was started; it had mixed fortunes, being described as 'defunct' in 1932 but revived in 1934. Improvements were made to the facilities at Belgrave Square and a Boxing Club was formed.

The Old Boys' Union

Another part of Mr Bennett's programme was inaugurated at a meeting in the school on 22 November 1928 at which The Old Boys' Union was launched. The Primate, Most Rev. Dr D'Arcy (1870-77) presided and was elected the first President of the Union. The Honorary Secretaries were Mervyn Bell (1915-22) and W. H. Thrift (1891-1901) and the Treasurer was Rev. W. C. G. Proctor (1912-21), at that time Curate of All Saints', Grangegorman. A committee of 21 was appointed. The Union was to be open to all past pupils of the school, the Governors and the staff. Each member was to receive a copy of *The Erasmian* and an annual dinner was to be arranged, the first on 20 March 1929. It was held in an hotel but from 1930 the annual dinner was held in the Clockroom. Later, dinners were held in Belfast (1935) and London (first in 1939). An annual cricket match against the school, a golf competition and a dance were organised.

The Union began with a list of twelve hundred names, although Mr Bennett, in his Prize Day report in 1929, estimated that there were more than 1,600 Old Boys. In fact as early as 1882 a dinner for Old Boys had been organised in the Gresham Hotel by Swift P. Johnston (1872-75), but there is no evidence that this was continued regularly. In 1931 the Union, largely at the instigation of R. W. Jeffares (1883-89), presented the Old Boys' Cup to be given annually to 'the best type of boy in the school', chosen by the votes of the staff and the boys of the senior school. The first winner was Ralph J. Walker (1924-31). In 1936 the Association of Schools Unions was formed,

A High School presentation of The Mikado. *R. W. Mason (Pooh-Bah), P. J. Burgess (Pitti-Sing), W. S. Kelly (Ko-ko), T. F. V. Jackson (Mikado), R. R. Quinn (Katisha).*

largely at the initiative of S. W. Meyer (1893-99), the High School Union President, who was the first Chairman of the Association. By the 1940s the Union was organising cricket and rugby matches against other Old Boys' Unions. In 1943 the Union undertook to sponsor a bed in the Adelaide Hospital.

World War Two

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 brought restrictions and difficulties. Shortage of coal led to the closure of the Iveagh Baths from 1942 with consequent reduction in swimming. Similar difficulties in the supply of paper reduced *The Erasmian* to one issue per year. Restrictions in lighting curtailed some evening activities and the concerts were not held for three years, but were revived in 1942 with a Gilbert and Sullivan production. ARP lectures were organised for the school and eight fire-fighting squads were formed and trained.

This war did not produce much comment from the editors of *The Erasmian,* in contrast to the previous war, but the end of hostilities in 1945 was noted:

> The most welcome news that any of us heard in this momentous year was the announcement of the end of the war in Europe. The enthusiasm of the boys on that day would have to be seen to be believed, and the school

> was very much beflagged, although goodness knows where all the Union Jacks came from. Many of our Old Boys have won decorations, but none more fitting than the announcement of David Orr's MC on V-E Day. To celebrate the occasion the Head made a very moving speech in the Clockroom, mentioning some of the boys who had won decorations, and those who had given their lives for the cause which they believed was right. He then gave the whole school a half-holiday, and later on, at Whit we had an extra day.[4]

Lists of those serving in the Forces were published in *The Erasmian* each year from 1939 when 29 were named. The first Old Boys to be killed were T. C. Hammond (1922-27), a Sergeant Observer in the RAF and W. F. Taylor (1920-22) also of the RAF. Final lists of all Old Boys known to have served in the war were published in *The Erasmians* of 1945 and 1946. The total was 226, of whom 30 had been killed. Ten Old Boys had served in the Irish Army during the same period. Two tablets bearing the names of those killed were erected beside the tablets in the Clockroom. They were dedicated during a religious service in the Clockroom on 10 November 1948 by the Archbishop of Dublin. Two Old Boys, Rev. F. W. Synnott (Seventh Armoured Division) and Rev. A. H. Butler (Senior Chaplain, First Division), who had acted as chaplains during the war, also took part in the service. The tablets were unveiled by Lord Rugby, United Kingdom representative in Ireland, who gave a moving address in which he expressed his country's gratitude for the sacrifice made by these Old Boys:

> But the call which summoned these sons of Ireland to their final destiny was not faint or far away. If I – an Englishman – am chosen to unveil their memorial, it is because you are mindful of those anxious days when the dark curtain of war blacked out the windows of my homeland and cast its shadow across the Irish Sea. It is because you know that every message which brought pride or sorrow to an Irish home came to my door too. I was here when your sons went out to play their part. Some were still boys at school when I first came here. Nobody can interpret more vividly than I, or with more grateful heart, what this memorial stands for today, and will, by God's mercy, stand for in years to come. The flowers of the forest fall, but the seed is carried on by the silent wind to blossom in the fields of the future.[5]

Two Old Boys were involved in the immediate post-war administration of Europe: Sir W. Henry B. Mack (1910-13) was British representative on the Allied Commission for Austria, and Max Nurock (1904-11) acted as head of the Finance Section of the Inter-Allied Control Commission in Germany.

Two others were involved in the British administration of Italian Somaliland: H. F. C. Darling (1919-25) and S. S. Bestall (1934-39). David J. Foster (1938-46) was killed in action in the Korean War in 1950.

Academic Successes

The academic tradition developed in the school in the first 50 years of its history was continued under Dr Bennett; indeed, the last years of his Headmastership were arguably the high point of academic achievement, in particular in relation to Trinity College. In 1947, for example, pupils won four out of the 10 awards at Entrance Scholarship (two in Mathematics and two in Classics), while Old Boys won one Fellowship and three Foundation Scholarships. J. D. Smythe (1927-36) was awarded a Fellowship in Zoology, R. H. Kyle (1936-45) (Mathematics), E. D. R. Simms (1936-44) (Classics) and J. L. B. Deane (1941-42) (Legal Science) were elected scholars. At the same time F. S. L. Lyons (1941-42) was awarded a Ph.D. in history, and, at Moderatership, G. W. Williams (1936-43) (later Professor of Latin at Yale) first of first class and gold medal in Classics, G. H. F. Gardner (1936-43) first of first class and gold medal in Mathematics and J. L. B. Deane (1941-42) the same in Legal Science. In addition, Williams and Gardner were awarded University Studentships, the highest awards at degree.

Mr Bennett had broadened the curriculum available to the senior pupils and, while this did not diminish the number winning awards in Classics, it did allow other subjects to flourish, particularly Mathematics. There followed a brilliant succession of mathematicians who won all available prizes at Entrance and in Trinity. Among them were R. F. Kyle (1935-44), brother of R. H. Kyle mentioned above, R. P. Willis (1935-41) who became Managing Director of Irish Life Assurance Co. and Chairman of the Governors of the Erasmus Smith Trust, and C. F. G. Delaney (1936-42) who became Professor of Experimental Physics in Trinity College. These successes were almost entirely due to one man, Victor W. Graham, who was appointed to the staff in 1936 and taught Mathematics at the school, as well as lecturing in Trinity College from 1946, until his retirement in 1980. He was a High School pupil from 1927 to 1932 and returned to the school as a teacher on graduation. Successive generations of pupils, among them a future Headmaster of the School, A. P. R. Brook (1949-51), paid tribute to his inspiring teaching. He was one of those rare teachers who become something of a legend in their own lifetime. During the 10 years to 1952, 10 boys won Sizarships in Mathematics and 11 won scholarships in College, seven of them gaining first place in that examination.

The classical tradition continued to flourish during this period. Among the most outstanding were R. A. Cole (1933-40) who won an Entrance Exhibition, Foundation Scholarship and a double first with two gold medals at Moderatorship; A. N. Jeffares (1930-39) who became a distinguished English scholar and an expert on Yeats; and Norman Rodway (1938-46) who became a very successful actor.

Careers

The pattern of careers followed by boys leaving the school at this period did not greatly differ from the previous period. In his 1939 Prize Day report the Headmaster gave a breakdown: of the 60 boys who left that year, 35 went into business and 25 went to university, mainly to Trinity College. Many of those going into business left before completing the Leaving Certificate, although Mr Bennett tried to persuade parents not to allow this. It was a regular part of his Prize Day addresses but the pressures to get a job were no doubt too great for his appeals to have full effect. Protestants still had a disproportionate share of Dublin commercial life at this time which was an advantage in securing a position. Since training was usually then given in the job, most businesses recruited through personal contacts or recommendations. Direct approaches to headmasters or contacts through Old Boys' unions or youth organisations like the Boys' Brigade were common ways of filling positions. While there were a few very large concerns (mainly Protestant controlled) most businesses were small and family owned. So, it is no surprise that banking, insurance, railway companies and family businesses continued to provide the majority of openings for High School boys, for example T. S. Mason (1920-26) entered the family business (he was President of the Association of Ophthalmic Opticians on several occasions), as did Harry Wine (1905-07) who became a well-known antiques expert. Many, like F. W. Dungan (1922-30) entered insurance; he became manager for Ireland of the Car and General Insurance Corporation and, after his retirement, Registrar of the Erasmus Smith Trust. Some, like J. R. D. Balbirnie (1938-43), who worked for the Guardian Assurance Co. in Nairobi, joined British firms and were posted overseas. Ivan Hammond (1925-29) became one of the first pilots in Aer Lingus in 1937, the year after the airline was founded, eventually becoming its senior captain.

Government service in Ireland, Britain or Northern Ireland attracted some. Protestants were slow to enter the service of the new State; by 1971 they accounted for less than 1% of the police and army and not much more in the Civil Service.[6] Various reasons have been put forward to explain this, includ-

ing the necessity to pass in Irish at entry. That may well have been important but the High School record suggests that it was the persistence of older traditions of service to Britain which counted for more, as well, probably, as some sense of alienation from the new State. Services like the RAF, or colonial police forces, offered more scope to the adventurous, an important factor for some in deciding a career. Among High School boys who went into the service of the Irish Free State were William Warnock (1922-29) who had a very successful career in the Department of Foreign Affairs, and Clifford McGoldrick (1929-33) who entered the Army Medical Corps. He was later Officer Commanding, St Bricin's Hospital and Senior Physician to the General Military College at the Curragh.

Service in the British Empire, now beginning to evolve into the Commonwealth, still attracted a steady number. J. W. Scott (1925-27) and S. R. C. Horrell (1924-29) joined the police in the new British mandate of Palestine; C. L. Keegan (1927-36) worked as a railway engineer in Kenya and P. H. Stewart (1937-47) was an engineer in the Sudan. C. V. Boyle (1926-33) joined the legal service in Malaya where he was working for a time in the same office as another Old Boy, D. B. W. Good (1915-25) who had begun his career in the legal service in Jamaica. A. W. Polden (1931-41) was a veterinary officer in Ceylon. R. E. Maguire (1914-20) was District Commissioner at Myitkynia in Burma when the Japanese invaded. He oversaw the destruction of the oil-fields there and then led the remaining Europeans on a 250-mile journey on foot to India 'through mud, rain, corpses, leech-bites, malaria and starvation'. He was awarded the OBE for this exploit. J. C. G. Strickland (1939-40) joined the Rhodesian Civil Service after service in the RAF during the war. At one point the British embassy in Argentina had two Old Boys working there together: Sir Henry Mack was Ambassador and F. G. Bestell (1921-28) was First Secretary.

Each year during this period Old Boys were ordained for ministry in the Church of Ireland. Three went on to become bishops: Rev. A. H. Butler (1920-26) Bishop of Tuam and, later, of Connor; Rev. J. C. Duggan (1928-36) who succeeded him in Tuam; and Rev. R. K. Maguire (1934-41) who became Bishop of Montreal. Among the others were Rev. V. S. Dungan (1927-35) who served in Christ Church, Leeson Park and Killiney; Rev. E. J. R. Tobias (1926-34) who worked in the dioceses of Cork and, later, of Meath; Rev. R. D. Murray (1928-32) who was a chaplain in the Royal Navy and, later, Rector of St Phillip's, Miltown. Rev. D. G. D. Harpur (1924-25) went as a missionary to Ceylon. W. S. Callaghan (1936-44) was ordained for the Methodist Church; in 1980 he was President of the Methodist Church in Ireland.

The Beginnings of the Junior School

An important feature ot the Bennett years was the growth of the preparatory part of the school. In 1943 the first lady teacher was appointed to the staff. She was Miss D. V. Orr who was in charge of Forms I and II. *The Erasmian* June 1944 reported

> something new: a real live mistress was going to teach the very junior forms. Indeed, we needed her; year by year the first forms have been becoming larger and larger and smaller and smaller: larger in numbers and smaller in size.

This preparatory section grew into the Junior School which attracted large numbers of pupils, over 140 by the the 1950s. It had its own staff but classes were also taught by masters from the Senior School and the boys took part in games. The variety of activities open to the pupils, as well as the high standard of teaching, were the main source of its strength. Miss Orr later married the first Vice-Headmaster of the Junior School, Mr S. S. Evans.

Another innovation in 1944 was the foundation of a Parents' Association which held its inaugural meeting on 16 February 1944 when the Headmaster spoke on 'The History and Traditions of The High School'. The Secretary of the Association was Mr J. Montgomery. In June a parents *v* boys tennis match was arranged which the parents won 4-2; an annual cricket match was first played in the following year. Meetings were held two or three times in each term.

In 1949 the number of pupils in the school passed 300 for the first time since 1893. The steady expansion of both the Junior School and the Senior School required more accommodation, so all of 40 Harcourt Street was now occupied by classrooms. The Headmaster no longer lived on the premises. The number of staff had also increased with the result that the average number of pupils in each class was 20. Two Vice-Principals had already been appointed to share the administration with the Headmaster. Mr C. L. Dillon was in charge of the Senior School and Mr S. S. Evans of the Junior School.

Death of John Bennett

John Bennett died on 27 April 1951 while still in office, although he had tendered his resignation to the Board on 15 February. He had been ill for some time but his death still came as a shock to the school. He had directed its affairs with vision and skill for 23 years, during which the number of pupils had grown to record height and its activities had widened in scope. He was universally loved and respected, as the tributes to his memory clearly show. He combined modesty and unselfishness with the dynamic qualities of firmness

Mr W. R. Wilson with his portrait of John Bennett

and confidence, the essential elements of leadership. His abilities were recognised in the wider world beyond the school. He was elected a member of Council of Trinity College from 1931 until his death, one of the longest tenures in the history of the Council. He was Secretary of the Schoolmasters' Association in 1933 and later a member of the Teachers' Registration Council. From 1938 to 1950 he was lecturer in the teaching of Classics in the School of Education in Trinity. Just before his death he was appointed a member of the Council of Education by the government.

At their meeting following his death, the Governors paid tribute to Dr Bennett:

> The interest he took in the progress of every boy, the confidence reposed in him by parents, the excellence of the staff which he engaged and their affection and respect for him were beyond all praise and showed him to be the ideal headmaster.

The Old Boys' Union opened a memorial fund which was very well supported. A presentation was made to Mrs Bennett and money was invested to fund The John Bennett Memorial Prizes. Mrs Bennett died in 1957.

CHAPTER XVI

Dr R. W. Reynolds

Ralph Wallace Reynolds was the first Old Boy to be appointed Headmaster of the school. He was elected unanimously by the Governors from 23 applicants, six of whom had been shortlisted. He had been a pupil at the school from 1919 to 1927 and was one of John Thompson's fine classicists, winning a sizarship to Trinity and a Foundation Scholarship. He was also a considerable athlete at school, Captain of the First XV in 1926-27, selected for an interprovincial trial, as well as Leinster Champion for the 100 yards and Vice-Captain of Swimming. In Trinity he was editor of *T.C.D.* and a gold medallist in composition in the Philosophical Society. He taught Classics at Coleraine Academical Institution from 1932 until 1951. While there he was awarded a Doctorate of Philosophy by Queen's University, Belfast for a thesis on Roman Mime.

The Importance of the Arts

Theatre and music were among Dr Reynolds' greatest interests; at the first Junior School Prize Distribution, in 1952, he spoke of their importance in education.

> They have a greater power of kindling the imagination than any of the more academic subjects, and so they are particularly valuable to children at the imaginative age. But is a mistake to treat them in the curriculum as things apart, and it is wrong to limit them to those children who are specially gifted. The arts are the heritage of all.[1]

At the Senior Prize Distribution in 1953 he deplored the lack of opportunities for pupils to become acquainted with great paintings and urged the creation of a central collection of pictures and reproductions of great paintings which could be lent to schools. Under his influence, the broadening of the activities in the school continued. When an annual prize was presented in memory of Thomas Henry Henley (1904-07), killed in Flanders in 1917, Dr Reynolds decided that it should be awarded every second year for the best creative achievement in literature or the arts by a pupil of the school. The first winner was Bernard C. Thomas (1963-66) in 1967.

