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SECONDARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND

1878 - 1968

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Volume I — Text

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PREFACE

The present thesis sets itself the task of tracing the development of academic-type secondary education in Ireland from the passing of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1878 to the year 1968, confining its attention, however, for the period subsequent to 1922 to the twenty-six counties of southern Ireland. An outline will be given in chapter I of the various statutory enactments which had a bearing on this development. In subsequent chapters attention will be focused successively on the administration and organisation of secondary education; on the size of schools and the question of their geographical distribution; on the financing of secondary education; on the development of the curriculum as it evolved in the course of the period under review and on the question of the degree of adequacy with which various subjects were catered for at different times; on the various examinations which in one way or another have been involved; and on the fortunes of the body of teachers who during the course of that period have worked in Irish secondary schools.

Among the primary sources on which the chapters which follow are based are the annual reports first of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland and then of the Department of Education, and the reports of the various commissions and committees of inquiry which have from time to time been set the task of investigating particular issues relating to secondary education in Ireland. From such sources alone, however, it is not always possible to arrive at an accurate and detailed picture of the reality of the situation, and for this reason it is necessary to give careful consideration to as much enlightened contemporary commentary as possible. The Annual Reports, for

example, have not infrequently tended to give the impression that various innovations were successfully achieving the desired results, when in fact the bulk of what other evidence is available argues strongly to the contrary. One gets the impression, in fact, that both the Board and the Department were rather inclined to regard the mere introduction of regulations as synonymous with the successful accomplishment of whatever objectives the particular regulations were designed to bring about. Reference will be made to specific instances of this when the rules and regulations in question are being considered.

In dealing with the immediate past one is particularly hampered by a lack of up-to-date statistics. When the Minister for Education, Mr Colley, referred in the Dáil in June 1966 to his decision of the previous year to discontinue the publication of his Department's Annual Report, he pointed out that in future the statistical tables which had hitherto appeared as appendixes to the Report would be issued anually as a separate publication. Enquiry at the Government Publications Sales Office in mid-July 1970, however, elicited the information that the latest statistical tables to have been published were those for the school year 1965-6, and no indication could be given as to a date when the figures for 1966-7 would appear. An earlier enquiry at the Department of Education, moreover, ascertained that plans for the proposed triennial Report with which it had originally been intended to replace the Annual Report had already been abandoned, and that the Department would not in future publish any official Report. Reference was made to the Department's new publication, Oideas, which, it was stated, would to some extent take the place of the Reports. It must be borne in mind, however, that in one important respect at least the new publication cannot be considered as replacing the old: in an editorial note to the first issue, in Autumn 1968, it is made abundantly clear that the journal is 'not the official mouthpiece of the Department of

Education', and that its contributors, whether Departmental or extra-Departmental, express their own ideas and opinions, which 'may not necessarily concur with the official views of the Department'.

Besides the considerable delay in making them available, the statistics which are published are also very limited in scope. This dearth of comprehensive fundamental statistical information has, particularly in recent years, given rise to repeated criticism; but to make good the deficiency would obviously call for a much greater amount of research than has been customary. In the course of a Seanad debate on education in December 1964, however, it was pointed out by Senator Professor Quinlan that educational research was quite out of the question for the Department of Education as it was then structured and staffed, and he made a strong plea to have research encouraged among teachers, who were, in his opinion, in the best position to carry out this kind of work. The Development Branch of the Department has since been established, and a grant towards financing approved research projects in education has been introduced. Should we now see a rapid growth of pertinent research projects in the field of education, which would draw not only on the experience of teachers and administrators but also on the experience of specialists in a wide variety of disciplines, we would have taken a step which has long been sorely needed in this country.

* * *

The writer wishes to express his deep gratitude to Rev. Professor Séamas V. Ó Súilleabháin, C.F.C., Professor of Education at St Patrick's College, Maynooth, in whose Department and under whose personal direction the present work was put together, for his unfailing interest and advice, and

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A special word of thanks is due to Miss Irene Barry who typed the text and the tables, and to Miss Kathleen O'Shea who processed the finished stencils. And to the very many others who from time to time afforded him the benefit of their views on a variety of topics relevant to the present study the writer is deeply grateful.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations used in this thesis adopt, for the most part, the form recommended in F. Howard Collins, *Authors' and Printers' Dictionary* (10th ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1956). The following, however, are additional to those found in that work:

A.S.T.I.: Association of Secondary Teachers, Ireland.

Athbheochan na Gaeilge [1963]: *An Coimisiún um Athbheochan na Gaeilge: An Tuarascáil Dheiridh*. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, [1963]. (Pr.7297).

C.C.S.S.: Conference of Convent Secondary Schools.

C.H.A.: Catholic Headmasters' Association.

Council of Education [1954]: *Department of Education: Report of the Council of Education as presented to the Minister for Education: (1) The Function of the Primary School; (2) The Curriculum to be pursued in the Primary School from the infant age up to 12 years of age*. Dublin: Stationery Office, [1954]. (Pr.2583).

Council of Education [1962]: *Department of Education: Report of the Council of Education as presented to the Minister for Education: The Curriculum of the Secondary School*. Dublin: Stationery Office, [1962]. (Pr.5996).

Dáil: *Parliamentary Debates: Dáil Éireann*.

Dale and Stephens (1905): *Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, Board of Education, on Intermediate Education in Ireland*. Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1905. [Cd.2546] 1905, XXVIII, 709.

Hadow Report (1927): *Great Britain: Board of Education: The Education of the Adolescent: Report of the Consultative Committee*. London, H.M.S.O., 1927.

I.N.T.O. Irish National Teachers' Organisation.

Investment in Education [1966], I: *Taighde ar Oideachas: Investment in Education: Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962*. Dublin: Stationery Office, [1966]. (Pr.8311).

Investment in Education [1966], II: Taighde ar Oideachas: Investment in Education: Annexes and Appendices to the Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962. Dublin: Stationery Office, [1966]. (Pr.8527).

I.E.R.: Irish Ecclesiastical Record.

I.H.S.: Irish Historical Studies.

Ir.Ed.Rev.: Irish Educational Review.

Ir.Journ.Ed.: Irish Journal of Education.

J.M.B.: Joint Managerial Body.

National Teachers' Salaries (1949): Reports and Appendices of the Committee on National Teachers' Salaries, etc., presented to the Minister for Education, 18 May 1949. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1949. (P. No. 9634).

Norwood Report (1943): Great Britain: Board of Education: Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941. London: H.M.S.O., 1943.

O.E.C.D. Survey Team: The Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962, under the direction of Mr Patrick Lynch, M.A., to survey educational needs and resources in Ireland, as a project under the Educational Investment and Planning Programme of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, whose Report, Investment in Education (2 vols.), was published in 1966.

Scottish Report (1947): Great Britain: Scottish Education Department: Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland. Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1947.

Seanad: Parliamentary Debates: Seanad Éireann.

Spens Report (1939): Great Britain: Board of Education: Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with special reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools. London: H.M.S.O., 1939.

Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960): Teachers' Salaries Committee: Reports and Appendices presented to the Minister for Education, 29 July 1960. Dublin: Stationery Office, 1960. (Pr.5694).

T.B.A.: Teaching Brothers' Association.

T.E.S.: Times Educational Supplement.

Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries [1968]: Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries: Report presented to the Minister for Education. Dublin: Stationery Office, [1968]. (Prl.87).

CHAPTER ONE: STATUTORY PROVISION.

Vice-Regal Commission (1899): Intermediate Education (Ireland) Commission: Final Report of the Commissioners. Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1899. [C.9511] 1899, XXII, 629.

Vice-Regal Committee (1919): Report of the Vice-Regal Committee on the Conditions of Service and Remuneration of Teachers in Intermediate Schools, and on the Distribution of Grants from Public Funds for Intermediate Education in Ireland. Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1919. [Cmd.66] 1919, XXI, 645.

Chapter One: STATUTORY PROVISION.

With a view to showing the legal basis for the various rules and regulations which govern and which have governed different aspects of secondary education in this country since 1878 the present chapter will list the main statutes from which the various powers today exercised in this area derive. Most of the statutes dealt with here will be given further treatment later, in the chapter or chapters to which they are particularly relevant. Accordingly, it has been considered appropriate in the case of many of them to do little more in the present chapter than note their existence, referring the reader at the same time, to places where fullter treatment is given them; in other cases, where something more than passing mention was obviously demanded, every effort has been made to avoid unnecessary repetition. Enactments, however, which receive little or no subsequent attention are treated more fully in this chapter. The chapter is divided into two sections: the first deals with those statutes cited collectively as the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Acts,1878 to 1924;[1] the second with other relevant enactments.

1. The Intermediate Education Acts.

A. Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1878.

This Act[2] represents the first large-scale attempt at promoting intermediate secular education in Ireland.[3] It made provision for the establishment of a seven-member Board, to be known as the 'Intermediate Education Board for Ireland', who would be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant and who would hold office during his pleasure.[4] The Lord Lieutenant was also empowered by the Act to appoint two assistant commissioners 'to assist the Board in the execution of this Act, who ..... shall also act as secretaries, and,when required, as inspectors';[5] and the Board might, with the consent of the Lord Lieutenant and the approval of the Treasury, appoint examiners and other officers according as they deemed it necessary for the purposes of the Act.[6]

It would be the duty of the Board to promote intermediate secular education in Ireland in the following manner: (a) by instituting and carrying on a system of public examinations of students; (b) by providing for the payment of prizes and exhibitions, and the giving of certificates to students;

(c) by providing for the payment to managers of schools complying with the prescribed conditions, of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students; and (d) generally by applying the funds placed at the disposal of the Board for the purposes of the Act, provided, however, that no examination should be held in any subject of religious instruction, nor any payment made in respect thereof.[7] The Board was directed to draw up rules, subject to the Lord Lieutenant's approval and that of both Houses of Parliament with respect to the following among other matters: (a) for defining the qualifications of the students who might present themselves for examination; (b) for applying, 'as far as conveniently may be, the benefits of this Act to the education of girls'; (c) for defining the subjects and nature of the examinations; (d) for fixing the numbers and amounts of the prizes and exhibitions which might be awarded each year, and the various conditions upon compliance with which such prizes and exhibitions might be obtained and held; and (e) for prescribing and satisfying themselves as to the observance of the conditions upon which managers of schools might receive payment of result fees.[8]

In drawing up these rules, however, the Board had to comply with the detailed provisions set out in a Schedule to the Act.[9] And while, under the terms of the Act, the Board could always seek Parliament's approval for any changes which it thought it advisable to make, in practice it turned out that the Board repeatedly found itself severely hampered by these restrictions. Thus we find the Intermediate Education Commission in the introduction to its Final Report in 1899 expressing its regret that the Board did not enjoy the powers possessed by other educational boards and departments, and that it had no power 'to promote Intermediate education in Ireland, save in the manner laid down by the legislature, by administering the particular system prescribed by it'.[10]

In addition to providing expressly for the exclusion from the examinations of all subjects of religious instruction, the Act provided as well that the Board should not make any payment to the managers of any school unless it was satisfied that no pupil attending the school was permitted to remain in attendance during the time of any religious instruction which the parents or guardians of such pupil had not sanctioned, and that the time for giving such instruction should be so fixed that no pupil not remaining in attendance would be excluded directly or indirectly from the advantages of the secular education

given in the school.[11]

For the purpose of carrying the Act into effect, the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland were directed by the Act to provide for the use of the Board, out of the property accruing to the Commissioners under the Irish Church Act, 1869, [12] such amount, not exceeding one million pounds sterling, as the Board would estimate to be required for the purposes of the Act.[13] The annual income arising from the amount so provided was to be applied by the Board for the purposes of the Act; and if in any year the full sum of such income should not be required to be so applied, the balance was to be invested by the Board 'by way of accumulation in the purchase of Government securities'.[14]

The absence of any widespread system of official support for intermediate education in Ireland had become increasingly obvious in the years immediately preceding 1878, and was highlighted by people like President Berwick of University College, Galway, who, in reference to the system of admissions to his own College, stated: 'if we rejected candidates who were not sufficiently prepared to enter on our curriculum we would reject eight out of ten',[15] Dr Birch has pointed out, however, that the passing of such a law at that particular time had been by no means a simple matter. 'To the official mind of the British Government,' he stated, 'only a small minority in the country could, up to that time [i.e. the 1870's] claim consideration of their interests as a natural right, and if the majority wished to partake of the benefits which the others enjoyed, they might do so, but only on certain conditions, which were actually equivalent to an admission that they had no rights in the matter'.[16] On the other hand, while some measure of Government financial support was being demanded for intermediate education since the middle of the century at least, the more outspoken of the Irish Catholics had been unwilling to allow the Government any say at all in the matter of the education of Catholics, emphasizing that it was no more than their right that the Government should provide financial aid for their schools without being given any measure of control over them in return.[17] The Act of 1878 was, therefore, the outcome of compromise on both sides: on the one hand it offered concessions to Catholics, which were in effect an unprecedented admission of their rights; but at the same time it insisted on the corresponding rights of the Government to have a part in the direction of school policy.[18] Its considerable significance in Irish history was underlined by Dr Birch when he pointed out that when the Act

was being passed it was clearly accepted as establishing a new and important principle in the legal position of Catholics in their relation to the Government.[19]

B. Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1882.

The details of what led to the passing of this Act[20] will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.[21] In brief, the provision under section 8 of the Act of 1878 whereby the Board was obliged to invest all annual surpluses 'by way of accumulation in the purchase of Government securities' was found to be unsatisfactory, since it restricted the Board from making use of the accumulated surpluses of 1879 and 1880 to meet the deficiency which arose in 1881 when the Board's annual income proved insufficient for the purposes of the Act. Hence the Amending Act of 1882 which empowered the Board to apply the surplus income of 1879 and 1880 for the purposes of the 1878 Act for the year 1881,[22] and to apply any such future surpluses in a similar manner for the purposes of the said Act for any other year or years where the annual income would prove insufficient.[23] The Board was expressly precluded,however, from anticipating in any one year the income of any future year, except to the extent involved in 'the hiring of any office, the assignment of salary to any officer, the grant of exhibitions, or any other like act in one year which involves a periodic payment not only in the said year, but in future years'.[24]

C. Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1900.

The Act of 1900[25] was designed to empower the Board to carry out the recommendations contained in the General Summary of the Report of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Commission, which had been presented to Parliament in 1899,[26] and to repeal those provisions of earlier enactments which were not consistent with these recommendations.[27] Under the new Act the Board was permitted, if it thought fit, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant and the approval of the Treasury as to number and remuneration, to 'appoint persons to act as inspectors in addition to, or instead of, the Assistant Commissioners'.[28] The number of members of the Board, originally fixed at seven,[29] was now raised to twelve.[30] And the Board was given power to grant, out of the funds placed at its disposal, superannuation allowances to assistant commissioners, inspectors, clerks and other officers of the Board.[31]

In practice, however, the new Act achieved little. The recommendations of the Commissioners as embodied in the Act, and the action of the Board in so far as it had been possible for it to take action under the Act or in view of practical and unforeseen difficulties which subsequently arose, did not prove effective; and Dale and Stephens, reporting in 1905, expressed their disapproval at how little had been accomplished, 'In spite of the fact that the Amending Act of 1900 was passed solely in order to carry out these recommendations'.[32] The particular difficulties which arose will be discussed elsewhere in this thesis.[33]

D. Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1913.

The main effect of the Act of 1913[34]was to empower the Intermediate Board to substitute school inspection for public examination in the case of pupils under fourteen.[35] It will be seen in a later chapter that the Board had been contemplating such a change for some time, on educational grounds, but had not been certain of its powers under existing legislation.[36] Under the terms of the new Act the Board was prohibited from holding any public examination admission to which would be confined to students under the age of fourteen years.[37] It was empowered instead to make provision for the inspection of intermediate schools annually with a view to ascertaining the degrees of efficiency shown in the education of pupils under the age of fourteen and not under the age of twelve years, and for the payment to managers of schools of fees dependent on the results of such inspection, subject only to the restrictions specified in the Act of 1878 regarding instruction and examination in subjects of religious instruction.[38] The Board was required, so far as practicable, to appropriate the funds at their disposal in such a manner that a sum not exceeding one-sixth of the total amount available in the year for the payment of fees to managers of schools would be available for the payment of fees under this section.[39] Enlarged powers were also afforded it in the manner of providing for the grant of superannuation and other allowances or gratuities in respect of assistant commissioners, inspectors, clerks and other officers employed by the Board.[40] By virtue of the powers conferred on them by this Act, the Board, in 1914, paid grants amounting to over £8,000 to managers of schools on the results of the inspection of pupils under the age of fourteen and not under the age of twelve years.[41] This was the first time grants were

paid by the Board solely on the results of inspection.[42]

E. Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1914.

Two major improvements were provided for by the Act of 1914:[43] a Register of Intermediate School Teachers was to be set up, and provision was made for the annual payment by Parliament of a Teachers' Salaries Grant.[44] In the first instance, the Lord Lieutenant was empowered to constitute a Registration Council consisting of representatives of (a) the teaching profession in Ireland; (b) the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland; (c) the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland; and (d) such universities and other bodies interested in education as ought, in the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant, to be represented thereon.[45] The council was set the task of framing, subject to the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, regulations for the register of the intermediate school teachers in Ireland who satisfied the conditions of registration prescribed by the regulations and who applied to be registered.[46] The Register itself was to be formed and kept by the Intermediate Board in the manner prescribed by the regulations.[47] In the second instance, there would be paid to the Board in each year out of moneys provided by Parliament a sum not exceeding £40,000, and an amount equivalent to the sum so paid, to be known as the Teachers' Salaries Grant, was to be applied by the Board in the manner provided by rules made by the Lord Lieutenant under the Act and approved by the Treasury.[48] Accordingly, the Lord Lieutenant was specifically empowered to make rules, to be approved by Parliament, for carrying the Act into effect both by prescribing, subject to the approval of the Treasury, the manner in which the Teachers' Salaries Grant was to be applied, and by defining the constitution and regulating the procedure of the Registration Council.[49] Difficulties arose, however, in implementing these provisions: it was not until January, 1915, that definitive rules for the application of the Grant were finally made;[50] and regulations for admission to the Register did not come into force until July,1918.[51]

F. Intermediate Education (Amendment)Act,1924.

This Act[52] served solely to repeal those provisions of existing statutes which were now inconsistent with the new policy regarding intermediate education in this country.[53] The provisions in question were contained in the

Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1878, and in the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act,1890,[54] and referred to the payment of results fees. The 1878 Act was now amended to remove the stipulation which made the payment of fees to managers of schools dependent on the results of public examinations of students[55] and the Act of 1890 was likewise amended with a similar purpose in view.[56] No further provision of any kind was contained in the new Act. The various powers which the Minister for Education exercises today derive in many instances from powers originally conferred by statute on the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland and transferred to the Minister by virtue of certain provisions in the Adaptation of Enactments Act,1922,[57] and in the Ministers and Secretaries Act, 1924.[58] These enactments are among those considered in the section which follows.

2. Other Relevant Enactments.

A. Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act,1890.

Provision was made in section 3 of this Act[59] to supplement the existing annual income of the Intermediate Board by applying to it a certain portion of the customs and excise duties falling due to this country each year.[60] After the sum of £78,000 out of the Irish share of the local taxation (customs and excise)duties paid to the Local Taxation(Ireland) account in respect of any financial year would have been paid to the Commissioners of Education for the purpose of assisting Irish national schools, the residue of such share would be paid to the Intermediate Board, and be distributed by them 'amongst schools to which the provisions of the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1878, apply, for both or either of the purposes following, but for no other purposes,namely: (a) for the payment to the managers of schools complying with the conditions prescribed under the said Act, of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students; and (b) for the payment of prizes and exhibitions and the giving of certificates to students, [in each case] according to a scheme to be settled by the said Board with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant and the Treasury.'[61] As had just been seen, the portion of this clause from the words 'amongst schools' to the end of that paragraph[62] was repealed by the Intermediate Education (Amendment)Act,1924.[63]

B. Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland)Act,1899.

This Act,[64] to the extent that it related to education, was, as its title indicates, concerned primarily with 'technical' as distinct from 'intermediate' education; and it defined this form of education as 'instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries, and in the application of special branches of science and art to specific industries or employments'.[65] Certain of its provisions, however, are relevant to a study of intermediate education in this country, for reasons which will be considered at greater length in subsequent chapters.[66] One of these provisions involved the transfer to the newly formed Department of the administration of the grant for science and art in Ireland, which had previously been administered successively by the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington, and by the Board of Education, and which was being availed of by some intermediate schools.[67] Another provision authorised local authorities to draw up scholarship schemes for the purposes of technical instruction,[68] and in the case of eight authorities the scholarships offered in schemes drawn up under this section were tenable at approved secondary schools where Science and Drawing formed part of the curriculum.[69] Provision was also madefor the establishment of a Consultative Committee whose function it would be to co-ordinate the administration of the various branches of education.[70] This Committee was to be composed of the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, and one person to be appointed by each of the following: the Commissioners of National Education, the Intermediate Education Board, the Agriculture Board, and the Board of Technical Instruction.[71] As a result of the establishment of this Committee, the Intermediate Board came to adopt the Programme in Science and Drawing prepared for secondary schools by the Department, and began to accept the results of the Department's inspection of these subjects in lieu of holding its own examinations in them.[72]

C. Irish Universities Act,1908.

The Intermediate Board was empowered under section 10 of this Act,[73] and notwithstanding anything in any other Act, out of the funds at their disposal to 'assist by means of exhibitions, scholarships, bursaries, payment of fees, or otherwise, students or intending students at any university in Ireland who shall have passed a matriculation examination or some other

examination prescribed by the university'.[74] In drawing up rules for this purpose the Board was bound by the same restrictions, relating to the holding of any examination in a subject of religious instruction or making any payment in respect of such examination as had been imposed on it by the Act of 1878 in relation to the Rules it had been directed to draw up under the terms of that Act.[75] In the event, however, the Intermediate Board is not on record as having made any attempt to avail of the power conferred on it under this Act, and the only encouragement it gave to promising students at the Senior Grade examinations consisted in the awards provided for in earlier legislation.[76]

Under the same section local authorities were empowered to make similar provision for students who satisfied the authority that they were qualified to profit by university instruction and were in need of assistance.[77] The local authorities were empowered to raise the necessary moneys for such schemes, subject to the proviso that the amount raised by any authority in any year for this purpose should not exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of one penny in the pound, or such higher rate as the authority, with the consent of the Local Government, might fix.[78] The extent to which local authorities availed of this provision is examined in a subsequent chapter.[79]

D. Irish Free State (Agreement)Act, 1922.

It has been seen earlier that the Act of 1878 represented a sizeable landmark in the history of relations between the British Government and Irish Catholics in as much as that the British Government made no attempt to exercise control over Catholic education or to advance any regulations which the Catholic community might object to,[80] and that its enactment had been accepted at the time as establishing, in a way unknown for centuries in this country, the right of Catholics to have unimpeded access to a form of education which was reconcilable with their religious beliefs. In the Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland which was signed on 6 December, 1921, and ratified by a statute of 31 March, 1922, entitled the Irish Free State (Agreement)Act, 1922,[81] guarantees to a similar effect were expressly given, and both the Parliament of the Free State and that of Northern Ireland were forbidden to take any action which would constitute discrimination on the grounds of religious belief or religious status, particularly in the matter of education.[82]

E. Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann)Act,1922.

In accordance with the provisions of article 16 of the Treaty, the Constitution contained in the First Schedule to the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann)Act,1922,[83] sought to ensure that discrimation on religious grounds could never again bar the way to education in this country. It provided, inter alia, that no law might be made either directly or indirectly to:[84]

> ...affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school, or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations, or divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for the purpose of roads, railways, lighting, water or drainage works or other works of public utility, and on payment of compensation.

Similar care was taken in drawing up the Constitution of 1937 not to discriminate against any citizen on grounds of religious belief, and in relation to education the State guaranteed 'to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide, according to their means, for the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children',[85] and it undertook 'not [to] oblige parents in violation of their conscience and lawful preference to send their children to schools established by the State, or to any particular type of school designated by the State'.[86]

F. Adaptation of Enactments Act,1922.

Articule 73 of the Constitution of the Irish Free State had provided that subject to that Constitution and to the extent to which they were not inconsistent therewith the laws in force in Saorstát Eireann at the date of the coming into operation of that Constitution should continue to be in full force until repealed or amended by enactment of the Oireachtas.[87] Accordingly, all Acts passed by the British Parliament which were in force on 6 December,1921, in the area after that date[88] comprised in Saorstát Eireann would have the force of law in the Saorstát. The Act we are now considering,[89] however, was necessary in order to enable such Acts to have full effect in the Saorstát by interpreting and adapting them, and all orders, rules and regulations made under

them, to conform to the constitutional and other changes which had just been effected.[90]

Section 7 of the new Act is particularly relevant to the subject of the present thesis. Under this Section the Executive Council of the Saorstát was empowered to establish a Board of Commissioners to exercise in Saorstát Eireann the functions which were on 6 December,1921, exercisable by any statutory Board of Commissioners or other statutory body which was in existence on that date and which then had jurisdictions, powers or duties extending to the whole of the United Kingdom, or to any part thereof which included the area subsequently comprised in Saorstát Eireann.[91] In exercising the powers conferred by this section, the Executive Council was empowered to confer or impose on any one Board of Commissioners established under this section all or any of the several jurisdictions, powers and duties of two or more such existing statutory Boards of Commissioners or statutory bodies; or, if it thought it advisable, to divide the jurisdictions, powers and duties of any such bodies among two or more Boards of Commissioners established under this section.[92] It was in accordance with these provisions that the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland was dissolved. By Order of the Executive Council under this section a Board of Commissioners to be known and the Intermediate Education Commissioners was established to exercise in Saorstát Eireann all the functions which had formerly been exercisable in that area by the Intermediate Board, and in pursuance of this Order the President of the Executive Council, on 18 June,1923, appointed Seosamh Ó Néill and Proinnsias Ó Dubhthaigh to be Intermediate Education Commissioners.[93] No attempt was yet made, however, to bring the various branches of education together under one head.

G. Local Government (Temporary Provisions)Act,1923.

This Act[94] is relevant to a study of secondary education to the extent that it confirmed the authorisation given to County and County Borough Councils by Dáil Eireann in 1921 to strike a rate not exceeding a penny in the pound for the purpose of providing scholarships for primary school pupils to enable them to proceed to secondary or technical schools.[95] This confirmation is contained in section 17 of the Act, the provisions of which, together with a brief account of the extent to which they were subsequently implemented, are outlined in a later chapter.[96]

H. Ministers and Secretaries Act, 1924.

The Constitution of 1922 had provided for the appointment of an Executive Council, consisting of not more than seven and not less than five Ministers, which would 'aid and advise in the government of the Irish Free State' and which would be responsible to Dáil Eireann.[97] The President of this Council would be appointed by the Representative of the Crown on the nomination of the Dáil,[98] and the other Ministers would be appointed by the Representative of the Crown, on the nomination of the President.[99] Further Ministers, however, who would not be members of the Executive Council, might be appointed by the Representative of the Crown on the nomination of an impartial and representative Committee of Dáil Eireann, subject to the proviso that the total number of Ministers, including the Ministers of the Executive Council, did not exceed twelve.[100] The Executive Council would be collectively responsible for all matters concerning the Departments of State administered by Members of the Executive Council,[101] while every Minister who was not a member of the Executive Council would be the responsible head of the Department or Departments under his charge, and would be individually responsible to Dáil Eireann alone for the administration of such Department or Departments.[102]

The various Departments of State over which these Ministers would preside were established under the terms of the Ministers and Secretaries Act, 1924,[103] In this way the Department of Education was set up and placed under the control of the Minister for Education.[104] The Department would 'comprise the administration and business generally of public services in connection with Education, including primary, secondary and university education, vocational and technical training, endowed schools, reformatories and industrial schools, and all powers, duties and functions connected with the same'.[105] In particular, it was authorised to assume the business, powers, duties and functions of the following: the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland; the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland; the Commissioners of Education in Ireland (Endowed Schools); the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools; the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland (business and functions relating to Technical Instruction only);[106] the College of Science; the Geological Survey of Ireland; the National Museum of Science and Art; the National Library of Ireland; the National Gallery of Ireland; the Metropolitan School of Art; and the Meteorological Services.[107] By the

passing of this Act, the basic provision had at last been made for bringing about a degree of co-operation such as had never been attempted hitherto in this country between the different branches of education.

J. Teachers' Superannuation Act,1928.

Consideration will be given in a subsequent chapter to the setting up and evolution of the Superannuation Scheme for Secondary Teachers which operates today.[108] The statute under which the original Scheme of 1929 was drawn up and under which numerous subsequent Amending Schemes have been introduced is the Teachers' Superannuation Act,1928.[109] Under this Act it was provided that the Minister for Education might, with the consent of the Minister for Finance, prepare in relation to any particular class or classes of teachers a scheme with the object of providing pensions and gratuities for or in respect of the class or classes of teachers to whom such scheme applied, and, subject to confirmation of the scheme under the terms of the Act, carry such scheme into execution; and that different schemes might be prepared and, subject to similar confirmation, be carried into execution by the Minister in relation to different classes of teachers.[110] The particular scheme relating to secondary teachers which was drawn up under this Act,came into force in May, 1929.[111]

K. Local Authorities (Education Scholarships)Act,1944.

The repeal of the Local Government (Temporary Provisions)Act,1923,by the Local Government Act,1941,[112] necessitated the provision of new legislation to empower County and County Borough Councils to raise and expend moneys on the award of scholarships.[113] This they were re-empowered to do by the Local Authorities (Education Scholarships)Act,1944.[114] A more detailed account of the provisions of this Act is given in a subsequent chapter.[115]

L. Local Authorities (Education Scholarships)(Amendment)Act,1961.

This Act[116] was designed to 'make further provision in relation to the grant by local authorities of scholarships and other assistance to students at approved schools and universities'.[117] For this purpose it amended and extended the Local Authorities (Education Scholarships)Act,1944, and section

10 of the Irish Universities Act, 1908.[118] The scope and extent of this Amendment are considered in the section of chapter IV dealing with scholarship provision.[119]

M. Local Authorities (Higher Education Grants) Act, 1968.

The introduction of this statute[120] constituted a radical departure from the traditional approach to scholarship provision in this country. Hitherto, under the various schemes in operation throughout the country and in accordance with the provisions of existing legislation, the element of competition had featured prominently, and merit alone was no guarantee that a child, otherwise qualified, would obtain a scholarship, since in a particular year and place it could happen that the standard of competition would be particularly high. Now, however, for the first time the element of competition was removed, and provision was made for the award of grants to enable students to pursue courses of higher education subject only to certain conditions relating to ability, means, age and 'such other requirements as may from time to time be prescribed by the Minister'.[121] More detailed consideration is given to this enactment in the relevant section of chapter IV.[122]

It will have been remarked that such legislation as exists leaves certain issues quite vague. The fundamental question, for example, of the precise nature of the relationship between State and school authorities is nowhere stated clearly, and in 1968, in the course of a period of uncertainty, the C.H.A. called on the Government to clarify the situation by setting down the relationship in an Act of the Oireachtas.[123] No attempt has subsequently been made to introduce such legislation, and there is no indication that any such statute is contemplated in the immediate future.

CHAPTER TWO: ADMINISTRATION.

Chapter Two: ADMINISTRATION.

This chapter is concerned with the history and development of the particular system of administering secondary education which operates in this country today, as it evolved in the period between 1878 and 1968. The first two subsections of section 1 will give, in broad outline, the role played successively by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland and by the Department of Education. A further subsection of this section will be devoted to the particular function of school inspection in the context of Irish secondary education. The position of the secondary departments which existed in some primary schhols and which were more commonly known as Secondary Tops, and that of the Preparatory Colleges or special secondary schools for intending candidates for training as national teachers, will also be considered in this section. Section 2 will deal with the considerable change which has taken place, in the course of the period under review, in the generally accepted meaning of the term 'secondary education', and the movement towards the provision of some form of secondary education for all will be traced. This section will comprise two subsections, the first dealing with the evolution of these ideas in other countries, and the second with an outline of their development in this country. Section 3 will be devoted to a review of certain structures which were already in existence before the end of our period and which are likely to assume greater importance in Irish secondary education in the future. Individual sub-sections here will deal with the question of comprehensive schools, the various problems related to an implementation of the Department's'comprehensive idea' for secondary education, the role of guidance, the function of the Development Branch recently established in the Department, the Department's new ideas on secondary school planning and design, and a note on R.T.E.'s Telefis Scoile programmes.

1. Control of Secondary Education.

A. The Role of the Intermediate Board.

In its report in 1919 the Vice-Regal Committee made reference to the fact that a large number of the intermediate schools in Ireland then receiving State aid had been in existence before the passing of the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1878.[1] These schools could not be considered to have

been in any sense State institutions: some were old foundations whose funds, in the first instance, had been derived from royal or other endowments; a considerable number belonged to Roman Catholic religious bodies; some, again, were private ventures. In all cases the school management, whether vested in a Board of Governors or in a private individual or in the head of a religious body, had been independent of any control on the part of the State.[2]

The Act of 1878 made no attempt to change this system; it provided simply for the appointment of a Board of seven Commissioners whose duty it would be 'to promote intermediate secular education in Ireland' by setting up and carrying on a system of public examinations, by providing for the payment of prizes and exhibitions to students, and by providing for the payment of results fees to managers of schools.[3] Explaining, in 1922, the very limited extent to which the State, as a result of this Act, had involved itself in secondary education in this country, the Intermediate Board stated: 'that the State should interfere with the education of the upper and middle ranks of society was a doctrine which would have found few or no supporters in the Imperial Parliament of that period'. [4] But apart from this consideration, it is quite certain, too, that had a more comprehensive from of State intervention been proposed it would have met with determined and bitter opposition. School authorities would naturally have been slow to acquiesce in any serious deiminution of their powers, especially in view of the way in which their schools had come into being; as they pointed out in a joint statement, in 1911, in connection with the proposed introduction at that time of increased State aid for secondary education,'... Irish Intermediate Schools, founded and maintained by private resources, are independent private schools, and in no sense State schools, and we cannot consent to any conditions attached to State Grants which would destroy or impair the independent character of our schools'. [5]

There was still a further obstacle to any large degree of State involvement on account of the Catholic Church's conception of its key role in education, opposition from Catholic school authorities might well have been encountered in any of a number of different areas in which the State might have sought to exercise its control. It will be seen later,[6] for example, that in the controversy which accompanied the attempt, in the latter part of the second decade of the present century, to ensure certain safeguards for lay teachers against possible capricious dismissal, these authorities strongly resisted

the setting up of any court of appeal which would in effect curtail the liberty of Catholic school managers to choose, retain, and promote teachers as they thought necessary;[7] and in outlining the reasons for their stand on this particular issue, Professor Corcoran indicated the grounds on which objection might be made to a considerable variety of possible measures. He said:[8]

> From the Catholic Church alone have they [i.e., the Catholic schools] received existence and the commission to educate. Their well-known historic origins (above all in Ireland), their past and present scope of work, alike preclude any but a strictly limited relation with the State: that relation must always remain consonant with their essential independence of and separateness from the State. As long as the State confines its services towards such schools to the 'promotion' of education, as it was rightly termed in the original Intermediate Education Act, no difficulty will occur: but if the State assumes to 'control' or 'direct' the actual education given in Catholic Schools, issues of principle arise.

The Act of 1878, however, gave rise to no such difficulties: the Board was given no direct control over the schools; and such indirect control as it was permitted to exercise over curricula and methods of teaching was strictly confined to the secular side of the programme, the Act stating explicitly that no examination should be held in any subject of religious instruction, nor any payment made in respect of such instruction.[9]

The Intermediate Board, therefore, exercised what degree of control it had over Irish intermediate schools, at first exclusively, and at a later period very largely, through its system of examinations. That the effect of this influence was not altogether beneficial is clearly beyond question. Monsignor Gerald Molloy, for example, criticising the harm it was doing to teaching methods, stated in 1898 that the degree of emphasis which had come to be placed on the public examinations could not but be injurious to the fundamental interests of education. He said:[10]

> When the teachers find, year after year, that the one obvious and conclusive test by which their work is judged, is the success of their pupils at the examinations, it is almost inevitable that they will direct their chief efforts to that object, and gradually lose sight of the higher aims and ends of education. They will be

> inclined to study the ways of examiners, rather than the special aptitudes and characteristics of their pupils; and they will have little stimulus to develop their own individual powers and resources; and their teaching will tend to settle down into a dull monotonous grind.

The Board itself was not unaware of the desirability of making certain fundamental changes, but as was pointed out by the Intermediate Education Commission in 1899, the powers of the Board were clearly limited by the Act of 1878, which specified in detail the precise manner in which the Board could 'promote' intermediate education,[11] and, to quote the Commission, 'while the Board has from time to time laid before Parliament rules modifying the Scheduled Rules in matters of detail, it has not hitherto felt itself at liberty to suggest to the legislature a departure from the general principles of the system which it was appointed to administer'.[12]

One fundamental change which was to be recommended by the Commission in 1899 was the introduction of an adequate system of inspection.[13] This was again to be suggested with even greater emphasis by Dale and Stephens in 1905,[14] and as will be seen in a subsequent section, the suggestion was eventually acted upon.[15] Inspection, however, did not prove to be the solution to all existing problems, and the Board complained in 1917 that its powers were still too limited. It stated:[16]

> The Board have . . . . no power to look upon the school as a unit, but can treat it only as a collection of individual pupils. They have no power to withold recognition from a school. A new school comes automatically under the Board, and can earn grants from them without any official investigation or recognition. This makes it impossible for the Board to deal in a satisfactory manner with many questions which must necessarily arise and which affect the school as a whole rather than the individual pupil.

As well, under the existing system, the Board found itself debarred from extending adequate assistance to particularly necessitous schools, even in cases where it was clear that they were serving a particularly useful purpose: 'In a country such as Ireland', it also pointed out in 1917,'small and struggling schools in backward districts are often of the highest

advantage to the community as a whole, yet they are inevitably condemned to the scantiest of grants. The Board can take no steps to help such schools, nor can they in any way encourage the establishment of schools in places where they are needed nor attempt to meet the special requirements of any given locality.'[17]

Despite its serious defects, however, the Intermediate System may be said to have worked to the overall advantage of secondary education in Ireland, at least to the extent that the situation would have been considerably worse without it. Looked at from one point of view, it can perhaps be said that the schools were not in fact compelled to adopt any approach to their work which they did not believe was essentially sound; for, as Dale and Stephens asserted in 1905, 'In education, as in other professions, exceptional ability and resource will bear fruit under any system, however defective: while on the other hand no general regulations, however admirably framed, can entirely prevent such maladministration or incapacity in details as may have the most prejudicial effect on the efficiency of a school'.[18] It will be suggested in a later chapter, however, that the particular form of examination system operating under the Intermediate Board, placing as it did such considerable emphasis on individual examination successes and reinforcing this emphasis with what amounted in those days to fairly sizeable monetary rewards both to schools and pupils, could not but exert a very considerable influence indeed on the type of work carried on in many schools, and that this influence did not always work in the best interests of education.[19] There can be no doubt, however, that many capable young people who would not otherwise have been in a position to benefit from a full course of secondary education were enabled to do so because of the exhibitions for which they qualified under the system, and that many others were put in a position to get at least some secondary education because of the very low fees charged in a number of schools, a practice on which the amounts paid in results fees had at least some bearing.

B. The Role of the Department of Education.

The Vice-Regal Committee had complained in 1919 that a factor which considerably limited the effectiveness of the existing provision for intermediate education was the almost total absence of connection, in this country, between the various branches of educational endeavour, and they considered

'that intermediate education cannot be properly organised until the various branches of education—primary, intermediate, and technical - are co-ordinated'.[20] They recommended the introduction of a system similar to that then functioning in England, where the President of the Board of Education was responsible to Parliament for the entire system of education, having the assistance of a Permanent Secretary who had under him, in turn, a Principal Assistant Secretary in respect of each branch.[21] Something on these lines was effected with the establishment of the Department of Education in 1924, though the Department itself, in its first Report, was at pains to emphasize that nothing like the degree of co-ordination which had been achieved between the three main branches of education in England would have been possible here, even if it were desirable, 'in view of the variety of interests involved'.[22] The one form of immediate co-ordination, however, which was possible was the co-ordination of the curricula of the various systems and the creation of administrative machinery to keep the work of all three branches in harmony. This task was undertaken without delay and resulted in the articulation of the courses in the top classes of the primary schools with those of the lower classes of the secondary schools, as well as in the establishment of a standing council of the Chief Inspectors from the three branches.[23] Whatever the degree of co-operation ultimately achieved, Professor Ó Cathain considered that the decision to bring the three branches of education under the one Minister and Department was the most important decision taken at that time in relation to the organisation of Education in this country.[24]

The new Department of Education made no attempt to interfere with the status of the secondary schools as private institutions, and it emphasized in 1926, that for this reason it neither founded such schools nor financed the building of them nor exercised any direct control over the appointment or dismissal of managers or teachers in them.[25] It was indeed the express intention of the early Ministers for Education to continue to respect the private character of the schools. Speaking in the Dáil in 1928, the Minister for Education, Professor J.M. O'Sullivan, stated:[26]

> A system has grown up here ... with the history of the country... that in some respects at least did satisfy some of our deepest and most lasting aspirations. It may not be as logically rounded off as some of the systems that we find in other portions

> of Europe, but it was possibly none the less healthy on that account. I am not complaining that we have not control of the monopoly of education. . .quite the contrary. Personally, I strongly believe that if anything of the kind were possible, it would be wrong that we should aim at it.... Our system here is a mixture of co-operation, of voluntary effort and State support....It is not without its compensations and its blessings....The Minister and the Department are not the people who educate the country. They have only a certain limited power to influence the people who educate the country... to help... to stimulate...to work for a certain amount of uniformity in aim in the educational system of the country.

Even for political reasons this type of solution seemed desirable, and Professor O'Sullivan assured the Dáil in 1931 of his conviction that it was of very considerable benefit to the country that they had decided against the introduction of a State system of education here. He referred to the case of Germany where an election had been fought in 1928 'on precisely this question of school control', and he asserted: 'Anyone who has ever lived outside this country knows the extraordinary amount of damage that is done not merely to religion but to education by the extraordinarily sterile debates, the bitter warfare I may almost call it, that is caused by the school question in other countries.'[27]

Almost half a century later, the decision not to introduce a public system of education still appears to have been a sensible one; the obvious weaknesses of the system can, for the most part, be linked with other causes, and none are directly attributable to the private and voluntary nature of the schools. Referring in 1957 to the progress which he considered to have already been made in the matter of reconstructing and renovating the voluntary system, John Mescal stated: 'The conclusion emerges that Ireland has made a success in law and in education and social principle, of the voluntary system; that there is enshrined in this system an important educational truth which educationists would do well to watch closely if they intend to raise up a religious people; and that for the modern nations who are looking all the time for a positive answer to the evils which beset the world today, the example of Ireland is very relevant.'[28] Senator Dónall Ó'Conallain laid particular

stress, in the Seanad, in 1965, on the country's indebtedness to the voluntary schools for the great services they had rendered to the State: 'we should be guilty of the basest ingratitude', he said,'if we were not to appreciate and recognise the contributions those schools have made to the maintenance of a high standard of education, a standard probably comparable with that in any other country in the world.'[29] And the editor of Studies maintained, in 1968, that while modern critics were quick to glean evidence to the contrary, 'at least on balance, the religous-run schools of this country have had a valuable formative influence on their pupils, of the kind which pertains to the true nature of education in a Christian country'.[30]

Educational considerations aside, the policy adopted in 1924 was very acceptable to successive governments for another important reason: it was very much cheaper than any comparable system. The report, Investment in Education, showed in 1966 that school places provided in secondary schools had a running cost 60 per cent less, on average, than that of comparable places in the State-run vocational schools, while their capital cost to the State had been nil.[31] In such circumstances the State might have been expected to devote a reasonable portion of what was thereby saved to attempts at improving the quality of education which was being given. It took no such action, however, and its failure to do so has given rise to repeated criticism. Senator Ó Conalláin,for example, pointed out in 1965:[32]

> Governments down through the years have gladly accepted the millions of pounds of capital investment represented in secondary school buildings all over the country as the basis on which to build a scheme of secondary education suited to the new conditions of the time. In those circumstances, one might reasonably expect that a certain measure of generosity would be accorded to them in the subventions of the State, but, in fact, over the past 40 years or more, the State has been extremely niggardly in its treatment of those schools. . . . it is widely recognised that it is solely through a lack of adequate subventions that secondary schools have been prevented from liberalising their courses and providing a wider range of subjects for their pupils.

While the Intermediate Board was still functioning Pearse and others had

looked forward hopefully to the time when a more enlightened system would allow a much greater freedom to educationists as distinct from administrators; and the changes brought about in 1924 gave reason to hope that the teacher's viewpoint would now be taken into consideration in making decisions which affected his work. In the early years, indeed, the Department gave the impression that several changes in the syllabuses of various subjects were made in the light of what the teachers thought.[33] Whether this impression is reliable or not is another matter. Experience of the Department's practice in recent years would cause one to be rather sceptical, since repeated attacks have been made on both the Department and the Minister on the grounds that not only did they fail to enter into consultation with interested bodies in coming to important educational decisions but that they let it be understood that these very decisions were reached after holding such consultation. Referring in 1965 to 'a litany of such instances in which this lack of consultation [between Minister and teachers] has been evident down through the years', Senator Ó Conalláin specified, in particular, the case of the introduction of the new course in mathematics. Here, the Senator alleged, the Minister's claim to have consulted the people concerned, before the making the change, was quite misleading: what had in fact happened he said, was that the bodies concerned with the introduction, viz., the teachers and the managers, had joined together and sought a deputation to the Minister, and that had they failed to do this there would not have been any consultation.[34] Mr. Garret Fitzgerald, on the other hand, would blame the officials of the Department and not the individual Ministers. In the course of an article in the Secondary Teacher in 1966, he wrote:[35]

> Pearse. . . . underestimated the staying power of the civil servants and the tenacity of the administrative system which he denounced with such vigour. After four and a half decades of independence, the Department of Education today remains supreme, its power undiminished despite the verbal batterings it receives from so many quarters, and despite a succession of well-meaning Ministers, each of whom, no doubt, believed that he would avoid entanglement with the administrative machine, and each of whom, until now at any rate, has passed on to another post without having made any visible impression on the Department he was meant to command.

The organisational changes which have been set in motion subsequent to the ministerial announcement of May, 1963, in which Dr Hillery outlined his proposals for the reorganisation of post-primary education in this country,[36] have, in particular, given rise to severe criticism on the grounds that the manner of their introduction, at best, showed scant respect for the views of interested bodies, and at worst, made no attempt to ascertain them. The Press Officer of the Association of Secondary Teachers (A.S.T.I.), Mr. Patrick Heeran, found it necessary to point out in 1966 that the meetings which were then being held throughout the country by the Department of Education to consider how its plans for post-primary education provision could best be implemented in each locality made no provision for considering the views of the teachers. He said: ' . . . the Development Branch of the Department of Education has held meetings in various parts of the country. These meetings considered the reorganisation of post-primary education in various areas, and from them have emerged certain proposals with regard to educational facilities in these areas. The Association was not informed that these meetings were being held, and after requesting representation at meetings, it is now being allowed to send an observer only.'[37]

That the Irish Government should now be seeking to involve itself more fully in the provision of educational facilities is not by any means strange. This has been the pattern followed by most governments in recent times irrespective of whether their systems were voluntary or State controlled. The UNESCO Report, World Survey of Education, III, pointed out in 1961 that 'whatever the different allocation of power and responsibility for the provision of educational facilities, the fundamental trend during the present century has been towards an explicit recognition that the final responsibility rests with the State to ensure that the educational needs of its citizens are met'.[38] Speaking in 1965, the Irish Minister for Education, Mr Colley, stated that if stagnation were to be avoided in our educational system it had become imperative that his Department should play a more active role. He said:[39]

> If . . . .changes are to come about in our educational system,. . . .there must be some point of initiative and some central administrative authority to translate that initiative into the leaven that leaveneth the whole lump. Now the only central point of administrative authority, in fact the only co-ordinating administrative authority in post-primary education is the Minister for Education and his Department.

> What I am trying to say here is that administrative authority in Irish education, so far from being arrogated or even sought by the Minister and his Department, is in fact thrust upon them.

Few will deny that the Department is favourably placed to encourage worthwhile change, or that it should do all in its power to do so. Exception, however, is justifiably taken when the Department fails to give reasonable consideration to the views of those actually involved in the work of education, or when it gives cause to suspect that at least some of its innovations are being introduced merely to counter possible taunts from its counterparts in other countries that it is culpably inactive.[40] That preoccupation with its foreign-relations image has indeed played some part in determining the course of recent changes, is supported by the contents of a long article prepared by the Department for distribution abroad by the Department of External Affairs and referred to by the editor of Studies in 1968. In this article, the editorial pointed out, a totally dishonest picture was given of existing conditions in this country: only in one passing phrase at the very end was it mentioned that Irish secondary schools were privately owned; and considerable space was given, in the present tense, to the still non-existent Irish comprehensive school system.[41] Under such circumstances it is difficult to see the Department's plans getting the degree of support and co-operation they need if they are to prove educationally effective.

C. The Function of Inspection.

Statutory provision for the inspection of Irish intermediate schools had been made as early as 1878: section 3 of the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act of that year provided, inter alia, that the two assistant commissioners who were to be appointed should act, when required, as inspectors.[42] Inspection, however, formed no part of the system embodied in the Scheduled Rules, and in 1899 the Vice-Regal Commission pointed out that the absence of a system of inspection was not to the advantage of intermediate education.[43] In particular, it felt that one undoubted advantage of inspection was that it made it possible to apply oral examination in testing schoolwork, since, in the examination of subjects such as Natural and Experimental Sciences, Modern Foreign Languages, English and Shorthand, written papers without the addition

of oral or practical examinations were not an adequate test. Inspecton, it felt, might also be usefully employed for the purpose of satisfying the Board as to 'the sufficiency of the teaching staff, the sanitary condition of the school, and the reasonableness of the arrangements as to school hours'.[44] In accordance with this recommendation the Act of 1900 provided that: 'The Board may, if they think fit, with the sanction of the Lord Lieutenant, and with the approval of the Treasury as to number and remuneration, appoint persons to act as inspectors in addition to, or instead of, the Assistant Commissioners':[45] having first provided that the funds placed at the disposal of the Board might 'be applied by them in the manner provided by rules to be made by the Board, with the approval of the Lord Lieutenant, for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations contained in the General Summary of the Report of the Commissioners . . .'[46]

This Act, therefore, rendered inspection necessary, and as the Board pointed out in 1903, if it remained unchanged, would have involved the appointment of permanent inspectors.[47] According to the particular wording of the relevant clause in the General Summary of the Commissioners' recommendations,[48] it had been necessary to appoint temporary inspectors only, in the first instance, and this was done in the school year 1901-2.[49] From the reports of these inspectors the Board concluded that the inspection which had taken place had 'caused a marked improvement in the schools and in the efficiency of their teaching', and furthermore, that 'such improvement would be progressive if the inspection continued'.[50] Accordingly, in the Rules which they drew up for 1902-3, they prescribed bonuses of 10 per cent. and 20 per cent. respectively upon the School Grant, for schools which, in the report of the inspectors, would be classed as 'satisfactory' and 'highly satisfactory'. These Rules received the approval of the Lord Lieutenant in May 1902, and thereby acquired the force of the Act of Parliament under which they were framed. Furthermore, as it was now the unanimous opinion of the Board that this new rule could not be carried into effective operation without the appointment of a staff of permanent inspectors, the Board applied to the Lord Lieutenant for his sanction and that of the Treasury to the establishment of such a body. Such sanction, however, was not forthcoming, and eventually the Board had to be satisfied with reappointing temporary inspectors for the portion of the school year which remained after its unsuccessful negotiations with the Lord Lieutenant had ended.[51]

Further attempts were made by the Board in the course of the school year 1903-4, to obtain approval for setting up a permanent inspectorate, but to no avail. On this occasion specific objections were received from the Government on the grounds that the cost to the Exchequer of such a development would be too great, and despite the Board's insistence that in the absence of such a body an important section of the Rules which had been drawn up in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1900 must remain in abeyance, the farthest the Government would go was to sanction the appointment of a body of six temporary inspectors, a solution which the Board still insisted was quite inadequate.[52] Moreover, the Board pointed out that until the Rules which it sought to implement had been in practical operation, and until it had been ascertained 'whether inspection, as a basis for the distribution of the School Grant, would so work as to command the confidence of managers of schools, and of the Board', it was impossible to consider the distribution of the entire School Grant on the basis of inspection alone; and that consequently the Government's persistent refusal to accede to the Board's request for the establishment of a permanent inspectorate, had had the effect of continuing a system of payment which had been condemned on educational grounds by the Report of the Intermediate Commission and by the legislature.[53]

In May 1904 two of the National Board's inspectors, Messrs. F. H. Dale and T.A. Stephens, were appointed by the Lord Lieutanent 'to enquire into and report upon the system of Intermediate and Technical Education in Ireland - the latter in so far as it is connected with the former - with a view to ascertaining whether any organic or other changes in that system are desirable'.[54] The attention of the inspectors was directed, inter alia, to the specific question of 'To what extent, if any, inspection might take the place of the examinations conducted by the Intermediate Board',[55] and in their Report, published in 1905, they concluded that 'The adoption of a system of inspection even by permanent officers, while in other respects the existing system remained unchanged, would not, in our opinion, achieve the object which the Board have in view'.[56] Apart altogether from serious defects which they found in the examination system itself, they felt that 'the difficulties in the way of effective inspection appear to us to be at present insuperable'.[57]

In the first place, they referred to the doubts which the Board itself had expressed as to whether its statutory powers were such as would be required as a consequence of the appointment of permanent inspectors; and they were doubtful that the Board would be able to exclude from all share in the School Grant any school which was improperly housed or insufficiently staffed, or, in fact, to take any action against a manager who refused to be bound by the Board's new conditions and who insisted that by virtue of the existing statutes[58] he had a legal right to send in students for the examinations and to receive results fees in the event of the students passing.[59] For this reason alone they felt that before permanent inspectors would be appointed, the precise powers of the Board would need clarification.[60]

For financial reasons, too, Dale and Stephens were not in favour of a permanent inspectorate. As it was, the system was quite expensive to administer;[61] and they thought it highly desirable that as large a proportion as possible of the funds available to the Intermediate Board should be expended in direct aid to the schools and that other costs should be reduced to a minimum.[62] Furthermore, as well as the direct increase in administrative expenditure which the establishment of an inspectorate would entail, Dale and Stephens felt that, if such a system were to function to best advantage, provision would also have to be made for the setting up of a body of technical advisers to whom the Board might submit the various plans for alterations or for new buildings which would be submitted to it by managers as a result of the recommendations of the inspectors; and this would involve additional expenditure again.

In fine, Dale and Stephens were not at all certain that the addition of an inspectorate to the existing system would be advantageous,'since the inspector's position would be altogether anomalous, and his effort might be quite ineffective in just those cases where it would be most needed'.[63] They felt, too, that in view of the existing network of examinations and of the activities of the inspectorate of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, the weight of the evidence seemed 'to be overwhelmingly in favour not of an addition to a supervision which is already over-elaborate and complicated, and yet, from the number of authorities at work, partial in its action, but of such a modification of the present system as shall result in greater economy and simplicity'.[64]

It is to be noted that while Dale and Stephens were opposed to the establishment of a permanent body of inspectors under existing conditions, they considered that if the other reforms they recommended were implemented, an inspectorate would have an indispensible role to play in the reformed system.[65] They would not recommend, however, that the inspectors should have the duty of assessing the amount of the grant to be paid to individual schools, as experience elsewhere had shown that such a function tended to turn inspectors into 'fee-assessing machines' and to divert them from their principal role which Dale and Stephens considered to be that of consulting with the authorities of the school 'frankly and freely on those points in the working of the school which had attracted ... [their] attention', of discussing 'with the headmaster or head-mistress points in the organisation of the classes, the grouping of the pupils or of the subjects, the methods adopted by the teachers', of talking over with the teachers 'points of interest which seemed to call for criticism or further elucidation', of suggesting improvements in method, etc.[66] Since such an inspectorate was not to be hoped for while the fundamental structure of the Intermediate System remained unchanged, they emphasized that changes in the system would have to precede the introduction of a permanent inspectorate.

No attempt was made at implementing the fundamental changes recommended by Dale and Stephens, and in the years which immediately followed the publication of their Report we again find the Intermediate Board pressing, with renewed vigour, their claims for a permanent inspectorate. No mention is made of their earlier doubts in relation to the precise extent of their statutory powers,[67] though this was indeed a crucial issue if inspection was to achieve the results they expected from it. It seems clear, however, that the most important thing, in the Board's view, was to obtain immediate approval for the establishment of a permanent body of inspectors, and they were obviously of the opinion, that measures could subsequently be introduced to remedy whatever difficulties arose. In their Report for 1906, for example, they elaborated at great length on the many improvements which they believed the institution of the proposed inspectorate would make in almost every aspect of intermediate education.[68] In April 1908, when it appeared to them that their pleading was of no avail, the Board took the unprecedented step of issuing an ultimatum to the effect that if the Government persisted in refusing to set up the body of inspectors the establishment of which had been provided for in the Act of 1900, it would be necessary for them

to consider ' whether it is possible for them, in the interests of true education, to continue the administration of the funds entrusted to them for the promotion of Intermediate Education in Ireland'.[69]

In reply to this ultimatum the Board were asked to state whether they wished to obtain legislation empowering them to establish a system of inspection which would take the place of the existing system of public examinations and on the results of which they would distribute their funds. The Board felt, however, that, 'having regard to the opposition which legislation introduced for the purpose indicated would undoubtedly meet with', the most satisfactory arrangement, and one which necessitated no further legislation, would be to give immediate effect to the provisions of the 1900 Act and to the Rules which had already been drawn up under these provisions and given the necessary approval.[70] Further negotiations followed regarding the salaries and duties of the proposed inspectors, and finally, by an Order dated 26 March,1909, the Board was empowered to appoint six inspectors.[71] These were appointed late in the school year 1908-9, and began their inspections in the school year, 1909-10.[72]

The school authorities, at this time, were by no means unfavourable to the introduction of inspection: in reply to a questionnaire from Dale and Stephens, the Assistant Commissioners of the Intermediate Board had stated that 'no schools refused to submit to the inspection of the temporary inspectors';[73] and, in general, it may be said that the school authorities would not seem to have had any rooted objection to inspection as such. In December 1908, when negotiations between the Board and the Government on the final details of the scheme for inspection were still going on, Fr. Andrew Murphy, editor of the Irish Educational Review, stated that the scheme could have 'great promise of success' if only the Board could alter its system in such a way as to place considerably less emphasis on the examinations, and ensure that suitable men would be appointed as inspectors.[74] As it was,however, he felt that the particular combination of inspection and examination which was being proposed had no chance at all of meeting with success, since as it would be impossible to comply with the wishes of inspectors and examiners at one and the same time, most schools would probably choose to pay attention to the suggestions of the examiners if only for the very practical reason that by far the greater part of their income would be paid on the basis of their assessments.[75] Father Murphy pointed out, in fact, that the original recommendation made by the Vice-Regal Commission

with regard to inspection had been the result of what he considered 'an unfortunate compromise'. Those who had given evidence before the Commission, he stated, had either favoured inspection both as a test of efficiency and a basis for the distribution of the School Grant, or had favoured examination. He continued:[76]

> It is very improbable that a single one of the witnesses could be found who would favour the combination of inspection and examination, which it is now proposed to enforce, though some, on both sides, would have accepted a modified and limited inspection with the examinations, as an experiment, which might, if found satisfactory, lead to the gradual absorption of the examinations in inspection.

A further cause for complaint among school authorities was the knowledge that the Board had made no real attempt to ascertain their views on its proposed scheme before pressing ahead to seek its approval. When questioned by Mr Boland, M.P., in the House of Commons, on whether the Board would give the heads of schools an opportunity of expressing their views on the nature of the proposed scheme before submitting it for the Lord Lieutenant's approval, the Chief Secretary, Mr Birrell,would only say that the Board were 'considering representations made by a number of persons - heads of schools and others - on the matter'.[77] He would give no guarantee, however, that any attempt would be made to ascertain the views of the general body of the schools on the proposals, and in January 1909 the Board was taken severely to task by the editor of the Irish Educational Review for failing to do so. Father Murphy suggested, in fact, that the Board had taken no steps at all 'to secure the advice of those whose advice would be worth having, or indeed of anybody whatever', and that the representations to which the Chief Secretary alluded were unsolicited views which had been submitted by such people as usually tended to make submissions uninvited and who were far from being representative of the general body of those experienced in Intermediate education.[78] The same charge was later repeated by Reverend Hugh O'Toole,C.S.Sp., who added that there could be no doubt that the Board's plan would end in failure since it contemplated a form of inspection which would embrace...the whole life of the school',[79] an aim which, in effect, claimed 'powers immensely wider than anything claimed by any other Board in Ireland, wider than anything claimed anywhere by any Board that had not complete ownership and management of the schools'.

Such a claim, explicit or implicit, was altogether unacceptable to the schools, and had the Board carried out any form of real enquiry into the matter the truth could certainly not have remained hidden from them.[80]

In September 1909, the Catholic Headmaters' Association in conjunction with the Heads of Convent Intermediate Schools in Ireland issued a statement pointing out that, in their view, the scheme of inspection which was then in the process of being introduced was not in accordance with the existing legislation.[81] The powers now claimed for the inspectorate, they held, were considerably more extensive than any which could be read into the relevant portions of the recommendations of the 1899 Commission which had been incorporated into the Act of 1900. Specifically, they were not prepared to accept that the Board had any power to extend the scope of inspection so as to include 'the inspection of the residential departments of boarding schools, of the academic degrees or diplomas of teachers, and of the financial arrangements of the schools';[82] and they resolved: 'That pending the decision of the questions raised as to the legal extent and scope of inspection, information regarding the disputed points ... be witheld from the inspectors, and that even informal visits to the residential portions of boarding schools be not permitted'.[83]

In the years which immediately followed the introduction of the permanent inspectorate, it became progressively clearer to the Board that its statutory powers did not in fact extend quite as far as it would have wished; and in 1912 it announced that it had drawn the attention of the Chief Secretary to the need for further legislation.[84] Considerable difficulty was experienced, however, in getting Parliament's approval for the kind of legislation the Board desired,[85] and in August 1913 an Act was passed with which the Board was only partially satisfied.[86] This Act, the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1913,[87] empowered the Board to make provision '(a) for the inspection of intermediate schools annually with a view to ascertaining the degrees of efficiency shown in the education of pupils under the age of fourteen and not under the age of twelve years; and (b) for the payment to managers of schools of fees dependent on the results of such inspection'.[88] In 1917 the Board renewed its plea for the introduction of basic changes in the system, which would give a more prominent place to inspection, and it remarked that the change introduced by the Act of 1913,as indeed those effected by the 1900 Act, had left the system 'in its essential features the same as when it was first established'.[89] No further

legislation was introduced, however, and the system remained unchanged until after the establishment of the new State.

From a reading of the Annual Reports of the Department of Education one might well get the impression that the inspectorate exercised a considerable direct influence on the working of the individual schools. This impression, however, would be quite inaccurate. It would be true to say that, indirectly, the inspectorate does wield a certain influence, inasmuch as that it is on the inspectorate the weight of the responsibility for setting and marking the public examinations falls, and these examinations still occupy a position of considerable prominence in our system of education.[90] The position which the inspectors hold, however, in the enforcement of the various rules and regulations of the Department, does not, in practice, assume anything like the importance one might be tempted to associate with it. In fact, a substantially accurate summary of the position was given by Father Patrick Duffy in 1967 when he wrote:[91]

> Unlike the primary level, inspection of schools at the secondary level is looked upon as mere routine....
>
> Most secondary school inspectors are based in Dublin, a few residing in Cork. Approximately one hundred schools are allocated to each inspector in two or more subjects. Rarely does a secondary school see more than one inspector a year with the possible exception of schools in or near Dublin. Teachers regard an inspector's visit as a rare event and accept them for what they are, social calls.

Looking towards the future one cannot see any attempt being made to increase the influence of the inspectors by placing a greater emphasis on their role as official inquisitors. One can well imagine the inspectorate, however, developing along lines similar to those envisaged, in an editorial in the Times Educational Supplement, in 1968, for H.M. Inspectorate in England, where it was pointed out that the Inspectorate should be 'an essential network of educational expertise, providing a two-way advisory function - from the centre to the authorities and the teachers, and from them back to the department where the continual career shuffle of ministers and civil servants ensures little continuity of experience'.[92] There can be little doubt that in the present age of continual and rapid change in the theory and practice of education much could be achieved by ensuring the establishment of effective

machinery for keeping practising teachers in touch with new developments. The need is no less obvious for providing the means whereby administrators can keep in touch with those actually engaged in the work of education in the schools. In either case the mere setting up of suitable machinery will carry no guarantee that it will subsequently be used to good purpose; it will nonetheless have been an indispensible step in the right direction.

D. Secondary Tops.

Dale and Stephens had pointed out in 1905 that provision for intermediate education was by no means uniform throughout the country,[93] and they referred to a scheme which the Board of National Education was then considering, 'for the establishment of advanced Departments of National Schools, or Higher Grade National Schools, designed to meet the case of the large number of pupils who on completing the course of an elementary school intend to follow a higher course of systematic study in order to prepare themselves for technical and commercial pursuits or for entrance to the Civil Service and Normal Colleges'.[94] The pupils at these Departments or Schools were to be admitted at the age of 12 years, after passing an entrance examination held by a Senior Inspector of the National Education Board, and remain till 17 years of age. Provision was, if practicable, to be made for a scientific, commercial or literary course of studies, and it would be expected that the teacher should, as a rule, have a university degree.[95] Dale and Stephens, however, were not inclined to believe that much success would attend such a scheme: 'such action', they said, 'to be successful involves the satisfaction of conditions not at present existing in the administration of Irish education'.[96] They were also afraid that, unless the establishment of such departments or schools was carefully planned, they could do serious damage to existing intermediate schools. They warned:[97]

> The advanced departments of National Schools which the Commissioners propose to establish offer an identical curriculum, have the same aims, and appeal to the same class of pupils as many of the present Intermediate Schools, and nothing could be more disastrous on grounds of both economy and efficiency than for the National Board to establish such an advanced department in a locality where a school under the Christian Brothers or an efficient private school working under the

Intermediate Education Board was already in possession of the field.

On the establishment of the Irish Department of Education it was decided to allow this practice to continue, and in its Report for 1924-5 the Department stated that provision had been made 'for the recognition as secondary courses of such advanced classes of Primary Schools as follow the approved Secondary School programme, and for the admission of pupils from these classes to the Secondary Certificate examinations on the same conditions as pupils from Secondary schools'.[98] The number of schools availing of this provision, however, has always been very small, especially in the case of boys' schools, and the numbers of pupils presenting for examination in them has also been exceptionally low. In the school year 1924-5 there was only one such boys' school in the country and it presented one boy for the Leaving Certificate Examination and one for the Intermediate Certificate; both passed.[99] In the same year seventeen such girls' schools were recognised: they presented, on average, about 8 pupils each for the Intermediate Certificate Examination, and one for the Leaving Certificate; their failure rate, however, was, in each case, almost exactly 50 per cent.[100] Table II.1 gives the corresponding figures for selected years up to and including 1964-5.[101] From this Table it can be seen that, numerically at least, these schools have played a relatively insignificant role in the sphere of secondary education in this country.

The Investment in Education Report, published in 1966, gives an account of a survey carried out by the Department of Education in April 1964 into the working of existing secondary tops.[102] At that time the conditions for the recognition of a secondary top were: (a) that a high standard be maintained in the work of the ordinary primary classes of the school; (b) that the staff in charge of the classes following the secondary programme be adequate in number and qualifications; (c) that the accommodation be suitable; (d) that secondary education should not be already within the reach and the means of the pupils; and (e) that the proposed courses of instruction for these classes be approved by the Minister.[103] Moreover, the teachers of these classes had to be either (a) trained national teachers, in which case the Minister had to be satisfied 'that the teachers proposed for such classes are qualified to give instruction in the subjects and courses undertaken',[104] or (b)other persons 'who possess a University degree and/or special qualifications in Latin, French, Drawing, Commerce, etc.'[105]

The Lynch Report would attribute the establishment of these departments to the operation of two principles: (a)'a desire to provide secondary education in centres where a normal aided secondary school might not be self-supporting'; and (b) 'a wish to provide secondary education for those who might not otherwise have been able to afford it'.[106] It referred to the tendency for secondary tops, after some years in operation, to become full aided secondary schools. It pointed out that the financial benefits accruing to a secondary top arose mainly from the fact that as the rooms and facilities were in national schools, capital expenditure was avoided; but that the fact that the pupils were counted as national school pupils and were taken into account for the payment of capitation staff or for the calculation of the minimum teaching staff to whom salaries were paid by the Department, did not necessarily operate to the advantage of particular schools.[107] And it drew attention to the fact that these departments tended to be associated with schools whose primary classes were larger than average: 'It would seem likely', it concluded, 'that the large classes are at least in part a result of the existence of the secondary tops: teachers have had to be diverted to the secondary tops so that the secondary programme can be provided and classes kept at a level appropriate to post-primary education.'[108] The rules governing secondary tops were still unchanged in the school year 1969-70.[109]

E. Preparatory Colleges.

The Preparatory Colleges were established in 1926 'to open up a new channel of recruitment for [national teachers'] Training Colleges and thereby assist materially towards providing a supply of teachers who would be fully competent to carry out the requirements of the National Programme which had been adopted for use in primary schools'.[110] The original scheme made provision for seven residential colleges - three for Catholic boys, three for Catholic girls and one for Protestant boys and girls - with about 670 students in all in residence.[111] Four of these were set up in 1926, two more later, and the seventh - the third college for Catholic boys - was never established.[112] The programme followed in these Colleges was the Department of Education's programme for secondary schools, and the students were submitted for the Department's Intermediate Certificate and Leaving Certificate examinations.[113]

The results obtained by the students in Preparatory Colleges at the Certificate Examinations, were, by and large, very much better than the average results obtained by students in secondary schools in general.[114] This can be attributed in considerable measure to the competitive selection of entrants to the Preparatory Colleges, and also to the fact that these students had a common goal and could therefore have their particular needs better catered for than could the more heterogeneous body of students in the average secondary school. The Colleges did not meet with universal approval, however, and Father Ó Cathdin, referring in 1962 to their origin and early history pointed out that in their case the Department by-passed one of its own new regulations by allowing students in them to complete their secondary course in less than five years.[115]

As time went on, more serious cause for complaint was found with them. In other countries, particularly in England and the United States, it had been found by experience that the isolation, at an early age, of candidates for this branch of the teaching profession had not proved ultimately to be in the best interests of those concerned, and 'future elementary school teachers began to go to secondary schools before they entered institutions for the training of teachers'.[116] Referring, in the Dáil in 1961, to the decision which had then been taken of abolishing these Colleges, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, pointed out that they no longer served any useful purpose that could not be served equally well without them;[117] and speaking in the course of the same debate, Mr Patrick Faulkner, who was himself some years later to become Minister for Education, pointed out that he had for some time favoured such a decision. His reasons for this were similar to those which had led to the disappearance of similar colleges abroad. He said:[118]

> Mhol mé ...go mba cheart deire a chur leo cionnas go raibh mé den bharúil nach rabh sé ceart go mbeadh ábhar múinteoirí scartha amach ón ghnáth-shaol ar fad sé nó seacht de na blianta is tábhachtaí i saol an duine agus go mór mór nuair a bheifí ag brath ar na múinteoirí óga seo a bheith ina dtreoraithe ar fud na tíre ina dhiaidh sin. Mura bhfaghann an duine óg seans caidreamh a bheith aige le daoine i ngairmeacha beatha eile ó aois a cheithre bliana déag go dtí go mbíonn sé fiche bliain d'aois ní thig leis a pháirt chóir a glachadh sa saol mór ina dhiaidh sin.

2. The Concept of Secondary Education for All.

A. Background.

In most countries secondary education was traditionally regarded as a type of education rather than as a stage in a continuous educational process, and its benefits were, with the rarest exceptions, reserved not for able children but for those who came from socially privileged backgrounds. At the end of the first decade of the present century, Robert Morant, referring to the position in Britain, pointed out that 'The idea that elementary and secondary schools represent not successive stages of education but alternative kinds of education meant for different social classes is deeply rooted, and may be said to have dominated practice until recently'.[119] In France secondary education was, if anything, even more exclusively the prerogative of the wealthier classes inasmuch as that here entry to secondary schools (i.e., the lycées) was strictly through special preparatory schools which had very little in common with the ordinary primary schools.[120] A similar situation existed in Germany where at the turn of the present century children destined for the secondary school received their early education in the Vorschule while other children attended the Volksschule.[121] Under the latter systems, indeed, it would have been virtually impossible, even if it had been considered desirable, to effect a satisfactory transfer of even a talented pupil from the common elementary school to an existing secondary school, if only because the course he had been following in the elementary school was not designed, as were the corresponding courses in the preparatory schools, to lay the foundations which would be necessary for him to benefit fully from a subsequent course in a secondary school.

Early attempts in England at making secondary education available to talented children from the lower socio-economic sections of the community were made through the use of scholarships,[122] and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many poor children were enabled to get a secondary education in this way.[123] The introduction of a corresponding movement in France, however, necessitated certain fundamental changes in the system. A Commission was set up to examine the matter in 1924, and while it was decided to ~~retain the~~ preparatory classes attached to the lycées a plan which became known as the école unique was put into force whereby the curricula of these preparatory classes and those of the ordinary primary school were made the same. In this way it was provided that all children aspiring to enter the secondary

school would receive a similar preparation for the entrance examinations.[124] Faced with the same problem in Germany, the solution which was adopted in that country after World War I was to abolish the Vorschule and to make the four-year Grundschule the common elementary school for all.

Experience of the operation of scholarship systems in England soon indicated that pupils from the lower middle class and from the working class who thus gained access to the traditional secondary school generally did well there, and this gradually led to the view that secondary education should be provided for all who were fit to receive it, and not just for the exceptional children who gained the highest marks in a competitive examination. Thus, in England, 'the concept of "free places" came to supersede the concept of "scholarships"',[126] and the Hadow Report could point out in 1927 that the resultant growth of secondary schools 'has revealed a wealth of ability among children attending the elementary schools, the existence of which is ground both for confidence and for anxiety - confidence in the natural endowments of our fellow countrymen and anxiety lest, at the age at which the powers of the rising generation are most susceptible of cultivation and sensitive to neglect, the nation should fail to turn to the best account so precious a heritage'.[127]

The expansion of facilities for the traditional form of secondary education, however, brought certain problems clearly into focus. In the first place, it soon came to be realised that the task of deciding who should go forward from the elementary schools and enter upon the traditional secondary course was by no means as straightforward a matter as had been anticipated. For one thing entrance examination requirements and standards varied, at times considerably, from school to school. Faced with widespread dissatisfaction at the possibilities of unfairness inherent in this lack of uniformity, many countries tried to devise more efficient methods of selection,[128] but no fully satisfactory solution to the problem was found, and UNESCO complained as late as 1961 that 'many countries still retain methods of selection that have been little influenced by the findings of research'.[129] Another cause for dissatisfaction was found in the fact that, on the whole, only a small proportion of the places in grammar-type secondary schools were found to go to children from thepoorer sections of the community. An attempt was made

in England to rectify this fault by allotting a definite quota of scholarships to pupils from the poorer schools even though these pupils might not obtain the highest marks in the examinations; but the attempt had to be abandoned because of the opposition aroused among those who felt that it involved what seemed to be the injustice of excluding children of high attainments in favour of children known to be actually lower in attainment and only presumed to be higher in capacity.[130] Further attempts were made to devise some combination of intelligence tests and tests of attainment, which would have greater prognostic value; but despite continued research into the problem, UNESCO stated in 1961 that 'socio-economic influences on the intellectual development of young children make it very difficult in practice to devise tests that will distinguish potential educability from actual achievement', and they came to the conclusion that 'the problem of making effective provision for the education of children from culturally impoverished homes cannot be solved by the school alone, and that the full benefit of schooling cannot be expected to be reaped by the first generation of children to be offered extended educational opportunities'.[131]

Side by side with this quest for more accurate methods of selection, there has taken place, since the beginning of the present century a radical change in the meaning attached to the term 'secondary education'. In most countries at the beginning of the century this term signified grammar school education and that alone. By the time the Norwood Committee made their report, in 1943, on the curriculum and examinations of secondary schools, the position in England had changed to the extent that 'secondary education' had now come to denote ' a stage in the educational process rather than a type of educational programme.'[132] This alteration had been brought about partly by change in educational theory and ideals, and partly by the increased demand for a stage of education which would go beyond the elementary or primary stage.[133] In 1924 a Consultative Committee had been set up and had been given the task of recommending what type of schooling they considered suitable for children who would remain in full-time attendance at school, other than at the traditional secondary school, up to the age of 15;[134] and their recommendation had been as follows:[135]

> ... that between the age of eleven and (if possible) that of fifteen, all the children of the country who do not go forward to 'secondary education' in the present and narrow sense of the word, should go forward none the less to what is, in our view, a form of secondary education, in the truer and broader sense of the word, and after spending the first years of their school life in a primary school should spend the last three or four in a well-equipped modern school (or senior department), under the stimulus of practical work and realistic studies, and yet, at the same time, in the free and broad air of a general and humane education, which, if it remembers handwork, does not forget music, and if it cherishes natural science, fosters also linguistic and literary studies.

The first stages of this development are discernible in the case of the United States even as early as the first half of the nineteenth century, when free public high schools began to appear. Their number increased rapidly in the course of the century; even in rural areas small school districts combined forthe purpose of establishing and maintaining a high school. By the last decade of the century these schools were accepted everywhere as the natural extension of the elementary school.[136] Their main function, according to the report of a committee which was set up in 1892 to consider the question of secondary school studies, was 'to prepare for the duties of life that small proportion of all the children in the country ...who showed themselves able to profit by an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents were able to support them while they remained at school'.[137] The greatly increasing wealth of the United States, however, was now encouraging parents to keep their children at school longer, and as there were no institutional barriers, such as existed in most European countries, which prevented the entry of pupils to high school after they had completed their primary education, the high school population gradually became a representative cross-section of the whole community, and by 1930 more than half of those between 15 and 18 were at high school.[138]

In its early years the high school had tended to be a four year school catering for pupils who had already completed the normal course of eight years at a primary school. Difficulty was soon experienced, however, in the matter of providing adequate preparation, in the space of four years, for those pupils who would subsequently go on to the university. The first attempts at

change were aimed at organising separate schools for such children in the last two classes of the primary school, thereby enabling them to receive a more appropriate preparation for their subsequent course of study than was possible in the traditional primary school.[139] No really important development, however, took place in this matter until the twentieth century. The solution most commonly adopted eventually, provided for a shortened primary course of six years, followed by a three-year junior high school course and a three-year senior high school course. Provision was increasingly made for educational and vocational guidance in the junior high school, and UNESCO claimed in 1961 that the efforts made in this direction had proved relatively successful:[140]

> It has provided a core of general education directed towards the development of the young adolescent as a person, and a variety of optional courses whose main purpose is exploratory. ... In these ways the gap between the primary and the secondary curriculum is being bridged, and at the same time, the traditional secondary studies are being started earlier and by children who have had a chance to choose them on the basis of some real experience of their nature.