The school concerts, which had not been held since 1939, were revived.

The early ones were made up of a variety of short plays and other items, some of them in Irish and French. In 1956 the Irish play was *Teach in Airde* by Sinéad Bean de Valera; she came to one of the performances and became a regular visitor to the concerts. Later, the second half of each concert was given over to a production of a Gilbert and Sullivan opera under the direction of Miss Alice Barklie. Among many notable performers was Derek Chapman (1962-69) who went on to a successful career in the theatre. There was also a Dramatic Society which held play readings. A Musical Society was formed in 1953 to promote a knowledge of classical music and this was followed by a Gramophone Society for the same purpose. Large parties of boys attended Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra concerts, organised for schools by Ceol Chumann na nÓg. For a number of years the Dublin Orchestral Players gave an annual concert in the Clockroom. Boys from the Junior Choir took part in the Dublin Grand Opera Society productions at the Gaiety.

Greek Plays

The most notable of these innovations was an annual performance of a Greek play, a unique achievement for a Dublin school. These were performed in the open air at Danum by a mixture of present and past pupils. In each play the choral odes were usually given in English and the dramatic episodes in Greek. The first, in 1957, was *Medea* by Euripides. John T. Killen (1945-55) played Medea and A. M. Gann (1951-56) Jason. Among the pupils taking part was Robin J. Miller (1951-58) who played Aigeus; he was later to return as Classics master and was himself producer of some of the plays. The following plays were also produced:

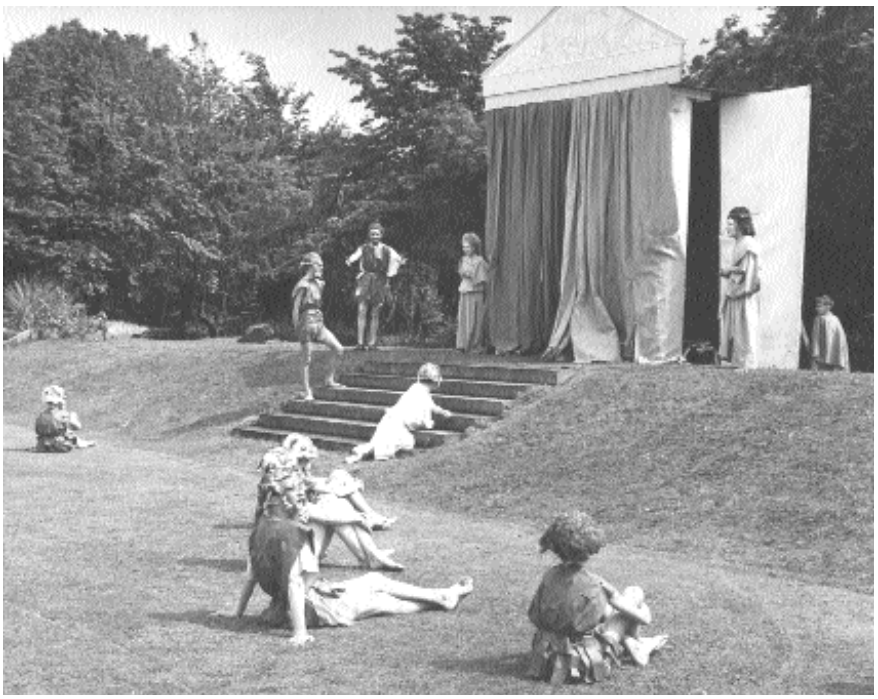
1958	*Antigone* by Sophocles
1959	*Bacchae* by Euripides, performed at the Iveagh Gardens, at the invitation of the Classical Teachers' Association
1960	*Cyclops* by Euripides
1961	*Ajax* by Sophocles
1962	*The Frogs* (first part) by Aristophanes
1963	*The Frogs* (second part) by Aristophanes
1964	*Philoctetes* by Sophocles
1965	*King Oedipus* by W. B. Yeats. Yeats' version of Sophocles' play was chosen as part of the school's celebrations of the centenary of the poet's birth.
1967	*The Clouds* by Aristophanes
1968	*Alcestis* by Euripides
1969	*Medea* by Euripides.

Widening Horizons

The school began to develop contacts with the wider world. The Vocational Services Committee of the Rotary Club organised visits by senior pupils to Dublin firms so that they could gain a preview of conditions in industry. Boys from junior forms went once a month to Mattins in St Patrick's Cathedral, while a party of seniors went to Holy Communion there each St Michael's Day. Educational tours were offered by CIE and High School took full advantage of these. There was a beginning of careers education with talks given in the school, occasionally at first and in a more organised form later. The Parents' Association and the Old Boys' Union presented a 16mm sound projector which was used for a variety of film shows. The Parents' Association sponsored an annual Hobbies Exhibition. It was organised by Mr Evans and attracted a large number of entries; at the first exhibition in 1955 these included a full-sized dinghy, a chest of drawers, meccano models, a Christmas cake and a pair of baby's hand-knitted bootees. A general-knowledge quiz, organised as a house competition, was sponsored and run by the Old Boys' Union. When the Aer Lingus Young Scientists Exhibition began, High School boys entered and did well. In 1964 Jonathan Cohen (1965-72) won first prize in the Junior Biochemistry section; in 1969 he was overall runner up in the competition. The Debating Society experienced one of its many resurrections, this time in more lasting form, and a Scripture Union was formed. In 1965 Cian Ó hÉigeartaigh (1961-62) was a member of the winning team from The College Historical Society in The *Irish Times* Universities Debating competition. In 1971 Nigel J. Cox (1966-71) won the individual speaker award in the national final of the Aer Lingus Debating competition for schools. An annual gymnastics display was given each year at Danum.

A fundamental change in Protestant attitudes was discernible at this time. The old indifference and apathy in political matters was slowly giving way to acceptance and participation. This had begun earlier with the publication of pamphlets by some of the younger Protestants[2] examining the role of the minority in the Irish State. This change began to be reflected in The High School. In 1952 a Student Christian Movement conference for secondary pupils was held in the Clockroom on the subject 'Protestants in Ireland'. In 1958 at the Senior Prize Distribution, the special speaker, Dr F. S. L. Lyons (an Old Boy and Fellow of Trinity College) urged the boys 'not to be timid because they belonged to a minority but to put the independent judgement that they had cultivated into public use. They should remember that theirs was a long tradition of service to the country.'[3]

A visible symbol of the new rapprochement was the attendance by Bean



Performance of Ajax *by Sophocles at Danum, 1961.*

de Valera, wife of the President of Ireland, at the school concerts for several years. When the fiftieth anniversary of the 1916 rising was celebrated in 1966 the school attended a Service in St Patrick's Cathedral and then returned to the Clockroon where the Proclamation was read by the Headmaster, the Head Boy read W. B. Yeats' poem *Easter 1916,* and a lecture on the significance of the rising was given by the senior History master, Mr J. Willoughby. The Parents' Association invited the Minister of Education, Mr Brian Lenihan, to speak at the meeting celebrating their 25th anniversary in 1968. Whether by assimilation or integration, the school's constituency was growing more at ease with the larger community. Not all the movement was on one side: in 1963 Dublin Corporation allowed its scholarship winners on the Leaving Certificate results to hold their scholarships at Trinity College. For the previous 50 years they could only be held at a college of the National University. Alan D. McCrea (1952-63) was the first winner from the school.

Changes in Religious Education

At the same time, the strongly Protestant thrust of education was being replaced by an ecumenical emphasis, with less stress on doctrinal instruction. The Examination in Holy Scripture which had been conducted by the General Synod ('The Synod Exam') was abandoned. High School had a long

record of successes in this examination, in particular in winning medals and prizes in Greek Testament. New syllabuses in religious education laid emphasis on issues such as 'poverty' or 'communications' and the policy was that 'it is not for the teacher to impart one set of beliefs to the exclusion of others'.[4] The editor of *The Erasmian*, G. A. Ford (1963-74), was not so sure about the new approach: 'The problem is that not all Christian beliefs can be expressed in "relevant issues" or presented to the class in an exciting way.' He went on to argue that the general nature of the new approach meant that the issues discussed sometimes had little relevance to pupils' personal difficulties of belief or faith. He concluded 'basically, this means that the proper place for the teaching of religion must be in the home'.[5] This certainly seemed to become school policy, whether consciously or by default, as religious teaching was eventually abandoned in senior forms and the time devoted to it in junior forms was reduced.

Political Attitudes

Political attitudes among students were also beginning to change, with almost all previously accepted arrangements being subject to critical examination. A strike by teachers, which lasted for three weeks in 1968, stirred secondary pupils into action and an Interim Secondary Schools Council was formed which called for a bigger role for pupils in the running of schools. The editor of *The Erasmian* was lukewarm in his support for this and the school did not establish a Students' Representative Council, although a School Council was in existence for a time after 1973. It was a tribute to the good relations between the staff and the pupils, and in particular to Dr Reynolds' approachable style, that the senior boys who went to the early meetings of the student council felt that it had little to offer High School. In a tribute to him after his death, N. J. Cox (1966-71) recalled:

> There was never any need for a Students' Representative Council in school while he was Headmaster. Two years ago, a couple of us, then in Fifth Form, attended a meeting of people from most Dublin schools, at which the uses of SRCs to combat 'the breakdown in communications' were urged. (Typically he urged us to go, and, the following day, asked for a report, and earnestly sought our opinions on the idea.) At first enthusiastic, when we started to think about it in practical terms, there seemed to be nothing an SRC could do in High School that was not already being done.[6]

Matters such as the role of prefects in the school and the effects of streaming classes began to be discussed more widely. University students were far more

radical following the powerful student movement in France in 1968 which almost overthrew President de Gaulle's government. A number of High School Old Boys were very active in student politics in Trinity College. Most notable were the Maoists led by Norman A. Allen (1965-66), Olafela Majekodumni (1966-67) and David Vipond (1955-66). Their violent and disruptive tactics were not welcomed by all Old Boys in the college. They also attempted to bring their ideas to the rest of Ireland with very little success; Norman Allen was one of those who opened a Maoist bookshop in Limerick which was forced to close in face of violence from the local people. David Vipond stood as a candidate for the Communist party of Ireland (Marxist-Leninist) at a by-election in Monaghan but secured little support. Michael King founded the Voluntary Social Work Society in Trinity, while Roger Cole was active in the college branch of the Labour Party.

Academic Successes

Dr Reynolds continued his predecessors' emphasis on academic teaching to a high level. Classics and Mathematics were still outstanding but the widening of this part of the curriculum continued. In 1958, for example, the school won four Entrance Awards to Trinity: in Classics R. J. Miller (1951-58), History J.W. Cox (1956-58), Natural Science N. C. J. Pope (1949-58) and Mathematics A. C. Newell (1952-58), later Professor of Mathematics in the University of Arizona. In 1957 when Trinity offered prizes at matriculation for the first time, High School pupils won all five on offer. In each of the four years from 1959 to 1962, a High School pupil won first place in the Entrance Scholarship examination to Trinity College.

In the 1960s many more pupils stayed on to take the Leaving Certificate. In 1959 only 15 pupils sat for the examination; by 1968 the number had grown to 52. Previously Form 6A was made up of boys who had taken TCD Matriculation Examination in Fifth Year and were now studying in preparation for college, while Form 6B were working for the Leaving Certificate. Now both Sixth Forms were working for the Leaving Certificate and a separate form for boys returning after Leaving Certificate, the Upper Sixth, had emerged. It involved a considerable element of teaching in politics and current affairs, literature and the arts as well as specialist study to meet the requirements of Entrance Scholarship. The Department of Education recognised these pupils for capitation grants in 1964 and in his Prize Day report for that year, Dr Reynolds spoke on the benefits of this year to pupils:

> During the year their minds are broadened by a consideration of contemporary social and political problems, and by an introduction to liter-

> ary, artistic and cultural topics; their knowledge of their chosen subjects is deepened by close study and by personal contact with masters who are specialists in their own fields.[7]

The value of the year was recognised by other schools and a number of pupils came each year from schools such as Midleton College and Newtown School. A reciprocal arrangement allowed girls from Alexandra College to study in 6U while boys from High School studied at Alexandra. Among the outstanding students of the Upper Sixth during these years was David P. B. Norris (1956-63) who won an entrance scholarship in English to Trinity College where he later became a lecturer in English and an expert on the works of James Joyce. He also represented Trinity in the Senate for many years. David F. Ford (1956-66) won an entrance scholarship in Classics to Trinity, and later studied Theology at Cambridge and Yale. He is now Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. Neil Jeffares (1962-71) and Rodney Smythe (1964-71) were among those who won entrance scholarships in Mathematics. Nigel J. Cox, (1966-71) G. Alan Ford (1963-74) and Rory Montgomery (1970-77) were among those who won entrance scholarships in History. David Went (1958-65) won an entrance scholarship in modern languages (English and French). In 1968 and 1969 first place at entrance scholarship was taken by pupils of the school, specialising in natural sciences: Nigel D. A. Walshe (1956-68) and Peter T. Cox (1966-69).

Dr Reynolds was critical of the Leaving Certificate examination as not encouraging independent study or critical thinking, although he welcomed the reforms in the examination which were introduced during the sixties. In his Prize Distribution address in 1961, he was reported as saying that it was possible to obtain honours in the Leaving Certificate without having a really complete understanding of any subject.

> What schools wanted to produce were well-rounded young men and women, knowledgable enough to be constructively critical, and disciplined enough to be co-operative. The Department's examinations, which allowed a mediocre candidate who had been intensively drilled to score as many marks as a candidate of ability, hindered us in this aim.[8]

Many senior pupils took the Trinity College matriculation examination as well as the Leaving Certificate and this enabled them to gain a qualification in Biology and Geology, subjects which were not recognised for Leaving Certificate at that time. In his 1958 Prize Distribution address, Dr Reynolds spoke of the need for more government support for the teaching of Science in schools. One third of schools taught no Science at all, and those who did received no government help to improve their facilities for teaching the subject.

Upper Sixth 1965/66. Back: David Ford, Ian Hamilton Middle: Arthur Allen, Fred Harrison Front: David Vipond, Bernard Thomas

Careers

At the beginning of this period, many boys still left school before completing the full Leaving Certificate course. Jobs were scarce and if a good opportunity occurred, it could not be refused. However, the pattern for boys leaving school was beginning to change. In 1960, of the 46 boys leaving school recorded in *The Erasmian*, 17 went to Trinity College, five entered banks, three insurance companies and seven began training to be accountants. 11 went into businesses in Dublin, one joined the Royal Navy and two the RAF. By 1970, a bigger proportion was going into third-level education and the traditional businesses were less popular and fewer, as the economy changed and smaller businesses faced increasing competition. Of the 49 leaving school recorded in that year, 34 went to Trinity, one to the College of Surgeons and one to Bolton Street College of Technology. None is recorded as going into an insurance company, two went into banks, four took up accountancy and three went into businesses. Estate management and an apprenticeship in architecture and advertising attracted one each. The remaining boy was an American who went back to university in the USA.

Junior School boys, late 1950s.

The Junior School

The Junior School flourished during this period. Dr Reynolds consciously fostered it and it was fortunate to have an excellent teaching staff who introduced many subjects outside the usual curriculum. National schools were still, for the most part, working to a narrow curriculum and parents valued the wider opportunities in the classroom and outside it that the Junior School offered. Extra classes were added and there was always a waiting list. From 1952, there was a separate Junior School Prize Distribution at which the classes performed musical and dramatic items. In 1967 the Department of Education changed the regulations governing the recognition of pupils in secondary schools. In future only pupils who had reached 12 years of age on entry would be recognised. Dr Reynolds in his Prize Distribution address that year deplored the change because, in his opinion, it would be unfair to boys who were ready to advance to the wider curriculum of a secondary school. He said that High School would continue to accept boys at 11 years of age even if it meant a loss of grants on them. The new regulation would have particularly affected Junior School boys going up to the Senior School. By this time the Junior School sent about 35 boys to the Senior School each year.

A Junior School outing to Killakee, with Miss E. de C. Williams, May 1954.

The Five-Day Week

A considerable change in the routine of the school occurred in 1969 when a five-day week was adopted. Social change was making Saturday school increasingly unattractive to many parents who wished to have their weekends free. For a school whose playing fields were at some distance from the school, the longer teaching day presented problems but the introduction of summer time to cover the whole year increased the daylight time available for games in winter. Many worried that the longer school day, with homework to follow, would impose extra strain on pupils. Others feared that out-of-school activities would suffer. In answer to these fears it was pointed out that a five-day week was normal in Northern Ireland and Britain without apparent loss of sporting enthusiasm or academic standards. When parents were consulted only 52 replied out of almost 400; of those who did reply, 33 were in favour and 19 against. Most seemed to be content to leave the matter to the school to decide. From September 1969 the school day was extended to 3.50 p.m. on four days and to 1.30 p.m. on Wednesdays. Matches against other schools could now be played on Saturday mornings as well as on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons. Although the scheme was only introduced on trial for one year, there was never any demand that there should be a return to Saturday school. A survey for *The Erasmian* in December 1969 found a large majority of pupils in favour, although a majority also said that the homework burden was greater. A notable proportion of the boys, when asked how they spent Saturday mornings, replied: 'In bed.'

Death of Dr Reynolds

The planning of the new school at Danum, which is dealt with in chapter 17, dominated the last years of Dr Reynolds' time as headmaster. It was tragic, therefore, that he did not live to see the school move there. He died suddenly during the Christmas holidays, on 27 December 1970. A Memorial Service was held in St Patrick's Cathedral on 6 January 1971. There was a very large congregation, which included a representative of the President of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Chief Justice and a wide variety of people from public life. All the pupils and staff attended and many Old Boys. The Archbishop of Armagh, Dr G. O. Simms, gave the address in which he linked the theme of the Epiphany and the presentation of gifts with the generosity with which Dr Reynolds gave of himself. He paid tribute to the many and varied talents which Dr Reynolds brought to his work in the school and to his contribution to society.

> Ralph Reynolds cared for the lovely things that lasted. We might say with another that he was a lover of wisdom who gave practical expression to his convictions and concerns; he was also a lover of the beautiful with a calm strength that concealed his capacity for work and his shouldering of responsibility. The enthusiasm he imparted for a picture or a play or a musical piece will be remembered today vividly by those who came within the influence of this sensitive, appreciative man of culture.

During his time as Headmaster the School had almost doubled in size and had won an outstanding place in Dublin education. He was a fine teacher and an able administrator. He was a founder member of the Association of Classical Teachers and lectured on the teaching of Classics in the School of Education in Trinity College, Dublin. He was an active member of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, involved not only in educational matters but in the reorganisation of churches and parishes which was current at that time. W. S. Cunningham, a contemporary at school and a member of the Board of Governors at the time of his death, summed up his life.

> He was a great headmaster, but he was more than that; he was a kindly, human, scholarly and above all a simple man, whom it was a privilege and an honour to have known as a friend and colleague.

His death also marked an end of large elements that had made up the traditions of schools like High School for a very long period. Some of the changes were already under way before his death and he had contributed to advance many of them, most notably the preparation for the move to Danum. He believed in widening the curriculum, and the number of subjects taught in secondary schools was to expand rapidly in the immediate future. Ironically,

this was to spell a serious diminution of the tradition which he believed in so strongly and which he adorned. The Classics did not survive the competition from subjects widely believed to be more relevant to modern life. The pressures to make education serve economic ends, increasingly the aim of governments who now paid the largest share of the cost of education, meant that the idea of the cultured all-rounder as the best result of schooling was frequently dismissed as impractical, or worse, irrelevant. The arts he loved and fostered came to be seen as elitist in a society in thrall to popularity and celebrity. The new headmaster would have to lead the school not only into a new building but into a very different educational scene.

CHAPTER XVII

Danum

Danum was dairy farm of 21 acres, most of it on the higher ground overlooking the Dodder at the end of Zion Road, with a smaller area lower down beside the river with an exit to Orwell Road. It belonged to the Bewley family who owned well-known cafés in Dublin. The land had been bought by Ernest Bewley in 1904 and the house and farm buildings were built soon afterwards. The house was really two houses with separate entrances and there were extensive outbuildings, including cowsheds, stables, greenhouses and gate lodges. In 1925 five houses had been built on part of the land along Zion Road. On the lower level there was a small lake and a disused mill-race which formed a pond at one point. The path from the upper level to the lower crossed the mill-race by a rather unstable bridge.

Developing the Playing Fields

The years between the purchase of Danum in 1955 and the building of the new school there were occupied by the development of the playing fields and the planning of the new school. The purchase and development of the estate was to be paid for by a loan, agreed in February 1957 from the Representative Church Body, of £35,000 to be repaid over 40 years. R. W. Jeffares, Secretary of the IRFU, offered the services of the architect to the Union, John Reid of Birmingham, at a nominal fee. John Reid drew up plans for five football pitches and two cricket pitches. On 15 October 1956 the Board decided to go ahead with laying out the pitches and converting existing buildings into changing rooms, at a cost of £4,500 for the playing fields and £3,500 for the changing rooms. At the same time the Headmaster moved to Danum to live in one of the houses there and the Cowper Road house was sold.

Work on the playing fields proceeded slowly, delayed by bad weather and difficulties with the contractor. By November 1959 four pitches were in operation and the first match on the main pitch was played between the First XV and the Royal High School, Edinburgh in the following March. R. W. Jeffares presented a set of goal posts in memory of his father, Rupert Jeffares (1883-89) who was an Old Boy. In July 1962 a cricket pavilion presented by the Old Boys' Union was opened. On the lower part of the grounds beside

the Dodder, agreement was made with Dublin Corporation for the filling in of a quarry (previously the lake) and the pond. This was followed by an exchange of land with the Corporation which allowed for a new rugby pitch on the land reclaimed. Belgrave Square had already been sold to Diocesan Girls School.

Planning a New School Building

The problems of providing adequate accommodation in Harcourt Street for the rapidly growing number of pupils, and of maintaining a building which was not suitable for the numbers using it, multiplied. At a special meeting in April 1963 the Board abandoned any idea of building a new school in Harcourt Street and decided to make the moving of the whole school to Danum settled policy. A sub-committee of the Treasurer, W. S. Cunningham and C. E. Sowman was appointed to investigate the sale of Harcourt Street and in March 1964 they reported that there were good offers. This led to the establishment of a building committee who were to be responsible over the next five years for the planning of the new building. The members were the Treasurer, R. E. M Clarke, R. Dick, Major Reid, Professor W. B. Stanford, R. P. Willis and the Headmaster, Dr Reynolds. In July 1964 J. Hubert Brown, who had already been involved in outline plans before this, was appointed the architect for the project, with R. Tilsley Green, Educational Architect with Kent Education Authority, as expert consultant. Mr Brown had extensive experience in planning schools in Northern Ireland. In July 1965 the architect and Dr Reynolds visited schools in England.

The first plan drawn up by Hubert Brown preserved the existing house at Danum with a modern building stretching from the Zion Road entrance along behind the house, on the south side. The house was to be used partly for classrooms and partly to accommodate some boarders. The boarders were to number up to 20 and were to cater for boys entering the Upper Sixth from country schools to sit entrance scholarship to Trinity College. The reputation of the Upper Sixth was at its height during this period and it attracted boys from schools such as Middleton College and Newtown School. This plan, including the boarding element, met with general disapproval from the building committee, mainly because the rooms in the existing house were not really suitable for classrooms and because the plan encroached on part of one of the rugby pitches. These considerations led to the decision to demolish the main house and build a completely new school on the site. In the process the idea of providing accommodation for boarders disappeared. In April 1967 the house adjoining Danum on Zion Road was bought as a residence for the Headmaster.

The Cricket Pavilion at Danum, presented by the Old Boys' Union, 1962.

Free Secondary Education

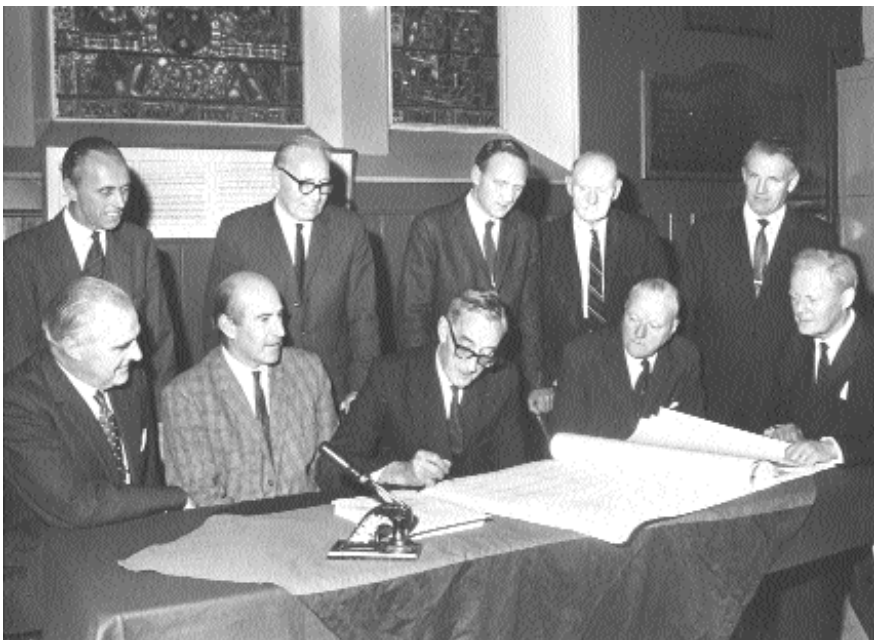
During these years the Irish secondary education system underwent a large-scale transformation when the Minister for Education, Donough O'Malley, introduced a scheme for free secondary schooling. The funding of the scheme was based on the costings from Roman Catholic schools and so was not suitable for Protestant schools, all of which had entirely lay staff and so higher costs. The Protestant churches received a block grant which they decided to allocate to parents on a means test administered by the Secondary Education Commission. In its first year of operation, High School parents received 117 grants from a total of 160 applications. The majority of grants were for £50 per year at a time when the fees were £60 per year. The Secondary Education Commission had been set up earlier by the General Synod of the Church of Ireland and it was already conducting surveys as to the best way to rationalise the provision of Protestant education throughout the country. The 1962 OECD report, *Investment in Education*, had recommended this process for the whole country and it was important that Protestant schools should not lag behind. Following the report on the SEC survey, a meeting was held in July 1968 to consider the position of the schools in south Dublin. It recommended that the possibility of an amalgamation of St Patrick's Cathedral Grammar School, Christ Church Cathedral Grammar School and the High School should be explored. The Board instructed the Headmaster to meet representatives of the two schools to consider the proposal but nothing came of it. The previous year there had been an approach

from Alexandra College to consider joint action. Alexandra were looking for a site in the suburbs and were considering Meadowbank, the estate adjoining Danum. Nothing came of this either.

Building the New School

By the summer of 1968 it was clear that the sale of Harcourt Street would not be delayed much longer, so planning for the new school took on a new urgency. Dr Reynolds reported to the Board that the uncertainty about the future of the school was having an adverse effect on enrolment. In September a deputation from the Board met the Minister for Education and his officials. The terms of government grants for new school buildings were outlined to the deputation; it was clear that the restrictions as to costs and provision of facilities were such that it was unlikely that the new school could receive a grant. Nevertheless, the Board decided to make an application which was unsuccessful. On two occasions hopes were raised by verbal promises. In 1968 the Minister for Education, Mr Brian Lenihan TD, came to the 25th anniversary meeting of the Parents' Association and seemed prepared to help. In 1970 during the Centenary celebrations of The High School, the Minister of State at the Department of Education, Mr Robert Molloy TD, was similarly enthusiastic. However, the impossibility of keeping within the constraints of the Department's regulations on grants for new buildings meant that no full grant could be given. The demands for grants for new school buildings from all over the country also forced the government to cut back costs. In the event the Board, through the lobbying of Senator Professor W. J. E. Jessop, received an *ex-gratia* grant of £20,000 from the Department towards the building of the new school in 1972.

Since the demolition of the existing house had been agreed on, the architect began to plan a completely new building. The principal constraints, apart from cost, were the need to avoid encroaching on the playing fields and the preservation of the other buildings which were already providing useful amenities such as changing rooms. He also wished to make an impact on the approach from Zion Road. These considerations dictated a compact block rather than the campus style development which was fashionable at that time. The plan finally approved was for a three-storey building for classrooms, library and administrative offices. At right angles at the Zion Road end was an assembly hall with adjoining kitchens and dining hall which could be used as an extension of the assembly hall. At the other end of the main block were the Science laboratories and a demonstration theatre. It was decided not to have a gymnasium at this stage for reasons of cost, but the



Signing the contract for the new school at Danum, 1969.
Standing: W. F. Dungan (Registrar), Mr Gurt (Builders), G. C. Crampton (Builders), G. C. Johnston (Vice-Headmaster), R. P. Willis (Governor).
Seated: J. H. Brown (Architect), J. V. Luce (Governor), M. H. G. Ellis (Treasurer and Chairman), W. S. Cunningham (Vice-Chairman), Dr R. W. Reynolds (Headmaster).

plan allowed for one to be built later. In January 1969 the Board appointed G. and T. Crampton Ltd to build the new school. In July the demolition of the old house began and the Headmaster moved to 38 Zion Road. In October 1969 the contract with Cramptons was signed: £350,933 for building. Professional fees and furnishing would add to the cost.

The Move to Danum

Despite a long strike in the cement industry, the building was finished on time for the opening of the new school year in September 1971. The total cost, including equipment, was £427,000. All the final preparations for the move were organised by G. W. Keegan, who was Acting Headmaster after the death of Dr Reynolds, and by the Registrar, W. F. Dungan. There was some nostalgia for the Harcourt Street school but this was tempered by the realisation that it was well past its useful life as a home for a school. A group of pupils and staff made a black-and-white film of school life there in the months before the move. *The Erasmian* made surprisingly little mention of

the move in either of the editions for that year. The Board similarly made no reference to the move at its last meeting there but the Standing Committee did not let the occasion pass without comment. At their meeting on 24 June 1971 they recorded the following farewell in their minutes:

> This ended the last meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee to be held in the Boardroom at 40 Harcourt Street. Although those present looked forward with eager anticipation to the new era about to open for the Trust and the School, there was a general feeling of nostalgia at leaving the precincts where, for the last hundred years, the destiny of the Trust had been guided, and where so many momentous decisions had been taken.

Two of those who had done so much of the planning for the new school did not live to see the move completed. Dr Reynolds died in January 1971, as recorded in chapter 16, and Major C. J. Reid died in May 1971. He, together with Mr C. Sowman, had been a driving force among the Governors in the development of Danum. They had been part of a group led by the Treasurer, and including W. S. Cunningham and R. P. Willis, whose vision was now rewarded. It had taken courage and determination, in the difficult financial circumstances of the previous decades, to carry through such a large project without substantial government assistance and without incurring large debts.

While the final preparations were being made for the move to Danum, the appointment of the Headmaster who would lead the school in its new environment was made. On 15 April 1971, Alan P. R. Brook was appointed. He had been teaching Mathematics at Huish's Grammar School, Taunton in Devon since 1962. Like John Bennett, he was a Corkman and like Dr Reynolds he was an Old Boy, although the main part of his education had been at Midleton College. He had come to High School to work for an entrance scholarship to Trinity College under Victor Graham. He won a sizarship in Mathematics and later a foundation scholarship in Trinity. After graduation, he taught at High School briefly before going to teach in England. He was a fine hockey player, winning his colours in Trinity and later playing for Nottingham County. He combined knowledge of the Irish educational system with the experience gained by working in a different system.

Changes in Protestant Education

A further uncertainty had faced the Board at this time. The government were under pressure from Protestant parents who resented the fact that the scheme for 'free' education for them involved paying fees. To counter this, the

Department of Education was considering providing free secondary education for the Protestant community through the development of Protestant Comprehensive schools. The first proposals were for two, one on each side of the Liffey. The Board heard a report from W. S. Cunningham at their meeting on 1 March 1971 of meetings he had attended of Protestant school representatives to discuss the proposals. He reported considerable disunity among the schools and suggested a joint approach with Alexandra College to the Department of Education. There is no record that such an approach was ever made. In the event, Mount Temple and Newpark were the two Comprehensive schools that were built, neither of which was in an area which would have a serious impact on High School numbers. For some time afterwards there were suggestions that another such school would be developed on the western side of the city but nothing came of the idea. When Meadowbank, the estate next to Danum, came up for sale in 1972, the Governors had discussions with the Department of Education about the future which showed that the Department did not intend to build a third Protestant Comprehensive. The price of Meadowbank made it impossible for the Board to consider its purchase without state help.

Official Opening

The official opening of the new school was performed by An Taoiseach, Mr Jack Lynch TD, on 26 November 1971 and the building was dedicated by the Archbishop of Dublin, Most Rev. Alan Buchanan. The following Sunday a Service of Thanksgiving was held in Zion Church at which the preacher was Dr Buchanan. There are no records of similar ceremonies for the opening of the Grammar schools in the past, nor for the opening of Harcourt Street in 1870, so such formalities seem to be a 20th-century fashion. Perhaps it is a reflection of the importance of the public image to all organisations in a publicity-conscious age. It may also be a sign of the growing importance of parents in the life of all schools and the need to impress them and involve them in the school. The Parents' Association had kept in close touch with the Board during the planning of the new school and in January 1968 the Chairman of the Association had been invited to attend the meetings of the Board. They had made many suggestions, including pressing strongly for a swimming pool. This was left out of the plans because of its cost; the steep rises in the price of oil in the next decade killed off the idea permanently.