The exploratory nature of much of the junior high school's programme is now coming to be accepted in most countries as an essential element in educational provision at this level. In France this has taken the form of extending the period of common education - the *école unique* - upwards to include the junior secondary classes in an attempt to make an accurate and just allocation of pupils into the different types of course available at senior secondary level.[141] With this end in view direction-finding classes (*classes d'orientation*) were set up, in 1937, in the junior classes of some *lycées*, to help pupils choose their subsequent course of study at senior level. This development was encouraged by the reports of two subsequent commissions.[142] The second of these commissions, the Langevin Commission envisaged two phases of secondary education, commencing at the age of eleven, after the completion of primary education. The first phase, the *cycle d'orientation*, was to last for four years and was to be open to all children. It was to comprise a common core of general studies together with some optional specialised studies, and its purpose was to be 'the exploration of the aptitudes and abilities of the pupils so that the subsequent course of differentiated education could be widely chosen by the young pupils, their parents and their teachers'.[143] The

second phase, the cycle de détermination, was to be devoted to specialised vocational training or preparation for higher education.[144] The adoption of such a plan, however, encountered considerable opposition, especially from those who feared that the encroachment of the cycle d'orientation on the traditional programme of the lycée would have the effect of destroying the latter institution.[145] Its implementation has also been hampered by the general increase in school numbers.[146] In general, however, it may be said that French educationists are convinced of the need for a fairly extended period of exploration, coupled with expert psychological assistance, in deciding on a child's future, and with this in view there has been a rapid development of educational and psychological research, and an expansion of psychological services to schools.[147]

The efforts which in France had led to the implementation of the école unique system had their counterpart in the Einheitsschule movement in Germany. In this case, however, while various changes were introduced with a view to opening up access to the Gymnasium (i.e., the traditional German grammar school), the position at the time of World War II showed little improvement; UNESCO, referring to how little had been accomplished at this period, stated: 'The separation between the various types of schools ... and between the different varieties of schools of each type, remained almost as rigid as ever, and much of the former hierarchy of privilege persisted.'[148] Even today the position still leaves much to be desired. Professor Erwin Schuppe, of the University of Göttingen, pointed out in an article in Comparative Education, in June 1969, that because of the continuance, side by side, of the three types of secondary education - Gymnasium, Realschule, and Volksschuloberstufe or Hauptschule - and because, by virtue of the early age of transfer from the primary school (at about the age of ten) it is particularly difficult in many cases either to ensure that the proper allocation is made in the first place, or to remedy errors in selection when these become obvious at a later stage.[149] He stated, in fact, that the German experience pointed to the conclusion that 'vertically organised school systems are an anachronism in an age when the pressure for those types of school enjoying the highest social prestige contradicts all measures of guidance according to ability.'[150]

In general, however, it may be said that since 1930 there has been, on a world scale, considerable progress in the extension of opportunities for secondary education.'[151] Despite the fact that social and economic factors still played a large part in who was selected, UNESCO found in 1961 that in the least advanced countries access to secondary education, even if only for a minority of scholastically able pupils, was being provided where before there had been no facilities at all; and that in the more advanced countries the point had been reached where almost every child remained at school until 15 years of age, in most cases the last three or four of those years being regarded as the first stage of secondary education.[152] It found, too, that in every country in the world the public primary school had become, in effect, an <u>école unique</u> leading directly to the public secondary system, its length varying considerably, however, from country to country; and it summed up its findings as follows:[153]

> . . . structurally the world's systems are now much better designed than formerly to minimize the denial of opportunity that occurs when a premature choice of specialized schooling is determined by factors that are unrelated to the child's own abilities and needs. Such factors, of course, still operate, although the more obvious effects of differences in wealth, class, caste, religion and race upon the restriction of educational opportunity are steadily being minimized.

B. Meaning in the Irish Context.

The interpretation traditionally given in Ireland to the term 'intermediate' or 'secondary' education has closely resembled, at least up until World War II, that currently accepted in England. Generally speaking, this can be said to have meant a narrowly academic type of schooling such as might be expected to provide a suitable preparation for subsequent university study, or for taking up employment in the higher levels of the civil service. Dale and Stephens defined intermediate education in 1905 as 'the education of scholars of both sexes between the ages of 13 and 19 years, or up to the time at which a scholar becomes a matriculated student of a University, if that date is earlier than the date of his attaining the age of 19 years'; such education to be 'in certain of various prescribed subjects, which . . .may be described as comprising all the

branches of knowledge commonly studies in institutions professing to give Intermediate or Secondary Education, viz., the mother-tongue, classics, modern languages, mathematics, drawing and natural science'.[154] That such education however, was not intended primarily for those who had the ability to benefit from it, but rather for those whose financial position enabled them to avail of it is clear from the following assertion made in 1915 by Father Edward Cahill, S.J., Rector of Mungret College. Father Cahill said:[155]

> A sound system of secondary education, besides fulfilling the important function of preparing students for the universities, should above all afford a facility for suitable higher education to the great middle-class section of the population whose means allow a higher education, and who, as employers of the labour and owners of the wealth of the nation, exert an influence on the national life that nothing can exceed.

The Intermediate Education Commission, in underlining the benefit to be derived from a course of intermediate education, had pointed out in 1899 that even among those who were enabled to go to an intermediate school there was a large number who would leave before finishing the course. They stated: 'We fully recognise the value of a liberal education to all who have the privilege of enjoying it, whatever their occupations or position in life may be ... But the number of students whose circumstances permit them to pursue to the end what we may call the Grammar School course of instruction is comparatively small'.[156] The main reason why this happened, the Commission found, was that 'By far the largest proportion of boys receiving education under the Intermediate System' was destined for employment in one form of business or another and it was necessary for them to take up employment early since business offices preferred getting them 'certainly not over 15 or 16 years of age'.[157]

The need for making an adequate system of scholarships available for poor but talented children was acknowledged by Dale and Stephens in 1905,[158] and, as will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter when the question of scholarship provision is being considered somewhat more fully, they underlined the great scarcity of such provision which their survey indicated.[159] They found, too, that a matter of the greatest urgency, particularly in this country, was to have the primary and intermediate school systems properly co-ordinated.[160] This recommendation was in accordance with the growing body of educational

opinion which, on the continent, at that time, was paving the way for the introduction, in France of the école unique, and in Germany of the Einheitsschule;[161] but the matter was considered by Dale and Stephens to assume, in Ireland's case, 'a very much greater degree of urgency than in a country where, owing to social distinctions and other causes, each class of school inclines to make separate provision for the complete education of the children attending it'.[162] Admitting that the curriculum of the primary schools should be framed 'chiefly in the interests of the mass of their pupils whose education will not extend beyond the thirteenth year', Dale and Stephens would be satisfied 'if a scholar in a Primary School has received a preliminary training in habits of methodical and intelligent study, and has acquired the sound elementary knowledge of the ordinary subjects of Primary Education upon which more advanced instruction can be subsequently grafted';[163] and if 'the natural desire of [primary] teachers to retain their cleverest and best pupils as long as possible' could be curbed, so as to allow pupils to reach the secondary schools, not at 14, 15 or sometimes 16 years of age, as was then common, but at an age when they might have a reasonable hope of benefiting fully from a secondary course.[164]

On the attainment of national independence it had been hoped that far-reaching attempts would have been made to make secondary education more widely accessible especially to those whose social and financial circumstances would in the past have almost certainly excluded them from it. Certain pronouncements of the Minister for Education, as early as 1922, gave strength to this belief. Professor MacNeill stated in the Dáil in December 1922, for example, that a major reorganisation was necessary in the matter of educational provision;[165] and some eighteen months later he gave considerable ground for hope when he said that it would not be enough to ensure a free primary education for every child but that the aim should rather be 'the giving to every child equality of opportunity with regard to all education which was administered by the public authority'.[166] Such a proposal was certainly in keeping with what Labour Party spokesmen, such as Dr. T.J. O'Connell, Mr Thomas Johnson and Mr William Norton, repeatedly advocated. It was their view that equality of opportunity could only be guaranteed in a properly co-ordinated system where no room was left for class distinctions; under the existing system they insisted, the education of the poor man's child finished in the primary school, while secondary education was the preserve of the middle classes.[167]

The changes which were introduced, however, effected very little in the way of the major expansion of secondary education provision which had been hoped for.[168] It was not that the original objectives were completely lost sight of. On the contrary, they were repeatedly mentioned in the Dáil and Seanad when education was being discussed. Nor were successive Ministers for Education unaware of the trend of educational thinking in England and other countries. Mr Derrig, for example, made it clear in 1934 that consideration was then being given to plans which involved 'the transference of children at the age of eleven plus from the elementary schools to post-primary schools'.[169] No effective action was taken in the matter, however, and John Mescal, writing in 1957, stated that 'no one can yet foresee a change in the position,' and that 'a reorganisation of this kind would confront the voluntary system, as it is financed in Ireland, with a major crisis'.[170] In other words, the failure of the Irish government to give effect to plans incorporating the changed approach to the term 'secondary education', seems to be due not to any dissatisfaction on the part of educationists in this country with the new and broader interpretation of this term, but rather to a reluctance on the government's part to set about finding the large amount of money such a reorganisation of our educational system would require.

Even at the beginning of the nineteen-sixties there was little indication that before the end of the decade sweeping changes would have been attempted in this country in the traditional arrangements for education at secondary level. Critics of the existing system still thought of reform in terms of an expanded system of scholarships and they made it quite clear that their award should be dependent on proven ability. Mr. Declan Costello, for example, speaking in the Dáil in June 1961, stated that it was not every child who was suitable for a complete course of secondary education, but that 'places in the secondary schools . . .should be made available to a much greater extent than they are and as soon as possible for those children of ability who can benefit from the training they will receive there'.[171] He added, however, that for children who were not suitable for such education, facilities should be made available in vocational schools 'so that they can develop the talents they have been given'.[172] A year later, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, spoke of the Government's plans in the matter in terms

of ensuring eventually 'that every child likely to avail successfully of post-primary education should have an opportunity of doing so'[173] and he referred to the Scholarships Act of the previous year as a significant step in the right direction.[174]

Speaking in the Shelbourne Hotel in Dublin in the following November, Dr. Hillery again referred to the Government's determination to increase considerably its financial support for secondary education, and he added:[175]

> . . .an important corollary to that large additional expenditure is that the State must examine more closely whether it can continue to provide for the academic type of secondary education for anyone and everyone who chooses to knock at the door of a secondary school. The State, if it is to bear the main part of the expense, will, I think, be compelled to satisfy itself that the pupil concerned is of such intellectural calibre as properly to benefit from the type of post-primary education its parents would like to choose for it. It would not be a good investment but rather a waste of the taxpayers' money, to provide for places in secondary schools for pupils whose intellectual ability is such as to offer no prospect of a reasonable return on the State expenditure involved.
>
> It seems, therefore, to me that sooner or later, and, I should think sooner, we in this country shall have to face the issue of selection of the pupils for whom the State is prepared to make provision in the academic type of secondary school rather than in some other type of post-primary school.

This ministerial pronouncement is particularly significant, in that it provides the key to any understanding of what has happened in the post-primary sector of Irish education in the intervening years. This is a question to which we shall return presently.[176]

The details of what has come to be known as the Free Education Scheme will be dealt with elsewhere in thesis.[177] In the present section, however, it will be necessary to refer briefly to the part these changes played in eventually bringing into effect, in this country, provision for secondary education for every child. Under the new scheme, all normal children now go forward to some form of post-primary course, whereas hitherto some children remained on at the primary

school until they reached the statutory school leaving age of 14. What this means is that, in theory at any rate, every child is now to be provided with free access to the type of post-primary education for which he seems best suited; it does not mean, as some have believed, that academic-type secondary education must be provided for all who wish to avail of it, irrespective of whether or not they possess the necessary intellectual endowment.

It is not to be expected, however, that these changes will, of themselves, bring about anything like full equality of opportunity. This was emphasized by Martin M. O'Donoghue, lecturer in Economics at Trinity College, Dublin, and a member of the O.E.C.D. Survey Team, when he spoke at the Social Study Conference Summer School at Carlow in August 1967. He stated: 'During the post-war period . . . there has been a growing awareness that this concept is inadequate for securing full equality of opportunity. Much educational and sociological research has shown that unequal participation in education is the result of complex and subtle interaction between many factors.'[178] For one thing, he said that since the traditional secondary school reflected what were predominantly middle-class values it was more difficult for children from poorer classes to perform satisfactorily in them. Added to this was the fact that educationists were growing increasingly aware of the extent to which environment rather than any innate level of intelligence influenced performance. This all led to a growing conviction that 'if all children are to be given equal opportunity to develop their potential it is necessary not merely to provide equal school facilities, and equal access to these facilities, but to go one stage further and introduce positive discrimination in favour of the under-privileged ...groups'.[179]

Another aspect of the same difficulty was underlined in an article in Christus Rex in 1967 by Reverend Dr Liam Ryan, then a lecturer in the Sociology Department of University College, Cork.[180] Dr Ryan's article was based on a survey which had been carried out in the latter part of 1965 and early 1966 'in a large modern housing-estate in one of our Irish cities'. Among the attitudes it draws particular attention to is the widespread disinclination among children in such an area to pursue their education beyond the statutory school-leaving age. The prevalent opinion among such children was that secondary school students were children who could have what they wanted in life.

A sizeable minority, in fact, tended 'to see secondary education as productive of undesriable personalities', and seemed glad that they did not form part of their group. In general, the survey found that: 'Over seventy per cent of our respondents felt that they had been right to leave school at fourteen, and fifty-one per cent said that they would advise their friends to follow their example especially if there was a job readily available. Altogether, forty per cent said that they wouldn't have gone to secondary school even if they had succeeded in getting a scholarship.'[181]

When Dr Hilery, as Minister for Education, promised in 1962 that the State intended to make considerable increases in its spending on post-primary education, he made it very clear that the greatest importance would be attached to ensuring that those who subsequently attended the traditional type of secondary school had sufficient intellectual ability to enable them to pursue their studies with profit.[182] In the intervening years the emphasis has tended to fall elsewhere, and both ministerial speeches in and out of the Dáil, and the bulk of public discussion on the matter, have concentrated more on the necessity for opening up access to the academic-type secondary schools to sections of the community which traditionally had made little use of them, than on the question of ensuring that the right children pursued the right courses. Certain steps are indeed being taken to reorganize the existing structures and to create new ones, with a view to enabling children, their parents and teachers to establish in what particular direction each child's aptitudes and inclinations point.[183] But up to 1970, at any rate, despite numerous public statements on what is intended by the new broader conception of the term 'secondary education' one has the impression that many schools make little effort to broaden their curricula in any effective way, and that they continue the practice of presenting almost all their students in academic-type courses for the public examinations and of doing little to make alternative provision for the remainder. Should this impression be accurate and should the number of schools involved be considerable it is to be feared that much of what has been attempted in recent years will achieve little in terms of positive benefit to the community, and that the additional expenditure which has been incurred will ultimately have to be regarded as a very bad investment.

Secondary Education for Girls.- The Intermediate Board had been directed by the Act of 1878 to make rules 'For applying, as far as conveniently may be, the benefits of this Act to the education of girls'.[184] The Board's examinations were, for the most part, the same for boys and girls, except that the conditions of passing in some subjects were slightly different and a few subjects were prescribed for girls only.[185] The Vice-Regal Commission reported in 1899 that a large number if girls' schools had adopted the Intermediate Board's system, and they stated that: 'the evidence before us leaves no doubt that its introduction has greatly raised the standard of female education in Ireland'. While the Commission was aware that in some quarters opposition was felt to educating girls in this manner, 'on the ground of over-pressure and danger of over-work', it was of the opinion, nevertheless, 'that the Grammar School course should be open to girls as well as to boys' and that any lowering of the standard in their case would place Irish girls in a disadvantageous position in relation to those educated in England.[187] Isabella Mulvany,B.A.,LL.D.,stated in the course of an article in the Irish Educational Review in 1907 that the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 had had considerable success in the matter of raising the level of education for girls in this country.[188] She pointed out that prior to the passing of the Act, the curriculum of the majority of girls' schools had been limited to the History and Geography of England, French, elementary Arithmetic, Music and Drawing and that instruction in Classics and Mathematics was available 'in certainly not more than half a dozen schools located in large centres of population, such as Dublin or Belfast'.[189] And she referred to the 'marked increase' which had taken place in the intervening years 'not alone in the numbers taking the more solid educational subjects such as Latin, German, Geometry and Algebra, but also in the percentage of successes all round'.[190]

It will be seen in a subsequent chapter that while, in the early years, the number of girls presented for examination in the various grades of the Intermediate Board's examinations had constituted only a small fraction of the total number of candidates, the position had improved considerably by 1920;[191] and that by 1965 the numbers of girls presented for Intermediate and Leaving Certificate examinations had exceeded the corresponding numbers of boys.[192] These figures may be regarded as providing a reasonably accurate index to the rate at which girls have participated in secondary education in this country

during the course of the period we are studying. In general it may be said that while ninety years ago it was quite exceptional for a girl to receive an academic-type secondary education, the position has now been altered to the extent that her chances of doing so are, if anything, slightly better than a boy's. This trend is in keeping with what has been taking place in other countries, but the degree of our achievement is considerably better than average. UNESCO reported in 1961, that, on a world scale,'girls are still far from having an equal share of educational facilities at secondary level'; [193] but it was felt that the trend towards greater participation for girls at this level would continue, if for no other reason, because 'The need for trained human skills and developed general ability is increasing at a rapid rate, and is bringing such a demand for well-educated human beings that the resources of both sexes may have to be drawn on to the full'. [194] In Ireland the position has now been reached where girls and boys enjoy more or less equal opportunities of benefitting from a full secondary education; and while factors other than purely educational ones may still determine what type of course a child pursues, at least one source of inequality has now been eliminated.

3. The Necessary Structures.

A. The Comprehensive School.

When the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland presented its report on secondary education, in 1946, it recommended that no attempt be made to reorganise secondary education in Scotland on the lines of the English tripartite system which made provision for three distinct types of secondary school, but suggested that, in general, the structure best suited to the needs of contemporary Scotland was the'omnibus secondary school'. [195] This type of school was defined as 'one which accepts all the post-primary pupils of a community or of a given area', and it was intended that it should embrace'the whole range of secondary education not in time only but in diversity of courses, and in provision for different intellectual levels, from the highest down to that at which the pupil ceases to find a place in the normal school'. [196] Any form of the tripartite system was regarded as unsuitable, firstly, because it was based on the assumption 'that children of twelve sort themselves out neatly into three categories to which

these three types of school correspond', an assumption which teachers and psychologists alike were increasingly challenging; and secondly because there seemed to be no likelihood that under this sytem anything approaching equality of esteem between the three types of school could ever be attained.[197]

While the solution now in the course of being implemented in this country constitutes a major compromise in that it is hoped to achieve satisfactory results for the most part through the continued operation of the traditional structures,[198] it is fairly obvious that the Government is aware of how well the structure of the comprehensive school is suited to the task of catering, at post-primary level, for pupils with widely varying needs. When announcing his plans for the development of post-primary education in this country, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, pointed out in 1963 that the embodiment of the Government's intentions regarding post-primary education would be seen in the new State-run comprehensive post-primary day schools which it was intended to establish in certain areas:[199] and this purpose was underlined by Reverend Thomas J. Morrissey, S.J., Headmaster of the proposed new Jesuit comprehensive school in Limerick, when he said in the course of an article in the Irish Independent in February 1970, that in this country comprehensive schools were in a sense intended to be a symbol of the integration of all post-primary education.[200] The comprehensive school, Dr Hillery said, 'would provide for children of age about 12-13 to about 15-16 a three year course during which observation and tests would show with fair probability in which direction, academic or technical, each pupil's bent would eventually lie'.[201] The emphasis, therefore, was to be on observation and guidance: the curriculum of the school, while comprising a common core of obligatory subjects, would make provision for a reasonably wide range of optional courses, and when it was found that the optional subjects originally chosen by a pupil were not in keeping with his particular aptitudes he would be guided towards a more appropriate course.[202] In other words, what was proposed was essentially the equivalent of the French cycle d'observation, and the emphasis here as there would be on orientation or guidance.[203]

While the Irish comprehensive school was to symbolise the various developments which it was hoped would take place in the whole post-primary area, a more down-to-earth purpose was to be served by the establishment of

each particular school. In an article in the Sunday Press in January 1966 the Minister for Education, Mr George Colley, stated that in deciding on the location of the first comprehensive schools it had been the Government's intention to establish them 'in areas where facilities for post-primary education were entirely lacking or were inadequate'.[204] Doubt has been cast, however, on the sincerity of the Government's intentions in this regard, and both Senator Professor Hayes and Senator Dónall Ó Connalláin, in the course of a Seanad debate on post-primary education, alleged that when it came to the point of actually choosing the sites the Government failed to situate them in such places but proceeded, instead, to establish them in areas already adequately provided with post-primary educational facilities, Senator Ó Connalláin pointing out, in fact, that 'at least three of the four selected were to be sited in areas where existing schools were to be replaced'.[205] The locations actually chosen had been Carraroe, Co.Galway, Cootehill, Co. Cavan, Shannon, Co.Clare, and Glenties, Co.Donegal.[206] In October 1968, the Minister for Education, Mr Brian Lenihan, drew the attention of the Dáil to plans which were then in hand for the erection of further comprehensive schools: one at Raphoe, Co.Donegal, with accommodation for about 500 Protestant pupils; and others in Dublin, at Ballymun, with accommodation for approximately 750 boys and 750 girls in the junior cycle and 500 boys and girls in the senior cycle.[207] These latter were not yet in operation in January 1970, however, and in reply to a questionnaire the Department of Education stated in a letter that only four comprehensive schools had so far been established by the State and that their enrolment was: Cootehill 500, Shannon 270, Carraroe 350, and Glenties 375.[208] To what extent such schools will continue to be established remains to be seen. The fear has been expressed, however, by Mr. Garret Fitzgerald, that the policy of providing them in areas where post-primary facilities had been lacking will not be pursued.[209]

The comprehensive schools which have been established are each administered by a management committee consisting of three members: one member, nominated by the Catholic bishop of the Diocese in which the school is situated, who acts as chairman; one nominated by the Minister for Education; and the third is the Chief Executive Officer of the Vocational Education Committee for the area.[210] This Committee is responsible for the appointment of teachers, subject to the approval of the Minister, and their removal, for the appointment of the non-professional staff, for the establishment and maintenance of

transport services 'and for all other matters relating to the management of the school'.[211]

From the beginning it had been envisaged that the cost of building these schools would come largely from State funds. Apart from the teachers' salaries, which would be paid in their entirety by the State, the bulk of the annual expenditure would arise from the caretaker's wages, heating and cleaning, repairs, equipment etc. These expenses would be covered in part by the school fees, but the greater portion would be met by annual grants from the State and from the local Vocational Education Committee or Committees.[212] It was felt that the latter bodies could be called on to pay a sum equivalent to the expenditure they would have incurred if they had had to cater for the potential vocational education pupils who found themselves instead at the comprehensive school.[213] With the advent of the free post-primary education and free transport schemes, however, comprehensive schools benefitted in the same way as other participating schools,[214] and their financial position in January 1970 was that 'The [comprehensive] schools are erected out of funds provided by the Department and maintenance costs and running costs are also provided by the Department'.[215]

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the new comprehensive schools, as envisaged by the planners was the very wide range of abilities they set out to cater for. To do this adequately it was clear that a very varied curriculum would be necessary, and the Minister for Education told the Dáil in February 1964, that provision would be made for 24 or 25 subjects in each of these schools. He said:[216]

> The range of subjects would be all the subjects now done in a secondary school, all the subjects now done in a vocational school with some extra subjects which are not done in either except in very big secondary schools. It is intended to have 24 or 25 subjects to give a sufficient range so that a child who is inclined towards the academic could follow what we normally think of as a secondary education, and a child who is inclined towards science could follow a stream where the stress is on mathematics and scientific subjects, all the time having the common core of essential subjects so that there would not be an imbalance.

In practice, however, the extent to which an individual pupil could choose between optional courses was to be limited considerably by the fact that this common core of essential subjects would account for approximately twenty hours of the pupil's school week and would comprise Religious Instruction, Irish, English, Mathematics, Social and Environmental Studies (incorporating Civics), Physical Education, Library Projects, Singing, Musical Appreciation, and at least one hand-and-eye subject, the choice in the latter case being between Woodwork, Metalwork, and Art.[217] Of these compulsory subjects, Religious Instruction would be subject to diocesan examination, and four more - Irish, English, Mathematics and the hand-and-eye subject - were to be taken for examination at the Intermediate Certificate Examination. The remainder would be non-examination subjects. In addition to this compulsory core a pupil would have time for three optional subjects which he could choose from among Latin, History and Geography, science subjects, continental languages and the two hand-and-eye subjects not already chosen.[218]

When first outlining his ideas on the proposed comprehensive schools, Dr Hillery had said that normally the comprehensive schools would cater for a minimum of 150 pupils;[219] and in the course of the Dáil Debate on Education in February 1964, he said that this minimum should be somewhere between 150 and 400.[220] Taking into account that the Irish comprehensive school was designed initially to cater only for a three-year course, this number is still very small compared to what has been thought an acceptable size for similar schools in England.[221] The proposed comprehensive school complex at Ballymun, however, when in operation will have to contend with the particular problems stemming from large enrolment. Chief among these will be the need to ensure that an effective form of contact is established and maintained with the individual pupil. In England, the difficulty of maintaining such contact has been overcome either by dividing the larger schools into smaller units or 'houses', each comprising 150-200 or more pupils of varying ages, under a housemaster and a number of teachers, or by making a similar division on a year basis, with all the pupils of a particular year under a year-master and a number of form- or class-masters.[222] In either case the main intention is to ensure that while the school as a whole is large enough to be able to make adequate provision, up to and including its senior classes, for a wide variety of courses, the individual pupil is not regarded merely as a number but is afforded an opportunity of getting the same

degree of personal attention and guidance which he would get in a much smaller school.[223]

Another noticeable feature of the Irish comprehensive school would be the absence of what is commonly known as 'streaming'. This practice which, according to Mr Colley, has long been customary in this country,[224] divides the pupils into classes according to their general ability, wherever the number of pupils in any particular year is greater than could be managed in one class. The decision to avoid this practice in comprehensive schools, the Minister for Education pointed out in 1966, was based on the widespread belief that while the brighter children seemed to benefit somewhat in a streamed school, the rest were definitely handicapped: the B stream, for instance, suffers 'because it is treated as second rate, with corresponding absence of pressure and incentive'; while those in the lowest streams suffer most of all, since, not alone do they know that they are inferior, but their class label proclaims this fact to all.[225] Another unsatisfactory tendency which has been observed in streamed schools was highlighted in an editorial in the Times Educational Supplement in September 1968, where it was pointed out that to introduce streaming into comprehensive schools'. . . which is what most comprehensive schools have so far done, does tend to recreate inside them that same grading according to social origin which was a marked and much criticised feature of the previous [tripartite] system. In the high [six] streams of comprehensive schools the middle class predominate and in the lower the children of the manual workers. This is what leads to the growing deamand for unstreaming.'[226]

The introduction of a real and at the same time effective alternative to streaming, however, will be no less difficult in comprehensive schools than it has been elsewhere.[227] In those comprehensive schools in England, indeed, where other possibilities have recently been investigated, a large body of opinion seems to hold that streaming in some form is quite indispensible;[228] an experienced educational administrator of an English County is reported as having stated that there was 'a certain air of unreality about the authoritative support for mixed-ability teaching in England', and he went on:[229]

> The standard for all seems to be judged by the apparent success of a few schools in running mixed-ability classes, and it is overlooked that the staff of these schools have been specially hand-picked, dedicated

teachers who are willing to work extra hours. To establish the measure for all schools on the basis of such a chosen few is to ignore the fact that a large proportion of the teaching profession are, like other professions, subject to very human failings.

The solution which in practice is now gaining favour in England, at least in the junior classes, is what is known as 'broadbanding'. Generally speaking, this can operate only in very large schools and involves dividing all the pupils in a year into perhaps three large groups on an I.Q. basis. Those in each group are then mixed together indiscriminately into a suitable number of classes. The ranges of ability in each class are now reduced to fairly manageable proportions, while at the same time the rigidity of streaming in the strict sense is absent.[230] When it comes to examination classes, however, it has been found in most schools that a more rigid form of streaming is still necessary and it is becoming common to adopt a system known as 'setting', which in effect is the same thing as streaming only that in this case the grouping is done independently for each subject.[231] A widespread implementation of the latter expedient would undoubtedly be difficult because of the very great degree of flexibility demanded of the programme. On balance, however, one feels that any workable solution to the problem will be along these lines.

To be eligible for appointment as a full-time teacher in an Irish comprehensive school a candidate for the post of teacher of academic subjects wouldhave to fulfil the requirements of the Registration Council for Secondary Teachers,[232] or, alternatively, hold a university degree together with recognition as a trained national teacher; a candidate for the post of teacher of technical subjects would be required to fulfil the requirements of the Technical Instruction Branch of the Department of Education for appointment as wholetime teacher of these subjects in vocational schools.[233] All such appointments would be made by the school's management committee, subject to the approval of the Minister for Education.[234] Under these arrangements teachers in national, secondary or vocational schools would be eligible for appointment to the comprehensive school provided they held the requisite qualifications. The scale of salary and allowances payable to teachers in comprehensive schools in January 1970 was identical with that payable on the same date to teachers in recognised secondary schools with the exception of an additional

allowance of £100 per annum which is paid to all teachers in comprehensive schools and a further additional allowance payable to the principal of each school.[235]

B. The Comprehensive Idea.

Apart from the small number of places where comprehensive schools were to be sited the needs of the rest of the country were to be met by encouraging existing secondary and vocational schools to co-operate in making available a curriculum broad enough to serve the individual needs of all their students, and thereby to provide the basis of a comprehensive system in each locality. Such co-operation would not be something altogether new; in 1905 Dale and Stephens referred to 28 intermediate schools which had made arrangements for using science laboratories 'attached as a rule to a Technical School'.[236] In 1963, however, Dr Hillery complained that 'our secondary and our vocational schools are being conducted as separate and distinct entities with no connecting link whatsoever between them',[237] and he felt that if the needs of all Irish children for suitable post-primary education were to be met it could only be done through co-operation between the two types of school.[238] The main form which such co-operation might take was an exchange of teachers.[239] Other areas of co-operation were not ruled out, however, and in January 1966, in the course of a letter to the authorities of secondary and vocational schools, the Minister for Education, Mr Colley, suggested that the vocational school, for example, might make its workshops available for the teaching of Woodwork to pupils of the secondary school, while the secondary school could give access to its science laboratories to the pupils of the vocational school.[240] These requests have since been repeated many times, and in October 1968, Mr Lenihan, then Minister for Education, stressed that this sharing of facilities between schools 'is in our present situation the most practical way of approaching comprehensive education in most parts of the country'.[241]

In practice, in many places, the attempt to procure equality of educational opportunity for all children at post-primary level would mean that the course for the Intermediate Certificate Examination would be provided in whatever type of post-primary school already existed in the locality, with suitable adaptation made to cater for the wider range of subjects now required.

In outlining his proposals initially Dr Hillery had given confident expression to his intention of bringing such classes in vocational schools throughout the country 'to a parity of standard and evaluation' with the corresponding courses in existing secondary schools.[242] In Ireland, however, as in other countries, real parity of esteem between the different types of post-primary school is not something which appears overnight. Fr F. H. Drinkwater pointed out in an essay published in 1947 that parents show preference for the grammar school not because it leads to a good job or a university career but because it has traditionally represented the best available education for their children.[243] And Edmund J. King emphasised in 1967 that this traditional image of the grammar school had done much in England to prevent the other post-primary schools from enjoying 'that "parity of esteem" so cheerfully anticipated at the time of the 1944 Act'.[244]

In the case of this country, there is little evidence to show that the situation here is any different. Senator Dónall Ó Connalláin, himself a secondary teacher of many years experience, stressed in the Seanad in 1965 that the Irish secondary school was much more highly esteemed than the vocational school, and he attributed its greater attraction to three factors: firstly, it had always been seen to be leading somewhere while the vocational school, generally speaking, had not; secondly, the tradition of humanism in Irish education had always been stronger than it had been elsewhere, due, probably, in large measure to the relative absence of opportunities in this country for technicians and technologists; and thirdly, because of the confidence which had grown up, down the years, in the clerical and religious management of the secondary schools.[245] The Senator emphasised, indeed, that unless the Minister found a means of fostering the necessary parity of esteem between the two post-primary streams, much of his effort was likely to be of no avail.[246] In this view, Senator Ó Connalláin would seem to have the backing of experienced educationists throughout the world, many of whom felt, in fact, that complete parity was not to be expected while the old structures remained even in modified form. Referring to French parents who would insist on sending their child at all costs to the traditional lycée, Roger Gal stated in 1955:[247]

> Pour pouvoir agir sur la détermination de tels parents, il faut pouvoir leur montrer des chemins d'égale valeur, conduisant au meme terme, l'épanouissement complet de l'enfant, et sanctionnés par les

> mêmes diplômes à égalité de valeur. Mieux encore, comme les préjugés se lient à des aspects matériels, il faut grouper tous les enfants sous le même toit sous la direction pour les matières communes des mêmes maître, afin que tous profitent sous des formes appropriées des mêmes vertus pédagogiques.

There is little evidence at the moment to indicate that the desired 'parity of esteem' will be any less elusive in Ireland's case than it has been in the case of her neighbours.

Another question to which the implementation of the comprehensive idea gives rise is that of whether the small rural school can continue to justify itself. This matter will be dealt with more fully in Chapter III.[248] At this point let it be enough to say that the policy of the Irish government since the recent re-organisation of post-primary education was undertaken has been towards the abolition of the majority of smaller schools, which are now regarded as 'unviable'. The expedition with which many such decisions have already been taken would lead one to assume that the Government considers this whole question to be a very simple matter and by no means the many-sided and complex problem which in reality it surely is. In the long run the Government may well find, when it is too late, that it has destroyed a system which, considering the severe limitations under which it operated, worked remarkably well, and that it has failed at the same time to replace it with one which comes anything near it in overall performance. Should such a misfortune befall us it will be poor consolation to know that similar mistakes had already been made elsewhere and for similar reasons. Professor Erwin Schuppe of Göttingen University implied in an article in Comparative Education in June 1969 that it was by no means uncommon for government departments to take educational decisions for other than educational reasons, or having taken them, to fail to pursue them to their logical conclusion. He said: 'Planning and a scientific basis for an up-to-date school system require years; acute shortages and political pressures, on the other hand, insist on rapid change which leads often to compromises and half-measures within the system, which militates against the functional efficiency of the system as a whole'.[249] It is to be hoped that his words are not relevant to the Irish situation.

C. The Role of Guidance.

The place of guidance in a comprehensive school or in any post-primary school professing to embody the comprehensive idea does not need to be justified since the very existence of this type of school owes its origin in the first place to the growing awareness of the need for such a service, which accompanied educationists' disillusionment with the earlier methods of selection and allocation.[250] The key role which guidance would play in the reorganised system was stressed by Dr Hillery in 1963 when he pointed out that while under the existing arrangement there had always, in theory, been the possibility, subsequent to a child's entry on a post-primary course of a transfer from one educational stream to another, yet 'for various educational and other reasons' such a transfer was seldom feasible.[251]

Speaking in Carlow, some three years later, the then Minister, Mr. Colley, expanded at some length on the particular objectives such guidance would set itself and on the form it would take in the comprehensive schools. While there would be no formal entrance examination, entrants would nonetheless undergo tests in Irish, English and Arithmetic 'so as to ascertain the level of achievement reached by each entrant in these fundamental subjects'.[252] The results of these tests were to be assessed in conjunction with 'the measures of his potential', and in this way the under-achievers and the over-achievers would be identified.[253] The former were not regarded by the Minister as presenting any great problem. Their position was the result of having 'been "hot-housed" along either by their parents or their teachers at a rate greater than they can healthily sustain';[254] so long as they were recognised, it would be the function of careful counselling to forestall the disappointment and frustration they would be bound to experience later when they found that they could not live up to what had seemed to be early promise.[255] The under-achievers, on the other hand, could constitute a more serious problem, particularly those whose under-achievement was the result not of inadequate preparatory schooling but of parental indifference or even hostility to education. In the case of such children, the Minister said, research had shown that the prospects of success were not bright.[256]

Since the whole three-year period leading to the Intermediate Certificate Examination was to put particular emphasis on guidance, it was

envisaged that a constant check should be kept on each pupil's progress in each of his subjects and in general, and that regular meetings should be arranged with the parents with a view to keeping them up to date on how their children were faring.[257] During the course of the third year a pupil would undergo further 'aptitude and other tests' so that on the publication of the results of the Intermediate Certificate Examination 'a considerable and comprehensive volume of information about his potential will be available to the student and his parents'.[258] Then and not till then would a final decision be taken on the pupil's future. For some it would be the terminal point of their formal education. For the remainder it would be a matter of deciding whether they would continue in the academic stream with a view to university entrance, or follow a commercial course leading to entry to the business world, or take a technical or apprenticeship course.[259] This decision, however, would be made by the individual pupil and his parents: 'He and his parents', Mr Colley pointed out, 'will have before them the results of the expert investigation of his achievements and interests over the three-year period so that they will be able to make a realistic assessment of the goals the student should set himself'.[260]

To ensure that the assessment and subsequent counselling would be as accurate as possible, the Department planned to enlist the aid of a number of educational psychologists, and in June 1965 Mr. Colley announced in the Dáil that, as a start, the Government was about to appoint four psychologists who would have responsibility for this matter.[261] In 1968 Mr Seán O'Connor, an Assistant Secretary of the Department of Education, stated that the Department's Psychological Service had by then established 'the nucleus of a guidance service' in the state comprehensive schools and in those secondary schools which were offering comprehensive facilities, and that when the service had been sufficiently extended by the recruitment of additional educational psychologists it would be available for all post-primary schools eventually.[262] He pointed out that the guidance service was being organised as a two-tier service, the first tier in the school being provided by a member of the school staff selected by the school for the purpose and the second tier by the Department's psychologists. He added that instruction to the selected teachers was being given by way of a series of summer courses and subsequent on-the-job training.[263]

There can be no doubt that such a service as has now been set up, if operated efficiently, can be of great advantage in the fight to ensure every child an education suited to his talents and inclinations. Even assuming the efficiency of the guidance service, however, difficulties of a practical nature are likely to hinder the scheme from attaining the full measure of success. The most obvious of these springs from the need to start on the fundamentals of certain academic subjects at a fairly early age. It seems very unlikely, for instance, that a pupil who had originally been regarded as unsuited for an academic course but who showed sufficient promise later to warrant his being advised to transfer to the academic stream after three years in the comprehensive school, will be offered anything like a full choice of subjects at this stage. Even where such advice is given after one year in the comprehensive school, there are many subjects, as the Department has often pointed out,[264] in which a satisfactory Intermediate Certificate course cannot be done in two years, and which, therefore, even a fairly talented pupil would be ill-advised to start in mid-course. The difficulty in this latter instance could be removed by introducing a four-year course leading to the Intermediate Certificate examination, the particular function of the first year of which might in a special way be regarded as investigatory.[265] While there would still be pupils whose characteristic leanings would not have emerged clearly by the end of the first year and whose ultimate destination would have to be decided a year or two later, the number of misplacements should be considerably lessened if the full choice of options was still available at this stage for those who had by then begun to show an inclination in one direction or another.

D. The Development Branch.

The Lynch Report had recommended in 1965 that an educational development unit should be set up within the Department of Education and that its head should have the rank of an Assistant Secretary thereby ensuring that the unit would be independent of each of the existing Branches.[266] This officer would be directly responsible to the Secretary of the Department for long-term planning work, for considering policy matters in general, and, in particular, 'for directing the findings of the professional staff of the

development unit into the administrative system of the department'.[267] This recommendation was implemented without delay and in June of the same year the Minister for Education Mr Colley, announced that a Development Branch was being established in the Department and that an extra Assistant Secretary was being appointed to take control of it.[268] He outlined the functions of the Development Branch as follows:[269]

> ...staitistí a bhailiú faoi na deiseanna oideachais atá ann agus faoi nithe eile dá réir agus, i gcomhar leis na brainsí eile agus le gach aon lena mbaineann, pleanáil a dhéanamh, comhairle a ghlacadh, gríosú a dhéanamh, clár na gcéimeanna chun tosaigh a leagan amach agus féachaint chuige go gcuirfear i ngíomh an feabhsú agus an leasú atá le déanamh ar an oideachas.

In the following November, in an address to the Cork Branch of Tuairim, the Minister stated that one of the principal functions of the new Branch would be to look after the comprehensive schools.[270] It would also study 'the country's needs in the whole field of post-primary education', and was already engaged in a nation-wide study of these needs as well as in examining our systems of teacher training.[271] It was on the basis of its reports on the first of these matters that plans were eventually drawn up to make provision in each locality for the introduction of the Free Education Scheme.[272]

E. New Ideas on School Design.

One of the failings of the Intermediate System had been that the Board made no effort to ensure that that the buildings in which the children were taught were even moderately suited to that purpose. Dale and Stephens drew attention to this in 1905 and said that on their travels in the course of their enquiry they had come to realize that 'the schoolroom may be an untidy loft, unventilated and imperfectly lighted ...the scholars may have no playground but the street'.[273] They were doubtful, however, whether the Board had in fact power under the existing legislation to exclude a school from the School Grant on the grounds that it was inadequately housed.[274] When the Department of Education assumed control of secondary education, however, it prescribed in its Conditions for the Recognition of Secondary Schools that 'The School Premises must be suitable as regards accommodation, equipment, lighting, heating and

sanitation',[275] and the same condition is still in force in 1969-70.[276]

Since the recent inception of the Scheme of Building Grants for Secondary Schools,[277] the Department of Education has, as one might expect, begun to show considerable interest in the type of buildings erected. A Post-Primary Building Unit has been established within the Department, which has available to it 'both educational and architectural expertise' and it is already furnishing grant applicants with guidelines as to the form modern post-primary school buildings should take.[278] In one of its documents on this subject,[279] the Department points out that the reluctance of many schools to introduce modern teaching methods has often stemmed from the fact that the existing school buildings just were not suitable.[280] Most of these schools had been built with a view to lasting a long time. Such an approach to school building, the Department felt, was not suitable today. It stated:[281]

> It would be idle to suppose that we could visualise the type of school environment which would best meet our educational needs twenty years hence. Ideally, perhaps, we shoud work on the basis of built-in obsolescence to ensure that our building components are not required to have a life out of line with the rate of technological change. At the very least the concept of change must be accepted and school buildings designed to permit of a variety of teaching situations and of easy and economical adaptation in the light of changes in educational methodology . . .

The Department held that the special requirements of today's teaching methods involve provision for large-group instruction, seminar work in small groups, individual and project work, guidance and remedial activities, library and audio-visual resources as well as the more customary specialist teaching facilities.[282] It looked forward in particular to the perfecting of a retractable partition giving a satisfactory level of acoustical privacy which would facilitate the speedy turning of a group of smaller divided spaces into one undivided larger one, or vice versa as the occasion demanded.[283] In view of the sizeable grants now being given for such building, there is every reason to suppose that many of the Department's ideas will be incorporated into Irish post-primary schools in future.

F. A Note on Telefís Scoile.

Among the many advantages claimed for educational television are: the sharing of techniques and of virtual apparatus with schools whose science laboratories may not be very well equipped; the use of the guided camera for the geography class; the added depth and reality which can be given to literary subjects by holding interviews with authors and poets.[284] In this country, Telefís Scoile first went on the air on 4 February 1964.[285] The first series dealt with Physics both because many schools felt a particular need at that time for information on the new Physics syllabus which had just been introduced, and because from a production point of view experimental subjects lend themselves readily to simple television treatment. There were 30 programmes for the senior cycle and 15 programmes for the junior cycle in this initial experiment.[286] Programmes in other subjects were subsequently introduced, and in the school year 1969/70 Telefís Scoile was transmitting programmes in Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Literature, Social History, Geography, and Mathematics.[287]

In announcing the proposed introduction of education television programmes for schools, Mr. Kevin McCourt, Director-General of Telefís Eireann, stated at a press conference on 20 January 1964: "I want to make it quite clear that we are not interested in televising these programmes to the crows. If sufficient interest is not shown in them by the schools, then we will have to go to the Minister and say we must reconsider the position."[288] Radio Telefís Eireann estimated, however, that the initial Physics series was followed by up to 80 per cent of the classes taking Physics; at present, in early 1970, they estimate that all their series, on average, reach up to 70 per cent of their target audiences; and they claim that at least some of them have been highly successful.[289] The evidence on which these estimates and evaluations are based is the evidence which teachers give in their written comments, together with the observations of Education Officers who visit schools in the course of transmissions.[290]

It has been suggested, however, that the estimates in question present a much too optimistic picture, and that many of the programmes reach but a small

fraction of their prospective viewers.[291] It is, in fact, hard to believe that the figures given by R.T.E. could possibly be correct. A realisation of the severe restrictions which regular viewing of most of these programmes would put on the timetables of many schools, together with the impression gained in the course of conversation with numerous teachers, leaves one with a strong suspicion that considerably less use is being made of these programmes than is officially estimated. Were schools in general in possession of adequate equipment to record these programmes and thereby enabled to fit them as they thought best to their own timetables it is very likely indeed that widespread use would be made of them. The high cost of such equipment, however, in the present financial position of Irish post-primary schools, leaves little room to hope that a development along these lines is to be hoped for in the immediate future.

CHAPTER THREE: SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS.

Chapter III: SIZE AND DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOLS.

1. Size of Schools.

A. 1878 - 1922.

From the information available in the published annual reports of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland it is not possible to establish with any degree of accuracy the numbers of schools of different sizes which functioned under the Board in any particular year, much less in any representative series of years. For the first five years or so no information at all was given about the number or size of schools to the managers of which results fees were paid. From 1885 onwards some information was given, but the form it took changed from time to time: at one stage one was given the total amount paid in fees to each school together with the number of pupils in respect of whom this amount was paid; on another occasion no reference was made to the number of pupils involved but the figure for money payments was subdivided under a number of headings. From this information it would be possible to set out for selected years the numbers of schools which earned fees of specified amounts; but it would be quite impossible to establish any valid correlation between amount of fees earned and school population, both because of the very great variation in amount of fees earned by individual pupils and because of lack of statistical information on the number of enrolled pupils in respect of whom no fees were paid.

When Dale and Stephens reported in 1905 on the working of the Intermediate System, they complained that, as far as the supply of intermediate education was concerned, 'the material upon which definite and detailed conclusions could be based does not exist',[1] and they attributed this deficiency to the limitations of the Intermediate Board's powers and the restriction of its duties to the work of an examining body.[2] From the information available to them,however, they were able to assert that the bulk of the intermediate education being provided in the country was furnished by schools operating under the Intermediate Board, and that 'these schools undoubtedly include nearly all the large and important institutions providing

Higher Education for scholars of 13 to 19 years of age'.[3] In 1903 there were 262 such schools in the country, 147 being boys' schools, 83 being girls' schools and 32 being mixed schools. Apart from these there was a fairly considerable number (estimated by Dale and Stephens at between 100 and 120) of small private schools, attended chiefly by girls, which did not come under the Intermediate Board and of which no complete return existed since they were unknown officially to any Department of State.[4] Dale and Stephens did not find it possible to include these schools in their inquiry, and they concentrated their attention on those operating in conjunction with the Intermediate Board.[5]

The number of intermediate schools classed by Dale and Stephens as 'larger schools' (i.e., those with over 50 pupils on their rolls) amounted in all to about 117. Of these, approximately 65 were boys' schools and 52 were girls' schools, the majority of them being either exclusively or partly boarding schools.[6] This class accounted for about 70 Catholic schools, including such schools as those under the Jesuits (e.g., Clongowes Wood, College and Crescent College, Limerick), most diocesan seminaries, the majority of the convent girls' schools, and about 40 Protestant schools (viz. the large schools for boys and girls in Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Derry, and some of the endowed schools, e.g., the Royal Schools at Portora and Armagh).[7] Most of these schools, however, would not have been considered large by English standards, and it was pointed out that there were barely 20 schools in all Ireland having as many as 200 pupils on the rolls.[8]

Of the smaller intermediate schools in the country, which came to roughly 160 in all, about 50 were schools in which the majority of the pupils were boarders. These, in the case of Catholic schools, were either smaller convent schools or schools under one of the religious orders of men (e.g. Mount St. Alphonsus School in Limerick), and, in the case of Protestant schools, were frequently under private management.[9] A further 50 or so were almost exclusively day-schools and comprised the ordinary schools under the management of the Christian Brothers (excluding, that is, the fee-paying Colleges operated by the Order in Cork and Waterford) and some of the smaller endowed Protestant schools.[10] As a rule the premises and equipment of these schools were satisfactory, though a number of the day-schools suffered from

lack of accommodation, sometimes to the extent that all the intermediate pupils, in two or more classes each under its own teacher, had to be taught in one room.[11]

The remaining 60 or so schools in this category almost invariably consisted of private schools owned by the Principal, and, while one or two boarders were sometimes taken, they catered almost entirely for day-pupils. The great majority of these schools were for Protestants, since, in the whole country there were only 5 day-schools for Catholic girls and 7 for Catholic boys with 50 pupils or less.[12] Schools in this category were far from satisfactory.[13]

> At its best, [Dale and Stephens stated,] a school of this type is conducted in an ordinary small dwelling house, with the disadvantages naturally attendant on this fact. The living-rooms are commonly used as school-rooms; there is, needless to say, no provision of such desiderata as a proper playground, cloak-room, or store rooms. The lighting and ventilation are frequently not adapted for a school-room, and in a few cases that we visited the lighting was so defective as in itself to call for the condemnation of the premises. The sanitary arrangements are necessarily inadequate, as a rule, for the number of scholars. . . .
>
> In various cases we found that even this low standard was not reached. Small Intermediate schools, for example, were held in such places as a single room over a shop, or behind a chapel, in a delapidated farm-house, in a low wooden shed attached to a dwelling-house. . . . Ventilation, lighting and sanitation were very defective.

It was not thought advisable, however, to attempt to remedy the situation by recommending a minimum number of enrolled pupils as a prerequisite to the payment of results fees. Such a measure, it was felt, could only be taken in the light of the fuller information which a detailed survey of each district would yield.[14] Since many of the most inadequate of the small schools, however, were situated in fairly large towns where the educational needs of the locality could be catered for without them, Dale and Stephens were inclined to recommend a minimum of 15 in the case of towns of over a certain population, and they felt that few cases of difficulty would be likely to arise

though a good number of small schools would ultimately be excluded. As regards country districts, they did not think that any rigid rule should be laid down in the first instance, but that each case should be considered in relation to local needs.[15]

B. 1922 - 1968.

Table VII.1.n.. shows the number of recognised secondary schools of various sizes which operated in the years 1925-6, 1945-6 and 1955-6, together with the percentage of the total number of recognised secondary schools for the respective years constituted by each of these figures.[16] It will be seen that, in the space of the forty years spanned by the table, secondary schools, while increasing in number by more than 100 per cent, have also shown a very decided tendency to grow in size. In 1925-6 almost 95 per cent of all recognised secondary schools were schools of less than 150 pupils, while larger schools represented only something over 5 per cent. of the total. In 1965-6 the corresponding percentages were roughly 70 and 30. Again, there were only 7 schools of 300 or more pupils in operation in the earlier year, while this figure had increased more than tenfold by 1965-6.[17]

The figures for 1945-6 indicate that, in general, the trend towards larger schools, while clearly discernible by that year, became much more obvious in the second half of the forty years in question: schools with less than 100 pupils, for example, constituted some 63 per cent of the total in 1945-'46; in 1925-6 they had constituted 74.5 per cent, while in 1965-6 they represented only about 29 per cent. A similar pattern is discernible when the figures for the larger schools are examined: while the percentage of schools with over 300 pupils had grown from 2.5 per cent in 1925-6 to nearly 13 per cent in 1965-6, the relevant percentage for 1945-6 was still not quite 3.5 per cent.[18]

Further analysis again of the figures in respect of the very small schools shows that in 1925-6 almost 9 per cent of schools with less than 100 pupils were catering in fact for less than 20 pupils each.[19] This percentage had decreased to slightly over 1 per cent by 1965-6. Correspondingly, the percentage of the figure for schools with less than 100 pupils represented by schools of between 80 and 99 pupils rose from 16.4 per cent in 1925-6 to 33.5 per cent in 1965-6. In this case, however, the trend away from the extremely

small school was firmly established by 1945-6: the percentage of the total number of schools with less than 100 pupils represented by schools of less than 20 pupils had by that year decreased to less than 5 per cent, and the corresponding percentage for schools of between 80 and 99 pupils had risen to almost 29 per cent.[20]

C. The Small School Controversy.

Despite the marked tendency towards larger secondary schools which has just been noted, it must be borne in mind that even in 1965-6 there were still as many as 334 schools, or slightly over 57 per cent of all the recognised secondary schools in the country, which were under the minimum of 150 pupils specified by the Department in its rules for the payment of building grants to secondary schools.[21] The O.E.C.D. Survey Team felt that while the existence of such a large number of small schools undoubtedly resulted from the simultaneous operation of a number of factors, one of the most important considerations was the fact that community values and traditions tended, in a system comprised of privately owned schools, to provide separate facilities for particular pupil categories on the basis of religion, six, language or social class, where in other circumstances the duplication of facilities which this usually involved could often be avoided by the provision of larger common educational units.[22]

The main argument which has been put forward against the smaller schools is the greater expense and difficulty involved in providing a broad curriculum for small numbers of pupils.[23] Table III.2,[24] which shows the percentage of secondary schools, by size, which provided certain subjects and subject groups at honours level in the Leaving Certificate class in 1962-3, clearly indicates that school size and the provision of honours courses in Mathematics, Science and Modern Continental Languages are very closely related; and the O.E.C.D. Survey Team, from whose report the table is taken, warned that if modern requirements were to indicate a need for more flexibility in secondary education the small schools were likely to find themselves faced with difficulties of adaptation.[25] Speaking in the Dáil in 1966, the Minister for Education, Mr. Colley affirmed that this was his Department's reason for insisting on a minimum of 150 pupils in its regulations governing the payment of grants to secondary schools;[26] and he let it be understood that while every effort would be made to assist any smaller schools which appeared capable of expanding to

the required size it would be his Department's policy to permit very few exceptions to this rule.[27]

Against these arguments, however, there would seem to be a not inconsiderable body of opinion which holds that, on balance, the education given in at least some of the smaller schools is better than that provided by some very large ones, and that if this rule is to be applied indiscriminately schools which have provided an excellent service to the community will be forced to close. This point of view was voiced in the Seanad in March 1965, by Senator Professor Hayes who mentioned, inter alia, the considerable advantage to be gained from the close personal contact which the principal of a smaller school had with teachers and pupils alike and the comparative ease with which he could thus gain an essential understanding of each one's individual problems.[28] Further support was given to the claims of the smaller schools when in 1968 the editor of Studies singled out '. . . our convent schools, . . . many of them boarding schools or part boarding, dotted across the country', and severely criticised the Department for contemplating the closure of many of them despite the fact that they had provided ' . . . for extraordinarily low fees (thanks to the hard work and ascetic living of the Sisters), an education and formation for many generations of Irish girls which has made so many of them, as doctors and nurses . . . as teachers or simply as wives and mothers, the envy of many other countries'.[29]

From a number of points of view the Department's reasoning would seem to be valid. From a purely economic point of view, for example, its argument does appear to be soundly logical. It would be well to bear in mind,however, that since the economist and the educationist are by no means striving for identical goals, the economist in turning his attention to education may well run the risk of minimizing or altogether disregarding certain considerations which to an educationist would take on a very different significance. Ane one wonders if, in committing itself with such obvious determination and enthusiasm to the recommendations of the O.E.C.D. Survey Team (whose aim had been, to use its own words, 'not to make pedagogic recommendations but rather to analyse the educational system with a view to helping towards decisions as to whether or not the human and material resources in Irish education are being employed in the most effective manner'),[30] the Department of Education itself did not lay itself open to the charge of having made this mistake. At the very least one would expect that a decision to close schools which from an educational

point of view have in the past acquitted themselves well would be taken only after the Department had convinced itself by thorough experimentation that the alternative it proposed was equally satisfactory educationally. It is far from clear that this precaution has been taken.

2. Distribution of Schools.

Prior to the Department of Education's recent efforts at 'rationalising' facilities for post-primary education the extent to which such facilities were provided varied considerably from one part of the country to another. In the early years of the Intermediate System the case of the endowed schools provides an outstanding example of this haphazard distribution. The Rosse Commission, which had been appointed in 1878 to inquire into the operation of educational endowments in Ireland, reported in 1880 that out of the total annual income of £85,000 which was derived from such endowments only £8,000 belonged to Munster and only £891 to Connaught, the remaining £76,000 belonging to schools in Leinster and Ulster.[31] The Vice-Regal Commission, reporting in 1899, made reference to districts where schools were then urgently needed and expressed its regret that it was not within its power to make recommendations which would provide for special financial aid for the support and development of schools in such areas.

While Dale and Stephens bore witness in 1905 to the 'unquestionable [fact] that hundreds of Roman Catholic boys, whose education if given in the ordinary National School must have closed with the completion of the usual curriculum in elementary subjects, have through the instrumentality of the Christian Brothers been able to obtain all the benefits conferred in other countries by a system of free Higher Grade Schools',[33] they emphasized at the same time that the Christian Brothers' schools were 'as a rule situated in or near the towns' and were therefore incapable of serving the needs of 'the large number of Roman Catholic boys living in the rural districts'.[34] Apart from the uneven distribution of educational facilities between town and country generally, however, Dale and Stephens found that certain areas of the country were much less adequately catered for than others: in general, Munster and Leinster were better catered for than the rest of the country, and in Ulster

provision for intermediate education was least adequate of all.[35] The explanation of this disproportion, Dale and Stephens felt, was to be found in the fact that in Ulster 'the overwhelming majority' of the intermediate schools which were in operation (and of which there was 'no lack either in Belfast or the adjoining counties') drew their pupils mainly from the prosperous middle class, leaving, in consequence,'an almost complete absence of Intermediate Schools to serve the needs of the poorer boys'.[36] In the case of the west of Ireland they key factors were seen as being 'The exceptional poverty of the mass of the population . . . its dispersal over districts of wide area, and the absence of means of communication'.[37] Dale and Stephens,however, did not see any ready solution to the problem:[38]

> The deficiencies in the supply of good local schools for the education primarily of children of the lower middle class up to the age of 15 or 16 years, [they said,] clearly do not admit of any immediate remedy. The provision of such schools can only be effected gradually by the co-operation of private and local effort with the efforts made by the State.

Not until the present decade was any attempt made to introduce a comprehensive solution to the problem. One wonders, indeed, if the view expressed by a number of witnesses before the Commission on Emigration to the effect that existing provision for secondary education was excessive and that 'too many people were being educated with a view to "white-collar" employment and professional careers'[39] was not more widely accepted than one might like to imagine, and had not at least some bearing on the continuance in operation of a system under which the quite accidental circumstance of where they lived determined for many children the extent and nature of their formal education, long after neighbouring countries had taken steps to eliminate this particular form of discrimination. The measures which were eventually adopted here are given detailed consideration elsewhere in this thesis.[40]

The O.E.C.D. Team considered this question in some detail in the course of their survey. Taking, first of all, the number of secondary school pupils whose residences were in each particular county as a percentage of the apporpriate age group in that county they established the variation in participation rate which existed between county and county.[41] In Cork 39.57

per cent of the appropriate age group were in attendance at secondary school, while at the other end of the scale the corresponding figure for Donegal was 18.38 per cent.[42] Having tested a number of hypotheses they found it impossible to explain the differences which existed simply on the basis of county income or predominant social group, though they were convinced that these had some effect;[43] and they stated that their examination of the question 'would appear to be forcing us to the conclusion that the cause of much of the disparity lies in the procedure by which secondary schools come into being'.[44] Mr Garret Fitzgerald, writing in the Irish Times in June 1969, was more specific. Referring to the Survey Team's findings he pointed out that a clear correlation seemed to exist between participation rates and the existence of schools run by religious orders of brothers, and he went on:[45]

> Although the Report does not say as much, what it is hinting at is a difference in attitude between certain dioceses with regard to the establishment of schools run by religious orders. In some dioceses, especially in the North and North-West, such schools appear to have been discouraged as a matter of diocesan policy extending over a long period of years, with a view to preserving a monopoly position for the local diocesan college. To the extent that this has happened a factor unrelated to the educational needs of the people has been allowed to determine their educational opportunities, which in Ireland have been largely dependent on the extraordinary work of the religious orders.

A substantially similar view was put forward by Father Patrick S. Duffy in his recent published study of the position of the Catholic lay teacher in Ireland.[46]

To go behond the realm of alleged explanation and to attempt to show conclusively the existence of a causal relationship between participation rate and school distribution would require more detailed statistical information than is available. The figures for secondary school population by county of home residence, on the one hand, do not go far enough, in that they fail to specify the distribution of the residences of these pupils within individual counties and so provide no help towards relating participation rate with proximity to a school. The information available from the Department's List of Recognised Secondary Schools, on the other hand, is also of limited use since it does not

distinguish, for individual schools, between boarders and day-pupils, and consequently one is again precluded from proving or disproving the hypothesis in question. The available evidence, however, does point to the conclusion that unequal rates of participation in secondary education from one part of the country to another have to some considerable extent been the result of the uneven distribution of day secondary schools throughout the country.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINANCE.

Chapter Four: FINANCE.

The present study of the financing of Irish secondary education since 1878 will be divided into four main sections. The first will deal with the main financial provisions made under the Intermediate Board and will be divided into four subsections: subsection A will cover the period from the passing of the Intermediate Education Act in 1878 to the year 1890; subsection B will deal with the period from the passing of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act in 1890 to the year 1914; subsection C will cover the period from the passing of the Intermediate Education Act of 1914 to the year 1922; and subsection D will provide an analysis of the Intermediate Board's spending in the course of the whole period from 1878 to 1922. The second section will deal, in a similar manner, with what happened under the Department of Education, though in this case it has seemed more convenient to divide the section somewhat differently: here subsection A will deal with the main financial provisions made for secondary education by the Department of Education up to 1967; subsection B will be devoted to a consideration of the main financial provisions of the new Free Education Scheme introduced in 1967; subsection C will treat of a number of other financial provisions operating in the period from 1922 to 1968; and subsection D will provide a general summary for the years 1922 to 1968 similar to that provided in the corresponding subsection of the previous section in relation to the years from 1878 to 1922. The third section will deal with school income from sources other than the Intermediate Board and the Department of Education: subsection A will refer mainly to payments made by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, to secondary schools; subsection B will glance briefly at the position regarding the endowment of secondary schools; and subsection C will refer to the question of school fees. A fourth section will be devoted to a consideration of the kind of scholarship provision which was made both to enable younger children to enter secondary schools, and to enable senior pupils of secondary schools to proceed to higher education. This section will be divided chronologically into two subsections, the first dealing with the period from 1878 to 1922, and the second with that from 1922 to 1968.

1. Under the Intermediate System.

A. Money Provided by the Intermediate Board: 1878 - 1890.

Under the terms of the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act, 1878, a system was inaugurated whereby, for the first time in this country, financial assistance was given by the State to promote intermediate education.[1] For this purpose, in March 1879, the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland handed over to the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland ten Debentures for £100,000 each, from the funds administered by them under the Irish Church Act of 1869 for educational and charitable purposes, and this sum was guaranteed by the Treasury to bear interest for seventeen years at the rate of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent per annum.[2] The income from this endowment was to be used to pay results fees to schools, calculated on the success of individual students at annual public examinations, and to provide money awards to individual students who obtained the highest marks at these examinations.[3] Results fees, according to a given scale,[4] would be paid to the managers of schools for students who, having attended their school from 1 November of the year previous to that of the examinations, and having made at least one hundred attendances from that date to the last day of the month proceding the examinations, would obtain passes in at least two subjects, of which one would have to be in the case of boys, Greek, Latin, English, or two mathematical subjects (counted as one), or, in the case of girls, Greek, Latin, English, a modern language, two mathematical subjects (counted as one) or arithmetic.[5] For the purposes of this rule, a school would be taken to mean 'any educational institution (not being a National School) which affords classical or scientific education to pupils not exceeding eighteen years of age, of whom not less than ten shall have made one hundred attendances at the least in the period between the 1st of November and the last day of the month preceding the examination in respect of which the results fees are claimed'.[6]

The expenditure of the Board for the year 1879 was, in round figures, as follows:

Administration. £5,800,
Cost of Examinations . . £5,500,
Results fees £7,500,
Exhibitions and Prizes. . £4,500;

leaving a credit balance of almost £10,000.[7] That such a relatively large sum was left over, was not due to a miscalculation on the Board's part in determining the scale of fees and exhibitions, but was a deliberate attempt to make provision for future years. 'There is little doubt', the Board warned in 1880, 'that the claims on the fund in future years will largely exceed those of this year, and will be sufficient to absorb the whole of the annual income; and it is highly probable that ultimately the fund may prove inadequate to carry out the intentions of the legislature.'[8] This warning was repeated the following year, but with greater urgency; it was now felt that 'these anticipations are likely to be realized much sooner than the Board supposed', and it was considered 'just possible that in the present year the income of the Board may suffice to meet the claims that will be made upon it.'[9] In the following year again, however, the income from the endowment proved inadequate to the demands which, under the original rules, the various expenses made upon it.[10] It would, in fact, have been just sufficient to meet the claims of the boys and of the boys' schools; and the Board was not slow to point out that the fund had originally been intended for this purpose only, and that the later inclusion of girls had brought no corresponding increase in the endowment.[11]

The greatly increased expenditure for the year 1881, however, was not due simply to an increase in the number of those presenting themselves for examination in that year, though that was a contributing factor. With regard to results fees, the greatly increased amount was mainly due to the fact that a much larger proportion of students passed in the various subjects than in 1880, and to the fact that of these students a larger proportion was qualified to earn results fees than in the previous year.[12] Furthermore, students had concentrated to a greater extent than hitherto on the four subjects, Greek, Latin, English and Mathematics, on which the highest results fees were awardable,[13] and this, too, contributed to the overall increase in the total amount payable.[14] Accordingly, the Board decided to recommend[15] that the scale of results fees for the year 1882 be reduced by half, and that appropriate reductions be made as well both in the value and number of exhibitions and prizes.[16] The Board was not blind to the harmful effects which such a step was likely to have; it mentioned, in particular, the

discouragement and possible embarrassment which would be felt by 'those managers of schools, who, on the faith of the scale laid down in the Schedule to the Intermediate Education Act, have incurred considerable outlay in providing not only an enlarged and more efficient Staff, but also educational appliances to meet the requirements of the Intermediate programme'.[17] It saw no alternative, however, to what it had done, and it warned that unless its funds were largely augmented by Parliament the possibility of still further reductions was very real.[18]

In order to discharge the liability incurred in meeting its financial commitments in 1881, the Board decided to apply to Parliament for power to enable it to sell out the surplus income of the years 1879 and 1880, which in accordance with the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 had been invested in Government securities.[19] Accordingly, in June 1882, a Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord O'Hagan to amend the Act of 1878 so that the surplus in the two years, 1879 and 1880, might be used to clear off the deficit of the year 1881, and generally to provide that in future surpluses might be used to clear off deficits.[20] This Bill became law in the following August under the title of the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act, 1882.[21] While making provision for the use of past and possible future surpluses to meet deficits, however, the Act made it quite clear that the Board was not being empowered to anticipate in one year the income of subsequent years except in so far as would be involved in granting exhibitions and assigning salaries,[22] or hiring offices, etc., in one year, which would involve a periodical payment not only in that year but also in subsequent years.[23]

The reduction in the scale of results fees and in the number and value of exhibitions and prizes under the Rules which came into force in 1882, together with certain economies which the Board managed to effect in its administration, enabled it to close its accounts for that year with a credit balance of £3,100, and in the following year with a credit balance of £6,900.[24] Accordingly the Board recommended that, for the year 1884, the scale of results fees should be increased by about 33 per cent. and that the original proportion of exhibitions and prizes should be restored.[25] There was still a credit balance of some £6,200 for the year 1885, and the Board again recommended further increases, to take effect in the year 1886, both in results fees at all levels, and in the

exhibitions at Junior Grade level.[26]

By 1888 expenditure was again exceeding income, the figure involved in respect of that year being about £5,400. Under the terms of the Act of 1882 this deficiency was met by the sale of a portion of the invested accumulations of former years.[27] The total of the accumulated surpluses now remaining amounted to approximately £12,900, and as the Board considered it advisable to hold a substantial reserve fund, they decided, in view of the steady increase in the number of candidates,'to frame their rules in such a way as to avoid the necessity of diminishing this fund to any considerable extent'.[28] Despite the precautions which they took, however,it was found on receipt of the results of the Examinations in 1889 that an excess of expenditure over income amounting to about £6,800 would be incurred if exhibitions, prizes and results fees were to be awarded according to the scales which had been employed the previous year.[29] The Board felt that the payment of this sum out of the fund accumulated from the purpluses of former years would so reduce the fund 'as to render it, in our opinion, inadequate to the purposes for which it was established', and they decided that the largest sum which ought to be withdrawn from that fund in the current year was £3,100. Accordingly they fixed the amounts to be distributed, on the principle that the residue of the deficiency should be apportioned, as nearly as possible, 'rateably between the total sums awarded for "Rewards" and "Results Fees" respectively'.[30]

B. Money Provided by the Intermediate Board: 1890 - 1914.

In 1890 a supplementary source of income was made available to the Board. By the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act of that year[31] it was provided, inter alia, that after a sum of £78,000 would have been paid to the Commissioners of National Education[32] the residue of the Irish share of Customs and Excise duties would be paid to the Intermediate Board for distribution among schools to which the provisions of the Act of 1878 applied, either in the form of results fees or as exhibitions and prizes.[33] In view of the additional income provided by this Act, the Board decided to put into effect two developments of their system, which had for some time been under consideration, but which, for lack of funds, had not been proceeded with, namely, examinations in a Commercial Course in Middle and Senior Grades, and an examination in a Preparatory Grade for students

between twelve and fourteen years of age.[34] Rules for this purpose were framed by the Board on the basis of a notification from the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, dated 22 October 1890, that the amount which would be payable as the Irish share of the Beer and Spirit Duties, 1890-1, might be approximately placed at a minimum of £90,000. As it was provided in the Act that £78,000 of t his share should be paid to the National Board, the Intermediate Board framed their new Rules on an approximate estimate of £12,000 as their share of the Duties.[35] The sum actually paid to the Board in 1891 under this Act, however, amounted to more than £39,000, and the Board consequently decided to make large increases, both in results fees and in rewards to students, in 1892.[36]

The Board had now increased the rates of results fees and of rewards to students 'as far as, with their present knowledge, they thought it prudent to do so with a reasonable hope of being able to continue such increased rates'.[37] It was not expected that the full effect of these increases would be seen until the new Rules would have been at least four years in operation, but a considerable increase in expenditure was anticipated both because the more generous fees would be likely to induce managers of schools to present an increased number of pupils for examination and because the expenses attending the examinations would also increase to some extent with any marked increase in the number of candidates to be examined.[38] In 1894 the Board could report that the anticipated increase in numbers of candidates had already begun to materialize: in that year the number of students who gave notice of their intention to present themselves for examination exceededthe corresponding number for 1893 by 758, and that for 1892 by 2,707;[39] and the Board asserted that they were fully satisfied 'that within a short period the entire income from the grant under "the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act,1890", will be annually absorbed in the payment of Prizes and Results Fees, to the great encouragement of Intermediate Education in Ireland'.[40]

The precautions which the Board had taken, however, to conserve its resources in the first years of its new affluence, by not offering results fees or prizes of amounts too large to be continued in subsequent years, proved, before many years had passed, to be inadequate. In the years 1891 to 1895, inclusive, expensiture from the Local Taxation Account on results fees and exhibitions was, in round figures, as follows: 1891, £5,100; 1892, £18,500;

1893, £28,000; 1894, £43,500; 1895, £55,500.[41] By 1895 the Board was again in the position where it had to meet a current excess of expenditure over income by drawing on reseserves accumulated from previous years; and since further similar withdrawals in subsequent years seemed inevitable, the Board decided to recommend reductions in the rates of results fees for Preparatory and Junior Grades for 1897.[42] This decision was also prompted by the realization that, since a serious reduction in the income from the endowment of 1878 was to be expected after 1896 when the last payment under the guarantee of the Treasury of interest at 3¼ per cent. on the original endowment of £1,000,000 was due to be made, an increased proportion of the annual expenditure would have to be borne by the Local Taxation Account.[43] In the event, this latter fear was proved to be well founded: when the period for which interest at 3¼ per cent had been guaranteed by the Treasury expired in February 1896 the outcome of the negotiations between the Board and the Land Commission, to whom the money had originally been lent, was that the Land Commission debt to the Board was renewed for a further ten years at 2¾ per cent interest, again guaranteed by the Treasury. The income from the original endowment was consequently diminished by the sum of £5,000 per annum.[44]

The Commission which was appointed in 1898 'to enquire into the system of Intermediate Education under the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act, 1878',[45] led in turn to the passing of the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act, 1900,[46] and to the new Rules for 1902 which were approved by the Lord Lieutenant on 5 June 1901.[47] One of the changes introduced by these Rules provided that exhibitions, which formerly had been tenable for three years in the Junior Grade and for two years in the Middle Grade and the amounts of which used be paid directly to the successful students, were for the future to be tenable for one year only, and the Board stated that it was determined ' to apply the amounts of them for the education, maintenance, expenses of attending school, or otherwise for the benefit or advancement of these students'.[48] The provision whereby exhibitions would henceforth be tenable for one year only was simply another device calculated to help in some degree at least in conserving the Board's resources; and the stated intention of seeing to it that such payments went towards educational purposes only would seem to have been the result of a renewed determination on the Board's part that its money should serve to promote education and education only. It would seem

to have been felt too, around this time, that, in some cases, the results fees themselves were not being devoted wholly to the promotion of education, and J.J. Auchmuty, referring to the 'far from flourishing state' of secondary education in this country in 1903, stated: 'The Government grants, especially in schools directly connected with the Church, were often spent on non-educational objects and no attempt was made to check this expenditure, so foreign to the original purpose of the 1878 Act . . . '[49] No real check could be made on how these payments, especially the results fees, were used, however, in the absence of an effective system of inspection,[50] and, apart from the economy effected by granting exhibitions for one year only in all Grades, these measures had little practical effect.

The most fundamental financial change which the Board proposed to make in 1902, however, was the introduction of a capitation grant to replace the system of results fees. The Commission on Intermediate Education had recommended in 1899 that while a public general examination should be retained as the basis for calculating the school grant, there should be substituted for the payment on individual results a 'capitation school grant payable to the manager of each school upon the entire number of its pupils on the intermediate school roll'; and that the capitation rate for each school should be determined by the proportion borne by the number of students who would pass the examinations to the number of students on the roll, provided that to obtain any grant at all a school should be required to pass 'a fair percentage' of the total number of its enrolled pupils.[51] This recommendation was incorporated in the Rules for 1902,[52] but was found to be so difficult to operate that in 1903 and subsequently the original system of payment on the passes of individual students was again resorted to.[53] This abortive attempt at replacing the system of results fees was singled out by Father Andrew Murphy in 1908 as the first of a number of examples which he cited in support of the contention that the Intermediate Board, especially since its reconstitution under the terms of the Act of 1900 when the number of Commissioners was increased from seven to twelve,[54] had tended to introduce multitudes of changes purely on a basis of trial and error.[55] He drew particular attention to the fact that while the Board had foreseen the possibility that the new system might work inequitably and had, in consequence, made a rule which guaranteed the redress of any inequitable freaks which might arise, by promising to schools which

were hard hit a grant equal to the average grant received by them in the preceding three years, they had not, in the event, redeemed this guarantee: several schools which were obviously the victims of the inequitable working of the new system applied, in accordance with the Rules, for the promised redress, but the Board, on the pretext of having already incurred as much expense as it could afford for the year, refused to honour its guarantee.[56]

Table IV.3[57] shows, for each of the eleven years from 1900 to 1910 inclusive, the total income of the Intermediate Board from all sources, and it specifies how much was received in each year under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act,1890. It will be seen at a glance that within the space of this decade the total annual income of the Board had been almost halved, falling from about £103,500 in 1900 to about £53,000 in 1910. This decrease was due almost entirely to the reduced amounts paid to the Board under the terms of the Local Taxation Act, the figures in this case being about £71,400 for 1900, and about £17,000 for 1910.[58] The Board had taken some steps, from time to time, to offset this decrease in income by reducing the rates of its fees: in 1905, for example, it paid fees ranging from £3.16.0 for each Pass at Preparatory Grade to £25.13.0. for each Pass with Honours at Senior Grade, whereas in the previous year the corresponding figures had been £5.9.0 and £36.15.9. respectively.[59] By 1910 these figures had dropped to £3.4.4 and £21.14.3 respectively,[60] and the Board was faced with the certainty of having to make further sizeable reductions in the following year if its income continued to drop; it pointed out, in fact, that if a similar reduction were to take place in 1911 in the revenue coming to it under the Local Taxation Act as took place in 1910 this source of income would then be totally extinct.[61]

The reductions which the Board had already made in the rates of its results fees, however, had not been at all sufficient to offset the rapid decrease in income, and it had again begun to balance deficits by drawing on the accumulated surpluses of former years. It now realised, however, that it could no longer continue to do this; it saw that it was not desirable that the reserve fund should be resorted to except to a limited extent for the purpose of equalising a fluctuating revenue, and the position was not now one of yearly fluctuation but of an uninterrupted diminution of income.[62] The only alternative open to it, therefore, was a further drastic cut in the rates of its fees, and

it pointed out that such drastic action 'would be productive of disastrous results to Intermediate Education, and would press with great severity upon the smaller and struggling schools which stand in need of that assistance'.[63]

Writing in the first issue of the Irish Educational Review in 1907, Father Andrew Murphy had drawn attention to the grave problem facing school authorities in the absence of any guaranteed income.[64] For a decade or so prior to 1905 - with the exception of the year 1902, in which the unsuccessful attempt had been made at introducing a form of capitation grant[65] - the schools had enjoyed at least some measure of security inasmuch as that the results system had come to work with a degree of regularity which permitted every school to make an accurate estimate of the amount of public money it would receive in a particular year. Though the number of exhibitions and prizes gained by a particular school might vary considerably from year to year, the total number of passes and of passes with honours was not subject to serious unpredictable fluctuation, with the result that the school grant, which depended on the number of such passes and passes with honours, was practically constant in many schools.[66] In 1905, however, as we have seen above,[67] reductions of about 30 per cent had been made in the scales of results fees, and to make matters worse, they had been made 'without the slightest warning . . . after the year's work had been done on the faith of the stability of a public system of education established by Act of Parliament'.[68] Further decreases had been made in 1906, and the schools feared that unless immediate remedial action were taken by the Government, the same would happen again in 1907. The root cause of the problem was that instead of having an elastic revenue which would expand or contract in proportion to the needs of each year the income of the Intermediate Board was directly dependent on the amount of duty collected on beer and spirits,[69] and did not necessarily bear any relation to the current needs of the Board. The irony of this situation did not escape Father Murphy; he severely criticised a system under which the income of the Intermediate Board had been made to 'depend directly on excessive drinking in Ireland', with the result that 'every atom of progress made by temperance in Ireland at once diminishes the funds available for Intermediate Education', and 'every assault on drunkenness, every diminution of excessive drinking is an effective attack on the prosperity of the schools'.[70]

In a statement issued in 1910, the Joint Committee representing Heads of Secondary Schools in Ireland, claimed a minimum annual payment of £74,000 out of Imperial funds, for Irish secondary education.[71] They based their claim, firstly, on the fact that since the system had been set up by Act of Parliament in 1878, and renewed with increased powers by Act of Parliament in 1900, Parliament could not reasonably refuse to grant it sufficient funds to meet all its needs; and, secondly, on the calculation that this was the minimum sum which would be required to place the Irish system on a footing of perfect equality in the matter of Exchequer Grants with the secondary education systems of England and Wales and of Scotland.[72] They pointed out, moreover, that this sum would have to be exclusive of the whole cost of administration, inspection and examination; since in England and Wales, in Scotland, and even in Ireland, in the cases of the National Board and of the Agriculture and Technical Department, all these costs were borne by the Treasury, 'Irish secondary education should be put, in this matter, on the same footing as every other branch of education in every part of the Kingdom'.[73] The granting of this claim, they stated, would be of very great benefit: it would enable many small schools throughout the country to operate efficiently, and thereby give many deserving pupils an opportunity for secondary education from which they would be entirely excluded if they had to bear the expense of going to distant boarding schools; it would render possible a well-organised scheme of scholarships which would put secondary education within the reach of a further large number of capable pupils; it would enable the Board to insist on a high standard of accommodation and equipment in all schools; and it would lead to the establishment of a regular profession of secondary teachers entitled to suitable salaries and pensions.[74] This claim of the Heads of Secondary Schools was endorsed by the Hierarchy at their meeting at Maynooth on 21 June 1910, and they passed a strongly-worded resolution calling for immediate Government action in the matter.[75]

Faced with the unprecedented reduction of income which the Board had suffered in 1910, the Government made provision for the payment of an additional grant from the Local Taxation (Ireland)Account under section 17(2) of the Revenue Act,1911,[76] to make up the amount by which the proceeds of the Customs and Excise Duties in 1910 fell short of the proceeds in 1909;[77] and the same procedure was followed in 1911.[78] The Board was not satisfied with this

partial remedy, however; it stated that 'While there is an advantage in being able to calculate on a fixed yearly income from this source it is to be regretted that the amount should have been calculated on the produce of the year 1909, which was the smallest for the past decade'; and it pointed out that since the average paid to the Board from this Account for the ten years 1900-9 was £55,293, the Board was still suffering an average loss of income of £8,727.[79] It took some consolation, however, in the fact that with the imminent abolition of the examination in the Preparatory Grade, there would be an additional sum available for distribution to the schools in consequence of the saving effected in the cost of the examination.[80]

Some considerable difficulty was experienced, however, when it came to getting suitable legislation through Parliament with a view to enabling the Board to make payments in respect of pupils in the Preparatory Grade without holding an examination at that level. In May 1912 a Bill had been introduced by Mr. Thomas O'Donnell,M.P., which had the appearance of contemplating the abolition of all examinations.[81] This did not meet with the approval of the Board, who were anxious to retain examinations for honours, and to substitute for the pass examinations an 'intermediate certificate' and a 'leaving certificate' examination. Further discussion followed and in January 1913 the Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, introduced a Bill providing that the Board need no longer hold examinations other than examinations of students competing for exhibitions and prizes and giving the Board power to provide for the payment to managers of fees dependent (a) on the results of inspection, or (b) partly on the results of such inspection and partly on the results of honours examinations.[82] This Bill, too, provoked opposition as it appeared to give the Board power either (1) to retain the existing system, or (2) to make the school grant wholly dependent on the results of inspection, or (3) to make the grant depend partly on inspection and partly on honour examinations; and, owing to the opposition excited by it, the Bill was withdrawn.[83]

To resolve the impasse the Board now recommended a scheme which bore a striking resemblance to the capitation grants scheme which had been found unsatisfactory in 1902.[84] The proposed capitation grant would be paid to schools on all pupils between the ages of twelve and nineteen years who had been in regular attendance during the year, provided that the inspectors considered the schools to be efficient, that a 'reasonable proportion' of the pupils would

pass the certificate examinations, and that the teachers possessed qualifications approved by the Board. Provision would also be made for the payment of a higher grant in respect of students over the age of sixteen years, and a special bonus grant might be paid to schools of more than average ability.[85] This proposed scheme, however, did not cover the case of pupils who would normally leave school about the age of sixteen to enter a trade or to work on the land, and of whom Irish intermediate schools had then a considerable number on their rolls. The Board felt, in fact, that it had not been the purpose of the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 to provide for this class of pupils and it held that provision for them should be made in higher grade primary schools of a practical character - a view which was still commonly held in many countries at this time;[86] and it added that 'If . . . it is decided that suitable provision for these pupils be made in schools under the Intermediate Education Board, it will, in the judgement of the Board, be necessary that the Board's funds be so increased that the Board shall be able, without prejudice to the higher work of the schools, to provide for inspection and examination in courses suitable to the pupils in question.[87]

In August 1913, however, a new Intermediate Education Act was passed,[88] empowering the Board to pay fees to managers of schools, dependent on the results of inspection of pupils under the age of fourteen and not under the age of twelve years.[89] The total amount payable in this way in any one year was not to exceed one-sixth of the total amount available in that year forthe payment of fees to managers of schools. The Rules for the year 1913-14 were drawn up in accordance with the provisions of this Act, and in 1914 theBoard paid grants, amounting in all to about £8,000 on the results of the inspection of pupils under the age of fourteen years and not under the age of twelve. This was the first time in which grants were paid by the Board solely on the results of inspection.[90]

C. Money Provided by the Intermediate Board: 1914 - 1922.

In August 1914 a further Intermediate Education Act was passed,[91] whose main provision, apart from empowering the Lord Lieutenant to set up a Registration Council to recommend a code of regulations in accordance with which a register of intermediate school teachers in Ireland might be drawn up, was that a sum not exceeding £40,000 should be paid each year by Parliament to the Board to be distributed in accordance with rules drawn up by the Lord Lieutenant and approvedby the Treasury.[92] This new grant, referred to in the Act as the Teachers' Salaries Grant, was aimed at relieving the plight of lay secondary teachers in Ireland. An account of the negotiations which led to its introduction, together with a summary of its subsequent history will be given in a later chapter.[93] Let it be sufficient at this point to refer to the analysis of it which had been made, jointly by the Catholic Headmasters' Association and the Committee Representing Convent Schools, at the time when its introduction was first proposed.[94] Taking every relevant factor into consideration, this joint Body felt that Ireland's equivalent for the sums spent annually on secondary education in England and Wales out of the funds of the United Kingdom was, in 1912, about £120,000. Even the proposed £50,000 (£10,000 of which was reserved for a proposed scholarship scheme),[95] totally inadequate as they considered it, was still quite illusory: when it was taken into consideration that the partial rectification of their falling income, made in respect of 1910 and repeated in respect of 1911,[96] still left the annual income of the Board some £25,000 less than what it had been some years previously, it was clear that the proposed grant would effectively increase the money available for the schools by only £15,000, a sum which represented an average of not quite £44 for each school.[97] From this it would seem that much still remained to be done if Ireland were to be put on a footing of equality with its neighbours in the matter of the amount of State aid given for intermediate education.