Amalgamation

Although the possibility of a Protestant Comprehensive school on the western side of the city had been abandoned, the rationalisation of Protestant schools was not yet completed. Alexandra College, Wesley College and The High School had all moved from the centre of the city, leaving the Diocesan School for Girls as the only Protestant school in that area still in its original premises. These were as restrictive as the sites of the other schools had been and the Management Committee of Diocesan had been considering the problem for several years. In November 1968 consultations began with the Department of Education about the possibility of grants toward the cost of an extension to the Adelaide Road premises. This was to take the form of adding an upper storey to the building at a cost of £50,000. Plans were drawn up but the Department refused the full amount of money required. During the following years, as the problems became more urgent, other possibilities were examined. There was a proposal to move to a site at Anglesea Road in Ballsbridge but that raised the same dilemma that High School had faced: how to keep the school in operation while selling one site and building on another. The possibility of a merger with Glengara Park School was briefly discussed. Similar talks took place with St Patrick's Cathedral Grammar School.[1]

By 1973 it was clear that the Department of Education were very unlikely to provide funds for development because the school was not large enough. The Headmistress, Miss Muriel Jagoe, reported to the Management Committee that there was a small but pronounced drop in numbers. In addition, the school had 16 registered teachers but the number of pupils only entitled them to 13. The Department had accepted this situation since the number of pupils per registered teacher had been increased a short time before, but it was questionable if this could continue. There were signs of interest from potential purchasers of Adelaide Road but the long narrow shape of the site made it less attractive for development. It was against this background that the possibility of a merger with the High School was raised.

On the Erasmus Smith side, the first mention of a possible amalgamation of The High School with another school appears on 12 May 1972 at the Board meeting when the discussion about Meadowbank recorded above took place. The meeting went on to consider the possible expansion of the school, perhaps involving a merger with another school. The Headmaster and the Registrar were instructed to meet the Archbishop of Dublin to discuss the matter. In June 1973 informal contacts between Max Ellis and John Sides, both lawyers meeting in court, were reported to Miss Jagoe.[2] These contacts soon led to formal negotiations between the two Boards and these were

quickly concluded. In January 1974 the amalgamation of Diocesan Girls School and The High School was agreed, the two schools to merge the following September. The Diocesan Board of Education was to have the right to appoint nine members to the Erasmus Smith Board, four of whom were to be members of the Finance and General Purposes Committee which had replaced the Standing Committee as the main executive body of the Trust. Since there were only 23 governors out of a possible 32 at this time, the addition of the new members would present no problems. The new school was to be called The High School (Incorporating the Diocesan Secondary School for Girls). The site in Adelaide Road was to be sold and the proceeds to be vested in the Erasmus Smith Trust, as were the playing fields at Belgrave Square.

The Diocesan School for Girls was older than the High School. It had its origins in the parish school of St Matthias' Parish, founded in 1849. This had grown by the beginning of the 20th century to such an extent that the boys section had been separated from it and it was developing into an Intermediate and Commercial School for Girls. In 1904 it was placed under the Diocesan Board of Education but with its own Management Committee. Under a succession of able Headmistresses, the school grew. In 1960 classes for Leaving Certificate were begun and the Kindergarten and Junior School were discontinued. By the time the school amalgamated with the High School there were 250 pupils.[3] While each school had naturally developed its own character and traditions over the previous century, there were many similarities. Both schools drew their pupils from the same areas and from similar backgrounds, in fact frequently from the same families. Both followed the standard Irish secondary curriculum and prepared for the same examinations, although the larger school inevitably offered a wider choice of subjects. The amalgamated school would be able to provide even more choice and better facilities. The tide of fashion was running strongly in favour of co-education.

The possibility of vacant possession in the near future increased the value of the site on Adelaide Road which was sold for £250,000 to the Irish Life Assurance Company in February 1974. There were legal formalities to be sorted out with the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests before the money from the sale could be released. These were finished in 1975 when building work at Danum began again, this time to provide the extra accommodation for the large increase in the number of pupils and to provide for extra courses. The extension ran at right angles to the main block and parallel to the assembly hall at the other end. It contained classrooms, a lab-

The High School today.

oratory and, at the far end, a large gymnasium. It was designed by J. Hubert Brown and built by G. & T. Crampton. It was handed over in April 1976 and formally opened by the Minister for Education in October. On the lower field an all-weather hockey pitch was laid. Belgrave Square was sold to Dublin Corporation.

Equilibrium

The very great changes achieved in the twenty-five years up to 1975 brought the Trust and its work to the position which still continues. During that time there had also been other changes, even if of a less momentous nature. In the 1960s the last payments to Trinity College ceased, although the professorships founded there still bear Erasmus Smith's name. The support for the King's Hospital had also ceased. When the Junior School in the High School was closed in 1982 the Trust was no longer involved in primary education for the first time in 200 years. The Galway scholarships continue the only link to the past when the Trust was involved in education outside Dublin. The remaining fragments of the estates, principally urban property in Galway or Pallas, were gradually sold to the occupiers, although some remain and occasionally others are rediscovered, sometimes to the benefit of the Trust. The last big sale was of the rights to the Keeloggylong mine in Sligo in 1975. Efforts to develop the barytes deposits there had had a chequered history during the previous 100 years.

Thus the year 1975 seems a suitable year to conclude this account of the history of the Erasmus Smith Trust. Historical forces mould all human institutions in a process that is partly impersonal but mainly the result of the decisions living men and women make, according to the values by which they live, in the situations in which they find themselves. Erasmus Smith provided resources for education in a time of war and conquest to further the religious and social ideals which he held. Those who guided the Trust in the succeeding centuries shaped it according to their understanding of what the founder would have done in changing circumstances. Almost all of them guarded the resources carefully. Those who exercise that trust in modern times follow in the same tradition of service to the cause of education. The changes which another 300 years will impose remain unfathomable.

CHAPTER XVIII

Sport 1870-1920

The second half of the 19th century was a time of rapid development in organised games. Most of the team games that are familiar to us received their modern form at that time, as well as the organisational framework that still survives. The importance of sport in school life was increasingly realised, especially in English Public schools, where the virtues of manliness and team spirit were part of the training of the boys who were destined to lead armies and provide the governors of empire. Most Irish schools shared the same ideology and it was in the schools and in Trinity College that much of the foundations of modern Irish sport were laid. The political dimension of sport was important, as can be seen in the foundation of the Gaelic Athletic Association in 1884 as an assertion of Irish native traditions, and it is no surprise that the founder, Michael Cusack, was a schoolmaster.

Boarding schools inevitably had the advantage in organising games since time was more readily available, but day schools were not far behind, as the experience of The High School shows. Interestingly, Mr Wilkins did not share the view that sport was important:

> My father was old-fashioned in failing to see the undoubted value for boys of team games; to him they were an impediment to study. The closer the school came to the final of the Schools' Rugby Cup, the more certain, in his cynical view, was general disaster in the coming Intermediate Examinations. But his heart was in the right place. Never would he miss attendance – an imposing figure in top-hat and frock coat – at Cup Match or Athletic Sports, and he showed his pride when his boys won, especially after that great day in '98 when, under Jack Knox's captaincy, we overcame the hitherto invincible Blackrock College, to reach the Final.[1]

Lack of Provision for Sport

When the school was founded, no provision was made for sport, an oversight which the boys soon pointed out. On 9 November 1872 a petition from the pupils for a gymnasium was presented to the Governors. They said that the need for one was 'much more felt in a metropolitan school where there are not the same facilities for outdoor exercise, and where there is consequently greater difficulty in attaining the *mens sano in corpore sano*'. In fact, 50 years

were to pass before a gymnasium was built, although drill began in 1880. Most of the initiatives in sport in the early years of the school came from the boys themselves and a few enthusiastic masters, the authorities providing only very limited financial support. In 1880 the Hon. Secretary of the 'Football and Hurley Club' wrote to the Governors applying for 'your usual kind donation' towards the rent (£20 per year) of the field at the Royal Hospital for Incurables in Donnybrook. He reported a thriving club with 75 members. In the previous half-year they had played seven matches 'against leading clubs', winning them all, and they had also defeated the University Hurley Club. In the absence of a school magazine at that time, this is a rare glimpse of sporting activities in the school. In an advertisement for the school in *The Irish Times* of 2 January 1881 mention is made of eight hurley matches without a defeat.

Cricket

Cricket was established in Ireland from the first part of the 19th century, so it was widely played by the time the school was founded. In 1875 the boys petitioned the Governors for £10 to help in organising a Cricket Club at Morehampton Road, in grounds belonging to the Royal Hospital. The Governors agreed and this seems to have been the beginning of cricket in the school. Records are scarce but the files of the *Irish Sportsman* and other newspapers of the time provide some information. On 5 May 1877 the *Irish Sportsman* reported a match between HSD XI and Mr Walker's XI in which High School made 108 for the loss of three wickets and won the match. John Lawrence's *Handbook of Cricket in Ireland*, No. 15 (1879-80), gave details of two matches against CUS, one lost, one drawn.

By the 20th century, there were usually at least three cricket teams in action in each season. The first notable success came in 1912 when the Junior XI reached the final of the cup competition, beating Belvedere and St Stephen's Green School in the process. Their opponents in the final were Masonic School. High School made 85 and 49 runs in their two innings, while Masonic made 72 and 63 for six wickets, thus securing a comfortable victory. The outstanding High School player was G. E. Larkin (1905-15) who made 66 not out in the first innings. He was presented with an 'Extra Special Autograph' bat and an engraved silver shield to mark his achievement. The Captain, John Bell (1909-15), had the most successful overall figures for the season.

The following year the First XI reached the final, having beaten all their opponents in the League. They played St Columba's College in the final but

lost by an innings and 52 runs. Success came at last in 1915 when the First XI won the Leinster Cup. G. E. Larkin captained the side and was again the outstanding player. *The Erasmian* described him: 'Excellent field; very good fast bowler; very aggressive with the bat and difficult to dislodge when set; possesses an easy and graceful style and a variety of good scoring strokes.' Masonic were defeated in the semi-final and the final was against Mountjoy School. Mountjoy made 115 in their first innings to High School's 113, the highest scorer being F. S. Marchant (1911-15) with 47 not out. In the second innings Mountjoy were dismissed for 41 runs, while High School went on to make 140. Three of the team were selected to play for the Leinster Schools' side against Ulster. G. E. Larkin was Captain and made 73 runs not out, F. S. Marchant made 26; H. S. Scales (1909-15) was selected but did not play. Both the Senior and Junior teams reached their finals in 1917 and the First XI won the Cup, beating Masonic by seven wickets in the second innings. The Captain, S. Smythe (1911-17), E. W. Scales (1912-17) and B. W. A. Russell (1911-17) played for the Leinster Schools against a Military XI.

Hurley

Most of the early teams in all sports were made up of both present and past pupils. Hurley was one of these games, very popular in the first 20 years of the school. It was played informally in the school yard[2] and also at Morehampton Road. *The Irish Times* of 23 October 1880 gave the full High School team in a match against Royal Bank of Ireland: E. A. Gelston (1875-78), G. M. Fulton (1875-79), S. H. G. Fleming (1876-), W. M. M. Fleming (1875-80), A. Bell (1879-80), W. Rogerson (1875-80), C. W. Beatty (1879-80), R. Harden (no trace in the records), W. C. Carnegie (1875-77), W. I. Worthington (1875-80), J. R. Rankin (1877-81), G. Downes (1875-80); the match was played at Phoenix Park and after an hour's hard play, the result was a draw. The Irish Hurley Union had been formed in 1879 and the Morehampton Club, which was made up of past and present High School boys, was a member. The King's Hospital and Trinity College were strong rivals of the High School boys. High School Old Boys formed a Terenure team and *The Irish Times* of 6 November 1880 reported a match between them and the school team, with a return match reported on 3 December. On 27 November 1880 the paper described a match against the newly formed YMCA club which High School won 4-2. F. W. Saunders (1881-82) remembered:

> The school stood out well in the game of 'hurley', a forerunner of hockey – no regulation sticks. There were teams in Trinity, Royal Bank, King's

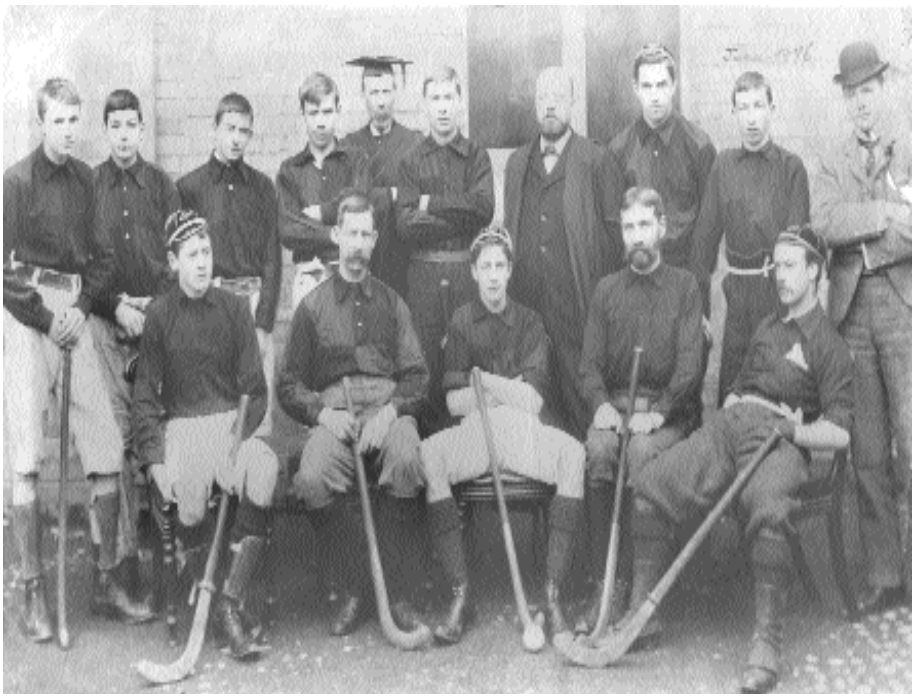
The High School Hockey team 1893.

Hospital (Rev. Gibson, head, he used to play it himself). We used to have to go to the grounds at Incurable Hospital on shank's mare, no bikes or buses.[3]

The rise of hurling and the foundation of the GAA led to a decline in hurley but it continued to be played for a time, High School and King's Hospital being the last two clubs to keep it alive. Its place was taken by hockey.

Hockey

The English Hockey Association was formed in 1886 and at first High School teams of past and present boys played under its rules until, in 1893, the Irish Hockey Union was started, largely by staff and boys from The King's Hospital and The High School. W. E. Patterson (HSD staff and an Old Boy 1884-87) was Hon. Secretary and C. H. Ward (HSD classics master), J. Cassidy (1878-82) and S. V. Jeffares (1883-88) represented the school on the committee. A regulation ball (cricket ball painted white) and stick were decided on in 1894.[4] The first Irish Senior Cup competition was organised in the same year and a High School team entered. In 1895 and 1896 two teams were fielded and A. W. R. Cheales (1890-96) attended the first International Hockey match ever held in Ireland , as a delegate from the High School club. Cheales went to Trinity College, Oxford and played hockey for the University and later for Gloucester and the West of England. Prominent players on the school team were C. H. Ward, J. Anderson (1884-87), C. H.

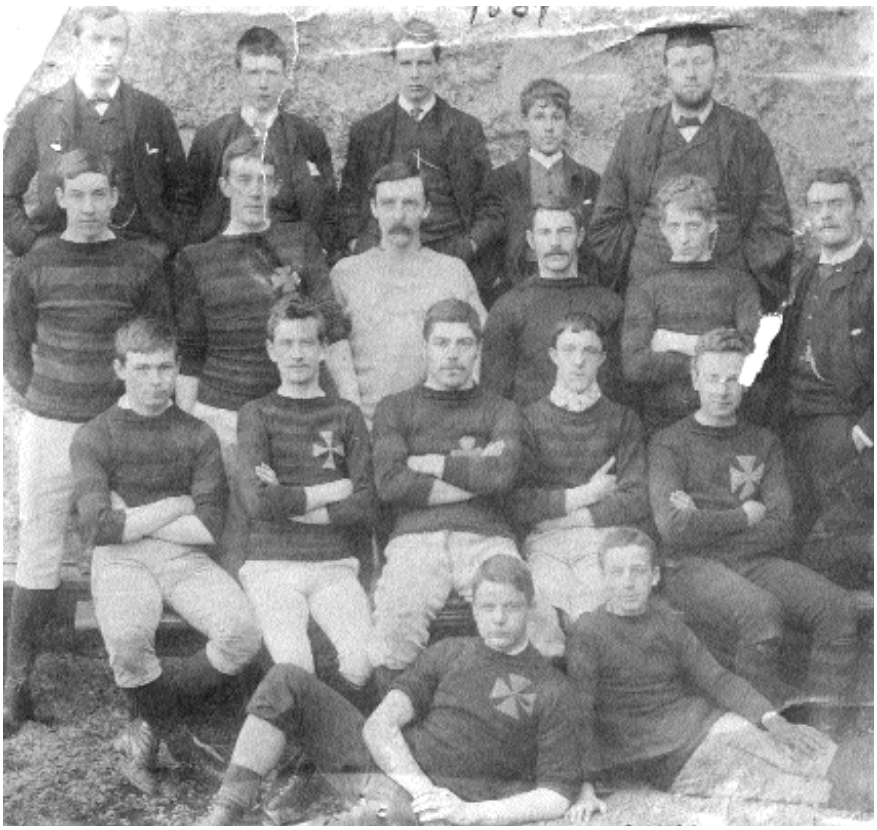


The High School Hockey team, 1896, with Mr Cooney and Mr Wilkins.