It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Board's complaints at the inadequacy of its funds continued to be made. Referring in 1917 to certain improvements which it would like to make in the system, the Board emphasized that 'it would be impossible to carry out any reform such as that outlined. . . without a large increase of the amount of money devoted to Irish Secondary Education'.[98] But apart altogether from the question of reforms, money was

urgently needed if the system as it existed was to have anything like the success it could have. The Board pointed in particular to the great difficulties encountered by 'small and struggling schools in backward districts', which 'In a country such as Ireland. . . are often of the highest advantage to the country as a whole'; and it emphasized that under the existing scales 'they are inevitably condemned to the scantiest of grants'.[99] Their position, the Board felt, was so precarious that 'In many cases, for lack of the money necessary to make much needed improvements, the buildings are unsuitable and the equipment unsatisfactory'.[100]

In March 1918 Parliament voted an additional grant of £50,000 for intermediate education in Ireland, and this amount was distributed among the schools in the same month (in respect of the financial year 1917-18) in accordance with Rules made by the Lord Lieutenant, dated 13 March 1918.[101] This grant was Ireland's equivalent to the additional grant voted by Parliament for intermediate education in England and Wales.[102] The regulations which governed its distribution, and the controversy to which some of them gave rise will be considered in chapter VII.[103] The Board expressed its satisfaction that the additional money would be distributed in the form of a capitation grant based largely on inspection, and while it did not consider it sufficiently large, it felt that it was 'undoubtedly a considerable step in the right direction'.[104]

The Vice-Regal Committee, 1919, made a careful examination of all the sources of income from which intermediate schools in Ireland were benefitting at the time of its enquiry,[105] and it came to the conclusion that 'all the existing funds for intermediate education should be amalgamated',[106] and that the cost of administration should, as in Great Britain, be borne by the Treasury, and not be defrayed out of the grants given for educational purposes.[107] It recommended with great emphasis that the current system of payment by results should be replaced by a capitation grant, which would be paid, at a flat rate, on all pupils between certain prescribed ages who would have been in regular attendance throughout the year, to every recognised school which maintained a reasonable standard of efficiency. It warned, however, that this recommendation carried with it the necessity for an expanding grant, so that the sum per head should not decrease with an increase of pupils. 'It is indefensible', it said, 'that the schools should suffer financially by reason of an increased demand for intermediate education.'[108]

It was a source of gratification to the Intermediate Board that the Vice-Regal Committee's recommendations were remarkably similar to those it had itself been making for some years. In June 1919 it expressed considerable satisfaction at the Committee's plea for a more substantial and reliable source of income for the Board, as well as at its recommendations as to what would constitute the most satisfactory basis for the distribution of grants.[109] In the following year, referring especially to the exceptional difficulty schools were experiencing both in acquiring and in retaining the services of good teachers, it pointed out that the majority of the schools were doing everything they could possibly do to relieve the situation and that if the current school year closed without some definite relief scheme having been adopted 'it is to be feared that the situation of many of the schools will be almost hopeless'.[110] When it came to allocating the available funds for 1920 among the three grants then payable to schools the Board found itself faced with a deficit, as compared with 1919, of over £5,000.[111] Realising the 'desperate financial plight of the great majority of the secondary schools', it felt that 'under the circumstances, it would have been disastrous to reduce the annual grants by this amount'; so it decided to have resort once more to the expedient, which it had had to use on a number of occasions in the past, of making good the deficit by transfers from capital funds. It was well aware that the result of this would be a further lessening of the income for 1921, but it felt that 'the position of the schools was too acute to justify us in pursuing the more conservative financial policy of keeping our expenditure within the limits of our income'.[112]

At its General Meeting held in Maynooth on 27 January 1920, the Hierarchy considered the plight of the schools sufficiently serious to call for the issuing of a public statement. They drew particular attention to the fact that the assistance given to education in general in this country bore little relation to the burthen of taxation imposed on the people:[113]

> As the indirect taxation takes as much from the poor man as from the rich, [their statement said,] and ad the income per head in Ireland is not near a half of what it is in Great Britain, the system of identical indirect taxation results in draining an altogether excessive amount of revenue year by year from Ireland; and this evil is greatly exasperated when such a service as education, in which, if anywhere, compensation

might be expected to manifest itself, is starved instead, despite constant protests.

No immediate steps were taken to provide additional help until June 1922 when the Free State Government increased the £50,000 Grant to £63,000, a change which meant considerably more than £13,000 per annum, since the new grant had to be distributed among a smaller number of schools.[114] This, however, is something which does not come within the scope of this section.[115]

D. Summary: 1878 - 1922.

Table IV.2.a shows the total expenditure of the Intermediate Board in selected years from 1880 to 1920, and the distribution of this expenditure under each of seven major headings.[116] Table IV.2.b shows, for each specified year, the percentage of the Board's annual expenditure allocated under each heading.[117] It can be seen that while the Board's total annual expenditure increased more than fivefold in the course of the forty years in question, the bulk of this increase took place between 1910 and 1920. Quite obviously, however, the history of this figure for overall expenditure corresponds closely with that of the Board's annual income for the respective years, and this is dealt with at fair length elsewhere in this thesis.[118]

As well as having an effect on the figure for total expenditure in 1895 and subsequent years, the increase in the Board's funds as a result of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act,1890, is dramatically reflected in the figure for payments to schools: in 1895 payment under this head constituted an increase of over 500 per cent on the corresponding payment for 1890. In a similar way the £91,533 paid to schools in 1920 reflects the introduction in March 1919[119] of the extra Parliamentary Grant.

The more or less steady reduction in the percentage of the annual budget allocated to Rewards from 1890 onwards may be regarded more as an indication of the severe financial limitations under which the Board was forced to operate than as evidence of any complacency on the Board's part in this matter; the financial position of some schools was at times so critical that the Board considered it more important to devote the bulk of whatever funds became available to alleviating their plight than to introducing more or larger exhibitions for students.[120]

It is noticeable that the running of the examinations and the general administration of the Board's business consumed a very considerable portion of the Board's available funds, particularly in the early years: in 1880 about 37 per cent. of the total expenditure was devoted to these items, and if the £3,500 listed under Miscellaneous Expenses is included this becomes 47 per cent. In general, however, it may be said that as time went on the percentage devoted to what we may call, in a broad sense, administrative expenses, as distinct from payments in one form or another to schools and pupils, gradually diminished, and in 1920 such expenses (including the cost of school inspection) represented less than 24 per cent of the total annual expenditure.

2. Under the Department of Education.

A. Main Provisions: 1922 - 1967.

As early as June 1922 the Provisional Government had come to the assistance of the secondary schools in providing an Interim Grant of £63,000 for the purpose of improving the salaries of secondary teachers.[121] This figure had constituted a considerable increase on the corresponding grant in the previous year: in 1921 £50,000 had been provided in this way towards the payment of secondary teachers' salaries, but it had had to suffice for the whole of Ireland; the larger grant in 1922 was for distribution only within the confines of the new State.[122] A similar payment was made in 1923 but it amounted only to £57,000.[123]

With the passing of the Intermediate Education (Amendment)Act, 1924,[124] the manner of providing public funds for secondary education in this country was radically changed. In place of the grant dependent on examination results,[125] and in place of the various other grants which were by now being paid in accordance with separate sets of rules,[126] a simplified system was introduced under which money would thenceforth be provided for secondary education (i) as a capitation grant in respect of students following an approved course in the school, and making a certain number of attendances, and (ii) to provide increments of salary to recognised teachers in schools fulfilling certain conditions.[127] The new system, the Department felt, would be welcomed by the schools as it removed, to a considerable extent, the uncertainty which until then had been associated with their income: 'an efficient school', it stated, 'can in future calculate

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Omission

[insert opposite at *]

.. adequate provision is not made for carrying out the Department's Regulations', or in respect of any class in a school for any year !in which

on an assured and calculable income each year instead of being dependent on the fluctuating and incalculable chances of the results of individual passes or failures at written examinations'.[128]

The Capitation Grant was payable initially at the rate of £10 in respect of each recognised senior pupil and £7 in respect of each recognised junior pupil who attended school on or before 15 October in the school year in question and who made not less than 130 attendances during the school year.[129] Such pupils would have to be between the ages of 12 and 20 years.[130] In normal circumstances the Grant would not be paid in respect of the same pupil for more than four years as a recognised junior pupil or for more than two years as a recognised senior pupil.[131] Subject to certain conditions the Minister might sanction the payment of Capitation Grant at a reduced rate in respect of otherwise eligible pupils who had not made 130 but who had made 100 attendances in the course of the year; and even in the case of pupils who had made the prescribed 130 attendances a proportionate reduction might be made in the Capitation Grant payable in respectof any pupil who stopped attending school before 31 May in any year without having some special reason, approved by the Minister, for doing so.[132] An important provision was the one which gave the Minister power to withold payment in respect of any pupil who, in the opinion of the Department's inspectors was unable to profit fully by the instruction in the class in which he was enrolled, or had not reached a sufficient standard of education for admission to a secondary school class.[133] To ensure the maintenance of a high standard of efficiency and scholarship in the schools it was provided that, subject to the consent of the Minister for Finance, the Minister for Education could, in view of the high standard of efficiency in the instruction in a school in any year, increase the Capitation Grant payable to the school in respect of that year by one-tenth. On the other hand, too, the Minister was empowered to reduce the Grant 'by one or more tenths' in the case of any school in respect of a year 'in which the instruction in the class did not reach a satisfactory standard'.[134] The ultimate sanction, which the Minister was empowered to invoke 'In case of continued inefficiency of the instruction in a school for three successive years' was to withold further Grant from the school, or to withdraw recognition of the school.[135] To cater especially for the needs of the smaller schools it was provided that where the Capitation Grant payable to a school in any year was less than £200 the Minister

would have discretion, subject to the consent of the Minister for Finance, to increase the Grant 'by such sum as he may think fit', provided that the total Grant did not exceed £200.[136]

In the school year 1924-5 a sum of about £150,000 was paid to secondary schools by way of Capitation Grant.[137] Adverse economic conditions, however, led in 1931 to reductions in the rate of Grant payable, and the Capitation Grant was not paid again at its original rate for fifteen years. In December 1931 the Department announced that it would be necessary to reduce the Capitation Grant by 10 per cent. in respect of the school year 1931-2, because 'The general financial position . . . necessitated a reduction in expenditure', and because the rapid growth in the numbers of secondary schools and pupils would be likely to cause an increase in expenditure of about £20,000 in the following year if the rates of Grants were to be maintained at their original level.[138] The Grant continued to be paid at this reduced rate for seven years. By that time, the Department felt that the reduction was being felt more severely by the smaller schools than by the larger ones, and it decided that for the school year 1938-9 no reduction would be made in the Capitation Grant if the amount earned by a school did not exceed £400, and that in the case of schools earning between £400 and £600 the reduction would be 5 per cent. instead of 10 per cent. The full reduction of 10 per cent., however, was continued in the case of schools earning larger amounts.[139] In respect of the school year 1944-5 the first £500 of the ordinary Capitation Grant was exempted from the 10 per cent. reduction.[140] It was not until the beginning of the school year 1946-7 that the rate of the Grant was again fully restored to what it had been in the years prior to 1931-2; and at the same time the basis on which it was awarded was extended so as to allow payment to be made at a reduced rate in respect of pupils who would make less than 100 but not less than 70 attendances.[141]

The fact that no increase had been made in the original rate of the Capitation Grant was causing considerable concern among school authorities in the early nineteen-fifties.[142] In March 1954, the Department announced that new scales of Grants were being introduced which would give a maximum of £16 for senior pupils and £10 for unior pupils, but this went only a small way towards satisfying the managers: it was the opinion of Fr Donal F. Cregan, C.M., Chairman of the Catholic Headmasters' Association, that the

increase did not equal the rise in the cost of living during the interval since the Grants were first introduced.[144] By 1964 the scale of these Grants had been further increased, the maxima now being £19 and £14 for senior and junior pupils, respectively, and a grant for a post-Leaving Certificate year had also been introduced;[145] but, as was pointed out in the Seanad by Senator Ross, the increased figures, in terms of real money, represented only a fraction of what was being paid per student in 1924.[146]

B. Main Provisions: 1967-1968.

The notion that spending money on education is a very sound form of investment for nations as a whole as well as for individuals is by no means new. In the nineteen-twenties it was felt in many quarters that the provision of an exceptionally high degree of education at all levels would be the best way of combating Ireland's impoverished economic condition.[147] Dr T. J. O'Connell urged in the Dáil in 1926 that one of the things which brought a country from a state of poverty to a state of comparative prosperity was spending generously, from the national resources, on education.[148] The economic good sense of such spending was clearly spelt out in 1962 by Michael Hutchinson and Christopher Young when they wrote:[149]

> . . . if our investment in education is adequate to fulfil the purposes of education we get a long-term return on our money that is second to no other investment. For we are investing in the lives of men and women. We are investing in their productive capacity. We are investing in the homes and families that they will build. We are investing in the contribution that they will make to the culture of the nation. We are investing in the ideas and beliefs of our civilisation.

The majority of educationists would seem to have been of this opinion, though perhaps many of them might share the misgivings expressed by Daniel Buckley, when, as President of the A.S.T.I. he warned in 1966 that, since economic and educational aims were far from being synonomous, the advice of the economist must always be closely scrutinised by the educationist.[150]

As a preliminary step towards increasing public subsidies to education, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, initiated a survey, in October 1962, as a project under the Educational Investment and Planning Programme of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.[151] The research done by the survey team, which was considered by Mr Sean O'Connor in 1968 to have been 'the most important investigation of Irish education yet attempted',[152] was expected by Dr Hillery, in 1964, 'to be for us the main signpost of Government expenditure and State activity in education over the next ten or fifteen years'.[153] The team's Report, entitled Investment in Education, was published, in two volumes, in Winter 1965-6 and Summer 1966, and by December of that year was being referred to significantly by the Minister for Education, Mr.O'Malley, as 'the bible . . . of all educationists'.[154] It did not set out to advise on educational policy: the team exphasised in their Introduction to the Report that 'It is not our function to say what the objectives of the educational system should be . . . This Report . . . is essentially a technical study of trends in Irish education and of the use of human and material resources in that system. It estimates the demands that are likely to be made on those resources and considers the extent to which the system seems likely to meet future needs.'[155] But it provided an indispensable basis of statistical information on which future planning could build.

Within a few months of the publication of the second volume of the Investment in Education Report, the Minister for Education, Mr O'Malley announced his decision to make post-primary education available free to every child, initially up to the completion of the Intermediate Certificate course and ultimately up to the end of the Leaving Certificate course.[156] The free scheme was scheduled to come into operation in September 1967, and the Minister expected that 'the majority of day schools' would participate in it.[157] The Scheme provided that in lieu of charging fees, secondary day-schools who opted into the free education scheme would receive an additional grant ranging from £15 per pupil to £25 per pupil, depending on what fee they were currently charging. The reason for this provision was explained by the Minister as follows:[158]

> The minimum is proposed for two reasons: first, to ensure that reasonably adequate facilities are provided and, second, to avoid the accusation that schools which have held their fees at a very low level

are being penalised. In regard to the maximum of £25 it is my hope that this sum would make the scheme acceptable to all schools charging £30 or less at present as there would be a guaranteed payment of £25 per pupil whereas at present in most schools the total fees actually collected fall short of those charged.

Considerable dissatisfaction was felt in many quarters, however, at what appeared to be the obvious injustice of offering grants at different rates to different schools for the performance of the same work; and while the Minister's Dáil speech gave no reason to believe that he envisaged any subsequent change in this arrangement, the Departmental circular of February, 1967, outlining the details of the scheme, made provision for its gradual phasing-out: from September 1968 the minimum grant per pupil would be £20, and from September 1969 the same rate of grant would be paid to all participating schools.[159] No grant would be paid in respect of pupils holding post-primary scholarships,[160] and they would be expected to pay school fees out of their scholarships as they had done hitherto.[161] The Department stipulated, however, that a scholarship-holder might not be charged a school fee in excess of the amount of the supplemental grant which would be payable in respect of him under the scheme if he did not have a scholarship.[162]

Special provision had to be made in the scheme for Protestant pupils: were the basic principles of the scheme to be applied uniformly in the case of Catholics and Protestants it was estimated that while about 75 per cent. of Catholic pupils would benefit, only 7.5 per cent. of Protestant pupils would do so, both because the cost of education in Protestant schools was necessarily higher,[163] and because of the scarcity of suitable Protestant day schools and the consequent high proportion of Protestant pupils - two out of every five - who had to attend boarding schools.[164] It was proposed, therefore, to give the grant of £25 per pupil in respect of 75 per cent. of Protestant day pupils (i.e., the same overall ratio as for Catholics), irrespective of what school fee was charged in the particular schools individual pupils attended;[165] and the total amount of the grant would be channelled through a central representative agency which could then distribute the money to the individual schools on the basis of the needs of the pupils.[166]

The opening-up of free access to post-primary education for all pupils, however, involved more than the abolition of fees, and the Minister for Education Mr Colley, stated in the Dáil in February 1966 that 'The question of the establishment of a nation-wide scheme of transport of pupils to post-primary schools to which the State might contribute is one which is arising for consideration in the context of the future provision to be made for post-primary education.'[167] The decision to establish such a scheme was subsequently taken, and in November of the same year, Mr Colley's successor as Minister, Mr O'Malley, rightly sought to justify it on the grounds that full-scale attendance at post-primary schools could not be achieved in many areas without such a service because of the heavy burden which would fall on parents in respect of transport costs. It was also necessitated, Mr O'Malley alleged, because of the Department's policy of refusal to sanction smaller schools, and the consequent necessity of providing transport to the larger centres.[168] One of the most contentious features of the scheme was the absence of a means test; but the Minister was convinced that 'the only effective way of providing transport to post-primary schools so as to ensure equality of educational opportunity for all children is for the Government to defray the full cost without any means test of transport for pupils living more than three miles from a post-primary school';[169] and defending this decision some months later he stated that this particular decision had been taken not because of the administrative difficulties to which a means test would have given rise, but because 'from the point of view of the children such a scheme would not have been fair at all psychologically'.[170] The scheme came into operation on 1 April 1967, and in February 1968 Mr O'Malley, expressing satisfaction at the manner in which it was working, explained in the Dáil how it was being implemented: the cost of transporting eligible children by existing public scheduled services was paid by the Department when these services were suitable; in districts where no public transport services were available special school services were being organised.[171] A pupil would normally be entitled to free transport to the nearest suitable post-primary centre to his home.[172] The estimated cost of implementing the scheme for the then current financial year would be about £840,000, which, in a full year, would amount to £1,370,000.[173]

But for some children the provision of free transport could not prove a satisfactory measure, since they lived a very considerable distance from the

nearest post-primary school. Because of the amount of time involved in travelling, the Minister had prescribed that the effective radial limit of a school transport service should not exceed 15 miles; and it was decided, accordingly, to consider in each case the possibility of providing a place at a boarding school for any child who lived at a greater distance than this from a post-primary school.[174] Similar provision would be made for children living on islands, and for children who though living within the prescribed radius of a suitable school, were unable to get themselves placed in such a school.[175] These children would be entitled to have a free place provided for them in boarding schools where the total annual fee did not exceed £120;[176] such provision, however, being subject in each case to prior approval by the Department.[177] To meet the special difficulties of Protestant pupils a bulk grant in respect of recognised pupils who were boarders in Protestant secondary schools would be paid, as in the case of the grant for day pupils,[178] through a central representative agency which would distribute the money to the individual schools on the basis of the needs of the pupils.[179] To cater for the needs of pupils who because of the religious vocation they were pursuing had to attend Diocesan Colleges or Juniorates as boarders, it was decided that with effect from the beginning of the school year 1967-8 the tuition element of their school fee would be paid by the Department.[180] At the same time it was decided to extend this latter provision with effect from the beginning of the school year 1969-70, to cover all eligible pupils in boarding schools charging fees of £120 per annum or less.[181]

To cater for the needs of necessitous pupils a scheme for providing free books was also introduced as part of the new provision for free education. 'Any plan for free post-primary education', Mr. O'Malley stated, when introducing his proposals in the Dáil in 1966, 'must, I feel, provide for the supply of free books and accessories to those who need them'.[182] For the purposes of the scheme a necessitous pupil was defined as 'a child from a home where genuine hardship exists because of unemployment, prolonged illness of parent, large family with inadequate means, mother a widow,etc. '[183] No grant under this scheme would be paid, however, in respect of any day-pupil attending a school which did not participate in the free education scheme. Nor would boarding pupils be eligible under the scheme unless they were receiving

maintenance allowances from the Department on the grounds that their homes were outside the range of the transport services to a day centre.[184] The grant in respect of each individual pupil would vary in accordance with the course followed by him. The Minister felt, however, that on average it might be reckoned at £8 for the first year of the Intermediate Certificate course and £4 for each of the two subsequent years; and at £10 for the first year of the Leaving Certificate course and £5 for the following year.[185] On this assumption, the cost of implementing the scheme in the first financial year, 1967-8 was estimated at about £100,000.[186]

Despite the Department's care to provide a definition of what constituted a 'necessitous pupil', this scheme was to be administered without the employment of a formal means test. 'It is desired to avoid the institution of any kind of formal means test in the administration of the scheme', the Department stated in an explanatory letter to headmasters in September 1967, 'and it is hoped that Headmasters and their teaching staff will have sufficient knowledge of the family circumstances of their pupils to enable them to select those to whom grants may be paid'.[187] This approach to the problem was also considered to have the advantage of being easy and economical to administer.[188] It was proposed to plan on providing free books for not more than 25 per cent. of eligible pupils - eligible pupils being defined as those attending schools providing free tuition. This would not mean, however, that each school would be allotted a sum calculated on a basis of 25 per cent. of its eligible pupils. The percentage would vary from place to place 'depending on the area in which the school is situated and, to some extent, on the fee charged' in the school year 1966-7.[189] In other words, secondary schools catering to a large degree for lower income group families in urban and rural areas, and vocational schools, would be given a higher than average percentage, and those secondary schools which catered, in the main, for a somewhat higher socio-economic group would be given less.

An interesting development is to be noted in the Department's circular outlining the Free Book Scheme for 1969-70. The overall demands of the scheme had obviously proved to be heavier than had been anticipated; and while the Department still wished 'to leave the operation of the free book scheme entirely to the discretion of the school Headmasters and to provide funds sufficient to cover all cases deemed to be necessitous', it found it necessary to warn

that it would not be possible to make sufficient money available to enable outright grants to be given to the number of apparently necessitous pupils who were seeking them; and to suggest that 'Where the number of pupils considered in need of assistance under the scheme exceeds 25 per cent. of the number of day pupils in the school, and since it may presumably be expected that a similar position will obtain in future years, it is urged that a loan scheme, rather than a scheme of grants to individual pupils, be introduced . . . in the interest of ensuring that it will be possible to cater adequately for all the needs of necessitous pupils in such a school this year and in future years'.[19] It will have been remarked that at no stage either in the Minister's original outline of his proposals for this scheme, or in the subsequent circulars which embodied these proposals, was any mention made of instituting a loan scheme, even though such a measure would probably have been considerably less expensive though perhaps somewhat more difficult to operate. It might reasonably have been inferred, in fact, from the Minister's strong opposition, on psychological grounds, to a means test in relation to the free transport scheme,[191] that he would feel equally strongly about a system which merely lent books to poorer children while their more fortunate companions owned theirs. It was now becoming increasingly obvious to the Department, however, that its resources would not be sufficient to implement this scheme precisely as outlined (in part, one assumes, because of the relative looseness of the regulations governing its application, in the absence of a rigid means test), and it therefore found it necessary to emphasize the financial limitations under which it was naturally forced to operate: ' . . . it will be appreciated', it stated, 'that there is necessarily a limit to the amount of money available to the Department for the purposes of the scheme each year'; and it stressed its powerlessness 'to make sufficient money available to enable direct grants to be given to more than 25 per cent. of the day pupils in schools generally'.[192]

C. Other Provisions: 1922 - 1968.

(i) Grants for Irish and Bilingual Schools. —

As an inducement to school authorities to encourage the use of the Irish language as a teaching medium, it was provided, at the time when the capitation grant was introduced in 1924, that in schools where all the teaching was done through Irish (Class A schools) the capitation grant payable to the school in respect of any year would be increased by 25 per cent; and that in schools where it was hoped to comply with this condition within a reasonable time, where Irish was already been taught to all the pupils, and where the teaching of certain subjects in the Programme or of certain classes in the school was being done through Irish (Class B schools), the capitation grant would likewise be increased by 10 per cent.[193] Minor modifications were soon introduced into the rules for the payment of this grant, mainly to the effect that ClassB was divided in two, Class B(1) being reserved for schools where the use of Irish as a medium of instruction was at least as widespread as the use of English, and Class B(2) being used for schools where a certain minimum, though not half, of the teaching was done through Irish; only schools in Class B(1) could now qualify for the 10 per cent. grant, and those in Class B(2) would be awarded 5 per cent.[194] With the 10 per cent. reduction in the capitation grant, which came into force in the school year 1931-2,[195] the Grant for Irish and Bilingual Schools, being calculated as a percentage of the main grant, also suffered;[196] and its full restoration did not come until the original rate of the capitation grant was restored in August 1946.[197] This grant is still being paid according to much the same percentage scale as that which was applicable in 1927-8, the most noticeable modification being that the amount of grant now awardable to schools in Class B(2) ranges from 2.5 per cent. to 10 per cent. depending on the amount of teaching through Irish which is done.[198]

In the school year 1946-7 a further system of grants was introduced 'With a view to extending the use of Irish as a spoken language in the schools'.[199] Grants, which would vary, according to the size of the school, from £30 for a school with less than 50 recognised pupils, to £50 for a school with 200 or more, would be awarded, on a competition basis and on the results of inspection, to schools which appeared to be doing most to cultivate the use of Irish as the vernacular among their pupils; a quota of awards would be

assigned to each category in each inspection area and a minimum standard of qualification for each category would be determined.[200] This system too still operates, and the conditions and scale of awards have remained the same.[201]

In the school year 1924-25, out of a total of 278 recognised secondary schools, the number which benefited to the full extent under this heading was 2, while 19 benefited partially;[202] a total of almost £1,820 being paid to schools in the financial year ended 31 March 1926, in respect of this grant.[203] In the school year 1965-6, out of a total of 585 recognised secondary schools, 72 benefited fully and 130 benefited partially;[204] the amount paid to schools in the financial year ended 31 March 1966 being almost £69,800.[205]

(ii) Laboratory Grants for the Teaching of Certain Subjects. — Provision was also made in 1924 for the payment of laboratory grants for the teaching of Science, Drawing, Manual Instruction, and Domestic Economy, in secondary schools.[206] In order to be eligible for these grants detailed requirements had to be fulfilled: satisfactory accommodation and all necessary equipment had to be provided; a sufficient number of suitably qualified teachers had to be available; and certain conditions regarding syllabuses, class timetables and size of classes had to be observed.[207] Subject to these conditions, grants were to be paid by the Department to managers of secondary schools in respect of classes of recognised pupils who attended a prescribed course of instruction under the regulations. The amount of grant payable would depend on the size of the class and on the course being taught: in the case of classes taking the preparatory course the grant ranged from £6 in respect of classes of 5 pupils or less, to £16 in the case of classes of from 25 to 30 pupils; for classes following the Intermediate Certificate course the corresponding figures were £8 and £23 respectively; and for those taking the Leaving Certificate course, £10 and £30.[208] Where Manual Instruction (Boys) and Domestic Economy (Girls) were taught in the preparatory year or at Intermediate Certificate level as 'auxiliary' subjects,[209] the grant ranged from £4 for a class of 5 pupils or less to £10 for one of 20 pupils or more.[210] These grants continued to be paid at about the same rates for some 35 years, with the exception of the years from 1931-2 to 1945-6 when they were decreased temporarily.[211]

By 1960, however, the Department realised that these grants, which in reality were merely a help towards maintaining existing laboratories and

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Omission

[insert opposite at *]

schedule to the rule.[217] In respect of a subject other than a science subject the maximum grant obtainable was not to exceed 70 per cent. of the approved expenditure incurred, or (in the case of a capital grant) the appropriate maximum specified in a

equipment, were by no means sufficient to entice managers of schools to make the degree of provision for the teaching of these subjects, which the Department felt was needed, and following a survey, carried out in September of that year, of existing conditions in the schools, the Minister for Education decided on a new scheme which would help managers to build and equip new laboratories, as well as to extend older ones.[212] In 1964 provision was made in the case of modern continental languages, at least to the extent that grants were now made available for the purchase of the equipment necessary to conduct classes according to approved audio-visual methods;[213] and this provision was extended in 1967 to include the teaching of Irish.[214]

At the beginning of the school year 1969-70 grants were being paid towards the cost of furnishing and equipping rooms for the teaching of the following subjects: science, domestic science, geography, art, woodwork, metalwork, and physical education.[215] Both capital grants for the furnishing and/or equipping of rooms, and grants for the renewal or replacement of equipment were now being provided.[216] The maximum grant obtainable in respect of a science subject was to be 75 per cent. of the approved expenditure incurred, or(in the case of a capital grant) the appropriate maximum specified in a further schedule.[218] Payment of grant was to be subject to numerous regulations among which were conditions regarding the suitability of school premises, the adequacy of the staffing arrangements, the size of classes, the amount of time allocated to the subject in question on the time-table, and the course of instruction to be used.[219] Before a grant would be paid in respect of a subject it would also be necessary that 'the fullest possible use' was being made of the existing facilities for the subject in question in the secondary and vocational schools in the locality.[220] In the case of capital grants,a condition for the payment of the grant would be that the subject for the teaching of which the grant was being provided should continue to be taught in the specified manner in the school for at least five school years from the date of the grant; and an undertaking signed by at least three acceptable trustees would have to be given that in default of this condition being complied with, an appropriate repayment, to be determined by the Minister, but not exceeding the amount of the original grant, would be made.[221]

In the financial year ended 31 March 1926, out of a total expenditure by the Department of Education of about £166,400 in the form of grants to secondary schools, slightly over £14,000 came under the heading of Laboratory Grants.[222] In the financial year ended 31 March 1966,[223] out of a corresponding total expenditure of about £1,609,100, about £172,500 was paid in the form of Laboratory Grants.[224] While the amount paid in respect of this grant in the latter year is about twelve times that paid on the earlier occasion, the proportion of the appropriate total Government expenditure on grants to secondary schools, which each figure constitutes has remained constant at about 9 per cent.

(iii) Bonuses for Choirs and Orchestras.— For the purpose of encouraging the training of choirs and orchestras in secondary schools the Intermediate Board had introduced an examination in 1904 and bonuses were paid to managers of schools in respect of choirs and orchestras which were judged to have reached a satisfactory standard.[225] About £2,975 was paid by the Board in this way in respect of the year 1905.[226] The grant was continued by the Department of Education when it assumed responsibility for secondary education in Ireland, the amounts payable in the school year 1927-8 ranging from £3 in respect of a Second Class Bonus for Two-Part Choir or Junior Orchestra, to £15 in respect of a First Class Bonus for Four-Part Choir or Senior Orchestra.[227] At the beginning of the school year 1969-70 the same rates were still payable;[228] and in the financial year ended 31 March 1966[229] the amount paid in respect of this Grant was £2,982, a figure which is almost the same as that paid in respect of 1905.[230]

(iv) Grants towards the Building of Recognised Secondary Schools.— Traditionally the provision of secondary schools in this country had been left to private initiative, mainly the teaching orders and diocesan authorities of the Catholic church, and no direct public financial assistance was given either with their establishment or with their maintenance.[231] Referring to criticisms which were being made of the Government's long inaction in this matter, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, stated in the Dáil in June 1961 that such allegations were inaccurate, and that in arriving at the rate of capitation grant payable to secondary schools provision for building and maintanance was

kept in mind.[232] Within three years, however, the same Minister was able to refer in the Dáil to the existence of a new scheme of grants for building and extending secondary schools, under the terms of which a grant of up to 60 per cent. of the cost of repayments of a loan necessarily raised to build or extend a secondary school, could be made to school authorities;[233] and, speaking in the Seanad in December 1964 he could refer to these grants as 'a sign of our intention to see the secondary private schools flourish and continue to do the good work they have been asked to do'.[234] In February 1968, Mr O'Malley, the Minister for Education, announced that the rate of grant payable had been increased from 60 per cent. to 70 per cent. and that the annual amount of capital being made available was being substantially increased.[235]

The scheme of building grants which operated at the beginning of the school year 1969-70 provided schools with financial assistance in either of two ways: (a) where all or portion of the costs were being met by way of a loan obtained from a source other than the Department, and repayable over a specified period of years with interest at an approved rate, the Ministerwould undertake to pay to the school authorities during the specified period an annual grant not exceeding 70 per cent. of the annual repayments (principal and interest); or (b) the Minister might undertake to pay the total approved cost of building, 70 per cent. by way of grant and 30 per cent. by way of a loan repayable over 15 years with interest at the rate current for loans from the Local Loans Fund.[236] Such grants might be paid (i) towards the cost of a new school building in an area where adequate provision for secondary education did not already exist; (ii) towards the cost of a new school building in replacement of an existing school building where the Minister was satisfied that the existing building was unsuitable; (iii) towards the cost of extending an existing school building.[237] They would not be paid, however, for the provision of a school building where such school was a boarding school, unless the Minister was satisfied that the school was fulfilling an educational need in that 'the pupils for whom the school is intended cannot otherwise adequately be catered for in a secondary school';[238] where such grant was made it would be in respect only of that portion of the building which would be used for instruction.[239] Neither would grants be made in respect of furniture or equipment, nor towards the cost of acquiring or preparing a site.[240]

The provision of any grant would depend, inter alia, on satisfactory compliance with regulations relating to the size and plan of the proposed building. Applications for grants would not be considered unless the number of pupils in the school who would be eligible for recognition was not less than 150, or unless there was satisfactory evidence that the number of such pupils would reach a total of not less than 150 by the end of a period of five school years from the date of application for the grant. In connection with this regulation an applicant school would be required to submit such evidence in relation to the secondary school pupil potential in the district as the Minister might require, and the Minister might have such an additional survey carried out if he thought it necessary.[241] Area and cost limits approved by the Department would also have to be complied with,[242] and satisfactory documentary evidence of title to the site would have to be furnished.[243] To guard against possible misapplication of grants it was provided that the school building in respect of which such a grant was given, or the school building together with the extension in respect of which such a grant was given, should 'be continued and maintained in good order for a period of 99 years as a secondary school' fulfilling the conditions for recognition and those governing the payment of grants to secondary schools.[244] The school site would be vested in trustees acceptable to the Minister, and these would be required to give an undertaking that theforegoing condition would be complied with, in default of which a repayment of such an amount, not exceeding the amount of the grant, as would be determined by the Minister, would be made.[245]

D. Summary: 1922 - 1968.

Table IV.9.a shows the total expenditure of the Department of Education on secondary education in selected years from 1925 to 1965, and the distribution of this expenditure under each of seven main headings.[246] Table IV.9.b shows for each specified year the percentage distribution of this expenditure under each heading.[247] It can be seen that while in the case of the first four years taken as a basis for the table the costs of administration and inspection are specified, this is not done in the case of 1945 and subsequent years. In the case of the latter years the Department simply states that 'To these figures [i.e., the figures for its expenditure under the other five headings] must be

added a due proportion of the Cost of Administration, Inspection etc.'[248] No attempt is made to estimate what this 'due proportion' amounted to, since no information is available on which even a reasonably accurate estimate might be based. Appropriate allowance will therefore have to be made when comparing the Department's percentage expenditure under each of the remaining five headings for any year prior to 1945 with that for 1945 or a subsequent year. It should be borne in mind, however, that in the four years for which we do have figures the total expendtiure on administration and inspection never represented much more than 5 per cent. of the total.

Apart from the sizeable increase in expenditure on secondary education as a whole which took place in the course of the period which is now being considered the most striking increase is noticeable in the case of the figure for teachers' salaries. The figure here rose from something under £120,000 in 1926 to more than £3,500,000 in 1965, the latter figure itself representing an increase of almost 120 per cent. on the figure for 1960. The exceptional nature of this increase is also borne out by an examination of the percentage oftotal expenditure on secondary education allocated in each year under this heading. In each of the first four of the selected years the figure for teachers' salaries did not represent 40 per cent. of the total budget for secondary education. In 1965, however, subject to the limitation mentioned in the last paragraph, it constituted about two-thirds of the total expenditure.

In each of the years we have been considering, expenditure on teachers' salaries and school grants combined accounted for from about 90 per cent. to almost 97.5 per cent of total expenditure.[249] While the figure for teachers' salaries has just been seen to have risen at an exceptional rate, reference to the table will show that the increase in the amount devoted to school grants was much less striking; and this is borne out by the fact that while considerably more was spent on grants in 1926 than was spent on teachers' salaries, the figure under the latter head for 1965 was substantially more than twice that for the former.[250]

The amount of money devoted by the Department to scholarships was at no time ... considerable, amounting at best to less than one-fortieth of the annual secondary education budget, and constituting in 1960 only one two-hundreth of the total expenditure. The figure for 1965, however, constitutes an increase of more than 840 per cent. on that for 1960,[251] an increase which is attributable almost

entirely to the effect of the Local Authorities (Education Scholarships) (Amendment)Act,1961.[252]

The striking increase in 1965 under the heading Miscellaneous is due mainly to the cost of the Teleffs Scoile programmes which had been introduced early in 1964, and to which almost £27,000 was devoted in 1965.[253] The cost of providing various courses for secondary teachers accounted for almost £7,000 more.

3. School Income from Other Sources.

A. Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.

For many years before 1878, Ireland had shared, on the same terms as Great Britain, in the Grant administered by the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, in respect of the teaching of Science and Art, and would seem to have taken full advantage of it: in 1852, out of 20 Art schools in the United Kingdom, Ireland had 4 and Scotland only 2; in 1868 there were in Ireland 76 schools where Science was taught, as compared to 16 in Scotland, and it was stated officially by the Department that 'scientific instruction had gone ahead faster [in Ireland] than anywhere else'.[254] As time went on, however, the amount of Science and Art instruction in Ireland began steadily to decrease: in his review of the first twenty years of the operation of the Intermediate System in this country, Monsignor Gerald Molloy pointed out, in an article which appeared in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record in December 1898, that the number of students taking science subjects in secondary schools had diminished alarmingly in the preceding ten years.[255] To remedy the situation the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, which had been set up under the terms of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland)Act,1899,[256] drew up a new programme applicable to Irish secondary schools, and devised a system of capitation grants dependent on the results of inspection, which succeeded in effectively counteracting this downward trend. These grants were to be made, mainly on a capitation basis, and subject to the satisfactory fulfilment of certain conditions, in respect of provision made by schools for the teaching of experimental science, drawing, manual instruction and domestic economy. The scheme was applicable to day secondary schools only, and came into operation for the first time in the

school year 1901-2, in which year 154 schools participated in the scheme and earned grants from the Department amounting almost to £9,600.[257]

Since the Department's scheme was applicable to all schools which satisfied the prescribed conditions, a number of schools which were not working in connection with the Intermediate Board received grants under its provisions. Their number, however, was small in proportion to the number of 'Intermediate Schools' proper which participated: in 1902-3 it constituted only 3.8 per cent of the total; and while it increased more rapidly than did that of the other schools it still represented less than 8.5 per cent. of the total in the school year 1916-17.[258] The numbers of schools who benefited from this scheme in selected years, together with the total amount of grant paid to them on each occasion, are given in Table IV.5 ,[259] from which it can be seen that the total paid to all schools from this source rose from about £12,800 in 1902-3 to about £30,000 in 1916-17; of these amounts about £12,500 and £25,300, respectively, being paid to schools which were also in receipt of income from the Intermediate Board. For the school year 1917-18 the total amount was about £31,000; and owing to certain changes which had been made in the regulations, the Vice-Regal Committee expected the total for 1918-19 to be 'not less than £33,500',[260] a figure which would represent, judging by the trend illustrated in Table IV.5, an income of roughly £27,000 for schools operating under the Intermediate Board. The counterpart of the grants thus paid to intermediate schools came, after the establishment of the new State, in the form of the Department of Education's Laboratory Grants for the teaching of Science, Drawing, Manual Instruction, and Domestic Economy in Secondary Schools, which have been dealt with in an earlier section of this chapter.[261]

B. Endowments.

The Vice-Regal Commission which was appointed in 1878 under the chairmanship of Lord Rosse to enquire into the Endowed Schools of Ireland, and which reported in 1880, found that there were in Ireland over 700 endowed schools of which some 300 were under the Board of National Education, and that the current total annual income from their endowments amounted to £85,000, about £58,000 of which was derived from land and about £27,000 from trust funds.[262] In 1891 the Commissioners of Education in Ireland, who had been set up originally by the Act of 1813,[263] were reconstituted under the terms of the Educational

Endowments (Ireland)Act,1885,[264] and they were given the task of drafting schemes for the future government and management of educational endowments in Ireland. These Commissioners stated in 1894 that the estimated current annual income from endowments was in the region of £67,300.[265] These endowments did not relate to secondary education alone, but covered 'elementary, secondary, and even in one or two instances . . . higher education'.[266]

The income from many of these endowments was not as assured as one might imagine. In a number of cases, especially before the reforms introduced as a result of the passing of the Educational Endowments Act of 1885 had come into operation, the endowments had suffered from serious neglect or were being otherwise mismanaged.[267] Uncertainty as to the likely annual income from some of them, also stemmed from the fact that in a number of cases a large part if not all of the income took the form of rent accruing from land; and it was sometimes found that the collection of this rent was by no means easy.[268] Even where the income arose largely in the form of interest on invested capital, fluctuation in the interest rate could cause a sizeable reduction in the income of schools benefiting from the endowment.

The overall care of educational endowments in Ireland remained the function of the Commissioners of Education in Ireland until 31 March 1925. By an Order of the Executive Council[269] made under section 9 of the Ministers and Secretaries Act,1924, the jurisdiction, powers, duties and functions of the Commissioners were transferred to the Minister for Education, and the property held by the Commissioners at the date of the Order was vested in the Minister.[270] The total number of schools holding interests in these endowments, at the date of their transfer to the Minister for Education, was 89, 78 being secondary schools and 11 being primary schools. The total amount expended for educational purposes from all these endowments in the year 1924 had been £3,291.[271] The Minister also assumed responsibility for supervising the administration of another group of schemes, the endowments of which were vested in local bodies. In 1924 the number of these schemes primarily intended to promote secondary education was 13, and the total net annual value, for educational purposes, of these particular endowments, was £12,772.[272] In 1965 the Minister still fulfilled the same functions in relation to these various endowments. In that year the total expenditure for educational purposes from the endowments vested

in the Minister was £3,069; in the case of the endowments vested in local bodies, the number of these schemes primarily concerned with secondary education was still 13 and the annual income from these was £15,150.[273]

C. School Fees.

A further source of income for Irish secondary schools has been the fees paid by the parents. The Commissioners of Education in Ireland stated in 1894, in relation to the schools with which they were then concerned, that their incomes were derived more from 'fees, subscriptions etc.' than from their endowments.[274] In the case of the majority of schools, however, it seems true to say that the fees charged were low when judged by foreign standards, and in 1905 Dale and Stephens stated that even in the best Irish boarding-schools the fees ranged from £30 to £60 per annum;[275] and that in most day schools the fees charged were proportionately small.[276] The Vice-Regal Committee pointed out, in fact, in 1919, that 'the fees in some schools are so small as scarcely to be prohibitive even to the poorest parents'.[277] In many schools full or partial remission of fees appears to have been made in the case of needy children: Dale and Stephens, referring in particular to the schools of the Christian Brothers, stated that 'The schools are as a rule free, voluntary contributions being made by any scholars whose parents can afford them'.[278] This statement is confirmed by the information given in a written reply to a questionnaire submitted in December 1969 to the Provincial of the Southern Province of the Irish Christian Brothers. The maximum rate of fees to be charged in secondary schools, or in secondary departments of schools, run by the Christian Brothers, is laid down from time to time either by the Provincial or by a Chapter of the Order.[279] The rates thus chargeable during the course of the past century were given as follows:[280]

1856 to 1890:	one penny per week;
1890 to 1930:	sixpence per week;
1930 to 1947:	£3 per annum;
1947 to 1956:	£6 per annum;
1956 to 1960:	£10 per annum;
1960	£12 per annum.

It was pointed out,however, that in all cases it was understood that fees were not required from those who could not afford them. In the period from 1856 to 1890, for example, a halfpenny per week was stated as having been the usual fee in the Cork area; and in 1956, when permission was given to raise the fees to £10 most of the schools in the country areas raised them to £8, 'and so they remained generally even after the 1960 permission'. It was estimated that 'up to 1947 about one-third of the pupils paid full fees, one-third paid half and one-third paid no fee'.[281]

While the vast majority of Irish secondary schools traditionally charged comparatively low fees, there were some schools where the fee for day-pupils could be even in excess of £75 per annum. In the school year 1961-2, 19.7 per cent. of day-pupils at Irish secondary schools were paying fees of less than £10 per annum, a further 42.0 per cent. were paying fees of between £10 and £15 per annum, a further 11.9 per cent. between £15 and £20, and 7.9 per cent. between £20 and £25; while at the other end of the scale, only 3.6 per cent. were paying fees of over £50 per annum.[282] A difficulty envisaged by Mr O'Malley when contemplating the introduction of free post-primary education was the possibility that schools which had previously been charging fees of perhaps £40 per annum might now be tempted if they decided to remain outside the new scheme, to raise these fees very substantially.[283] He warned, however, that should this happen, he would be forced to consider whether he should recommend the Government to take some action in the matter; and he pointed out that the State was paying considerable sums to these schools both in the form of capitation grant and incremental salary.[284] In the school year 1969-70 there were 30 schools, catering for day pupils, which had not entered the free post-primary education scheme and where fees of from £40 to £85 a year were being charged; 95 per cent. of all day schools, however, had joined the scheme.[285] Of the schools which had entered the scheme, some, it was alleged, were now doing what was tantamount to charging fees, namely, seeking 'voluntary' contributions from the parents, and exerting 'informal and subtle pressures on the [individual] parent to pay up with the rest'.[286] When questioned on this in the Dáil in December 1969 the Minister for Education, Mr Faulkner, would only insist that the scheme was a free scheme.[287] He said, however, that he had already reprimanded a number of schools operating within the scheme,which had openly demanded money from parents, and that he would continue to do so.[288]

4. Exhibitions and Scholarships.

A. 1878 - 1922.

According to the Schedule of Rules appended to the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act,1878, exhibitions not exceeding £20 a year tenable for 3 years and £30 a year tenable for 2 years would be awarded to the students obtaining the highest places at the first year and second year examinations, respectively, who would have passed in at least three divisions; and prizes not exceeding £50 would be awarded to the students obtaining the highest places at the third year examinations.[289] No student was permitted to hold two such exhibitions at the same time, nor could one be held by any student holding an exhibition or scholarship from any other endowment. To continue to benefit from an exhibition in the second or third year it was necessary to maintain a relatively high standard in the examination of the year in question. The number of prizes and exhibitions to be awarded in any year would be determined by assigning one prize or exhibition, according to the respective years, for every ten students in the aggregate who would have passed in three divisions in that year. Such prizes and exhibitions would be awarded to the students highest in order of merit in the general examination list for the whole country in each year.[290] The number of exhibitions awarded for the year 1879 was as follows: for boys, 74 in Junior Grade, 20 in Middle Grade, and 15 in Senior Grade; for girls, 18 in Junior Grade, 3 in Middle Grade, and 1 in Senior Grade.[291]

In his evaluation, in 1898, of the effect the activities of the Intermediate Board had had on intermediate education in Ireland in the period of twenty years which had elapsed since its establishment, Monsignor Gerald Molloy stated: 'By means of its Exhibitions, . . . [the Board] had enabled many clever boys of poor families to obtain a better education than they could otherwise have obtained, and thus to advance themselves in life'.[292] In the passage from which this extract is taken, however, Monsignor Molloy appears to have been enumerating all the virtues which could possibly be claimed for the Intermediate System, before embarking on a bitter denunciation of the system, because of what he considered to be the incalculable damage it had done,[293] and, in attempting to be fair and to give a balanced view he may not have distinguished sufficiently

between what the Board's system of exhibitions, given more favourable conditions, could have achieved, and what they actually achieved. Messrs. Dale and Stephens, on the other hand, when, in 1904-5, they examined the working of the system, were of a different opinion. Leaving aside the question of their relative scarcity, these two inspectors stressed that the main defect of the exhibitions was that, in normal circumstances, because of the particular subjects in which it was necessary to be proficient, they could be won only by boys and girls whose parents could first afford to send them to an intermediate school for some considerable time.[294] They emphasised, indeed, the pressing need for an effective scholarship system: 'The importance to the State', they said, 'of a proper provision of the means of higher education[295] for poor scholars of marked ability is now so universally recognised that argument upon the subject would be superfluous';[296] and they characterised the dearth of such provision in this country as 'one of the most regrettable instances of the want of co-ordination between the Systems of National and Intermediate Education'.[297]

Among the provisions of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland)Act,1899,[298] was a clause which allotted the annual sum of £55,000 for distribution among the various county and county borough councils in Ireland, more or less in proportion to their respective populations, in aid of schemes to be drawn up by the particular council and approved by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, for the purposes of technical instruction.[299] Under the powers thus conferred on them many councils brought schemes into operation, and in 1904-5 the scholarships offered, in the case of eight councils, were open to boys from primary schools and were tenable at an approved secondary school where Science and Drawing formed part of the curriculum.[300] Dale and Stephens expressed considerable satisfaction at this development: 'The importance of this action by local Committees', they said, 'clearly lies rather in the prospect which it discloses of the possibility of a systematic treatment of the problem under discussion, and in the indication which it affords of local interest in its solution than in the actual results hitherto effected.'[301]

Under the revised Rules which came into force for the examinations in 1902 it was provided that exhibitions, which had formerly been tenable for three years in the Junior Grade and for two years in the Middle Grade, would in future be tenable for one year only.[302] At this time, it will be remembered, the annual

income of the Board had begun to decrease and would continue doing so almost for a further decade;[303] with the result that successive reductions had to be made in the number of exhibitions awarded annually, and their value lessened. The effect of this action is strikingly illustrated by Rev. James P. Clenaghan, in an article in the Irish Educational Review in November 1909, in the course of which he shows that the Board's total expenditure on exhibitions and prizes had fallen from £12,865 and £12,660, in 1898 and 1899 respectively, to £4,700 and £2,985, in 1908 and 1909 respectively; and that the total number of pupils which these figures represented had likewise decreased from 598 and 581, to 290 and 178.[304] Shortly afterwards, speaking at the annual distribution of prizes at St. Brendan's Seminary, Killarney, the Bishop of Kerry re-echoed Father Clenaghan's criticism; and while making it clear that he would not give unqualified approval to a very large expenditure of the Board's funds in giving exhibitions to students, he said: ' . . . considering the purpose for which they were intended - to enable boys to prosectue their studies - it seems to me that such an enormous reduction in the value of exhibitions could not fail to have the effect of depriving many students of the means of continuing their education'.[305]

Dale and Stephens had recommended in their Report in 1905 that adequate provision should be made for a system of scholarships which would enable promising senior intermediate students to pursue their education further.[306] Such scholarships, they felt, would need to have a value of at least £50 a year and they should be tenable for at least three years.[307] Under section 10 of the Irish Universities Act, 1908,[308] provision was made for the granting of such scholarships, firstly by the Intermediate Board 'out of the funds at their disposal',[309] and secondly by county and county borough councils, subject, in this case to the provision that 'the amount raised by the council . . . in any year for the purpose shall not exceed the amount which would be produced by a rate of one penny in the pound, or such higher rate as the council . . . , with the consent of the Local Government, may fix'.[310] The passing of this enactment would seem to have raised high hopes for the future, at least inasmuch as it had opened the way for Local Authorities to take action in the matter;[311] and in July 1909, J.P. Molohan, writing in the Irish Educational Review, stated optimistically: ' . . . it is probable that in a very short time County and County Borough Councils in Ireland will be engaged in framing schemes for scholarships in connection with the Constituent Colleges of the National

University of Ireland'.[312] Such was not to be the case, however, and it was not until the middle of the century that scholarship provision of this kind was made by all the councils in Ireland.[313]

A further attempt was made in 1911 to remedy the deficiency. On 23 May of that year, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr Birrell, speaking in the House of Commons on the claims of secondary education in Ireland, stated that it was his desire to introduce a system of scholarships 'whereby suitable pupils might pass from the primary schools into the secondary schools, and ultimately to the University'; and he said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was quite willing in that year to provide money for that purpose, among others.[314] At the request of the Under-Secretary a scheme was subsequently drawn up, after conferences between representatives of the Intermediate and National Boards and of the teaching profession and it was submitted to the Chief Secretary. The Vice-Regal Committee, in reference to this episode stated in 1919 that educational opinion in Ireland had not been unanimously in favour of the scheme, and that while a sum of money was voted under this head in the financial years 1912-13 and 1913-14 the scheme was not ultimately proceeded with.[315] No other attempt of any consequence was made during the lifetime of the Intermediate Board to set matters right, and, even after the setting up of the new State, progress, as we shall see presently, was still very slow.[316]

B. 1922 - 1968.

(i) Scholarships Tenable in Secondary Schools.— For several years prior to 1922 the establishment of a scholarship system leading to the secondary schools from the primary schools had been under consideration. Nothing was done, however, until Dáil Eireann took the matter up in 1921 and issued a decree authorising county and county borough councils to strike a rate not exceeding a penny in the pound for the purpose of providing scholarships for pupils in primary schools to enable them to proceed to secondary or technical schools.[317] This permission was confirmed by section 17 of the Local Government (Temporary Provisions)Act, 1923,[318] which specified that such scholarships should be awarded, at approved schools in Saorstát Eireann, only to pupils who were in need of such assistance and who had satisfied the Council that they were qualified to profit from the course in question.[319] An 'approved school' was defined as 'such school,either

extern or residential, for the giving of secondary education, or the giving of instruction or training in Agriculture, Forestry, Trade, Commerce, Domestic Economy, Teaching, or any other subject of a vocational character as may be approved by order of the Minister for Education'.[320] Under the powers conferred by that Act, rules relating to the award of these scholarships were made by the Minister for Education early in 1924 and were issued to Councils, managers and teachers of schools, together with a programme indicating the standard expected in the various subjects.[321] The scholarships were tenable for periods of from four to six years,[322] subject to satisfactory reports on the progress of the student; and their annual value might range from £15 to £50 according to the type of school (day or boarding) in question, and, in special cases, according to the means of the particular student's parents.[323] The cost of holding the scholarship examinations would be borne by the Department, except where a council decided to hold its own examination to meet its own special requirements.[324] The subjects of examination, generally, were Irish, English, Arithmetic, History and Geography, with not more than two of the following: Algebra, Geometry, Drawing, Nature Study and Needlework. Special importance would be attached to proficiency in Irish.[325]

The Department felt quite pleased with these arrangements: 'On the whole,' it stated, 'the programme is so arranged that a scholarship award should not be beyond the reach of an intelligent pupil of twelve to fourteen years of age who has completed the Sixth Standard Course in the Primary School';[326] and 'This system of Scholarships enables clever children to secure secondary education free of charge, or at merely nominal cost'.[327] Despite the Department's high hopes, however, the schemes, where introduced, did not prove at all as popular as had been anticipated, and in 1932 it found it necessary to draw attention to the fact that only about 2.3 per cent. of the pupils enrolled in sixth and higher standards of national schools in the country as a whole entered for them. Even taking into account the fact that one-fourth of the counties had yet no scholarship schemes, it felt that 'the lowness of the percentage indicates a poor degree of competition for the Scholarships'.[328] The following year the Department suggested that a further contributing factor was probably the fact that, in many cases, these scholarships were 'scarcely valuable enough to enable the child of a really poor parent to take advantage of them', and that they probably suffered also by comparison with the scholar-

ships which were available in the Preparatory Colleges, which were seen to lead to a definite goal.[329]

The repeal of the Local Government (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1923, by the Local Government Act, 1941,[330] necessitated the provision of further legislation to enable county and county borough councils, where they had already taken action in the matter, to continue to operate these scholarship schemes, and to enable the small number of councils which had still made no provision for the award of scholarships to secondary schools, to do so.[331] The necessary Act was passed in 1944.[332] Under the terms of this new Act it was still optional for councils whether or not they operated scholarship schemes, and all new schemes were still subject to ministerial sanction. The provision of the 1923 Act, however, which required the consent of the Minister for the raising of a rate in excess of one penny in the pound to provide funds for scholarships was not retained in the new Act.[333] Scholarships might now be awarded 'only to persons whose parents or guardians are bona fide residents in the functional area of the Council'; it would no longer be permissible as it had formerly been to include a condition requiring a qualifying period of residence in a particular area, as this had been found to operate unfairly against people whose occupation necessitated their transfer from one part of the country to another, thereby excluding them from the benefits of any scheme. Apart from this, the conditions for eligibility for a scholarship were not altered to any great extent.[334]

A considerable advance was made with the passing in 1961 of the Local Authorities (Education Scholarships) (Amendment) Act.[335] The main purpose of this Act was to establish an extended scheme of scholarships tenable both in post-primary schools and in universities,[336] and to enable the state to contribute to such scholarships.[337] In reference to the advance which this enactment constituted, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, pointed out in the Seanad, in December 1964, that now for the first time the State was contributing to the scholarship fund of local authorities; and he referred to the three-fold increase which had taken place in the number of such scholarships since the introduction of the new legislation.[338] The figures given in Table IV.6 support the Minister's claim: in 1924-5 only 471 such scholarships were held in the whole Saorstát, as compared with 6,276 for the corresponding area in 1964-5; the most noticeable increase, however, took place in the period between 1959-60 and

1964-5, the figure for 1959-60 having been only 2,428.[339]

With the introduction in 1924 of the Intermediate Certificate, and dependent on the results of that examination, the Department of Education had begun to award a certain number of scholarships.[340] They had an annual value of £40, were tenable for two years, and were intended 'to enable the holder to complete the Secondary course up to the Leaving Certificate examination'.[341] Similar awards, also tenable for two years, had been made in 1923 on the results of the Junior Grade examination of that year; and the new scholarships might be said, in a way, to have replaced the old Junior and Middle Grade exhibitions.[342] In the first two years of its operation the Intermediate Certificate Scholarship Scheme made no distinction between boys and girls; but it was found that this practice worked to the great disadvantage of girls, and various expedients were employed in the succeeding three years to restore a reasonable balance.[343] It was hoped that certain modifications in the rules would enable girls to secure scholarships proportionate to their numbers while maintaining the principle of open competition between the sexes. The expected improvement, however, did not materialize, and separate awards for boys and girls became established in the school year 1928-9.[344] In the same year it was decided that there should be two classes of scholarships, namely, a first class of the annual value of £40 for boys and £30 for girls, and a second class of the annual value of £20 for boys and £15 for girls. Thirty-six first class scholarships and the same number of second class might be awarded to boys; the corresponding number in the case of girls was twenty of each class.[345] The decision to make separate awards for boys and girls worked to the ultimate satisfaction of the Department: after the first year of its operation it remarked that had there been open competition between boys and girls for 75 scholarships, as had previously been the case,no girl would have qualified for a scholarship, the last qualified boy obtaining, in the total, 28 marks more than the first qualified girl;[346] and in 1965-6, the last year in which these scholarships were offered for competition, their value and number, as well as the principle on which they were distributed, were the same as they had been thirty-seven years earlier.[347]

Among a number of measures which were taken in September 1931 to help Gaeltacht areas was the introduction of a scheme of scholarships for candidates from the Fíor-Gaeltacht, to enable them to obtain a secondary education.[348]

Eighteen scholarships, not less than nine of which were to be reserved for girls, were to be awarded annually, and they would be tenable for four or, where necessary, for five years in an approved secondary school.[349] In this way the Department hoped 'to overcome the difficulties which children from some of the areas concerned might experience in securing a share of the scholarships, [offered for open competition,] because of the part played by the economic conditions of the area in their earlier education'.[350] During the tenure of the scholarships, the school fees would be paid by the Department, and so that no student might be debarred from availing of a scholarship, a grant in aid of outfit and travelling expenses would also be paid.[351] In order to bring the scheme into operation as quickly as possible, and without any special examination having been held for the purpose, six scholarships were awarded, commencing in September 1931, to six girls who had passed the Preparatory College Examination but who had not secured a place in a College.[352] The examinations in connection with this scholarship were held for the first time in 1932, and 18 scholarships were awarded as provided in the scheme.[353] Similar scholarships were awarded annually until the year 1966-7, inclusive, after which special provision for such children was no longer necessary, the provisions of the new free education scheme catering adequately for them.[354]

A further scheme of scholarships was initiated in 1962, under the provisions of which a number of scholarships tenable in approved secondary schools was offered annually to children from islands off the coast of Ireland, with a view to affording them an opportunity of getting secondary education.[355] The number of such scholarships awarded in 1963 was 20;[356] and they continued to be awarded annually until the scheme became redundant with the introduction of the special provisions for island children in the free education scheme.[357]

(ii) University Scholarships — It has been noted earlier that section 10 of the Irish Universities Act, 1908, had empowered county and county borough councils to strike a rate for the purpose of establishing their own schemes of university scholarships.[358] Not every council took advantage of the power thus conferred on it; in 1931, however, the Department of Education, while pointing out that it exercised no administrative function in connection with these scholarships, referred to the existence of such schemes in most local authority areas in the Saorstát, and stated that the values of the scholarships

varied from £40 to £100 per annum.[359] From Table IV.7, however, it can be seen that even in 1944-5 there was still one county, namely Wicklow, in which no such scholarship had yet been held in any of the years taken as a basis for the table;[360] and when it is remembered that the figures given refer to the total number of scholarships held in a given year,[361] and that a total of 3,702 students sat for the Leaving Certificate examination in 1945,[362] it will be fairly clear that, on average at least, these schemes were making scant provision for affording the means of higher education even to excellent students.[363] The provisions of the Local Authorities (Education Scholarships) (Amendment) Act, 1961, bettered the position slightly, but it did not have as striking an effect on provision for higher education as it had on provision for secondary;[364] a fact which cannot altogether be explained by the provision of the 1961 Act which limited the amount of money to be allocated for university scholarships in any year to half the amount to be allocated for the post-primary scholarships to be awarded in the same year.[365] The section of the original statute under which these schemes were authorised was repealed by section 9, subsection (1), of the Local Authorities (Higher Education Grants) Act, 1968,[366] and the scholarship schemes themselves were replaced by the more comprehensive schemes of higher education grants.[367]

In introducing measures designed to help the Fíor-Gaeltacht, the Department made provision in 1931 for the award of a number of university scholarships.[368] To qualify for the award of one of these scholarships a candidate had to be from the Fíor-Gaeltacht,[369] and to have passed the Leaving Certificate Examination with Honours.[370] The scholarships, which were tenable at University College, Galway, unless there was no provision in that College for the course which the student wished to take, were initially to the value of £110 per annum, and they were renewable 'for the number of years reasonably necessary to obtain the Degree for which the student is studying'.[371] Five such scholarships were awarded in 1932,[372] and they continued to be offered annually until the year 1968-9 when their value had risen to £300 per annum, or £180 per annum if the holder was resident in his own home during the period of attendance at the university.[373] Table IV.8.b gives details of the numbers of such scholarships held in selected years.[374]

A scheme for the award of scholarships to students who pursue their university courses through the medium of Irish was introduced in 1947, and for the year 1947-8 36 such scholarships were awarded.[375] These scholarships, valued initially at £150 each would be awarded only to candidates who, at the Leaving

Certificate examination had obtained honours in Irish and in the examination generally, who had answered through Irish in at least three subjects other than Irish, and who had a very good knowledge of oral Irish.[376] The scholarships were tenable at University College, Galway, where provision was made for taking a large number of courses through the medium of Irish. Scholarships were ordinarily renewable for the number of years normally required to qualify for a primary degree in the Faculty in which the holder was studying, but further renewal, to cater for post-graduate work, was possible in the case of a student who had gained outstanding success at his examinations and displayed special talent for research work.[377] In its reply to the questionnaire issued by the Council of Education, the Catholic Headmasters' Association criticised this particular scholarship scheme on the grounds that a sufficiently wide choice of university courses was not, in fact, open to successful candidates, and it complained that courses through Irish were not available at all for what it termed 'the more important professions'.[378] The scheme was still in operation in 1969-70, the value of each scholarship now being £300 per annum for a student living away from home, and £180 per annum if the holder was resident at home during the period of his attendance at the University.[379] Table IV.8.b. gives details, for selected years, of the numbers of such scholarships held.[380]

A further scheme of scholarships was introduced in 1966, 'to provide a continuing commemoration of the signatories of the 1916 Proclamation'; it would be known as the Easter Week Commemoration Scholarships scheme.[381] Seven scholarships, one named after each of the seven signatories, would be awarded each year, and would be tenable in any University College in Ireland, in a Technological College or in the National College of Art.[382] The scholarship would be worth £300 per annum away from home, and £250 per annum if the holder was resident at home. Each scholarship was individual in that it was associatedwith a particular group of subjects, the marks in each case being obtained on honours papers at the Leaving Certificate examination. Candidates had also to obtain honours in Irish, pass the Leaving Certificate as a whole and reach a satisfactory standard in oral Irish.[383] This scheme was still in operation in 1969-70, and the rules governing its administration were still more or less the same.[384]

With the passing, in 1968, of the Local Authorities (Higher Education Grants) Act,[385] to replace existing local authority scholarship schemes, considerable advance was made in the direction of making higher education accessible to any student capable of benefiting from it. The outstanding feature of the new system of grants was that the traditional element of competition had now disappeared: candidates who were otherwise eligible were not required simply to reach the prescribed standard of attainment at the Leaving Certificate examination,[386] and irrespective of the number of other candidates who qualified, they would be given a grant, provided their parents' or guardians' income did not exceed specified limits.[387] The grant would be paid by the council within whose functional area the particular student ordinarily resided.[388] Towards the cost of such grants, the local authority would be expected to provide annually a sum equal to the sum provided by it in the local financial year 1967-8 in respect of scholarships under the Acts of 1908, 1944 and 1961;[389] and the balance required to meet the cost of the new schemes would be provided by the central government.[390] It was estimated that approximately 1,000 pupils would benefit under the scheme in the academic year 1968-9, a figure which compared favourably with approximately 275 local authority scholarships awarded in 1967-8.[391] Criticisms that the scheme did not go far enough were countered by the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Education when he said in 1968: 'the important thing is that it [i.e., the new scheme] is there and that it has been drafted in such a way that any of its provisions can be modified as circumstances warrant'.[392]

CHAPTER FIVE: CURRICULUM AND SYLLABUS.

CHAPTER FIVE: CURRICULUM AND SYLLABUS.

To try to give a comprehensive analysis of the development of the Irish secondary school curriculum over the ninety-year period from 1878 to 1968, paying adequate attention both to the changing syllabuses in individual subjects during that period and to the actual degree of mastery which was at any particular time expected of pupils at different levels, would appear to be not just highly presumptuous on the part of a writer who cannot claim to have an intimate knowledge of more than a fraction of the prescribed subjects, but indeed quite impossible in a work which aims at covering, within the normally accepted limits, a very large area. What will be attempted, however, will be firstly, in Section 1, a general outline of the more important developments which took place in the course of the period in question; secondly, in Section 2, a necessarily short account of how the various subjects fared over the years, setting out, for example, how satisfied or otherwise Board's or Department's officials seemed to be with the work that was being done in them in the schools, how popular these subjects were (in the case of optional subjects) noting any signicant increase or decrease in the percentage of students taking them as time went on, which courses were most commonly chosen (in the case of subjects where alternative courses were available) and why; and thirdly, in Section 3, a brief discussion of the vexed question of teaching other subjects through the medium of Irish to children whose home language is English.

1. General Trends in the Curriculum

A. Before 1878.

In the Diocesan Schools, which had come into being as a result of the 'Act for the Erection of Free Schools', passed by the Dublin Parliament in 1570,[1] and in the various other kinds of Endowed Grammar Schools which had subsequently been established in this country, the curriculum was centred around the study of the Classical Languages. In the Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry (1791), is found the first account of the work done and the standards attained in such of these schools as were then in existence. This Report stated: 'There never was greater cause for [complaint] than at present: the learned languages are ill taught, and young men are not trained to composition in any language.'[2] Further evidence supporting this accusation is furnished by subsequent Commissions of Inquiry which reported between 1809 and 1812, and between 1823 and 1827. The House of Commons Select Committee, appointed in 1835 under the chairmanship of Sir Thomas Wyse to inquire into the Schools of Public Foundation in Ireland, gave details of the work which was being done in some of these schools. They found that the Royal Schools were emphasising the teaching of the Classics and were also making provision for mathematics, history and geography, and religion. They found that the Diocesan Schools were providing much the same curriculum except that Modern Languages were not taught. They felt, however, as did the Kildare Commission on Endowed Schools, which reported in 1858, that the instruction provided was too restricted. The latter Commission felt, indeed, that in the case of Greek and Latin the results of the teaching were not at all commensurate with the time spent in instruction, and they made suggestions for improving the methods of teaching, and proposed that the amount of time devoted to these subjects might be reduced with better ultimate results. They stressed the need for suitable commercial education, and deplored the neglect of modern languages, science and English literature.[3] In fine, the general impression conveyed by the findings of the various commissions of inquiry is that these schools were providing an education with a distinct

Classical bent, but that in most cases the programme which was being offered was much too narrow, and that even in the case of the Classics much greater proficiency might have been expected in view of the great amount of time which was being devoted to these subjects.

While the range of subjects which was taught in the various Hedge Schools was almost entirely dictated by the accomplishments of the individual teachers, the Classics had a special place of importance in them, and frequent reference is found both to individual schools where the standard of Classical teaching was high, and to the existence of good Classical scholars even in the most unlikely places, a fact which almost invariably points to the presence of a good Classical Hedge School in the locality. Even in remote areas it was not uncommon to come across ordinary working-men whose standard of Classical scholarship could be considered high by any standards. The Rev. Alexander Ross, writing from Dungiven, Co. Derry, in 1814, was able to say:[4]

> Even in the wildest districts, it is not unusual to meet with good classical scholars; and there are several young Mountaineers of the writer's acquaintance, whose knowledge and taste in the Latin poets might put to the blush many who have all the advantages of established schools and regular instruction.

This does not mean to say that Hedge Schools were invariably good schools. Because of the severe limitations under which they operated we can be certain that the standard of instruction given in some of them was quite defective, but as Dr Birch has pointed out, the education provided under such difficulties must have been more formative than its knowledge content would lead one to think. 'In these schools', he asserted, 'a tradition of classical instruction prevailed which elevated the minds of poor peasants to thoughts beyond their grim existence, and counteracted the lowering tendency of an unending and almost hopeless struggle to keep above the lowest subsistence level.'[5] Apart from the Classics, mention is found of a considerable variety of subjects being taught in these schools. Advanced mathematics and natural sciences were particularly well catered for in some of them, while reading, writing and calculating were also widely taught as necessary prerequisites to further study.[6]

Some of the Catholic Schools which sprang up after the passing of the Relief Acts of 1782 and 1792 offered a good variety of subjects. At Burrell's Hall in Kilkenny (later St Kieran's College),for example, which opened in January 1783, the original prospectus offered a curriculum comprising 'English Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, French, Latin, Greek, Geography, Mathematics, ancient and modern History, in short every branch of useful and polite Literature on the most improved Plan'.[7] Comparing the kind of education given in those days with what was to follow under the Intermediate System, Dr Birch, referring to the early days at Burrell's Hall, stated:[8]

> It was not thought sufficient then, that the material studied by a boy should be available in his mind as a mere item of knowledge, just as a deaf-mute might have it, who had been taught to read. Much more than this was demanded of the pupil of those days: he was expected to be able to use his voice with dignity, to express himself with grace, and to stand before an audience without showing embarrassment or self-consciousness. As an indispensable preliminary to this, elocution was given a prominent place, and during [the end-of-the-year] examination, which lasted for as long as four days, the best boys of the various years gave samples of their proficiency in this respect, by reading or reciting parts of their work in the different languages taught, or even special compositions written for the occasion.

In the schools run by the Irish Christian Brothers the curriculum for the higher classes included from the start more advanced subjects than would have been offered in purely elementary schools, and in 1867, in most of the fifty-five schools which the Brothers were then conducting, the senior pupils were being instructed in subjects from the following list: Book-keeping, History, Geography, Globes, Drawing, Geometry, Mensuration, Algebra, Navigation and Natural Philosophy; and the teaching of Latin had recently been introduced in some of the schools.[9] Speaking of the period immediately prior to the introduction of the Intermediate System, the Irish Times has said:[10]

> Before a text-book of Natural Philosophy was heard of in the National Schools, the Brothers had large and well-supplied experimental laboratories equal in many respects to those found in important residential colleges. They were conscientious teachers, and their teaching was practical - a better blend of religious and secular instruction was perhaps never devised. The result was that when the Intermediate System gave them the opportunity of entering into public competition they swept all before them, and for the first time the staffs of the rich colleges discovered that a day school in the humblest quarters of Cork or Waterford or Dublin, was able to lead a grade or capture medals in literature, classics, or science.

From this it may be taken that not just did the Christian Brothers provide their senior pupils with some smattering of the more advanced subjects, but that,well before 1878, a tradition of teaching many of these subjects thoroughly had been firmly extablished in their schools.

B. From 1878 to 1924.

According to the Schedule of Rules appended to the Act of 1878, the subjects of examination were grouped into seven divisions as follows: (1) The ancient language, literature and history of Greece; (2) The ancient language, literature and history of Rome; (3) The language, literature and history of Great Britain and Ireland; (4) The language, literature and history of France, Germany, and Italy, or any one of them, either separately or together, with the Celtic language and literature; (5) Mathematics, including arithmetic and book-keeping; (6) Natural Sciences; and (7) Such other subjects of secular education as the Board might from time to time prescribe.[11] Special favour was shown towards Greek, Latin and English, both by making more generous results fees available for these subjects, and by giving higher marks to them and therefore making them more attractive for candidates seeking exhibitions and prizes. According to the Rules for the year 1880, results fees were paid as so much per subject. Greek, Latin and English earned £1.5s.Od., £1.10s.Od. and £1.15s.Od. in Junior, Middle and Senior Grade, respectively; French and German earned 17s.6d., £1.1s.Od. and £1.4s.6d.; Celtic earned 15s.Od., 18s.Od. and £1.1s.Od.; Drawing and Music (which were included in the seventh division from the first year of the examinations) earned only 12s.6d., 15s.Od. and 17s.6d. Likewise, in assigning marks to the various subjects, the Classics and English received preferential treatment, maximum marks being allotted as follows: Greek, Latin and English, 1000 marks each; French and German, 700 marks each; Celtic, 600 marks; Drawing and Music, 500 marks each.[12] It is to be noted that the Irish language and literature had not been mentioned in the original Schedule, but that in the course of the Bill's passage through Parliament, and on the representations of a number of members, including The O'Conor Don, who subsequently became a member of the Board, the Bill was amended to allow of 'the Celtic language and literature' being included in the subjects for examination.[13]

The Programme of the Intermediate Board was thus framed in such a way as to favour what was called a Grammar School education, and it catered especially for students who intended to enter the university or to compete for

the higher branches of the civil service. Such a course was not found to pay best, and it was followed by practically all the schools. A course suitable for boys intended for a commercial or industrial career - such a course, for example, as was given in the German Realschulen,[14] - would not have paid under the system. Before 1878 the Christian Brothers had begun, in some of the larger towns, to give the elements of a commercial and industrial education, a course which was admirably suited to the position in life of the boys with whome they had to deal, and which was greatly appreciated by the general public. They soon found, however, that nothing but a Grammar School education would pay, and so they changed, very much against their own judgment and natural inclination, to meet the requirements of the Board.[15] This emphasis on traditional Grammar School values persisted for more than twenty years.