Darley (1888-97) and R. G. L. Leonard (1889-97).[5] Hockey was short lived in the school, however, perhaps because the school was not big enough to support two winter games properly. Before the end of the century rugby became the sole winter game. Old Boys, however, continued to play for Dublin clubs, Cecil Darley (1888-97), for example, playing for Three Rock Rovers.

Rugby

Rugby's history begins in 1823 when William Webb Ellis, playing in a football match in Rugby School, ran with the ball in his hands instead of claiming a mark when he caught it. The first club in Ireland was formed in Trinity College (in 1854) and the I(R)FU in 1874. The first official schools cup competition was played in Ulster in the 1876 season. The game probably started in The High School in 1875, the same year as cricket, although there is no firm evidence for this. The *Irish Sportsman* began to report HSD matches the following year. On 4 November 1876 it gave an account of a match against Kingstown School Second XV; on 14 November it reported that HSD lost to Kingstown by two touches to nil. On the school team Messrs Brabazon (A. Brabazon 1875-76), Boswell (there is no trace of him in the records) and Montgomery (R. S. Montgomery 1872-76) distinguished themselves. Several more matches were mentioned during that season and on 21 April 1877 the



Senior Rugby team 1889.

paper gave a summary of the HSD season: First XV played 12 matches, won 6 and drew 2; the Second XV played 9 games. The officers for the next season were H. Magill (no trace in records; probably Hamilton M. Magee) captain, S. H. Fleming (1876-) Hon. Treasurer, and R. S. Montgomery (later played for Wanderers) Hon Secretary, (*Irish Sportsman,* 5 May 1877). Mr Cooney was one of the staff who supported the club until his retirement in 1908.

When the first Leinster Schools Cup competition in rugby was organised in 1887, The High School entered. The other schools involved were: Blackrock College, Wesley College, Farra School, Santry School, Rathmines School and Corrig School. High School played Blackrock in the first round (and the first match of the whole competition) and lost by a dropped goal to nil.[6] In 1898 High School got to the final of the Cup, having beaten Blackrock in the semi-final. They lost to Wesley. They reached the final again in 1915, beating Knockbeg College 8-0 in the second round (they had got a bye in the first round) and Belvedere in the semi-final. A drop goal by G. E. Larkin (1905-15), the High School out-half, was the only score in the match.

H. A. Sloan, Bohemian FC Dublin and Irish international

It is no surprise to discover that their opponents in the final were Blackrock who had already established their dominance in this competition. The High School forwards were lighter but held their own well, with no score at half time. The extra weight told in the second half which was mainly fought on the High School 25 yard line. Blackrock won by two tries and a dropped goal to nil. Larkin and John Bell (1909-15) were chosen for the Leinster Schools' XV. Within a short time three of the team had enlisted in the North Irish Horse: John Bell (the captain), P. R. G. Fennell (1909-15) and H. T. Westropp (1909-15); John Bell was presented with a silver wrist watch 'as a small memento of his great popularity among the upper forms'.

Old Boys played a large part in Dublin rugby and there was correspondence in *The Erasmian* about founding a HSD Old Boys club. Nothing came of this but one Old Boy, Godfrey W. Ferguson (1889-98), founded Palmerston Club in 1898. It had a large number of High School Old Boys as members and one of their earliest games was against the school team which was captained by Harry Thrift (1891-1901).[7] The Lansdowne team which reached the final of the Leinster Cup in 1899 contained eight Old Boys, including the Captain, G. P. Doran (1887-89). Not all the boys were enthusiastic; in the 1901 *Erasmian* there are signs that the rugby *v* soccer controversy was debated, with an article 'Is not a soccer team in the school treason?' Two Old Boys played soccer for Ireland at that time: George Sheehan (1890-95) was Captain of the Irish team against Wales in 1900 and Harold Alexander Sloan (1893-99) played for Ireland eight times from 1903. Sloan was Captain of Bohemians Club which had been largely founded by boys from Castleknock College. He was killed on 21 January 1917 in the war.

The list of High School Old Boys who played rugby for Ireland at that period is impressive:

1890	E. F. Doran (1881-84)
1892-93	A. K. Wallis (1883-84) (Wanderers)

1892-93	F. E. Davies (1883-84)
1895	A. A. Brunker (1885-89) (Lansdowne)
1896-1900	J. Sealy (1886-94) (Dublin University). He also played Hockey for Ireland.
1899-1904	G. P. Doran (1887-89) (Lansdowne) He scored the winning try against Wales in 1899 to bring the Triple Crown to Ireland.
1900-02	B. R. W. Doran (1888-91) (Lansdowne)
1904-08, Capt 1908	H. Thrift (1891-1901) (Dublin University). He was IRFU President in 1923-24 and represented Ireland on the International Board from 1931 to 1956.
1904-08	H. J. Knox (1893-96) (Dublin University and Lansdowne)
1908-09	F. N. B. Smartt (1900-03) (Dublin University captain)
1912-13	G. W. Holmes (1907-09) (Dublin University). He also played on the Irish Water Polo team in 1913.

C. H. Alexander (1899-1902) played for Australia in 1913. R. W. Jeffares (1883-89) was Secretary to the IRFU from 1925 to 1947. One of the most extraordinary achievements in the history of rugby in the school at this period was that of the six brothers of the Bell family: Tom (1905-08), Joe (1906-11), Randal (1907-13), Horace (1909-19), John (1909-15) and Mervyn (1915-22). For 17 successive years from 1905 to 1922, the First XV always included one of the family and sometimes two. For eight years some of the brothers were captain and for six years they were represented on the Leinster Schools' Interprovincial team, Horace Bell being Captain. Tom Bell became an international referee. In 1930 a Bell Cap was established, to be presented annually to the boy with the best football record during the season. The first winner (season 1930-31) was R. Boucher (1926-31), Captain of the First XV.

Belgrave Square

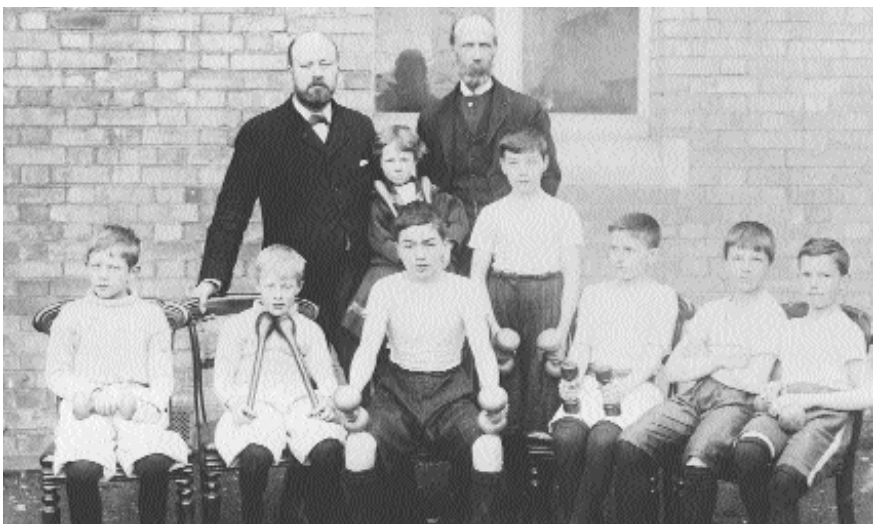
In 1880 the school began a connection with Belgrave Square which was to last for over 70 years. The Square was first leased from Mr Holmes of 11 Fleet Street for £20 p.a. and £6-10-0 for renting a room in the lodge for a changing room. This continued until 1897 when Holmes sold his interest in the Square to the Governors for £175. A pavilion was built. A letter to the Editor

of *The Monthly Buzzer* in November 1893 complained that the hockey club did not have to pay for the use of the Square, while the football and cricket clubs did. At this time part of the Square was let for grazing but later a junior pitch was laid out. *The Erasmian* of December 1928 congratulated the Headmaster 'on supplying a long-felt want at Belgrave Square by providing baths. The Football Secretary, who has tried them in his official capacity, reports on them extremely favourably.' Cricket was also played at the Square and there were regular complaints of difficulty in providing a decent wicket and of very long grass in the outfield. However, *The Erasmian* of June 1931 reported: 'we have acquired a motor lawnmower which has caused the "eight foot grass" of Belgrave Square to disappear. We are indebted to Mr Evans for spending so much time in looking after and working the machine.' In 1934 a tennis court was laid out at the Square and the Rector and Select Vestry of Rathmines Church presented a tennis court marker; a second court was laid out in 1935. Tennis teams began to be entered in schools competitions. In 1940 a second ground, at Trinity Hall in Dartry, was rented.

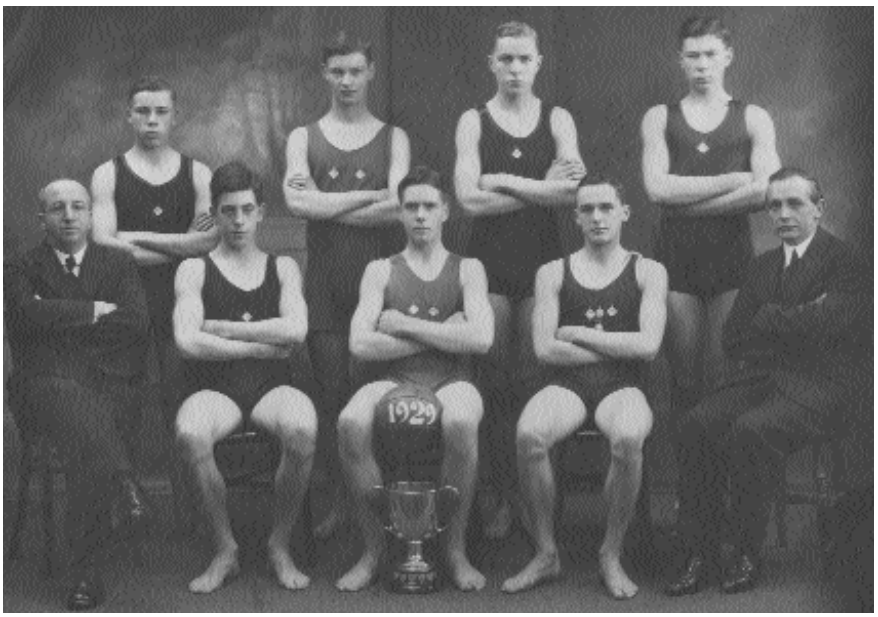
Other Sports

Other sports played a lesser part in school life at this period but there was a considerable variety. The first Sports Day was held in 1891 at the Horse Show Jumping ground in Ballsbridge. Later it was held at Lansdowne Road and was quite a social event. A band, usually from the Dublin Metropolitan Police, played and there were races for sisters and Old Boys, as well as a combination of serious athletic events and novelty items. The earliest magazine to have survived, *The Monthly Buzzer*, reported a lawn tennis match between a school team and Kenilworth in September 1893 which the school won 6-3. In 1893 a handball alley was built in the playground and there were occasional matches against Wesley and King's Hospital who also had alleys. The alley was built at the instigation of C. H. Darley (1888-97) and against the wishes of Mr Wilkins who had other plans for the site.[8] A cycling club was formed in 1898 and, although it was reported to be defunct in 1903, it was in action again in 1907. In fact, there had been a bicycle club earlier which organised a race from Dolphin's Barn to Naas, as reported in the *Red and Black* in 1895. Medals were sometimes awarded to boys who covered 100 miles in one day. The swimming club began in 1910, meeting every Thursday at the Iveagh Baths and attracting about 40 members. By 1915 they were able to enter a team in the Leinster Schools Squadron race and were successful against four other schools. The outstanding swimmer of this period was J. V. Bateman (1913-15) who won the Senior Schools Championship in record time in 1915.

Athletics team 1890s
Back: E. J. Phair, V. V. Drennan, H. J. Knox, K. A. Knox, W. H. Carson
Third row: G. Ferguson, Mr W. S. Cooney, A. C. Pigott, R. Page, W. Monserrat, H. Thrift, H. C. Crozier, W. S. Patterson, R. Ogden, W. Cross, Mr H. Large
Sitting: W. A. Appleyard, H. A. Sloan, C. J. Stuart, S. W. Meyer, I. Richardson, Day Lewis, Mr Richardson.
Front: —, L. Bury.



The first High School Gymnasium Club, 1897
Standing: Mr Wilkins, Mr Cooney, Lucy Willkins, S. W. Ferguson
Sitting: M. Wilkins, E. Wilkins, J. Ferguson, J. F. Butler, R. Stevenson, F. Stevenson.



The High School Swimming Club 1929
Back row: C. A. Boyle, W. G. Taylor, R. L. Rogers, G. A. Bamford
Front row: Mr Bennett, G. F. Mitchell, R. S. Savage (Capt.), J. M. Bryson, Mr R. Wilson

After graduating with a senior moderatorship in Classics from Trinity, he was appointed lecturer in Classics in Saskatoon University. In 1922 while home on holiday, he won the Irish 220 yards championship. When the first gymnastics competition was organised for schools in 1898, High School entered a team which came second to Belvedere, having defeated Sandymount Academical Institution in the first round. There were three elements in the competition: a dumb-bell display, free gymnastics and a parallel bars display.

CHAPTER XIX

Sport 1920-1975

By 1920 a recognisably modern pattern of sport had developed in the school, although it was not until Mr Bennett's time as Headmaster that a wider variety of games was played.

Rugby

Rugby continued to be the chief winter sport. The number of teams fielded expanded; there were now teams for all ages in the school. Rugby was not compulsory, so there were frequent complaints about the difficulties of persuading boys to commit themselves to regular practice. The introduction of the House system by Mr Bennett was largely motivated by this problem and the failure of many boys to take part in any sport. The first house matches were played in the 1929-30 season and the championship shield was won by Mr Dillon's House. The First XV began to play matches outside Dublin. At different periods Methodist College, Belfast, Galway, Sligo and Drogheda Grammar Schools, Cavan Royal and Kilkenny College were opponents. The Belfast match was timed to coincide with an international match at Ravenhill Park and the Belfast team came to Dublin at the time of a match at Lansdowne Road. In 1933 Bangor Grammar School replaced Methodist College.

The First XV did not equal the 1915 achievement during the early part of this period but in 1938 the Junior XV won the Leinster Cup. They beat Belvedere in the first round by 24-6 and secured a bye in the second round because Masonic School could not field a team owing to an outbreak of measles. After defeating O'Connell's Schools in the semi-final, they met Newbridge College in the final. It was an extremely close match. High School led 5-3 at half time and hung on to their lead by heroic defence in the second half:

> The closing minutes of that game will be remembered by everyone who saw the match. It was a struggle between a brilliant defence and an attack which had every opportunity. Some have said that Newbridge were unlucky not to win. Possibly that is true, but it is fairer to say that they could not win; that they were vouchsafed every chance to do so and that

> they failed. Their forwards were superb, their backs were well-trained, but we had boys whose tackling was heroic, who made no bones about going down on the ball, whose resolution was unshakable and so, the final whistle went and the Cup came to High School.[1]

The team was captained by R. J. S. Weir (1932-40) and trained by Mr G. C. Johnston and Mr J. A. Storey.

By the 1950s the problem of providing adequate facilities for the growing number of teams was acute. This may account for the generally average performances of the cup teams during this period. The acquisition of Danum, with several pitches available by the early 60s, allowed for more training and many more matches. Under the guidance of Mr J. Cornish, who had been appointed senior games master in 1945, the organisation of school games developed and a much larger proportion of the boys participated. During the next 30 years, under his influence, rugby and cricket reached very high standards. There were a number of outstanding players during this time: Rodney H. C. Walshe (1946-53) played for Leinster Schools in 1951, 1952 and 1953, as did D. J. Fitzpatrick (1945-55) in 1954 and R. W. C. Hall (1948-56) in 1956. J. D. Ridgeway (1949-58) captained the Leinster Schools' team against Connacht in 1957.