The Rules for 1902[16] marked the first fundamental departure from the original system. These provided for the introduction of a group system to replace the existing single-subject system. In the Junior, Middle and Senior Grades two separate courses were introduced: the Grammar School Course, catering as before for those whose ambition it was to join the ranks of one of the learned professions or the higher civil service; and the Modern Course, in which natural and experimental science and modern languages were to have special weight attached to them. All subjects of examination were given equal marks, and this removed the disability under which other subjects had hitherto suffered as compared with the Classics and English.[17] The distinction between the Grammar School Course and the Modern Course may have been modelled on the well-known Frankfurt plan, which had been put into operation a few years before that in Prussia. Whatever its origin, it gave Irish secondary education its first definite bent towards specialisation, and in doing so, gave Modern Languages and Science a less unequal position compared to Classics than they had had hitherto in the Secondary School cirriculum.[18] In 1903 the group system was further developed by the splitting up of the Modern Course of 1902 into three: (a) the Modern Literary Course; (b) the Mathematical Course; and (c) the Experimental Science Course. History and Geography, which had hitherto been included with the various Language and Literature Courses, appeared for the first time this year as a separate subject.[19] In 1908 the Modern Literary Course was divided in two: in the first division the 'main subjects' were to be Irish and either French or German; in the second,

French and German. The exhibitions allotted to this group were divided evenly between these divisions.[20] Except for these innovations the programme prescribed for the schools remained practically unaltered until 1924.[21]

One administrative change which took place around the turn of the century, and which came to have a very noticeable effect on the choice of course made by school authorities, was the handing over to the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction of the work of examining and inspecting the teaching of Science in Intermediate schools. The numbers of those offering recognised branches of Science at the examinations had fallen from 3,987 in 1887 to 908 in 1897, although the total number of boys examined during the same period rose from 4,613 to 6,661. In 1897 only about 9.2 per cent. of the boys offered Natural Philosophy (as Physics was then called) and only 4.6 per cent. offered Chemistry, as compared with 56 per cent. and 30 per cent. respectively in 1887.[22] The Agricultural and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act of 1899 provided inter alia for the transfer to the newly established Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction of the administration of the grant for Science and Art in Ireland, which had formerly been administered by the Department of Science and Art, South Kensington, and later by the English Board of Education. Early in 1901 the Department and the Board jointly drew up a programme which would be applicable to Irish Secondary Schools,[23] and the Department also undertook the inspection of Science in the schools for the purposes of the Board. Thus the Department performed a twofold function with respect to the teaching of Science in Secondary Schools: it made grants directly to the schools in respect of Science, and it supplied the Board with reports depending on inspection on the basis of which further results fees were paid. This resulted in a very great increase in the number of students offering Science at the examinations, their number in 1922 being more than three times what it had been in 1900.[24]

Opinion is very much divided on the relative effectiveness of the normal curriculum which was followed in schools operating under the Intermediate System. Pearse, a man of whom it has been siad that 'he was a born educationalist' and that 'had he achieved nothing more [than his educational work] he would have remained nevertheless the most remarkable man of his time',[25] was vehement in his denunciation of what appeared to him to be an altogether

unsatisfactory programme.[26]

> The idea of a compulsory programme imposed by an external authority upon every child in every school in a country [he asserted] is the direct contrary of the root idea involved in education. Yet this is what we have in Ireland. . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . There are no ideas [in this programme], no love of beauty, no love of books, no love of knowledge, no heroic inspiration. And there is no room for such things either on the earth or in the heavens, for the earth is cumbered and the heavens are darkened by the monstrous bulk of the programme. Most of the educators detest the programme. They are like the adherents of a dead creed who continue to mumble formulas and to make obeisance before an idol which they have found out to be but a spurious divinity.

An earlier writer, F. Hugh O'Donnell, had also remarked on the stranglehold which the official programme had on the schools, but he preferred to blame the school authorities (and especially the Teaching Congregations) for the damage that was being done, rather than condemn the system itself.

He said:[27]

> It must not be supposed that the desolating manufacture of untaught and overcrammed boys and girls, a burthen to their country and a burthen to themselves, which has been for twenty years the main contribution of the Teaching Congregations to the prosperity of Ireland, has been in any necessary or inevitable sense the work of the Intermediate System. Out of the long lists of subjects of study, . . . which were withing the scope of the Intermediate Schools, it was really not necessary for them to choose the most disastrous combinations. It was perfectly open to them . . . to arrange plans of studies, which, if less fruitful in pelf to the Teaching Congregations, would be a sounder education for the youth of the nation. The only plan adopted by the Teaching Congregations was to utilize the bright young brains of all those Irish boys and girls in cramming the subjects, which, however futile or injurious to their future lives, had the inestimable advantage of ringing quick returns in coin of the realm into the treasuries of the Congregations.

The general tone of O'Donnell's work, however, is so venomous, and his sarcasm so biting, that, despite certain valid criticisms which he makes, one is inclined to regard his book more as the work of an embittered eccentric with some private axe to grind than as an objective assessment of the current educational situation. Without doubt the System had its faults. Fr Ó Catháin, for example, has complained that in all the language courses the whole year was spent in preparing the set texts, and that no time was left for more important things.[28] But taken as a whole, and seen against the background of the times, it can be regarded as having been of considerable benefit to education in this country. Writing in 1898, when the System had been barely twenty years in operation, Monsignor Gerald Molloy of the Dublin Archdiocese had this to say in its favour:[29]

> It has given a great impulse to secondary education in Ireland; it has stimulated the zeal and energy both of teachers and pupils; it has promoted habits of steady persevering application to a definite task; . . .

> By means of its Exhibitions, it has enabled many clever boys of poor families to obtain a better education than they could otherwise have obtained, and thus to advance themselves in life.
>
> By paying large Results Fees on all candidates who simply pass the examinations, it encourages the heads of schools to devote special attention to pupils of moderate abilities.

These advantages the Intermediate System continued to confer. It filled, with at least some measure of success, what would otherwise have been a lamentable gap in our system of education, and, while it had glaring defects, the country would have been very much poorer without it.[30]

C. Since 1924.

The programme for Secondary Schools which came into operation on 1 August, 1924[31] constituted a radical departure from the old system. A course of study over a definite number of years was to be the new educational unit instead of an isolated year's work. The old system of Grades, each with its year's rigid curriculum, was abolished, and Junior and Senior courses substituted. The Junior Course was to be of three or four year's duration, according to the pupil's age and attainments on entering the school, and would lead to the Intermediate Certificate Examination, which a pupil would normally take at the age of sixteen years. The Senior Course was to be of two year's duration, and would lead to the Leaving Certificate Examination, which would mark the conclusion of the Secondary stage in education. During the Junior Course the pupil was expected to follow such a curriculum as would give a sound general education. Hence, in order to obtain the Intermediate Certificate, which marked the end of this course, the pupil was obliged to pass in not less than five subjects, which had to include: (1) Irish or English; (2) a second language; (3) Mathematics; or (for girls only) Arithmetic with any one of the following: Science, Domestic Science, Drawing or Music; (4) History and Geography.[32] Within a few years both Irish and English became obligatory, and certain alternatives could be offered instead of History and Geography - viz., Science (Courses A, B, or D), or a language other than Irish or English.[33] In the Senior Course, on the other hand, the pupil would be allowed to specialise.

Hence schools were free to select any five subjects of the programme for their pupils for this latter course, the only restriction being that one of these subjects had to be Irish or English.[34] After a number of years this alternative was removed, and all pupils had to take Irish.[35]

As regards the actual syllabuses, the reform had been similarly fundamental. Under the old system these had been, with few exceptions, rigid and narrow, and had to be carried out through the study of prescribed texts on which the examinations were based. Under the new system the programmes were of the widest and most elastic types. Prescribed texts were abolished in all subjects, and the schools now enjoyed the maximum of freedom both as regards the range of their programmes and the choice of books to suit their particular needs. In order to ensure that all work might be of a proper standard, teachers were required to submit at the beginning of the year the programmes which were proposed for each class for the year, and the Department's inspectors had the responsibility of seeing that these were suitable in quality and extent, and that the teaching of them reached a proper standard; otherwise the teachers were entirely free in their choice. At the same time the schools had been to a large extent freed from the burden of an over-rigid examination system, for although examinations were retained they had not the cramping effect of the examinations under the old system. This was for two reasons: firstly, they were not based on prescribed texts, and secondly, they were no longer the means by which the income of each school was to be determined.[36] The schools had thus, in theory at any rate, a chance of developing along those lines which seemed to cater best for their own special requirements, and of adopting the means which they considered most appropriate to the fulfilment of their individual goals. Professor Corcoran gave a whole-hearted welcome to the new proposals:[37]

> The work of the Dáil Commission on Secondary Curricula [he said] was wisely limited to pointing the way for schools and teachers to follow: the details of the task are rather for the educators themselves. Nothing is more needed than the exercise of their own preferences by Irish schools: they have for over forty years been content to have their detailed programmes fixed for them, without consultation, by Boards and by Boards' officials, and to have these programmes, in turn, delimited by examiners.

They constituted a departure, which educational thinkers had long called for,[38] from the minute detail of the Programme of the Intermediate Board. The implementation of the new proposals, however, gave rise to a number of difficulties, and the two most serious of these will be outlined in the paragraphs which fol-

As we have just seen, the curricula of Secondary schools were henceforth to be shaped by two factors: firstly, the particular aims of the individual schools; and secondly, the Department's requirements as to courses of instruction, for grant purposes and examinations. There were some schools (particularly those that wished to give prominence to the Classics or to Modern Continental Languages) who found it difficult to reconcile their own special aims with the official requirements of the Programme, owing to the fact that although they took six or seven subjects, their pupils were required to cover in the obligatory subjects the same course as was required of schools that took only five subjects.[39] To remedy this situation the Department recommended the introduction of 'half-courses' in certain subjects, two of which would be recognised as equivalent to one full course. This scheme would ensure that schools which wanted to devote special attention, for example, to Classics or to Modern Languages would have time to so so, and would get full credit for this work, both in respect of earning grants and at the examinations.[40] A circular embodying these proposals was sent to the schools in January 1928, and the school authorities were asked for their views. While the general reaction was favourable there was 'a very considerable body of opinion' which anticipated serious organisational difficulties in their implementation.[41] Because of this the scheme was dropped, and the difficulties of schools which normally took six or more subjects were met by changing the methods of calculating examination results and by making the examination papers easier.[42] A further attempt was made in the 1930's to introduce a system of what were this time termed 'lower course' subjects.[43] These did not prove popular, however, and in the new Programme which came into operation in 1939 no further provision was made for them except in Irish and English.[44]

The second sizeable problem which arose concerned the new freedom which the schools had been given with regard to making their own choice of courses and of texts in the language subjects. Great as had been the demand for this freedom, it was found, when granted, to present to the teachers a greater challenge than they had bargained for. One writer has suggested that schools tended to abuse the freedom they had been granted and were not endeavouring to cover the wide general courses prescribed in the Programme, and that this was the reason why the Department decided to go back to the system of set texts.[45] Professor Ó Cathán says that he has been told that the decision was taken

'entirely at the request of the schools themselves'.[46] Elsewhere he has put forward two reasons for this action. Firstly, he said, an 'open' course did not combine well with a uniform external examination. Undue weight was still being given to examination results; and while this might in part be attributed to a lingering tradition, he felt that the Department was also responsible inasmuch as that it still published the results with the name of each school at the head of its respective batch of numbers. The second reason he gave was that teaching methods which for over forty years had been based on set texts could not be changed overnight. He suggested that had set texts been abolished gradually better results might have been achieved.[47] Whatever the reason, the decision was taken, and the Department Report for 1937-8 stated bluntly: 'Beidh téacseanna ainmnighthe ina gcuid den chúrsa feasta san mBéarla, san Laidin, san nGréigis agus i nuadh-theangthacha na h-ilchríche, agus sin don dá sgrúdú, sgrúdú na Meadhon-Teistiméireachta agus sgrúdú na h-Árd-Teistiméireachta.'[48] By 1942 there were set texts in all the language subjects, and, despite considerable criticism, the position is still the same today.[49]

Apart from these attempts at change, no important structural alteration was made in the curriculum for a quarter of a century. Modifications in detail were introduced from time to time, and changes in emphasis might be noted within individual subject syllabuses,[50] but it was not until 1967, when far-reaching organisational changes were introduced,[51] that the need for radical reform in the curriculum of the Secondary school was again clearly spotlighted. The over-emphasis on the academic side of the curriculum had often occasioned complaint in the past. A De La Salle Brother, writing in 1962, said:[52]

> At present the possibility of choice among alternatives appears impressively large but is really quite limited. Some score or so of subjects is listed on the junior programme; but if you look a little critically at the results of the Intermediate Certificate Examination you will find the same old pattern of subjects repeated ad nauseam, year after year, in school after school, up and down the country: Irish, English, Latin, History, Mathematics, Geography. In practice this half-dozen of subjects has been the staple intellectual diet of our secondary school boys for the past forty years.

Brother McCann would have liked to see more variety in the combinations of subjects chosen for study by boys who, at that time, were still required to show proof of a certain amount of intellectual ability before being admitted to a Secondary school. The need for curriculum differentiation which he underlines has since, with the abolition of the entrance examination, become a matter of absolute

necessity.

In May 1963 the Minister for Education, Dr P.J.Hillery, made public certain proposals concerning radical changes which it was intended to introduce into the educational system at post-primary level.[53] These proposals were based on the decision to provide some measure of post-primary education for all children, and consequently rejected the idea of any form of selection. Their implementation will mean that, in practice as well as theory, a much wider range of subjects will have to be made available, and a real choice will have to be given which will take into account individual aptitudes and interests.[54] Charles McCarthy, General Secretary of the Vocational Teachers' Association, feels that the structure of the proposed new Leaving Certificate course is likely to promote a sensible choice of subjects at that level. He says:[55]

> The present proposals for the Leaving Certificate . . . start with the student's requirements, not the school's capacity. They insist that every student must have the opportunity of selecting from a range of subjects and then go on to challenge both themselves and the education system in general to ensure that in every part of the country these kinds of groups will be available to every student.

Now that the Secondary school is, by definition, open to all students who reach a certain age and who are not educationally sub-normal, every aspect of teaching will have to be brought under review to ensure that the most effective work is done with each type of pupil. Many teachers would agree that there is at least a certain amount of truth in the criticisms recently made by Mr T. J. McElligott about much of what is taught in our schools. Speaking in Carlow in 1967 he said:[56]

> An enormous amount of present-day learning in the schools could, on rational examination, be found to be quite purposeless, while a substantial amount of what would be useful is not taught and what is taught, whether purposeful or purposeless, is often taught extremely inefficiently.

It is very likely that the coming decade will see considerable changes both in programmes of study and in methods of teaching; and while it would be over-optimistic to hope that the preferences and prejudices of generations will disappear overnight, it seems quite probable, nonetheless, if we may judge from experience abroad,[57] that the newer subjects which these changes are now introducing will win for themselves in time, if not an equal place, at least an accepted place on the secondary school programme.

2. Approach to Specific Subjects.

A. Religious Knowledge.

Our Secondary schools are for the most part strongly religious in character, religious motives having led to their foundation and religious bodies being, in the main, their trustees, patrons and managers.[58] Thus, by virtue of their history, they can be expected to put a premium on the inculcation of religious ideals and values. When the Intermediate Education Board was established in 1878, it was expressly precluded from holding examinations in subjects of religious instruction and from payment for them: the function of the Board was to promote Intermediate secular education.[59] It has been suggested that the exclusion of religion from the scope of the Board was probably due to the unsatisfactory results of the National Board's interference with religion in the national schools as well as to the fact that all secondary schools at that time were associated with definite religious bodies.[60] And so the tradition has developed that religious education continues to be the responsibility of the school authorities solely, and the Department of Education concerns itself with prescribing and supervising the secular programmes only.

The basically religious character of the schools, however, was not enough in itself to justify complacency regarding the place this subject would be given in school programmes. Within a few years of the introduction of the Intermediate Examinations some anxiety was being felt about the quality and content of religious knowledge in a system where secular subjects were highly competitive. It was felt that 'without this being at all its object, the working of the Intermediate System must inevitably have a steady continuous tendency to hamper and crush this subject in our schools'.[61] Many proposals were put forward for an examination in religious knowledge over the years, but it was only in 1921 that a written examination under the direction of the Irish hierarchy was introduced.[62] One of the results of the introduction of this examination was a more systematic approach to the teaching of religious knowledge subjects. This, however, was not altogether an unmixed blessing, as a former

Diocesan Examiner of the Limerick diocese has pointed out. He stated that 'religious instruction was regarded as a strictly intellectual undertaking: it had to do with the proof of a case, the establishment of a thesis'.[63] Modern authorities on catechetics insist that if religious instruction is to serve any really useful purpose, it has to be presented as something immediately relevant and vital, and must divest itself of whatever appearance it may have had of being a purely intellectual exercise. Courses in catechetics and modern text-books are doing much at the present time to bring about the necessary change in emphasis, and, in some diocese at least, the practice of holding an external written examination has been discontinued.

B. Irish.

Irish appeared in the Schedule to the Act of 1878 under the title of 'the Celtic language and literature'.[64] This, however, was the result of an Amendment which had been made while the Bill was being debated in Parliament; the original Schedule to the Bill had contained no provision for this subject, and as a result of a proposal by The O'Conor Don that the Irish language, literature and archaeology should be inserted, it was finally agreed to make provision for a subject which would be known as 'the Celtic language and literature'.[65] For many years the number of students taking this subject remained relatively small, due to the fact that the marks assigned to it were insufficient in a system where the total number of marks obtained was all-important. Dr Douglas Hyde, who examined in all grades in 1898, said that he had been informed that some teachers had, in that particular year, substituted Italian for Celtic, because the two subjects were being awarded the same number of marks and Italian was easier; and he felt that it was altogether wrong to allot far higher marks for French and German 'each of which competent linguists have declared to be an easier language to learn than Irish to those who do not naturally speak any of these languages'.[66]

Those candidates who offered this subject, however, showed evidence of having received thorough instruction in it. Rev. Michael P. O'Hickey, who examined in 1901, had the highest praise for both pupils and teachers. 'Only teaching of a very superior character,' he said, 'combined with earnest and enthusiastic application on the partof the pupils, could have produced results such as those which . . . have come under my notice.'[67] In 1902 the Advising Examiner, Kuno Meyer, stated emphatically that 'a very real, efficient, and highly valuable work is being carried on, perhaps not always with adequate means, and sometimes on false lines, but undoubtedly with great earnestness and devotion on the part of teachers and pupils alike, and, on the whole, with highly satisfactory results';[68] and in the following year he stated that while the chief stress seemed to have been laid by teachers on 'a thorough knowledge of the spoken language, and rightly so, the literary side of the language is too much neglected',[69] - a criticism which would seem to indicate that, in this subject at least, the Intermediate System had not prevailed on teachers to place the emphasis where it should never be placed in the case of living languages. This emphasis on the spoken language may be attributed, in considerable measure to that 'passionate desire . . . to relearn their native language' which 'in the first years of the present century . . . seized upon the whole Irish people',[70] and to the consequent search for the most effective methods of teaching it.

The changes brought about in 1924 had a greater effect on the approach to the teaching of Irish than they had on the approach to the teaching of any other subject. It was given pride of place on the cirriculum, and by the year 1927-8 every school had to make provision for instruction in an approved programme in Irish.[71] The emphasis was to be very much on the spoken language. No special texts were named for study; and, while the teachers were obliged to decide on a course of reading and to submit their proposed programme to the Department at the beginning of the school year for approval, it was made perfectly clear to them that reading was to be of secondary importance.[72] Within the space of a few years considerable progress was being made in most schools, and the Department's Annual Reports are full of praise for the enthusiasm which was generally shown.

In a small number of schools, however, the position was still quite unsatisfactory: Irish still occupied the position neither of a fundamental nor

of an ordinary subject, but of an 'extra' which was studied by a small proportion of the pupils,[73] who were being given the choice of doing extra work over and above that done by their fellow-students or of giving up the study of some other important subject which was being taught to the rest of the school.[74] In some cases parents were even required to pay extra fees for the teaching of Irish.[75] The Department decided that this state of affairs could not be tolerated indefinitely, and in June 1932 it issued a circular to these schools stating that normally the national language should be an essential subject in the course of instruction of every Secondary School pupil, and warning them that, unless there was an improvement in the observance of the regulations during the school year 1932-3, it would be necessary to make a reduction in their Capitation Grant for that year.[76] At the same time the schools in general were notified that Irish would be an essential subject for all new, recognised pupils as from the beginning of the school year 1932-3.[77]

A further problem came to light about this time. In some schools, for example in the 'A' Schools, the entire work of the school was now being conducted through the medium of Irish, Irish being the ordinary language both of the classroom and of the playing-field. In others it was being taught on the lines of a foreigh language for about three hours in the week, the pupils hearing no Irish outside of these class periods. Because of this difference of approach to the subject, students in the former type of school had an opportunity of acquiring a certain fluence in the language, which other students could not possibly acquire, and it was becoming increasingly difficult to devise a paper of questions at the Intermediate Certificate Examination which would be neither too easy for the former nor too difficult for the latter. In these circumstances, it was decided in 1932 to introduce a higher course in Irish to meet the needs of the former, and to retain the existing course for the latter.[78] The new higher course soon became very popular, and before the end of the decade the Department was able to express considerable satisfaction at how well it was fulfilling its purpose.[79]

In its efforts to ensure that the spoken language should receive its due amount of attention, the Department did not rely solely on words of encouragement, but brought into operation, from time to time, various schemes which were calculated to stimulate an ever-increasing interest in this side of the

work.[80] In 1933-4 a competition was introduced for this purpose, offering two trophies in the form of Shields to the best Irish-speaking schools - one for boys' schools and one for girls' schools.[81] In 1945-6 a further scheme was put into operation, providing for the award of special grants to schools whose pupils had attained a high standard of proficiency in oral Irish,[82] and the Department was able to report in the following year that this measure had met with immediate success.[83] In the early nineteen-fifties complaints were frequently made to the effect that the prescribed reading material was too extensive,[84] and that, because of this, oral work was suffering. For this reason it was decided that from 1953-4 only two of the three prose-texts which were prescribed for Pass Leaving Certificate would have to be studied,[85] and from 1958-9 the amount of poetry prescribed for Intermediate Certificate was likewise reduced.[86]

The measures which have just been referred to had a beneficial effect on the state of spoken Irish in some schools only. While the number of these schools was fairly considerable,[87] it was nonetheless a matter for concern that in over half the Secondary Schools in the country the use of Irish was more or less confined to the Irish class, and the syllabuses in Irish were so framed that emphasis was laid almost entirely on the literary aspects of the language, thus giving little incentive to the development of oral fluency. Indeed, it was possible for candidates to obtain high marks in the honours examination in Irish for the Leaving Certificate whose oral fluency might have developed little since they entered the Secondary school. Consequently it was announced in March 1958 that an oral test would be introduced as part of the examination in Irish for the Leaving Certificate in 1960 and thereafter,[88] and in 1962 the Department felt justified in stating that the considerable improvement which was already noticeable in the teaching of Irish could in large measure be attributed to this.[89] The Council of Education, reporting in 1960,[90] considered the introduction of the oral examination as a very effective means of encouraging the acquisition of a greater oral command of the language, and strongly recommended the employment in the classroom of such aural aids as modern technology had put at the disposal of the teachers.[91] Beyond this it did not go, and Professor R. A. Breatnach, Professor of Irish at University College, Cork, strongly criticised the Council for not having addressed itself to the many other questions which he considered

relevant and in need of immediate and thorough consideration.[92] With regard to the oral examination itself Professor Breatnach stated that when it was introduced the manner of its organisation and the standard of marking gave rise to certain misgivings on the part of the Professors of Irish in the National University,[93] and that, despite correspondence between the University and the Department of Education, no satisfactory solution to these was found.

If one wishes to make an objective assessment of the effectiveness of the Irish syllabus which has been in use in recent years in our Secondary schools, one will naturally take into account the impressions formed by the school inspectors, which find expression in the Department of Education's Annual Reports, and the conclusions drawn by such bodies as the Council of Education, who have, after a careful consideration of the facts of the matter, summed up the position as they saw it from their point of vantage. Department of Education Reports and Council of Education Report alike, however, seem to give a much more optimistic view of the situation than seems warranted by the facts. The Council's Report, for example, by way of showing what was being effected in the schools at that time, stated simply:[94]

> During the junior course the pupil is given the opportunity to obtain a sound knowledge of the grammar and structure of the Irish language, some acquaintance with modern Irish literature, and an ability to express himself lucidly and grammatically in written Irish. The pupil who has covered the pass syllabus in Irish in the senior course has a more marked familiarity with these aspects of the Irish language, while the honours syllabus in Irish provides for a more thorough knowledge of the language and a wide acquaintance with its literature in prose and poetry.

This alleged assessment, as Professor Breatnach has pointed out, is simply a restatement of the aims of the existing syllabuses, and is in sharp conflict with the experience of many teachers, secondary and university. Speaking from his own experience, Professor Breatnach stated:[95]

> My experience of examining in Matriculation, in University Entrance Scholarships examinations and in First Year University examinations leaves me with the strong impression that the actual results, generally speaking, fall far short of the aims.

The Report goes on to state that it is for reasons which lie outside the control of the school authorities that the results of the work done in the schools 'are not seen in anything like full measure in the after-school life of the great majority of secondary school pupils'.[96] No one will deny that such reasons exist, but few teachers would subscribe to the view that even the attainment of honours

at the Leaving Certificate Examination in Irish is conclusive proof of anything more than a very moderate command of the Irish language. The actual work in the schools does not in many cases produce such excellent results as have been officially claimed for it, and it is to be hoped that the research which has been carried out in recent years will lead to the adoption of methods and courses which will put at the command of pupils leaving our Secondary schools a sound speaking knowledge of the language. A Scot, John Wilson, who seems to have been in an excellent position to consider this question from every angle,[97] felt that, while the lack of encouragement in the surrounding social environment can have a very serious effect on the motivation of pupils in learning a particular language, a possible solution for the problem may be found in the employment of such an efficient system of teaching as will show the pupils that they can really use the language; the satisfaction they get from their proficiency in it will then act as a compensatory motivation which will go some way towards counteracting the adverse pull of apathetic or even hostile public opinion.[98] The schools, at any rate, can do something constructive and they should do it; the use to which this knowledge is afterwards put is something over which the school has practically no control, but this is no excuse for neglecting to take every available means of fulfilling its own role efficiently.

C. English.

It has been stated that the main purpose in following a course in English literature should be 'to acquire keenness of observation and a penetrating insight into the feelings, aspirations, loves, hopes, fears, and inner conflicts of our fellow human beings'.[99] The achievement of this purpose has never been easy, however, and when one considers the extent of the force exercised by external examinations, and by the Intermediate Board's examinations in particular, on the minds of both teachers and pupils, as well as the fact that examiners find it very hard to give adequate recognition for real literary appreciation,[100] it is not difficult to understand why more time has often been

devoted in schools to the unintelligent learning of notes than to the cultivation of a sound literary taste. Complaints to this effect were made year after year in the Intermediate Board's Reports, and various expedients were adopted from time to time to remedy the situation, but little improvement has evern been recorded. Reporting on the answering of the boys at the English examination for Junior Grade in 1898, for example, the examiners stated:[101]

> With reference to the answering on the literary text-books, the same remark which has so frequently to be made may be repeated. So far as knowledge of the facts of the poems, and explanatory notes, are concerned, the answering was most satisfactory; but where a departure was made from questions which tested this knowledge, the failure of the candidates was most marked. . . . This, we are afraid, shows that the work of the teacher is mainly directed to securing a verbatim knowledge of the notes in the annotated editions, rather than a thorough knowledge of the meaning of the original.

This assessment of the situation is substantially the same as that found in most of the Reports; references to a majority of candidates having submitted answers which the examiners deemed satisfactory are found occasionally,[102] but these are very much the exception to the rule.

With regard to the other aspect of English teaching, viz., the cultivations of the pupil's ability to express himself, complaints were almost as frequent that little or nothing was being done in this respect. The examiners in the Junior Grade (Boys) in 1901, for example, stated:[103]

> We have examined some 3,000 essays. Of these a few were surprisingly good, a few unutterably bad, and the remainder mediocre.
>
> It is manifest that in a large number of schools English Composition is either wholly neglected or badly taught. . . . the faults of which we complain . . . are, for the most part, faults which the average pupil could have been trained to avoid; and as they pervade the vast majority of these essays they point to a serious deficiency in the schools. Not a few of the teachers seem to have left the pupil to his own devices, as if persuaded that Composition is a subject which cannot be taught . . . It is no exaggeration to say that one-half of our essayists had not the slightest conception of the need for order, arrangement, and proportion in the parts of their essays. Many of them, obviously, had never received one single lesson in structure, in the building of sentences and paragraphs.

This, again, would appear to be the more common view, and the praise given in, for example, the Report for 1901 to the candidates in Senior Grade for their essays must be considered exceptional.[104]

In 1902, therefore, the examinations in English were conducted along new lines. As far as Composition was concerned, the Board had, in the previous year, prescribed courses of authors for home reading, and had given notice to the schools that either the subject or the treatment of the composition

exercise would be suggested by the works prescribed. But, in the event, many teachers misunderstood the Board's intentions and had their pupils make a minute study of the authors, relying, as usual, more heavily on memory than on reason,[105] and the innovation failed, except in a small number of schools, to bring about any noticeable change. In the same year the course in Literature was considerably lengthened, in the hope, inter alia, that teachers would now despair of 'covering' the course in the same detail as formerly, and that they would be forced instead, as a last resort, to aim at giving their pupils a general understanding of the prescribed pieces. The time allotted to the subject in the examinations was also reduced by one-half. These measures, however, failed to bring about an improvement: the teachers now had resort to a system of speculative selection, ignoring, in the main, the more advanced of the works prescribed, and dealing with the remainder as they had previously done, the notes being still considered more important than the text.[106]

No further official attempt of any consequence at remedying the situation is on record as having been made until 1924 when the new Programme came into force and set texts were at last abolished.[107] This step would seem to have met with more or less general approval at first, though before very long some teachers were beginning to complain that it was now a much more difficult task to prepare the ordinary pass student for the examinations; and the examiners themselves were finding it increasingly difficult to set questions which would not favour one school that had taken one type of syllabus, at the expense of another school which had taken another type of syllabus.[108] As time went on the complaints grew in number and intensity. Dr Birch, referring to this in an article in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record in 1944, stated:[109]

> It was asserted that from the standpoint of success in examinations the programme placed too heavy a burden on both teachers and pupils. The teacher found it difficult to prepare whole classes of pupils for an examination which consisted in applying principles of literary analysis to unfamiliar passages, and the general body of pupils were said to be too immature for the questions. In an attempt to be fair to all, the examiners confined themselves to certain types of questions in setting the examination papers. The result was that much ingenuity was shown in anticipating and concentrating on probabilities.

In the end the whole idea was abandoned, and set texts were again prescribed for study in the school year 1939-40.[110]

Another development which took place in the early nineteen-thirties was the introduction of a Lower Course in English. This was introduced, in the school year 1932-3, to cater for the increasing number of schools in which the ordinary vernacular language was now officially Irish. It was to enable the pupils in such schools to develop the 'power to write English for practical purposes, and the range of work, choice of reading and methods of treatment should be adjusted to this aim, as is done in the teaching of other foreign languages'.[111] No questions on literature were to appear on the examination papers set in the Lower Course,[112] but this decision was subsequently changed. From the outset the Lower Course in English failed to attract more than a very small number of students. The Department attributed this to the fact that the Higher Course followed generally the lines of the course hitherto prescribed,[113] but this was obviously not the reason, since the new Lower Course in Irish, which was the successor to the earlier single course in that language, had now a much smaller following than the corresponding Higher Course.[114]

Whatever the reason for its unpopularity, it can truthfully be said that the Lower Course in English never served any really useful purpose. Its introduction, it had been thought, would save the examiners the considerable difficulty of trying to devise questions which would at the same time test both the very bright and the very dull student. This it never did; for, with the exception of a mere handful each year, every student opted for the Higher Course, and so the position remained unaltered. Dr Birch has justified this almost unanimous choice of the Higher Course, his main reason being the 'formidable gulf' which, he pointed out, separated the standard of the Lowere Course from that of the Leaving Certificate Pass Course which should be its natural sequel. The result of this was that any student who wished to take English as a subject as far as Leaving Certificate level was forced to take the Higher Course at Intermediate level. The most distressing feature of the whole business, Dr Birch held,[115]

> . . . is the apparently intentional policy to discourage the subject [i.e., English] completely. Admittedly, it may be difficult for pupils whose home-language is Irish to cope with a difficult course of study in English literature, and it would seem that the English Language course is provided to meet this difficulty and equip Irish-speaking students with a purely utilitarian knowledge of English. From the purely educational point of view, the policy that would ignore the cultural possibilities of a modern language which has become naturalised and easy to assimilate, is not based on reason. A case might be made on non-educational grounds for the policy, but the arguments will never be satisfying.

Minor changes were subsequently made in the content of the English Language Course, and it was replaced in 1968-9 by a new Lower Course.[116] This course, at last, shows some signs of catering for a need which has long been felt; only time, however,will tell how satisfactory it proves in practice.

It is interesting to note, too, in the context of Dr Birch's reference to an 'apparently intentional policy to discourage the subject completely' that until the year 1967-8 English has been treated officially as just our main modern foreign language, and has been so listed on the Programme, i.e., after Gaeilge, History and Geography, the Mathematical subjects, the Ancient Classics, and Hebrew (since its introduction in 1958-9).[117] In the Programme for 1968-9 and subsequent years, however, it follows Gaeilge as the second subject.[118] Perhaps it is not too much to hope that this seemingly trivial change has a deeper significance, and that English will henceforth occupy de jure the position which it has never ceased to occupy de facto,as a subject with - considering our history and present circumstances - immense cultural potentialities.

With the re-introduction of set texts in 1939-40, the old complaints re-appeared. The one which would seem to have gathered most momentum over the years - and the one about which something is at last being done - is the charge that the texts selected were, to a large extent, inappropriate. Fr Thomas Halton, who had then had seven years experience of teaching English at Intermediate and Leaving Certificate level, said in 1960: 'About the content of our existing programme, if there is one criticism more than another that can be levelled against it, it is that it is not sufficiently contemporary.'[119] This complaint was certainly not new,[120] nor is it expected, indeed, that any selection of texts will ever meet with anything like unanimous approval. But even the briefest consideration of the matter prescribed for study for the Intermediate and Leaving Certificates over the past twenty-five years will show that it consisted, in the main, of pieces which, though they may have been examples of the finest work of their own period, had little relation to the interests of the average secondary student of today. The new programme in English, on which the Intermediate Certificate examination was being based for the first time in the school year 1968-9, is a considerable step in the right direction, most of the prescribed short stories, in particular, offering material for study, which is at the same time quite interesting and enjoyable for the modern adolescent;[121] and it is

to be hoped that the proposed new programme for the Leaving Certificate will likewise offer a more stimulating selection.

More than once in recent years the voice of criticism has been heard drawing attention to the alleged lack of culture which is displayed by the products of our secondary schools. That there is justification for much of this criticism must be admitted, and what must be admitted, too, is that a considerable portion of the blame must fall on those responsible for English in the schools. Professor Denis Donoghue, then a lecturer in English at University College, Dublin, said in 1961 that, if what people read is any indication of how successful or otherwise their education has been, then the education given in our Secondary schools must be very defective. 'It is my impression', he stated, 'that the majority of our people read only the daily newspapers, an occasional novel borrowed from a public library or bought in a paperback edition, the Irish and English Sunday newspapers, and the popular women's magazines.'[122] It is well to realize, however, that Ireland is by no means unique in this respect: more or less the same problem has been experienced in England and Scotland. The Norwood Report (1943) stated that the evidence presented to the Committee on the poor quality of the 'English' of Secondary school pupils - even by those who might have been expected to be concerned chiefly with other aspects of Secondary education - was 'such as to leave no doubt in our minds that we are here confronted with a serious failure of the Secondary Schools';[123] and four years later the Scottish Report had the same to say of the products of its own Secondary schools. It stated:[124]

> The business man grumbles about boys and girls whose ignorance of spelling and punctuation is matched only by their inability to express themselves clearly in speech or writing, while the universities complain of scientific and technical students whose work is crippled by inadequate powers of expression, and even the arts student is reproached with lacking that command of simple, lucid English which might be expected from the chosen few.

These latter statements should not be taken, however, as a justification for any complacency, but rather they should serve to counteract what might otherwise prove to be a damaging despondency. Ireland is not the only country which experiences difficulty in this matter; it does need, however, to strive constantly and energetically to better the position. Detailed criticism has not been lacking of areas where it would be profitable to devote more attention. To mention but one point, the Department Reports have frequently stated that in many schools children were getting no assistance at all with essay-writing:

they were simply given a subject and instructed to write!'[125] Where the opposite was the case, however, a tremendous difference was noticeable in the children's efforts.[126] Here is surely one area where improvement can be made. Another would be in ensuring that greater facilities are provided for private reading, and that every encouragement is given the children to cultivate this habit; for, as Fr Stephen J. Browne, S.J., has so truly pointed out, this kind of 'personal, voluntary, eager reading may play as great a part in the training of their minds, imaginations, and emotions as is played by the books imposed upon them by their educators'.[127] Even in the extremely difficult matter of cultivating in them some literary taste, there is no reason for despondency. Here, too, experienced educators assert, success can be counted on, provided the teachers know exactly what they want to achieve and are painstaking enough to work according to some soundly-based and logical system. And if the public examinations were to include some such test as that proposed by Dr Birch in 1944,[128] it is quite likely that fair progress would be made. With the more widespread acceptance of the need for specialisation among teachers - and many Irish schools were notorious offenders here in the past, the principle that anyone could teach English being widely accepted and applied - it is to be hoped that considerable advances will be made in the not too distant future.

D. Modern Continental Languages.

The only modern continental language which has at any time during our period been studied by a high percentage of pupils in Irish Secondary schools is French.[129] The subject rose to the height of its popularity around the turn of the century: in 1900, 810 boys (96.1%) and 317 girls (100%) were examined in French in Middle Grade, and 295 boys (95.5%) and 155 girls (99.4%) were examined in it in Senior Grade.[130] It soon went out of favour, however, especially in boys' schools, where in 1920 only 1,070 boys (53.8%) in Middle Grade, and 591 boys (52.2%) in Senior Grade, were examined in it. In 1925 only 390 boys (21.2%) were examined in French at the Intermediate Certificate, and

134 boys (18.0%) at the Leaving Certificate, and in subsequent years the situation got even worse. From 1950, however, in the case of boys, things have been improving in that year only 797 boys (16.1%) were examined in French at the Intermediate Certificate, and 214 boys (8.7%) at the Leaving Certificate; by 1965 the picture had changed considerably, 3,654 (40.2%) being examined at the Intermediate Certificate, and 1,041 boys (17.9%) at the Leaving. In girls' schools things never got quite so bad, the leanest decade being the nineteen-fifties. In 1950, 1955 and 1960, the numbers of girls who were examined in French at Intermediate Certificate were 3,052 (58.2%), 3,933 (59.3%) and 5,009 (59.2%) respectively, while at the Leaving Certificate the corresponding numbers were 1,051 (52.3%), 1,565 (53.1%) and 1,904 (50.5%). In 1965, however, an upward trend is again discernible, 7,677 girls (70.4%) offering French at the Intermediate and 3,245 girls (55.6%) at the Leaving.

Of the other languages, German has been the most popular, with Italian next and Spanish last, though in very recent years Spanish has come to be more popular than either German or Italian. The number of pupils taking Italian or Spanish hardly ever constituted one per cent. of the number who sat for the Intermediate or Leaving Certificate examinations between 1925 and 1960, and for many years no candidates presented themselves in these subjects. German enjoyed a much greater popularity than Italian or Spanish in girls' schools under the Intermediate System; in the case of boys' schools, it fared only slightly better than Italian. In the case of both, however, it was slower to fall into disfavour than Italian,[131] and at its lowest ebb a somewhat larger number of girls still presented themselves for examination in it than in the case of Italian. The actual number of candidates who presented for examination in Spanish over the years has been quite negligible, though of late a considerable improvement is noticeable.

The picture which emerges from a consideration of the annual reports of the examiners in Modern Languages leaves one with the impression that many of the faults which were noted under the Intermediate System persisted well into the middle of the present century, but that in recent years considerable improvement is being made in many areas. The complaint which has been most frequently and most strenuously made is that the oral side of language teaching

was not getting anything like the attention it deserved. In the absence of an oral examination, the Intermediate Board's examiners devised certain questions with a view to testing the candidates' accuracy of pronunciation, but the result was invariably disheartening. In this regard, Frederic Spenser, M.A., Examiner in French at Middle Grade (Boys) in 1899, said: ' . . . the question on pronunciation elicited the clearest evidence that, in many schools, this side of the work is either altogether neglected or entrusted to teachers who are ill-equipped for its performance';[132] and in the following year, James Boïelle, B.A., who examined in Senior Grade French (Boys), stated that the question on pronunciation was ' . . . in large measure a failure', and on the strength of this went on to assert that ' . . . nothing can or ever will replace an "oral" examination'.[133] Little improvement would seem to have been made by 1939; the Department Report which appeared in that year stated: 'Múintear do na daltaí an Fhrainncis do scríobhadh go maith, ach ní tugtar de ghnáth ach fíor-bheagán taithighe dóibh ar í a labhairt';[134] and while the subsequent introduction at the examinations of translation from the vernacular into French did have a beneficial effect on the standard of written accuracy, it led to further neglect of the spoken language.[135] Requests were continually being made for the introduction of an oral test at the public examinations. Nothing was done, however, and in 1960 the Council of Education, having considered the matter, came to the conclusion that, while the oral examinations were desirable as a stimulus to pupils and teachers, it would not be advisable to hold them, mainly because of the organisational difficulties involved, and because ' . . . they might further discourage the study of continental languages'.[136] The Department of Education, however, has since taken the decision to make oral tests part of the Certificate Examinations.[137] The Department's proposed plan[138] involves an assessment made by the school (probably by the class-teacher) which will eventually be subject to what the Department terms 'monitoring' (presumably some form of spot-checking) by the Department's inspectors. The A.S.T.I. (Association of Secondary Teachers (Ireland)), whose members constitute a very large percentage of all lay secondary teachers in the country, has instructed its members not to co-operate in any system of official oral examination which does not provide for independent examination by an outside examiner (as is done in the case of Irish at the Leaving Certificate) and for which the examiner is not adequately recompensed. These difficulties, however, are not insoluble, and oral tests are likely to come into operation in the not too

distant future, giving a much-needed impetus to the oral side of language-teaching.

One of the main problems encountered by school authorities in trying to make provision for the teaching of modern, non-vernacular languages, has been the problem of finding teachers with an adequate command of these languages. It would seem, in fact, that on many occasions provision has been made for a Modern Continental Language on the programmes of schools, without first ensuring that suitably qualified teachers would be available. Katherine Hogan, Advising Examiner in French in 1903, stated in her report: 'The answering of many candidates was indeed so deplorable that one can only believe that, if they were taught French at all, it was by a person utterly ignorant of the language.'[139] The Department of Education, too, in its Annual Reports, makes occasional reference to this deficiency: the lack of proper qualifications in the case of some teachers of French is mentioned in the Report for 1937-8,[140] and while the Report for 1945-6 notes a certain improvement in the situation, the general impression one gets is that there was still considerable leeway to be made up.[141] The Report does refer to the view of the Department's inspectors that the standard in this country was as high as it was in any other country where French was taught as a foreign language,[142] but no substantiation is offered for this statement, and one is rather inclined to suspect that it is more the expression of a somewhat naïve hope on the part of the inspectorate than the result of painstaking comparison. In the Report for 1960-1 the first reference is found to provisions whereby a teacher who wishes to acquire teaching experience in a country where his subject is the vernacular may do so without having to suffer the financial loss which, till then, would have been involved in such a move.[143] While the Department had repeatedly advocated that teachers and prospective teachers of Modern Continental Languages should spend some time abroad acquiring the fluency they needed to be able to fulfil their roles effectively, and had, during and immediately after the war years, deplored the travel restrictions which made this either impossible or extremely difficult, it is hardly to its credit that it waited so long before removing the one provision which, more than any other single factor, discouraged young teachers of modern languages from spending a few years teaching in countries where they would be able to acquire an oral fluency which would be of almost inestimable

benefit to them for the rest of their teaching years: viz., the provision whereby teaching service in such countries could not be counted as 'recognised teaching service' under the existing Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary to Secondary Teachers.

While the scarcity of well-qualified language teachers must undoubtedly have had some effect on the small numbers of boys taking these languages, particularly during the second half of our period, the main reasons for this phenomenon must, one feels, be sought elsewhere. A considerable portion of the blame can be placed on the pressure of other subjects for a place on the programme. Because of this pressure (which, especially in the case of Classical schools, often left no time for French at Intermediate Certificate level) the Department suggested in 1929 that in boys' schools where it had not been found possible to include French for the junior classes, ' . . . it would be advisable to take up the subject as a non-examination subject in the Leaving Certificate Classes . . . '[144] By this means it was hoped to provide a boy, in the course of two years, with 'an ability to read French with readiness [which] will be very useful to him in after life'.[145] While no one will deny the usefulness of such a command of a foreign language, it seems,now in retrospect at least, altogether too ingenuous of the Department to have hoped that such a suggestion would be widely adopted, particularly in view of the fact that, within such a short number of years since the passing of the Intermediate System, there could hardly have been a teacher in the country who was not firmly convinced that there could in practice be little hope for the success of non-examination subjects; the disappearance of the Results Fees system had done nothing to curb the ambition of the individual schools to score highly at the annual examinations, and, as was proved in the event, this seeking after a prestige however dubious was to ensure that, with the rarest exceptions, schools would pay scant attention to such subjects. This suggestion, therefore, came to nothing, as did further suggestions of various kinds made in subsequent years, and in 1945 the Department reported: 'Is beag scoil bhuachaillí a múintear an Fhrainncis ionnta taobh amuigh de roinnt scol ins na cathracha móra . . . '[146] The Council of Education, assessing the situation in 1960, felt that among the factors affecting adversely the study of modern languages in Secondary schools was 'the fact that owing to our insular position there is no immediate advantage to be seen in the study of these

languages and hence the lack of demand for them on the part of a large section of parents'.[147] The Department of Education Report for 1962-3, referring to the already perceptible increase in popularity of these subjects, puts its finger again on this factor when it says: 'Modern continental languages have gained fresh significance with the increasing emphasis on European co-operation. This is reflected in the growing numbers who are following courses in one or more of these subjects.'[148] A further reason for their neglect, according to the Council of Education, was ' . . . the difficulty . . . of providing for the teaching of a wide range of subjects in the smaller schools with limited staffs'.[149] This difficulty should be eliminated altogether when the Department's present 'rationalisation' plans come into full effect, and each post-primary 'Centre' is of sufficient size to allow of the considerable diversification of programme which is envisaged by the planners.

In conclusion, therefore, it may be said that while the study of Modern Continental Languages in our Secondary schools has not been for the past half-century or so as widespread, or at any stage as effective, as might have been wished, there are, nevertheless, clear indications that, on the one hand, many of the factors which led to its neglect are disappearing, and that, on the other, modern scientific methods of teaching and better facilities for student-teachers to acquire a thorough speaking knowledge of these languages, are enabling pupils to benefit from more effectively-conducted courses than were provided in many cases in the past. When the Department eventually gets around to insisting that teachers of modern languages have adequate qualifications in these languages before being allowed to teach them, instead of allowing a system to continue in operation under which any qualified Secondary teacher (who, perhaps, has never taken the language in question either at University or even Secondary level, but who has made some private, uncertified study of it himself) can attempt to teach them,[150] we shall have advanced one step further along the road towards giving these subjects the position they merit in our curriculum.

E. The Ancient Classics and Hebrew.

The Ancient Classics. — Reporting in 1864, the Clarendon Commission had shown its determination to uphold the traditional primacy of the Classics in the English Secondary school curriculum of the day. It had stated:[151]

> For the instruction of boys, especially when collected in a large school, it is material that there should be one principal branch of study, invested with a recognised and, if possible a traditional importance, to which the principal weight should be assigned, and the largest share of time and attention given.
>
> We believe that this is necessary in order to concentrate attention, to stimulate industry, to supply to the whole school a common ground of literary interest, and a common path of promotion.
>
> The study of the classical languages and literature at present occupies this position in all the great English schools. It has . . . the advantage of long possession, an advantage so great that we should certainly hesitate to advise the dethronement of it, even if we were prepared to recommend a successor.

That it found it necessary to pronounce on this question at all, however, is in itself indication that this view was by no means universally accepted in England at that time. One may indeed assume that the change of attitude which was fast gaining strength on the continent was not unknown in England as well. Reporting to the Taunton Commission in 1866 on French secondary schools, Matthew Arnold, referring to a growing popular disillusionment with the traditional predominantly Classical curriculum, said:[152]

> This current of opinion is, indeed, on the continent, so wide and strong as to be fast growing irresistible; and it is not the work of authority. Authority does all that can be done in favour of the old classical training; . . . Still in the body of society there spreads a growing disbelief in Greek and Latin, at any rate as at present taught; a growing disposition to make modern languages and the natural sciences take their place. I remark this in Germany as in France, and in Germany too the movement is in no wise due to the school authorities, but is rather in their despite, and against their advice and testimony.

In Ireland, both in Catholic Secondary Schools which had begun to spring up after the passing of the Relief Act of 1782 and which in many ways carried on the Classical traditions of the Hedge Schools, as well as in the various kinds of Endowed School whose curricula were for the most part modelled on the English Public School curricula of the day, the emphasis at this time was still very much in favour of the Classics. It has been seen already that, on the introduction of the Intermediate System in 1878, the existing bias was maintained both in the distribution of marks and in the allotment of results fees.[153] As time went on, however, the pressures which were increasing in other countries for the dethronement of the Classics were being felt in this country as well, and educationists were beginning to look elsewhere for what

the Classics had traditionally provided. In an article in Studies in 1917[154] it is suggested that since the study of science had, especially since the beginning of the war, come to be regarded as indispensible and as it was inevitable that the same attention could no longer be devoted to the Classics,

> . . . the vernacular must, as far as it can, be made to stand for what the Classics stand for now. Precision, restraint, logic, harmonious structure of periods combining the maximum of sanity and significance with the minimum of verbiage and obscurity: all these will have to be won from the study of English literature, or of Irish as soon as Irish becomes a national vernacular.

Fr Michael T. Casey, C.P. writing in The Furrow in 1954, felt that there could be no question of abandoning the Classics completely, but said that they would have to be satisfied to play a lesser role than they had formerly done. He suggested that 'a liberal system embracing languages both ancient and modern together with science, which would contain a proper quota of biology, is the educational pearl of great price, which is not impossible to find if only a genuine search be made for it'.[155]

Voices have, however, been heard from time to time suggesting that there was no longer any room in Secondary school curricula for Classical studies. Fr T.P. Donnelly, who was then a teacher in St Columb's College, Derry, put it this way:[156]

> Our world is a scientific and technological one. We may deplore that, but unless we turn Ireland into a European Tibet we must accept the fact and adjust ourselves. Scientific and mathematical subjects have to play a larger part in our schools. The curriculum is over-crowded and something will have to go - the classics apparently, for modern languages are as popular as ever. The people must be given what they want and need, that is to say what governments, universities and professional bodies decide they want and need.

Today Greek is taken by only a small percentage of boys, and but for the insistence of many Managers of Catholic Secondary schools that all boys take Latin (so that the way will be open to them should they decide towards the end of their Secondary course to go for the priesthood) it seems highly probable that this subject, too, would be passed over by the majority of boys.

The standard of teaching in Latin and Greek would seem always to have been very high in boys' schools, and the Intermediate Board's examiners were, year in, year out, particularly loud in their praise of the work which was being done in the majority of them. Rev. Joseph MacRory, D.D., and Rev. Edward Maguire, D.D., for example, in their joint report on Junior Grade Latin

(Second Paper—Boys) in 1898 stated:[157]

> The conviction . . . forces itself on the examiners that in the Intermediate School, boys have been taught to translate Latin, prescribed or unprescribed in the Programme with singular precision and neatness. Very special care must necessarily have been expended on training the candidates to grasp the meaning of each sentence and clause; and in the second instance, to express that meaning with clearness and, even in many cases, with surprising elegance of diction.

Even in the Preparatory Grade, evidence of a large number of boys having already made considerable progress is not lacking. In his report on Preparatory Grade Latin (First Paper — Boys) in 1899, Rev. Innocent Ryan said:[158]

> To say the answering of the boys in this grade was generally good was to say but half the truth. I consider the answering most creditable; in fact, it has been to me a marvel how so large a percentage of young lads could have acquired so firm a grasp of the genius of the Latin language. Not only were the Grammar questions for the most part well answered and the 'author' well translated, but the Latin Composition was pre-eminently well done.

Neither is evidence lacking that the good start which is borne witness to in these reports was followed by an equally thorough course in Middle and Senior Grade. In 1904, for example, Michael Sheehan, Advising Examiner in Latin was able to say:[159]

> The most pleasing feature of the Honours division of the Senior and Middle Grades was the translation of the Latin passages into English. The fact that such a number of candidates succeeded, within the brief space of time allowed to them, in giving an accurate and graceful rendering of so many unprescribed passages, is a proof of the sound education which is being imparted in the schools of the country.

In the case of Greek equally high praise was normally given, the remarks made by W. A. Goligher, M.A., examiner in 1899, being typical of what is to be found in many of the reports. He said, with reference to the Senior Grade Second Paper (which was concerned with the Ninth Book of the Odyssey, Greek History, and Translation at Sight):[160]

> The answering in every department was of solid excellence, only 33 boys out of 148 failing to obtain over half the maximum. Such a result on a widely-ranging paper speaks volumes for pupils and teachers alike;

and in the same report he speaks just as highly of the papers sent up in the Preparatory Grade.[161] This thorough teaching which was done in the case of the Classics under the Intermediate System did not fail to bear fruit even when the fortunes of these languages were very much on the decline abroad; for while the persistence of the practice of teaching Latin to almost every boy in Irish Catholic Secondary schools has rightly been attributed in the main to a desire on the part of the school authorities to cater for possible candidates for the priesthood,[162] the same can hardly be said of Greek, and one is inclined to attribute its retention, even in the relatively small number of schools where it

continues to be taught, more to the fact that it was a subject for which very well qualified and enthusiastic teachers were still available, than to a belief that equally educationally-satisfying alternatives were not to be found. At any rate, where they continued to be taught in boys' schools, the Department Reports are full of praise for the efficiency of the teaching, especially in the Diocesan Colleges,[163] though whether this teaching was aiming at desireable goals is a question to which we shall direct our attention presently.

In most girls' schools provision for the teaching of Latin would seem at all times to have been much less satisfactory than it was in boys' schools, while provision for the teaching of Greek was hardly every made. The Department of Education complained in 1928 that there were few girls' schools in which Latin was being taught in all the classes; in some schools the girls began Latin only in the last year of their school course and tried to 'cram' it for the Matriculation examination.[164] In the Report for 1942-3 we find that the position was still unsatisfactory, the complaint now being that sufficient time was seldom given to Latin in girls' schools,[165] a fault which is mentioned again in the Report for the following year, where it is also stated that in girls' schools teachers were often found to have poor qualifications in and little experience at Latin.[166] The Report for 1953-4, however, notes the increase in the numbers of girls who, over the preceding twenty-five years, were learning Latin in Secondary schools, and states that there were now few girls' schools were Latin was not being taught, and that in some of the schools were it was taught the teaching was excellent.[167] This improvement in the quality of the teaching can be attributed in large measure to the fact that women graduates in Latin were now more numerous than they had formerly been. It is extremely unlikely,however, that Latin will ever attain the eminence in girls' schools which it long enjoyed in boys' schools; it is a subject the fruitful study of which calls for much more time than can be afforded it today, and it does not seem probable that any but the brightest children can hope to reap substantial benefit from its study, at least along the traditional lines, in the limited time which, even in girls' schools, is likely to be available for it in the curriculum of the future.

Despite the high praise which was bestowed almost unceasingly by the examiners on the schools for the alleged excellence of their treatment of

the Classics, voices of criticism were to be heard from time to time amongst the teachers themselves. Henry Browne, S.J., considering the position in 1912, felt that there was a great tendency amongst Classical teachers in particular to be ultra-conservative, and to be unwilling to adapt their methods and aims to meet changing circumstances. Even at that early date he saw the need 'to popularise those aspects of classical learning, which are both important in themselves and suitable for being impressed on minds which cannot acquire deep culture [italics mine] '.[168] The current system was clearly designed to produce Latin and Greek scholars who would be able to read and appreciate the beauty of the ancient Classical masterpieces. But as this was an unattainable goal for all but the most brilliant students, the vast majority were, as things stood, frustratedly attempting to achieve the unachievable.[169]

> For one person he continued who learns to read and write Latin and Greek fluently, one hundred could be fairly well versed in Greek and Roman literature by means of good translations, and one thousand could be familiarised with many salient facts about ancient life, and even interested in certain great monuments which have come down to us.

Some ten years later Professor Corcoran, writing in Studies, vigorously attacked the over-great preoccupation of the Classics teachers of the time (following the English tradition) with minutiae of grammar and philology, and he asserted that had we continued with the continental practice, which had formerly been used in our schools and according to which content was regarded as more important than form, the teaching of the Classics would have been in a much better position in the country.[170] Dr Birch, writing in 1954, had the same criticism to make, and he attributed the late-nineteenth-century emphasis on form to the prevailing preoccupation with the scientific method and its tendency to take everything, including language, apart, to see how it worked.[171] Fr Edward Leen, C.S.Sp., was another who deplored the over-emphasis on form in the study of the Classics and he considered it a dangerous inversion of the true order of values. He said:[172]

> Our secondary system has pursued form for form's sake, considering as indifferent what was to be conveyed through that form. It aimed at developing the imagination and ignored the claims of the intellect. Expression, not thought, was what it rewarded. This had a deplorable effect on the mentality of the student. Truth as such - conformity of expression with thought, and thought with reality, took a secondary place in his estimation. To speak or write tellingly rather than truly was his ambition.

More specifically, he complained that the courses prescribed in Greek and Latin were made up exclusively of pagan literature, and contained not even a reference to the writings of the early Fathers of the Church, for example, many of whose

works constitute excellent examples of the learned Greek and Latin writing of their day.[173] This latter suggestion was eventually taken up by the Council of Education, which stated in 1960:[174]

> We see no valid reason why pupils should not read in their classical course portions of the Greek and Latin New Testaments, selections from the Septuagint and Vulgate, extracts from the early Christian writers and poets, even later masterpieces like the Dies Irae. And selections from Hiberno-Latin writers would seem eminently suitable for Irish pupils. Indeed, if interest is a potent stimulus of attention to and enthusiasm for a subject, it is reasonable and logical that Catholic students should be introduced to the ancient heritage through the daily Missal and simpler familiar hymns like the Adeste Fideles.

The nearest we have got to the implementation of this recommendation is that in 1966-7 and in subsequent years candidates for the Leaving Certificate have been advised that among the authors whose works would be considered as suitable material for unprescribed translation at the examination would be St Augustine.[175]

The foregoing criticisms, however, with the exception of that made by Henry Browne, S.J., are based on the assumption that the courses advocated will be followed by pupils who are capable of benefiting from the study of a highly-academic subject; they presuppose the possession of a sufficiently keen intellect to be able to acquire, in a few short years, such a command of a dead language as will allow the pupil to follow and to appreciate what he reads in that language - a feat of considerable magnitude even for gifted pupils in the case of Modern Languages where every encouragement is given to learn the language naturally as a living language. One may quarrel with Henry Browne, S.J., about the actual ratio he gives: it may be considered at first sight as a rhetorical exaggeration; but no one who has had the experience of teaching Latin even to a good class is likely to deny that he rarely meets a student who has, in the course of five years, acquired anything like an ease in reading even fairly straightforward unseen matter in that language. Fr T. McDonnell, writing in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record in June 1945, stated: 'I have never met a student of secondary school or university who could read the Latin or Greek masterpieces with ease, understanding, and delight';[176] and a few months later Rev. J. M. Woodlock, S.J., stated in the same journal:[177]

> For eighteen years I had complete control of the curriculum of a large secondary school in the north of England. Throughout that period every boy in the school learned Latin up to the fifth form (about the age of sixteen) in which the School Certificate was taken, and all of the 1,400 or so boys who took that examination during those years offered Latin as one of their examination subjects.
>
> Not one of these boys had acquired 'the power to read with ease and

understanding the masterpieces of Latin literature'.

Commenting in 1962 on the Report of the Council of Education,[178] Brother Patrick McCann felt that the official view on the teaching of the Classics was very one-sided; that it recognised, on the one hand, the valid claim which Latin has for inclusion in a curriculum of humane studies, but that it turned a blind eye, on the other, both to the fact that nowadays there is a great number of subjects which can very well repay careful study, and to the fact that Latin is a subject of great inherent difficulty. Because of this unbalanced approach to the question, a uniform study of Latin had been imposed on virtually all Irish boys at all stages of their Secondary studies. Brother McCann went on:[179]

> From all these years of enforced and uniform Latin studies the vast majority of the boys derive such little competence in the language, and such little acquaintance with the literature and civilisation of Rome, that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the real object of the study of Latin is never attained, and that much time and much effort that could have been devoted far more fruitfully to other lines of study are utterly wasted. If Latin is required from all, it can only be at the expense of the standard. Though it is seldom formally admitted we are choosing quantity rather than quality. It might be worth our while to consider the alternative of having fewer scholars doing better Latin.

Facing up to the same dilemma in 1966, Professor John J. O'Meara, addressing the Association of Classical Teachers, stated that, in his view, 'unless the aim of teaching Classics is to produce nothing but scholars - and this in sanity it cannot be, except on the condition of being limited to a very few - we must reduce compsition to quite ancillary proportions'.[180] Unlike Brother McCann, whose solution would be to do better Latin with fewer students, Professor O'Meara would rightly aim at more feasible goals with a wider range of pupils:[181]

> I would unhesitatingly welcome [he said] a good Intermediate grammar course in Latin followed by a good content course in Classical literature and social history - done mainly in translations, but with a little consultation of some of the originals - taught by a good graduate in Classics - as against the present attempt to teach the reading of difficult texts to a mass of young pupils. If Latin is to remain for mass consumption in our schools . . . methods of communication have quite simply to be radically changed. We have no alternative but to teach Latin to the mass in translation mainly.

Looking at today's Intermediate Certificate programme in Latin, one notes with some satisfaction that 'reading of classical authors in modern translation is recommended'.[182] But one cannot help wondering how much effect this recommendation will have, in view of the fact that by far the greatest part of the examination is still devoted to grammar and translation. One is forced to the conclusion, in fact, that while the present syllabus may be a considerable improvement on the one which it replaced, it still leaves Latin as a subject

from which below-average pupils can hope to reap no benefit, and it should lead (assuming that the harmful practice of insisting, in some schools, that all - even the very weakest pupils - take Latin is discontinued) to a considerable falling-off in the percentage of boys who study this subject.

Hebrew. — This subject was added to the list of approved subjects for recognised secondary schools in the school year 1958-9.[183] It was approved initially for junior pupils only, but was subsequently recognised for senior pupils also.[184] It is assumed that this subject owes its place on the curriculum mainly to the Department's desire to recognise the study of this language which is made by Jewish children in this country, and not to any intention that it should become a subject widely studied in schools in general.

F. Mathematical Subjects.

Since the time of the Greeks, the place of mathematics in general and liberal education has never been seriously questioned. The Council of Education has attributed its continued prominence especially to the fact that[185]

> . . . mathematics cultivate attention and reasoning power. Owing to their abstract nature they demand intense concentration and at the same time train the will to concentrate on objects that are not concrete. Even an elementary training in mathematics should develop habits of accuracy, sound method, order and neatness. But the disciplinary value claimed for mathematics lies pre-eminently in the development of reasoning power, both deductive and inductive: . . .

In practice, however, it is very doubtful if the study of this subject has had anything like the beneficial effect claimed for it, at least in the case of a large number of students, particularly girls, and especially under the Intermediate System. J.G. Leatham, who examined in Middle Grade Geometry (Girls - Pass) in 1902 complained:[186]

> Though the number of candidates was more than a hundred, only four good solutions of exercises were given.
>
> Many attempted the exercises, but most of the attempts showed an entire inability to understand what the questions meant.
>
> It is hard to believe that there is any real value in the sort of study of Geometry that leads to results like these. It would doubtless be an unpopular measure, and yet the facts seem to indicate that it is a necessary one, to compel students and teachers to cultivate more originality of thought, by making it impossible to pass on mere memorised book-work, and by including in the pass papers a larger selection of the very easiest type of exercises.

Contemporary educationists were very conscious of the faulty mathematics teaching which was being done in some schools. Arthur O'Leary,M.A.,writing in the Irish Educational Review in 1908, stated that even intelligent university students, far from being stimulated by what should have been, at Intermediate level, a most interesting and absorbing study, were only too glad when the time came for them to give up mathematics altogether, so unsatisfactory had been their initiation into the study of that subject.[187] The emphasis in very many schools was overwhelmingly on memory-work, and the understanding was given little or no scope. He went on:[188]

> It must be clearly understood that it is not the correct answer to a problem that should be the chief aim of the learner; for this would be subordinating the science to the tricks of the game. Unfortunately this has often been the result of the study, so that it is often cast aside as unprofitable and, to a large extent, meaningless. Now it is the application and grasping of each principle applied, the different steps in the chain of reasoning, the absolute logical necessity of the conclusion which should be the aim of the student, and it is thus there is begotten within the mind that absorbing interest which is such an enigma to the uninitiated.

This, he felt, is particularly true of Algebra, a subject on which the understanding has to be brought fully to bear, if its study is not to remain a purely mechanical manipulation of formulae.[189]

In some boys' schools, undoubtedly, a sound mathematical foundation was laid, and the examiners' reports refer occasionally to reasonable numbers of excellent papers being submitted in particular years. Robert Russell, Advising Examiner in Geometry at Senior Grade in 1903, was favourably impressed by the honours candidates, who 'showed that they had been well taught';[190] and in the same year Arthur W. Panton, Advising Examiner in Algebra at Middle Grade considered that 'the answering of the boys was very good on the whole'.[191] John Healy,B.A., who examined in Arithmetic at Middle Grade (Boys) in 1901,and who found that 'very many candidates' obtained 'exceedingly high marks', was able to state that 'I was struck not alone by the general accuracy of the work, but also by the neatness and directness of the solutions of the more difficult

problem questions in the honour portion of the paper'.[192] Statements of this kind could not have been made had the schools simply given the candidates a facility for manipulating formulae; neat and direct solutions to the more difficult problem questions in an honours paper in mathematics would normally presuppose at least a basic grasp of the principles involved in working the questions, and it must therefore be true to say that, in some of the boys' schools at least, fairly successful attempts were being made to give the pupils an understanding of the principles they would be expected to apply in the solution of mathematical problems.

In girls' schools, the teaching of this subject has been almost uniformly inadequate. In the study of Geometry, for example, rote-memory would seem to have been employed almost to the complete exclusion of the understanding, and it was only on the rarest occasions that examiners came across even an attempt to solve the 'exercises' which were based on theorems.[193] This neglect of mathematics may to a large extent be attributed to the force of tradition. Isabella Mulvany, B.A.,LL.D., writing in 1907, stated:[194]

> Prior to the passing of the Act [of 1878] , the curriculum of the majority of girls' schools was limited to English,History and Geography, French and elementary Arithmetic with Music and Drawing. Instruction in Classics and Mathematics was available in certainly not more than half a dozen schools located in large centres of population, such as Dublin or Belfast, and working on the lines of the not long established English High Schools for girls.

This in turn had a bearing on the scarcity of well-qualified mathematics teachers, and the vicious circle continued to operate, as will be seen presently, until very recent times. Part of this same tradition - in fact, its very foundation - was the notion that a deep study of mathematical subjects sould not be considered as part of a course of education suitable for girls, since inter alia they lacked the natural endowments necessary for such a study. Even when it became reasonably clear that such differentiation between the sexes was not in fact valid, the old preferences still tended to have all but exceptionally talented girls study only a bare minimum of mathematics, and the reason now given was that, whereas such study would obviously be of practical use to many boys in the course of their adult lives, the vast majority of girls would not be likely to reap any practical benefit from it.

No sweeping change was brought about in the teaching of mathematics by the new Department of Education when it set about reorganising the secondary education system in the early 1920s thought it took note of the more obvious defects which existed.[195] The scarcity of suitably qualified mathematics teachers was still a basic problem, and while some improvement was noted from time to time,[196] the supply continued to fall very short of the demand until very recently: in 1959 the Department stated that, while an improvement was noticeable both in the quality of the work done and in the qualifications of the teachers who taught in senior classes, it was clear that, but for the continued scarcity of suitably qualified teachers, many more pupils would take the honours course;[197] and in 1962 it claimed that honours graduates in mathematics had not in recent years been taking to the teaching profession,[198] a fact which was clearly shown by the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, when he pointed out in the Dáil in May 1963 that the total number of honours graduates with mathematics degrees who entered secondary teaching as registered teachers in the period from 31 January 1951 to 31 July 1961 was twelve, and that of these only nine were still engaged in secondary teaching in the Republic in 1961-2.[199] The harmful effects of this tendency, however, have been offset to some extent at least by the enthusiasm with which existing teachers of mathematics attend refresher courses.[200] With the emphasis now on larger schools, and the consequent avoidance of the wasteful position where an honours mathematics class might consist of a mere handful of pupils, one might be tempted to imagine that the provision of a sufficient number of highly qualified mathematics teachers will no longer constitute an insuperable problem. Experience abroad, however, would suggest that there is little room for optimism, and that, for reasons which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, the position seems much more likely to deteriorate than to improve.[201]

In the Department's view, one of the greatest difficulties which beset the teaching of Mathematics was the fact that the work was often scattered over an excessive number of teachers, a practice which 'can scarcely fail to be injurious to the interests of the pupils in a logically connected subject like Mathematics, especially in the very important classes of the first and second years'.[202] Added to this was the fact that the teachers with the least knowledge of the subject were almost invariably put in charge of the lower classes,

an arrangement which, though quite understandable, often deprived even good pupils of a proper foundation for their subsequent mathematical studies, and left them noticeably weak in this subject when they came to Leaving Certificate level.[203] Further difficulty, particularly in the early years, arose from the fact that many of the pupils were not being sent to secondary school until they reached the age of fiteen or sixteen years, a practice which led to the unsatisfactory situation where many of the more advanced classes were always sure of having a number of beginners in their midst, and anything like the normal rate of progress could not be maintained even by an excellent teacher.[204] In many cases, too, especially in day schools, serious overcrowding was militating against efficient teaching: in places, too many classes were crowded into one room, and too many pupils into one class, and it was impossible to provide the degree of individual supervision which the proper teaching of mathematics demands.[205] As regards teaching method, the Department felt that, especially in girls' schools, the teachers gave too much detailed help and so did not give the pupils enough opportunity of working things out for themselves.[206] Furthermore, because of the fact that they were not thoroughly conversant with the subject, many of the teachers had to rely too much on the text-book, and were unable to get down to explaining the fundamental principles of the subject. Hence they failed to stimulate the pupils' initiative sufficiently to get them to tackle their own difficulties.[207] The homework, too, which was assigned in mathematics was quite unsatisfactory, and inspectors found that the exercies set frequently appeared 'to have value only as a form of discipline, and would indicate the belief that the main object of homework is to keep children out of mischief in the evenings, without aiming at any positive educational benefit to be derived from the employment provided for them'.[208] It was pointed out, indeed, in an article in Studies in 1945, that the old ideas of what should constitute homework in Mathematics were quickly becoming obsolete, and it was suggested that a radical re-thinking of the position was called for which would take into account recent advances in the fields of mathematics and technology.[209]

With a view to emphasising the dangers of over-departmentalising the study of mathematics, the Department, in 1924, before outlining the content of the proposed courses in the specific branches of this subject, had recommended that the subject be treated as a unity.[210] This recommendation, however, soon

led to abuse. In placed, apparently, it was taken as justification for neglecting Algebra and Geometry: as no specific periods were not being allotted in the timetables of some schools to the separate branches of mathematics, teachers felt free to concentrate, during the 'mathematics' class, on what they liked doing, to the exclusion of what they had no particular interest in - or, perhaps no great understanding of. This tendency was strongly criticised by the Department in 1929,[211] but while the specific subjects, Algebra and Geometry, may have been re-allotted their own special periods on the timetables of these schools, it would appear that the actual teaching of them did not improve very much, and more than fifteen years later we find the Department still complaining about how badly they were being taught in many schools: the teaching of Algebra was disjointed and scrappy, and the teaching of Geometry often contented itself with covering the prescribed theorems and made no effort to get the pupils to attempt the solution of any related problems.[212] Some teachers had abandoned the order of Euclid on the grounds that it was too formal, but, the Department complained, they had frequently failed to replace it by any logical order, and the result had been that the study of Geometry had become, in these schools, more a matter of memory work than of reasoned learning.[213]

The relatively small number of boys who took Honours in Mathematics at Leaving Certificate over the years had from time to time given rise to adverse comment in the Daprtment Reports.[214] Various explanations have been offered for this. The scarcity of suitably qualified teachers has obviously been a contributing factor in places,[215] and, indeed, the fear has been expressed that even in future the better-quality mathematics graduate will not be attracted into secondary teaching. Speaking in Seanad Éireann in December 1963, Senator Professor Patrick M. Quinlan, Professor of Mathematical Physics at University College, Cork, stated:[216]

> Very often in the university we find ourselves in the unenviable position that when a bright young student comes along, the last thing we can suggest to him is that he should go in for teaching, although we see how much needed are such good pupils in mathematics to man the mathematics departments in the major schools.

The reason for this situation, Senator Quinlan continued, was simply that the salary offered to secondary teachers was too low, and he felt that good mathematics gratuates would continue to favour the civil service or the meteorological service until such time as a secondary teacher had at least a salary which

was comparable with that of an assistant principal in a Department.[217] Another explanation which has been given for the small numbers who have been taking the Honours course for the Leaving Certificate has been that the course in mathematics covered in many schools for the Intermediate Certificate was too short, and that pupils were getting an insufficient introduction to the subject to allow them to go ahead and follow the difficult Honours course for Leaving Certificate with profit.[218] Furthermore, in the majority of schools, it was not feasible to divide the Leaving Certificate class in two in order to cater for those who wished to take Honours.[219] This difficulty did not arise in the case of most other subjects, as the difference between the Honours and the Pass courses in them was not at all as marked as in the case of mathematics, and most of the work could be done in a common class. From 1950 on there has been a noticeable increase in the number of boys taking the Honours course: the number who obtained a pass on the Honours paper taken as a percentage of the total number sitting for the Leaving Certificate was 19.5 per cent. in 1950; in 1955 the corresponding figure was 22.8 per cent, while in 1960 and 1965 the figures were 26.0 per cent. and 29.6 per cent. respectively.[220]

In girls' schools, in the late nineteen-twenties, many of the old problems remained unsolved. The shortage of good mathematics teachers was felt most of all in these schools, and the continued absence of girl candidates for the Hnnours Leaving Certificate in mathematics left little hope that this problem would be solved, at least in the immediate future.[221] Thirty years later this was still the first difficulty mentioned by the Department when considering the current position in girls' schools.[222]

Another problem which caused considerable concern arose from the choice which had been given to girls of taking either Mathematics or Arithmetic with any one of the following subjects: Science, Domestic Science, Drawing or Music.[223] It had been hoped originally that, by making the full course in Mathematics optional for girls, those who had a real interest in the subject would be able to get proper attention and to make satisfactory progress. This, however, was not what happened. In actual practice in the schools the alternative subjects were not made alternative at all, but concomitant, 'thus enabling the certificate candidate to have multiple chances of very doubtful

value in the examinations'.[224] The result of this was that many girls were altogether unprepared to take the examination in Mathematics, and this can be seen clearly from the following statistics, which are based on the Intermediate Certificate results for 1928:[225]

	Average percentage mark in:-		
	Arithmetic	Algebra	Geometry
Boys	44	48	32
Girls	41	32	17

	Percentage of candidates at or below 30 per cent. in:-		
	Arithmetic	Algebra	Geometry
Boys	27	25	46
Girls	24	48	82

In Geometry, in fact, 64 per cent. of the girls were below 20 per cent; 34 per cent were below 10 per cent; and 10 per cent. of them 'could not make a single mark after years of study of the subject'.[226] In view of this serious situation the Department introduced the subject 'Elementary Mathematics for Girls' in the Intermediate Certificate curriculum for 1932-3 in the hope that this would encourage the study of mathematics in girls' schools,[227] and approximately 30 per cent. of the girls entered for Mathematics for the Certificate Examinations in 1933 took the new subject.[228] The innovation had no real success, however, and the Department had to complain in 1939 that what was happening in practice was that the ordinary course in Mathematics was being followed by the whole class during the year, but that the weaker students then took the examination in the elementary course.[229] According to the new Programme which came into effect in 1939-40, therefore, girls were no bnger obliged to take mathematics, and the courses in mathematics in general were shortened.[230]

The removal of the compulsion did not lead as might have been feared, to any sizeable falling-off in the numbers of girls taking mathematics; on the contrary, it was found that some schools at least, which would have been afraid to attempt more than the Elementary Course had the old rules remained in

force, were now quite prepared to take the full course.[231] On the other hand, it did not do very much to better the position in general, and in 1958 the Department summed up the situation as follows:[232]

> . . . ní féidir feagasc na Matamaitice a mholadh sa chuid is mó de scoileanna na gcailíní agus go mórmhór i gcás ranganna na Meán-Teistiméireachta. Siad na nithe is cúis leis sin ná:
> (1) easpa mhúinteoirí go bhfuil ardeolas acu ar an ábhar agus a thuigeann conas is ceart é mhúineadh;
> (2) an iomad múinteoirí do bheith ag plé leis an ábhar agus gan duine ar bith díobh ábalta an teagasc a stiuradh agus a eagrú ó na bun-ranganna amach go dtí na hard-ranganna;
> (3) easpa ama; is minic ná tugtar dóthain ama in aghaidh na seachtaine do theagasc na Matamaitice;
> (4) faillí do bheith á dhéanamh sa bhéal-obair i gcoitinne agus gan dóthain aire a bheith á thabairt don chomhcheangal atá idir brainsí an abhair lena chéile; is annamh a deantar iarracht inmholta ar bhun-prionsabail na Matamaitice a chur ar a súile do no daltaí go so-thuigthe tri cheisteanna simpli agus tri chleachtadh béil.

A further difficulty was that girls who took only 'Elementary Mathematics for Girls' at Intermediate level found it very hard subsequently to follow the Leaving Certificate course in Mathematics.[233]

The number of girls who took the Honours course at Leaving Certificate has always been neglibible; in the years taken as a basis for Table V.2,[234] there was never more than 3 per cent. of the total number of girl candidates for Leaving Certificate who passed on the Honours paper in Mathematics. It should be pointed out, however, that where girls did take the Honours paper they very rarely failed on it, and it would seem that, in general, only those with a special flair for the subject, or those who wished to follow a career which presupposed a knowledge of higher mathematics, took this subject at Honours level.