In 1963 the Senior Cup team reached the final of the Leinster Schools competition, the first time the senior team achieved this since 1915. On the way to the final they defeated Belvedere, Presentation College, Bray and De la Salle College in the semi-final. All these matches were difficult; in the semi-final de la Salle were in the lead 6-3 at half-time but two penalty goals and an excellent try, set up by Aubrey Shaw (1957-63) and scored by Nicholas Jones (1961-64), in the second half secured victory. Inevitably, the opponents in the final were Blackrock College. The Blackrock forwards were bigger and heavier which resulted in a lack of possession of the ball which made it difficult for the High School backs to show their strength. The whole team defended outstandingly; there was no score in the first half and Blackrock scored two unconverted tries in the second half to win 6-0. The skill and spirit of the High Scchool team drew widespread praise. Typical of the comments was the report in *The Irish Press*: 'I have seldom seen a 'Rock side knocked out of its stride and put off its game like on Saturday as High School pitched into the fray with a heartwarming determination.' *The Irish Times* described the match as 'a magnificent fight … the most interesting and exciting senior schools' final seen for many a long year'.[2] Two of the team were chosen for the Leinster Schools' team: A. T. Shaw (1957-63) and D. A. Jackson (1956-63), while the Captain D. M. Bowie (1952-63) was a sub for the Leinster team.

It was to be another decade before the Senior XV again reached the final of the Leinster Schools' competition but there were many fine players during those years. In 1968 Bryan D. Lewis (1956-68) captained the Leinster Schools' team, while Philip A. Orr (1961-69) and David R. Gault (1964-68) were also chosen, the first time that the school had three players on the Leinster team. The outstanding player of this period was undoubtedly Philip Orr who went on to play for Dublin University, Old Wesley, Leinster and who gained a record number of 58 caps for Ireland. He was a member of the Irish teams which won the Triple Crown in 1982 and 1985 and played in a record number of overseas tours, for an Irish player: New Zealand (1976), Australia (1979), South Africa (1981), Japan (1985) and the (first) World Cup in New Zealand and Australia (1987). He captained the Old Wesley team which won the Leinster Senior Cup in 1985.

Winning the Cup

The crowning achievement of rugby in the school at this period came in 1973 when the Senior XV won the Leinster Schools' Cup, the first time that trophy came to High School. They got a bye into the second round where they were drawn against Terenure College. High School were leading 6-0 up to the end of normal time but Terenure scored in injury time to force a replay. Paul MacWeeney in *The Irish Times* was not very complimentary to either team: 'On what was seen yesterday, whichever team eventually emerges can hardly be optimistic of reaching the final of the lower half of the draw.'[3] In the replay High School were decisive winners by 14-0, scoring threee tries by Mark J. Duffy (1965-73), John Robbie (1963-73) and Donald Lewis (1965-73); Lewis' try was converted by Charles W. E. Richards (1964-73). The superiority of the forwards was the decisive factor in this victory, David Wright (1966-73) being described as 'a magnificent wing forward whose speed in tackling and following up was a feature of the game'.[4] Strong wind and a slippery ball made conditions difficult in the quarter-final against Castleknock College but the school team won decisively, 13-0. Two tries by David Wright, one of which was converted by Ian Burns, and a drop goal by Ian Burns made up the school score. The semi-final against St Mary's College was a close encounter, the school securing a place in the final by 10-9. The pattern which was to be repeated in the final emerged clearly in this match. The half-back pairing of John Robbie and Ian Burns (1967-74) were the 'architects of victory'.[5] John Fitzgerald (1971-74) and John Robbie scored tries and Ian Burns converted Fitzgerald's try. Sean Diffley in *The Irish Press* summed up the strengths of the team: 'Undoubtedly, the better team won. High School are

The S.C.T. Cup Winning Team 1972-73
Standing: A. Chapman, S. Odlum, J. Reid, H. Andrews, W. Duffy, B. Crowe, J. Fitzgerald, C. Richards, G. Burgess, Mr D. Cole
Seated: Mr J. Cornish, D. Wright, J. Robbie, D. Lewis (Capt.), I. Burns, P. Gault, Mr A. Brook
In front: M. Duffy, C. Galloway

a well balanced team. They concentrate on playing a decent brand of football, have a fair quota of tall, efficient forwards and probably the best half back pairing in the competition in Robbie and Burns.'[6] Belvedere College were to be the opponents in the final.

Although the critics had favoured Belvedere to win, the High School team dominated most of the game from the opening moments when John Robbie kicked a penalty goal. Two fine tries by Ian Burns, one of them converted by John Robbie, took the score to 13-3 at half time. A period of Belvedere attack tested the High School defence unsuccessfully at the beginning of the second half but two drop goals by Ian Burns made a High School victory secure. The final score was 19-7. In an outstanding display by the whole team, the scrum-half John Robbie and out-half Ian Burns were the star players. Two different newspapers, *The Irish Times* and *The Irish Press*, compared them to the outstanding Welsh pair of the period, Barry John and Gareth Edwards, while *The Irish Times* recalled the legendary Irish out-half, Jackie Kyle: 'in the authentic Kyle manner, he (Burns) probed for the gap only rarely but to deadly effect.'[7] The victory was achieved by playing rugby of a standard which gave great pleasure to all 20,000 spectators who saw the game. It was a 'remarkably mature and quite artistc performance'.[8] The captain was Donald Lewis and the coaches were Mr J. Cornish and Mr D. Cole. John Robbie, Ian Burns and Philip Gault were chosen to play for the Leinster Schools' team.

Old Boys who played rugby for Ireland during this period were:

1932, 1935	E. C. Ridgeway (1921-25) (Wanderers)
1934	M. E. Bardon (1916-24) (Bohemians)
1935–39	C. V. Boyle (1926-33) (Dublin University)
1960	W. W. Bornemann (1948-54) (Wanderers)
1976–88	P. A. Orr (1961-69) (Old Wesley)
1976, 1977	J. C. Robbie (1963-73) (Dublin University)
1980	I. G. Burns (1967-74) (Wanderers)

Cricket

The recurring theme of the cricket reports in the 1920s is of poor weather during the season. The year 1927 was an exception: the First XI played 13 matches, winning eight of them and reaching the final of the Leinster League, only to be beaten heavily by Belvedere in the final. The other teams had similar mixed fortunes until 1938 when the Junior XI won the Leinster Cup. They got a bye in the first round, beat St Andew's by 148 runs to 18 in the second round and Wesley in the semi-final by 65 runs to 63. The final was against Belvedere and High School won by a convincing margin of 82 runs to 37. B. F. Rooney (1930-39) was Captain and principal bowler, taking nine wickets for 13 runs in the final. The highest scorer was G. D. Lyons (1933-40) with 43 runs in the final. Mr G. C. Johnston and Mr J. C. Storey were the coaches, so 1938 was a very successful year for them.

The Junior team won the Leinster Cup again in 1947, beating Sandford Park in the semi-final to meet St Columba's College in the final. They won by 12 runs in the second innings with only three minutes of the allotted time remaining. A. W. M. Cooper (1944-51) took three wickets with the first three balls of his first over in the second innings; in all he took seven wickets for six runs.The principal batsman was the captain, Gerald W. Griffin (1943-48), who made 20 in the first innings and 22 in the second. The coaches were Mr G. C. Johnston and Mr W. G. Kirkpatrick. A. W. M. Cooper later played on the Leinster Schools' Rugby team, was Captain of the the Leinster Schools' Cricket team and played for the Schools of Ireland in 1949; he was captain of the Irish team in 1951.

Cooper was captain of the First XI in 1950 when they won the Leinster Cup for the first time since 1917. They defeated Avoca School and Blackrock College (by a narrow margin of six runs) to meet St Mary's in the semi-final. St Mary's made 127, with Gordon W. Williams (1936-40) taking five wickets for 36 and Cooper four wickets for 48; High School made 135. Their opponents in the final were Mountjoy. High School batted first and made 174,

The High School First XI 1950
Standing: J. Forsyth, B. R. Wilkinson, C. C. Walker, Mr Ruddock, N. Jarrett, J. Love, R. A. Sloan
Sitting: Mr Cornish, A. P. R. Brook, C. E. H. Maltby, A. W. M. Cooper (Capt.), D. M. Freeman, A. Clarke, Dr Bennett.

Thomas J. Williams (1948-49) (29 runs) and Robert A. Sloan (1946-50) (25) being the highest scorers. Mountjoy were dismissed for 41 and 83 to give High School a very convincing victory. Four bowlers contributed to this: A. W. M. Cooper, Aidan Clarke (1949-51), Thomas Williams and Desmond M. Freedman (1941-50). In his report for *The Erasmian* the Captain summed up their success:

> Its [the team's] strength lay not in runs or wickets any person made or took, but in the solidity of the middle batting and the all-round ability of the attack backed up by fielders with the will to chase the ball all the way and some grand close fielding.

The coaches were Mr R. Ruddock and Mr J. Cornish. A. W. M. Cooper later played for the Gentlemen of Ireland XI. E. H. Bodell (1940-44) also played for Ireland. In 1955 the 'Under 14' team won the Leinster League for the first time.

Cricket was even more adversely affected than rugby by the inadequate facilities in the pre-Danum age but, in spite of the difficulties, a good standard seems to have been maintained. In 1956 the Junior team reached the final of the cup, being beaten by Masonic School. A succession of players were chosen to play for the Leinster Schools' team: R. W. Dobbyn (1949-53) in 1953, R. W.

G. Hall (1948-56) in 1955, N. D. P. Kilroy (1951-56) in 1956, when he was also captain of the Leinster team, and T. O'Malley (1953-56) in 1958. John D. Ridgeway (1949-58) was captain of the Leinster Schools' team in 1958.

The improved facilities at Danum made an immediate impact. The 'sixties were the 'golden age' in High School cricket during this period, with an outstanding run of successes in all competitions. The most successful team was the Under 14, coached by Mr R. H. Fennell, which reached the Leinster final seven times between 1961 and 1970, winning the cup on six occasions. In 1964 all three cup teams reached the final of their competitions, each of them playing Blackrock College in the finals. Both the JCT and the Under 14 won their matches. Two years later the SCT won the Leinster Cup defeating King's Hospital in the final. High School won the toss and elected to bat on a favourable wicket, making a total of 153 runs in the first innings to King's Hospital's 50. High School declared at 147 for six wickets in the second innings, leaving King's Hospital over 200 to make. They were all out for 64 runs. Denis I. Jacobson (1963-70) made 28 and John Silverstone (1962-69) 32 in the first innings and David Ford (1955-66), the Captain, made 45 in the second innings. Brian Carson (1959-67) took eight wickets for 11 runs in the first innings. Denis Jacobson and John Silverstone were also members of the JCT which won the cup the same year, beating St Mary's College in the final. The JCT won the cup again in 1968. Frank Sowman (1956-65) and Rodney Molins (1956-67) were chosen for the Leinster Schools' team in 1965 and Molins was chosen to play for the Irish Schools XI in 1967, as was John Silverstone in 1968, 1969 and 1970.

Swimming

The swimming club was very successful in the 'twenties. Water polo was started in the school in 1922 and the senior team regularly won the Leinster Cup. They also won the Leinster Squadron competition several times. Outstanding swimmers were H. C. Ewen (1921-25) and J. C. Hopkins (1916-23). Hopkins was High School Swimming champion for several years, as well as quarter-mile Irish champion and winner of the Liffey Swim. He later joined the RAF and was killed in a crash in 1933. The coach during these years was Sergeant Major Burke. The successes continued during the next decade but the outbreak of the Second World War brought difficulties. Shortage of coal caused the closure of the Iveagh Baths with consequent restriction of activities for the swimming club. The championships were held at Blackrock Baths. The Iveagh Baths did not reopen until 1952 and the gala in 1953 was the first since 1942. Water polo was resumed and in 1956 the Old

Boys' Union presented a shield to be awarded to the winner of a half-mile handicap race; the first winner was J. R. Spence (1955-57). Noel. H. Kerrison (1942-48) played water polo for Leinster in 1951. During the 'sixties the squadron team had an outstanding run of successes in competition against other schools, being beaten only once in seven years. In 1966 the team was J. W. Orr (1955-67) (Capt.), M. V. Hanna (1958-68), David R. Gault (1964-68) and I. H. A. Smyth (1960-67).

Boxing

A new sport for the school was boxing which began in 1929. The club had their first match against another school on 27 March 1930, against St Andrew's, which they lost by one bout. Matches followed against St Columba's and Portora Royal School, Enniskillen and Rathmines Technical School. One of the volunteer coaches, Dr H. G. Ellerker, presented a cup for the annual match against St Andrew's; High School won it for the first time in 1935 and had an almost unbroken run of success in the next 10 years. The same year the first House matches in boxing were held. The boxers were trained by John Nelson (until he was recalled to active service in the British army in 1939), son of the School Sergeant, and by volunteers, many of whom were Old Boys who were boxing in Trinity. The members of staff who helped were Mr John Young, Mr Kirkpatrick and Mr J. W. R. Goulden. The club acquired its own ring thanks to Mr Wilson who explained that 'he watched a borrowed army ring being erected in a most orderly manner by soldiers. It took a day. He decided that he could make one, which could be erected in disorder by IV2 in a couple of hours. Actually, by including 3C2, he was able to reduce the time to an hour.'[9] The outstanding boxer of this period was J. D. Stafford (1924-31). He went on to captain the Trinity team, won the Irish Junior Fly-weight Championship in 1935 and the British Universities Championship for six years and was a member of the Irish Boxing Team against Italy in 1934. He qualified as a doctor, served with the RAF during the war and joined the Colonial Medical Service later.

The outbreak of the Second World War made the match against Portora impossible and in its place the first school championships were held in 1940. Sixty-eight boys entered and medals were presented by the Old Boys' Union for some of the competitions. The championships became an annual fixture and the match against Portora was revived the following year. D. A. Orr (1931-40) and R. R. Quin (1936-42) were the leading boxers in the club in the period 1938-42 when in nine contests against other schools, High School lost only one. P. H. Stewart (1937-47) captained the club and in 1949 represented

The High School Boxing team, 1934-35, winners of the Ellerker Cup.
Back: P. R. Owen, W. G. M. Crockett, W. B. Smyth, J. P. Nelson (Trainer), G. S. Prince, T. E. P. Darling, D. A. Orr.
Seated: Mr Bennett, J. D. Smyth, W. R. Bryans (Capt.), M. S. C. Rooney, Mr J. L. Young.
Front: G. T. Stephens, A. S. Burrows.

Trinity in the Universities Boxing International. In 1949 the club began matches against Dungannon Royal School. W. Gregory (1946-52) and J. Steyn (1942-49) were notable boxers of this period; both did well in Trinity, Gregory being a member of the Irish Universities' team.

By the 'fifties a change in attitudes towards boxing was discernible as there were complaints that the annual championships were not as well supported as previously. In 1956 and 1959 lack of support caused the cancellation of the championships, although they were revived and celebrated the 21st championships in 1962. In 1963 Mr J. R. W. Goulden, who had been the club's teacher in charge for very many years, left the school. He was succeeded by Mr W. O'Connor until 1966 when Mr R. Miller took charge. At this time the trainer was Mr T. Myles who was also in charge of Physical Education. In 1965 J. D. Stafford presented a shield bearing the 14 boxing medals he had won during his career, to the club to be awarded annually to 'The Best Scrapper of the Year'. The first winner was Paul S. Ross (1964-75) in 1966. Matches against other schools seem to have ceased by this time but in 1967 the second part of the Annual Championships was a match against Royal

School, Armagh, which High School won by four bouts to three. The club continued after the move to Danum; the 1975 report in *The Erasmian* mentioned that there were 30 members and in 1978 the IABA presented 10 pairs of gloves to the club. However, the changing attitudes to boxing in schools took their toll. In addition, Mr Myles left the school and no trained coach replaced him. In 1980 *The Erasmian* spoke of the future of boxing in the school as being in jeopardy. There is no further mention of the boxing club in the magazine.

Table Tennis

The variety of games played in the school was further extended by the introduction of table tennis in 1940. Although the game had not been played in the school, three Old Boys had represented Ireland in international matches before this. They were C. A. Kemp (1926-32) (he also played on the Irish Lawn Tennis Davis Cup Team), H. S. Carlisle (1927-32) and D. L. Hennessey (1925-27) who played for Ireland in 1936. A new Leinster Schools League competition was organised in 1941; High School entered and came third to King's Hospital and Masonic. The School team was: F. S. L. Lyons (1941-42) (later played for Ireland at Squash); T. G. Grey (1934-41); J. R. Greening (1935-41); W. E. D. Rutherford (1933-41); E. W. Frith (1932-41); R. A. Kerr (1936-41). At this time the club was restricted to sixth formers. Later matches were organised against Campbell College, Belfast and against an Old Boys' team. Lawn tennis also gained more support at this period and senior and junior teams were entered each year in the Leinster League, with mixed fortunes. In 1944 the senior team won their section of the League but were defeated in the final by Terenure College. By 1946 it was reported that over 60 boys were playing that season.