APPLIED MATHEMATICS, which consists in the application of mathematical knowledge to problems of physics, and which appears as a subject on the Leaving Certificate programme, is taken by very few candidates. Only a fraction of the number offering Honours Mathematics take Applied Mathematics, though, on average about 55 per cent. of those taking the subject take an Honours paper in it.[235] The increased interest, however, which has been shown in Honours Mathematics in recent years, is even more noticeable in the case of Applied Mathematics: in 1950 only 34 boys (i.e. 1.4 per cent. of those taking the Leaving Certificate) passed in the latter subject while in 1955, 1960 and 1965 the corresponding figures were 172 (5.5 per cent.) 266 (6.3 per cent.) and 640 (11.0per cent.)[236] The Council of Education stated in 1960 that it had not

any evidence of dissatisfaction with the Applied Mathematics syllabus as it stood at that time, and it recommended its retention.[237]

G. Science Subjects.

Opinion would seem to be divided on the question of whether the 1878 Act had a beneficial effect on the position of Science subjects in Irish secondary schools. In Father Corcoran's view, the fact that the sciences were at that time given examination values equal to those of the main language courses, as well as the fact that the gaining of 'any substantial money prize depended on equal attention being given to . . . [classics, modern languages, mathematics and sciences] by every student over twelve or thirteen years of age', led to an increased interest in these subjects.[238] Dr Birch, however, has pointed out that many reliable witnesses before the Commission of 1899 thought that the original Rules of the Intermediate Board actually militated against the study of science,[239] and this view is borne out by the steady decrease, between 1880 and 1900, in the numbers of candidates taking Physics (or Natural Philosophy, as it was then called) which was by far the more popular of the two science subjects - the other was Chemistry - then available to candidates. In 1880 222 boys took Natural Philosophy at Senior Grade, and 452 at Middle Grade; in 1885, 1890, 1895 and 1900 the corresponding figures were 139, 121, 91 and 34, for Senior Grade, and 428, 375, 291 and 117, for Middle Grade; and this despite the fact that from 1890 the total number of candidates presenting for examination in these Grades was continually increasing.[240] The setting up, however, of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction by the Act of 1899, and the transfer to it of the administration of the grant for science and art in Ireland, together with the fact that it also undertook to inspect science in the schools and to furnish the Intermediate Board with reports of this inspection for the purpose of having results fees awarded,[241] soon led to the reversal of this downward trend, and in 1922 5,780 students were examined in the various branches of science at the Board's examinations, as compared with 1,853 in 1900.[242]

This notable increase will be more easily understood if one considers that in 1918, for example, while the total payment to schools, in respect of all subjects, by the Intermediate Board was £48,000, a further £30,000 was paid to the schools by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Science alone.[243]

From a study of the Annual Reports of the Intermediate Board it is hard to form a clear impression of how successfully or otherwise the various Science subjects were taught in the schools. It is true that in the case of almost every subject on the programme apparent contradictions are to be found from time to time when one examiner's assessment of a year's work is compared with what his predecessor had to say; but, by and large, by considering a sufficiently long succession of reports a reasonably clear picture emerges, and one is able to say with a fair degree of certitude that this or that report must have been the exception to the general rule, either because the examiner in that year had a very uncommon notion of what constituted an appropriate standard, or because the limited number of scripts which he examined happened to be very unrepresentative of the level of performance generally. In the case of Science subjects, however, it is very difficult to establish the general rule. One frequently finds successive examiners differing widely from one another in their assessment of what must have been relatively similar situations; and, unfortunately, a consideration of further reports brings one no nearer a solution, since the same disagreement is found repeatedly. Reporting in 1899, Emil A. Werner, F.I.C., F.C.S., for example, who examined in Chemistry in all grades, boys and girls, stated:[244]

> In many cases it was evident from the style of the answers, that the candidates had seen many chemical experiments performed, and had done some Practical Chemistry themselves, though unfortunately this was not as general as one would wish.

In 1901, however, Mrs. Mary W. Thompson, M.A., who performed the same task in that year, stated:[245]

> In reporting on the answering of the students in Chemistry, I regret to say that, with a few exceptions it points to absence of practical work on the part of the students. In each grade I set one question which would show fairly certainly whether the student was accustomed to perform experiments himself.
>
> In the majority of cases the answer showed clearly that he had not been accustomed to do so.

The conclusion one is inclined to come to, in fact, is that there must have been current a wider range of views on what constituted the best manner of approaching

science teaching than existed in relation to the teaching of any other section of the curriculum.

Much of the confusion of thought which existed may have been due to a serious overemphasis which was coming to be placed on the experimental sciences, and to the progressive neglecting of those which relied more on observation. 'The observational sciences', Professor Corcoran complained in 1923,[246] 'those which deal with plant life, animal life, mineralogy, have always had, in England and in Ireland, to put up with the position of poorer sisters' to the more favoured experimental subjects, Physics and Chemistry, a complaint which, incidentally, was repeated thirty years later by Fr Michael T. Casey, OP. who stated:[247] 'This practice of treating school science as being simply physics and chemistry is unfortunately wisespread here in Ireland.' In Father Corcoran's opinion, the inductive method of the experimental sciences had been given undue importance: everything had now to be 'discovered' by the pupils; any other method was considered unsound. He summed up this point of view as follows:[248]

> If the teacher directs, demonstrates, explains and argues out principles with a view to their application - all this is unscientific. Deduction argues from principle to detail; it sets rule before example; it is therefore not the scientific method. Pupils must not receive knowledge through a teacher; tradition is not a function of education. The learner must by personal investigation find out all the leading truths of science; this alone is real knowledge and education. Anything else is authoritative. Tradition is the antithesis of discovery; only discovery educates.

This doctrine was at the heart of the system of Science education which the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction sought to impose on Irish secondary schools in the first two decades of this century, and one commentator, Fr H.V. Gill,S.J.,M.A., M.Sc.,writing in Studies in 1932, stated:[249] 'These methods almost destroyed science in our schools and justly made it abhorrent both to boys and their masters'. In such circumstances as these it is hardly to be wondered at that, since all examiners were not of one mind as to what constituted the right approach to science teaching, they should differ to such an extent as they did in their individual assessments of what must have been rather similar situations.

Among the changes introduced in 1924 was the setting aside of the first two years of the new four-year Intermediate course in Science as a period where teachers should feel 'free from the constraining influence of

preparation for examination' and where they should be able 'to broaden their instruction and to make the pupils' introduction to science a study of common experience'.[250] The Department was soon able to express its satisfaction at the manner in which this introductory course was being taught generally, though reference is made both to the difficulty experienced by some teachers in 'breaking away from an examination syllabus' and to a tendency to treat the preparatory years as additional direct preparation for the Intermediate Certificate examination.[251] In places, too, it was found that too much time was spent at the beginning of the courses on what the Department termed 'a "low-pressure" treatment of mensuration', and the result was that the pupils got an altogether wrong impression of the meaning of Science.[252] Despite these occasional criticisms, however, the Department seems to have been quite pleased with the initial success the new departure had had, and in 1931 it stated that it 'had led to improved standards of teaching and a greatly increased interest in the subject on the part of both pupils and teachers'.[253] Interest in these courses, however, soon waned, and in 1942 the Department, in drawing attention to the fact, criticised the growing tendency among teachers to start without introduction on the material prescribed for the Intermediate Certificate.[254] This complaint was repeated in subsequent years,[255] and in 1953 the Department stated that the main reason why these preparatory courses had gone out of favour was because of the widespread tendency to enter pupils for the Intermediate Certificate Examination when they had spent only two years at secondary school;[256] and it alleged that in the schools where these courses had been discontinued the standard of work in the other branches of Science had been adversely affected.[257]

For the Intermediate Certificate the Department's Programme provided for four alternative syllabuses, namely: A. Syllabus of Experimental Science; B. Alternative Syllabus for Rural Schools; C. Syllabus of Domestic Science; and D. Syllabus of Experimental Science (Alternative Course for Girls).[258] The general course in Science (Course A) was, from the start, selected in most schools, while the course in Rural Science (Course B), which had been designed 'to provide an intelligent basis to a later study of scientific agriculture', was adopted in very few schools.[259] Course C was a course in Domestic Science; this subject will be dealt with specifically in subsequent paragraphs.[260] The modified Science course for girls (Course D), which had been devised 'to explain the

familiar phenomena of everyday life and personal hygience', had been widely adopted and was being taught, the Department felt, with marked success.[261] In the school year 1939-40 another science course (Course E) appeared on the Programme. This course, a non-experimental one, was aimed at catering for schools where adequate provision could not be made for experimental work by individual students.[262] It proved a popular course; in 1942 the Department could state: 'Do dhein an nua-chúrsa Eoluidheachta, Cúrsa E, Roinnt daoine do mhealladh chun staidéar a dhéanamh ar an Eoluidheacht ná déanfadh go deo é mura mbeadh an cúrsa san ann';[263] and as time went on it retained its popularity.[264]

For the Leaving Certificate the choices offered on the 1925 Programme were Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Domestic Economy, Physiology & Hygiene and Agricultural Science.[265] In general it was found that satisfactory work was done in most of these subjects, the fault, if any, being that in some of them (Botany and Physiology & Hygiene, for example) there was a tendency to elaborate the instruction beyond the scope of secondary school work.[266] A new combined course in Physics & Chemistry appeared on the Programme in 1940-1, but it failed to attract much attention; few schools attempted it, those that did being schools which were already equipped with Physics laboratories; and the Department very soon concluded that its future was not bright, because of the great difficulty and expense involved in providing the necessary equipment.[267] This, however, was obviously not the real reason for its unpopularity, since this course continued to be ignored in most schools even when Physics and Chemistry, as separate subjects, were making considerable progress in the schools.[268] Reporting in 1958 on the current position of the seven science courses then available at Leaving Certificate level, the Department stated that Chemistry was the most popular subject in boys' schools, but that the number of pupils taking Physics had increased in recent years.[269] This change is borne out by the figures given in Table V.4,[270] where it will be seen that the number of boys passing on the Honours paper in Physics at Leaving Certificate taken as a percentage of the total number of boys sitting for the Leaving Certificate Examination rose steadily from 2.9 per cent. in 1945 to 16.0 per cent. in 1965.[271] Only in large schools, however, was provision made for pupils who wished to take both Physics and Chemistry. In girls' schools the most popular subjects were Physiology & Hygiene and Botany; very few boys' schools were catering for these subjects.[272]

The role of practical work in the study of science had been mis-interpreted by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, who had demanded that it should consist largely in personal experiment and 'discovery' on the part of the pupils.[273] The approach recommended by Professor Corcoran, on the other hand, did not envisage the abolition of laboratory work, but rather that there should be a different approach to it. His suggestions would, in fact, make it a much less costly job to equip a school laboratory, since he would greatly reduce the variety of 'experiments' which would be made: laboratory work would serve to illustrate the operation of scientific principles which had been already studied and grasped. Referring to the school laboratory,he said:[274]

> Its function will be verification, the strengthening of the hold on knowledge. This process of verification and application of principles already known will gain greatly in thoroughness and mental value, if it is limited in each year to two or three specific pieces of work, selected for such verification out of the whole year's work. Each of these selected topics will by set design embody a definite combination of principles, observed phenomena, and practical ends. For this purpose, the equipment of a laboratory can be made much more select and effective than it usually is. Materials will not be needed for the hurried treatment of twenty questions; resources can be concentrated on doing two or three well. Useless variety of material, involving much unprofitable expense, will thus be eliminated.

The expense, however, of providing and maintaining laboratories had proved over the years to have been a main limiting factor in the spread of science teaching in the schools, and, as late as 1960, the Council of Education acknowledged this fact when it decided against recommending the restriction of the teaching of science to syllabuses demanding full experimental work, on the grounds that 'Many small schools would be precluded through lack of space from providing laboratories; virtually all of them, with the present scale of grants, would find it impossible to bear the financial burden of providing laboratories, equipment and replacements'.[275] It also decided against including Science among the essential subjects of the approved course for recognised junior pupils, partly for the same reason.[276] In September 1960 the Department had circularised the schools and had sought information regarding problems connected with the provision of Science courses in their schools. As a result of this enquiry, the Minister for Education, Dr Patrick Hillery, announced in the Dáil in May 1961 that it had been decided to provide substantial grants to schools for the purpose of furnishing and equipping science laboratories,[277] and in 1963 the Department was in a position to state:[278]

> When the new scheme of grants in aid of laboratory furnishing and equipment is in full operation there will undoubtedly be a substantial increase in the number of pupils taking science subjects; already many of the managers are preparing to take advantage of the scheme.

In view of the present policy which encourages the development of larger secondary schools, it seems probable that, in the fairly near future, a school without a fairly well-equipped science laboratory will be very rare indeed.

Basing his argument on the belief that, while boys 'brought up to farming' could take up other occupations quite successfully, the city-bred boy, and the farmer's son who had had a professional or commercial education could never hope to succeed as a farmer, the Rector of Mungret College stated in 1915 that it was evidence of the greatest disregard on the part of the Intermediate Board for the actual needs of the majority of Irish youth, that no provision was being made for an education emphasising AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE.[279] What was needed was that the curriculum of rural secondary schools be so arranged that the pupils need not, during their course, ever effectually abandon the soil. This system, he felt, might well work in the large residential boarding colleges, situated in the country, which had attached to them tracts of land sufficiently large to serve the purposes of model farms; and two different curricula and timetables could well operate side by side, one for the pupils who were destined for rural life, and one for the others. Under existing conditions, however, he did not imagine that such a venture would succeed:[280]

> . . . for the whole spirit of the Intermediate system as it exists at present tends so strongly in the opposite direction, and the programme necessitates such a strained effort after book knowledge of a kind completely foreign to Irish rural life that any practical compromise seems impossible.

A similar plea was made nearly thirty years later by Dr Birch, though what he envisated was not a new curriculum entirely centred around agriculture but merely the introduction of the theoretical study of Agricultural Science coupled with occasional visits to the school farm to see the theory being put into practice, an arrangement which closely resembled the then recently-introduced non-experimental Course E in Science at Intermediate level, where the processes and operations about which the pupils were learning would be demonstrated to them by their teacher, though they themselves would not have an opportunity for individual practical work.[281]

Many witnesses before the Commission on Technical Education (1926) had commented on the 'lack of relation of the work of the secondary school

to the ordinary requirements of the locality which it serves', and it was the Commission's view that 'the curricula of such schools [i.e. rural secondary schools, or other secondary schools catering largely for country children] should be designed to meet the needs of the majority, and should be influenced to a slight extent only by the needs of a small minority proceeding to university and professional life'.[282] The Commission on Vocational Organisation had much the same to say in 1943, and it blamed all three categories of school, primary, secondary and vocational, for neglecting to give a suitable preparation to the large number of children whose future would be spent on the land.[283] Father Martin Brenan, then Professor of Education at Maynooth, was of a different opinion when he considered this problem in 1942. He felt that the crux of the matter was that there was no real demand for such programmes, and that the type of curriculum being currently provided in most schools was the one which the vast majority of parents had in mind for their children in sending them to secondary school.[284] Speaking on the same subject at the Christus Rex Congress ten years later, however, Professor Brenan stated that certain organisational and financial difficulties were very much to blame: schools were understandably slow to undertake the radical changes in organisation and to risk the heavy financial outlay which would be involved, for a mere experiment.[285] But he felt that, if adequate financial assistance were forthcoming from the state, many schools would be inclined to make provision for this subject.

In 1943 Agricultural Science was introduced as a subject on the Department's Programme, but, despite the improvement in recent years,[286] it must be considered on the whole as having had little success. The main reasons for its unpopularity were, according to the Department, lack of land on the part of schools, and scarcity of teachers.[287] The Department thought it particularly strange that its Preparatory Course in this subject was receiving so little attention, since, for this particular course, very little land would be required,[288] and it was eventually forced to the conclusion that the schools had very little interest in Agricultural Science as a secondary school subject.[289] Considering the relative failure of the experiment, the Council of Education in 1960, while recommending that, with appropriate adaptation to provide for pass and honours syllabuses at Intermediate Certificate level, the subject should be retained in the programme, felt that more or less the same purpose might be fulfilled by

taking a general science course at junior level followed by a more detailed study of one or more branches of science at senior level.[290]

Much of what has been said about the difficulty of drawing any definite impression from the reports of the examiners in Science[291] might well be repeated in the case of DOMESTIC SCIENCE, since the most striking contradictions succeed each other, in the case of this subject too, in the Reports of the Intermediate Board's examiners, and make it exceedingly difficult to determine whether the standard was exceptionally bad, as some reports quite clearly state, or exceptionally good, as would seem to be the case from the testimony of others.[292] Having examined in this subject at Senior Grade in 1898, the examiner, Mary Daly, stated: 'Some pupils evidently think preparation of any kind in this subject quite unnecessary, others have a smattering of confused ideas, and a few have really studied with intelligence. Generally speaking, there is a marked deficiency in knowledge of a practical nature even when the theoretical part of the work is well known.'[293] Reporting on the standard of work in the Middle Grade in the same year, the examiner, M.J. Barrington Ward, M.A., said: 'The merit of the answering is very often admirable, the number of candidates who qualify . . . for honours being considerable and the "failures" few.'[294] In 1899 the reports were uniformly dismal, the examiner in senior grade, Elizabeth Moore, concluding: 'I think it is a great pity so useful a subject should receive so little attention'.[295] And yet in the following year the examiner in all grades, Fanny Gallagher, referring to the Seniors in general, bore testimony to a relatively high standard of achievement. She said: 'With the Seniors I found a greater independence of opinion, a wider practical knowledge, and less tendency to swear by any particular textbook as the sole means of salvation [than she had found on the last occasion when she had examined] '.[296] One point, however, on which more or less general agreement is found, over the years, is that the practical side of this subject did not normally get adequate attention, and in many cases the answering tended to be particularly bookish.[297]

It is interesting to note that in the early years of the Department of Education the Annual Reports tended to praise the practical work which was being done in Domestic Science in the schools, and to find fault with the accompanying theory,[298] and it was pointed out that the position was always

much better when the Domestic Science teacher had had a sound training in experimental science.[299] The fact that this subject was not being given the same emphasis as other subjects has been blamed on the poor position it occupied, with regard to marks, as an examination subject. The Commission on Vocational Organisation in 1943 called attention to the virtual absence of differentiation between the curriculum for boys and that for girls, and complained that the disability under which Domestic Science laboured vis-à-vis literary and mathematical subjects on the syllabus for examinations and scholarships rendered this subject unpopular with both teachers and pupils.[300] The Hadow Report in 1926 had stressed the paramount importance of this subject in the education of girls who would eventually have charge of a home.[301] Fr Edward Leen, writing in 1943, had stated that it was altogether wrong that girls should have to undergo a course of study which had come into being to meet the needs of adolescent boys; and while his notion of a suitable curriculum for girls involved a much broader reform of the then current approach to the curriculum than a mere emphasis on Domestic Science, this would at least have been something.[302] As time went on it would appear as if some improvement did take place in the schools; in 1951 the Department referred to improved methods of teaching, better equipment, and the increased number of girls taking Domestic Science; it regretted, however, the tendency to give up this subject after the Intermediate Certificate.[303] Table V.6 shows the increase in the numbers of girls offering Domestic Science at the examinations since 1925.[304] It will be noticed that at the moment most girls would seem to take the subject to Leaving Certificate level. The Council of Education in 1960 dismissed the suggestion that this should be made an obligatory subject for girls, both on the grounds that such a requirement would create unnecessary difficulty for some schools, and on the grounds that girls whose inclinations and abilities were markedly literary or academic would not be likely to benefit from it.[305]

H. The Social Studies.

It was not until 1903 that History and Geography appeared in the Intermediate Board's Programme as a separate unit:[306] hitherto they had been included in the language programmes, the main emphasis being placed on the history and geography of Britain and Ireland, which appeared in the Programme under the heading of 'the language, literature and history of Great Britain and Ireland'.[307] From a study of the reports of the examiners one tends to form the impression that in these subjects the evil effects of an over-emphasis on examination results were felt somewhat more keenly than elsewhere, and repeated reference is made to evidence of cramming particularly in the case of less gifted children. In 1899, for example, Rev. J. Edgar Henry, D.D., reporting on the standard of answering in History among girls at Junior Grade in that year, quotes many examples of unintelligible or nonsensical statements which he found in their papers and which he attributes to 'cram of the lowest type';[308] and in the same year the examiner in Senior Grade (Boys), Rev. R. J. Semple, M.A., also referred to an over-use of memory work, his complaint being that 'those questions which called for the exercise of judgment and discrimination were not so thoroughly or generally answered as those which merely made a draft on the memory and [that] only meagre details were given in cases where there was an evident demand for leading causes.'[309] The establishment of History & Geography as a separate subject, however, was not an unmixed blessing. Hitherto, as a part of English, all Intermediate students had to study it. Now, however, it was found that a considerable percentage of students were finishing their Intermediate course ignorant, not alone of general geography and the history of other nations, but of their own country and its history, as well.[310]

The actual programmes themselves have been criticised by Professor Corcoran who said that they failed to provide the comprehensive survey of the actual social order and customs of the mass of the people in the country which he felt was the indispensible basis of true education through history.[311] This, however, was not a failing peculiar to the Intermediate Board's Programmes, and Professor Corcoran would seem to have had a too optimistic view of what was in fact achievable in schools. The Hadow Report, in 1926, pointed out that since history deals with the actions of men and women, its province must necessarily be

a difficult one for children to explore, and it continued:[312]

> . . . The terms that occur so frequently in dealing with the subject - liberty, freedom, tyranny, democracy, aristocracy, diplomacy, kingship, empire, government, parliament, and terms allied to these - bear different interpretations at different periods. The generalisations necessarily used often involve such large assumptions both of historical knowledge and of experience as to make them liable to be little more than mere phrases to the pupils. The generally accepted standards of action and conduct in different fields - and especially in public affairs - vary from age to age; and the whole outlook of people in the various periods of the past is conditioned by circumstances of thought and environment of which we can never know more than a part.

In the face of such inherent difficulties as these it is, perhaps, not too surprising that many teachers contented themselves with demanding that their pupils amass a store of names and dates, and that they abandoned the attempt to bring about in their charges any real understanding of the actual significance of the people and events they were dealing with.[313]

The standard of teaching in Geography, under the Intermediate Board, would seem to have met with the approval of the majority of examiners, though the complaint that, in the case of this subject, too, the understanding was not adequately catered for, is encountered from time to time.[314] The main cause of complaint here was that the teaching of Geography was often divorced from the map, with the result that even the best candidates sometimes showed that they had not an idea where, for example, the capitals of the main European countries were situated, or where the principal mountains and rivers were to be found. Such a complaint was made in 1901 by James J. Macken,B.A., who examined in Middle Grade, and he stated that he had received ridiculous answers of this kind not alone from the worst candidates, from whom such blunders might be expected, but also 'from those who gave evidence of careful work and judicious preparation of their subject in the rest of their papers'.[315] Occasional reference is also found to an examiner's dissatisfaction with the answering in the section of the paper which dealt with physical geography,[316] though perhaps this complaint may also have been due to an overemphasis on the part of certain examiners on the importance which should be attached to this branch of the subject at secondary level.[317] Professor Corcoran, writing in Studies in 1923, criticised the treatment of Geography which had, for many years previously, been widely current in England, and which had tended to make of the subject a very technical and professional study. 'The mathematical and geological aspects of the subject', he complained, 'have become greatly

exaggerated, when we bear in mind that secondary education is a general education for civic ends, and that professional skill is not to be expected during it, nor in any way aimed at.'[318] He also criticised the practice of devoting to the Geography of Ireland only a passing glance while going on to study that of other countries in considerable detail:[319]

> Ireland is a basis, not a starting point: it is too often dealt with and left aside. The result is that the educated Irish citizen's knowledge of his own country, at the present day, is as a rule only a child's knowledge. This is a direct result of the curriculum imposed on Irish Secondary Schools for the past forty years: a programme that betrays an utter lack of unity, constructive principle, and national purpose.

With the introduction of the new Programme in 1924, History and Geography were linked as one subject in the junior curriculum, and for the Leaving Certificate, History and Geography became two separate subjects.[320] The majority of the Council of Education felt in 1960 that there was still ample reason for recommending that the treatment of the two branches as a combined subject at Intermediate level be continued, since, 'at the general stage of education, there is an essential link between history and geography, the one being complementary to the other',[321] and because 'The story of man as related in history is unintelligible without a knowledge of the environment in which the story is set'.[322] The close inter-relation of the two subjects, however, has never been greatly stressed by the Department: any criticisms which have been made have tended to be about one or the other, rather than about any lack of coordination between the two; and one is inclined to be of the opinion that, in practice, the policy which has been followed is that expressed by Professor Corcoran in 1923 when he said:[323]

> The union of History and Geography . . . is not a fusion . . .: the two subjects are rather friendly than cognate . . . [with the exception of certain periods of modern history, which could probably be blended] the two subjects are to be regarded as an administrative unit for the purposes of organising a curriculum and assigning duties to a teaching staff in a school, and not as material for a forcible application of the principle of internal unity in method and in subject-matter.

The combined subject History & Geography was still on the Intermediate Certificate Programme for 1969, though in that year, for the first time, a student had the choice of three separate combinations: Syllabus A, which emphasised History; Syllabus B, which gave equal emphasis to both; and Syllabus C, which stressed Geography.[324] These three courses were the final result of repeated approaches made to the Department, mainly by the History Teachers' Association, with a view to having History accepted as a single subject in the Intermediate Certificate,[325]

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Postscript

[insert opposite at *]

Table V.7 (p.337) and Diagram C (p.338) give information on the percentages of candidates at Leaving Certificate level who took History and Geography in selected years between 1925 and 1965. From these it can be seen that while Geography rose very noticeably in popularity between 1925 and 1935 and has since then more or less held its own, History has suffered a more or less steady if not very significant decline; or, stated another way, that while History at Leaving Certificate level proved more popular than Geography up until the late nineteen-forties, the reverse has been the case, and to an ever-increasing degree, since that time.

and first indications showed that the Syllabus which was being taken by most schools was Syllabus B - the one which most closely resembled the existing system.[326]

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As regards the actual teaching of the new History courses which had been introduced in 1924 the Department soon found that, while the courses themselves seemed to be very well suited to the needs of Irish children, they required specialist teachers to do full justice to them, and the number of specialists was very small,[327] particularly specialists in Irish history.[328] Even after twenty years, when the number of fully-competent History teachers had grown considerably, the Department felt the need to draw attention to the many schools where the teacher was still able to do little more than set the children long passages of the text-book to be learned at night and spend the following day examining them.[329] Another interesting development in the early years of the new system was a very marked tendency on the part of teachers to over-emphasize Irish history and to neglect the history of England, and in 1929 the Department complained: 'While formerly too much stress was laid on English History, the pendulum in some of the schools seems to have swung too far in the other direction'; and it pointed out that its examiners and inspectors had commented strongly, in their reports, on 'the ignorance of English History displayed by many of the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate students in matters in which Ireland was directly affected by England'.[330]

While the Department repeatedly expressed its satisfaction at the actual programme in History which it had prescribed for Intermediate Certificate, it soon became obvious that unless the full four-year course was followed the expected results could not possibly be achieved. As has been seen elsewhere in this chaper,[331] while the recommended length of the Junior Course was four years,[332] it was frequently found that pupils were being entered for the Intermediate Certificate Examination after having spent as little as two years in secondary school. These pupils naturally found it impossible to give adequate attention to a comprehensive course in History, which covered (a) a general outline of Irish History and of the historic relations of Ireland with Great Britain, the continent of Europe, America and Australia, and (b) a general outline of the history of Western Europe since the dissolution of the Roman Empire, including an introductory

sketch of the development of the principal powers in earlier history round the Mediterranean basin, introducing any points of contact with Ireland,[333] and it is against these pupils that the majority of the Department's criticisms are levelled.[334] Even where a four-year course was being followed, however, it was sometimes found that the preliminary years were wasted and serious work was very often attempted only in the year preceding the examination.[335] The result of all this was that in the school-year 1936-7 the Department introduced a new programme in History which included a general outline of Irish History down to the end of 1921 and of European History down to the end of 1918; the examination in Irish History, however, would henceforth deal only with the period from the beginning of the eleventh century, while that in European History would start at the year 987 A.D.; the earlier portions of Irish and European History would be regarded as a compulsory course for first and second year pupils, but they would be tested by inspection, and not by written examination.[336]

Apart from the complaint mentioned above, concerning the scarcity of properly qualified teachers of History,[337] the Department would seem to have been fairly satisfied that, on the whole, this subject was being well taught at senior level. Occasional reference is found, particularly in the years during and immediately after the war,(i.e., especially in the 1940s), to a scarcity of suitable text-books, both for students taking their History course through English and for those taking it through Irish.[338] A further cause for concern was mentioned in 1953 when the Department referred to the widespread practice of taking fifth- and sixth-year pupils together for this subject.[339] This arrangement normally led to the neglect of the fift-year students while the teacher concentrated on the examination class proper, and this sometimes meant that students were little better off than if they had only one year altogether in which to cover the course.[340] In 1960 the Council of Education stated that the practice which had been followed, over the years, of prescribing in rotation certain periods of roughly corresponding dates in Irish and European History and of giving a choice between two periods each year, while simplifying the task of those responsible for setting and marking the examination papers, had given rise to widespread dissatisfaction among teachers and was of no advantage to pupils; and it recommended that the system of rotation be abolished, and that pupils in any year be free to choose any one of the four periods, the dates of the periods

in Irish and European History to be more or less corresponding, as had been the case previously.[341] No change has since been made, and the programme for 1969-70 is based on the same rotation system which the Council of Education criticised.[342] In view of the fundamental reorganisation which has taken place in Intermediate Certificate History, however, it is more than likely that the programme for 1970-1 will make a clean break with the old system; and since, in the drawing up of such new programmes as have come into operation in other subjects the convenience of examiners has obviously been disregarded, it would seem rather likely that when the new Programme in Leaving Certificate History appears the system of rotation will no longer be a part of it.

In the case of Geography, even more than in the case of History, the Department has often found reason to complain at the lack of properly qualified teachers. In 1928 it stated: 'Geography, as a subject, is, generally speaking, not particularly well taught. The reason is . . . lack of proper qualifications. Most of the teachers depend on the knowledge they acquired at school, supplemented by subsequent reading.'[343] To remedy this situation a number of Summer Courses had been held and some improvement was already discernible.[344] More interest was taken in this subject, however, by the teachers in girls' schools, and, although every aspect of the subject did not always receive adequate treatment, the Department felt that in girls' schools on the whole a considerable amount of good work was being done.[345] Despite occasional Summer Courses, the number of teachers whose qualifications in Geography met with the Department's approval did not increase very much, and in 1944 the Department again referred to their scarcity.[346] It was careful to point out, however, that because, presumably, of the interest and the diligence of the majority of those who actually taught the subject, the standard, by and large, was satisfactory.[347] The essential difference, the Department stressed, between the good teachers of Geography and the bad was not a matter of qualifications but rather the willingness to make the subject interesting for the pupils by use of such aids as maps, charts and globes, and thereby spare them the inevitable boredom which would follow the uninterrupted use of a text-book.[348] By 1951 the Department was able to note an increase in the number of teachers who held satisfactory qualifications in Geography,[349] and in view of its development as a subject of study, both intensively and extensively, at university level in recent decades,[350] it may reasonably be assumed that the

scarcity of properly qualified teachers will in future cause very little trouble. The existing syllabus in Geography was altogether pleasing to the Council of Education; under the heading 'Geography' it simply stated: 'The contents of the present syllabuses are satisfactory and with suitable adjustment to provide for pass and honours Intermediate Certificate students they might be retained'.[351] A change has now been introduced, however, and in 1969, as we have just pointed out when dealing with History, a candidate at the Intermediate Certificate Examination has a choice of three Geography courses.[352]

For many years, but more especially in recent times, complaints were being made that no suitable training in CIVICS was being given in the schools, and it was felt in many quarters that something should be done to rectify the omission. The Council of Education, however, considering the question in 1960, were in general agreement that, to the extent to which this subject should be treated in a secondary course, it would be better integrated with the instruction given in History and Religion, than catered for as a separate subject.[353] Continued pressure was brought to bear on the Department in succeeding years to do something positive in the matter,[354] and eventually the subject appeared on the Programme for 1968-9 as an essential subject for instruction though not as an examination subject.[355] The special object of this course was set out as follows:[356]

> . . . to ensure that the pupils acquire an adequate knowledge of and a proper respect for local and national institutions and of their own rights and responsibilities as citizens. It will of set purpose inculcate the social and civic virtues generally; strive to awaken a social consciousness which will lead to the development of a sense of responsibility, a sense of the necessity for co-operation in working for the common good, an understanding of true patriotism and its demands, a sense of tolerance towards and sympathy with others in their needs and problems, and an awareness of a duty to assist in solving such problems and supplying such needs.

From this it will be seen that the emphasis is not so much on the imparting of knowledge as on the awakening of a sense of social and civil responsibility, which is, after all, the only purpose worth striving after in this area. As Sir Richard Livingstone stated in 1943: 'Knowledge of political institutions, interest in social problems and current events will not of themselves make good citizens. . . . We must not make the error of Socrates and think that knowledge is virtue, or that duties are performed because they are known.'[357] The introduction of this course has met with considerable approval from teachers, school

authorities and members of the public generally, and already the Department is being urged to follow up the good beginning it has made in the Intermediate classes, with a comprehensive course in Civics at Senior level.[358]

I. Music, Art and Drawing.

The Scottish Report, remarking in 1946 on the way in which the arts had never been given the place on the curriculum which their importance would seem to have demanded, pointed out that this neglect was not primarily a question of time but of basic attitude: 'It is indeed strange', it said, 'how little account most of our [i.e., Scottish] secondary schools have taken of the whole emotional and aesthetic side of life, how limited and insecure a place they have given to the arts';[359] and it recommended 'that a more generous and assured place be given to the development of the affective and aesthetic side as a whole in the secondary education of all pupils'.[360] Three years earlier a similar body, the Norwood Committee, had found that the same was true in England. Refrring to Art, Music and Handicraft they stated: 'They have not received the attention in schools which is due to them. They were received as late-comers; when they were taught, they occupied a place outside the regular curriculum and were taught as "extras" or spare-time activities.'[361] When the Council of Education in 1960 considered the position in this country their conclusions, far from reflecting what might reasonably have been expected to be feelings of dismay, bore witness instead to a high degree of complacency as compared to those reached by the earlier bodies in Britain: they went to considerable pains, for example, to praise the great scope which, they claimed, the Programme has always given to Music in our secondary schools, and they would seem to have taken considerable pride in the fact that from the beginning of the Intermediate Education system, music was included in the programme of examinations for all three grades, the syllabus requiring the study of the theory of music in all grades, together with the history of music for the middle and senior grades; and in the fact that as early as 1904 the examinations were made to include a practical test as well.[362] Faced with the

fact that the number of students following the Department's Programme in Music in the schools had always been and still was negligible,[363] the Council chose merely to assert that these figures did not reflect the true position at all, and going on to point to the relatively large number of girls and the smaller number of boys who learned to play a musical instrument while at school, it assumed that but for the extent and difficulty of the theoretical matter prescribed for the examinations, many more students would undoubtedly take the subject.[364]

That there were just grounds for the Council of Education's claim that the statistics dealing with the numbers following a formal course in Music were misleading, is undeniable: the position has always been better than these figures would lead one to believe. But the fact of the matter is that in many schools, the study of Music, both choral and instrumental, has customarily been confined to those children who show some musical aptitude, the remainder being given no musical training at all. Discussing this problem in an article in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record in 1942, Rev. Maurice Weymes stated his belief that the general body of secondary students, who had no fundation of musical culture at entrance, could not possibly acquire such a foundation under existing conditions.[365] He suggested that if the whole school listened daily for a quarter of an hour to a carefully graduated and supervised programme of music, it would produce very satisfactory results, even in the space of a year, in the general level of musical culture in the school. 'The foundation of musical culture', he insisted, 'must be laid by reflective listening. There is no other way of making contact with real musical feeling. This [the current] system of musical education is, in fact, a music-school system and not a general school system.'[366]

Those candidates who took Music at the public examinations would seem, in general, to have made a good impression on the examiners. Reporting on the standard of answering in Music (All Grades - Girls) in 1901, three years before provision was made for holding practical tests in the subject, the examiner, Annie W. Patterson, Mus. D., B.A., stated:[367]

> Taken all round, the musical papers were of an interesting and thoroughly satisfactory character, and they were of such a nature as to encourage the Irish Intermediate Board in their laudable efforts in helping to spread a knowledge of theoretical music among the young people of Ireland.

Complaints were made from time to time about how hard it was to get suitably qualified teachers of music,[368] but, despite this difficulty, the Department was able to report in 1951: 'Na scoileanna ina mbíonn an ceol mar abhar dona Scrúduithe Teistiméireachta, téann siad i mbun gnótha go duthrachtach ealaíonta agus éiríonn leo i gcoitinne caighdeán an-ard a bhaint amach san obair.'[369] Speaking on Radio Éireann some years previously, Professor J.F.Larchet,D.Mus., F.R.I.A.M., had lavished praise on the Department for what it had done for music in the space of twenty years. He said:[370]

> With the attainment of our political freedom, and the placing of education in our own hands, the Department of Education prepared an ambitious programme for the Secondary Schools. From the very outset,the schools have taken music seriously and have never ceased in their efforts towards its cultivation. . . . Now, after several years of earnest effort and much spade work, the schools are just beginning to see the fruits of their labours.

It must be remembered, however, that Professor Larchet's impressions were formed from his contact with those schools which paid much more than average attention to this subject, and that they take no account of the large number of schools where for all practical purposes one might say that music was ignored.

In 1904 the Intermediate Board had introduced a scheme for the payment of a bonus to any school which presented for examination a choir or orchestra composed entirely of pupils of the school, and in 1905 £2,974.10s.0d. was paid to schools under this heading.[371] In the financial year 1965-6,[372] the corresponding sum paid under the same heading by the Department of Education was £2,982,[373] a fact which suggests that, whatever incentive these bonuses may originally have given towards choral and orchestral work in the schools, they must long have ceased to have any serious effect on the number of schools who decide to carry on this type of work. Over the years, however, the Department has repeatedly expressed its satisfaction at the high standard reached by those schools which did have orchestras or choirs, though it found it necessary to draw attention to the fact that the schools in question were mostly girls' schools, and that in boys' schools, to a very great extent, there was little or no effective provision made for any kind of musical training.[374] With a view to remedying this situation the Department announced in 1949 that it had recently appointed a full-time Music inspector for secondary schools, and it admitted that his main task for some time, as far as the majority of schools was concerned, would be to get them started on the road to making adequate provision

for this subject.[375] In 1950 a series of orchestral concerts for schools was given by the Radio Éireann Symphony Orchestra in the larger towns throughout the country with a view to familiarising pupils with good music,[376] and after five years the Department expressed its satisfaction at the effect these had had.[377] One feels, however, that the Department was again being rather optimistic here: from the present writer's own experience of such concerts, both as a school boy and as a teacher, it would seem true to say that while the musical experience which they afforded may have been enjoyed and, at least to some extent, appreciated by those children whose musical education was already being catered for, the appeal which such concerts had for the majority of children was largely measured by the length of time they were absent from class; and it seems very doubtful that they succeeded in arousing an interest in [illegible] in any child who had not already begun to acquire one.

Under the Intermediate Board, Drawing was included in the subjects for examination from the very beginning,[378] and has consisted, right up to the present time, of a mixture of purely mechanical drawing and of the more artistic branches of the subject such as object drawing, drawing from memory, and design.[379] At the moment a break is being made, in the Junior classes, with the old system, and eventually this new approach will govern the type of course prescribed for Senior pupils also.[380] The essence of the new system is that it makes far better provision for the artistic side of the subject, as distinct from the purely mechanical, than was made in the past, and the change is obviously the result of the repeated criticisms which specialist art teachers have been making for some years about the too great emphasis which was being placed in the programme on branches of the subject which had little real artistic content. The Department has now met these criticisms by establishing Art and Drawing as two separate and distinct subjects, and if one can judge from the prescribed syllabus in each, it would seem as if both are likely to be greatly improved.[381]

From Table V.8[382] it can be seen that while in the early days of the Intermediate System, Music, in girls' schools, sometimes attracted more students than Drawing, the reverse has been the case since the early years of this century, and under the Department of Education, the numbers taking Music at the Examinations has been negligible when compared with those taking the other

subject. These figures, however, if not examined critically, can be very misleading; one might feel inclined, on first seeing them, to conclude that a fairly large proportion of Irish secondary students have been studying art, and getting high marks in it at the public examinations. What must be borne in mind is that the course in Drawing (for many years known as Drawing, Course B), as distinct from that in Art (for many years known as Drawing, Course A),[383] could be followed successfully by a student who had very little notion of freehand drawing or painting provided he was reasonably good at Mechanical Drawing, which involved, for the most part, the dextrous manipulation of mathematical instruments. Drawing, Course A (or Art, as it came to be called), on the other hand, laid greater emphasis on what the layman normally understands by the term 'art', though the Council of Education felt that the actual distinction between the two courses was not sufficient to warrant the fuller course being designated 'Art'.[384] Nonetheless, whatever degree of distinction there was between the two seems to have been enough to intimidate a very large number of students, and in boys' schools only a very small proportion of those taking a Drawing subject chose the higher course: in the years 1945, 1950, 1955, 1960 and 1965, a total of 14,062 boys took one or other of the two Drawing Courses available at Intermediate Certificate level, and of that number only 499 (3.5 percent.) took the higher course; in the same years a total of 6,881 boys took one of the courses at Leaving Certificate level, of these only 281 (4.1 per cent.) taking the fuller course.[385]

The conclusions to which the foregoing statistics point are amply reinforced, if any reinforcement be necessary, by the Department's own pronouncements. In 1951 it spoke very highly of the quality of the work being done in many girls' schools, but it stated that in other schools the teaching was mechanical and uninspiring, the obvious motivation of the teachers being simply to get the children through the examinations.[386] In 1954 it stated that the number of girls' schools in which excellent work was being carried out was continually increasing, but that little progress was to be noted in the case of boys' schools.[387] Again, five years later, while complimenting the better schools on the continued excellence of their teaching, the Department severely criticised the large number of boys' schools in which the courses were far too narrow and in which little effort was being made to change the traditional approach to this subject.[388] What the Department rarely mentioned was that the main answer to this problem lay, in

the case of Art even much more than in the case of any other section of the curriculum, in providing a sufficient number of specialist art teachers. While it is highly desirable to have specialist teachers in every department in a school, it is, somewhat unfortunately, a matter of common knowledge that a capable teacher with a sufficient amount of enthusiasm and effort, can make a reasonably good hand of teaching quite a variety of subjects, even though he has never studied them formally. In the case of Art, however, otherwise good teachers are completely . . . unable to manage if they have not had a sound training in the subject, and when they find themselves obliged to conduct a Drawing class they quite understandably confine their attention to those parts of the course which are not altogether beyond their ken.

But besides all this, there is still another area very relevant to the subject of the present sub-section, which we have so far failed to touch on. The Norwood Committee referred to it thus:[389]

> . . . apart from training in skill there is, we suggest, a much broader field of Art education; we hesitate to call it 'appreciation' for fear of being misunderstood - it is simply encouragement of the boys and girls to see with seeing eyes, to be aware of form and colour and design. This sensitiveness is often actual or potential in pupils who lack executive skill or find no pleasure in what they execute. To appreciation of physical environment training in executive skill may make a desirable, and for many pupils an essential, contribution, but it does not make the whole or the only contribution. We are anxious that all children . . . should have the opportunity of seeing the place of Art in the spiritual and social and economic life of the present and the past.

The Department of Education has, in fact, suggested from time to time that school authorities should endeavour, in so far as in their power, to inspire in their pupils a love of the beautiful, and recommended, as far back as 1929, that they acquire good quality reproductions of the old masterpieces and display them prominently both in their classrooms and along their corridors.[390] Beyond making general suggestions of this kind, however, the Department has never gone, and it does seem a pity that some small organised attempt is not made to give our secondary school pupils at least some notion of what extraordinary riches the world of art holds. Perhaps, mutatis mutandis, the provision might be on the lines of that suggested by Fr Weymes in relation to the world of music.[391] In whatever form it comes it is long overdue, and our educational system will continue to be dangerously unbalanced without it.

J. Commerce and Other Subjects.

While the only subject of a commercial nature to appear in the Programme for Examinations in the early years of the Intermediate System was book-keeping (and this was included in the mathematics course, and in Junior Grade only),[392] a commercial course as such was first introduced into the Intermediate Board's Programme in 1891, and since then commercial subjects have maintained their place in Irish secondary education.[393] Opinion seems to have been fairly well divided on the question of whether or not secondary schools should make any provision for these subjects. In England in 1943, the Norwood Committee felt that the best provision the Grammar School could make for pupils who would eventually take up business careers was to resist any tendency to specialise and to continue along traditional lines to provide them with a broad cultural foundation upon which they could later build with profit.[394] Even in areas where the special facilities offered by a Commercial or Technical School were not available, the Committee considered that the local Grammar Schools should still refuse to provide courses in shorthand, typing and office routine, as part of their normal programmes, but might provide special courses in these subjects for pupils who would have already completed the Grammar School or Modern School course.[395] In Scotland, on the other hand, it was felt that while in the first two years of the secondary course only a very limited amount of time should be devoted to commercial subjects, specialisation might become progressively greater year by year until it predominated in the final year.[396] Yet even here, these subjects were allowed the degree of prominence they were given only by way of compromise, and to enable the schools to cope with the many boys and girls whose schooling would otherwise be of absolutely no interest to them in their final year at school; and the Council emphasised that both the educational idealist and the business man were at one in believing that the best preparation the secondary school could give the boy or girl who intended to enter the world of commerce was a sound general education.[397] The Council of Education, however, did not feel in 1960 that Commerce should be excluded from the list of recognised subjects for secondary schools in this country, and justified its decision firstly on the grounds that if no provision were made for these subjects young people seeking some initiation into commerce might well be forced to forego a secondary school education altogether and to pursue their studies at some school

or institute providng for commercial education; and secondly on the grounds that Commerce, as taught in Irish secondary schools, was more a cultural than a technical subject: it was not concerned with the techniques of shorthand, typewriting, filing systems etc., but gave a broad general understanding of such subjects as book-keeping, accountancy, foreign exchange, calculation of interest and discount, trading graphs, banking, economics, and commercial theory and practice.[398]

Despite the Council of Education's insistence that Commerce as taught in our secondary schools was more a cultural than a technical subject, repeated criticism is found in Department Reports of the way in which office conditions were not being sufficiently simulated in the classroom, the names of widely-used commercial forms and office machinery remaining text-book terms for many pupils until after they had left school.[399] This complaint would seem to point to a desire on the part of the Department that, in the course of their secondary studies, students should be afforded an opportunity of getting a somewhat more detailed knowledge of the actual day-to-day functioning of an ordinary business office than would be demanded if their aims were purely cultural; and while such subjects as shorthand and typewriting may not have featured on the Programme, one is left with the impression that, at least in certain schools, the more immediate needs of children whose main ambition was to get a position in an office at the earliest opportunity were not flatly disregarded. Apart from this complaint, the Department seemed satisfied with the manner in which Commerce was being taught and on a number of occasions it complimented the teachers on the very high quality of their work.[400] For the past quarter of a century or so the percentage of candidates taking Commerce at the Certificate Examinations has increased very considerably.[401] In 1945 the number of boys who passed in this subject at Leaving Certificate was 58 (3.2 per cent. of the number who sat for the Leaving Certificate) and the number of girls was 60 (also 3.2 per cent.). The corresponding figures for 1950, 1955, 1960 and 1965 were: for boys, 134 (5.5 per cent.), 316 (10.0 per cent.), 595 (14.2 per cent.) and 1,233 (21.2 per cent.); for girls, 68 (3.4 per cent.), 178 (6.0 per cent.), 353 (9.4. per cent.) and 767 (13.1 per cent.).[402] A similar increase is to be noted in the case of the Intermediate Certificate, the percentages in this case increasing from 6.5 (boys) and 9.2 (girls) in 1945 to 21.9 (boys)and 34.9 (girls) in 1965.[403]

While the Department's Programme makes provision for a subject entitled Manual Training,[404] and while some provision of this kind has been made since the second decade of this century,[405] scant attention would seem to have been paid to it in all but a very few schools, and where the Department mentions the subject at all in its Reports it is to call attention to the way in which it is being ignored.[406] One reason for the neglect of Manual Training would seem to be that of all the subjects approved for inclusion in the secondary school curriculum it had the appearance of being the most technical in character, and a rigoristic interpretation of the nature of a liberal education would exclude it from the curriculum.[407] The Department, however has been at pains to point out that the aim of the course should be primarily an educational one, and that the teacher's efforts should be directed, not merely to the training of the pupil in the use of tools and materials but also to the development in him of self-reliance, resourcefulness, initiative and accuracy.[408] To achieve this aim the Council of Education recommended that the course of exercises should be planned in such a way as to secure that the intellectual effort necessary for the carrying out of any particular exercise should be at least commensurate with the physical work entailed.[409] The force of tradition, however, coupled with the scarcity of suitably qualified woodwork (and in recent years metalwork) teachers, together with the high cost of the necessary equipment, and scarcity of time, have seen to it that up to now this subject has been for all practical purposes more or less ignored. Though it is yet too early to judge, it would seem likely that the recent broadening of the scope of secondary education and the institution of the common Intermediate Certificate examination will have the effect of considerably increasing the numbers taking this subject in the near future.

Provision is also made in the Department's Programme for PHYSICAL EDUCATION or for organised athletic games.[410] Every secondary school is expected to cater in its curriculum for this subject, and while the Department does not lay down any definite syllabus in it, it directs that the syllabus proposed for use in each school be submitted to it for approval.[411] The actual wording of the Department's rule in this regard is not at all clear as it stands: while provision 'must' be made for Irish, English, History and Geography etc., the rule states that provision 'should' be made for Physical Education.[412] In reply to a query from the Council of Education, the Department explained the implications of

this distinction as follows: the terms of the 'must' clause are equally binding on the Department and on the school without room for compromise, whereas the 'should' requirement is not so rigorous, the Department reserving to itself the power to grant exemption in the latter case 'if it is satisfied that the circumstances in a particular case are such as to warrant it'.[413] The Council was also provided with statistics regarding the number of schools which were actually making provision for physical training,[414] and at that time the position was that such provision was being made - disregarding provision for organised athletic games - in approximately 70 per cent. of recognised secondary schools, a situation which the Council thought reasonably satisfactory considering the flexible character of the obligation to provide physical training and the difficulties of smaller schools in securing the services of competent instructors.[415]

Good provision would seem to have been made in most schools for organised games, but especially in boarding schools where the pupils were always available for practice when required, and where, for the most part, ample space was provided for playing-fields.[416] In the case of schools situated in urban areas difficulty was sometimes experienced in acquiring or renting playing fields. A further deterrent was the fact that while in the case of national and vocational schools both grounds and buildings were exempted from local rates no such exemption obtained in the case of secondary schools, and the Council of Education drew attention to the fact that school authorities would certainly be less handicapped in providing suitable playing grounds if they were sure that these would be exempt from rates.[417] On the whole, however, despite the difficulties involved, the great majority of schools would not seem to have departed from the traditional pattern, and today, in our secondary schools, games receive at least the same degree of emphasis as they have been accustomed to receive in the past.[418]

Among the many pleas which have been made from time to time for the inclusion of a variety of other subjects into the curriculum of the secondary school, perhaps the one most often heard was the one that some form of PHILOSOPHY should find a place there. As early as 1909 it had been argued that, even for girls, a good case could be made for the introduction of logic as a school subject on the grounds that since children were believed to have attained the use of reason at the age of seven it would seem to follow naturally that they

should be given some training in the subject which, par excellence, inculcates the principles upon which the right use of reason depends.[419] In 1923, in an article in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record, Father Denis Fahey, C.S.Sp., made a case for the introduction of an elementary course in Scholastic Philosophy into the secondary school curriculum,[420] and fifteen years later, in the principal article in a symposium on the subject in Studies, Fr Arthur Little,S.J., stressed his conviction that not only was such a course desirable but also that there was no reason why it would not be very successful.[421] He was supported in this view by Rev. Dr James O'Mahony, O.M.Cap.,[422] and Rev. Dr Edward Leen,C.S.Sp.[423] Similar optimism, however, was felt neither by Professor Michael Tierney, who feared that it would only be in very rare cases that such a task could be accomplished satisfactorily,[424] nor by Dr Alfred O'Rahilly, who believed that secondary pupils did not have sufficient maturity for such a study;[425] and Most Rev. Dr Michael Browne considered that the best course to follow was the one currently obtaining in the schools, where pupils acquired a solid foundation in the traditional secondary school subjects, upon which a beneficial study of phillsophy might be built, if required, at a later stage.[426] The Council of Education felt in 1960 that to the extent to which logic and philosophy should be treated at secondary level, they would be better integrated with the instruction given in languages and literature, history, and religion, than taught as individual subjects.[427]

3. Irish as a Medium of Instruction.

With the achievement of Independence, the revival of the native language as the vernacular became one of Ireland's main national aims, and the schools were naturally looked to as the places in which most could be done in the shortest time to bring this about. The Department of Education stated in

1928 that 'the schools have now an opportunity of turning out pupils who will be genuine Irish speakers', and going, presumably, on the experience of the work of the previous few years decldared that 'in many schools an earnest and sustained effort is now being made to revive and cultivate the national tongue in such a way as to bring it into line with the other modern languages of the world'.[428] The greatest confidence was expressed by leading educationists, in the ability of the schools to accomplish this task. Professor Corcoran, writing in 1916 had pointed out that a very effective method which had been used to teach English to Irish-speaking pupils in the late sixteenth century was to have them learn Latin through the medium of English,[429] and nine years later he stated that in the same way as it had been possible for the English vernacular to replace the Irish tongue in Irish-speaking Ireland almost entirely through the agency of the schools, so now the same process should work as effectively in reverse.[430] What Father Corcoran, in his enthusiasm, ignored was that the spread of English had been brought about in no small measure, by the use of totalitarian methods, economic, social, and political pressure, and a host of other factors, all operating at the same time:[431] and that, consequently, the schools, no matter how enthusiastically or expertly they carried out their part of the task, had very little chance, on their own, of bringing about this change.

Besides the provision which was made for the teaching of Irish as a subject, and the expressed intention of making it an obligatory subject after a few years,[432] further measures were immediately adopted which were calculated to hasten the achievement of an Irish-speaking state. Chief amongst these was the proposal to divide Secondary schools into three classes: Class A. — schools in which all the teaching would be done through the medium of Irish, and in which Irish was to be the ordinary language used by pupils and teachers; Class B. — bilingual schools, in which Irish would be taught to all pupils,and in which the teaching of certain subjects in the Programme or of certain classes in the school would be done through Irish; Class C. — all other schools.[433] Class B was intended to be only a transitional one; schools belonging to it were required to qualify for entrance to Class A in a reasonable time, or revert to Class C. The incentive to aspire to entry into Class A was that the Capitation Grant payable to a school in respect of any year would be increased by 25 per cent. in the case of a school which had been included in Class A during that school year, and by 10

per cent. in the case of a school which had been included in Class B.[434] Another inducement was the award of bonus marks at the examinations to students who answered through Irish. A candidate who used Irish as the vernacular language instead of English in answering the examination in any subject other than Irish, English, and Mathematics, could obtain in that subject excess marks not exceeding 10 per cent. of the total marks assigned to the subject. In the case of Mathematics, a similar excess of 5 per cent. could be obtained.[435] To encourage teachers to take up this task, and to recompense them for the extra effort involved, a special increment was offered to those teachers who were employed in a Class A or a Class B school and who were engaged exclusively in teaching Irisn and/or one or more other subjects through Irish, provided they were engaged for not less than a specified number of hours per week in teaching such other subject or subjects.[436] This rule was later modified to allow for payment to be made to teachers who, though not fulfilling all the original conditions, still deserved some recognition for their efforts: the stipulation that they had to be employed in Class A or Class B schools disappeared, and the increment was paid at the rate of a certain sum (for many years the figure was £2) per annum in respect of each complete hour of instruction given through the medium of Irish per week, subject to a minimum of two hours and a maximum of eighteen.[437]

One of the principal difficulties which immediately arose, in the matter of teaching through Irish, was the absence of an adequate supply of suitable text-books. The Department, referring to this in 1926, stated:[438]

> Even in schools where the teachers can use Irish as fluently as English, and where the pupils can readily understand instruction in Irish, the absence of a choice of suitable class-books in Irish in many ordinary subjects such as History, Mathematics, Science, etc., has tended to deter schools from using Irish as a teaching medium.

and, to remedy the situation, it announced that it had provided in its Estimates for the current year a sum of £4,000 for the purpose of making advances in aid of the publication of books in Irish suitable for use in Secondary schools. These arrangements provided for the publication of books at the minimum of cost, the payment of bonuses to the authors, and the reversion to the authors of all rights in the published works when the proceeds from their sale had repaid the costs of publication.[439] By 1932 the Department could report that text-books in Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, the History and Geography of Ireland, Needlework, and Latin had already been published, and work was going ahead on text-books in Physics, books on Religious Instruction, school editions of Latin and Greek texts, and

further books in Irish and European History.[440] This scheme, however, did not provide a full answer to the problem, and complaints continued to be made both with regard to the still inadequate number of text-books available, their quality, and, especially in the beginning, their lack of uniformity in spelling and grammar. The I.N.T.O. laid special emphasis on this in 1941; they asserted that it was proving a serious set-back to the progress of the language in the schools, and they urged that a competent body be set up, having as its object the standardisation of Irish grammatical forms.[441] The eventual introduction of an official spelling, however, and the subsequent introduction of official standardisatised grammatical forms, had if anything, an adverse effect on the supply of text-books. Publishers of established text-books in various subjects were unwilling to undergo the expense of having entirely new editions prepared in Irish, especially as there were signs that many of the standard forms would require subsequent emendation. Consequently, quite a number of useful text-books were allowed to go out of print.[442] The Council of Education, reporting in 1960, had to admit that the situation was still critical. 'There is no subject of the curriculum', it stated, 'for which a full range of text-books [in Irish] is available, and even standard works are not available for some subjects.'[443] Since that time a certain amount has been done to remedy the deficiency, but it has to be admitted that, even today, the position is still very far from being satisfactory.[444]

Another factor which gave rise to serious concern was that the number of teachers who were adequately equipped to teach subjects through the medium of Irish was very limited, and if the Department's policy was to be implemented on a scale anything like that suggested in official pronouncements on the matter, it was obvious that steps would have to be taken immediately to remedy the situation. Summer courses for Secondary teachers in the teaching of Irish and of other Secondary school subjects through the medium of Irish were therefore organised, and in 1925 were attended by 396 Secondary teachers.[445] Similar courses were conducted in subsequent years, and in February 1936 the Registration Council made a regulation, to come into operation on 1 February 1942, which demanded that future applicants for registration as Secondary teachers produce evidence of having a competent knowledge of the Irish language. For the purpose of this regulation, a 'competent knowledge of the Irish language' was defined as: 'the power to carry on through it ordinary intercourse with pupils

and in the general life of the school; and to speak the language with such fluency and correctness as will afford a reasonable hope that the applicant will, with experience, be able to use it as a teaching medium'.[446] Evidence of this qualification would be afforded by tests carried out either (a) by the Department or (b) by an Irish University, a representative of the Department being associated with the University's examiner for the purpose. It was expressly stated that the regulation did not contemplate any interference with the service conditions, security or professional status of existing teachers in any Secondary school.[447] In practice, however, this regulation is interpreted with the greatest leniency, and it is very hard to imagine that those responsible for administering the examination really relieve that the 'fluency and correctness' shown by some of the candidates who are passed for registration afford any hope at all that the applicant 'will, with experience, be able to use [Irish] as a teaching medium'.[448]

Now, having glanced very briefly at the way in which this policy took shape and was put into practice in the schools, two important questions remain to be answered, and it is proposed to consider them in the paragraphs which follow. The first of these concerns the basic question of whether or not the system of teaching subjects through Irish is fulfilling the purpose for which it was originally designed. The second is the even more important question of whether or not the practice is satisfactory from an educational point of view.

Referring to the practice of using Irish as a teaching medium, the Council of Education stated in 1960 that it had a very important bearing on the progress of Irish in secondary schools. 'This', it stated, 'has been an important feature of the policy for the restoration of the Irish language since 1922', and it went on to say that 'unless Irish becomes a teaching medium in widespread use, it is impossible to envisage its restoration as a vernacular'.[449] In other words, it saw no reason why the official policy in the matter should be changed. The Council's stand in this matter has been severely criticised in many quarters. Bro. Patrick McCann, writing in 1962 some months after the publication of the Council's Report, had this to say:[450]

> The official policy is that English is to be replaced by Irish as the vernacular of this country, and that education in both the primary and the secondary schools is to be used as a means towards achieving this goal. Whether this goal is good or not may be open to argument. What is certain

> in the light of forty years' experience is that it is not being attained and will not be attained. English is the language of this country today; it has been such for generations and it has no sign whatever of ceasing to be the vernacular accepted and desired by the vast mass of the population. Any theory or practice of education built upon the denial or the ignoring of this obvious truth is built upon an illusion. At this point the gulf is absolute between what is commonly known and what is publicly said.

This is quite true. The pity is that lip-service continues to be paid to ideals the attainment of which is so clearly out of the question. How much better it would be if a systematic and determined effort were now made to achieve the achievable, instead of continuing to antagonise the vast majority of our people by pretending to aim at goals which both the policy-makers and the general public know in their hearts to be out of the question.

Even within twenty years of its adoption it had become obvious that the official policy regarding the use of Irish in the schools was not going to succeed. In an article in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record in March 1942, Dr Martin Brenan, then Professor of Education at Maynooth, stated:[451]

> The recent history of the Irish language is an apposite illustration of just how much can be expected from the schools. Twenty years of intensive concentration upon Irish in schools of all grades have failed, contrary to popular expectation, to secure an appreciable use of the language in ordinary social life.

The reason he gave for this failure was that the adult community was not really in earnest about it and because there was 'a divorce between actual social life and the work of the schools'.[452] And why was the adult community not in earnest about it? Undoubtedly there are many reasons. One that comes immediately to mind is the fact that when the generality of people cannot see clearly that the attainment of a proposed ideal is going to be of positive and distinct benefit to them, they are not going to go to any great pains to see that it is achieved. This is not to say that the reasons put forward for the restoration of the language were not in themselves excellent; but they were too intangible to hold much appeal for the ordinary person, and so they failed to convince him.[453] Besides failing, however, to put a clearly desirable goal before the minds of the people, those responsible for carrying out this policy put their trust in methods which could hardly have been considered likely to win general approval. Referring to the unsatisfactory methods employed, Professor R. A. Breatnach stated in 1956:[454]

> Eschewing the modus operandi of explanation, persuasion and appeal, appropriate to an objective that could only be achieved, if at all, by a conscious, enthusiastic and sustained effort on the part of the people,

> the state resorted to three empirical and inadequate principles, which it put into practice throughout the sphere of its influence. These were pressure, preferment and projection;

and he explains what he means by these terms as follows: pressure he takes as meaning 'the continued application of constraint'; preferment is used in the sense of 'giving preference, advantage or privilege'; and projection stands for 'visualising and regarding an ideal as an objective reality'.[455] Father Ó Cathán felt much the same about it. Writing about eighteen months earlier he had stated: 'In much of what has been positively done to further the cause of revival, not enough account has been taken of the way people think and feel. . . . People do not like to be pushed about too much, especially if they do not understand and accept why the pushing is going on.'[456] And Father Ó Cathán went on to put his finger on what would seem to be the most obvious reason of all why people are apathetic and why, as a result, the effort of nearly half a century in the schools has failed to achieve what has always been its declared primary purpose: those in authority, he complained, pay only lip-service to the policy they advocate.[457]

> People will believe in the vision of greatness [he said] if they see that those who propose that vision to them act as if they themselves believed in the gospel they preach, if they realise that the vision is a reality to those prominent in the life of the country. If they see otherwise, who shall blame them if they grow resentful and cynical and angry.

The second question which it is proposed to consider is whether or not the use of language other than the home language as a medium of instruction can be deemed to be saitsfactory from an educational point of view. This, it must be admitted, is a highly controversial question to which it does not seem possible to provide a clear-cut and universally valid answer. On the one hand there are those who assert that a bilingual education of this kind can be positively beneficial. John Wilson, for example, who has already been quoted in relation to the problems of second-language teaching,[458] stated in 1960 that, with regard to the suspected danger of backwardness due to bilingualism, he felt fairly sure that only temporary retardation was involved, and that not for all learners.[459] He referred to the results of a then recent enquiry into general linguistics[460] which purported to show that if retardation was involved it would be temporary and in the end would be more than compensated for by 'the control which the genuine bilingualist has of two signalling systems with their access to and penetration into two cultures'.[461] This is indeed very encouraging,

as are the references which have frequently been made to the excellent work which, it is alleged, is being done in our 'A' schools. The Department Reports, in particular, are often lavish in their priase of the high standard of education which they provide. Even foreigners who have made a study of the matter have come to the same conclusion. W.H. Rees, who made a study of bilingualism in the various Celtic areas, said in 1939, with reference to our 'A' schools:[462]

> Dans les meilleures écoles secondaires. . . on est en train d'organiser un des meilleurs enseignements de langue moderne que l'on puisse trouver n'importe où. Les élèves sont amenés au stade de parler entre eux habituellement, couramment et de préférence une langue qu'ils ignoraient entièrement quand ils entrèrent à l'école, et de répondre en cette langue aux examens dans les épreuves de Mathématiques, Géographie, Histoire etc.

M. Rees, however, probably based his conclusions mainly, if not exclusively, on official Government publications, which would naturally be the first place a foreign research student would turn to in setting about his task. And these publications, it has to be admitted, are often inclined to paint an over-optimistic picture; their statements sometimes exemplify the failing which Professor Breatnach has termed 'projection':[463] they visualise an ideal as an accomplished fact, and, in consequence, leave the reader with the false impression that everything is working out as planned, whereas, in reality, this may be far from being the case. Not all references to the standard of work done in the 'A' schools have, in fact, been as favourable as those made by the Department. Father Ó Cathain, for example, has stated that there seemed to be at least some evidence that some of these schools did not fulfil all the conditions which would entitle them to grants, and he was aware that the standard of teaching in them had been called into question.[464] He felt, however, that the pupils in them attained 'a very high degree of ease and competency in speaking Irish'.[465] Even this virtue is denied them by Professor Breatnach, who states:[466]

> Observation of First Year University students over a period of ten years gives the general impression that the increase in quantity, which results from teaching subjects through Irish, has been secured at the expense of quality. It is remarkable that so many students who secure high honours marks in Irish at the Leaving Certificate appear to have acquired habits of systematic inaccuracy, particularly in speech, which University courses fail to eradicate.

One of the reasons for this, he adds, is 'the belief that the more widespread the use of Irish as a means of instruction the less need there is for thoroughness in teaching it as a subject'.[467] Professor Breatnach's remarks are all the more notable if we remember that the students he comes in contact with at University level and to whom he is here referring are those who probably feel that they are good enough at Irish to be able to take the subject at University. If his

criticisms are true of these students, who must be, by and large, the best products of the system, what would he have to say of the 'average' student? In the case of how many of these could it be said that they had anything like 'control . . . of two signalling systems'?

To return, however, to the charge that this system leads to retardation, or, what is worse yet, to permanent backwardness in the case of some children, let us consider what has been said by the Committee of Inquiry set up by the Irish National Teachers' Organisation to report on the use of Irish as a teaching medium to children whose home language was English. This Committee, which reported in 1941, stated inter alia:[468]

> On the comparative benefits to be derived by the pupils from instruction through the medium of Irish, and through the medium of English, 345 [of the teachers whose opinions were being considered] stated that their pupils did not derive benefit from instruction through the medium of Irish equal to that which they would derive were English the medium used. The contrary view was held by 45. Generally the replies would go to show that the experience of the teachers concerned was that the vast majority of pupils do not receive anything like equal benefit from instruction through the medium of Irish [italics mine] as compared with instruction through the medium of English. . . . 306 stated that there was a definite connection between the medium of instruction used and the extent of the strain on the child, and that the use of Irish as the medium of instruction imposed a much greater mental strain on the pupils than the use of English [italics mine] . 68 stated the contrary.

The greatest precautions had been taken to ensure that the results of this Inquiry would be as valid as possible.[469] Father Ó Catháin, referring to them on Radio Éireann some twenty years later, could say that, while the report was not above criticism in details, 'it is clear that there was a very wide opinion among the teachers that the results of the policy were in no way commensurable with the labour imposed on the teacher and the strain to which the children were alleged to be subjected',[470] and he pointed out that, as far as he was aware, no answer had ever been given to the points raised, despite the fact that they had been made by the teachers, who were 'the only people - apart from the children, of course - who had first-hand experience of what was happening'.[471]

Professional psychologists, too, have not been at all satisfied with certain aspects of this policy. They feel that while the child of over-average ability will do well under almost any system of education, the same is by no means true of the child whose ability is only average or below average. Professor E. F. O'Doherty, Professor of Logic and Psychology at University College Dublin, in the course of a lecture to Tuairim in January 1958,

stated that much confusion had arisen from the fact that in this country the terms 'native language' and 'mother-tongue' were not synonymous, and that many of the parallels which had been drawn between the situation in this country and that in other places where bilingual problems existed were based on this false assumption, and had led, in consequence, to false conclusions.[472] He went on to say:[473]

> It is a difficult task to educate children of ordinary ability up to the level of their capacity, or to 'full potential'. This is a difficult task in any environment, and in any school. It is difficult for the monoglot child in the monoglot school, if his ability is merely average, or normal, or ordinary, to benefit as he should, and it is difficult for the teacher to enable him to do so. It is quite certain that this task becomes much more difficult when it is complicated by a second language, either taught as a subject, or as a medium of instruction for other subjects.

He stated as well that standard practice elsewhere insisted that those with I.Q. below 100 were debarred from a second language, which meant that even the lower half of the normal group should not begin a second language at school,[474] and he criticised the Report of the Council of Education[475] for disregarding these widely-acknowledged facts, and for managing to suggest that teaching such children through Irish might be 'advantageous'. He was quite sure that the reverse was the case:[476]

> The emotional life of a large proportion of our children [he stated] is disturbed by the ambiguous and ambivalent situation in which they find themselves. . . . the initial failure of the child because of the language barrier, to identify himself with the group leads to a lack of security, a sense of unrest, to the frame of mind illustrated by the phrase 'there is no future in this country'. It may also lead to more serious psychiatric consequences.

It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that in present circumstances the use of Irish as a teaching medium (in the case of children, that is, whose home language is not Irish) can be considered inadvisable and even harmful in the case of about half the children of the country. But what of the other half? Is it to be recommended universally for these? The Council of Education laid down three conditions which, it felt, would have to be fulfilled if Secondary education were to be given efficiently and successfully through Irish. These were: (1) that the students be sufficiently advanced in their knowledge of Irish to follow courses in other subjects through Irish; (2) that the teachers be fully qualified to give instruction through Irish in the subjects allotted to them; and (3) that suitable text-books be available.[477] It is unlikely that anybody will find fault with these conditions: if they are observed, it seems likely that those who study other subjects through Irish

far from suffering, will have much to gain. The question which arises, however, is whether these conditions are widely observed. In some schools, presumably, they are; the number of these schools may even be considerable. But the fact remains that the public has no guarantee that they are being observed, nor is there, in fact, any effective mechanism in existence which ensures their fulfilment: pupils' ability at Irish is not officially tested to ensure that they will be in a position to benefit; the test in oral Irish which prospective Secondary teachers must undergo before being accepted for registration is by no means a guarantee that they have sufficient command of the language to carry on a reasonably coherent conversation in it, let alone be able to teach through it; and the Department has never, to the best of the present writer's knowledge, stepped in and forbidden the teaching of a particular subject through Irish because a suitable text-book was not available, even though complaints about the lack of suitable text-books in particular subjects have from time to time been made even by the Department itself. In such circumstances as these, it is not unlikely that even children from the upper half of the ability range often find themselves trying to contend with the problem of learning subjects through Irish under conditions where none but the very brightest can hope to make unimpeded progress. How much better it would be, both from the point of view of the pupils' education, and from the point of view of the Irish language, if the Council's recommendations in this matter were scrupulously observed, and could be seen to be observed.

CHAPTER SIX: EXAMINATIONS.

CHAPTER VI: EXAMINATIONS

The subject matter of this Chapter will be divided into four main Sections: Section 1 will deal with the examinations conducted in this country by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland (and by the Commissioners who briefly succeeded them)[1] between 1879 and 1924; Section 2 will deal with the examinations which took their place and which the Department of Education conducted in 1925 and in subsequent years. Section 3 will be devoted to other examinations relevant to the present study; and Section 4 will deal with the basic question of the reliability of examinations.

In Section 1 the original examinations as introduced in 1879 will first be dealt with (subsection A); the main subsequent changes will then be considered (subsection B); subsection C will look at the numbers of candidates taking the examinations in selected years and the more obvious trends will be underlined; subsection D will try to assess what success or failure these examinations had. Section 2 will follow the same pattern as Section 1.

Section 3 will deal first of all with the matriculation examination (subsection A); subsection B will be devoted to internal examinations the first part, sub-subsection (i), dealing with the entrance examination, and the second part, sub-subsection (ii), dealing with other internal examinations. Section 4 will not be sub-divided.

1. Examinations of the Intermediate Board.

A. The Original Examinations.

The public examinations which were instituted by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland under the provisions of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878,[2] were first held in the year 1879.[3] This was not the first time that public examinations were held for intermediate school pupils in this country. In 1860 a system of Middle Class Examinations had been established under the Queen's University on the lines of the English Local E xaminations, but they never attained any importance and they died out altogether in 1879.[4] Their disappearance has been attributed not to any innate objection to examinations, but rather to the rivalry of the newly-established system with its attractive fees, exhibitions and prizes.[5] The new examinations, however, were not destined to suffer the same fate as those which they supplanted, but were to grow in importance and influence,[6] and, as will be seen later in this Chapter,[7] traces of their legacy are still to be found in our educational system today. Even in 1879 the enthusiasm shown for them was considerable, and the Commissioners could state in their first Report[8] that they had been afforded the greatest co-operation both by school authorities and by public bodies in the matter of making arrangements for the holding of the examinations.[9]

According to the Rules of Examinations for 1879, candidates in any grade had to present themselves for examination in two Divisions, and might, if they wished, present themselves in more.[10] The subjects of examination were arranged in seven Divisions, as follows (the maximum number of marks allotted to each subject is given in parentheses):[11]

DIVISION I - GREEK

Junior, Middle and Senior (1,000 in each grade)

DIVISION II - LATIN

Junior, Middle and Senior (1,000 in each grade)

DIVISION III - ENGLISH
Junior, Middle and Senior (1,000 in each grade)

DIVISION IV - MODERN LANGUAGES
Junior, Middle and Senior

A. French (700)
B. German (700)
C. Italian (500)
D. Celtic (600)

DIVISION V - MATHEMATICS

Junior Grade

A. Arithmetic (500)
B. Book-keeping (200)
C. Euclid (500)
D. Algebra (500)

Middle Grade

A. Arithmetic (500)
B. Euclid (500)
C. Algebra (500)

Senior Grade

A. Euclid (500)
B. Algebra (500)
C. Plane Trigonometry (600)
D. Elementary Mechanics (400)

DIVISION VI - NATURAL SCIENCE

Junior Grade

A. Natural Philosophy (400)
B. Chemistry (400)
C. Physical Geography (250)
D. Botany (200)

Middle Grade

A. Natural Philosophy (400)
B. Chemistry (400)
C. Botany (200)
D. Zoology (200)

Senior Grade

A. Natural Philosophy (400)
B. Zoology (200)
C. The Elements of Zoology including Mineralogy (300)
D. Descriptive Astronomy.

DIVISION VII - OTHER SUBJECTS
Junior, Middle and Senior

A. Drawing (500)
B. Music (500)

It was required that, in the case of boys, one of the Divisions chosen would have to be the first, second, third or fifth.[12]

On each examination paper there was to be a large proportion of comparatively easy questions to test the knowledge 'that may fairly be expected from the average class of students'.[13] These questions would be known as 'Pass Questions' and they would not require a knowledge of the material marked 'optional' in the Programme. Questions of a more difficult nature would also be given 'to test the higher proficiency of advanced students'.[14] These would be known as 'Extra Questions', and would be distinguished on the examination paper by an asterisk. They would require a knowledge of the material marked 'optional' in the Programme as well as a more minute and thorough

knowledge of the material not so marked, and every candidate would be at liberty to attempt them or not as he thought fit.[15] The maximum amount of marks assigned to each Division or Section would be divided between the Pass Questions and the Extra Questions in the proportion of 70 per cent. for the Pass and 30 per cent. for the Extra; and to pass in any Section or Division it would be necessary and sufficient to obtain 30 per cent. of the maximum assigned to the Pass Questions in that Section or Division, while to pass with merit it would be necessary and sufficient to obtain 40 per cent. of the total maximum assigned to the Section or Division.[16] To pass in any Division containing several Sections (with the exception of Division V) it would be sufficient to pass in any one Section to which the maximum number of marks assigned was 500 or more, and to pass with merit in the Division, it would be sufficient to pass with merit in such a Section. If the maximum number of marks assigned to a Section was less than 500, then to pass in the Division, it would be necessary and sufficient to pass with merit in one of these two Sections.[17] To pass in Division V it would be necessary, in the case of boys, to pass in two Sections; and to pass with merit in the Division it would be necessary and sufficient to pass with merit in one of these.[18]

In the case of girls, certain modifications of the Rules were made. Their examinations, for example, should be held apart from those of boys, though on the same days. They might present themselves for examination in two or more Divisions, but one of these Divisions had to be the Third, Fourth or Fifth. By passing in Arithmetic alone they would be considered to have passed the Fifth Division, and they might pass with merit in this Division by passing with merit in Arithmetic alone.[19] In the awarding of prizes and exhibitions there was to be no competition between girls and boys. The number of prizes and exhibitions to be awarded in each year to girls would be determined by assigning one prize or exhibition, according to the respective years, for every ten girls in the aggregate who would have passed in three Divisions for each such year; and in the same way, the number of prizes and exhibitions to be awarded to boys was to be determined by assigning one prize or exhibition, according to the respective years, for every ten boys in the aggregate who would have passed in three Divisions for each such year.[20]

The Examinations for 1879 were held in 56 centres, 43 of which were for boys and 13 for girls. A total of 3,954 candidates in all were examined: in Junior Grade, 2,163 boys and 521 girls; in Middle Grade, 682 boys and 156 girls; and in Senior Grade, 373 boys and 59 girls.[21] Of this number, not all could be considered serious candidates. The reports of the examiners showed that, in many cases, about 20 per cent. of the students who presented themselves were wholly unprepared and did not answer, or, in many cases, attempt to answer, a single question. It was obvious that they had entered only to see what the examination was like, and the Board stressed, in its Report, that if the number of such students were to be deducted from the total number who failed, the number of bona fide failures would be very considerably reduced.[22]

B. Subsequent Changes.

While minor alternations in the Rules took place from year to year, no really significant change was effected in the system until 1892. In that year, for the first time, an examination was held in what was to be known as the Preparatory Grade, for students between twelve and fourteen years of age.[23] The changed financial position, resulting from certain provisions of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise)Act,1890,[24] which enabled the Intermediate Board to introduce this additional examination, is discussed in Chapter IV.[25] The Board was soon in a position to say that it was quite pleased with the way in which the Prparatory Grade examination had been received, and in 1894 it claimed that it had already proved a marked success.[26] Among educators, too, an occasional word of praise was to be heard for the new examination. Maurice Hime, for example, who had spent some years as headmaster of Foyle College, Derry, and who had advocated the establishment of a Preparatory Grade examination many years before it was actually instituted,[27] claimed in 1899 that its introduction had given rise to considerable benefits. He said:[28]

> No sooner was this Grade instituted than the little boys began to work harder, and their teachers to take more interest in teaching them. The additional industry, the increased intention, did both the teachers and their pupils all the good in the world. Not one particle of harm was

> ever done to these little boys by either the Examinations, whether qualifying or competitive, or by their teachers' more painstaking instruction.

In this view, however, Mr Hime would not seem to be representative of the general body of teachers. Indeed, considerable dissatisfaction was felt in many quarters that children should be submitted at such an early age to the rigors of a highly competitive examination system. It was not until 1911, however, that the Intermediate Board decided that the Preparatory Grade should be abolished, because 'it was felt that the present system imposed too heavy a strain on children of an age too young for a searching examination'.[29] The Board hoped that this step would prove beneficial in that the schools would now have practical autonomy in the lower classes, they would have the power to frame their own syllabuses, and consequently the curriculum of these classes could be framed or modified by each school to suit its necessities and aims;[30] and in 1914 it was in a position to say that already the step could be seen to have justified itself:[31]

> It is now possible [it stated] for schools to frame a curriculum to suit the capacity and requirements of the students. Weak students are now enabled to lay a good foundation, whereas formerly they were often rushed through the work at too fast a pace to enable them to digest thoroughly the knowledge imparted to them. Capable students are no longer confined within the limits of the old Preparatory Course. The schools have on the whole used their autonomy with judgement and discretion.

The degree of satisfaction which was felt in the schools at the abolition of the Preparatory Grade examination would seem to have been considerable, and Fr Andrew Murphy, editor of the Irish Educational Review and an inveterate critic of the Intermediate Board, could cite the absence of criticism which greeted this proposal as proof that the authorities 'need not fear either opposition or unfair criticism from the headmasters in reference to any reasonable proposal'.[32]

The changes introduced as a result of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1900,[33] and embodied in the Rules for 1902, would seem, at least at first sight, to have been considerable. Probably the most striking departure from the original system, as far as the examinations themselves were concerned, was that the Results Fees were temporarily abolished, and what was to be known as a Capitation Grant took their place. This meant that for the payment on individual results there would be substituted a grant payable to the Manager of each school in respect of the entire number of its pupils on the Intermediate School Roll of the school, the only conditions being that in order to obtain a grant a school should be required to pass a fair percentage of the total number of

pupils on the roll, and the Manager should consent to have the school inspected.[34] Despite the obvious improvement which this new system was on the old, inasmuch as it considerably lessened the psychological pressure which came to bear, under the old, on individual candidates, it was found to present very great difficulties in its implementation, and in 1903 and subsequently the original plan (i.e., payment in respect of the passes of individual candidates) was once more adopted.[35] A further recommendation which had been made in the Report of the Intermediate Education Commission in 1899,[36] and which might also have been calculated to lessen the pressure attendant on sitting the examinations, had been that the grant should be given each year, not upon the results of the examinations in one year only, but on an average taken on a triennial period, i.e., the three years preceding the year then current. This recommendation, however, was never acted on at all.[37]

The provisions introduced in 1902 regarding the grouping of subjects,[38] and which envisaged the introduction of a certain element of specialisation into the work of the intermediate schools, would not seem to have effected as sweeping a change in the pattern of subjects being taken by individual students at the examinations as their originators anticipated, or, indeed, as official reports as to their ultimate success would lead one to conclude.[39] Despite the fact that the Department of Education (when it attempted in 1926 to summarize what the Intermediate Board and its examinations had accomplished)[40] would seem to have had no evidence before it to show that the Group System of 1902 and subsequent years had not accomplished what it set out to do,[41] the testimony of contemporary writers would suggest that in practice its success must have been very limited. Writing in 1903, shortly after their introduction, Graham Balfour could state that the changes brought about by them 'as yet seem small'.[42] Some five years later, Fr Andrew Murphy, writing on the subject of the introduction and subsequent fate of the Group System, had this to say:[43]

> Scientific curiosity impelled the Board to endeavour to find out an item of knowledge which has never been discovered in any country, namely, the effect of specialization on boys and girls of fourteen. The experiment took the shape of a division of the curriculum into four groups of subjects, classical, modern literary, mathematical and scientific. Each pupil should select a group in advance, and, hey presto, specialisation was an accomplished fact. But alas for stubborn circumstances, each group consisted of <u>two</u> subjects, and no pupil could pass the examination unless he, or she, passed in <u>at least six</u> subjects. In this remarkable scheme of specialisation it

> practically always happened that pupils passed in at least two groups. It was by no means uncommon for an ordinary pass pupil to qualify in all four groups.

Again, some months later, the same writer gave an analysis of the examination results for 1908 for two major schools, one Catholic, the other Protestant, and showed that boys were taking such a variety of subjects as to make it possible for most of those who qualified for exhibitions, to qualify in more than one Group; in some cases, indeed, boys were known to qualify for exhibitions in three Groups. This absence of specialisation, he claimed, was also to be noted in the case of pupils of lesser ability; and he came to the conclusion that 'there is no real attempt at specialisation, but that an attempt is being made to examine different pupils of the same school in different parts of their work and to call this specialisation'.[44]

The more detailed changes which were made in the rules from year to year were frequently made with a view to stiffening or easing the requirements for passing or for qualifying for exhibitions and prizes. Quite often such changes were not prompted by educational considerations but by the amount of money which the Board could afford to spend in any particular year.[45] In 1889, for example, the Board felt that, since a sizeable excess of expenditure over income had been incurred in the previous year, they had no option but to frame their rules in such a way that a recurrence of this unhappy situation would not take place.[46] So, in their Rules for 1890 they increased from three to four the number of subjects in which a candidate had to pass, and they excluded from examination children under the age of twelve years.[47] This measure had the desired result, the numbers presenting themselves for examination in 1890 being less than the corresponding numbers for 1889.[48] On other occasions, of course, the reasons for change were more justifiable educationally. In the Rules for 1881, for example, it was required as a qualification for Exhibitions that candidates should pass in at least two of the four main subjects, Greek, Latin, English and Mathematics, instead of one, as in the two previous years.[49] The Board's reason for making this particular change had been 'to induce students to bestow their attention on those more important subjects rather than to aim at amassing a high score of marks by passing in a number of subjects of less general importance'.[50]

C. Numbers Taking the Examinations.

Table VI.1 gives, for boys and girls, the numbers of candidates presenting for the Intermediate Board's examinations at the various levels in specified years between 1879 and 1920.[51] As a broad generalization it may be said that from 1885 to 1920 in the case of girls, and from 1890 to 1920 in the case of boys, a fairly steady increase in numbers is discernible; in both cases by far the most marked increase taking place after the turn of the century. The early fall in numbers, after the first few years, can be attributed in some measure to a progressive worsening of the Board's financial position which led, in turn, to a reduced scale of results fees. The Board acknowledged this fact in 1883, and it pointed out that while a considerable increase in numbers might have been expected, the number of boys taking the examinations in 1882 was only marginally above the corresponding number for 1881, and that the number of girls had fallen from 1805 to 1461 in the space of the same year.[52] The Board felt that the reductions which it had been forced to make in the scale of results fees to one-half of their original amount had pressed with special severity on the girls' schools and had 'discouraged the heads of such schools from undertaking the preparation of candidates for examinations of so comprehensive and exacting a character as those prescribed by us'.[53] There can be no doubt, too, but that the progressive stiffening of the regulations for passing the Board's examinations had a restraining influence on the number of candidates who took the examinations.

Another interesting feature is the greatly increased participation rate for girls at the public examinations within the life time of the Intermediate Board. In 1879 the total numbers of candidates taking Junior, Middle and Senior Grade were 2,684, 838 and 432, respectively. Of these, 521 at Junior Grade (19.4 per cent. of the total number of candidates at this level), 155 at Middle Grade (18.6 per cent.) and 59 at Senior Grade (13.7 per cent.) were girls. In 1920 the total numbers of candidates taking the same levels of examination were 7,748, 3,297 and 1,723, the numbers of girls on this occasion, however, being 3,402 (43.9 per cent.), 1,308 (39.7 per cent.) and 590 (34.2 per cent.) respectively.[54] A further tendency which these figures suggest is for considerable numbers of

students to have discontinued their intermediate studies before Senior, and even before Middle Grade; and this practice was even more noticeable in the case of girls than it was in the case of boys, a fact which can be seen when one compares the percentage participation rate for girls at the different level with that for boys: in 1879, while 19.4 per cent. of the total number of candidates at Junior Grade were girls, only 18.6 per cent. were girls at Middle Grade and 13.7 per cent. at Senior Grade; and in 1920 the same pattern is discernible, 43.9 per cent. being girls at Junior Grade, 39.7 per cent. at Middle Grade and only 34.2 per cent. at Senior Grade. In the next section, however, it will be seen that, in subsequent years (viz., 1925 to 1965), the marked difference in pariticipation rate between boys and girls, is eliminated - the number of girls presenting for Intermediate Certificate in 1950 and after being, in fact, noticeably higher than that of boys; and the tendency for very considerable numbers of both boys and girls to leave school without finishing the full course becomes somewhat less obvious.[55]

D. Evaluation of System.

Much has been written on the subject of the Intermediate Board's examinations, and their influence on intermediate education in this country has, more often than not, been severely criticised. F.Hugh O'Donnell, writing in 1903, called for a fundamental reform of the system of payment by results fees, and said that, in the course of six years, travelling the length and breadth of Ireland, questioning people and listening to all sorts of opinions on this subject, he had found 'a practically unanimous opinion that both the method of earning and the method of distributing of the Results Fees constitute a disgrace and a danger to the educational interests of the country'.[56] He criticised the authorities of the Intermediate Schools for 'turning their unhappy pupils into fee-earning machines', and he alleged that during the preceding twenty years the welfare of the pupils had been constantly subordinated to the temptation of cramming them in the most effectual way to earn the largest amount of money possible.[57]

Similar criticism was made in 1908 by the French sociologist, L. Paul-Dubois, in his survey of contemporary conditions in this country. Referring to the system of payment by results, he alleged that, because of this practice, the instruction given was 'mechanical, artificial and coloured by mercenary interests'.[58] He continued:[59]

> If there are in Ireland some schools in which conscientious school training is held in honour, there are also too many charlatan and cramming institutions, where the pupils are merely stuffed up with a view to examinations. Neither memory nor intelligence is cultivated. Not men, but parrots, are produced.

And Graham Balfour, in his Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland, expressed the view that there was indeed very real ground for complaint at the bad influence the system had had on teaching methods, a fault which he attributed, in part at least, to the failure of the Assistant Commissioners ever to visit the schools, even though it had been intended originally that they should do so occasionally.[60] He added: 'The worst evils of examinations for money payments were rife. Competition was pushed to extremes; cramming was encouraged; over-taxing of the children, and overburdening of the memory at the expense of the intelligence were the least of the charges . . . ' which were repeatedly brought against the system.[61]

Another serious charge which has frequently been levelled at the Board's examinations is that the standard of marking was by no means uniform, either from year to year or from examiner to examiner within a particular year. Commenting, in the Irish Educational Review on the Reports of the Examiners for 1907, Very Rev. M. Barrett, D.Ph., severely castigated a number of examiners for demanding a much higher standard than was demanded in the same subjects at the corresponding examinations in the previous year, while pretending all the while that the resulting inferiority of marks as compared with former years was due to inferior work on the part of the teachers or pupils, and not to a greater severity on the part of the examiners themselves.[62] In support of this contention he refers in detail to the actual reports of certain of the examiners, and he goes on to suggest that some of them, notably those in Geometry, Natural Philosophy, and French, had shown themselves to be quite unsuited to the task of examining the work of candidates at the Intermediate Examinations, either because their criticisms had indicated that they had little understanding of what might reasonably be expected from pupils of the particular age-groups in question,

or, as he alleges was demonstrated in the case of M. Guilgault, the Examiner in French, because their own faltering command of the English language left them in no position to give due credit for 'the style of the translations from the classical or modern languages into English', something to which, according to the Rules, the examiners would give particular attention.[63] Another writer, Arthur O'Leary, discussing this problem in relation to the teaching of Mathematics said that it was a well-known fact 'that many a promising student for Intermediate Examinations in times past took up the study of an additional modern language, and discarded forever the study of Arithemtic because it was feared that the paper at the next examination would be such as to destroy his hopes of success';[64] and he went on to say that examiners should be capable of setting such a paper as would test 'the student who has been fairly well taught', and that if they were not able to do this they were unfit to be examiners.[65] Fr Andrew Murphy, while tending, as was his habit, to exaggerate, may have been fairly near the kernel of the problem when he stated in 1907 that the Commissioners, in appointing examiners, obviously abided by the principle that 'experience of school work is an absolute bar to a candidate [for an examinership] , at any rate until it has had time to grow stale'.[66] It would indeed seem to be true to say that while men (and women) who were eminent in their own specialized field were normally appointed as examiners, it often happened that these very people had little realization of what standard to expect from the normal products of the Intermediate Schools.

Not all comment on the Intermediate Examinations, however, has been unfavourable. Lord Jusitce Fitzgibbon's claim, in 1897, that despite the repeated stiffening of standards, the Christian Brothers' students could still achieve outstanding results, carried at least the implication that these results were some gauge of the actual education being imparted.[67] This is not to say that one would be tempted to go as far as Maurice C. Hime, who felt that the Intermediate Examination system was productive of nothing but good, and that the publication of detailed results enabled teachers to prove to the world how efficiently they could teach, these result sheets providing a teacher with 'ample proof that, as an Assistant-Master, he discharged his duties with faithfulness, efficiency, and success'.[68] But it does seem clear that some attempts were made in many schools to minimize the effects of examination pressure; and when the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr Birrell, stated in Belfast in 1907 that Intermediate Education in

Ireland was simply 'a repulsive system of cram', he provoked a considerable outcry from many of the associations and organisations most intimately connected with the working of the system.[69]

Reference has already been made in an earlier Chapter to numerous occasions on which examiners pointed out that the excellence of the answers they had received (either to questions in unseen translation from foreign languages or to original problems in mathematics whose solutions demanded a sound grasp of basic mathematical principles) left them no alternative but to conclude that, at least in some considerable number of schools, a thorough education was being imparted.[70] And while this must be attributed in considerable measure to the conscientiousness of individual headmasters and teachers, it should be borne in mind that the Intermediate Board had taken at least some steps to ensure that its examinations would not be an irresistible temptation to disregard education and cultivate examination technique alone. As early as 1881, for example, in the case of Greek, Latin and Modern Languages, the Board had specified for minute study certain limited courses, but had assigned 'a very large proportion of the marks' in these subjects to Composition and the translation of unprescribed passages - 'portions of the Examination which afford the best opportunity for testing the soundness of the instruction imparted, and in dealing with which superficial knowledge is of little avail to the Candidate'.[71] As a further precaution against 'cramming' it had provided that no student should be awarded a pass or an honour mark in Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian or Celtic who would not have obtained at least 20 per cent. of the marks assigned to Grammar; and that 'if any student exhibit gross ignorance of English Orthography and Grammar, he shall not be entitled to pass'.[72] These requirements were further stiffened in 1885, and with the same end in view.[73]

We are led to the conclusion, therefore, that while the Intermediate System certainly exerted strong pressure on teachers and pupils alike to regard examinations with considerably more than their due share of respect, and while this is the feature of the system which most forcefully strikes the observer, there was still a considerable amount of good educational work done in the midst of all the preparations for examinations. Father Ó Catháin would seem to overemphasize the faults of the system: by a process of a priori reasoning

he proceeds, from a condemnation of certain of its essential features, to the conclusion that these necessarily (and, he would seem to imply, universally) led to disastrous consequences.[74] Dr Birch also tends to emphasize the defects of the system, though he does not ignore the fact that most schools badly needed the financial assistance provided by the Results Fees and that consequently they had little option but to conduct their studies and teaching in a manner which would benefit them financially.[75] No one denies the harmful effects an over-emphasis on a uniform external examination can have; nor is any reasonable person likely to suggest that the Examinations conducted by the IntermediateBoard in this country did not in many cases lead to the evolution in the schools of teaching methods which have little to recommend them educationally. The Intermediate Board itself was painfully conscious of the harmful effects external written examinations could have in the absence of an adequate system of inspection;[76] and it made repeated attempts to have an effective system of inspection introduced, complaining in 1907, for example, that 'a single uniform examination of thousands of pupils by paper only, as we are bound to conduct it, unaccompanied and unchecked by inspection, can never eraticate faulty methods of teaching; it is a question whether it does not tend to perpetuate them'.[77] What must be stressed, however, is that, despite its very obvious failings, a considerable amount of good work was done in many schools. It does not necessarily follow that if another system had operated, overwhelmingly better results would have been achieved. In comparing the ideal with the reality, one sometimes tends to assume that the ideal can be transferred to the world of reality without losing anything in the process. It is always desirable to substitute better systems for defective ones. It is foolish, however, either to refuse to acknowledge the little which old methods accomplished or to concentrate exclusively on the great things which are expected of the new and disregard their shortcomings. The Department of Education's assessment of what had been achieved when it assumed control of Irish secondary education would seem to be as fair a summing-up of the position as one is likely to find. It said:[78]

> Most good authorities hold that the examination system [of the Intermediate Board] raised the standard of Secondary Education over the country as a whole, although they agree that the process of evaluating all the work of a school by a written examination conducted by external examiners on a uniform curriculum tended to produce a lack of initiative and of constructive educational work in most of the schools.

2. Examinations of the Department of Education.

A. The Original Examinations.

The examinations held in June 1924 were the last under the old system, with its three Grades, Junior, Middle and Senior.[79] A Commission on Secondary Education had been appointed by the Second Dáil in 1921, and towards the end of 1922 it issued its recommendations.[80] As has been noted in the last Chapter,[81] the reforms which resulted from these recommendations constituted a radical departure from the old system, and, as far as the educational basis of the system was concerned, entailed the substitution as the new educational unit of a course of study extending over a number of years, in place of the single-year units which had characterized the Intermediate system. Accordingly, the system of yearly examinations was discontinued, and in its place there were to be two examinations, the Intermediate Certificate Examination and the Leaving Certificate Examination.[82] By lengthening the time of preparation for the examinations it was intended to minimize the harmful effects which they had so often had on teachers and pupils under the old system, and, as Fr Ó Cathán has put it, 'to give more elbow-room as it were for a leisurely and more fruitful form of learning'.[83] The purpose of the Intermediate Certificate would be 'to testify to the completion of a well-balanced course of general education suitable for pupils who leave school at about 16 years of age, and, alternatively, to the fitness of the pupils for entry on more advanced courses of study in a Secondary or Technical schoo'.[84] The Leaving Certificate would 'testify to the completion of a good secondary education and the fitness of a pupil to enter on a course of study at a University or an educational institution of similar standing'.[85] The idea of substituting an 'Intermediate Certificate Examination' and a 'Leaving Certificate Examination',for the Junior, Middle and Senior Grade Examinations was not, however, an altogether new one. The Intermediate Board itself, in one of its many pleas to be given both the authorization and the money to effect what it considered to be necessary changes in the system of education it operated, had recommended in 1917 that the existing examinations be replaced by

'an examination for an "Intermediate" and also for a "Leaving Certificate"'.[86] Its main proviso, in the event of such a change, would be the establishment of a sufficiently effective inspectorate to ensure that the work of the schools could be properly supervised.[87]

To be eligible for admission to the Intermediate Certificate Examination, recognised pupils would be required (a) to have attained the age of 14 years on 1 August in the year preceding that in which the examination would be held, and have followed for three years an approved course at a secondary school, or (b) to have attained the age of 15 years on 1 August in the year preceding that in which the examination would be held, and have followed for two years and approved course at a secondary school.[88] To qualify for the Intermediate Certificate candidates would be required to pass the examination in not less than five subjects, which would have to include a subject from each of the following sections: (a) Irish or English; (b) a language other than that taken under (a); (c)Mathematics; for (for girls only) Arithemtic with any one of the following subjects — Science, Drawing or Music; (d) History and Geography.[89] It was intended that Irish be an essential subject for the Intermediate Certificate Examination in 1928 and after, and that Science be an essential subject in 1930 and after. The full list of subjects of examination was to be: Irish, English, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, History & Geography, Commerce, Mathematics, Science, Drawing and Music; and qualifying practical examinations would be held in the last three of these.[90] A pupil who failed in one of five essential subjects would still be awarded a Pass provided his marks in that subject did not fall below the standard required for a Pass by more than 10 per cent. of the marks awarded to the subject, and his answering on the examination generally was satisfactory.[91] In each subject there would be one paper, or set of papers, a Pass being secured by reaching 40 per cent., and Honours being secured by reaching 60 per cent.[92] The Intermediate Honours Certificate would be awarded to candidates who passed with honours in at least three subjects at the Intermediate Certificate Examination.[93]

Pupils who would have pursued an approved course as recognised senior pupils at a secondary school for at least two years would be eligible for admission to the Leaving Certificate Examination.[94] The Leaving Certificate would be awarded to candidates who (a) passed in five subjects, or (b) passed with

honours in two subjects and passed in two others subject to the limitation in each case that a candidate had to pass in Irish or English.[95] The Honours Leaving Certificate would be awarded to pupils who passed with honours in two subjects and passed in three other subjects, provided they passed in either Irish or English.[96] The list of subjects for the Leaving Certificate Examination was to be as follows: Irish, English, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, History, Geography, Commerce, Mathematics, Applied Mathematics (with experimental treatment), Physics, Chemistry, Agricultural Science, Botany, Physiology & Hygiene, Domestic Economy, Drawing and Music; and qualifying practical examinations would be held in the last nine of these.[97] Separate Pass and Honours papers would be set, the standard for a Pass being 40 per cent. on the Pass paper and 25 per cent. on the Honours paper, and that for Honours being 50 per cent. on the Honours paper.[98]

At both Intermediate and Leaving Certificate Examinations, students, unless otherwise directed, would have the option of answering in Irish or in English, but each paper would have to be answered wholly in Irish or wholly in English. Furthermore, a candidate who used Irish as the vernacular language instead of English in answering the examination in any subject other than Irish, English and Mathematics, might obtain in that subject excess marks not exceeding 10 per cent. of the total marks assigned to the subject. In the case of Mathematics, a similar excess of 5 per cent. might be obtained.[99]

The fundamental difference between the Junior Course and the Senior Course can be seen by comparing the examination requirements at the two levels. During the Junior Course the pupil was expected to follow such a curriculum as would give 'a sound general education',[100] and by the restrictions which it imposed in the matter of choice of subjects for the Intermediate Certificate Examination, the Department sought to impose on Irish secondary schools the particular blend of subjects which it believed would best achieve that purpose. In the Senior Course, on the other hand, the pupils were to be allowed, in theory at any rate, to specialize. Hence schools were free to select any five subjects of the Programme for their pupils at this level, the only restriction being that one of these subjects would have to be Irish or English.[101] The Department made it very clear that the granting of this freedom at Senior

level was quite intentional on its part, and it drew attention to this fact repeatedly in its Reports.[102]

B. Subsequent Changes.

The examination system which was introduced in 1924[103] continued to operate with no major modification for some forty years. Lesser changes, however, were introduced into the Rules, particularly in the early years, as the Department sought, by a process of trial and error as it were, to evolve the body of regulations which would enable the new examinations to fulfil satisfactorily their set purposes: difficulties which had not been anticipated would have to be resolved, and any loopholes in the original Rules, which in the light of experience were seen to encourage abuses of one kind or another, would have to be effectively remedied.

One difficulty, for example, which was found to arise almost immediately was that schools which confined their attention to the minimum number of subjects required by the Rules were at a distinct advantage as regards preparing for the Examinations, compared with those which catered for a broader range of subjects;[104] and since the Department did not intend that the Examinations should exert such a narrowing influence on the work of the schools, it immediately set about remedying the situation by altering the Rules.[105] The proposed alterations, which involved changes in the method of calculating examination results, were communicated to the schools in June 1928.[106] Henceforth the standard of difficulty of the examination papers for the Intermediate Certificate would be reduced by the insertion of a certain number of questions of an easier type than had been contained hitherto in these papers, and by a wider choice of questions; these latter questions to be of such a type that a Pass standard of 40 per cent. in the revised examination papers would not be more difficult to reach than a standard of 30 per cent. on the papers set in previous years.[107] The standard for a Pass in any subject would still be 40 per cent. and for Honours, 60 per cent., but

certain qualifications were made in this requirement. A candidate whose marks did not reach the Pass standard in the five subjects which qualified for a Pass in the examination might compensate, in accordance with certain specified provisions, by the marks obtained in excess of 40 per cent. in some of these subjects, or by marks in additional subjects; but marks would not be reckoned in any subject in which the candidate had obtained less than 20 per cent.[108] Chief among the provisions which governed the application of this new regulation was the requirement that a candidate would have to reach the Pass standard of 40 per cent. in not less than two of the essential subjects (one of which would have to be Irish or English), and his marks in none of the others could fall below 20 per cent.[109]

This new compensation rule was operative for the first time at the Intermediate Certificate Examination held in 1929.[110] By 1930, however, instead of showing the improvement which might reasonably have been expected, the results of this Examination were showing a marked falling-off in the percentage of passes in certain subjects.[111] The Department explained this by saying that a fairly considerable number of weak candidates were now being entered for the Intermediate Certificate Examination, presumably in the hope that, with a little luck, passes would be obtained under the provisions of the compensation rule. It did not consider that the increase in the number of failures in certain subjects could be taken as pointing to any marked variation in the standard either of the examination papers or of the marking in such subjects, or to inefficient teaching. It felt, in fact, that, in view of the purpose of the compensation rule, it was only to be expected that a fair number of pupils who entered for more than the minimum number of subjects would fail to reach the Pass standard in some of them, and the result would be that the general percentage of passes in a subject could normally be expected to be lower when the rule was fully operative than was the case in the period before its introduction.[112] One thing was clear, however, and that was that the proportion of candidates now taking only the minimum number of subjects had dropped considerably. This is shown in Table VI.2.[113] The Department, therefore, felt satisfied that, whatever unsatisfactory side-effects it was having, the compensation rule was succeeding in fulfilling its main purpose in encouraging the schools to broaden their curricula, and it continued

to operate for a few years.[114] It disappeared, however, with the introduction of the new Full and Lower Courses in the school-year 1932-3.[115]

Another fault which was soon found with the original Rules was that the Honours requirement at Intermediate Certificate was too exacting.[116] In the year 1930-1, therefore, the Rules were amended to allow the award of the Intermediate Certificate not only to candidates who qualified under the existing regulations, but also to those who, passing the examination as a whole, obtained not less than 50 per cent. in each of four or more subjects.[117] This change would seem to have produced the desired effect, and in 1932 the Department could attribute the considerable increase in the percentage of Intermediate Certificate candidates who qualified for Honours to the introduction of this modification in the rule.[118]

To ensure that the standard of questions set in the various subjects would not vary considerably from year to year, the Department of Education announced in March 1929 that it had decided to appoint Standardising Committees in various subjects. The function of these committees would be to consider, as soon as possible after the holding of the Examinations, the question papers which had been set, and to report to the Minister as to the standard of the questions and the suitability of the papers; to make recommendations regarding the standard of marking; and to advise the Minister as to whether any changes in the style or standard of the question papers be desirable with a view to the setting of future examination papers.[119] These Committees were to be composed of 'representatives nominated annually by such recognised Associations and other bodies of Secondary Teachers as, in the opinion of the Minister, afford representation to the different interests concerned' and of officers of the Department.[120] Committees functioned in respect of English, History, French and Science in 1930,[121] and in a fuller range of subjects in subsequent years.[122]

By 1940, after a decade and a half of small-scale experimentation and numerous slight changes, the Rules for the Examinations had taken on, even in most of their detailed provisions, the form they would hold for the next quarter of a century.[123] They differed only slightly from those which had been introduced in 1924: it was now necessary for example, to pass in Irish, if one

wished to pass in either Examination,[124] and the list of subjects for examination was altered somewhat.[125] And, with the exception of a slight stiffening of the requirements for Honours in the early forties[126] and the introduction of an oral examination in Irish at Leaving Certificate in 1960,[127] more or less the same Rules were in force in the school year 1967-8.[128]

C. Numbers Taking the Examinations.

Table VI.3 gives, for boys and girls, the number of candidates presenting for examination at the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate Examinations between 1925 and 1965.[129] The most obvious feature here is undoubtedly the unbroken upward trend over the whole period: for each of the selected years the figure in each category represents a considerable increase on the corresponding figure for the fifth preceding year. Since 1950, moreover, the increase has gone on at a steadily accelerating pace. The slowing-down of the growth-rate discernible in the figures for boys in the early nineteen-forties can be attributed, one assumes, to the indirect influence, exerted in a variety of different ways, of the Second World War. Due to adverse economic conditions many boys who might otherwise have followed a course of secondary education were forced to take up employment at the earliest opportunity. Others were forced, for lack of transport facilities, to stay at home from school; even the number of those who normally cycled was affected adversely both by the near impossibility of getting bicycles, in the first place, and in the second, by the equally difficult task of securing replacements and spares, particularly tyres.[130] The fact that no corresponding retardation of the growth-rate is obvious in the case of girls may be attributed *inter alia* to the fact that those previously travelling long distances to day-schools had, for the most part, been boys, and consequently the increased problem of transport had little effect on the attendance of girls; and also to the greater immediate urgency which normally attaches, in times of economic stress, of having boys start work as soon as possible.

The tendency for large numbers of both boys and girls to leave school after taking the Intermediate Certificate Examination is also quite obvious from the Diagram.[131] Since 1925, however, some improvement is also noticeable here. In that year the total number of boys who sat for the Department's examinations was 2,586 and the number of girls was 1,312. Of these, only 745 boys (28.8 per cent.) and 250 girls (19.1 per cent.) represented Leaving Certificate candidates. In 1965 the total number of boys who sat for the Examinations was 14,897 and the number of girls was 16,742. Of these, however, 5,814 boys (39.0 per cent.) and 5,837 girls (34.9 per cent.) now represented Leaving Certificate candidates.[132] This would seem to indicate that in recent years a greater percentage of pupils, both boys and girls, remain on at secondary school to finish the full course than did so in the early years of the Department's Examinations.

Reference has been made in the previous Section to the considerable increase which took place in the percentage of girl candidates at the Intermediate Board's Examinations in the lifetime of the Board.[133] This increase was to continue at such a rate under the Department of Education that by 1945 the number of girl candidates at the Intermediate Certificate Examination was only marginally lower than the number of boys; and from 1950 they have outnumbered boy candidates at this Examination by a considerable and steadily increasing margin. At Leaving Certificate level the number of girl candidates cannot be said to have effectively overtaken the number of boys until 1965, since the position in 1945 has to be considered exceptional and due in large measure to the operation of factors which affected with particular severity the attendance of boys, as distinct from the attendance of girls, at secondary schools.[134] Comparing the figures for 1925 with those for 1965, we find that in the former year the total numbers of candidates taking the Intermediate Certificate and Leaving Certificate Examinations were 2,903 and 995 respectively, of whom 1,062 (36.6 per cent.) in the case of the Intermediate Certificate, and 250 (25.1 per cent.) in the case of Leaving Certificate, were girls. In 1965, however, of the 19,988 candidates who presented for the Intermediate Certificate and the 11,651 candidates who sat for the Leaving Certificate 10,905 (54.6 per cent.) and 5,837 (50.1 per cent.) respectively were girls. From this we may conclude that, as far as one can judge from mere numerical representation, inequality of educational opportunity based on distinction of sex is no longer a relevant factor in Irish secondary

education.

D. Evaluation of System.

It might have been expected of the new Department of Education that, when it introduced its new examination system in 1924, it would have taken what steps it could to keep if free from the more serious and more obvious defects which characterized the system which it had replaced. It did, it is true, seek to lessen the influence of the examinations by substituting those of the Intermediate and Leaving Certificate for the annual ones of the Intermediate Board, and in its introductory note to the new Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, which was published in August 1924, it stated explicitly that 'while examinations have to be retained for educational and other important public purposes, it is not intended that they should hold as important a position in the educational system and policy as they have done in the past'.[135] The Department has been criticised, however, for failing to take the necessary steps to see to it that this lessening of examination influence actually took place. Fr Ó Cathán said in 1962 that, if the aim of the new system of examining had been to give the schools more independence in teaching, that aim was certainly not achieved in the fifteen years from 1924 to 1939:[136]

> Even with the best co-operation from the Deprtment, [he stated] it would have needed a real effort . . . for schools and teachers to shake off an attitude of mind towards the examinations which they have developed over the years. But the Department did something which, looking back at it today, we now see was a grievous mistake. Every year the results of the examinations with the marks which each pupil got in each of his subjects were published in book form. Only the examination number of the pupil was given, it is true, but the name of each school was printed at the head of its respective batch of numbers. . . . A deplorable spirit of rivalry grew up; schools advertised their annual successes as if they were purely commercial concerns, and the idea took firm root and was to develop in the coming years that the only test of a school's efficiency was how its pupils did in the examinations.

Fr Ó Cathán admits that the practice of publishing the name of the school was discontinued after some years, but by then the damage had been done,[137] and schools had become accustomed to attaching practically the same degree of importance to the marks awarded by the Department's examiners as they had formerly done under

the Intermediate System when their annual income depended directly on them. The present President of Summerhill College, Sligo, complained as late as 1953 that the practice for individual schools to publish their lists of successes at the Examinations, far from dying out, 'seems to be spreading like a disease'.[138] He added that this 'seeking for cheap publicity by parading examination results in large type across the pages of daily and provincial newspapers' was 'a practice which along with fanning inter-school rivalry often outrages the feelings of the weak and ill serves the humility of the brilliant'.[139]

Writing in Studies in 1944, John [illegible]threy remarked on the striking difference which he alleged existed at that time between the attitude taken towards public examinations in England and that taken towards them in this country. He stated: 'It is curious to note that, while in England the tide is running strongly against the tyranny of external examinations, in Ireland it seems to be flowing in their favour'.[140] He found this difference hard to understand, as he would have assumed that at least some trace of the current English disillusionment concerning the validity of the results of public examinations (which followed the investigation of some of these examinations carried out in England some ten years previously by Sir Philip Hartog and others)[141] would be in evidence also in this country.[142] This large measure of public confidence in the Examinations and what they represented would, in fact, prove very hard to undermine, and the Catholic Headmasters' Association, in its submissions to the Council of Education in 1960, felt it necessary to point out that the great importance which people still attached to the results of the public examinations was due, in considerable measure, not to any deep-seated belief in their absolute validity, but rather to a well-founded realization that, without these Certificates, economic and social advancement was, for most children, out of the question:[143]

> . . . at the present time, [it stated] , with overcrowded professions and an insufficiency of 'jobs', the school examinations have come to be regarded as devices for getting into favourable positions rather than as educational instruments. As a result they have to a great extent come to be regarded as ends in themselves or as means to an end which is not educational.

This criticism, it should be added, was applicable to the Intermediate Certificate Examination as well as to the Leaving Certificate, especially in the case of pupils who hoped to win one of the Intermediate Certificate Scholarships which were still being offered at that time.[144] In June 1962, in fact, the Minister

for Education, Dr Patrick Hillery, speaking in the Dáil, drew attention to the fact that 'a not inconsiderable body of opinion' among educationalists held that scholarships at the Intermediate Certificate had the effect of defeating the purpose of that examination, and tended to lead to a narrow specialization at a very early stage.[145]

Among the suggestions which have from time to time been made with a view to freeing our system of secondary education from the damaging over-influence of examinations has been the proposal that the Intermediate Certificate should be abolished. The Council of Education, however, was unanimous in its opposition to this idea, because it felt that for 'quite a considerable proportion of the pupils' this examination is the only opportunity to obtain a public certificate testifying that they have successfully followed a secondary school course to a certain standard, and because it considered it unfair to such pupils and to their parents, who would often have made financial sacrifices for the education of their children, to deny them this opportunity.[146] In announcing the far-reaching changes proposed for the whole broad area of post-primary education, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, made it clear in May 1963 that the Intermediate Certificate would still feature prominently in the new system.[147] Elaborating on these proposals in February 1964, he said that what would be needed, in fact, would be a new Intermediate Certificate Examination which would be open to students not alone from secondary schools but from comprehensive and vocational schools as well. It would be 'a comprehensive examination with a common core of subjects' to which students might, according to their aptitudes and abilities, add subjects which did not at that time feature on the Intermediate Certificate Programme;[148] and in the Seanad, in the following December, he stated that among the new subjects envisaged by the Department were what he termed 'hand and eye' subjects, and that these would help to cater for candidates from vocational schools.[149]

In June 1965, the new Minister for Education, Mr George Colley, was able to report that considerable progress had been made in the matter of drawing up the new subject syllabuses, and that the school associations were at that stage considering the proposals.[150] Some of the school associations, however, had

been rather apprehensive when these proposals were first put to them. The President of the A.S.T.I., Mr Daniel Buckley, in his Presidential Address to the Association at Easter 1966, admitted that when the idea of a new Common Intermediate Certificate was fist mooted 'There were genuine educational fears that a dilution of syllabus content or of examination standards might ensue'.[151] Subsequent clarification, however, had helped to dispel most of these misgivings, and he now considered that the new proposals had every chance of success. He continued:[152]

> I have reason to believe that the courses which will finally emerge in the near future will be good, sound, thorough courses which will afford an excellent grounding to those students who assiduously follow them. There will be no dilution but rather a strengthening in the various courses as a result of the thorough investigation and overhaul given them . . .

Only two months earlier, the Minister for Education, speaking in the Dáil, had referred to similar allegations, which had been made by members of the House, that the standard of the Intermediate Certificate would have to be lowered because it was now catering for pupils from vocational schools, and he had stated emphatically that no lowering of the standard was intended. 'Anybody doing that examination', he asserted, 'whatever school he or she may attend, will have to reach that standard if he or she is to get that examination.'[153]

While it could be assumed that there would be children who would not normally want to continue with their schooling beyond Intermediate Certificate level, it was clear that for those who did wish to go further the only educational opening which existed in the mid-sixties was the academic course leading to the Leaving Certificate and traditionally catered for in the old-type secondary schools. Referring to this fact in the Dáil, in February 1964, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery stated that he had then in mind the creation of a new Technical Leaving Certificate Examination with an appropriate course leading to it.[154] This Examination would cater for those students who, having followed a more technically-biased Intermediate Certificate Course, wished to pursue their education further. It would, in turn, lead to a higher technological course in a higher technological college or, the Minister felt, in some university faculties.[155] This latter question would be one which the university authorities would have to decide; when addressing the Seanad some months later, the Minister was of the opinion that in the same was as the existing Leaving Certificate was acceptable for matriculation purposes, so the Technical Leaving Certificate should also be

acceptable as an admission qualification to the relevant faculites.[156] He pointed out, moreover, that the new examination was one towards which pupils could be channelled from either the secondary or the vocational school after the new Intermediate Certificate Examination.[157]

Since final decisions on important issues are rarely made until there is an immediate need to do so, and since the need for the newly-structured Leaving Certificate Course would not be felt until after the first of the new Intermediate Certificate Examinations had been held in 1969, it is understandable how the Minister for Education, then Mr Brian Lenihan, could report to the Dáil in October 1968 that the necessary revision of Leaving Certificate Courses was only then being carried out.[158] He referred at the same time to certain decisions which he had taken, notably to his intention of introducing a system of grouping of subjects at Leaving Certificate level from 1969 (i.e., for pupils starting in 1969 on their two-year course of preparation for the Leaving Certificate Examination), and the subsequent introduction of an additional year's course leading to an Advanced Certificate from 1971.[159] The details of these decisions, which had already got the approval of the Government, had been first published the previous June, and in the official statement announcing them the Minister had said that it was his intention that the grouping should be done on a voluntary basis from 1969, with the intention that it would be compulsory from 1972 onwards. A final decision would not be taken in the matter, however, until the question had been re-examined in the light of its voluntary operation.[160] The proposed grouping would mean that there would be five subject groupings and each pupil would be expected to choose as part of his course at least three subjects from one group.[161] The aim of the new system was stated as follows:[162]

> This system of concentration within a particular field of related subjects, while avoiding the evils of too early specialization, will give scope for greater study in depth than has been possible heretofore and scope also for the fuller development and extension of the student's particular capabilities with consequent benefit both to the individual student and to the community.

Reaction to the Minister's latest announcement, however, was by no means favourable. Professor Denis Donoghue, for example, writing in the Autumn number of Studies in 1968 alleged that the proposals had every appearance of being a veiled attempt to make all subjects, 'not only acceptable in their several contexts, but equally acceptable for all purposes', including University entrance.[163] Professor P.M. Quinlan was equally opposed to them, and speaking

in the Seanad, in the following December, he stated: 'Practically all educational authorities have rejected the new grouping system introduced into the Leaving Certificate, and see it as an effort to water down the Leaving Certificate so that any student will get through'.[164] The weight of education opinion eventually prevailed, and in July 1969 it was announced that while the grouping system would still be recommended it would not now become compulsory in 1972 as planned, or at any stage.[165]

At both the Intermediate Certificate and Leaving Certificate Examinations which were held in 1969 a further departure was made from traditional practice in that a new mode of stating results was employed. The marks awarded to the individual candidates would no longer be disclosed to the schools, and the classifications of 'Honours', 'Pass' and 'Failure' would henceforth be abolished. Instead, candidates' results would now be shown in the form of Grades, each of which would represent a percentage range as follows:[166]

Grade A - 85 per cent. to 100 per cent.
Grade B - 70 " " 84 " "
Grade C - 55 " " 69 " "
Grade D - 40 " " 54 " "
Grade E - 25 " " 39 " "
Grade F - 10 " " 24 " "
No Grade - under 10 per cent.

In announcing this change, the Minister had emphasised that the value currently attaching to the Certificates would not be impaired by the change, but that on the contrary it would be enhanced in that the new Certificates 'will be a more informative reflection of the candidate's performance', indicating 'more accurately the level of achievement reached by the candidate in each subject presented', thus benefitting the good as well as the weak student.[167] In order to qualify for the award of the Intermediate or Leaving Certificate as the case might be, a candidate would be obliged to obtain grades not lower than Grade D in five subjects, one of the subjects to be Irish.[168] The existing regulation whereby 30 per cent. in a fifth subject was accepted instead of the pass standard of 40 per cent. for the purpose of the award of the Intermediate Certificate was abolished, as was the provision whereby 30 per cent. was the pass standard on an honours paper at Leaving

Certificate.[169] It was decided too, that apart from the Intermediate or Leaving Certificate proper, Statements of Results would be issued to every candidate indicating the grade he obtained in the subjects presented by him.[170] This is obviously a decision which is calculated to lessen the psychilogical effects of failure on industrious but untalented pupils: they will now be given, without having to ask for it, at least some documentary evidence that they spent a certain period at a post-primary school. And, at the same time, the Council of Education's firm opposition to awarding the actual Certificate to candidates who do not pass the full quota of subjects will not have been disregarded.[171]

3. Other Examinations

A. The Matriculation Examination.

Before the appearance of the Intermediate Board, the one factor which, more than any other, had determined the scope and content of the education which was given in the established secondary schools in this country, was the standard of entrance requirement demanded by university authorities and by other institutions of similar standing, notably the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical colleges. With the advent of the Board, however, it was soon found that the simultaneous serving of two masters was no easy matter, particularly in view of the fact that the examinations set by the one purported to test something quite distinct from that attempted by the other. It was pointed out in 1911 in the Irish Educational Review that while the purpose of the matriculation examination was 'merely to test the fitness of the candidate to take up university work', and not to test his knowledge, except in so far as such test was necessarily implied in the test of fitness, the Intermediate Examinations were meant 'to test the work done for its pupils by their school'.[172] Apart from this basic difference in

aim, a further difficulty, which arose simply from a lack of proper co-operation between the Board and the university authorities, was that the Senior Grade and Matriculation programmes lacked the degree of co-ordination which, despite the difference in aim, could reasonably have been expected of them: little attempt was made in the language subjects, for instance, to prescribe the same authors, where this might easily have been done, and schools were consequently forced to 'cover' a multiplicity of texts (of roughly equal merit) for those of their pupils who intended to proceed to the university.[173]

In such circumstances as these it was inevitable that the standards demanded at the Matriculation Examination, on the one hand, and at the Senior Grade (and later the Leaving Certificate) Examination, on the other, should not always be comparable. In 1929 the Department of Education, referring to the falling-off in the number of boys entering for the Leaving Certificate, which had been noticeable for a few years, stated that this was probably due to the fact that many of the pupils who completed the Secondary Course with a view to entering a university found the Matriculation Examination easier than the Leaving Certificate.[174] It was nearly a decade and a half later before any serious attempt was made to remedy this situation. In 1942, however, the Department could report that, following conferences between representatives of the National University and the Department, the courses for the Matriculation and the Leaving Certificate Examinations had now been fully co-ordinated in practically all the subjects of the curriculum, and that the National University would in future accept a Pass in a subject at the Leaving Certificate Examination as equivalent to a Pass in the corresponding subject of the Matriculation Examination.[175] But this, in turn, was not to prove a totally satisfactory answer. The university authorities gradually came to the conclusion that the Leaving Certificate Examination alone did not perform adequately the necessary function of selection for university places: for example, in the years 1958 to 1963, inclusive, the failure rate in all U.C.D. First Year Examinations was over 41 per cent., and all of these failures represented students who, the previous year (in the vast majority of cases), had been declared suitable for these very courses,[176] the assessment having been made, in most cases, on the basis of the Leaving Certificate Examination. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that, early in the school year 1965-6, the Senate of the National University

announced that in 1967, for the purposes of obtaining matriculation on the results of the Leaving Certificate Examination, a candidate, in addition to complying with the other conditions, would have to have obtained Honours at that examination in at least one subject of the Matriculation programme; and that from 1968, honours in at least two subjects would be required.[177]

The acceptance of the Leaving Certificate for matriculation purposes might at a casual glance seem to have been the ideal solution to the problem of having to cater for two different syllabuses simultaneously.[178] It will be seen, however, that under the new arrangement the influence of university requirements on the work of the secondary schools, though now more subtle, was every bit as real as it had formerly been. This, on reflection, must seem quite wrong, and it has led to much adverse comment in recent years. Mr. George Colley, speaking in the Dáil some years before he assumed responsibility for Education, stated:[179]

> In the secondary school . . . the course seems to be geared, both officially and practically, to the requirements of the universities when we know that the vast majority of the children who attend secondary schools in fact go straight from these schools into commerce and industry. I cannot therefore understand why the secondary school course should be geared to the requirements of the minority.

Professor P.M. Quinlan felt, in fact, that it would be bad if the universities were allowed to have too much of a say in determining what should be done in secondary schools. He stated:[180]

> We have got to be very careful . . . about the position of the university vis-à-vis secondary education because universities may be in a position to give an opinion but they certainly should not, in any way, be allowed to be the deciding factor on what courses are carried out in secondary schools. By and large most of our university people were in the top line of the secondary schools when they were going through. Consequently, their ideas on what the average secondary school pupil could assimilate are often very exaggerated and very unreal.

He emphasised that decisions on matters of this kind could best be made by the people who are in a position to know what can be achieved and what should be attempted at this level, namely, the secondary teachers.[181]

In other countries, for many years, the impossibility of catering adequately for a dual-purpose examination at the end of secondary education has been repeatedly emphasized. The Advisory Council on Education in Scotland felt in 1946 that such an attempt must inevitably fail. It stated:[182]

> What we may reasonably ask of the many at the close of general education and what we may expect of the relatively few who are to embark on a long course of higher studies are not merely different but so different that no single examination can by any magic be made to do justice to both assessments. Experience on both sides of the Border [i.e., the Scottish/English Border] has shown that the surest way to distort a school Certificate from its proper function is to peg it to university matriculation requirements.

In England, the Report of the Investigators of the School Certificate Examination had pointed out in 1932 that while 'it was inevitable at the time that the examination should be so arranged as to serve for the purposes of Matriculation, it is none the less unfortunate that the primary purpose of the examination should have been thereby obscured in the minds of the examiners, teachers and the general public'.[183] Adverting to this pronouncement, the Norwood Committee expressed the hope in 1943 that a solution to the problem might be found eventually. It stated:[184]

> Perhaps the time will come when the required evidence of general education can be furnished to the University by the school itself, so that examinations for University Entrance would be necessary only in the subjects of particular importance as the groundwork of the University course which the candidate proposed to study.

The Council of Education, however, when considering the position in this country in 1960, obviously found nothing wrong with the idea of a Leaving Certificate which would serve two or more purposes. Its complaint was, in fact, that there were too many examinations at Leaving Certificate level, and it implied that much might be done to simplify matters if the Leaving Certificate were accepted in place of most of them.[185] It went on:[186]

> While it is not within our scope to make recommendations except to the Minister for Education, who may have no competence in this matter, we feel that public attention should be called to what we regard as an undesirable profusion of examinations at the Leaving Certificate stage.

To the many serious problems involved in thus attempting to cater, at one and the same time, for a multiplicity of ends the Council saw no need to advert.

B. Other Examinations.

(i) The Entrance Examination. — Under the Intermediate Board there had been no general system of entrance tests for children who proposed to follow a course of secondary education, and the new Department of Education

considered that this had been one of the weaknesses of the former system, since it had meant in practice that there was no way of ensuring that only suitable pupils should enter the secondary schools.[187] Accordingly, in laying down the conditions under which the new School Grant would be paid, it was provided that no pupil should be regarded as a recognized pupil unless he had reached a standard of education which would normally be attained at the completion of one year in the sixth standard of a primary school; and that for the purpose of carrying out this regulation the Managers of secondary schools should hold an entrance examination of all new pupils before 1 October each year, all the records in connection with this examination to be available for the information of the Inspectors if required.[188] The express purpose of this new requirement was 'to ensure that pupils will in future have reached a sufficient standard of education to profit by instruction in a Secondary School'; and it was provided that no capitation grant would be paid in respect of any pupil who did not reach 'a satisfactory standard' at this examination.[189] The Department was quite pleased with the success of this new measure, and in 1928 it stated that, on the whole, the Entrance Examination was being well carried out by the schools and was serving a useful purpose. There was considerable variation in standard throughout the country, however, and it was proposed that this should be gradually 'aligned by the inspectors' assessments'.[190]

While the Department expressed its satisfaction at the advance which had been made by introducing the Entrance Examination, opinion, both at home and abroad, was not at all unanimous on the question of whether such an examination served as useful a purpose as its advocates claimed it did. 'The entrance test is purely one of attainment', Fr Ó Cathán said in 1951.[191] No official attempt was made, he alleged, to assess the pupils' aptitudes; and even as an attainment test he considered the standard quite low. The results of this were that teachers were usually unable to say what a pupil's ability was, for a year or so; and that those admitted to secondary schools were often 'pupils who just should not be in that particular type of school at all'.[192] This dissatisfaction is echoed in what Professor Hayes said in the Seanad some fifteen years later. Referring to the proposed changes in the organization of post-primary education and to the need for channelling the right child into the right type of course, he drew attention to the great dissatisfaction which had

been felt with various methods of selection which had been employed in various places in the past, and he said that if there was to be a division of pupils into groups, to follow different types of course, 'one would hope . . . that those who make that division will be competent to do it and will get some kind of special training to enable them to do it'.[193]

In other countries, developments over the past fifty years have revolutionized attitudes towards entrance examinations and towards the whole question of selection for the various forms of post-primary education.[194] Even at the beginning of this century, when some form or other of entrance test was in use in many countries, dissatisfaction was already being felt at the possibility of unfairness inherent in the lack of uniformity in entrance examination requirements and standards, and many educationists tried to propose more efficient methods of selection.[195] 'There is a spreading alarm at the demonstrated unreliability of traditional methods of examining', P.B.Ballard wrote in 1936, in reference to entrance examinations; and he alleged that more and more confidence was currently being shown in 'those objective or fool-proof methods of testing which have been developed in recent years by psychologists and statisticians'.[196] He referred in particular to the reforms which the Hadow Committee had in mind for the Special Place Examination,[197] and he believed that their implementation would change the entrance examination from being ' a simple selective test' to being 'a searching diagnostic test' which would 'aim at appraising, not merely general ability, but those specific aptitudes and interests which should determine the true place of each pupil in t he post-primary system'.[198] This, however, was more easily said than done. Had it been possible to devise such a test or series of tests as would clearly show, at the age of 11 or 12, in what direction each child's particular aptitudes and abilities pointed, the main difficulty would have been overcome. But numerous factors, not least sociological ones, were found to diminish the validity which, it had been expected, would characterize these tests. Children from culturally impoverished backgrounds, for example, were found to do much worse, on average, than children from more privileged homes. And proposals which were made to right this imbalance by various kinds of handicapping were generally rejected on the grounds that they involved what seemed to be the injustice of excluding children of high attainments in favour of children known

to be actually lower in attainment and only presumed to be higher in capacity.[199] The outcome of this has been that in most countries educators have come to the conclusion that eventual allocation of pupils to specialized departments should be based upon a period of orientation during which the pupils would not be irrevocably separated into different types of course, even though it might, for a multiplicity of reasons, be necessary to cater for them in different types of school.[200]

In this country the position remained unchanged until 1967. With effect from the beginning of the school-year 1967-8, however, the Rules were altered to allow pupils to be recognized without having to undergo an entrance examination.[201] In introducing this change, the Department made it clear that the way was not now open for the wholesale admission of any and every child who had reached the age of twelve, and in a circular to the Managers it pointed out that eligibility for enrolment in a recognised course in a secondary school had always carried with it as an implicit condition that the pupil concerned had completed a full course of primary education, and that, accordingly, pupils who had not completed sixth standard in a national school should not normally be enrolled in secondary schools.[202] This elucidation of the new ruling is directed, one assumes, at those schools which might feel tempted to abuse the new freedom for their own financial gain, and does not in any way suggest that in place of the actual entrance examination there is now to be substituted, as a general rule, some other form of qualifying bar.[203] Referring to a closely related feature of this reform, namely the abolition of the Primary School Certificate Examination, the Minister for Education, Mr Donogh O'Malley, stated early in 1968 in the Dáil that the overwhelming bulk of comment on the decision had been highly favourable, and he felt that it would be no mean contribution towards the general advance which was being made in education.[204] Later the same year, his successor as Minister, Mr Brian Lenihan, expressed the hope that the system by which it was intended to replace the Primary Certificate Examination would prove highly satisfactory, the principle of being guided by cumulative record cards offering a much greater likelihood of being accurate than that of relying on the results of a short written examination.[205] This system of record cards - which will mean in effect that a pupil entering the secondary school will in future have had his progress recorded at regular

intervals by his previous teachers, and that these records will now be put at the disposal of the authorities of the secondary school to which this pupil transfers - should in normal circumstances fulfil this expectation.[206]

(ii) Other Internal Examinations. — The Department of Education has never made a specific ruling to the effect that secondary schools are obliged to hold term examinations, but many of the schools have obviously been aware of the positive value which can attach to properly designed internal examinations, and it would seem to have been assumed by the Department that such examinations would, in fact, be held. In 1928, for example, the Department stated that the schools did not, in general, attach a sufficient degree of importance to the term examinations for non-examination classes. Question papers and answers, it complained, were seldom available for inspectors, and the papers sent to the Department in connection with the progress of scholarship pupils[207] were too often external examination papers and not papers specially contrived to test the progress of the pupils during the preceding term and to ensure revision of previous work.[208] The distinction which the Department makes here between examinations which are intended merely to give pupils practice at answering examination questions and which in consequence attempt to reproduce as closely as possible the standard of questions (if not the actual questions) which will appear on the official examination paper, and examinations which teachers use as a test of their own work, is a distinction which must always be made; for the one can fulfil a useful function in letting the teacher know from time to time how effective his teaching has been, thereby enabling him to modify his approach to suit the needs of a particular group; while the other can do little more than bring vividly before the minds of the pupils the paramount importance of the external examination itself. This is a distinction which has been clearly borne in mind by some of the official bodies who have considered the problems of secondary school examinations in Great Britain.[209] The Council of Education, however, confined its attention almost exclusively to the formal external examinations, and did not refer at all to what had been achieved or could be achieved by a judicious use of internal examinations. The only reference it did make to them was to mention the existence of the entrance examination; but here it merely summarized the Department's regulations and made no recommendations

either for its improvement or for its replacement.[210] It seems likely,however, that schools will continue to make use of the internal examination for one reason or another: the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland felt, indeed, that 'it is impossible to envisage conditions under which it would not, in some form or other, survive'.[211]

4. Reliability of Examinations

Perhaps of all the people who in recent times have argued in favour of the retention of external examinations in something like their present form, the one whose name most readily comes to mind is J.L. Brereton,M.A., sometime Assistant Secretary of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, whose Case for Examinations was published about a quarter of a century ago. In 1944 he asserted:[212]

> The [external] examination is the linch-pin of the whole [educational] system. Through its agency the students themselves reveal the success or failure of the education process through which they have passed. Syllabus, textbook, teachers, and the organisation of classes are concerned with what should be learnt by the students; the examination is concerned with what has been learnt. In the examination, the students are brought into competition with each other. They arrange themselves in an order of merit, and on the basis of this order of merit the best students are allowed to proceed to further activity, while the superiority of the best teachers is revealed through the success of their students.

While Mr Brereton was not alone in realizing that external examinations can serve some useful purpose, he went farther than most commentators in praising their worth, and he either minimized or altogether disregarded many of the valid objections which are raised to them.

In this country the Council of Education did something similar. It pointed enthusiastically to the good which external examinations could do under ideal conditions but failed to give due weight to the fact that the conditions under which they normally operate are far from being ideal.

It stated:[213]

> . . . examinations are an instrument of educational formation, valuable alike in themselves as intellectual processes and in their effects on the whole period of preparation and training. The intellectual habits which are fostered by a good examination system are developed during the years immediately preceding an examination. Examinations, wisely organised, create the capacity to acquire and use knowledge with specific ideals and ends in view: they thus demand training to select, evaluate, order and combine what is learned, and to use learning processes that will be economic and efficient . . . .
>
> Moreover, examinations are in themselves markedly educative, demanding a maximum effort throught a definite period. They require practical judgement at every moment, rigorous self-control, economic use of words, precision of statement, and objective decisions as to the relevancy to a particular topic or problem of the knowledge which the candidate has at his command.

It pointed as well to the practical value which these examinations have in providing parents, university authorities and prospective employers with an objective evaluation of a pupil's level of achievement.[214] The defects, however, which examinations were seen to have in practice, were attributed to abuse by 'a certain type of teacher', and indirectly to misguided parental pressure in cases where opportunities for employment and advancement depended on competition, and not to any inherent weakness in the system itself. In proposing separate Pass and Honours syllabuses in each subject of the Junior Course, the Council felt that it had 'gone a long way towards the solution of this problem',[215] and it concluded: 'There must be some objective way of assessing ability and competence, and none better than examinations has so far been devised.'[216]

The fashion for the past twenty or thirty years has been to decry public examinations, and to point to their flaws and inconsistencies. This tendency was referred to by Mr Daniel Buckley, President of the A.S.T.I., in 1966, and he said that it was due, in part at least, to the modern unwillingness to face unpalatable realities: 'In a sense', he said, 'examinations run counter to the grain of modern thought; in their harsh exposure of limitations and weaknesses they run counter to the modern tendency towards the "soft approach" and unwillingness to face unpleasant truths.'[217] He felt, however, that these examinations had in fact much to recommend them, his attitude towards them being substantially the same as that expressed by Fr F. H. Drinkwater, who wrote in 1921:[218]

> One of the chief aims of any education worthy of the name is to give men minds that are able to observe accurately and think clearly, to distinguish between the essential and the irrelevant, to be critical of vague and sloppy thoughts and words, to see the point at issue and to be able to bring their knowledge to bear on it. Now, it may fairly be claimed for examinations

> that they are a real test of this capacity and even that they do something to encourage it. The mere fact of sitting in front of a printed examination question, and wondering what it is exactly the man wants, is enough to force the average pupil to discover the importance of mental accuracy; and those who don't trouble to digest the question inwardly, but merely pour on to paper a stream of information which the question happens to suggest to them, are very properly weeded out.

We shall return to some of these claims presently and we shall consider them in the light of the findings of investigations which have been made in recent times into the reliability of examinations.[219]

The criticism which is levelled at external examinations normally relates either to their alleged harmful effects or to the low level of reliability which, it is claimed, attaches to them. Among the harmful effects of which they are accused, one of the most commonly mentioned is that they have a very narrowing effect on education. Writing in 1908, James Devane stated that by putting a premium on memory work examinations tended to discourage the use of the higher faculty of the imagination. To acquiesce in such a system, he felt, was very unwise, since by so doing 'we crib the mind at an age when it demands large and extended views, we stunt the growth of the intellect at a time when it is most expansive'.[220] Fr Drinkwater realized this, too, and he admitted that while they were not altogether bad, examinations did tend to prevent education from the leisurely process it needed to be.[221] Professor Denis Donoghue has alleged that their influence on teachers has been bad and that, in consequence, while excellent teachers are to be found - teachers who respect the dignity of thought and of intelligence and of choice - their number is not such that they can be said to 'constitute the norm of their profession or . . . define its "tone"'.[222] More specifically, in relation to the teaching of English, Fr Thomas Halton alleged that the temptation to rush prematurely ahead into the relatively safe ground of prescribed prose and prescribed poetry in an attempt to secure satisfactory marks at the examination, and to give scant, if any attention to many of the more basic things such as vocabulary study, pronunciation, grammar, spelling, punctuation and capitalization, had often proved too great for teachers.[223] Most teachers, he felt, would have had the experience of getting students to honours standard in English at the Intermediate Certificate Examination 'who could not speak, or write, or read English at all well - the uncharitably disposed might simply say could not do it at all! ' He himself had found, however, that 'with proper coaching and preliminary "spoon-feeding" a

multitude of imperfections can be covered'.[224] The fact that the successful students normally knew the rhyming scheme of a Petrarchan sonnet, and that they could remember for every line of their prescribed play (a) who said it and (b) to whom it had been said, seemed to be poor compensation for the fundamental things which had to be omitted.[225]

Sir Richard Livingstone, writing in 1943, regarded the public examination system of his day as only a refined form of the old system of payment by results, and he alleged that it had the same bad effect on education.[226] He claimed that the system was 'both an opiate and a poison': an opiate, because it lulled people into believing that the publication of examination results and scholarship lists proved that the schools were functioning effectively; and a poison, because it 'paralyses or at least slows down the natural activities of the healthy mind'.[227] Its harmful effect, however, was most felt by the less able child, who was, in fact, the one least prepared to bear it.[228] In some cases, indeed, the strain imposed by examinations, and the fear of failure and of the publicity which this would inevitably get, has had a very detrimental psychological effect on otherwise fine children. As John Bithrey rightly pointed out in 1944, 'Many a fine boy and girl has been demoralised by these and has left school with an inferiority complex which it has taken years to uproot.'[229] And it is a matter of common experience that such pupils, in later life, often leave their more successful schoolmates far behind, because of their good sense, their business capacity, their power of leadership or because of some other valuable quality which had been present during their schooldays but which went undetected owing to the limitations of an imperfect examination system.

External examinations, however, have been criticised on a more fundamental issue than this. Their claim to objectivity and strict impartiality and a fair degree of accuracy has also been brought into question. Fr Ó Cathain, for example, complained that an examination which purports to pass judgement by means of one single paper on a pupil's work during anything from two to four years in a given subject, can certainly not expect to be able to give anything more than a very limited picture of what the pupil has achieved in that subject in that period; and he stated that 'Even under optimum conditions such an isolated sampling is contrary to well-established rules of testing'.[230]

He alleged, too, that in those subjects where the essay-type answer was normally expected, a much too high degree of objectivity was claimed for the examinations, in view of what he termed 'the inherent and insuperable difficulty of assessing objectively the essay and the essay-type answer'; and he went on: 'If by "objective" what is meant is "impersonal", then the qualification may be granted, for what it is worth; but if the word is used to mean a fair, factual judgement of a pupil's achievement, it has only a very limited validity.'[231] And Fr Ó Catháin is by no means alone in making this last charge. Fr Halton quoted the findings of an investigation which was carried out in the United States in 1959. In one case an eight grade composition was read twice by 28 teachers. Fifteen who gave it a pass mark the first time failed it on the second occasion, while eleven who failed it the first time passed it the second. As for different readers' opinions of the same paper, marks ranging from 50 to 98 had been awarded on the same paper as read by 142 teachers. From evidence such as this he was inclined to conclude that while all examination results were approximations, the marking of compsition was the least accurate approximation of all.[232]

While the number of isolated attacks which have been made against public examinations must be considereable, the results of the investigations carried out over thirty years ago in England by Hartog, Valenine and others into the accuracy of examination assessments have probably had the greatest influence of all in undermining, in Britain if not in this country, public confidence in the value of these examinations. After having erased the marks which had been officially awarded, examining bodies had handed over their candidates' answer books to this group of investigators. These books were marked again, more than once, by different examiners 'carefully chosen, highly qualified and of long experience', with results so divergent, so inconsistent and so contradictory that the gravest doubts began to be entertained about the reliability of the examination systems themselves as well as about the results.[233] The investigators had gone to considerable lengths to ensure that their findings would be reliable and consequently they felt that they could state unambiguously that 'the discrepancies between the marks of the different examiners afford an indication of the element of chance in examinations as they are at present conducted'; and that 'a change in the selection of particular examiners, from a panel of persons who are all experienced and regarded as well qualified, would tend to

to affect the fate of individual candidates'.[234] An interesting feature of their report is that, while they would admit that the essay-type examinations are most likely to yield inaccurate results, they found that 'The general idea that mathematics and science subjects can be marked with greater precision than humanistic subjects is apparently not founded on a sound basis'.[235]

A recent investigation which was carried out in this country into the Leaving Certificate Examination has come to very similar conclusions. In January 1969 the Department of Education was presented with the findings of a survey which had been made, at the Department's own request, into the 1967 Leaving Certificate Examination, by a team of researchers under Dr George Madaus, of the Education Department of Boston College, and Fr John Macnamara, C.M., Ph.D., then research assistant at the Educational Research Centre at St Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra.[236] One of the startling features of this report is the very wide range of variation which Dr Macnamara alleged can exist between the marks awarded by two equally competent and conscientious markers attempting to follow the same marking scheme. 'The chances are 1 in 20', he stated in an interview, 'that a student who received more than 50 per cent. for his paper from one examiner, would receive either more than 60 per cent. or less than 40 per cent. for the same paper from a different marker, or from the original marker on a different occasion.'[237] Further serious charges relate to the actual quality of intellectual work required of students. Using six grades of intellectual functioning as criteris - viz., (1) knowledge or memory work, (2) comprehension, (3) application, (4) analysis, (5) synthesis, and (6) evaluation - the raters judged that most marks could be gained by the exercise of low-level intellectual abilities.[238] Having made a detailed analysis of the questions set at Pass and Honours Leaving Certificate level, and having taken into account the official syllabus, the official marking schemes composed by the Department of Education, various text-books and commercially available review note-books as well as a selection of students' personal notebooks, the conclusion was reached that 'The majority of Leaving Certificate students can, and probably do, gain most of their marks, in most subjects, for potted answers to stereotyped questions which they have committed to memory before their exams'.[239]

Apart from the considerable margin of variation which these investigations have shown to exist in the actual awarding of marks, there are other factors which further tend to invalidate whatever conclusions we may still hope to draw from examination results. Chief among these is what Sir Philip Hartog has termed 'the element of chance due to the variability of condition in individual candidates, arising from illness or accident, which it is difficult to estimate statistically'.[240] The fact that individual candidates may not feel well on a particular day, and may fail, in consequence, to do full justice to themselves in an examination is a possibility which can be readily accepted. The extent to which this factor may influence examination results, however, is something which may not be fully realized. Writing in the Times Educational Supplement in August 1968, Dr C.J.Lucas, Director and Psychiatric Adviser of the Student Health Association at University College, London, pointed out that various kinds of what is popularly known as 'nervousness' can have a devastating effect on the performance of even good candidates in an examination. It is not necessary, he stated, for a student to know very little about the prescribed course, for him to feel apprehensive about his prospects of passing. 'People respond to events', he said, 'not as they are by some objective standard, but in terms of the significance which the event has for the individual by virtue of his past history and his psychological make-up.'[241] It so happens that very intelligent, hard-working students can sometimes be the ones whom the examination tension affects most; but in our examination system as it exists at present in this country there is not provision for taking this factor into account.[242]

How then, one may ask, has the examination system survived, in the face of such repeated and apparently well-founded attacks? There are more reasons than one, presumably, J.L. Brereton looked on them as 'a counter to arbitrary selection and private patronage' and as 'a bulwark of fair competition', which had come into being in the last century, and which had offered to the able child of the poor man a welcome means of competing with more privileged children.[243] John Bithrey could not conceive of their abolition: 'Harmful though they be,' he reasonably argued, 'we have nothing to put in their place. Their results, it is true, are only approximately correct, but do we ever anywhere achieve more than a rough approximation to what is right and just in human affairs? . . . Their results are unaffected by prejudice or favour. . . . The certificates are

accepted everywhere without question.'[244]

Fr Ó Cathán, however, felt otherwise. He certainly did not regard them as irreplaceable, and he deplored the fact that the wonderful chance to make a new beginning, which had presented itself in 1924, had been wasted:[245]

> It was not that they [the education authorities] were without guidance. Even at that period a good deal had been written in English about the evils of external examinations. Even at that period they had the example of other countries which had rejected the system without chaos taking over. But there was no need to go outside their own country. They need not have looked further than Pearse. I wonder how many of them remembered his impassioned plea for freedom in our schools? . . . But in 1924 Pearse was dead, and his followers could do no better than to set up, with the best intentions in the world, one more form of external examination - a form which they found ready to hand in the proposals of a Vice-Regal Commission of 1919.

What Fr Ó Cathán would, in fact, like to see established was a system under which individual schools would award their own certificates, and elsewhere he cited the Jesuit schools in Belgium, and all Dutch schools as examples of places where this system was found to work effectively.[246] He would disregard the suggestion that this system would be likely to lead to considerable variation in standard from school to school. School authorities would be very slow, he felt, to award a certificate to an unworthy candidate, as it would take only a few years for university authorities or business firms to check the accuracy of the awards which each school was making, and schools would realize that it would take many years to restore confidence in a school which had once been found to cheat.[247]

One cannot help wondering what the result would have been had Fr Ó Cathán's suggestion been implemented. That it might have proved an outstanding success is quite conceivable. As with all radical departures from an established order, however, it could as easily have led to utter chaos; and it was probably this danger, coupled with a realization of the few positive virtues which the existing system possessed, which led the Committee of the International Institute Examinations Enquiry to refrain from recommending any radical change, when it disclosed in England in the nineteen-thirties that external examinations were not as reliable as they had been tought to be.[248] 'The Committee', Sir Philip Hartog stated, 'are clearly opposed to the root and branch policy, on the ground that examinations as a test of efficiency are necessary.'[249] They recommended some changes, however, and stressed the need for careful research:[250]

> . . . they hold that it is as impracticable to recommend an a priori cure for the defects of the present examination system as it would be to recommend an a priori cure for a disease. It is only by careful and systematic experiment that methods of examination can be devised not liable to the distressing uncertainties of the present system.

Detailed and systematic reserach and experiment is in fact the only answer. The Department of Education may perhaps have taken the first step in the right direction in authorising Dr Madaus and his associates to carry out their recent investigation. One can only hope that this is but a beginning. Perhaps the setting up of a special Examination Branch within the Department, as recommended by Fr Macnamara,[251] would be a further step in the right direction.

CHAPTER SEVEN: TEACHERS

CHAPTER VII: TEACHERS.

This chapter will set out to trace the fortunes of the Irish secondary teaching profession from 1878 to the present day. The main divisions of the chapter will be made on a chronological basis, section 1 dealing with the period from 1878 to 1922, and section 2 with that from 1922 to 1968. Within each of these sections, however, the material will be treated in accordance with two principles: in section 1, since the subject matter here still lends itself to a partly chronological subdivision, the arrangement will be that subsection A will deal with the period 1878-1914, subsection B with the establishment of the Register of Intermediate School Teachers in Ireland in accordance with the Intermediate Education (Ireland)Act of 1914, subsection C with the early efforts which were made, in accordance with further provisions of the same Act, to provide some form of public aid towards the payment of secondary teachers' salaries, and subsection D with the Vice-Regal Committee, 1919, and the general implications of its findings; in section 2, where for most of the period in question no outstanding landmark is met with, the material will be arranged according to subject-matter, subsection A dealing with teachers' qualifications, subsection B with their numbers, subsection C with the question of their salaries, allowances etc., and subsection D with superannuation provision. For the sake of clarity subsection C of section 2 will be further divided under sub-subheadings: sub-subsection (i) will be devoted to general considerations; sub-subsection (ii) to the question of Basic School Salary; sub-subsection (iii) to that of Incremental Salary and Allowances; sub-subsection (iv) to the concept of 'parity' and its history in teachers' salary negotiations in this country since 1944; and sub-subsection (v) to the question of lack of promotion opportunities for lay secondary teachers.

1. Under the Intermediate System.

A. 1878 to 1914.

Before 1901 the state did not concern itself with the qualifications or claims of the teachers in intermediate schools. It merely provided funds for promoting intermediate education, these funds being distributed among the schools almost solely on a basis of successes in the examinations.[1] The qualifications, status or terms of employment of the teachers who contributed to these successes were in no way conditions precedent to the payment of grants: the state merely paid on results without inquiring into the means by which the results were obtained. In these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the qualifications of the teachers employed should have varied - to quote the Vice-Regal Committee, 1919 - 'to an extreme degree'.[2]

Undoubtedly there were many excellent teachers to be found working in the schools during the first quarter of a century or so of the Intermediate Board's existence. Tradition dies hard, and the failure of the state to lay down minimum standards of educational attainment and of teaching ability for prospective entrants to the profession did not, in itself, turn good teachers into bad ones. It is quite certain, for example, that many excellent hedgeschool masters, such as those referred to by Monsignor Brenan,[3] continued to teach with equal conscientiousness and energy after the passing of the Act of 1878. That there were many other teachers, however, who lacked both educational qualifications and teaching aptitude, is equally certain, and the Intermediate System has been frequently criticised for allowing a situation to continue wherein anybody could be given charge of a class in an intermediate school. The actual operation of the System, in its early years, tended to deter managers of schools from employing an adequate number of well-qualified teachers, and the Intermediate Board pointed to this in 1882 as a weighty reason why it should be allotted sufficient funds to enable it to meet its annual commitments without having to reduce the scale of results fees: it stated that the very serious reduction in the scale of fees which it had been obliged to recommend for the year 1882[4] would undoubtedly discourage school managers from inter alia offering such salaries

as would attract more efficient staff to their schools.[5]

The clerical and religious teachers,[6] who constituted a large percentage of the whole teaching force in intermediate schools, have been singled out for particular and very bitter criticism by F. Hugh O'Donnell, firstly on the grounds of their own particular inadequacies as teachers, and secondly in that they effectively barred the way to large numbers of laymen[7] who might otherwise be afforded a livelihood as intermediate teachers.[8] Referring to the teaching orders of Sisters, he stated:[9]

> . . . their inculcation of pietistic ignorance and superficiality disqualifies multitudes of Irish girls for the duties of home and the holiest hopes of womanhood. . . . The young girls of a whole country, steeped and sodden in mawkish sentimentalities instead of the higher truths of Catholic Religion, and habituated to devout exercises instead of useful learning, form a deplorable contribution to the well-being of the general community. Their rapid and mechanical training largely explains the character of the pseudo-literary matter they continue to assimilate in after life, . . . a veritable fount of unpractical living and uncultured thinking, the Irish Convent School is a perpetual agency for idleness, shiftlessness, depopulation and emigration.

In his attack on clerical teachers in Catholic diocesan schools he quotes the Catholic Bishop of Limerick as saying:[10]

> Almost all secondary education in Ireland is in the hands of the Clergy. In almost every diocese there is a seminary, which is the school both for candidates for ecclesiastical colleges and for laymen . . . The Bishop selects among his young priests generally one just ordained. He chooses the best educated and cleverest as teacher of the school . . . These young priests are clever men . . . but they come out of Maynooth absolutely deficient in all classical education, and in all scientific and mathematical education, and, above all, deficient in that undefinable thing that is not knowledge but culture . . . I could not find among the priests of my diocese a single man who was competent to teach the schoolboys in my school the very elements of either Chemistry, Botany, Physics or any of the Natural Sciences.

As has been pointed out in an earlier Chapter,[11] and as must be obvious from the present extracts, the whole spirit of O'Donnell's work is vehemently antagonistic to the schools run by Irish Catholic bodies. Accordingly, even in the absence of any concrete evidence to the contrary, one would be rather disinclined to take his criticisms at their face value. As we have seen, however, evidence which goes a good way to disproving his allegations is to be found even in the Reports of the Intermediate Board.[12] And while Dr O'Dwyer's allegations concerning the lack of culture and specialized scientific knowledge among the clergy of his diocese may seem at first sight to constitute a serious indictment of the quality of the clerical teachers in diocesan schools in

general, one should not forget, firstly that the Bishop's conclusions were probably drawn exclusively from his experience of his own diocese with its small diocesan college, and were not necessarily true of conditions in other dioceses; and secondly, that his standard of what constituted 'a true education' or a cultured clergyman may have been so extraordinarily high as to be met only in the most exceptional cases. What can certainly be asserted of all Irish Catholic schools was that, despite their inadequacies they were inspired by a high idealism: their religious and clerical teachers laboured tirelessly for the worthiest of motives - the Christian education of their pupils.[13] And there can be little doubt that the example of such disinterested service left its mark for the better on all but the most thankless child.

The first step towards the formal training of intermediate teachers in Ireland would seem to have been the examinations in the History and Theory of Education and in the Practice of Teaching which were held for the first time in Trinity College, Dublin, in January, 1893, at which three candidates, all English teachers, presented themselves.[14] These examinations were open only to graduates, and it was necessary to pass in the History and Theory of Education before being admitted to the practical test. A diploma was awarded to all who passed in both examinations. No permanent provision, however, would seem to have been made for lectures or for a course of instruction. In March of the same year a statute of the Royal University creating a Diploma in Teaching for graduates of the University was approved.[15] These developments were in line with contemporary trends abroad. Towards the close of the nineteenth century the English universities had begun establishing their own training departments in which graduates who wished to become teachers could, on completing their degree course, acquire some knowledge of the theory and practice of education.[16] These university training departments arranged for their students to have teaching practice in schools, and for their theoretical studies to be closely associated with actual experience in the classroom.[17] A further similar development in Ireland was the establishment in September 1898 at the Ursuline Convent, Waterford, of a training college (recognised by the Cambridge Syndicate) for women teachers in secondary schools.[18] There was as yet, however, no compulsion on prospective teachers to take any of these courses, nor, in fact, had graduates, generally speaking, any inducement other than their own enthusiasm to undertake the extra

year's study involved in acquiring the university Diploma in Teaching.

In 1901 the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction ruled that teachers engaged in teaching subjects of the Department's programme should have certain qualifications, and instituted a register of qualified teachers of experimental science, drawing etc. It provided free summer courses for the training of such teachers and even paid maintenance allowances and travelling expenses in the case of teachers following them.[19] The majority of intermediate teachers, however, did not come under this scheme, and it was not until the passing of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act of 1914 that the claims of the secondary teaching profession as a whole were any way recognized.[20]

The position of intermediate teachers in the period prior to the Act of 1914 has been described as follows by the Vice-Regal Committee in 1919:[21]

> The intermediate teacher . . . although in many cases possessing the highest academic attainments and doing work of the utmost importance for the general welfare of the nation, worked under most unsatisfactory conditions. If he wished to undergo a course of training he had to do so at his own expense; his salary depended on the resources of the school in which he happened to be employed, and these were as a rule small and uncertain; . . . he was liable to dismissal without notice; and when he was no longer fit for his work by reason of old age or physical disability, his position, in the absence of a pension scheme, was often deplorable.

In an endeavour to better the position, the Government, in appointing Messrs. F.H. Dale and T. A. Stephens in 1904 to inquire into the system of intermediate and technical education in Ireland, had directed their attention in particular to 'the possibility of establishing a profession of intermediate teachers analogous to that of elementary teachers'.[22] In their Report, which was published in 1905, Dale and Stephens had shown the very unsatisfactory position of assistant teachers in intermediate schools and had revealed that large numbers of inexperienced teachers were employed in them:[23]

> The primary cause of this unsatisfactory feature in the intermediate schools [they stated] is undoubtedly the low salaries paid to the assistant teachers in them, and the absence of any real prospect of obtaining a competence, since the prizes of the profession in the form of well-paid headmasterships are very few. . . . It is not surprising that from every source from which we obtained information we learnt that no Irish graduate, save in exceptional cases, will enter the teaching profession if any other career presents itself to him. . . . There is a real danger that in the consideration of administrative machinery public opinion may lose sight of the condition without which the machinery is comparatively valueless, namely, the provision of a body of competent and well-qualified teachers.

While they had been unable to botain complete returns as to the salaries paid to assistant masters and assistant mistresses, Dale and Stephens had ascertained that in the year 1903 the average salary paid in 70 intermediate schools to assistant masters had been £8 6s.7d., while that paid in 47 intermediate schools to assistant mistresses had been £48.2s.7d.[24] The principal result of the low salaries paid to assistant, J. J. Auchmuty has pointed out, was that very few possessed university degrees.[25] He stated, for example, that in 1904 the proportion of Catholic men teachers who were graduates was only 11.5 per cent. while that of Protestant men teachers was 55.8 per cent.; in the case of women, with fewer opportunities of university education, only 8 per cent. of Catholic women teachers had obtained degrees while 30 per cent. of Protestants had done so.[26]

The disparity here shown to exist between Catholic and Protestant teachers is attributable in large measure to the fact that Protestant schools were, on the whole, able to offer much better salaries and conditions of service to their teachers than were their Catholic counterparts, both because many of them benefited from considerable endowments and because, in many cases, they charged fees very much larger than those charged in Catholic schools. Fr Andrew Murphy pointed this out in 1911 and stated: 'It is clear to everybody who knows anything of the facts, that it is not in the power of the schools to be more generous to the teachers than they have been.'[27] Comparing this country with England, he stated that the amount of fees paid by each pupil in the best and most expensive of Irish boarding-schools was not more than a quarter of what was being paid per pupil in corresponding English schools: while the contemporary fee in a good-class English boarding school was between £120 and £150 per annum, that asked in similar establishments in this country was only £30 to £35; and the cost of day-school education, he estimated, was from six to twelve times as great in England as it was here.[28] This situation had, undoubtedly, its good side, in that it enabled many relatively poor children to obtain a secondary education, which they would not have got under other circumstances; but it was only possible under a system 'which offers the free services of a large body of devoted religious teachers, men and women, who look for nothing but their support'.[29] But for the fact that they had to pay nothing to their religious teachers, Fr Murphy claimed, the schools would have been unable to pay anything

at all to lay teachers or to keep any of them on their staffs.[30] This view was shared by the Catholic Headmasters' Association, and at their General Meeting in October 1910 a resolution to this effect had been passed stating:[31]

> We are strongly in sympathy with the desire of the Secondary Teachers to raise their status, and improve and secure, as far as may be, their financial position in the matter of salaries and pensions, but in the present state of Intermediate finance, it is impossible for us to do more than express our sympathy in these general terms.