Athletics

The school sports continued to be held annually at Lansdowne Road until 1960 when they were held at Danum for the first time. Social changes affected the atttendance at the sports, as a wider variety of leisure activities drew people away at weekends; by the 'sixties the reports in *The Erasmian* begin to lament falling numbers of parents attending. Athletics had mixed fortunes during this period. In the early 'fifties there were some outstanding athletes in the school. E. L. Kimberley (1949-53) won the All-Ireland 220 yards in 1951. David M. Johnston (1946-53) won the Leinster Schools' 100 yards in 1952 and also won the All-Ireland 100 yards and 220 yards, setting a new Irish record of 25.2 seconds for this race. His sporting successes continued when he joined the Royal Navy. John G. Fish (1950-55) won the Irish Junior 100

and 220 yards in 1953 and T. G. O'Malley (1953-59) won the Irish Intermediate Long Jump in 1958. K. H. Bornemann (1949-54) was a member of the Irish Athletics team in 1959. An annual triangular competition was held with St Andrew's and King's Hospital. In 1962 a team was entered for the first time in the Leinster Schools' Cross-country Championships.

Badminton

In 1966 Badminton was introduced, played in rather unpromising conditions in the Clockroom (an Old Boys' Club had played there in the 'forties). The impetus came from a group of keen players and parents. In 1967 a team was entered for the Midland Branch of the Badminton Union of Ireland competition for schools. They won the trophy that year and the following year. Three of the team, Brian D. Carson (1959-67), Terry N. Woods (1961-68), and Trevor H. Darlington (1962-68), were selected to play for the Leinster Under 18 team. Brian Carson played for the Leinster Senior team while still at school and later played for Ireland. The President of the Old Boys' Union in 1967, Brendan E. P. Hennessey (1925-29), presented a Cup for the senior championship competition in the school and a parent, Mr Factor, presented one for a senior handicap competition. The senior team won the Leinster competition again in 1972 and 1973. The captain in 1972, Nigel R. J. Darragh (1961-72), was chosen to play for Leinster. The move to Danum brought improved facilities but it was not until the gymnasium, with room for three courts, was built as part of the extension in 1975 that really satisfactory conditions were achieved.

Adventure Sports

Another extension of the activities available came through the Association for Adventure Sports which was founded in 1969. The Department of Education encouraged schools to avail of their introductory courses and three members of the school staff did so: Mr J. Hickmott, Mr I. Blackmore and Mr I. Broad. Canoeing was introduced by Mr I. Blackmore; a canoe club was formally organised in 1972 with Mr Broad in charge and canoes purchased with a grant from the Governors. By 1973 there were over 80 members. As well as canoeing, climbing and caving were available for pupils. Courses of instruction were organised by Mr J. Hickmott in association with AFAS. Those for rock climbing were held at Tiglin and most of the climbing was done at Glendalough or Dalkey Quarry. The Governors helped in the purchase of equipment and the sport flourished. By 1973 two more sports, snorkelling and orienteering, had been added. As boys gained in experience and training, some were able to contribute to the work of AFAS; as a result David H.

Mitchell (1967-73), B. C. Storey (1963-70) and J. W. K. Carson (1960-69) became mountain leaders soon after leaving school.

Changing Fashions in School Sports

Team games have traditionally dominated school sports but during the second half of the 20th century a new approach began to gain influence, especially as more schools employed full-time games masters who had been professionally trained. The emphasis shifted to providing as wide a range of activities as possible to cater for all the different interests and abilities to be found in any large boys' school. These needs were not always met by the traditional team games. The changes in society which began in the 'sixties, and which had such a powerful influence on young people, contributed to the questioning of familiar patterns. The fact that rugby was compulsory told against it among the pupils in those changing times when all authority was questioned. Individual development came to be seen as at least as important as being a good team member. The prestige of the traditional sports, especially of the senior rugby competition in Leinster, and the nostalgia of Old Boys anxious for the success of the school, were powerful influences against change. The main period in which these tensions were worked out is outside the scope of this chapter but the beginnings were clear in the 'sixties and early 'seventies. Much of the debate in The High School centred on the place, if any, of soccer in the school. Part of the compromise arrived at included starting both hockey and soccer for boys.

Outstanding Sportsmen

Of course, boys have always taken part in sports which were not played in the school, sometimes at a very high level. H. Reg Armstrong (1940-44) had a brilliant career in motor cycling, winning success in Ireland, Britain and Europe. H. Lindsay (1937-44) set an Irish record of 143 m.p.h. riding a 998 c.c. Vincent motor cycle in Cork in 1953. One of the time keepers was Stanley Woods (1915-20) who had set an Irish record of 104 m.p.h. in 1926 and had a long and very successful career in motor cycling. Reg Armstrong later turned to motor racing. A. P. R. Brook (1949-51) played hockey for Trinity and later for Nottingham; A. Hughes (1954-56) played for the Leinster Junior Hockey team, while David Roy (1947-56) played for Leinster in 1964. Mark S. Bloom (1958-67) was an outstanding golfer while still at school, playing for the Leinster Schoolboys' team in 1965 and winning the Ulster Boys' Open Championship in 1966 among many other competitions. He later played for Ireland. During the 'sixties there was an annual golf match between the staff and pupils; matches were of uneven quality but much enjoyed. G. S. B.

Mack (1906-16) was Badminton Champion of Ireland and England in 1924; J. H. 'Jack' Morton (1916-21) played badminton for Leinster and organised 'Jack Morton's Circus', a group of top players who travelled all over the country teaching badminton. A. C. Rance (1953-59) played badminton for the Leinster Minor Interprovincial team in 1957. H. E. Worthington-Eyre (1910-13) was a member of the British Relay team which won a gold medal at the Olympic Games in 1920. William Shaw (1958-64) was a champion in horse jumping. Donald Cromer won the Slalom class in the International Liffey Descent Canoe race in 1965. Frank Fine (1937-45) was a member of the Irish Bridge team in 1959. He was joined by D. Seligman (1939-45) in 1962. Vernon W. F. Armstrong (1952-60) represented Ireland in the World Fencing Championships in Ghent in 1963 and in Paris in 1965. In sailing, E. Oliver H. Williams (1954-65) represented Ireland in the Finn class in the European Championships in 1965 and James Wilkinson (1968-69) was a member of the Irish Fireball team in 1972.

APPENDIX

Treasurers

1669	Richard Tighe: named in Charter
1674	Sir Joshua Allen
1678	Alderman Enoch Reader
1681	Alderman John Smith
1684	Sir John Coghill
1688	John Nicholas
1691	John Nicholas: no revenue received since 1688 'because of the troubles that hath continued ever since'
1693	George Browne, Provost TCD
1696	Stephen Ludlow
1699	George Browne, Provost TCD
1703	Dr John Hall
1714	Dr Marmaduke Coghill (temporary)
1714	Samuel Dopping
1719	Marmaduke Coghill
1739	Hugh Boulter, Archbishop of Armagh
1740	Thomas Trotter
1742	Nathaniel Clements
1745	John Hoadly, Archbishop of Armagh
1748	Edward Synge, Bishop of Elphin
1762	Francis Andrews, Provost TCD
1774	John Hely Hutchinson, Provost TCD
1794	Robert Fowler, Archbishop of Dublin
1798	William Newcombe, Archbishop of Armagh
1800	William Stewart, Archbishop of Armagh
1803	Lord Redesdale, Lord Chancellor of Ireland
1806	William Downes, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland
1822	Right Hon. William Downes
1826	Rev. John Pomeroy (Lord Harberton from 1832)
1833	Rev. Charles Richard Elrington, Regius Professor of Divinity TCD
1850	John Barlow
1872	Vice Chancellor Hedges Eyre Chatterton
1906	Anthony Traill, Provost TCD
1912	John A. Maconchy
1923	Robert Miller, Bishop of Cashel and Waterford
1931	Professor William Edward Thrift (later Provost)
1941	Dr E. H. Alton, SFTCD
1944	Cecil H. Darly
1954	Malcolm H. G. Ellis
1977	William S. Cunningham
1981	R. E. M. Clarke
1984	Robert P. Willis
1990	Norman D. Kilroy
1995	David W. Rowell
2000	Frank E. Sowman

Bibliography

I MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

ERASMUS SMITH ARCHIVE

The principal primary sources for this study are preserved in the archives of the Erasmus Smith Trust at Danum, Zion Road, Rathgar, Dublin. The archive has had a chequered history before it reached its present well-organised state. Until the retirement of A. B. L. Moore as Registrar in the 1930s, the material was in good order and stored in a specially constructed strong room at 40 Harcourt Street. Disorder then set in which reached its nadir when the school moved to Danum and the archive was in danger of being lost. In the last decade, following a decision by the Governors to restore order to the material and to take steps for its proper preservation, qualified archivists have been employed and a specially designed archive store has been built. This was officially opened in 2003, making the collection available to historians.

The main parts of the collection are:

Administrative records of the Trust, including minutes of the Board of Governors, 1674-c.1970; minutes of the Standing Committee 1803-1951; legal papers 1671-1959; material relating to scholarships, exhibitions, and appointments in Trinity College, Dublin 1712-1951; letter books 1810-1951; and correspondence 1850-c.1970.

Records of the Trust's estates, including: rentals 1658-c.1970; maps 1711-1971; valuations c.1815-c.1870; correspondence 1859-c.1970; land agent letter books 1862-1911; Southern Estates leases and property deeds 1672-1966; Western Estates leases and property deeds 1672-c.1970; Irish Land Commission 1897-1937.

Records of the Trust's Grammar Schools: Drogheda Grammar School 1680-1956; Galway Grammar School 1715-1962; Tipperary Grammar School (The Abbey School) 1760-1939; Ennis Grammar School 1832-1930; The High School 1870-.

Records of the Trust's English Schools (primary schools funded by the Trust), including architectural plans (for 64 buildings), leases and maps 1802-1920; masters' and inspectors' reports 1851-1936; and correspondence 1824-1947.

Material relating to secondary schools aided by the Trust, including Christ's Hospital, London 1657-1912; King's Hospital (The Blue Coat School) 1807-1941; the Great Brunswick Street Commercial School, Dublin 1871-1899.

The Erasmian 1899-

REPRESENTATIVE CHURCH BODY LIBRARY

Ms D.6.1.18 and Ms D.6.1.19. Material relating to the last years of The Diocesan School for Girls and to the amalgamation with The High School.

GUILDHALL LIBRARY, LONDON

Ms 13,822 Copies of the Act of Settlement, the Act of Explanation and the 1669 Charter, together with two copies of the 1680 deed giving the moiety of the surplus rents to the Hospital.

Ms 13,823 An abstract of such writings as are mentioned in the books touching Mr Erasmus Smith's gift. This is a cloth-bound volume of material, compiled in 1709 on the instructions of the Governors of Christ's Hospital when they were renewing their case against the Governors of the Trust in Ireland for their share of the surplus rents. It contains 56 items, with folio references from 1 to 112, which made up all the material in their possession relating to the dispute.

Ms 13,828 Copy of the 1718 agreement between the Hospital and the Trust.

Ms 13,830 A bundle of letters and documents; many of the letters are the originals of the copies in Ms 13,823.

LIBRARY OF THE KING'S INNS, DUBLIN
Prendergast Collections concerning Cromwellian, Restoration and Revolution Settlement of Ireland, Vols. 3 and 5.

PUBLLIC RECORD OFFICE OF NORTHERN IRELAND
Robinson, Newcombe and Foster papers (Photocopies of this material relating to the Trust are in the Danum Archive). This material was originally in the Diocesan Library, Armagh.

II PRINTED SOURCES

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.
Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland.
Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series) 1613–80.
Historical Manuscripts Commission: Ormonde; Egmont Mss.
Fifteenth Report on the Public Records of Ireland (1825).
Reports from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland: Ninth, on the Schools founded by Erasmus Smith, Esq. (1810).
Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools in Ireland (1858).
Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into primary education in Ireland (1870).
Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into Endowed Schools in Ireland (1881).
Report of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commissioners (1896).

III LATER WRITINGS

Bailey, Charles, *The History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1892-1945* (Dublin, 1947)
Barnard, T. C., *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform. Ireland 1649-1660* (Oxford, 1975)
Barnard, T. C., *A New Anatomy of Ireland. The Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (Yale, 2003)
Bottigheimer, Karl, *English Money and Irish Land: The 'Adventurers' in the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (Oxford, 1971)
Bowen, Desmond, *Souperism: Myth or Reality?* (Cork, 1970)
Bowen, Kurt, *Protestants in a Catholic State: Ireland's Privileged Minority* (Montreal, 1983)
Carte, Thomas, *An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormond* (London, 1736)
Clarke, Aidan, *Prelude to Restoration in Ireland. The End of the Commonwealth 1659-60* (Cambridge, 1999)
Dagg, S. C., *Hockey in Ireland* (Tralee, 1944)
D'Arcy, C. F., *Adventures of a Bishop: A Phase in Irish History: A Personal and Historical Narrative* (London, 1934)
Dunlop, Robert, *Ireland under the Commonwealth,* 2 vols, (Manchester, 1913)
Eglinton, John, *Irish Literary Portraits* (London, 1935)
Esbeck, Edmund van, *The Story of Irish Rugby* (London, 1986)
Healy, T. M., *Letters and Leaders of my Day,* 2 vols, (London, 1929)
Humphreys, Fr David, *Evidence submitted to the Commissioners of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act* (1889)
Humphreys, Fr David, *The Erasmus Smith Endowment* (1895)
Jagoe, Muriel and Oldham, Enid, *Records and Reflections: A History of the Diocesan Secondary School for Girls, 1849-1974* (Dublin, 1986)
Marnane, D. G., *Land and Violence: A History of West Tipperary from 1660* (1985)
Maxwell, Constantia, *History of Trinity College, Dublin 1591-1892* (Dublin, 1946)
Milne, Kenneth, *The Irish Charter Schools 1730-1830* (Dublin, 1997)

Olmeyer, J. H., *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Kingdoms: the career of Randall McDonnell, Marquis of Antrim* (Cambridge, 1993)
Parkes, Susan M., *Kildare Place: The History of the Church of Ireland Training College 1811-1969* (Dublin, 1984)
Ronan, M. V., *The Erasmus Smith Endowment: A Romance of Irish Confiscation* (Dublin, 1937)
Ross, Sir John, *Pilgrim Scrip* (London, 1927)
Seymour, St. J., *The Puritans in Ireland 1649-66* (Dublin, 1941)
Tynan, Katherine, *Twenty Five Years: Reminiscences* (London, 1913)
Whiteside, Lesley, *A History of The King's Hospital* (Dublin, 1975)
Yeats, W. B., *Autobiographies* (London, 1951)

IV ARTICLES

Arnold, L.J., The Irish Court of Claims of 1663. *Irish Historical Studies*, 24, No. 96 (1985)
Barnard, T. C., Planters and Policies in Cromwelliam Ireland. *Past and Present*, 61 (1973)
Barry, J. G., The Cromwellian Settlement of the County of Limerick. *Journal of the Limerick Field Club* 1 (1900)
Bottingheimer, Karl, The Restoration Land Settlement in Ireland: A Structural View. *Irish Historical Studies,* XVIII (1972)
Quane, Michael, Drogheda Grammar School. *Co Louth Archaelogical Society Journal*, XV, No. 3 (1963)
Quane, Michael, Galway Grammar School. *Galway Archaelogical and Historical Society Journal*, XXXI (1964–65).
Quane, Michael, The Abbey School, Tipperary. *Cork Historical and Archaelogical Society Journal*, LXV (1960).