The Intermediate Board was not unaware of the plight of the schools; it recognized that it was not through any disinclination on the part of the school authorities that adequate salaries were not being offered to teachers, but through sheer lack of funds. Referring to this in 1911 it stated that many cases had been brought to the notice of the Board by the Inspectors where efficiency would be ensured for a school if it had more ample funds at its disposal to increase its staff and pay higher salaries to its teachers.[32] 'It often happens', it claimed, 'that men who could do excellent work as teachers are deterred from entering the profession by the hopelessness of the prospect before them.' The Board emphasized, however, that 'The fault does not lie with the Heads of Schools. There is a limit to their resources'; what was needed was an increased grant similar to that which had been given in England.[33] In May of the same year, the Chief Secretary, speaking in the House of Commons on the claims of secondary education in Ireland, stated that it was his desire to raise the status of secondary schools, and this, in his opinion, could only be done by raising the status of the teachers in these schools. He said: 'The Chancellor of the Exchequer is quite willing this year to set apart a sum of money for Intermediate Education, to be dealt with as the Board of Intermediate Education and those interested and concerned with secondary schools in Ireland determine'.[34] Nothing further was heard of this suggestion, however, until 1914, and in that year Mr Birrell fulfilled his promise when the Intermediate Education Bill which he introduced made provision for the payment of an annual sum of £40,000 (called in the Act 'the Teachers' Salaries Grant'), in accordance with rules to be made by the Lord Lieutenant and approved by the Treasury.[35]

B. The Establishment of the Register.

The first official step towards the establishment in this country of a Register of Intermediate School Teachers was taken when the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, was passed.[36] The Registration Council which was set up under the provisions of this Act held its first meeting on 8 December 1915,[37] and the regulations which it framed were officially approved by the Lord Lieutenant on 7 March 1918, and came into force on 31 July of the same year.[38] When the Vice-Regal Committee was taking evidence in 1919 the Intermediate Board (on whom the duty of forming and keeping the Register had been imposed by the Act) was engaged on the task of drawing up the initial Register, and at that time about 1,900 teachers had already been admitted.[39]

Demands for the setting up of such a register had long been made; the Intermediate Education Commission, reporting in 1899, had stated that the important question of registration of teachers in intermediate schools had been brought under their notice, but they had deemed the subject to be outside the scope of the Commission.[40] Had the establishment of a register been a straightforward matter, there is no doubt but that provision would have been made for one sooner. As it was, however, a number of formidable difficulties lay in the way, the most serious of which will be considered in the paragraphs which follow.

It has been pointed out in the last subsection that the proportion of Irish intermediate teachers holding university degrees or teaching qualifications was less than ideal.[41] This fact alone led to serious difficulty when proposals for a register were being considered, since it was coming to be realized that if the register was to be of real value the qualifications for registration would have to be a university degree and a teaching qualification. Fr Andrew Murphy voiced the fears of many teachers when he stated in 1911:[42]

> To demand training as a basis is out of the question; such a demand would clear out the staffs of the large majority of schools. To demand a degree is equally impossible. There is no need to argue the point as everybody is aware of the holocaust of excellent teachers that would follow the enforcing of such a demand.

If diplomas and degrees were to be excluded, however, it must have been fairly obvious to everyone that the mere fact of having one's name on whatever register might be compiled would be of little benefit to anyone.

A further difficulty arose from the fact that the teachers in primary schools were vehemently opposed to the setting up of separate registers for different groups of teachers, or, for that matter, to the addition to a single register of sub-registers which would separate the teachers according to the type of school or class of work for which they were specially fitted.[43] This attitude, from their point of view, is understandable, since any emphasis on the higher qualifications possessed by other groups of teachers would necessarily point to a lower level of qualification in their own case; and whatever one may think of such an attitude, it has to be admitted that it constituted a substantial hindrance to the establishment of a register of intermediate school teachers in this country.

Such difficulties as these, however, were not a peculiarly Irish phenomenon. In England, too, it had been found that attempts at establishing a similar register there were meeting with much the same kind of opposition. In a very exhaustive report into the whole problem,[44] Sir Robert L. Morant stated in 1911 that while a register which demanded a low level of qualification would probably be acceptable to a greater number of teachers, such a register would be of very doubtful value. He said:[45]

> . . . it is clear that if the [Registration] Council are to exact in the case of an applicant who is teaching (say) boys or girls of sixteen or seventeen, in the higher forms of a secondary school, the educational qualifications (query, a degree) and the requisite experience (and, query, a suitable professional training), without which such a person would not usually be regarded as fit to do that work, the Council must in some way be able to refuse to register such a person when not thus qualified. Indeed this is precisely the purpose for which many of those who have pressed for a Register most desire to have it, viz., to raise the standard of qualifications of the teaching staffs in these schools [italics mine] . . .

If, on the other hand, there was to be one, and only one, minimum demanded from everyone seeking admission to the register, that minimum would either, to be effective in the case of teachers doing higher work, have to be so high that it would exclude quite unjustifiably from the Teachers' Register many who were perfectly well fitted for their own kind of work, and ought, therefore, to be admitted, or else it would have to be a low minimum which would let into the

register large numbers of other persons who were not really qualified for the kind of teaching work they intended to do, though they might have no difficulty in showing that in qualifications they reached the requisite minimum for getting on to the Register.[46]

The Irish Hierarchy, too, were inclined to regard the setting up of a Register with suspicion. They were willing, however, to agree in principle to its establishment, and in 1912 they issued the following statement:[47]

> . . . as far as we are concerned we are quite ready to agree to the formation of a Register on condition that we are satisfied as to the persons who are to make it, the principle on which they are to proceed, and that due allowance is made for the special circumstances of our nuns and other religious teachers.

They were not too enthusiastic, however, about its chances of success: they referred to the difficulties encountered in England in the attempts made there to establish one, emphasizing that the only thing which had at that stage been accomplished there was the setting up of the Council whose business it would be to constitute the Register.[48]

The regulations which were eventually framed by the Registration Council, and which came into force on 31 July 1918, whereby an applicant for registration had to have a degree of a British, Irish, or approved foreign university, a diploma in education of an Irish or British university, and three years' teaching experience in intermediate schools under the control of the Board, were regarded by the Vice-Regal Committee in 1919 as likely to lead to a considerable raising of standard in intermediate schools generally;[49] and the Committee felt that the recommendations which it had made with regard to tenure of appointment, remuneration and pensions,[50] should be applied to registered teachers only, since it was its view that a teacher who had not the qualifications necessary for registration could not expect to have the same benefits accorded to him as would be accorded to one who was fully qualified. It said:[51]

> One of the principal aims of registration is to raise the status of the profession, and this can be done only by insisting on a high standard of qualifications. If a teacher has not attained to that standard it is not in the interest of the profession that he should be put upon the same level as the fully-qualified teachers.

The view that the exaction of a high level of qualification from prospective entrants to the profession would be the best means of raising the standard of teaching in the schools, though generally accepted, does not meet with universal

approval. Dr Martin Brenan, for example, has stated that it seemed quite doubtful to him whether 'the modern security [sic] for qualification' was at all superior to the older hedge-school system where 'the sufficiency of the . . . masters depended on competition'.[52] It was his view that the necessity of continually having to prove his worth was 'a tremendous incentive to the teachers to become learned and competent', and he feared that the security which the establishment of a register conferred might often have the opposite effect to that which was expected of it, inasmuch as that it could well encourage a harmful complacency.[53] The principles embodied in the 1918 regulations, however, are the ones which underlie the regulations which are in force today, and the regulations themselves have remained more or less unchanged in the course of the intervening fifty years.[54]

C. Grants towards Teachers' Salaries.

Besides making provision for the establishment of a Register of Intermediate Teachers, the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, also provided that:[55]

> . . . there shall be paid to the Board in each year out of moneys provided by Parliament a sum not exceeding forty thousand pounds, and an amount equivalent to the sum so paid (in this Act referred to as the Teachers' Salaries Grant) shall be applied by the Board in a manner provided by rules made by the Lord Lieutenant under this Act and approved by the Treasury.

In the same way, however, as the setting up of the Register was fraught with difficulties, so also was the drawing up of rules according to which the Teachers' Salaries Grant would be applied. The main issues will be discussed in the following paragraphs.

In introducing his Bill to the House of Commons, Mr Birrell had stated: 'We propose to provide that money [i.e., the £40,000] , and that it should go to the lay teachers who are there in the schools in the proportion of one to forty pupils.'[56] This language gave rise to a widespread impression that the Bill was intended to secure the payment of the whole sum to lay teachers, though

the wording of the Bill itself drew no distinction between lay teachers and clerical teachers. The draft scheme for the distribution of the grant, however which was published on 10 September 1912,[57] made it a condition of payment that each boys' school would have not less than one registered lay assistant teacher, at a minimum salary of £120 a year for each 40 pupils on the roll, and each girls' school would have not less than one lay assistant teacher, at a minimum salary of £80 a year, for the same number of pupils on the roll.[58] This specific condition now became the centre-point of a wave of vehement opposition which was mounted against the proposed Scheme.

The overwhelming weight of opposition came, as might have been expected, from the Catholic school authorities. In their view, the really objectionable feature of the regulation was neither the figures mentioned as minimum salaries nor the actual proportion of lay teachers demanded, but rather the principle upon which the latter demand rested - the principle, to use Fr Murphy's words, 'that priests and religious do not possess the same rights as laymen to earn their own livelihood',[59] This, they felt, constituted a serious threat to their continued existence. 'If the Chief Secretary', Fr Murphy said, 'has the right to say what proportion of lay teachers are to be employed in the schools of clergy or religious orders, then it is an act of grace on his part to fix the proportion so low as one for every forty pupils, and besides the religious teachers to be dismissed at once [which would happen in some schools if this provision were to be complied with] , the others would hold their places only by Mr Birrell's favour.'[60] The alleged injustice which the measure would involve was outlined by Fr Murphy as follows:[61]

> Bishops establish diocesan colleges primarily to secure the necessary supply of ecclesiastics for their dioceses, but as there is nothing special or professional at this early stage in the education of intending ecclesiastics, as far as school curriculum is concerned, the doors of these colleges are thrown open and all their advantages are offered to all pupils without distinction. The religious Orders - Jesuits, Fathers of the Holy Ghost, Christian Brothers and the rest - provide by their own exertions great schools in pursuance of their mission as educators. The schools belong to those who built and maintain them, but Mr Birrell claims the right to say to any one of these owners: 'You must dismiss such proportion as I determine of members of your own body and employ laymen in their stead.' On what conceivable ground is this claim based unless on the ground that the rights of laymen to employment are superior to those of priests or religious?

He was extremely doubtful that such action on the part of the Chief Secretary, if proceeded with, would remain for long an isolated measure: he saw it, indeed, as a first step towards an eventual 'complete laicisation of our schools'.[62]

At a general meeting, held in the same month as the Draft Scheme was issued, the Catholic Headmasters' Association and the Committee representing Convent Schools reaffirmed their desire 'to see an improvement in the position of many of the assistant teachers' and stated that they were prepared to accept 'any reasonable and practicable conditions, meant to secure such improvement'.[63] They were strongly opposed, however, to the making of any distinction between lay teachers and those who were clerical or religious, saying that it was one thing to admit, as they did, that lay teachers had substantial rights, but quite another thing to claim for 'outsiders', merely because they were lay people, the right to thrust themselves into the schools, and to require the dismissal of religious teachers to make room for them.[64] They were of the opinion, in fact, that what Mr Birrell had in mind was to nationalize the schools: 'In plain words,' they said, 'this demand logically involves the claim to seize the schools built and maintained by the Bishops and the Religious Orders for the Catholic people of Ireland, and turn them into Government schools.'[65]

The Hierarchy, at its meeting in October of the same year, considered that the matter was serious enough to issue a statement on it. They stated that while they had done their utmost out of the very slender resources of their schools to remunerate the secondary teachers, they earnestly desired to see the position of lay teachers in these schools improved, and they welcomed any increase in the public grant, however inadequate, that would facilitate such improvement.[66] They were not prepared, however, to concede the justice of a regulation which would insist on the employment of a definite number of lay teachers in each school: 'In the allocation of a public grant for Intermediate Education,' they stated, 'we must protest against the discrimination between lay and clerical teachers, and vindicate as an inalienable right the power to employ the teachers whose services the interests of education demand, whether laymen or clerics.'[67]

While it had been the Government's intention that, in the distribution of the grant, the establishment of a Register should be an essential part of the bargain, it was nevertheless realized that, if the actual payment were not to be deferred for a very considerable length of time, there would have to be drawn up a Scheme for the distribution of the grant, which might be put into

operation even before the establishment of the Register.[68] The Chief Secretary was quite adamant, however, that since the Grant was expressly aimed at raising the status of lay secondary teachers, it was essential that, even before the setting up of a Register, the conditions under which it was applied should contain some guarantee that the existing proportion of lay teachers actually teaching in the schools should be at least maintained; 'for although it is no doubt the case', he stated, 'that the Government will retain nominal control over this grant from year to year, it would be impossible for them, once the grant was given, to take it away unless a breach of one of the conditions on which it was originally made was plainly manifest'.[69] His original intention had indeed been to insist that a stated proportion of lay teachers should be maintained in each school and not merely 'in the general body of lay and clerical teachers throughout the country at large';[70] but, as will be seen in the next paragraph, he eventually yielded on this point.

Definitive Rules for the application of the grant were finally made on 29 January 1915 by the Lord Lieutenant, with the approval of the Treasury.[71] These Rules provided that the Board should distribute the grant among the managers of intermediate schools to whom results fees were paid in respect of the school year immediately preceding the distribution, 'rateably in proportion to the amount of the results fees so paid to them respectively'.[72] Since the teachers employed in Protestant schools were overwhelmingly laymen, and since any difficulty which would arise in the matter of maintaining a due proportion of lay teachers would arise in the case of Catholic schools, it was decided that, for the purposes of the Rules, the schools participating in a distribution of the Grant should be divided into two groups, namely, (1) those under Catholic management, and (2) those not under Catholic management. The conditions as to the employment of duly qualified lay teachers were declared to apply separately to the schools under Catholic management which participated in a distribution of the Grant, considered as one group, and to the schools not under Catholic management which participated in a distribution of the grant taken as another group.[73] The first condition was that, in the case of each group, the total number of duly qualified lay teachers employed in the schools comprised in the group might not be less than one-fortieth of the total number of intermediate pupils attending those schools. The second condition prescribed that no duly qualified lay teacher should be taken into account

for this purpose unless: (a) he was normally engaged in giving instruction in intermediate subjects in one or more of the schools comprised in a group for not less than ten hours a week; (b) he was entitled under his contract of employment to a salary of not less than the appropriate minimum salary specified - viz.: for men £140 per annum (£110 if board and lodging were provided), and for women £90 per annum (£70 if board and lodging were provided); (c) unless his contract of employment (except in case of dismissal for gross misconduct) was determinable only upon three months' notice in writing taking effect at the end of a school term.[74] The Intermediate Board was required to make an annual report to the Lord Lieutenant with respect to the distribution of the Grant, and it was laid down that if after any distribution it should appear to the Lord Lieutenant that the conditions as to the employment of duly qualified lay teachers were not being complied with, then 'non-compliance shall be taken to be a ground of discontinuing the aforesaid method of distribution either generally or as respects the group of schools concerned, and for prescribing a new method of distribution in order to carry out more effectually the purpose aforesaid.'[75]

Despite Mr Birrell's great diligence in the matter of ensuring that the Teachers' Salaries Grant would in fact be used to raise the status of lay intermediate teachers, and despite the clearly stated rules which he drew up with this end in view, it turned out, in the event, that the money was not devoted exclusively to teachers' salaries, and the Vice-Regal Committee complained in 1919: 'In many cases only a portion of the extra grant secured by the schools which shared in its distribution was expended upon salaries'.[76] The Committee stated, in fact, that in the case of the Catholic group of schools, the terms on which the Grant was distributed had not been complied with. The power to alter the method of distributing the Grant, however, which the rules conferred on the Lord Lieutenant to meet just this eventuality, was never invoked. The Catholic Managers, for their part, saw little wrong with this, since they had insisted from the beginning that the Grant should have gone to secondary education in general and should not have been allotted exclusively to the betterment of the lay teachers' salaries and conditions of employment. In outlining the way in which the Grant came into being, Fr Andrew Murphy had pointed out in 1913 that, in a statement issued in June 1910, the Joint Committee of Heads of Schools - Catholic and Protestant - had based their claim for additional financial

assistance, not on the specific needs of the lay teachers, but on the unequal treatment which was meted out to secondary education in this country as compared with that given to similar education in England and Wales, and in Scotland.[77] This was the argument, Fr Murphy claimed, which moved the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, to remedy the situation. In an interview which Fr Murphy and a Protestant colleague had with him in May 1911, the Chancellor had expressed his surprise at the 'discrimination against Ireland'[78] shown in the Joint Committee's statement, and he promised that while he had not then sufficient money to meet the full demand of £100,000, he promised to set aside that year a 'substantial sum' for the purpose of meeting the claim to some extent, 'without prejudice to the right of renewing the claim for the full amount in the following year'.[79] The subsequent allocation of the eventual Grant, specifically for Teachers' Salaries, and in accordance with conditions to which he took particular exception,[80] appeared to Fr Murphy as a measure designed (he repeatedly insinuated) by the Chief Secretary, to take control of Irish Catholic intermediate schools out of the hands of the Catholic Managers.[81] Consequently, the fact that the conditions under which the Grant was distributed were not strictly enforced was regarded by these managers as no more than a tacit concession of their rights.

In March 1918, Parliament voted an additional Grant of £50,000 for intermediate education in Ireland, and Rules, dated 13 March 1918, were made by the Lord Lieutenant for its distribution. This money was distributed among the schools, on a capitation basis, in the same month, in respect of the financial year 1917-1918.[82] Among the conditions in accordance with which this Grant would be distributed were the following: (1) the Board would have to be satisfied with the buildings and equipment of the school, the quality of the teaching, and the terms of employment of the teaching staff; (2) except as provided below (Condition (4)), for each complete 40 pupils upon whom the Capitation Grant was payable, and for each twenty or more such pupils in excess of 40 or a multiple of 40, there would have to be employed at least one teacher who was recognised by the Board, and who, in addition, satisfied one of the following conditions: (a) was in receipt of a salary of at least £20 per annum in excess of the minimum stated in the Schedule to the Teachers' Salaries Grant Rules, 1915, and had the security of tenure required by the same Rules;[83] (b) was the owner of the school, such owner, for the purpose of this rule, being regarded as being employed in the school;

(3) where the school had certain teachers satisfying the above conditions, but not a sufficient number, the Capitation Grant would be reduced so as to be in proportion to the number of such teachers, and similarly, where the number of such teachers was in excess of the number required by the conditions, the Grant would be increased so as to be in proportion to the number of such teachers, no account, however, being taken of teachers in excess of one to every twenty pupils; (4) in the case of schools with less than 40 pupils in localities where, in the opinion of the Board, a really useful purpose was served by such schools, the Board might, if it thought fit, pay the Capitation Grant even if condition (2) was not satisfied, provided that the Board was satisfied on presentation of the accounts of the school that a satisfactory proportion of the income of the school was paid to those actually engaged in teaching the pupils.[84] Under the powers conferred on them by the rules, the Board laid down the conditions of recognition of teachers for the purposes of the Grant. Of these, the chief ones were: (1) the name of the teacher had to be on the Register of Intermediate School Teachers (Ireland); (2) the teacher had normally to be engaged for not less than 15 hours per week in giving instruction to pupils upon whom the Grant was payable; (3) the Board had to be satisfied that the teacher's work was efficient.[85] The Grant was first distributed in March 1918 in respect of the school year 1917-18, the bulk of it being distributed on a capitation basis.[86]

D. The Vice-Regal Committee, 1919.

Even when the difficulties were to some extent resolved, and the Teachers' Salaries Grant had been distributed in the manner prescribed in the Rules, the position of teachers, even in schools where the provisions of the Scheme were observed, was far from satisfactory; in other schools - and there were many of them - it was deplorable. The Intermediate Board drew attention to this in 1917 and referred to the Reports which had been made for the two previous years on the administration of the Grant as having called attention in a striking manner to the unsatisfactory nature of the status and remuneration of

teachers in Irish secondary schools.[87] Out of a total of 1,142 lay teachers only 398, or less than 35 per cent., had salaries and security of tenure which satisfied the requirements of the Rules for the Distribution of the Grant.[88] Considerably over 35 per cent. of these teachers were non-resident and in receipt of an annual salary of less than £100. Again, out of the 1,142 lay-teachers, there were not 40 assistant teachers who enjoyed an annual salary of £200 or over.[89] 'Commenting on these figures' the Board added, 'is hardly necessary, and it cannot be denied that no improvement in the secondary education of the country can be anticipated until steps are taken to ameliorate the condition of the teachers.'[90]

In view of the seriousness of the situation a Committee was appointed by the Lord Lieutenant in 1918 'to enquire and report as to any improvement which may appear desirable to be made in the conditions of service and in the remuneration of teachers in Intermediate Schools in Ireland, and in the distribution of the grant made from public funds for Intermediate Education and as to the best means in the public interest of effecting such improvements'.[91] The Committee examined a large number of witnesses, and furnished a Report in March 1919, in which they laid down a comprehensive scheme for the payment to teachers of minimum salaries and increments and recommended the institution of a pension scheme.[92] This Committee's recommendations will be considered (under the headings of salaries, security of tenure and superannuation) in the paragraphs which follow.

Pearse had pointed out, shortly before his death, that 'between the salary offered to teachers and the excellence of a country's educational system there is a vital connection',[93] and his words were undoubtedly inspired by the miserable spectacle which he witnessed all around him in the schools. The Vice-Regal Committee, in its turn, was clearly convinced by the evidence presented to it that if matters were not set right without delay, irreparable harm would result. With regard to the remuneration of teachers it stated: 'The salaries usual at present in intermediate schools in Ireland are such that there is grave danger that, unless considerable improvements are at once effected, it will be impossible to secure in the future men and women with the necessary qualifications.'[94] Referring to the minimum salaries provided for in the Rules for the Distribution of the Additional Parliamentary Grant, 1918, the Committee stated that while these

salaries left room for improvement even as initial salaries, they were altogether inadequate when regarded as fixed or maximum salaries, as was often the case; even viewed as average salaries they considered that they constituted a grave menace to the efficiency of the intermediate schools.[95] What was needed, the Committee felt, if men and women of ability were to be attracted, was not that the salary in the first instance should be specially tempting, but that it should be progressive, 'so that a teacher should have the assurance that, with proper qualifications, zeal and increasing experience, he may look forward to an income upon which he can live with comfort and self-respect'.[96] This, they felt, was particularly important in view of the fact that few assistant teachers could become principals, and the essential problem was how the profession of an assistant teacher might 'be made in itself an honourable and desirable career'.[97] Accordingly they recommended that in the case of all full-time teachers in recognised intermediate schools, who were fully registered in accordance with the Regulations for the Register of the Intermediate School Teachers in Ireland, the initial salary should not be less than £180 per annum, and that it should rise by £10 a year to £240, and afterwards by £15 a year to £450 per annum. The school, they felt, should be required to pay the minimum salary, and the Central Authority should be responsible for paying the increments, 'as otherwise the expenses of staffing a school would be liable to expand beyond the school's financial capacity'.[98] They stressed that this recommendation represented what they considered to be the adequate minimum initial salary, and did not exclude higher salaries where the school authorities thought these to be justified by special circumstances, and were prepared to accept the responsibility for such additional expenditure.[99]

The Committee could not see their way to recommending any variation in the application of the scale of increments on the ground either of special ability as a teacher or of specially high academic qualifications, since the former could only be proved by experience and the value of the latter would have to be tested in the actual work of the teacher.[100] Neither were they prepared to recommend that there should be any difference in salary between men and women, though the Chairman and another member of the Committee would not subscribe to this view. These gentlemen pointed out that the payment of lower salaries to women was universal in secondary schools in England, Ireland and Scotland, and the practice was, they felt, 'founded on sound and economic reasons'.[101]

They quoted from the Report of a similar Committee which had studied the matter in Britain, in which it was stated:[102]

> The salaries of both men and women must be adequate. Equality of pay for the two sexes would, in existing circumstances, lead to one being underpaid or the other overpaid. . . . We should be glad to see the salaries of the two sexes in the first few years of service approximate as closely as possible; in present social and economic conditions differences in the later stages of service seem to be inevitable.

Fr Andrew Murphy had also felt the same on this point; it had been his view that there were strong grounds for giving men higher salaries. He stated:[103]

> When a man takes up this or any other profession it is to his purpose to support himself and in course of time a wife and family, and it should be made possible for him to do this in decent comfort. When a young woman takes up teaching she does so as a means of securing herself independence and freedom in the few years, the fewer the better in her opinion, between the end of her school life and her marriage. We are speaking exlusively of Catholic girls, and in the course of a long and wide experience we cannot recall a single exception to the rule. A Catholic girl who desires a celibate life devoted to teaching becomes a nun.

The Vice-Regal Committee made no special recommendation regarding the salaries of heads of schools. They were of the opinion that the same salaries should apply to them as far as the Central Authority was concerned, but that the responsible authorities of each school should increase the salary of the headmaster or headmistress 'in proportion to their merits'.[104]

Before 1914 a teacher was liable to summary dismissal, and often received it.[105] The conditions embodied in the Rules for the Distribution of the Teachers' Salaries Grant had rendered the position more stable,[106] but the Vice-Regal Committee was of the opinion that it had gone only a small way towards settling the problem of insecurity of tenure. While they did not think that absolute fixity of tenure was possible, they felt that the current feeling of insecurity would be largely removed if it were everywhere agreed that a teachers' employment should continue during efficiency and good conduct. They realized, however, that a decrease in the number of pupils, a re-arrangement of the school curriculum, or other causes might sometimes make it necessary for an efficient teacher to be dismissed.[107] They recommended, therefore, that the contract of employment (except in the case of dismissal for gross misconduct) should be determinable only on three months' notice in writing, on either side, taking effect at the end of a school term,[108] provided that in every case where a teacher had served for the whole of a school year, he should receive a full year's salary, and that where he had served for a lesser period he would receive a proportionate part of the salary on the basis that he was entitled to a full year's

salary for a full year's work.[109]

As a safeguard against capricious dismissal, the Committee recommended that when notice of dismissal was given the teacher should, within a month, have the right of appeal to some referee or tribunal, and if such referee or tribunal should decide that notice of dismissal should not have been given, then such notice should be withdrawn. If, however, it appeared that the head of the school was not willing to take back the teacher, or that the teacher had satisfactory reasons for not wanting to return, the referee or tribunal might award the teach 'such sum, not exceeding twelve months of the salary payable by the school, as shall appear in the circumstances of the case to be just, such sum to be paid out of the school funds'.[110] This provision for a right of appeal proved to be one of the most contentious recommendations in the whole Report. In an explanatory Note to this provision, Fr Corcoran pointed out that while every teacher had a reasonable right of appeal against a notice of dismissal which he felt to be arbitrary, harsh or capricious, this right of appeal would have to be'reasonably in accord with the nature of the school and its work'.[111] He held that the tribunal, in particular, would have to be comprised of people who would understand the educational outlook of the particular school; and he outlined his argument, inasmuch as it referred to Catholic schools, as follows:[112]

> The most essential issue [he said] in the Catholic nature of Catholic schools is full Catholic control of the choice of teachers, retention of teachers, and removal of teachers. . . . Questions of vital importance to the essential mission of the Catholic Schools, arising out of the religious, moral and sociological views, conduct and influence of teachers in these schools, may easily become matters of adjudication for such an appellate authority. . . . Such issues could never be permitted by any Catholic School worthy of the name, to go for adjudication, under a form of contract or otherwise, before a tribunal not strictly consonant, in its whole being and guiding principles, with Catholic authority, both in matters of doctrine and of educational practice.

Another member of the Committee, Canon Marshall, was not in agreement with this view: he was entirely opposed to giving any legal right of appeal which would entail on the headmaster the obligation of replacing the teacher or paying damages to him, since 'It would give assistants a quasi-proprietorial claim to schools which they did not build and for the finances of which they are not responsible, though their salaries are a first charge on the income'.[113]

The teachers, however, as might have been expected, viewed the matter quite differently. They were dissatisfied with the majority recommendation

of the Committee on the grounds that the security it offered them was inadequate: an efficient teacher might still be dismissed even though he was guilty of no misconduct, and the right of appeal which was offered to him was embodied in conditions which suggested that the proposed tribunal might well be less than sympathetic to the teacher's point of view. In a Minority Report, R.M. Henry, W. J. Williams and Annie McHugh stated: 'As the contract of employment is drawn up by the person or body who appoint the teacher, the right of appeal amounts to a right secured to one party in the dispute to appeal to a referee named by the other party.'[114] An appeal, they maintained, should be to an obviously impartial body, such as one appointed or sanctioned by the State: 'In asserting a right of appeal', they said, 'we assert no more than that the private interpretation of his own rights by the head of the school should be controlled by the general good sense of the community as interpreted by an independent tribunal sanctioned by a public authority.'[115] They referred to a claim made in evidence before the Committee that a lay teacher in a Catholic school might be dismissed solely because the head of the school wanted to replace him by a member of a religious order; that such a dismissal might take effect without any consideration of the efficiency or conduct of the teacher; and that such power of dismissal was regarded by some Catholc headmasters as 'an inalienable prerogative of their position'.[116] They were unable to see how a Catholic teacher's right of appeal to a publicly constituted tribunal against arbitrary dismissal would be likely to interfere with the efficiency, dignity or freedom of Catholic schools; and they declared that a situation in which such dismissals were permitted would do much more harm to the schools than an arrangement embodying adequate safeguards for the teachers.[117]

With regard to the question of superannuation, the Vice-Regal Committee felt that such provision for intermediate teachers in Ireland was long overdue. Their enquiries had shown them that not only did the secondary teachers in most continental countries receive pensions, but that the widows of teachers were also entitled to them if the teacher had served for a certain number of years; in some countries provision was made even for a teacher's children.[118] Primary teachers both in England and in Ireland had long enjoyed pension rights, and the School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918, had provided for a pension scheme for secondary teachers in England and Wales. It appeared to the Committee, therefore,

that there was no valid reason why Irish secondary teachers should continue to be the exception, and they recommended that a superannuation scheme be introduced to cater for them.[119] Having given due consideration to the evidence put forward on both sides, the Committee came to the conclusion that a contributory scheme would be quite unsuitable for application in this country, and accordingly they recommended 'that a scheme of pensions for teachers in Intermediate schools in Ireland should be established, and that it should follow the lines of the School Teachers (Superannuation) Act, 1918.[120]

The Government appeared to receive favourably the Vice-Regal Committee's suggestions, and a Departmental Committee was set up to draft a Bill to recast the whole framework of Irish education on the lines suggested by the Committee's Report and by that of another Committee presided over by Lord Killanin which had considered the problems connected with the provision of primary education in this country.[121] This Bill, which went in some respects beyond the recommendations of the Vice-Regal Committee, proposed to place primary, secondary and technical instruction under one Ministry, to provide salaries, increments and pensions for teachers, and to abolish the system set up by the Act of 1878.[122] It was introduced in the Autumn session of 1919 and read a first time. In some quarters, however, it gave rise to fierce opposition; the Hierarchy, for example, had declared in relation to it that: 'It is . . . a gross and intolerable abuse of public power to endeavour to make the just remuneration of our teachers depend on the passing of a Bill that is framed in defiance of the will of our people and utterly repugnant to the interests of Ireland, whether educational, national or religious.'[123] Whatever the reason, the Bill was not further proceeded with,[124] and no major change was introduced thereafter until the Irish Government re-organised the whole system in 1922.[125]

With the failure of the Vice-Regal Committee to effect any changes for the better, the Intermediate Board made a last plea that something be done for the teachers, and, in making it, gave a vivid picture of the position as it existed in 1920.[126] In that year out of a total of 1,349 lay teachers only 100 were in receipt of a salary of £200 per annum, and of these, 31 were heads of schools. About 30 per cent. of the whole number of lay teachers were in receipt of salaries of less than £100 per annum. To emphasize what an utterly

deplorable situation these figures represented, the Board pointed out that the purchasing value of £200 in 1920 was equal to that of about £80 before the war.[127] Referring to the strike which had taken place in that year in certain secondary schools, the Board stated that, deplorable as such action was, it was hardly to be wondered at, especially 'when it is remembered that fully qualified teachers in secondary schools are worse paid than most unskilled workers'; and it continued:[128]

> Under the circumstances the problem before the managers of schools of finding recruits for their teaching staff or even of retaining the services of their present teachers is fast becoming, or rather has already become, a well nigh impossible one. Already during the present school year many schools have been compelled to stop the teaching of important subjects which had formerly figured in their curriculum because they could not get a single applicant for the vacant post. In other cases, some of the best teachers have already left Ireland to take up teaching at double or treble the salary in England or Scotland, while others have abandoned teaching altogether as they can obtain higher wages in almost any other line of work. A disquieting feature is that in such cases it is the best members of the staff who leave; and where it is possible to replace them at all, this can only be done by accepting applicants whose qualifications are such that a few years ago their applications would not have been considered for a moment.

The prospect for the future looked, if anything, worse, and many teachers had already declared their intention of leaving their positions at the end of the school year.[129] The new Register, which had been looked to as a most valuable step in the upgrading of the status of teachers, was, at the very beginning of its existence, threatened with extinction, since it was most unlikely that men and women would undergo the course of training necessary to qualify for registration while the conditions and prospects remained as they were.[130] It is against this background that we must view Professor Michael Tierney's plea that the best material should be enticed into the teaching profession when the new State would be established:[131]

> The profession [he said] must be regarded as without debate the most important of all for society, and just as the first efforts of the state must be towards the perfection of its educational system, so the crowning achievement of that system must be to provide teachers who are not half-educated men groping in the dark . . . but men of the most proven knowledge and ability, uniting to their knowledge the qualities which may make them what Pearse dreamed of for Irish children - foster parents.

To what extent the position was ultimately righted and to what extent Professor Tierney's hopes were realized are questions to which we shall now turn our attention.

2. Under the Department of Education.

A. Qualifications.

The Regulations for the Register of Intermediate School Teachers, which had originally been drawn up by the Registration Council constituted under the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, are, in their main requirements, essentially the same today as when they were first drawn up in 1918.[132] The principal conditions of registration are now as follows: (1) an applicant must have obtained either (a) an degree of a university in Ireland or Great Britain, or of 'such other university as may, with the approval of the Minister, be recognized by the Council for this purpose',[133] or (b) one of the Diplomas specified in Schedule D of the Regulations,[134] or 'such other diploma or certificate of having completed a course of study as shall be approved for this purpose by a resolution of the Council, approved by the Minister, expressly adjudging such a course of study to be the equivalent, for the purposes of the Council, to the qualification set forth in (a) in respect of programme, tests of proficiency, and duraction';[135] (2) an applicant must have obtained one of the teaching qualifications specified in Schedule E of the Regulations,[136] or 'such other university diploma or qualification as the Council may recognise with the approval of the Minister', such diploma or qualification having been obtained 'after a satisfactory course of training in the theory and practice of education accompanied by practice in teaching under supervision and extending over a period or periods equivalent to one academic year not being concurrent with the time of general educational preparation for a degree or its equivalent';[137] (3) an applicant must produce evidence of having had one year's satisfactory experience as a teacher in a recognised secondary school or schools,[138] no period of experience, however, which is concurrent with the time of general educational preparation for a degree or its equivalent, or with the period during which the qualification in teaching is acquired, being accepted for the purpose of this regulation; (4) an applicant must produce evidence of having ' a competent knowledge of the

Irish language'.[139]

Whatever changes in detaile have been introduced into the Regulations since the mid-nineteen-twenties have been made with the approval of the Minister for Education in accordance with the Registration Council (Constitution and Procedure) Rules, 1926.[140] The requirement regarding Irish, for example, came into force in this manner in 1942.[141] The rule dealing with experience in teaching which had originally demanded three years' satisfactory experience, instead of one, before an applicant would be definitively registered,[142] was modified, too, and by 1959 registration could be granted after one year of such experience.[143] Most of the other changes which were made from time to time by the Registration Council have been concerned with modifying one or other of the list given in Schedules D and E of the Regulations, the modification normally taking the form of the addition to a list of a further acceptable qualification or qualifications.[144] With regard to certain additions which have been made to the list in Schedule D, it should be noted that while the regulations for admission to the School of Education at Trinity College, Dublin, are met by the possession of such university degree or other equivalent qualification as is recognised by the Registration Council, the National University does not allow the holders of ecclesiastical degrees from some continental universities to sit for the Higher Diploma unless they pass a qualifying examination, despite the fact that these qualifications are accepted by the Registration Council as being the equivalent, for the purposes of registration, of a primary degree of the National University.[145] This anomaly springs, no doubt, from an understandable desire on the part of the authorities of the National University to exercise their right to prescribe whatever standard of entrance requirement they think suitable for the courses which they provide, and from the equally understandable desire on the part of the Registration Council to exercise its functions independently and to prescribe whatever it judges to be a suitable level of qualification for prospective entrants to the secondary teaching profession. Undoubtedly the number of students involved is very small. Yet it seems a pity that such inconsistency should exist at all; and one feels that, given a sufficient amount of goodwill on the part of those involved, a solution acceptable to all parties could be arrived at.

The Higher Diploma course itself has been subjected to considerable criticism in recent years, mainly on the grounds that it is not sufficiently practical.[146] Speaking in the Dáil in 1962, some years before he became Minister for Education, Mr George Colley clearly implied that the course was not adequate and stated that national teachers were given a better training in teaching.[147] In a memorandum presented to the authorities of University College, Cork, in 1968, by the Higher Diploma students, many of the deficiencies of the course, as seen by the students themselves, were pointed out. But while the College authorities were inclined to agree with the main points in the memorandum, they were unprepared to take any radical action because of a 'widespread belief that the Minister for Education may shortly introduce important changes in the present structure of teacher-training in this country'.[148] Mr Colley also urged in 1962 that secondary teachers should not be allowed to teach subjects in which they were not trained;[149] and Mr O'Malley, when Minister for Education in 1968, gave expression to the same view, stating, in reference to the shortage of fully-qualified teachers of art, that 'There is no point in talking about what we will do about art without solving the teacher training problem. You cannot have teachers trying to teach our children for examinations which they have not passed themselves, brilliant and capable as they might be'.[150]

This last-mentioned weakness in the system is one which the A.S.T.I. has been at pains to emphasize for many years, and in 1965 a past-President of the Association, Senator Dónall Ó Connallain, stated in the Seanad:[151]

> I think that we are more or less a laughing stock in other countries when we have to admit that a teacher who has a degree in any set of subjects and a Higher Diploma in Education is therefore qualified to teach any subject under the sun. I think it is a system that is unknown anywhere else . . .

He said that it was one of the things against which his Association had been crying out for a number of years, and that they had proposed what he felt was a very reasonable basis on which it might be adjusted. This basis was that no teacher should be allowed to teach a subject to Leaving Certificate standard that he had not studied at degree level in the university, and to no class up to intermediate standard that he had not studied at some stage in the university.[152] The organisational difficulties to which a change in this rule would give rise, however, are still proving an obstacle to its alteration, and the O.E.C.D. Survey Team, in its Report, published in 1966, warned: 'If it is felt that teachers

should have a formal university qualification in the subjects they teach, it would seem to be extremely desirable that detailed studies . . . be carried out to gauge the implications for the schools of introducing such a policy.'[153]

A further criticism made of the Irish method of training secondary teachers is that adequate provision has never been made for keeping teachers up to date, especially with regard to new methods of teaching. Courses of various kinds have, indeed, been held from time to time to cater for particular and immediate needs. In the late nineteen-twenties one of the most pressing needs was for the provision of an ample supply of teachers who could both teach Irish satisfactorily and teach other subjects through the medium of Irish, and the courses which were organised with this end in view appear to have been reasonably successful despite the Department's occasional complaints that they were not as satisfactorily attended as it would have wished.[154] Similar courses were held in Geography, Mathematics and other subjects from time to time,[155] but, at least for the first thirty years or so of Irish government, it would not seem as if this country managed to keep pace with the more advanced countries in this particular respect. Fr Thomas Halton pointed out in 1958 that, judged by international standards, the provision made for the further training of existing secondary teachers in this country was altogether negligible. He referred to a survey on secondary teacher training which had been made by UNESCO for the seventeenth International Conference of Public Education, held in Geneva in 1954, in which the Irish authorities had been quoted as stating that the provision they made in this regard consisted of 'occasional refresher courses organised by the Department of Education'. Even this, Fr Halton felt, was an optimistic picture of the situation here, 'but it compares most unfavourably with the accounts from other countries of scholarships tenable abroad, sabbatical years, vacation courses, study groups and workshops, specialist teachers' associations, teacher exchanges and so on'.[156]

The need for such courses, too, is nowadays becoming more urgent because of the ever-increasing speed at which educational theory and pedagogical practice become obsolete. 'So rapid is the rate of change of technology in contemporary economic life', John Vaizey stated in 1967, 'that many people have to face the fact that the skills which they at present use will become redundant and

they will have to be retained once, and perhaps several times, during the course of their professional lifetime.'[157] The recent changes which have been introduced into the curriculum, particularly in mathematics and the sciences, have made it imperative that teachers be brought up to date, and within the past five years or so a considerable increase is noticeable in the number and range of courses for teachers. In May 1964, the Minister for Education, Dr Hillery, announced in the Dáil that the evening courses for teachers of mathematics and science, which were then being provided in Dublin, Cork and Galway by the universities, had been so successful that he had decided to supplement them by providing a summer-course of four weeks duration, 'ag roinnt ionad ar fud na tíre', for teachers who could not manage to attend the evening courses.[158] The following year, Mr Colley, who was then Minister for Education, announced plans for 'sraith i bhfad níos leithne de chúrsaí', which would cater for a wider range of subjects than had formerly been catered for, and would include week-end courses 'ag ionaid oiriúnacha' throughout the country, as well as a four-week residential summer course in each of the three modern continental languages, French, German and Spanish.[159] In subsequent years the pattern seems to have been much the same; and it appears very likely that the evening course and the week-end course and the summer course are devices which must increasingly be employed, as time goes on, if teachers are to be kept up to date on the new developments both in educational theory in general as well as in their own particular field.

B. Numbers Entering the Profession.

The Regulations for the Register of Intermediate School Teachers, which had been drawn up under the provisions of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, and which came into operation on 31 July 1918, provided inter alia for a transition period of seven years from the date of the establishment of the Register, during which teachers who were unable to satisfy the conditions as to attainments and training could be admitted to the Register

on the evidence of satisfactory teaching experience and fitness for the teaching profession.[160] This transition period ended on 31 July 1925, and on that date 3,130 teachers had been registered.[161] Of this number 1,208 held university degrees, 494 of which were honours degrees; 24 held an approved equivalent of a university degree. 414 held a recognised qualification in training in teaching. Of the total number, only 352 possessed the 3 qualifications demanded (i.e., had a university degree or equivalent and a qualification in training in teaching, and had the required teaching experience); 942 had 2 qualifications, 880 having a degree (or equivalent) and teaching experience, and 62 having a qualification in training and teaching experience; 1,836 held no qualification other than teaching experience.[162]

The figures which are given in Table VII.1 show that in the period of 40 years from 1925 to 1965 the total number of teachers employed in Irish secondary schools more than trebled and the number of registered teachers almost trebled.[163] The figures do not, however, with the exception of those for 1960 and after, distinguish between full-time and part-time teachers. Consequently, it is not possible to say, in respect of the years 1925 to 1955, inclusive, precisely how many full-time men teachers and full-time women teachers were employed in Irish secondary schools. It can be seen at a glance that, as regards the number of registered teachers employed, the number of women has been more or less equal to the number of men. The totals, on the other hand, show that more women than men have been employed in each of the chosen years, and that in recent times they have tended to outnumber the men by an increasingly greater margin. The figures for 1960 and 1965, however, would seem to indicate that the difference in totals for men and women in those particular years is very largely a matter of the difference between the number of part-time men teachers and the number of part-time women teachers employed; and that if only full-time teachers were taken into consideration the difference would be very slight. To what extent this explanation would be true in respect of the years from 1925 to 1955, inclusive, cannot be determined from the information available in the Annual Reports. It does seem likely, however, that the same explanation would be valid, at least to some extent, for some considerable time prior to 1960, since the difference in totals corresponds fairly closely to the difference in respect of unregistered teachers, and since the part-time teachers would have been, with very few

exceptions, included under this heading.[164]

Around 1960, roughly 97 per cent. of registered secondary teachers were graduates.[165] In the survey carried out in the early nineteen-sixties with the co-operation of the O.E.C.D. it was found that, in the school year 1961-2, the distribution of graduate teachers in Irish secondary schools appeared to be more or less as follows: graduates in Arts, 82.2 per cent.; graduates in Science 8.6 per cent.; graduates in Commerce, 5.1 per cent.; and other graduates (e.g., B.Mus., B. Agric. Sc.), 4.1 per cent.[166] The survey team found, however, that while the schools had little difficulty, on the whole, in attracting an adequate number of graduates as such, considerable difficulty was sometimes experienced in trying to find graduates in particular subjects, and also certain non-graduate specialist teachers. Teachers of mathematics, science, rural science, modern languages, metalwork and engineering were in particularly short supply, though the shortage of mathematics teachers was more acute in the case of women and that of modern language teachers in the case of men.[167] Nor was the Survey Team alone in arriving at this conclusion. Reporting to the General Synod of the Church of Ireland in 1965, the Advisory Committee on Secondary Education in the Republic of Ireland drew attention to the 'extremely meagre supply' of Protestant graduates going into secondary teaching, especially graduates qualified in Science, Mathematics and Modern Languages. The position, indeed, was so bad that the Committee considered that it was 'approaching the proportions of a crisis'.[168]

That an accute scarcity of well-qualified teachers of mathematics may be experienced even in the case of boys' schools in the not too distant future would now seem to be well within the bounds of possibility. Experience abroad would certainly point in this direction: it was stated in 1962 by Michael Hutchinson and Christopher Yourg that in England, even in the Grammar Schools (where, it is assumed, ceteris paribus, teachers will normally chose to teach in preference to choosing a secondary modern school) it was quite difficult to get mathematics graduates.[169] John Vaizey, too, has pointed this out. Writing in 1967, he said that while there was little evidence of difficulty being experienced in recruiting for the profession as a whole, there was a distinct shortage of more qualified people: 'For the mere [sic; the author obviously means 'more'] highly qualified possessors of scarce skills such as mathematics and physics, however,

teaching represents an exceptionally poor choice [i.e., from the point of view of salary, etc.] , and for this reason there has been a notable decline in the professional qualifications of those who teach these subjects in the sixth forms'.[170] To counteract this tendency Professor Vaizey would be prepared to pay higher salaries to 'first-class graduates' in these subjects in an attempt to entice them into the teaching profession.[171]

In attempting to determine whether or not the future need for graduate teachers was likely to be met, the O.E.C.D. Survey Team made an analysis of the position from 1950-1 to 1962-3. Taking the number of teachers registered in a particular year as a percentage of the number of graduates who did the Higher Diploma course the previous year but one (when the majority of those seeking registration would normally have done it) they established that on average 70.0 per cent. of those who did the Higher Diploma were subsequently registered.[172] In a similar fashion, they compared the numbers doing the Higher Diploma course with the numbers who had gradudated the previous year, and found that, on average, 18.6 per cent. did the Higher Diploma.[173] The percentage here, however, showed a considerable increase, over the years: those doing the Higher Diploma course in 1948-9 constituted only 14.8 per cent. of those who had graduated the previous year; while the corresponding figure for those doing the Diploma in 1961-2 was 23.0 per cent.[174] They concluded that 'in the light of the projected requirements and projected outflow, the necessary inflow will be forthcoming in so far as total numbers are concerned, given the projected increase in university output'.[175]

John Vaizey, however, has pointed out that while the Survey Team's examination of the supply and demand for teachers was based on enrolment projections, these projections themselves were 'notably cautious estimates'.[176] He felt that the full consequences of Ireland's expected economic growth had not been given adequate prominence, especially the more rapid demand for education, which such growth would inevitably entail.[177] Furthermore, he felt that the whole pattern of emigration from this country was changing: that 'We may well be coming to a situation where emigration as a net figure actually ceases and there may, indeed, even be a reversal of this pattern'.[178] He based his forecase on the assumption that since the population of Britain (excluding Northern Ireland) was expected to rise from 50 million in 1967 to 70 million in the space of a gener-

ation, and since a large proportion of these would have Irish blood - 'a significant number' being first generation Irish immigrants - the natural thing to expect would be a sizeable rise in the Irish immigration rate:[179]

> I can easily foresee a situation in this explosion of population in the United Kingdom [he said] where first the tide of immigrants from Ireland to England is almost reversed and secondly, where the family pattern and the marriage habits of the United Kingdom spread to Ireland, where the age of marriage drops, the incidence of marriage rises and where the rate of population growth increases substantially. If this is so, then the educational problem, the problem of finding teachers, may easily be transformed in the next ten or fifteen years in Ireland itself.

C. Salaries and Allowances.

(i) General Considerations. — Speaking in the Dáil in May 1961, Mr Denis Jones stated that teaching was not a job but a vocation, and he went on: 'We can be justifiably proud that that vocation has never been looked on from the mere money point of view'.[180] A somewhat similar attitude, one suspects, lies behind the assertion made some seven years later by the Ryan Tribunal to the effect that 'The status of a profession is not determined by economic considerations alone';[181] and this is one of those points of view which one repeatedly encounters in public discussions on the question of the remuneration and status of teachers. Referring to it, however, in 1962 as 'A popular national myth', two English educationists pointed out that it is a theory which, in England, has been actively fostered by successive governments, reluctant to face the problem of recruiting teachers by offering them adequate salaries; and they continued:[182]

> Teaching, says the myth, is not quite the same as other people's jobs. It is a 'vocation'. We don't really want to compete with other salaries in the open market (says the myth), because if we do we probably won't get the right sort of person. A good teacher has a 'vocation' for teaching: we don't want the kind of person who is only looking for a good salary. . . . The peculiar thing is that the myth is contrary to the practice of every other profession and of the business world. Teachers are just as human as everybody else. . . and they are not prepared to sacrifice a way of life and a standard of living to become teachers. They expect to receive a salary not less than that which is received by people of equivalent intelligence and qualifications engaged in other professions or occupations.

In fine, while teachers are among the first to admit that a high degree of dedication is an essential requirement if one is to be successful in this profession, they fail to see how the need for such dedication can be put forward as a reason for not paying them an adequate salary.

As will be seen later in this subsection,[183] the actual salaries paid to secondary teachers in this country over the years have been, with the rare exceptions,[184] quite small, being considerably less than those being offered in most other areas of employment to people with comparable qualifications. The Roe Committee, referring in 1949 to the low salaries then being offered to teachers in general stressed that 'only in exceptional circumstances' could teachers possessing knowledge and ability and 'all the qualities that go to the effective teaching of the young' be obtained when the profession is badly paid; and they considered that 'payment of salaries which would attract the best possible type of person to the teaching profession would be a sound national investment . . .'[185] The Advisory Committee on Secondary Education set up by the General Synod of the Church of Irdand reported in 1965 that among the several causes to which the current shortage of teachers in Protestant Secondary schools could be attributed the chief one was the inadequate salary offered to young graduates.[186] A similar view was taken by the Chairman of the Irish Science Teachers' Association in 1967, and he urged that immediate steps be taken to make the profession one to which undergraduates could be expected to aspire. He said:[187]

> We must foster conditions that will urge young men and women to begin their university careers as fully committed to being teachers as others are to being doctors or engineers. That this may be so they must be assured that they will not lose financially and that they will be as highly thought of as other professions.

The first step in this direction, he felt, would be a very considerable increase in the salary offered to probationer teachers, whose current rate of remuneration constituted little more than a half of what would be available to them in industry.[188] The same point had been made a few years earlier by Senator Ross. In December 1964 he had pointed out in the Seanad that something would have to be done without delay to entice graduates to take up secondary teaching here, in preference to teaching abroad or to entering industry. 'If we are to get the best teachers', he said, 'we must compete with the cost of paying teachers outside the country [i.e.,especially in Great Britain] and the cost of paying people who are going to industry and commerce.'[189] Yet, even though salaries

offered to secondary teachers in other countries were, on the whole, higher than those offered here, there existed in most countries, in the mid-nineteen-sixties what amounted to a 'teacher recruitment crisis';[190] and this crisis was attributed in large measure to 'the markedly lower economic and social status accorded teachers in comparison with members of other professions that demand similar qualifications'.[191] When one considers that, by and large, the salaries being offered to secondary teachers in Ireland were considerably less than those being offered abroad, it becomes clear that, judged by international standards, the situation in this country cannot have been one which justified compacency.

It must be admitted that the secondary teacher in Ireland in the mid-nineteen-twenties was considerably better off, taking everything into consideration, than his counterpart ten or twenty years earlier. The reason for this, however, is found not in any act of munificence on the part of the Government of the new State, but rather in the fact that the position of secondary teachers in this country, prior to the passing of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914, had been, as has been seen earlier,[192] unspeakably bad. Ministers for Education, indeed, spoke repeatedly and enthusiastically about the excellence of the work being done by large numbers of secondary teachers;[193] but action, whenever taken, almost invariably turned out to be but a pale reflection of expressed sentiment. The reason for this is not so obvious in this country as it is in countries like England. Referring quite recently to the position in that country, Professor E.B. Castle said: 'The real reason why teachers are inadequately paid is that there are so many of them . . . hence their pay bill in national aggregate assumes gigantic proportions.'[194] This is probably true of England where some 60,000 graduates teach in state schools alone;[195] it is hard to see how it could be a major influence in the case of secondary teachers in this country where the claims of that body have until fairly recently been considered independently of the claims of other groups of teachers, and where the number of registered teachers who were graduates, even in the school-year 1967-8, was less than 5,000.[196] A more likely explanation lies in the natural reluctance of governments to allocate more money for a service which they find is already being provided, with fair adequacy, for less; and in this country the dedicated service which large numbers of priests and religious have given in the field of secondary education, at a fraction of what such a service would

otherwise cost, has for many years tempted successive Governments to devote a much smaller proportion of the annual budget to secondary education than was being devoted to it in any comparable country.[197]

(ii) Basic School Salary. — Under the rules introduced in 1924 for the payment of the new system of grants for secondary schools, school authorities were required to employ a certain minimum number of recognised teachers, and, in the case of lay teachers included in that minimum, to pay a minimum basic salary as follows: men, £200 per annum (£150 with board and lodging); women £180 (£140 with board and lodging).[198] This rule regarding the minimum basic salary remained unchanged until 1954 when a minimum of £200 was prescribed for men and women alike.[199] The modified rule, in turn, remained operative until 1968, when a new arrangement came into force,[200] under the terms of which a minimum basic school salary was no longer specified: instead, a scale of standard salary became operative which would be paid partly by the school manager and partly by the Department of Education, 'on a basis to be agreed between the three parties', viz., managers, teachers and Department. The new scale of standard salary would represent 'the agreed total level of payment for normal teaching duties';[201] and the contentious feature of the old system, whereby individual schools could openly offer considerably in excess of the minimum school salary, in order to attract the best specialist teachers, disappeared.

The freedom which the schools thus lost was one which had owed its continued existence down the years to an official policy of respecting, in as many ways as possible, the independence of the schools, an independence which the Department had acknowledged, for example, in 1926 when it stated that while various measures had been introduced by the State in the interests of promoting a better type of secondary education, 'the Secondary system remains as hitherto one of purely private management'.[202] One of the main results of this freedom had been that certain schools - notably those charging relatively high fees and catering for children from the higher socio-economic levels - had had a definite advantage in competing for the services of highly-qualified teachers, especially in subjects like Mathematics and Modern Languages.[203] Another

had been the agreement reached in May 1964 between the A.S.T.I. and representatives of the Catholic Managerial Schools[204] whereby the school salary payable to lay teachers in schools run by members of any of these managerial associations should be increased from the specified minimum of £200 per annum, by a further 12.5 per cent. of the standard salary of a married man,[205] and under the provisions of which about 2,200 lay secondary teachers out of a total of almost 3,300 were benefitting in the school year 1967-8.[206] As far as the teachers themselves were concerned it mattered little, from the point of view of salary, who paid them, provided they were adequately paid. From the schools' point of view the new system would have been altogether unacceptable had it not made provision for direct payment of some part of the salary by the schools, this being one of the few ways in which the schools visibly exercised their independent authority. Only time will tell to what extent the present arrangement helps them to maintain that position.

(iii) Incremental Salary and Allowances. — While the minimum basic salary which the schools were obliged to pay their lay teachers remained the same from 1924 to 1968 (except for the slight adjustment in 1954 in respect of women teachers) the Irish Government took upon itself the task of providing for whatever increases it considered warranted. In June 1922, shortly after the establishment of the Provisional Government, an Interim Grant was made on the basis of a payment of £50 to each registered teacher, and, for the first time, payment was made direct to the teacher.[207] In this way £63,000 was paid to Secondary Teachers in the Free State, as compared to £50,000 paid in 1921 to Secondary Teachers in the whole of Ireland.[208] In the year 1923-4 the basis of payment of the Interim Grant was changed, each registered teacher receiving £30 plus £2 for each year of approved teaching service up to a maximum of 20 years.[209] These interim grants were the forerunners of the system of incremental salary which was shortly to be introduced.

The reorganisation which took place in 1924 in the basis on which grants were paid to secondary schools made provision inter alia for the payment by the Minister for Education of scales of incremental salary to recognised secondary teachers. This provision took effect from 1 August 1924,[210]

and in the school year 1924-5 increments were paid in respect of 1,050 secondary teachers, according to the following scales: men, 10 increments of £12, followed by 6 increments of £15 - £210; women, 12 increments of £10 - £120. Special increments for honours degrees were also payable, one of £20 (£12 in the case of women) when the teacher entered on the incremental scale, and another of £20 (£12) after the teacher had reached the maximum of the scale; the honours increments becoming £20 also in the case of women teachers, from the beginning of the school year 1926-7.[211] The assumption by the State of responsibility for the incremental portion of the salary of secondary teachers was a welcome relief to the schools, and, as John Mescal pointed out in 1957, it has had 'an essentially stabilising effect' on the secondary teaching profession.[212]

No further changes occurred in the salary scales of secondary teachers until 1946, except for a deduction of 4 per cent. of standard salary (i.e., minimum basic school salary plus incremental salary) which was made in respect of service from 1 August 1929 in the case of a teacher who joined the Superannuation Scheme;[213] for the special increments for teaching through the medium of Irish, introduced with effect from 1 August 1931 and amended in the following year;[214] and for certain 'emergency bonuses' paid from 1943 onwards.[215] From 1 September 1946, however, new salary scales came into operation, and for the first time married men were placed on a separate scale. The scales of incremental salary were now as follows: married men, 1 increment of £80, followed by 6 increments of £15 and 12 increments of £20 - £410; single men, one increment of £80, followed by 15 increments of £12 and 2 increments of £15 - £290; women, one increment of £70 followed by 10 increments of £10, followed by 5 increments of £12 and 2 increments of £15 - £260.[216] The full £40 increment for holding an honours degree, hitherto paid in two halves, one upon entering and the other upon reaching the maximum point on the incremental scale, would now be paid *in toto* from the beginning.[217] The basis for the payment of the special increment for teaching through Irish was also changed to allow payment to be made at the rate of £2 per annum in respect of each completed hour of such instruction given per week subject to a maximum of £36 per annum.[218] A new allowance in aid of rent was also introduced. This would be payable to married men teachers and to widows with one or more dependent children, who were not provided with residence by their schools, at rates varying from £40 per annum in Dublin City area to £10

in rural districts and smaller towns.[219]

Subsequent changes made in incremental salary scales and/or allowances took effect in 1950, 1951, 1952, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1961, 1963, 1964 and 1966.[220] The change in 1950 involved the disappearance of separate scales for women and single men: henceforth there would be two scales only, one for married men, and one for women and single men;[221] and the superannuation contribution was raised from 4 per cent to 5 per cent.[222] In 1951 the special increment for honours degrees was increased from £40 to £43 per annum and a system of children's allowances was introduced.[223] As from November 1955 the honours increment was further increased to £48 per annum.[224] In 1958 the increment for teaching through Irish was raised from £2 to £2.2s.0d. per annum for each hour of instruction given through the medium of Irish per week in the specified subjects; the maximum amount of this increment now payable to a teacher was £37.16s.0d. per annum.[225] As from February 1964 the honours allowance was increased to £110 per annum, and the allowance for teaching through Irish to £3.6s.8d. per annum in respect of each hour per week, during which the specified requirements were fulfilled.[226] The lot of probationary teachers in particular was improved by the payment to them of a supplementary allowance of £200 per annum with effect from 1 August 1961,[227] and by a further increase in this allowance to £360 per annum with effect from 1 August 1967, together with the application to them of the £52 per annum in the case of married men, and the £39 per annum in the case of women and unmarried men, awarded to all teachers in re[illegible] of incremental salary with effect from 1 June 1966.[228] These specific items apart, the changes on all eleven occasions involved a progressive increasing of the incremental scales either in an attempt to raise the status of the profession, or, as was more commonly the case, to bring the scales into line with the increased cost of living.

To qualify for receipt of incremental salary a teacher must be 'recognised' by the Department. This means that he must be a registered teacher who is engaged in teaching one or more subjects of the secondary school programme to recognised pupils in one or more secondary schools for not less than eighteen hours a week.[229]

The number of recognised teachers in a secondary school who may be paid incremental salary may not in normal circumstances, exceed the authorised quota (not counting the headmaster) as determined in accordance with Table VII.3.(a).[230] While it would not seem that, in general, there had been any tendency to over-staff our secondary schools, cases are not unknown of young teachers having had to wait a number of years (one presumes, because of this regulation) before being put on the incremental scale, and Mr Corish, referring to this particular situation, stated in the Dáil in 1961 that 'it is a well-known fact that many . . . [young secondary teachers] do not obtain these [incremental] posts for quite a long time'.[231] It should be remembered, however, that the teacher-pupil ratio was not at that time as favourable as it has been since 1963: then the ratio was one teacher to 15 pupils for the first 60 pupils, and one to 20 after that; and the headmaster was also included in reckoning the total number of recognised teachers on the staff.[232]

(iv). The concept of 'parity'. — For many years one of the most difficult problems which has faced the Department of Education whenever a group of teachers lodged a claim for increased salary has been the certainty that any rise which might be given to one group would immediately prompt the other groups to claim similar increases. The Teachers' Salaries Committee attributed this difficulty to the fact that the schemes of conciliation and arbitration for the three groups of teachers operated independently of each other, and it recommended the establishment of a common scheme for all teachers.[233] No important step was taken in this direction, however, until the setting up of the Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries, in 1967,[234] and even today the problem still remains unsolved.

The claim that all teachers should be regarded as a single body and should accordingly be paid a common salary has been made on many occasions, chiefly, though not exclusively, by national teachers. Professor Michael Tierney, for example, writing around 1920, stated that 'all distinction between classes of teachers, such as primary, secondary and University, . . . [should] be ended';[235] and Senator Professor Hayes, speaking in 1965, held much the same view, urging the Minister for Education to give careful consideration to the possibility of establishing a single teaching profession.[236] As early as

December 1944 the I.N.T.O. had submitted a claim to the Minister for Education for a revised salary scale, based, inter alia, on the principle that 'All teachers (National, Vocational and Secondary) . . . be placed on a common scale'.[237] The strike which followed the Minister's refusal to meet this claim to the satisfaction of the I.N.T.O. was, however, a failure, at least in so far as short-term objectives were concerned,[238] and in subsequent salary claims by the national teachers[239] nothing further is heard of a common scale for all teachers until 1955 when a fresh claim on this basis was submitted and came eventually before the Arbitration Board, under the chairmanship of Judge Conroy. By a majority the Board found that the scales of salaries payable to trained national teachers should not be adjusted so as to put them on a par with those paid to vocational teachers and secondary teachers.[240] The Teachers' Salaries Committee, which was appointed in December 1958, under the chairmanship of Mr Seán Ó Broin, to 'examine and report on principles which might guide the Minister for Education in determining the relationship between the remuneration payable to trained National teachers, recognised Secondary teachers and permanent whole-time Vocational teachers, respectively',[241] and which reported in July 1960, returned, in its turn, the same verdict: it recommended that 'there should be three separate sets of salary scales, those for Secondary teachers proceeding to higher maxima than those for Vocational teachers, and the latter also proceeding to higher maxima than those for National teachers'.[242] This decision, despite vehement opposition from the National teachers,[243] was accepted by the Government.[244]

The Government would seem to have felt, however, that the determination of the National teachers to persevere in their efforts, despite a clear rejection of their claim on three successive occasions within the space of fifteen years, was a force to which they would eventually have to yield;[245] and in December 1967 the Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries, under the chairmanship of Dr Louden Ryan, was appointed by the Minister for Education, Mr Donogh O'Malley, and given the following terms of reference: (a) 'To recommend a common basic scale of salary for teachers in national, secondary and vocational schools', and (b) 'To recommend what appropriate additions might be made to the basic scale in respect of qualifications, length of training, nature of duties, etc.'.[246] In other words, the Government now decided to reject the findings (which it had previously accepted) of three impartial and competent bodies who had, with the

Government's approval, studied the question of whether the introduction of a common basic salary scale for all teachers was desirable in this country or not, and without making any attempt to justify its volte-face, informed the Ryan Tribunal that such a scale was now to be introduced, and instructed them to recommend what form it should take.[247]

In these circumstances, the fact that the eventual recommendations of the Tribunal did not satisfy secondary teachers was in no way surprising: other considerations apart, it was obvious to everyone that a small group with a relatively high minimum level of qualification would invariably stand a better chance of getting a favourable answer to a sizeable salary claim than would a much larger and more heterogenous body with a lower minimum level of qualification if only because the total cost to the exchequer would be so much less in the first case than in the second. Dissatisfaction with the Tribunal's findings, however, stemmed from something much more immediate: faced with the task of recommending a basic scale of salary which would be common to all groups of teachers, the Tribunal, instead of recommending that the National and Vocational teachers should now receive as much as the Secondary teachers, which was the least the Tribunal might have been expected to do, if they were to recommend a common basic salary at all, and which, even then, would have been quite unacceptable inasmuch as that it would have failed, as far as secondary teachers were concerned, to take into account the increase in the cost of living since their salary had last been adjusted, chose instead to recommend a scale which would constitute a considerable reduction in salary for many secondary teachers. This blatant injustice the Government tried to camouflage by feigning ignorance of the fact that instead of receiving a school salary of £200 per annum, more than two-thirds of all the lay secondary teachers in the country were at that time in receipt of school salaries which rose to a maximum of £400 per annum;[248] and in an official press release which sought to explain the Tribunal's findings it was alleged that secondary teachers at the top of the scale would gain 6.8 per cent., when in reality the position was that there would be a loss in earnings amounting in many cases to a total of about £4,000 over a (normal) teaching career of 43 years.[249] This together with other grievances led to a strike which closed all the secondary schools in the country for the first three weeks in February 1969. The offer which was finally accepted by the teachers, while purporting to provide, in

addition to the new scale, allowances ranging from £100 to £300 per annum for the performance of 'definable special functions',[250] gave the teachers this money on the clear though unwritten understanding that no extra work or responsibility of any kind would be involved, and that this allowance, as now interpreted by the official side at the negotiations, was in effect only a way of yielding to the secondary teachers' demands without seeming to do so.[251] Furthermore it was provided that this allowance, as well as the basic scale, would in future attract whatever percentage increases in salary would be awarded in the public sector generally.[252] This subterfuge, however, did not go unnoticed by the other teaching bodies, and they, in their turn, put pressure on the Department to reverse its decision, which, in effect, it subsequently did. In September 1970 the question is still unresolved and a new school year commences amid threats of further militant action on the part of the secondary teachers.

(v). Absence of Promotion Opportunities. — While the problem of finding a salary structure which satisfies all grades of teachers has been one with which the Education Ministries of many countries have had to contend,[253] a difficulty peculiar to Ireland has been the almost complete absence in this country of promotion opportunities for lay secondary teachers, a feature of the system which, as Sir Anthony Esmonde stated in the Dáil in 1961, 'renders it almost impossible for lay secondary teachers to command the salaries they should'.[254] Even in Protestant schools, where some limited number of headmasterships and of other posts are open to laymen, the position was considered serious, and the Board of Education of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland stated in 1965:[255]

> We are . . . of opinion that a lack of opportunity for promotion acts as a deterrent to young graduates. Generally speaking, the only worthwhile promotion obtainable is to a headship, but with the limited number of Protestant schools the prospects of attaining a headship (and especially one that is paid commensurately with the duties of the post)are few.

In the case of Catholic schools the position is much more critical still; it was pointed out in 1967 that in the 464 Catholic schools listed in the Department of Education's List of Recognised Schools for the year 1964-5, the manager in every case was either a sister, brother, priest, or, in some cases, a local bishop.[256] Simply stated this means that unless a lay teacher is in a position to set up his own school, his chances of becoming a headmaster in an

Irish secondary school are negligible.

This absence of opportunity for promotion had been put forward by the secondary teachers, in their submissions to the Teachers' Salaries Committee, 1958-60, as one of the reasons why they should have a higher salary than primary and vocational teachers,[257] and the Committee, not without some misgiving, recommended that 'some weighting might be assigned to this factor'.[258] In their submissions to the Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries in 1968, however, the secondary teachers sought the introduction of a system of responsibility posts, to be determined on the basis of a points system similar to the one currently in operation in Norther Ireland,[259] and the Tribunal, in its findings, recommended such a system, though the particular points weighting suggested was much less favourable to secondary teachers than the one which operated in the North.[260] In the event, however, a number of factors[261] led to the abandonment of this recommendation, and the position de facto is still that virtually no avenue of promotion is open to a layman within the secondary teaching service.

D. Superannuation.

The Intermediate Board stated in 1917 that 'the question as to whether a fund might not be accumulated for providing pensions for teachers is . . . worthy of consideration'.[262] Two years later, the Vice-Regal Committee felt that since 'In most countries the general principle has been admitted that teachers should be freed from the necessity of making provision for old age', there was 'no reason why . . . [superannuation] provision should not be made for teachers in Irish intermediate schools'.[263] By 1928 the Department of Education was able to promise that a system of pensions for secondary teachers would be established 'at an early date'; and it expressed the belief that 'the introduction of this reform should do much to complete the stabilisation of the profession'.[264]

The Secondary Teachers' Superannuation Scheme came into operation on 1 August 1929, having been approved by the Oireachtas the previous June.[265] It was drawn up under the provisions of the Teachers' Superannuation Act, 1928,[266] which had empowered the Minister for Education, subject to the consent of the Minister for Finance and the approval of the Oireachtas to set up pension schemes for the various classes of teachers.[267] It made provision for the payment of a pension of not more than a half of a teacher's 'pensionable salary' (in normal cases, a teacher's average standard salary for the three years immediately preceding his retirement).[268] It was a contributory scheme: a teacher's contributions were to be at the rate of 4 per cent. of his standard salary; and the school in which he taught was required to contribute at the rate of 2.5 per cent. of his basic salary.[269] Special provision was made for teachers who had formerly been national teachers, and also for former secondary teachers who had taken up permanent certified appointments in the civil service.[270] Membership of the Scheme was foluntary, and by July 1931 the Department could report that, while approximately 1,100 teachers were eligible for admission, applications were received from only 510.[271] The great majority of those who applied, however, were lay teachers: of an estimated total of 450 lay teachers eligible for admission to membership only 67 did not apply. 443 applicants in all (323 men and 120 women) satisfied all the conditions and were admitted to membership. The remaining applicants were found to be ineligible as they did not comply with one or more of the conditions of the Scheme.[272] The original Scheme has since been amended or supplemented sixteen times;[273] and while most of these changes were not of any great general significance, there are two which are worth considering here, viz., the Amendment Scheme of 1951 and the Supplementary Scheme of 1969, and we shall direct our attention to these in the following paragraphs.

The Amendment Scheme of 1951, which came into operation on 1 August 1950,[274] provided for the payment, in certain cases, of lump sum gratuities to secondary teachers, and was similar to the scheme for national teachers introduced around the same time.[275] Its main provision was for the payment, to a person to whom this part of the Scheme applied, either on his retirement on pension or on his retirement with a disablement gratuity[276] of a lump sum (known as a retirement gratuity) equal to one-thirtieth of his pensionable salary

multiplied by a number equal to the number of completed years of his gratuity service.[277] In the event of the death of a person who had joined this part of the Scheme, there would be payable to his legal personal representative a gratuity (known as a death gratuity) of an amount equal to whichever of the following might be the greater: (a) the retirement gratuity which would have been payable if he had been retired on pension at the date of his death; or (b) one year's pensionable salary.[278] Under certain conditions, too, a woman who would have completed not less than six years' gratuity service, would be paid a gratuity (known as a marriage gratuity) equal to one-twelfth of her pensionable salary multiplied by a number equal to the number of completed years of gratuity service but not exceeding twelve such years.[279] To be admitted to membership of the newly-introduced part of the Scheme a teacher was required to pay a further 1 per cent. per annum which now brought his total contribution to 5 per cent. of his standard salary.[280] Existing teachers had the option of joining or not, but subsequent entrants to the Principal Scheme were obliged to join the new Scheme as well.[281]

The Supplementary Scheme of 1969 undoubtedly constitutes the most significant change which has so far been made, and, in providing for pensions for widows and orphans of teachers, it fulfils a need which has long been felt. As early as 1919, the Vice-Regal Committee had drawn attention to the fact that 'Not only do the secondary teachers in most continental countries receive pensions, but the widows of teachers are entitled to them if the teacher has served for a certain number of years, and in some countries provision is also made for the teacher's children.'[282] Similar provision was not made in England and Wales, however, until 1966;[283] and the present Scheme in this country is the result of repeated requests and long negotiation. The new Scheme, which is open to national and secondary teachers, provides pensions for the widows and children or for the orphans of male teachers who before their death or retirement would, in the case of secondary teachers, be pensionable under the Secondary Teachers' Superannuation Scheme.[284] A qualifying widow would receive up to one-half of her husband's pension; in the case of children left as well as a widow, payment amounting to one-sixth of her pension would be paid in respect of each of six qualifying children; in the case of orphans, an amount ranging from the whole of the pension which would have been paid to the mother had she lived (in respect

of five orphans), to one-third of that amount (in respect of one orphan) would be paid.[285] The Scheme is contributory, the contribution in the case of a man who is eligible for a retirement or death gratuity being 1.5 per cent. of salary, together with certain deductions from the lump sum in respect of any years of pensionable service given prior to entry to the new Scheme, and/or in respect of the number of years by which a man's age at the time of death falls short of 65 years.[286] Existing members of the Superannuation Scheme may opt to remain out of the new Scheme, but once in, they must stay in; and future teachers, if they wish to enter the main Superannuation Scheme, must also enter the Scheme which provides for Widows and Orphans.[287]

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SECONDARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND

1878 - 1968

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Volume II

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Notes and References;
Appendixes; Bibliography

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts
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TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

TABLE II.1: Showing, for selected years, the number of primary schools which presented pupils for the Certificate Examinations together with the results of the examinations.

YEAR	NUMBER OF PUPILS								NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	
	Intermediate Certificate				Leaving Certificate					
	BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS			
	sat	passed	sat	passed	sat	passed	sat	passed	BOYS'	GIRLS'
1924-5	1	1	136	67	1	1	18	9	1	17
*1929-30	12	6	142	112	2	-	12	8	2	21
1934-5	7	5	358	259	-	-	38	32	2	32
1939-40	23	19	576	514	-	-	130	123	5	48
1944-5	53	37	704	633	7	7	168	143	6	56
1949-50	80	66	877	784	20	17	173	158	7	66
1954-5	54	49	1037	957	17	15	289	277	7	76
*1959-60	44	37	1242	1151	26	22	264	256	6	71
1964-5	77	46	1415	1296	27	26	420	395	6	64

* Note: In each of the two years 1929-30 and 1959-60 there was also 1 mixed primary school which presented a pupil/pupils for examination: in 1929-30 1 pupil from such a school was presented for Intermediate Certificate and passed: none was presented for the Leaving Certificate; in 1959-60 15 pupils were presented for Intermediate, 14 passing; and 12 were presented for Leaving, all of whom passed.

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE III.1.a: Showing the numbers of Recognised Secondary Schools of various sizes which operated in selected years, together with the percentage of the total number of such schools represented by each category.

	No. and % of Recognised Secondary Schools having:	1925-6 No.	1925-6 %	1945-6 No.	1945-6 %	1965-6 No.	1965-6 %
A	Less than 100 pupils	213	74.5	243	63.1	170	29.1
B	100 pupils - 149 pupils	40	14.0	63	16.4	164	28.0
C	150 " - 199 "	17	5.9	37	9.6	83	14.2
D	200 " - 299 "	9	3.1	29	7.5	94	16.1
E	300 " - 399 "	3	1.0	7	1.8	46	7.9
F	400 pupils or over	4	1.4	6	1.5	28	4.8
	Total No. of schools	286	(99.9)	385	(99.9)	585	(100.1)

Source: Compiled from List of Recognised Secondary Schools for each of the years in question.

TABLE III.1.b: Showing the numbers of smaller Recognised Secondary Schools of various sizes which operated in selected years, together with the pereentage of the total number of such schools represented by each category; being a further analysis of category A in Table III.1.a, (above).

No. & % of smaller Recognised Secondary Schools having:	1925-6 No.	1925-6 %	1945-6 No.	1945-6 %	1965-6 No.	1965-6 %
1 pupil - 19 pupils	19	8.9	12	4.9	2	1.2
20 pupils - 39 "	54	25.4	44	18.1	33	19.4
40 " - 59 "	59	27.7	64	26.3	36	21.2
60 " - 79 "	46	21.6	53	21.8	42	24.7
80 " - 99 "	35	16.4	70	28.8	57	33.5
Total No. of smaller Schools	213	(100.0)	243	(99.9)	170	(100.0)

Source: Compiled from List of Recognised Secondary Schools for each of the years in question.

TABLE III.2: Showing the percentage of Secondary Schools by size, and showing boys', girls', and mixed schools separately, providing certain subjects and subject groups at honours level in the Leaving Certificate, 1962-3.

SUBJECT or SUBJECT GROUP	Type of School	SIZE OF SCHOOL				
		0-99 pupils	100-149 pupils	150-199 pupils	200-299 pupils	300 and over
Mathematics	Boys	24.1	57.4	76.7	94.4	100.0
	Girls	1.2	3.8	11.1	10.0	14.3
	Mixed	9.8	8.3	66.6	100.0	100.0
Mathematics and Science	Boys	17.7	46.0	70.0	86.1	94.4
	Girls	1.2	2.6	6.7	7.5	14.3
	Mixed	5.9	8.3	33.3	100.0	100.0
Modern Continental Language	Boys	6.3	6.4	23.3	27.8	41.7
	Girls	17.9	47.4	77.5	75.0	78.6
	Mixed	11.8	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Maths., Science and a Modern Continental Language	Boys	1.3	6.4	20.0	25.0	41.7
	Girls	1.2	1.3	4.4	5.0	14.3
	Mixed	2.0	8.3	33.3	100.0	100.0

Source: Investment in Education [1966], I, 281.

TABLE IV.1: Showing, for each Grade, the scale of Results Fees payable by the Intermediate Board in the year 1880.

SUBJECT	G R A D E		
	Junior	Middle	Senior
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Greek	1. 5. 0	1. 10.0	1. 15.0
Latin	1. 5. 0	1. 10.0.	1. 15.0
English	1. 5. 0	1. 10.0	1. 15.0
French	17. 6	1. 1.0	1. 4.6
German	17.6	1. 1.0	1. 4.6
Italian	12.6	15.0	17.6
Celtic	15.0	18.0	1. 1.0
Arithmetic	12.6	9.0	—
Book-keeping	5.0	—	—
Euclid	12.6	18.0	17.6
Algebra	12.6	18.0	1. 4.6
Plane Trigonometry	—	—	1. 1.0
Elementary Mechanics	—	—	14.0
Natural Philosophy	12.6	15.0	1. 1.0
Chemistry	15.0	15.0	17.6
Botany	7.6	12.0	7.0
Animal Physiology	—	—	7.0
Physical Geography	3.9	—	—
Drawing	12.6	15.0.	17.6
Music	12.6	15.0	17.6
MAXIMUM OBTAINABLE	7. 0. 0	8. 0. 0	10. 0. 0

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1880, p.24

TABLE IV.2.a.: Showing the distribution of the Intermediate Board's expenditure for specified years.