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Dutton, Hely, *Statistical and Agricultural Survey of the County of Galway* (Dublin, 1824)
2. M. V. Ronan, *The Erasmus Smith Endowment* (Dublin, 1937)
3. *Irish Historical Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (September 1938), pp. 210–211
4. Marcus Bourke, 'Erasmus Smith and Tipperary Grammar School', *Tipperary Historical Journal* (1989), p. 83
5. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1666-69, p. 568
6. Stephen S. Brown, 'A survey of the records available for the study of the Erasmus Smith endowment' (unpublished MA thesis, QUB, 1982)
7. A. P. W. Malcomson, *Archbishop Charles Agar: Churchmanship and Politics in Ireland, 1760-1810* (Dublin, 2002), p. 620

CHAPTER ONE

1. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (London, 1810), p. 183
2. Transcript of the Minute Book of the Court of Assistants of the Grocers' Co., pp. 204-401
3. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1647-60, p. 753
4. Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) 1650, pp. 530, 541, 600, 590
5. Calendar State Papers (Ireland): Adventurers for Land 1642-59, pp. 57, 58
6. ibid., p. 58
7. Karl Bottigheimer, *English Money and Irish Land* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 64-70.
8. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1647-60, p. 785
9. Thomas Carte, *An History of the Life of James, Duke of Ormonde* (London, 1736), Vol. II, p. 16
10. Calendar State Papers (Ireland): Adventurers for Land, pp. 62, 102, 230, 307
11. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1647-60, pp. 442 and 160
12. ibid, pp. 185-6
13. Prendergast Papers Vol III, p. 527
14. Instructions for Sir John Clothworthy, Knt and William Aston, Esq. member of the Generall Convention of Ireland now employed into England by the said convention, British Library, Add MS 32,471 f 82 v
15. Transcripts of the Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Grocers' Co., pp. 463, 470, 497, 505, 507, 520, 536, 542, 555
16. Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial Series) 1613-80, no. 514
17. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1660-62, p. 605
18. HMC: Ormonde Papers: New Series (1904), Vol. III, p. 18
19. Calendar State Papers (Domestic) 1661-62, p. 392
20. Carte, *Ormonde,* Vol II, p. 279
21. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1663-65, p. 216
22. Hist. Mss Comm. Egmont Papers, Vol. II, p. 6
23. Father Ronan thought that this bill originated in the Irish Parliament (presumably from the Government) and that it took the land from Erasmus Smith because of his 'corrupt' acquisition of the lands.(*The Erasmus Smith Endowment,* pp. 18–19)
24. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1660-62, p. 469
25. ibid., p. 592
26. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1663-65, p. 382
27. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1666-69, p. 58
28. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1663-65, p. 544

29. Carte, *Ormonde*, Vol II, pp. 295-96
30. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1666-69, p. 58
31. Howard, Dr Edmund, *A Treatise of the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland* (1776) quoted in Ronan, *The Erasmus Smith Foundation,* pp. 28-29
32. 15th Report of the Commissioners on the Public Records of Ireland (1825), Appendix, p. 55
33. Calendar State Papers (Ireland) 1666-69, p. 191
34. 15th Report of the Commissioners on the Public Records of Ireland (1825), Appendix, p. 214
35. ibid., p. 529
36. 15th Report of the Commissioners on the Public Records of Ireland (1825), Appendix, p. 199
37. A general outline of this sequence of events is given in the preamble to the 1669 Charter.
38. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p. 25
39. ibid., p. 24
40. A copy of part of this letter survives in the Danum archive.
41. Guildhall Library, Ms 13,830
42. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p. 50. He had sent a draft to the Governors in June.
43. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p. 60
44. Calendar State Papers (Domestic) 1680-81, pp. 684-5
45. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, pp. 60-61
46. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Ormonde Papers New Series, Vol. VI, p. 267
47. ibid., p. 267. The letter is entered in the Board Book, Vol. I, p. 28.
48. Calendar State Papers (Domestic) 1682, p. 2
49. The letter was entered in the Board Book, Vol. I, p. 43
50. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p. 71
51. ibid.
52. ibid., p. 85
53. Calendar State Papers (Domestic) 1686-87, p. 295
54. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p. 90
55. ibid., p. 98
56. Transcripts of the Minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Grocers' Co., p. 768
57. *History of the County of Essex,* Vol. VIII (Oxford, 1985), p. 80

CHAPTER TWO

1. All decisions of the Board are from the Board Registers and are recorded under the dates of the meetings on which they were made. Vol I covers the period 1674-1732. The Board are referred to as 'the Governors' or 'the Trustees' in addition to 'the Board'.
2. Account Book 1673-85
3. Book of abstracts of leases from 1657
4. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p. 90
5. ibid., p. 46
6. ibid., p. 24
7. Copy in Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p.18
8. Father Ronan misread the Board Book here. He did not realise that the report from the sub-committee was in the form of a letter to the Governors and used it mistakenly as evidence that the school was a state school. (*The Erasmus Smith Foundation,* p. 54)
9. Board Book, Vol. I, p. 46
10. David Hayton, 'The Church of Ireland laity in Public Life, c.1660-1740' in Raymod Gillespie and W. G. Neely (eds.), *The Laity and the Church of Ireland, 1000-2000: All Sorts and Conditions* (Dublin, 2002) pp. 123-128

11. Account Book 1673-85
12. Guildhall Library, London, Ms 13,823, p. 75
13. ibid., p. 100
14. ibid., p.102
15. ibid., p. 105
16. ibid., p. 112
17. ibid., p. 117

CHAPTER THREE

1. The Committee Book from Sept 1721 to 23 Nov 1724. This is the only separate record of sub-committee meetings to survive before the 19th century.
2. Account Book of several Treasurers 1706-Nov 1745
3. Kenneth Milne, *The Irish Charter Schools 1730-1830* (Dublin, 1997), pp. 274-80
4. Lesley Whiteside, *A History of The King's Hospital* (Dublin, 1975), pp. 50-51
5. Alleyn Fitzherbert, Dublin Castle, 2 Feb 1789, on behalf of the Lord Lieutenant to the Governors; entered in the Board Register
6. Endowed Schools (Ireland) Report (1858), Vol. II, p. 351
7. ibid., p. 352
8. ibid., p. 354
9. ibid., pp. 355-6
10. Board Register Vol II, 12 March 1810
11. Whiteside, *King's Hospital*, p. 74. The account given there is slightly inaccurate in that the new Charter of 1833 merely regularised the existing situation.
12. 21 and 22 George III, chap. 27 and 25 George III, chap. 55
13. Endowed Schools (Ireland) Report (1858): evidence of Father Peter Daly, parish priest of Galway

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Susan M. Parkes, *Kildare Place: The History of the Church of Ireland Training College 1811-1969* (Dublin, 1984), p. 18
2. Robinson Papers, Armagh Archive D104/8/9/3/7
3. ibid., D104/8/9/3/8
4. Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission: Report (1858), Vol. II, p. 196
5. ibid., Vol. I, p. 684
6. Desmond Bowen, *Souperism: Myth or Reality?* (Cork, 1970), pp. 109-110
7. Endowed Schools (Ireland) Report (1858), Vol. I, pp. 205-210
8. Mrs Hamilton Madden, *Memoir of the late Rt Rev Robert Daly, Bishop of Cashel* (London 1875), chap. 8
9. Endowed School (Ireland) Report (1858), p. 77
10. ibid., pp. 77-80
11. Royal Commission of Inquiry (Powis Commission) on Primary Education (Ireland) Report (1870), Vol. III, pp. 538-547
12. ibid., Vol. II, p. 356
13. ibid., Vol. III, p. 372

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Col. Ed. Baker Littlehales on behalf of the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis, 6 Nov 1799. Archbishop Newcombe papers, Armagh Archive D104/8/9/3/29
2. Foster papers, PRNOI 207/25/15a

3. Foster papers, PRNOI D207/25/12
4. See Marnane, D. G., *Land and Violence: A History of West Tipperary from 1660* (1985), for a detailed account
5. J.C.Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland* (London, 1966), p. 317
6. Board Register, Vol. IV, 15 June 1850
7. ibid., p. 99
8. Educational Endowments (Ireland) Report (1858), Vol. II, p. 23
9. ibid., p. 92
10. ibid., p. 85

CHAPTER SIX

1. The Commission of Irish Education Inquiry (1791): Report
2. Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission: *Report* (1858), p. 278
3. K. Kilburn Scott, *Leeds Church Middle Class School* (Leeds, 1927), Chap I
4. Louis M. Cullen, 'The Growth of Dublin 1600-1900: Character and Heritage' in Aalen and Whelan (eds.), *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to the Present* (Dublin, 1992)
5. Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission: *Report* (1858), p. 222
6. Maxwell, *History of Trinity College, Dublin 1591-1892* (Dublin, 1946), pp. 194-5
7. James Killen, 'Transport in Dublin: Past, Present and Future' in Allen and Whelan (eds.), op. cit.
8. Georgian Society, Vol. II, p. 91
9. Endowed Schools Commission (1878): *Report* (1881), Vol. I, p. 82
10. Board Book, Vol. IV, pp. 102-105
11. ibid., pp. 110-111
12. Endowed Schools Commission (1878): *Report* (1881), Vol. I, p. 82
13. A. A. Munford, *The Manchester Grammar School* (London, 1919), chap. XIII
14. Endowed Schools Commission (1878): *Report* (1881), Vol. II, p. 119
15. *The Erasmian*, December 1955, p. 17. The description is from a letter written by W. J. L. Clarendon (1874-78).

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. *The Erasmian,* April 1929, p. 674 (J. B. S. MacIlwaine)
2. Endowed Schools Commission (1878): *Report* (1881), Vol. II, p. 97
3. ibid., Vol. II, p. 98
4. ibid., Vol. II, p. 98
5. C. F. D'Arcy, *Adventures of a Bishop* (London, 1934), p. 29

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. C. A. Reid, *Cabinet of Irish Literature* (new ed. by K. Tynan, London, 1903), p. 350
2. Ross, *The Years of my Pilgrimage* (London, 1924), p. 187
3. Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission: *Report* (1881), Vol. I, p. 240
4. ibid., p. 240
5. C. F. D'Arcy, *Adventures of a Bishop* (London, 1934), p. 20
6. Charles Bailey, *The History of Trinity College, Dublin, 1892-1945* (Dublin, 1947), p. 105

CHAPTER NINE

1. W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies* (London, 1951), p. 56
2. ibid., p. 56

3. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, p. 56
4. ibid, p. 57
5. John Eglinton, 'Yeats at School', *The Erasmian*, June 1939, p. 11
6. *Autobiographies*, p. 58
7. John Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits* (London, 1935), pp. 20-25
8. Endowed Schools (Ireland) *Report* (1881), Vol. I, p. 240
9. Anonymous Article, *T. P.'s Weekly,* June 1912
10. *The Collected Letters of W. B. Yeats,* ed. J. Kelly (Oxford, 1986), Vol. I, p. 319
11. Eglinton, *Literary Portraits*, p. 23
12. Boyd, *Ireland's Literary Renaissance* (London, 1923), p. 40
13. *Autobiographies*, p. 79
14. Eglinton, *Irish Literary Portraits,* p. 24
15. Katherine Tynan, *Twenty Five Years: Reminiscences* (London, 1913), chap. 23
16. Eglinton, *Memoir of Æ* (London, 1937), p. 12
17. *Autobiographies*, p. 89
18. Tynan, *Twenty Five Years,* chap. 23
19. J. P. Frayne, *Uncollected Prose of W. B. Yeats* (New York, 1970), Vol. I, p. 302
20. Tynan, *Twenty Five Years,* chap. 23
21. W. B. Yeats, 'The Poetry of Æ', *Daily Express*, 3 September 1898
22. Cousins, J. H. and M. E., *We Two Together* (Madras, 1950), p. 98
23. ibid., p. 206
24. A. Norman Jeffares, *A New Commentary on the Poems of W. B. Yeats* (London, 1984), pp. 178-79

CHAPTER TEN

1. *The Erasmian*, December 1954, p. 19: Maurice Wilkins speaking of his father when he unveiled his portrait in the Clockroom.
2. Cousins, op. cit., p. 98
3. *The Erasmian*, June 1903, p. 37
4. ibid., December 1908, p. 2
5. ibid., June 1950, p. 8
6. *The Irish Times*, 4 July 1964
7. Cousins, op. cit., p. 98
8. W. Wilkins, *The Present and Future Schoolmaster* (Dublin, 1888), p. 14

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Cousins, op. cit.
2. Moore, H. Kingsmill, *Reminiscences and Reflections from some Sixty Years of Life in Ireland* (London, 1930)
3. *The Erasmian,* June 1916, p. 64
4. ibid., March 1917, p. 34
5. ibid., March 1922, p. 208

CHAPTER TWELVE

1. T. M. Healy, *Letters and Leaders of My Day,* Vol II, p. 168
2. 1878 Endowed Schools (Ireland) *Report* (1881), Vol II, p. 94
3. Sir John Ross, *Pilgrim Scrip* (London, 1927), p. 125
4. 1878 Endowed Schools (Ireland) *Report* (1881), Vol. I, p. 242
5. ibid., pp. 242, 243

6. 878 Endowed Schools (Ireland) *Report* (1881), Vol. I, p. 242
7. ibid, p. 141
8. Correspondence of Thomas Sanders with the Governors 1880-82 EE 1500-1501, Box 293 (b)
9. 1878 Endowed Schools Commission (Ireland) *Report* (1881), Vol. II, p. 94
10. ibid., p. 110
11. ibid., Vo.l I, p. 86
12. ibid., Vol. I, p. 228
13. ibid., Vo.l I, p. 77
14. Healy, T. M., *Letters and Leaders of mM Day,* Vol. 2, p. 436
15. ibid., p. 437
16. Fr. D. Humphreys, *Evidence submitted to the Commissioners of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act* (1889); *The Erasmus Smith Endowment* (1895)
17. *The Irish Daily Independent and Nation,* 31 January 1901

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. *The Erasmian,* December 1925, p. 423
2. ibid., December 1924, p. 362
3. ibid., December 1926, p. 498
4. ibid., December 1927, p. 568
5. ibid., June 1927, p. 587

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1. Creed Meredith, son of Sir Charles Creed Meredith; distinguished career TCD, barrister; strong supporter of Sinn Féin, High Court judge in the (underground) Republican courts established by Dáil Éireann in 1918; Judge of the High Court in the Irish Free State 1924, Supreme Court judge 1938; died 1942.
2. An Ardchúirt Breitheamhnais, *Governors of Erasmus Smith Schools v Attorney-General and Others; Oral Evidence* (18 March 1932), p. 104
3. ibid., p. 211
4. ibid., p. 221
5. *The Irish Times,* 7-9 July 1931
6. *Oral Evidence,* p. 260
7. ibid., p. 277
8. ibid., p. 185
9. M. V. Ronan, *The Erasmus Smith Endowment* (Dublin, 1937)
10. *Oral Evidence,* p. 305
11. ibid., p. 306. Father Ronan corrected this when he published his evidence.
12. ibid., p. 164
13. ibid., p. 467
14. ibid., pp. 361-3
15. ibid., p. 458
16. ibid., p. 405
17. ibid., p. 413
18. *The Irish Times,* 28 July 1931
19. *The Irish Law Times,* 1933, p. 117

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1. *The Irish Times*, 25 April 1951

2. *T.C.D. (A College Miscellany)*, 11 May 1951 (The writer was J. V. Luce.)
3. *The Erasmian*, December 1931, p. 111
4. ibid., June 1945, p. 3
5. The full text of the Address is given in *The Erasmian,* December 1946, p. 35.
6. Kurt Bowen, *Protestants in a Catholic State: Ireland's Privileged Minority,* (Montreal, 1983), p. 80

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1. *The Irish Times*, 14 November 1952
2. For example, W. B. Stanford, *A Recognised Church: The Church of Ireland in Éire* (Dublin 1944)
3. *The Erasmian*, December 1958, p. 19
4. ibid., December 1972, p. 11. The quotation is from an article on the new thinking by the Senior R. E. teacher, Miss J. Barcroft.
5. ibid., p. 7
6. ibid.,. June 1971, p. 12
7. ibid., December 1964, p. 21
8. ibid., December 1961, p. 2

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1. RCB Library Ms D. 6. 1. 18
2. RCB Library Ms D.6.1.19.
3. See Muriel Jagoe and Enid Oldham, *Records and Reflections: A History of the Diocesan Secondary School for Girls, 1849-1974* (Dublin, 1986)

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1. *The Erasmian,* December 1954, p. 19. Maurice Wilkins was the speaker.
2. C. F. D'Arcy, *Adventures of a Bishop* (London, 1934)
3. *The Erasmian,* April 1935, p. 22
4. S. C. Dagg, *Hockey in Ireland.* Dagg was himself an Old Boy (1922-25).
5. *The Erasmian,* December 1935, p. 76 (Memories of Rev. A. W. R. Cheales)
6. Edmund van Esbeck, *The Story of Irish Rugby* (London, 1986), chap. 25
7. *The Erasmian,* December 1948, p. 47. The writer was J. C. Ferguson (1889-97), brother of Godfrey and a co-founder of the club; both brothers emigrated to S. Africa.
8. *The Erasmian,* June 1950, p. 8. The article was written by Cecil Darley.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

1. *The Erasmian,* June 1938, p. 7
2. ibid., June 1963, pp. 45-49
3. *The Irish Times,* 7 February 1973
4. ibid., 14 February 1973
5. ibid., 3 March 1973
6. *The Irish Press,* 3 March 1973
7. *The Irish Times,* 19 March 1973
8. *The Irish Press,* 19 March 1973
9. *The Erasmian,* June 1949, p. 3

Index