	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
Administration	3,859	3,587	3,461	4,081	4,443	5,206	6,478	7,434	15,298
Inspection	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,324	5,149	9,051
Examinations	9,418	7,355	7,707	12,854	12,438	14,078	16,367	13,871	18,342
Rewards	9,446	9,628	11,811	15,436	19,303	10,492	7,612	5,599	6,603
Payments to Schools	9,681	6,818	8,906	54,868	56,228	52,897	48,475	49,273	91,533
towards Teachs' Salrs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30,970	39,611
Miscellaneous	3,535	100	925	2,932	1,222	2,035	200	238	221
TOTAL	35,939	27,488	32,810	90,171	93,634	84,708	83,456	122,534	180,659

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for each of the years in question.

TABLE IV.2.b.: Showing the percentage distribution of the Intermediate Board's expenditure for specified years.

	1800	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Administration	10.7	13.0	10.5	4.5	4.7	6.1	7.8	6.1	8.5
Inspection	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.2	4.2	5.0
Examinations	26.2	26.8	23.5	14.3	13.3	16.6	19.6	11.3	10.2
Rewards	26.3	35.0	36.0	17.1	20.6	12.4	9.1	5.4	3.7
Payments to Schools	26.9	24.8	27.1	60.8	60.1	62.4	58.1	40.1	50.7
towards Teachers' Salrs.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32.6	21.9
Miscellaneous	9.8	0.4	2.8	3.3	1.3	2.4	0.2	0.1	0.1
TOTAL	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.8	100.1

Source: Based on figures in Table IV.2.a.

TABLE IV.3: Showing, for each of the years 1900 to 1910, inclusive, the amounts received by the Intermediate Board under the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, and the Board's total income from all sources.

YEAR	Amount Received under Local Taxation (Customs & Excise) Act.	Total Income from all sources.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1900	71,400. 2. 5	103,527.14. 3
1901	64,730.16. 2	96,698. 6. 10
1902	56,583.14. 10	88,868. 2. 4
1903	59,430.14. 0	91,835.10. 11
1904	56,156. 3. 4	88,573. 5. 10
1905	50,385. 6. 10	83,030. 1. 10
1906	48,255.19. 6	81,474. 8. 6
1907	49,916.17. 3	78,140.19. 2
1908	49,504. 7. 1.	85,721. 4. 8
1909	46,566.15. 5	82,791.17. 5
1910	16,998.14. 6	53,026. 8. 11

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1910, p.ix.

TABLE IV.4.a.: Schedule of maximum grants payable by Department of Education towards the cost of furnishing and equipping rooms for the teaching of science subjects.

	£
1. Furnishing	500
2. Equipping:	
(a) Intermediate Certificate	
(i) Physics	450
(ii) Chemistry	450
(iii)Biology	350
Maximum for Inter. Cert.	1,250
(b) Leaving Certificate*	
(i) Physics	550
(ii) Chemistry	550
(iii)Physics & Chemistry	750
(iv) General Science	750
(v) Botany	180

* Note: No maximum given for Leaving Cert.

Source: Information supplied by the Department of Education (September,1969)

TABLE IV.4.b.: Schedule of maximum grants payable by Department of Education towards the cost of furnishing and equipping rooms for the teaching of certain subjects other than science.

	£
Domestic Science	1,400
Geography	370
Art	470
Woodwork	875
Metalwork	1,640
Physical Education	530

Source: Information supplied by the Department of Education (September,1969).

TABLE IV. 5.: Showing, for specified years, the amounts paid in grants by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (a) to Intermediate Schools (.i.e., those operating under the Intermediate Board), and (b) to other secondary schools.

SESSION	Intermediate Schools		Other Secondary Schools		TOTAL
	No.	Amount of Grant	No.	Amount of Grant	
1902-3	179	12,499.15.6	7.	308.5.9	12,808.1.3
1907-8	267	24,099.6.10	19	2,625.18.4	26,725.5.2
1911-12	254	24,060.7.10	20	3,653.19.6	27,714.7.4
1916-17	238	25,294.5.5	22	4,690.3.7	29,984.9.0

Source: Report of the Vice-Regal Committee, (1919), p.12

TABLE IV.6: Showing the number of local authority scholarship holders in attendance at Secondary Schools in specified years.

COUNCIL	1924-5	1929-30*	1934-5	1939-40	1944-5	1949-50	1954-5**	1959-60**	1964-5**
Carlow County	-	9	-	-	8	16	19	26	83
Cavan "	-	-	30	29	28	30	35	38	98
Clare "	64	16	5	-	32	44	73	87	212
Cork "	-	51	32	38	41	43	59	71	407
Cork County Borough	-	27	41	39	39	37	81	112	236
Donegal County	-	-	14	27	23	28	47	44	110
Dublin "	24	119	60	179	59	73	110	126	394
Dublin County Borough	35	148	179	289	344	417	432	529	1,384
Galway County	47	36	34	43	38	41	50	47	204
Kerry "	16	97	91	106	66	75	131	144	187
Kildare "	13	11	1	38	44	63	71	62	131
Kilkenny County	20	32	28	29	49	68	82	85	209
Laoighis "	-	41	36	45	26	56	62	62	89
Leitrim "	-	3	7	19	20	19	20	40	98
Limerick "	29	14	-	-	15	39	44	45	195
Limerick County Borough	-	-	22	27	30	36	40	56	154
Longford County	8	15	19	16	20	30	45	49	70
Louth "	-	8	22	19	23	32	49	49	164
Mayo "	29	43	47	47	45	58	86	97	172
Meath "	13	6	6	6	30	30	50	57	202
Monaghan "	37	27	26	44	48	45	61	62	101
Offaly "	24	34	45	96	58	73	76	83	135
Roscommon "	-	47	61	76	59	49	46	49	170
Sligo "	24	29	31	50	37	42	67	64	72
Tipperary (N.R.) County	14	32	39	43	38	49	55	58	274
Tipperary (S.R.) "	15	29	31	29	32	50	52	65	146
Waterford County	6	-	-	-	16	38	42	40	143
Waterford County Borough	12	16	12	18	18	44	38	35	71
Westmeath County	8	16	23	42	30	48	64	67	130
Wexford "	15	16	27	48	-	27	27	25	108
Wicklow "	18	-	-	12	18	50	55	54	118
TOTALS	471	934	969	1,454	1,334	1,750	2,169	2,423	6,276

Note: * The figures given for 1929-30 refer to 'Vocational and other approved schools' as well as to Secondary schools proper.

** The figures for 1954-5, 1959-60 and 1964-5, refer to 'Secondary Schools, including Preparatory Colleges'.

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE IV.7: Showing the number of university scholarships, awarded by local authorities, being held in specified years.

COUNCIL	1929-30	1934-5	1939-40	1944-5	1949-50	1954-5	1959-60	1964-5
Carlow County	6	5	6	8	7	6	5	9
Cavan "	-	3	4	4	6	11	12	13
Clare "	2	-	-	3	8	3	6	11
Cork "	-	-	-	7	9	11	16	45
Cork Co. Borough	7	8	5	8	12	8	11	27
Donegal County	17	17	16	16	12	16	14	21
Dublin "	16	15	23	18	19	9	25	48
Dublin Co. Borough	28	13	46	52	63	44	66	145
Galway County	7	9	11	11	12	17	22	44
Kerry "	-	5	7	3	5	6	10	16
Kildare "	-	3	9	11	9	10	9	18
Kilkenny County	10	11	15	15	15	18	16	23
Laoighis "	8	10	13	7	8	13	11	12
Leitrim "	4	5	8	6	8	9	7	10
Limerick "	2	-	-	7	13	13	13	26
Limerick Co.Borough	5	4	4	6	5	5	9	12
Longford County	8	6	6	5	7	6	4	11
Louth "	-	5	7	8	12	13	13	14
Mayo "	15	18	14	12	15	12	16	24
Meath "	6	-	-	7	11	9	13	3
Monaghan "	6	8	10	7	11	12	14	15
Offaly "	9	15	10	4	4	7	7	11
Roscommon County	8	10	9	13	14	13	11	23
Sligo "	-	14	27	2	6	7	7	14
Tipperary (N.R.) Co.	8	10	6	9	10	11	13	19
Tipperary (S.R.) "	14	8	17	19	20	27	33	35
Waterford County	-	-	5	12	14	15	14	15
Waterford Co.Borough	4	1	4	6	6	3	4	7
Westmeath County	4	6	10	8	10	13	11	19
Wexford "	8	15	12	6	15	11	15	23
Wicklow "	-	-	-	-	10	12	8	15
TOTALS	202	224	304	300	376	370	434	762

Note: The Report of the Department of Education provides no figures for the year 1924-5

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE IV.8.a.: Showing the total number of special university scholarships for students from the Fíor-Gaeltacht, held in each of the selected years.

YEAR	Boys	Girls	Total
1934-35	10	4	14
1939-40	9	7	16
1944-45	9	11	20
1949-50	9	8	17
1954-55	14	10	24
1959-60	7	9	16
1964-65	26	31	57

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE IV.8.b: Showing the total number of special university scholarships for students who pursue their university courses through the medium of Irish, held in each of the selected years.

YEAR	Boys	Girls	Total
1949-50			81
1945-55	31	58	89
1959-60	32	35	67
1964-65	14	26	40

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE IV.9.a.: Showing, for specified years, the distribution of the Department of Education's expenditure on secondary education.

	1926	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965
Administration	11,364	10,854	8,568	14,259	-	-	-	-	-
Inspection	4,860	6,950	6,240	8,011	-	-	-	-	-
Examinations	6,413	6,465	9,733	11, 668	17,667	25,094	34,487	50,489	92,465
Scholarships	3,700	4,160	9,160	12,148	11,704	11,659	12,720	13,229	124,673
School Grants	166,383	189,207	219,761	262,817	273,161	390,871	712,626	921,752	1,513,167
Teachers' Salrs.	119,819	131,121	168,582	204,476	287,401	507,247	997,659	1,559,094	3,519,854
Miscellaneous	3,453	1,917	1,903	7,293	3,565	402	5,398	2,202	38,979
TOTAL	315,992	350,674	423,947	520,672	593,498	935,273	1,762,890	2,546,766	5,289,138

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE IV.9.b.: Showing, for specified years, the percentage distribution of the Department of Education's expenditure on secondary education.

	1926	1930	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965
Administration	3.6	3.1	2.0	2.7	-	-	-	-	-
Inspection	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	-	-
Examinations	2.0	1,8	2.3	2.2	2.9	2.7	1.9	1.9	1.7
Scholarships	1.2	1.2	2.2	2.3	1.9	1.2	0.6	0.5	2.4
School Grants	52. 7	53.9	51.8	50.5	46.0	41.8	40.4	35.2	28.7
Teachers' Salrs.	37. 9	37.4	39.8	39.3	48.4	54.2	56.6	61.2	66.5
Miscellaneous	1. 1	0.5	0.4	1.4	0.6	0.0	0.3	0,1	0.7
TOTAL	100.0	99.8	100.0	99.9	99.8	99.9	99.8	99.9	100.0

Source: Based on figures in Table IV.9.a.

TABLE V.1.a.(i): Showing the number and percentage of BOYS who were examined in certain modern continental languages at the Middle Grade/Intermediate Certificate examination in specified years.

YEAR	Total number of boys examined at this level	Number and percentage of BOYS who took the following:							
		FRENCH		GERMAN		ITALIAN		SPANISH	
		No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*
1880	773	469	60.7	55	7.1	28	3.6	-	-
1885	592	457	77.2	16	2.7	29	4.9	-	-
1890	549	501	91.3	41	7.5	36	6.6	-	-
1895	673	649	96.4	71	10.5	51	7.6	3	0.4
1900	843	810	96.1	34	4.0	23	2.7	-	-
1905	1071	1009	94.2	44	4.1	-	-	2	0.2
1910	1716	1579	92.0	84	4.9	-	-	-	-
1915	1620	1178	72.7	70	4.3	1	0.1	1	0.1
1920	1989	1070	53.8	27	1.4	-	-	1	0.1
1925	1841	390	21.2	6	0.3	2	0.1	-	-
1930	2363	438	18.5	1	0.0	-	-	-	-
1935	3269	485	14.8	4	0.1	-	-	2	0.1
1940	4113	751	18.3	4	0.1	-	-	-	-
1945	4286	767	17.9	6	0.1	3	0.1	10	0.2
1950	4941	797	16.1	2	0.0	-	-	5	0.1
1955	5677	1015	17.9	-	-	3	0.1	6	0.1
1960	7069	1397	19.8	-	-	3	0.0	66	0.9
1965	9083	3654	40.2	57	0.6	60	0.7	192	2.1

Note: * % = number taking this subject as a percentage of total number examined at this level.

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland/Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.1.a.(ii): Showing the number and percentage of BOYS who were examined in certain modern continental languages at the Senior Grade/Leaving Certificate examination in specified years.

YEAR	Total Number of boys examined at this level	Number and percentage of BOYS who took the following:							
		FRENCH		GERMAN		ITALIAN		SPANISH	
		No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*
1800	412	281	68.2	31	7.5	18	4.4.	-	-
1885	235	187	79.6	11	4.7	14	6.0	-	-
1890	230	209	90.9	19	8.3	18	7.8	-	-
1895	307	277	90.2	39	12.7	19	6.2	2	0.7
1900	309	295	95.5	15	4.9	13	4.2	-	-
1905	414	377	91.1	20	4.8	3	0.7	1	0.2
1910	550	475	86.4	37.	6.7	-	-	2.	0.4
1915	893	718	80.4	36	4.0	-	-	-	-
1920	1133	591	52.2	20	1.8	-	-	1	0.1
1925	745	134	18.0	3	0.4	-	-	-	-
1930	856	108	12.6	-	-	-	-	-	-
1935	1325	84	6.3	1	0.1	-	-	2	0.2
1940	1690	230	13.6	6	0.4	-	-	-	-
1945	1840	181	9.8	9	0.5	4	0.2	3	0.2
1950	2458	214	8.7	10	0.4	2	0.1	1	0.0
1955	3153	299	9.5	8	0.3	7	0.2	2	0.1
1960	4193	494	11.8	9	0.2	8	0.2	19	0.5
1965	5814	1041	17.9	51	0.9	24	0.4	147	2.5

Note: *% = Number taking this subject as a percentage of total number examined at this level.

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland/Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

Diagram A

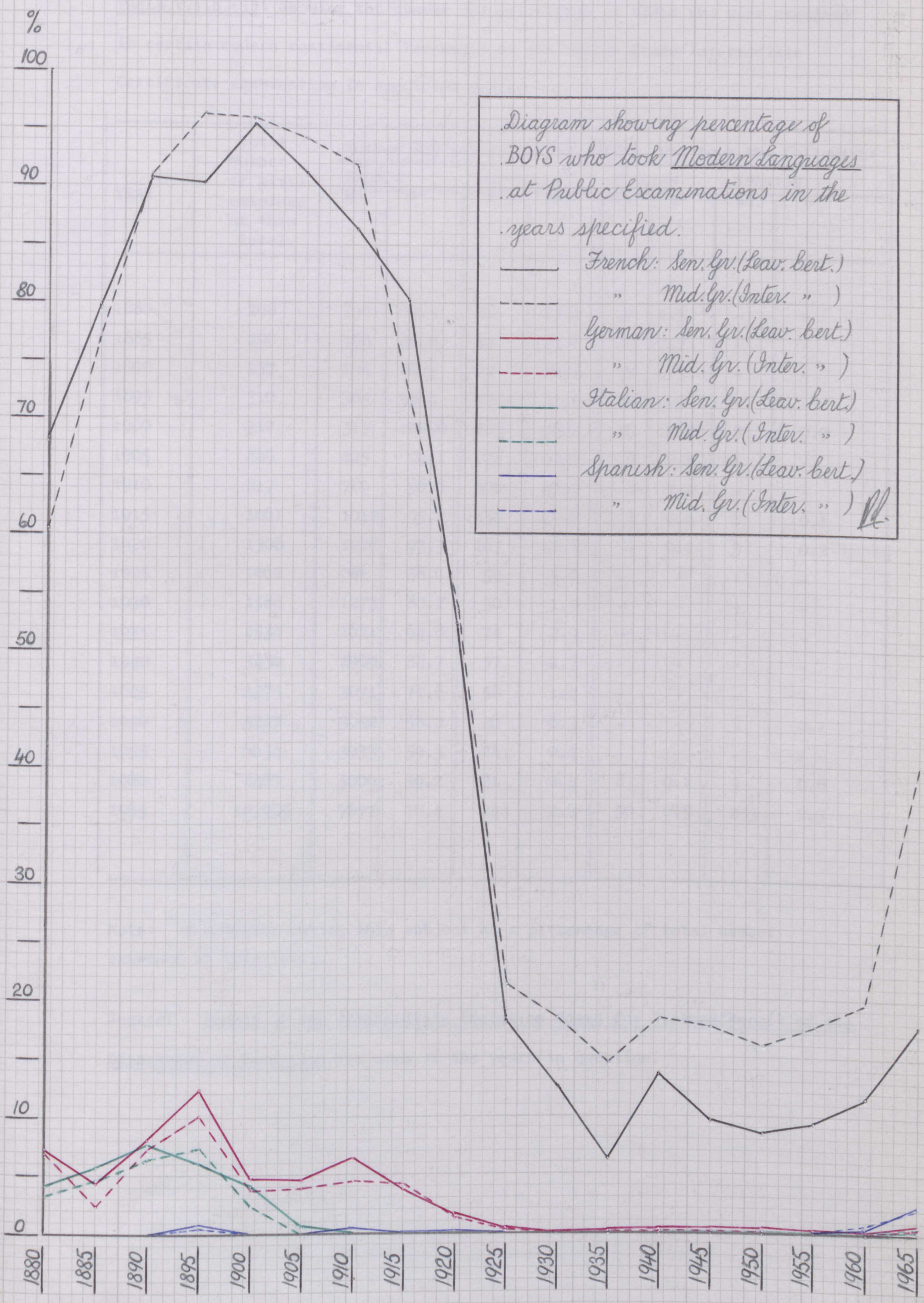


Diagram showing percentage of BOYS who took Modern Languages at Public Examinations in the years specified.

——— French: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert.)
– – – – " Mid. Gr. (Inter. ")
——— German: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert.)
– – – – " Mid. Gr. (Inter. ")
——— Italian: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert.)
– – – – " Mid. Gr. (Inter. ")
——— Spanish: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert.)
– – – – " Mid. Gr. (Inter. ")

TABLE V.1.b.(i): Showing the number and percentage of GIRLS who were examined in certain modern continental languages at the Middle Grade/Intermediate Certificate examination in specified years.

YEAR	Total Number of girls examined at this level.	Number and percentage of GIRLS who took the following:							
		FRENCH		GERMAN		ITALIAN		SPANISH	
		No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*
1880	298	237	79.5	39	13.1	4	1.3	-	-
1885	208	185	88.9	45	21.6	15	7.2	-	-
1890	237	234	98.7	62	26.2	22	9.3	-	-
1895	310	305	98.4	133	42.9	28	9.0	-	-
1900	317	317	100.0	123	38.8	53	16.7	3	0.9
1905	429	425	99.1	174	40.6	6	1.4	-	-
1910	817	789	96.6	406	49.7	2	0.2	-	-
1915	1061	1012	95.4	458	43.2	4	0.4	1	0.1
1920	1308	1220	93.3	167	12.8	1	0.1	3	0.2
1925	1062	941	88.6	59	5.6	-	-	-	-
1930	1588	1273	80.2	30	1.9	-	-	-	-
1935	2534	1641	64.8	74	2.9	-	-	-	-
1940	3436	2909	84.7	57	1.7	-	-	-	-
1945	4275	3071	71.8	58	1.4	-	-	-	-
1950	5247	3052	58.2	16	0.3	-	-	3	0.1
1955	6634	3933	59.3	24	0.4	-	-	-	-
1960	8467	5009	59.2	31	0.4	8	0.1	3	0.0
1965	10,905	7677	70.4	244	2.2	50	0.5	253	2.3

Note: * % = Number taking this subject as a percentage of total number examined at this level.

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland/Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.1.b.(ii): Showing the number and percentage of GIRLS who were examined in certain modern continental languages at the Senior Grade/Leaving Certificate examination in specified years.

YEAR	Total Number of GIRLS examined at this level.	Number and percentage of GIRLS who took the following:							
		FRENCH		GERMAN		ITALIAN		SPANISH	
		No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*
1880	119	93	78.2	33	27.7	5	4.2	-	-
1885	77	69	89.6	26	[illegible].8	16	20.8	-	-
1890	123	121	98.4	48	39.0	19	15.4	-	-
1895	116	116	100.0	69	59.5	22	19.0	-	-
1900	156	155	99.4	70	44.[illegible]	30	19.2	4	2.6
1905	134	132	98.5	76	56.7	4	3.0	1	0.7
1910	259	246	95.0	1[illegible]	54.8	1	0.4	-	-
1915	501	475	94.8	242	48.3	2	0.4	-	-
1920	590	549	93.1	128	21.7	-	-	1	0.2
1925	250	209	83.6	27	10.8	-	-	1	0.4
1930	443	299	67.5	9	2.0	-	-	1	0.2
1935	840	431	51.3	13	1.5	-	-	-	-
1940	1228	955	77.8	38	3.1	-	-	-	-
1945	1862	1180	63.4	24	1.3.	-	-	1	0.1
1950	2010	1051	52.3	5	0.2	7	0.3	13	0.6
1955	2945	1565	53.1	8	0.3	9	0.3	3	0.1
1960	3773	1904	50.5	25	0.7	41	1.1	36	1.0
1965	5837	3245	55.6	134	2.3	87	1.5	338	5.8

Note: * % = Number taking this subject as a percentage of total number examined at this level.

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland/Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

Diagram B

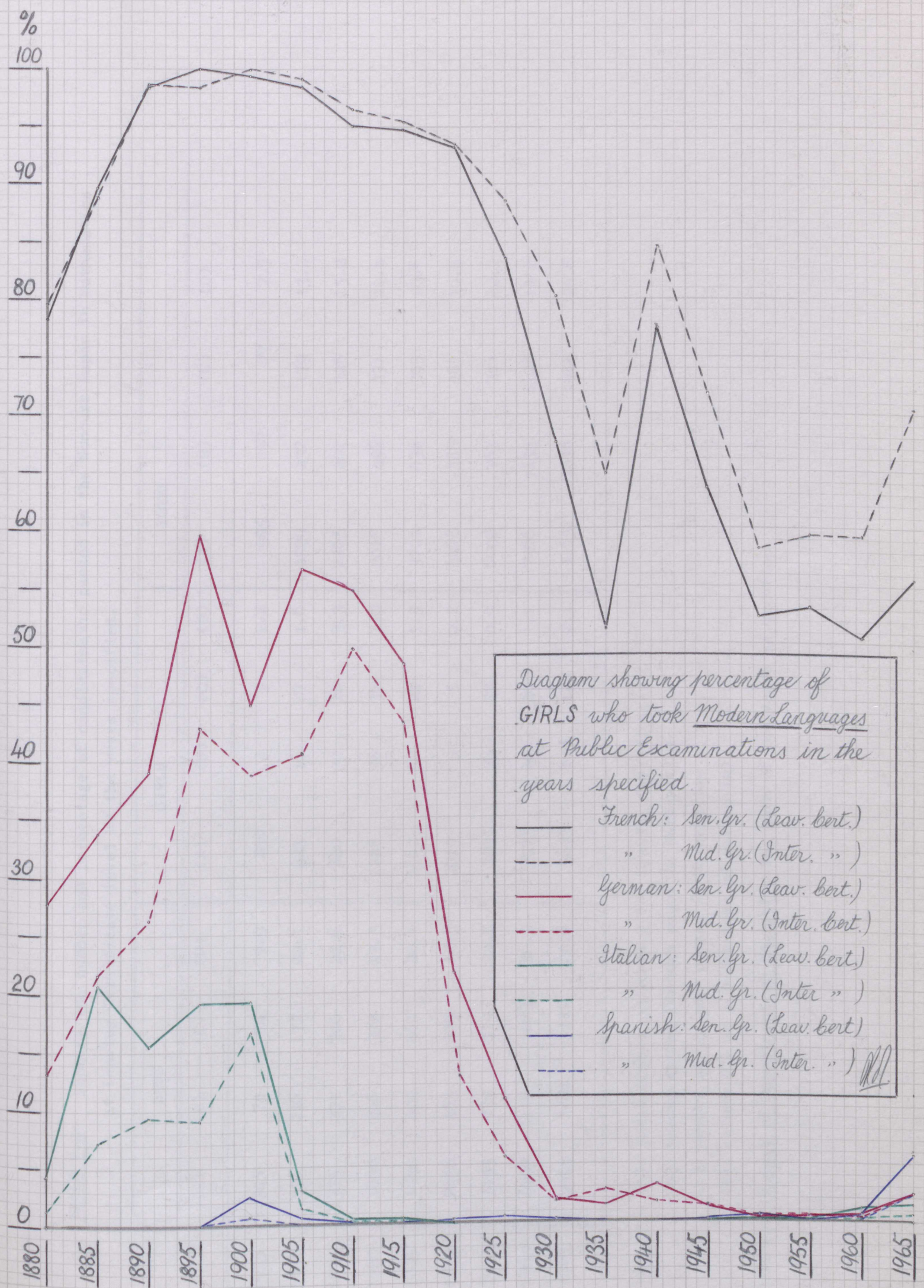


Diagram showing percentage of GIRLS who took Modern Languages at Public Examinations in the years specified

- French: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert.)
- " Mid. Gr. (Inter. ")
- German: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert.)
- " Mid. Gr. (Inter. Cert.)
- Italian: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert.)
- " Mid. Gr. (Inter ")
- Spanish: Sen. Gr. (Leav. Cert)
- " Mid. Gr. (Inter. ")

TABLE V.2: Showing the number and pereentage of candidates who passed in the Honours Paper in Mathematics at Leaving Certificate level in the years specified.

	BOYS				GIRLS				TOTAL			
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1925	745	74	74	9.9	250	3	3	1.2	995	77	77	7.7
1930	856	216	172	20.1	443	16	7	1.6	1299	232	179	13.8
1935	1325	371	300	22.6	840	30	28	3.3	2165	401	328	15.2
1940	1690	418	394	23.3	1228	38	37	3.0	2918	456	431	14.8
1945	1840	404	369	20.1	1862	30	24	1.3	3702	434	393	10.6
1950	2458	483	479	19.5	2010	5	5	0.2	4468	488	484	10.8
1955	3153	735	719	22.8	2945	28	27	0.9	6098	763	745	12.2
1960	4193	1115	1088	26.0	3773	40	40	1.1	7966	1155	1123	14.2
1965	5814	1802	1721	29.6	5837	128	123	2.1	11651	1930	1844	15.8

Notes: (A): total number presenting for Leaving Certificate.
(b): number taking Honours paper in Mathematics
(c): number of (B) who passed in Mathematics
(d): column (C) as a percentage of column (A)

Source: Report of Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.3: Showing the number and percentage of candidates who passed in Applied Mathematics at Leaving Certificate in the years specified.

	BOYS					GIRLS					TOTAL				
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)
1925	745	70	35	55	7.4	250	-	--	-	-	995	70	35	55	5.5
1930	856	21	12	13	1.5	443	-	-	-	-	1299	21	12	13	1.0
1935	1325	17	1	10	0.8	840	-	-	-	-	2165	17	1	10	0.5
1940	1690	18	11	16	0.9	1228	-	-	-	-	2918	18	11	16	0.5
1945	1840	27	14	14	0.8	1862	-	-	-	-	3702	27	14	14	0.4
1950	2458	34	20	34	1.4	2010	-	-	-	-	4468	34	20	34	0.8
1955	3153	211	107	172	5.5	2945	-	-	-	-	6098	211	107	172	2.8
1960	4193	326	156	266	6.3	3773	1	-	1	0.0	7966	327	156	267	3.4
1965	5814	831	505	640	11.0	5837	8	3	5	0.1	11651	839	508	645	5.5

Notes: (A): total number presenting for Leaving Certificate

(B): number taking Applied Mathematics

(C): number taking honours paper in Applied Mathematics.

(D): number of (B) who passed in Applied Mathematics.

(E): column (D) as a percentage of column (A)

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.4: Showing the number and percentage of candidates who passed in the Honours Paper in Physics at Leaving Certificate level in the years specified.

	BOYS				GIRLS				TOTAL			
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1925	745	58	48	6.4	250	-	-	-	995	58	48	4.8
1930	856	40	36	4.2	443	-	-	-	1299	40	36	2.8
1935	1325	65	42	3.2	840	-	-	-	2165	65	42	1.9
1940	1690	99	72	4.3	1228	-	-	-	2918	99	72	2.5
1945	1840	55	53	2.9	1862	-	-	-	3702	55	53	1.4
1950	2458	194	160	6.5	2010	4	2	0.1	4468	198	162	3.6
1955	3153	280	269	8.5	2945	3	3	0.1	6098	283	272	4.5
1960	4193	563	495	11.8	3773	3	3	0.1	7966	566	498	6.3
1965	5814	1028	933	16.0	5837	31	30	0.5	11651	1059	963	8.3

Notes: (A): total number presenting for Leaving Certificate
(B): number taking Honours Paper in Physics.
(C): number of (B) who passed in Physics.
(D): column (C) as a percentage of column (A).

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.5: Showing the number and percentage of boys who passed in Agricultural Science at Leaving/Intermediate Certificate level in the years specified.

	Leaving Certificate				Intermediate Certificate			
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1945	1840	17	15	0.8	4286	82	63	1.5
1950	2458	29	25	1.0	4941	74	66	1.3
1955	3153	131	114	3.6	5677	92	76	1.3
1960	4193	256	212	5.1	7069	161	140	2.0
1965	5814	486	343	5.9	9083	302	209	2.3

Notes: (A): total number of boys presenting for Leaving/Inter. Certificate.
(B): number of boys taking Agricultural Science
(C): number of (B) who passed in Agricultural Science.
(D): column (C) as a percentage of column (A)

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.6: Showing the number and percentage of girls who passed in Domestic Science at Leaving and Intermediate Certificate level in the years specified.

	Leaving Certificate				Intermediate Certificate			
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1925	250	80	71	28.4	1062	305	189	17.8
1930	443	109	107	24.2	1588	665	544	34.3
1935	840	308	305	36.3	2534	1287	1109	43.8
1940	1228	408	318	25.9	3436	1542	1168	34.0
1945	1862	631	613	32.9	4275	2197	1780	41.6
1950	2010	911	862	42.9	5247	3232	2567	48.9
1955	2945	1724	1641	55.7	6634	4764	4372	65.9
1960	3773	2369	2315	61.4	8467	6215	5848	69.1
1965	5837	4046	4012	68.7	10905	8140	7657	70.2

Notes: (A): total number of girls presenting for Leaving/Intermediate Cert.
(B): number of girls taking Domestic Science.
(C): number of (B) who passed in Domestic Science.
(D): Column (C) as a percentage of column (A)

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.7.: Showing the number and percentage of candidates taking (i) History, (ii) Geography at Leaving Certificate in the years specified.

	BOYS					GIRLS				
		HISTORY		GEOGRAPHY			HISTORY		GEOGRAPHY	
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(B)	(C)
1925	745	553	74.2	350	47.0	250	232	92.8	100	40.0
1930	856	677	79.1	650	75.9	443	412	93.0	372	84.0
1935	1325	1158	87.4	1050	79.2	840	777	92.5	771	91.8
1940	1690	1397	82.7	1365	80.8	1228	1114	90.7	1109	90.3
1945	1840	1487	80.8	1463	79.5	1862	1657	89.0	1618	86.9
1950	2458	1850	75.3	1983	80.7	2010	1671	83.1	1780	88.6
1955	3153	2270	72.0	2684	85.1	2945	2383	80.9	2653	90.1
1960	4193	2844	67.8	3530	84.2	3773	2790	73.9	3363	89.1
1965	5814	3355	57.7	4657	80.1	5837	3910	67.0	5153	88.3

Notes: (A): total number of candidates presenting for Leaving Certificate

(B): number of candidates taking subject in question.

(C): column (B) as percentage of column (A)

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

Diagram C

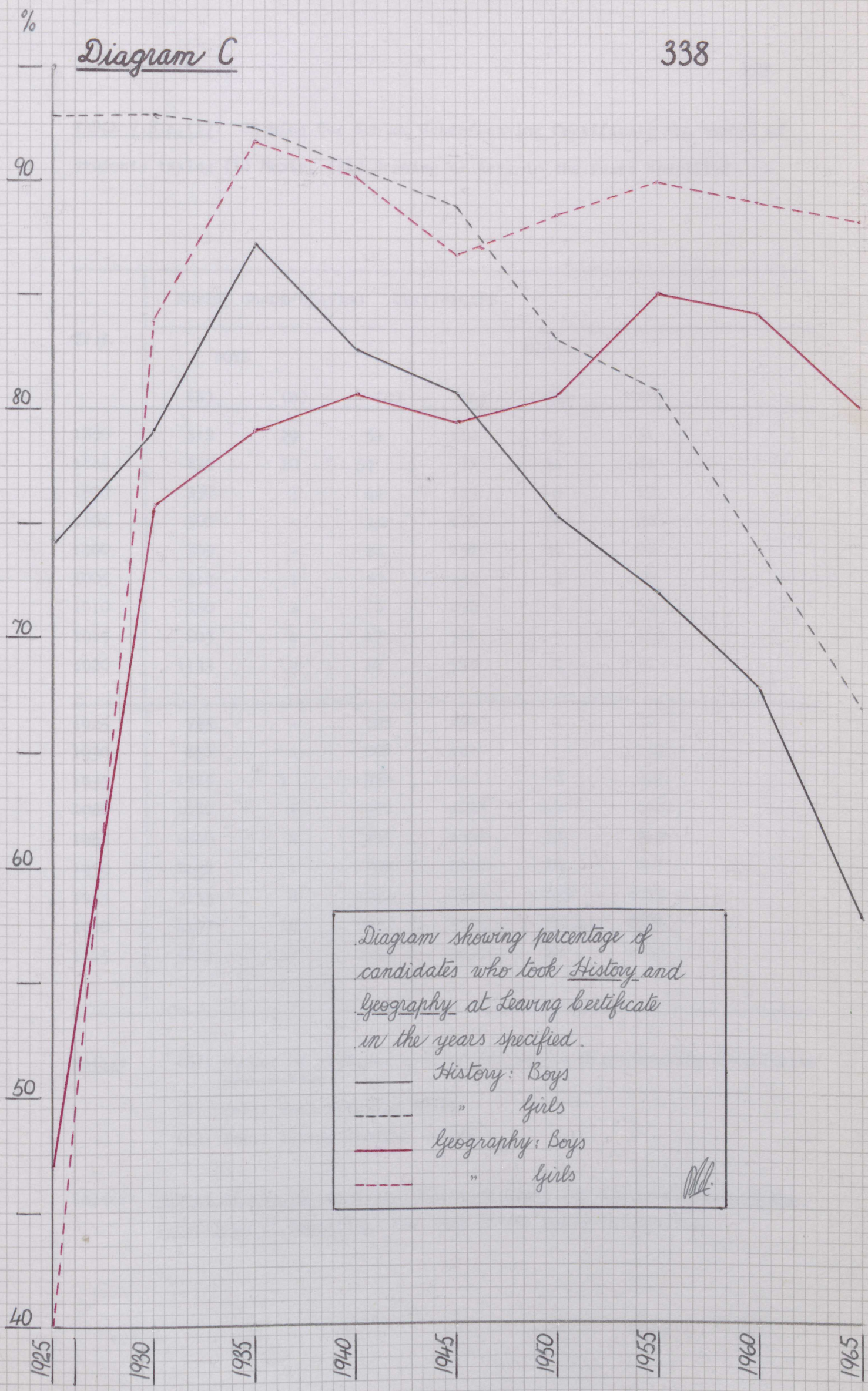


Diagram showing percentage of candidates who took History and Geography at Leaving Certificate in the years specified.

——— History: Boys
- - - - - " Girls
——— Geography: Boys
- - - - - " Girls

TABLE V.8.a.(i): Showing for Senior Grade/Leaving Certificate the number of students taking (i) Music, (ii) Drawing or Art, in the years specified.

YEAR	SENIOR GRADE/LEAVING CERTIFICATE					
	BOYS			GIRLS		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
1880	412	49	51	119	65	31
1885	235	10	54	77	41	21
1890	230	3	44	123	68	27
1895	307	-	25	116	78	44
1900	309	-	22	156	89	68
1905	414	1	10	134	5	30
1910	550	2	9	259	1	64
1915	893	1	17	501	-	105
1920	1133	-	12	590	4	27
1925	745	-	108	250	1	32
1930	856	-	296	443	11	183
1935	1325	1	538	840	10	428
1940	1690	1	356	1228	13	480
1945	1840	2	394	1862	37	742
1950	2458	1	780	2010	39	951
1955	3153	2	1340	2945	135	1375
1960	4193	14	1737	3773	76	1471
1965	5814	17	2630	5837	80	2292

Notes: (A): number of students sitting for Senior Grade/Leaving Certificate examination.

(B): total number taking MUSIC

(C): Total taking DRAWING or ART

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland/Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.8.a.(ii): Showing for Middle Grade/Intermediate Certificate the number of students taking (i) Music, (ii) Drawing or Art, in the years specified.

YEAR	MIDDLE GRADE/INTERMEDIATE CERTIFICATE					
	BOYS			GIRLS		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
1800	773	136	190	298	186	106
1885	592	65	274	208	125	85
1890	549	11	224	237	134	84
1895	673	-	233	310	210	191
1900	843	-	177	317	210	156
1905	1071	3	66	429	44	113
1910	1716	1	69	817	9	143
1915	1620	2	52	1061	2	196
1920	1989	3	136	1308	9	142
1925	1841	-	334	1062	25	258
1930	2363	1	1198	1588	47	791
1935	3269	5	1853	2534	49	1561
1940	4113	-	2154	3436	52	1888
1945	4286	3	1939	4275	91	2384
1950	4941	13	2415	5247	97	3086
1955	5677	5	2703	6634	137	3676
1960	7069	21	3209	8467	152	4323
1965	9083	16	3796	10905	181	5077

Notes: (A) number of students sitting for Middle Grade/Intermediate Certificate examination.

(B): total number taking MUSIC

(C): total taking DRAWING or ART

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland/Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.8.b.(i): Showing, for Leaving Certificate, the number of candidates taking (i) Art (Drawing, Course A), (ii) Drawing (Drawing, Course B), and the percentage of the total number of candidates taking either Drawing or Art who took Art, for the years specified.

	B O Y S			G I R L S		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
1945	8	368	2.1	264	478	35.6
1950	49	731	6.3	348	603	36.6
1955	74	1266	5.5	555	820	40.4
1960	49	1688	2.8	540	931	36.7
1965	101	2529	3.8	496	1796	21.6

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question

TABLE V.8.b.(ii): Showing, for Intermediate Certificate, the number of candidates taking (i) Art (Drawing, Course A), (ii) Drawing (Drawing, Course B), and the percentage of the total number of candidates taking either Drawing or Art who took Art, for the years specified.

	B O Y S			G I R L S		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
1945	32	1907	1.7	706	1678	29.6
1950	134	2281	5.5	1102	1984	35.7
1955	67	2636	2.5	1509	2167	41.1
1960	100	3109	3.1	1463	2860	33.8
1965	166	3630	4.4	1325	3752	26.1

Notes: (A): number taking Drawing, Course A (Art)
(B) number taking Drawing, Course B (Drawing)
(C): column (A) as a percentage of the total number taking either Drawing or Art.

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.9.a.: Showing the number and percentage of candidates taking the Leaving Certificate examination who passed in Commerce in the years specified.

	BOYS				GIRLS				TOTAL			
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1925	745	41	28	3.8	250	15	12	4.8	995	56	40	4.0
1930	856	11	7	0.8	443	5	5	1.1	1299	16	12	0.9
1935	1325	79	67	5.1	840	22	20	2.4	2165	101	87	4.0
1940	1690	70	64	3.8	1228	35	29	2.4	2918	105	93	3.2
1945	1840	58	58	3.2	1862	64	60	3.2	3702	122	118	3.2
1950	2458	153	134	5.5	2010	78	68	3.4	4468	231	202	4.5
1955	3153	347	316	10.0	2945	189	178	6.0	6098	536	494	8.1
1960	4193	696	595	14.2	3773	375	353	9.4	7966	1071	948	11.9
1965	5814	1369	1233	21.2	5837	790	767	13.1	11651	2159	2000	17.2

Notes: (A) total number presenting for Leaving Certificate.
(B) number taking Commerce
(C): number of (B) who passed in Commerce
(D): column (C) as a percentage of column (A).

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE V.9.b.: Showing the number and percentage of candidates taking the Intermediate Certificate examination who passed in Commerce in the years specified.

	BOYS				GIRLS				TOTAL			
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1925	1841	171	103	5.6	1062	147	91	8.6	2903	318	194	6.7
1930	2363	157	116	4.9	1588	155	120	7.6	3951	312	236	6.0
1935	3269	198	136	4.2	2534	266	213	8.4	5803	464	349	6.0
1940	4113	353	244	5.9	3436	479	362	10.5	7547	832	606	8.0
1945	4286	410	280	6.5	4275	551	395	9.2	8561	961	675	7.9
1950	4941	614	510	10.3	5247	804	568	10.8	10188	1418	1078	10.6
1955	5677	932	828	14.6	6634	1494	965	14.5	12311	2426	1793	14.6
1960	7069	1506	1253	17.7	8467	2514	2220	26.2	15536	4020	3473	22.4
1965	9083	2224	1992	21.9	10905	4260	3806	34.9	19988	6484	5798	29.0

Notes: (A): total number presenting for Intermediate Certificate.
(B): number taking Commerce.
(C): number of (B) who passed in Commerce.
(D): Column (C) as a percentage of column (A).

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

Diagram D

Diagram showing percentage of candidates sitting for the Public Examinations who passed in Commerce in the years specified.

BOYS : Leaving Certificate

" Intermediate "

GIRLS : Leaving Certificate

" Intermediate "

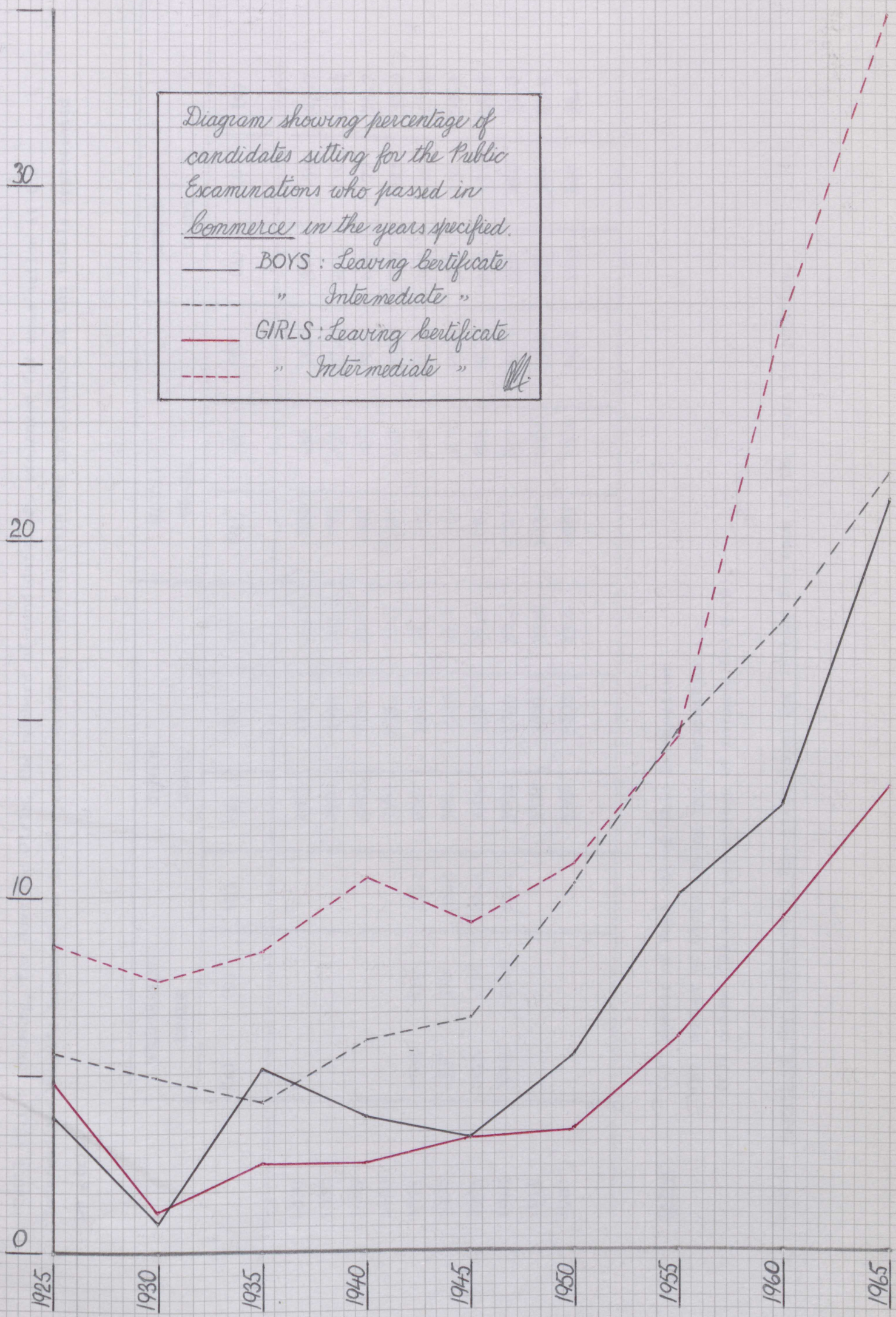


TABLE VI.1.: Showing, for Boys and Girls, the numbers of candidates who presented for examination at the Intermediate Board's Examinations in the years specified, together with the percentages of the totals represented by girls.

	PREPARATORY GRADE			JUNIOR GRADE			MIDDLE GRADE			SENIOR GRADE		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
1879				2163	521	19.4	682	156	18.6	373	59	13.7
1880				2929	1030	26.0	773	298	27.8	412	119	22.4
1885				3296	773	19.0	592	208	26.0	235	77	24.7
1890				3164	933	22.8	549	237	30.2	230	123	34.8
1895	2305	619	21.2	2982	1011	25.3	673	310	31.5	307	116	27.4
1900	1378	376	21.4	3081	1148	27.1	843	317	27.3	309	156	33.5
1905	2173	776	26.3	3360	1320	28.2	1071	429	28.6	414	134	24.5
1910	2607	1108	29.8	3094	1749	36.1	1716	817	32.3	550	259	32.0
1915				3879	2526	39.4	1620	1061	39.6	893	501	35.9
1920				4346	3402	43.9	1989	1308	39.7	1133	590	34.2

Notes: (A): number of Boys taking this Examination

(B): number of Girls taking this Examination.

(C): column (B) as a percentage of columns (A) & (B).

Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for each of the years in question.

Diagram E

Diagram showing numbers of candidates presented for examination in the years specified

——— Senior Grade: Boys
– – – – – " " Girls
——— Middle Grade: Boys
– – – – – " " Girls
——— Junior Grade: Boys
– – – – – " " Girls

Note: Same scale as for Diagram F
(vide infra, p. 348.)

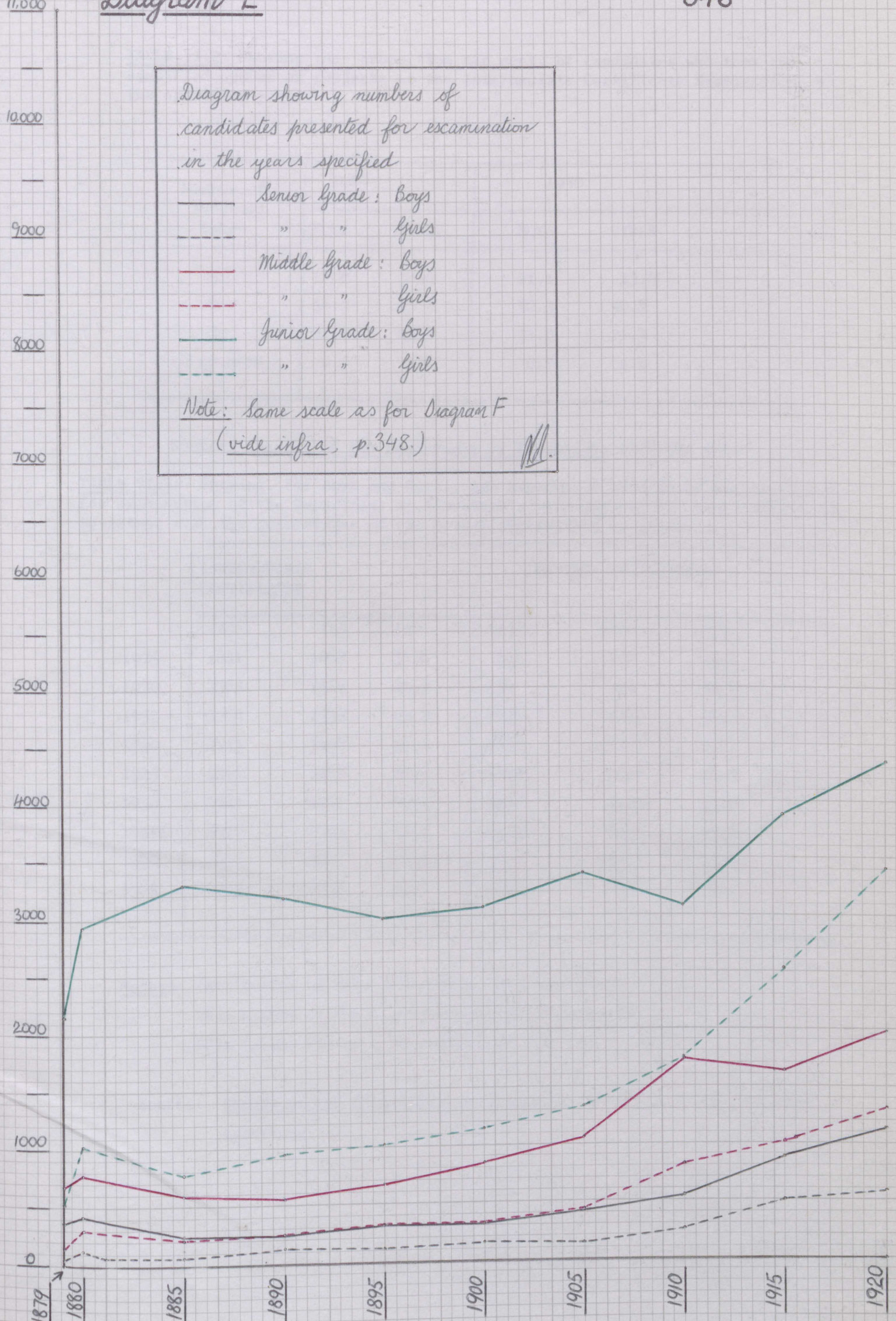


TABLE VI.2: Showing the proportion per cent. of candidates who took the specified number of subjects at the Intermediate Certificate Examination in the specified years.

Number of subjects taken	1929		1930	
	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS
5	18.0	30.0	11.1	23.6
6	48.5	47.2	52.3	50.2
7	31.0	20.2	31.9	21.3
8 or more	2.5	2.6	4.7	4.9

Source: Report of the Department of Education, 1929-30, p.58

TABLE VI.3; Showing, for Boys and Girls, the numbers of candidates who presented for examination at the Department of Education's Examinations in years specified, to-gether with the percentages of the totals represented by girls.

	INTERMEDIATE CERTIFICATE			LEAVING CERTIFICATE		
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(A)	(B)	(C)
1925	1841	1062	36.6	745	250	25.1
1930	2363	1588	40.2	856	443	34.1
1935	3269	2534	43.7	1325	840	38.8
1940	4113	3436	45.5	1690	1228	42.1
1945	4286	4275	49.9	1840	1862	50.3
1950	4941	5247	51.5	2458	2010	45.0
1955	5677	6634	53.9	3153	2945	48.3
1960	7069	8467	54.5	4193	3773	47.4
1965	9083	10905	54.6	5814	5837	50.1

Notes: (A): number of Boys presenting for examination.
(B): number of Girls presenting for examination.
(C): Column (B) as a percentage of cols. (A) & (B).

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

Diagram F

Diagram showing numbers of candidates presented for examination in the years specified.

——— Leaving certificate: Boys

– – – – – " " Girls

——— Intermediate certificate: Boys

– – – – – " " Girls

Note: Same scale as for Diagram E (vide supra, p. 346)

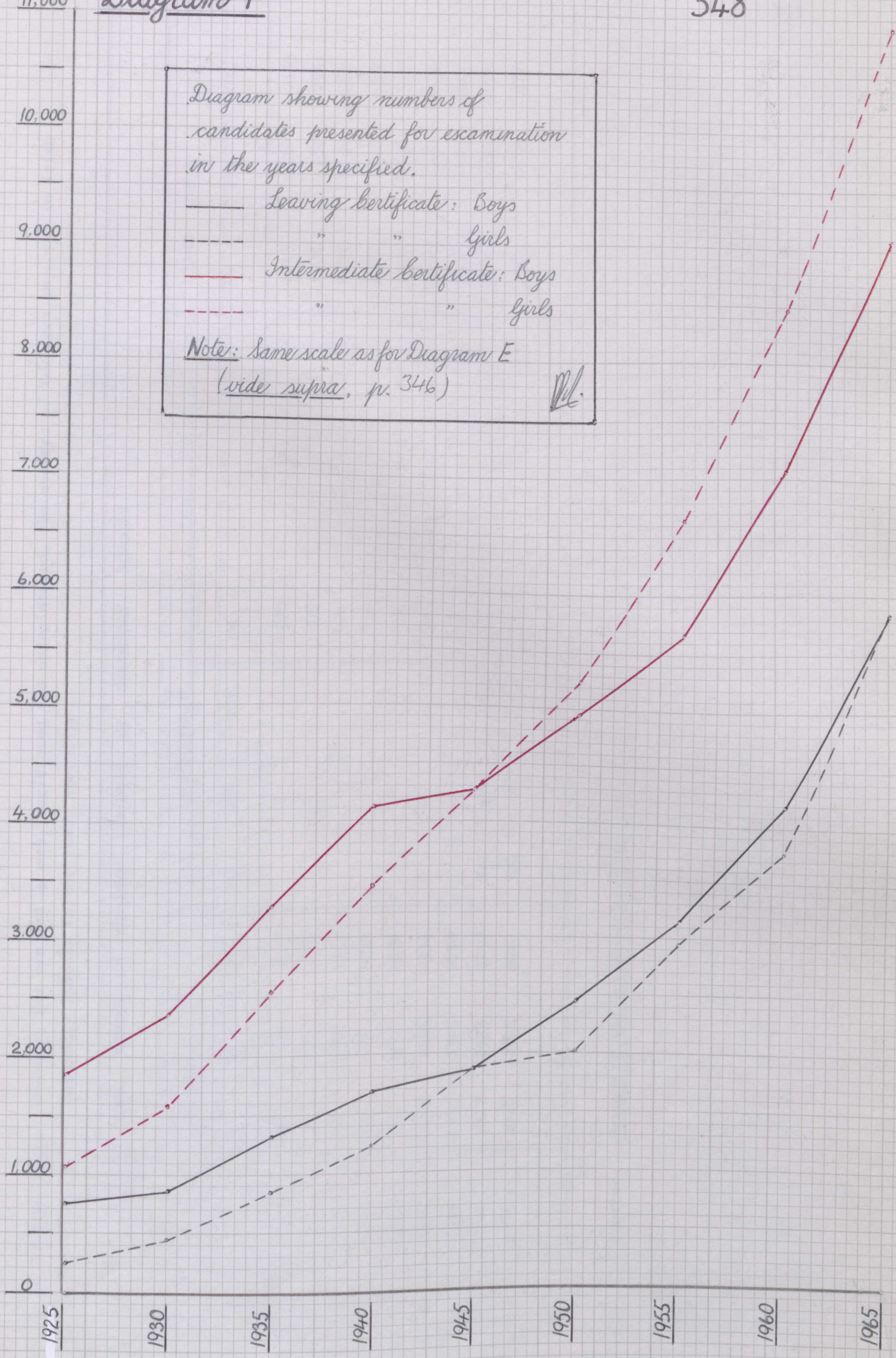


TABLE VII.1; Showing, for men and women, registered and unregistered, the numbers of Teachers employed in Irish Secondary Schools in the years specified.

	TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS											
	REGISTERED			UNREGISTERED part-time			total			GRAND TOTAL		
	M	W.	TOT.	M.	W.	TOT.	M.	W.	TOT.	M.	W.	TOT.
1925	643	755	1398				370	365	735	1013	1120	2133
1930	725	750	1475				469	607	1076	1194	1357	2551
1935	754	759	1513				621	727	1348	1375	1486	2861
1940	910	832	1742				610	792	1402	1520	1624	3144
1945	988	986	1974				632	891	1523	1620	1877	3497
1950	1189	1145	2334				599	911	1510	1788	2056	3844
1955	1294	1318	2612				739	1066	1805	2033	2384	4417
1960	1617	1533	3150	464	990	1454	716	1312	2028	2333	2845	5178
1965	2018	1994	4012	525	1233	1758	807	1658	2465	2825	3652	6477

Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

TABLE VII.2: Showing the numbers of University Graduates taking the Higher Diploma in Education and Registering as Secondary Teachers in the years specified.

(A)		(B)		(C)		(D)	(E)
YEAR	No. of teachers registered	YEAR	Graduates doing H.Dip	YEAR	Graduates: Total First Degrees		
1950-1	151	1948-9	212	1947-8	1,435	71.7	14.8
1951-2	159	1949-50	263	1948-9	1,461	60.5	18.0
1952-3	165	1950-1	279	1949-50	1,554	59.1	18.0
1953-4	149	1951-2	252	1950-1	1,662	59.1	15.2
1954-5	168	1952-3	286	1951-2	1,656	58.7	17.3
1955-6	182	1953-4	254	1952-3	1,577	71.7	16.1
1956-7	183	1954-5	251	1953-4	1,537	72.9	16.3
1957-8	245	1955-6	320	1954-5	1,608	76.6	19.9
1958-9	265	1956-7	315	1955-6	1,645	84.1	19.1
1959-60	242	1957-8	338	1956-7	1,665	71.6	20.3
1960-1	267	1958-9	341	1957-8	1,729	78.3	19.7
1961-2	265	1959-60	363	1958-9	1,818	73.0	20.2
1962-3	287	1960-1	393	1959-60	1,768	73.0	22.2
		1961-2	436	1960-1	1,893		23.0

Notes: (A): number of secondary teachers registered.
(B): number of graduates doing Higher Diploma.
(C): total of first degree graduates graduating in Republic.
(D): column (A) as a percentage of column (B).
(E): column (B) as a percentage of column (C).

Source: Investment in Education [1966] , II, 189

TABLE VII.3.a.: Showing the maximum number of recognised teachers in a secondary school who may, in normal circumstances, be paid incremental salary.

Number of Recognised Pupils	Authorised Quota of Recognised Teachers
Less than 15	Not more than 1
More than 14 but not more than 30	" " " 2
" " 30 " " " " 45	" " " 3
" " 45 " " " " 60	" " " 4
" " 60 " " " " 75	" " " 5
" " 75 " " " " 90	" " " 6
" " 90 " " " " 105	" " " 7
" " 105 " " " " 120	" " " 8
and so on	and so on

Source: Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 170; cf. Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary to Secondary Teachers, 1958, (i.e., the last published version).

TABLE VII.3.b.: Showing the minimum number of registered teachers who must be employed in a secondary school wishing to be recognised for the purpose of payment of grants.

Number of Recognised Pupils	Number of Recognised Teachers
Less than 50	1
More than 49 but not more than 80	2
" " 80 " " " " 110	3
" " 110 " " " " 135	4
" " 135 " " " " 160	5
" " 160 " " " " 190	6
" " 190 " " " " 220	7
and so on	and so on

Source: Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1957, Appendix I, Schedule I), p. 16.

TABLE VII.4: Showing, in respect of the school year 1969-70, the various combinations of qualifications held by full-time secondary teachers in receipt of incremental salary.

QUALIFICATIONS		RELIGIOUS		LAY	
Degree[a]	Diploma[a]	Men	Women	Men	Women
Pass Primary	Pass	469	492	1,244	1,165
" "	Honours[b]	284	282	309	260
Pass Master's[c]	Pass	4	-	14	6
" "	Honours[b]	5	1	6	1
Honours Primary[b]	Pass	266	265	285	305
" "	Honours[b]	118	98	94	128
Honours[b] Masters[c]	Pass	9	8	38	17
" "	Honours[b]	4	4	16	13
Confined Register[d]	(Pass)	2	141	15	277
" "	(Honours)	-	3	3	24

Notes: (a) or acceptable equivalent

(b) i.e., 1st or 2nd class honours

(c) by thesis or examination.

(d) qualifications in Domestic Science, Phys ical Education, Music or Art.

Source: Reply dated 16/10/1969 to a written query submitted to the Department of Education.

Note: A supplementary query (reply dated 27/10/1969) ascertained that there were, in addition to the the teachers accounted for in the earlier reply, a further six secondary teachers (all lay) in possession of a doctor's degree.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

Notes and References to Chapter One

1 Vide Intermediate Education (Amendment) Act, 1924 (No. 47 of 1924), §2 (2).

2 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66.

3 Report of the Vice-Regal Committee on the Conditions of Service and Remuneration of Teachers in Intermediate Schools, and on the Distribution of Grants from Public Funds for Intermediate Education in Ireland (Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1919); [Cmd. 66] 1919, xxi, 645; p. 6; hereafter referred to as Vice-Regal Committee (1919). Cf. Department of Education: Report of the Council of Education as presented to the Minister for Education: The Curriculum of the Secondary School (Baile Atha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair, [1962]; Pr. 5996), pp. 6-44; hereafter referred to as Council of Education [1962].

4 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §2.

5 Ibid., §3.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid., §5.

8 Ibid., §6 (3), (4), (5), (7), (8).

9 Vide ibid., Schedule of Rules.

10 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Commission: Final Report of the Commissioners (Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1899); [C. 9511] 1899, xxii, 629; p. 8; hereafter referred to as Vice-Regal Commission (1899).

11 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §7.

12 32 & 33 Vic., c. 42.

13 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §8.

14 Ibid.

15 Vide Michael McKeown, 'The Irish Educational Scene: The Past', Christus Rex, XXII, (No. 2, April-May-June 1968), 90, where the President's statement is quoted. Mr McKeown does not give the date of the statement, but from the context it is clear that it was made in the period immediately prior to the passing of the Act.

16 Peter Birch, St Kieran's College, Kilkenny (Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1951), pp. 234-5.

17 Ibid., p. 235.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., pp. 235-7. Dr Birch supported this assertion by reference to the Parliamentary Debates on the Bill, and he quotes Lord Carlingford as saying: 'The greatest blot on

> our educational system in Ireland, and of many former attempts at educational legislation, has been that we have not managed to promote education in Ireland generally and without exceptions. Those classes in the country whose education had already, in former days, been largely promoted, found their education promoted still further, and have obtained, and are now enjoying, large advantages from the legislation of Parliament; but those classes, whose education in the old, and what I may call the bad, times had not been promoted, but on the contrary had been depressed and even crushed, have failed to obtain from the well-meant legislation of Parliament of recent years that amount of advantage to which they have every claim, and of which they were in the greatest need.' (Hansard, 3rd ser., CCXLI, 428.)

20 45 & 46 Vic., c. 69.

21 Vide infra, pp. 84-6.

22 45 & 46 Vic., c. 69, §2.

23 Ibid., §3.

24 Ibid., §4.

25 63 & 64 Vic., c. 43.

26 Vide Vice-Regal Commission (1899), pp. 23-4.

27 63 & 64 Vic., c. 43, §§1 (1), 6.

28 Ibid., §2. Cf. 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §3, where provision had been made for the assistant commissioners to act, when required, as inspectors. Vide infra, p. 27, however, where it will be seen that this provision had not been acted on.

29 Cf. 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §2.

30 63 & 64 Vic., c. 43, §4.

31 Ibid., §3. These allowances, however, were limited in amount to the scale of allowances provided for in the Superannuation Act, 1859 (22 Vic., c. 26).

32 Report of Messrs. F. H. Dale and T. A. Stephens, His Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, Board of Education, on Intermediate Education in Ireland (Dublin: H.M.S.O., 1905); [Cd. 2546] 1905, xxviii, 709; p. 48; hereafter referred to as Dale and Stephens (1905).

33 Vide infra, pp. 28-9, 31-2.

34 3 & 4 Geo. V, c. 29.

35 Ibid., §1.

36 Vide infra, pp. 32-4. Cf. Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 8.

37 3 & 4 Geo. V, c. 29, §1 (1).

38 Ibid., (2). Vide supra, p. 3. Cf. 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §5 (4); ibid., §7.

39 Ibid., (3).

40 Ibid., §2. Cf. 63 & 64 Vic., c. 43, §3, where provision had first been made for the payment of such allowances.

41 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 9.

42 Ibid.

43 4 & 5 Geo. V, c. 41.

44 Fuller discussion of both these topics will be found elsewhere in this thesis: the various problems connected with the setting up of the Register are considered on pp. 273-6; those relating to the introduction of the Teachers' Salaries Grant, on pp. 276-81.

45 4 & 5 Geo. V, c. 41, §1 (1).

46 Ibid., (2).

47 Ibid., (3).

48 Ibid., §2.

49 Ibid., §3.

50 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1915, p. vii. Cf., infra, p. 279 of this thesis

51 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 9. Cf., infra, p. 275.

52 No. 47 of 1924.

53 Various aspects of this policy are considered in subsequent chapters of this thesis: vide infra, pp. 100-2, 142-5, 234-7

54 53 & 54 Vic., c. 60. Vide infra, this p., where the relevant sections of this statute are considered.

55 Cf. 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §5 (3).

56 Cf. 53 & 54 Vic., c. 60, §3 (1) (ii). The extent of the repeal, in this case, involved the deletion of the rest of the paragraph from the words 'amongst schools'.

57 No. 2 of 1922.

58 No. 16 of 1924.

59 53 & 54 Vic., c. 60.

60 Vide infra, pp. 87-9, where the need for this enactment is referred to and its subsequent effect on Irish intermediate education traced.

61 53 & 54 Vic., c. 60, §3 (1).

62 i.e., to the end of the quotation given here.

63 Vide supra, pp. 7-8.

64 62 & 63 Vic., c. 50.

65 Ibid., §30 (1).

66 Vide infra, pp. 117-18, 123.

67 62 & 63 Vic., c. 50, §2 (1) (e). Cf. Vice-Regal Committee (1919), pp. 9-10.

68 Ibid., §16 (1) (c).

69 Dale and Stephens (1905), pp. 11-12. Vide infra, p. 123.

70 62 & 63 Vic., c. 50, §23.

71 Ibid. Both the Agricultural Board and the Board of Technical Instruction were bodies the establishment of which had been provided for by section 7 of the Act.

72 Vide infra, p. 140. Cf. Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 10. The Committee had recommended a conference between the Intermediate Board and the Department. Several conferences were held, and, as a result of their joint recommendations, the Intermediate Board resolved in February 1901 to adopt the Department's programme in the subjects in question and to accept the findings of the Department's inspectors in relation to these subjects, and where necessary the examinations of the Department. Accordingly the Department's programme came to be generally adopted in the intermediate schools of the country, the results of the Department's inspection were accepted by the Board, and the Department took on the responsibility for the written examination in honours in the subjects of this programme.

73 8 Edw. VII, c. 38.

74 Ibid., §10 (1).

75 Cf. 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §5 (4).

76 Cf. Accounts of the Board for individual years, published annually in the Reports of the Board, where no mention is made at any stage of any such allocation of the Board's funds.

77 8 Edw. VII, c. 38, §10 (2).

78 Ibid.

79 Vide infra, pp. 124-5, 129-30.

80 Vide supra, pp. 2-5.

81 12 Geo. V, c. 4.

82 Ibid., Schedule: Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland, dated 6/12/1921, art. 16.

83 No. 1 of 1922.

84 Ibid., First Schedule: Constitution of the Irish Free State, art. 8.

85 Constitution of Ireland (Dublin: Stationery Office, n.d.), art. 42, §1.

86 Ibid., §3 (1).

87 Vide Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) Act, 1922 (No. 1 of 1922), First Schedule: Constitution of the Irish Free State, art. 73.

88 i.e., the date of the coming into operation of the Constitution

89 No. 2 of 1922.

90 Vide esp. ibid., §16.

91 Ibid., [illegible]).

92 Ibid., (2).

93 Report of the Intermediate Education Commissioners, 1923, p. viii.

94 No. 9 of 1923.

95 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, pp. 42-3.

96 Vide infra, pp. 125-7.

97 Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) Act, 1922 (No. 1 of 1922), First Schedule: Constitution of the Irish Free State, art. 51.

98 Ibid., art. 53.

99 Ibid., art. 51.

100 Ibid., art. 55.

101 Ibid., art. 54.

102 Ibid., art. 56.

103 No. 16 of 1924.

104 Ibid., §1 (v).

105 Ibid.

106 The business and functions of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland relating to fisheries were assigned to the Department of Fisheries; the rest of the old Department's functions were assigned to the Department of Lands and Agriculture.

107 Ministers and Secretaries Act, 1924 (No. 16 of 1924), Schedule, 4th part.

108 Vide infra, pp. 309-12.

109 No. 32 of 1928.

110 Ibid., §2.

111 Vide Secondary Teachers' Superannuation Scheme, 1929 (S.R.& O. No. 19 of 1929). Vide infra, p. 310.

112 No. 23 of 1941.

113 Report of the Department of Education, 1942-3, p. 19.

114 No. 13 of 1944.

115 Vide infra, p. 127.

116 No. 34 of 1961.

117 Ibid.

118 Qq. v.

119 Vide infra, pp. 127-8.

120 No. 24 of 1968.

121 Ibid., §2 (1) (b).

122 Vide infra, p. 132.

123 Vide 'Secondary Schools Want Guarantee: Relationship with State', Irish Times, 6/12/1968, p. 8.

Notes and References to Chapter Two

1 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 5.

2 Ibid.

3 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878 (41 & 42 Vic., c. 66), §§2, 5. Vide supra, pp. 2-5, where the provisions of this Act are considered in more detail.

4 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, p. ix.

5 Statement of the Joint Committee Representing Heads of Intermediate Schools in Ireland, §2, in Ir.Ed.Rev., IV, (No. 9, June 1911), 571.

6 Vide infra, pp. 285-7.

7 Vide Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 41.

8 Ibid.

9 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §5 (4).

10 Gerald Molloy, 'Secondary Education in Ireland', I.E.R., 4th ser., IV, (No. 372, December 1898), 487.

11 Vide supra, pp. 2-3, where these provisions are specified.

12 Vice-Regal Commission (1899), p. 8.

13 Vide ibid., p. 12.

14 Vide Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 2 et passim.

15 Vide infra, pp. 27-36, where the development of the secondary school inspectorate is outlined.

16 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1916, pp. vii-viii.

17 Ibid., p. viii.

18 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 1.

19 Vide infra, pp. 140-2, 229-33.

20 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 21.

21 Ibid., p. 22.

22 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 8.

23 Ibid., pp. 8-9. The role of the inspectorate is considered in more detail in a later section: vide infra, pp. 27-36.

24 Seán O Catháin, 'Education in the New Ireland', in The Years of the Great Test: 1926-39, ed. by Francis Macmanus (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), p. 104.

25 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 7. To the extent that it prescribed minimum qualifications for teachers both in relation to the payment of increments of salary and in relation to the payment of grants to schools, it can, however, be said that it did normally exercise a measure of indirect control over appointments to these schools. Vide infra, 290-1, 302-5.

26 Parliamentary Debates, Dáil Eireann, XXIII, (24/5/1928), 2049-52; hereafter referred to as Dáil. Cf. John Mescal, Religion in the Irish System of Education (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), pp. 56-7.

27 Ibid., XXXVIII, (27/5/1931), 1901-2. Cf. Mescal, op. cit., p. 94.

28 Mescal, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

29 Parliamentary Debates, Seanad Eireann, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1151; hereafter referred to as Seanad.

30 Vide Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 227.

31 Vide Taighde ar Oideachas: Investment in Education: Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962 (Dublin: Stationery Office, [1966]; Pr. 8311), p. 86; hereafter referred to as Investment in Education [1966], I; also Taighde ar Oideachas: Investment in Education: Annexes and Appendices to the Report of the Survey Team appointed by the Minister for Education in October 1962 (Dublin: Stationery Office, [1966]; Pr. 8527), p. 340; hereafter referred to as Investment in Education [1966], II.

32 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1151.

33 Vide infra, e.g., 143, 149.

34 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1157.

35 Garret Fitzgerald, 'The Murder Machine', Secondary Teacher, I, No. 4 (April 1966), p. 21.

36 Vide infra, pp. 55-60, 61-3, where the organisational details of these plans are considered. Cf. typescript of Dr Hillery's press release of May 1963, supplied by the Department of Education.

37 Patrick Heeran, Press Statement on behalf of A.S.T.I., quoted in Secondary Teacher, I, No. 9 (November 1966), p. 5.

38 UNESCO, World Survey of Education, III: Secondary Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 109.

39 George Colley, Address to Cork Branch of Tairim, 19/11/1965; typescript supplied by Department of Education, p. 5.

40 Vide infra, pp. 61-3, where certain of the changes which the Department has begun to introduce are considered, and where it will be seen that evidence is not lacking to support the contention that, in a number of its details, the Department's plan for the introduction of a comprehensive-type system of post-primary education takes little cognizance of existing conditions in this country.

41 Vide Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 227-8.

42 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §3.

43 Vice-Regal Commission (1899), p. 12.

44 Ibid.

45 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1900 (63 & 64 Vic., c. 43), §2.

46 Ibid., §1 (1).

47 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1902, p. xi.

48 Vide Vice-Regal Commission (1899), p. 23, recommendation 7 (d); cf. ibid., p. 15, where it is stipulated as a condition precedent to the adoption of the results of inspection as a factor in estimating an increase in the 'normal school grant', that practical experience of inspection should first prove satisfactory.

49 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1902, pp. xi-xii.

50 Ibid., p. xii.

51 Ibid. Official sanction empowering the Board to re-appoint temporary inspectors for the school year in question was communicated to the Board by letter of the Under-Secretary, dated 13/1/1903.

52 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1903, p. xi.

53 Ibid., p. 12.

54 Dale and Stephens (1905), pp. iv, 1.

55 Ibid., p. iv, Terms of Reference, 3 (c).

56 Ibid., p. 49, (par. 164).

57 Ibid.

58 i.e., Intermediate Education (Ireland) Acts, 1878 to 1900.

59 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 49, (par. 165).

60 Ibid.

61 Vide Table IV.2.a, p.318 , where the distribution of the Board's expenses for selected years is given under various headings.

62 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 49, (par. 166).

63 Ibid., p. 50, (par. 168).

64 Ibid., (par. 169).

65 Ibid., p. 86, recommendation 21.

66 Ibid., pp. 69-70, (pars. 225-32).

67 Vide supra, p. 30.

68 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1906, pp. xi-xiv.

69 Ibid., 1908, p. xi.

70 Ibid. Vide supra, p. 28, where it will be seen that under these Rules, which had received the Vice-Regal approval in May 1902, not more than 20 per cent of the School Grant could be paid on the basis of the reports of the inspectors.

71 Ibid., p. xii.

72 Ibid., 1909, p. viii.

73 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 48, (par. 163).

74 [Andrew Murphy], 'Intermediate Inspection', Ir.Ed.Rev., II, (No. 3, December 1908), 151-2.

75 Ibid., pp. 149-50.

76 Ibid., p. 150.

77 Vide ibid., (No. 4, January 1909), p. 215.

78 Ibid., p. 216.

79 Hugh O'Toole, 'A New Departure in Intermediate Education', Ir.Ed.Rev., II, (No. 5, February 1909), 261.

80 Ibid., p. 258.

81 Catholic Headmasters' Association, Report of the General Meeting, 15/9/1909, in Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 1, October 1909), 56-9.

82 Ibid., p. 58.

83 Ibid., pp. 58-9.

84 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1911, p. x.

85 Vide ibid., 1912, pp. vi--vii, where an account is given of two unsuccessful attempts at introducing Bills; one, in May 1912, by Mr Thomas O'Donnell, M.P., which was rejected on the grounds that 'it appeared to contemplate the abolition of all examinations'; and another, in January 1913, by the Chief Secretary, which was opposed because it appeared to give the Board power either (a) to retain the existing system, or (b) to make the school grant wholly dependent on the results of inspection, or (c) to make the grant depend partly on inspection and partly on honours examinations.

86 Ibid., 1913, p. vii.

87 3 & 4 Geo. V, c. 29.

88 Ibid., §1 (2).

89 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1916, pp. viii-ix.

90 Vide infra, pp. 242-8, where the extent of this influence is considered.

91 Patrick S. Duffy, The Lay Teacher: A Study of the Position of the Lay Teacher in an Irish Catholic Environment (Dublin: Fallons, [1967]), pp. 30-1. Fr Duffy went on to attribute this lack of influence in large measure

to the natural reticence and sense of inferiority felt by laymen in Ireland when dealing with priests or religious, which hinders them from asserting themselves as they might otherwise do. One has the impression, however, that little factual basis could be found for such an assertion; it would seem much more probable that the attitude adopted, over the years, by the inspectorate, and indeed by the Department, stems more from a desire to respect, as far as possible, the private status of Irish secondary schools—or, to put it another way, to be thankful that the Irish system was operating so successfully at such small cost to the State, and to leave well alone; and that Fr Duffy's assertion is merely a logical extension of the fundamental thesis he seems to have been determined, at all costs, to prove, viz., that the main factor which operates to depress the status of the layman in Irish education, is the determination of priests and religious to keep him in a position of subservience.

92 T.E.S., 13/9/1968, p. 475.

93 Vide infra, pp. 78-9, where this matter is considered in more detail.

94 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 16, (par. 43).

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid., (par. 44). The main obstacle to the success of such a measure was, as Dale and Stephens emphasised elsewhere in their Report (esp. pp. 16-20, passim), the complete lack of co-ordination and co-operation between the National and Intermediate Boards.

97 Ibid., p. 18, (par. 50).

98 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 54.

99 Ibid., p. 106.

100 Ibid.

101 Vide p. 314.

102 Vide Investment in Education [1966], I, 7; II, (Annexe D), 37-43.

103 Ibid., II, 37. Cf. Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1963-4, pp. 39-43.

104 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1963-4, p. 41, (Rule 80 (a)).

105 Ibid., (Rule 80 (b)). It is to be noted that while duly recognised secondary teachers possessing a university degree and teaching in recognised secondary schools are not confined to teaching only those subjects in which they have taken their degree (vide infra, pp. 292-3), graduates teaching in secondary tops of primary schools are recognised as qualified to teach only the subjects in which they passed in their degree examination.

106 Investment in Education [1966], II, 37.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid., p. 43.

109 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1969-70, pp. 35-9.

110 Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, pp. 5-6.

111 Ibid., p. 6.

112 Cf. ibid., 1925-6, p. 34; ibid., 1947-8, p. 95; ibid., 1959-60, p. 95. In the latter year the list of these colleges read as follows: Coláiste Éinde (for Catholic boys), Salthill, Galway; Coláiste Íosagáin (for Catholic boys), Ballyvourney, Co. Cork; Coláiste Móibhí (for Protestant girls), Shankill, Co. Dublin; Coláiste Brighde (for Catholic girls), Falcarragh, Co. Donegal; Coláiste Íde (for Catholic girls), Dingle, Co. Kerry; and Coláiste Muire (for Catholic girls), Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo.

113 Ibid., 1947-8, p. 4.

114 Vide Report of the Department of Education for particular years, where detailed statistics are given of students' attainments in the various Preparatory Colleges.

115 Seán Ó Catháin, 'Education in the New Ireland', in The Years of the Great Test: 1926-39, ed. by Francis Macmanus (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), pp. 104-5. This article is the text of a radio talk given by Fr Ó Catháin in 1962 in the series 'The Thomas Davis Lectures'.

116 I. L. Kandel, The New Era in Education (London: George G. Harrap, 1955), pp. 323-4.

117 Dáil, CLXXXIX, (24/5/1961), 843.

118 Ibid., (31/5/1961), 1285.

119 Great Britain: Board of Education, Report for 1908-9, pp. 31-2; quoted in UNESCO, World Survey of Education, III: Secondary Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 111.

120 UNESCO, op. cit., pp. 102-3. Cf. W. D. Halls, Society, Schools and Progress in France (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), pp. 22-3.

121 UNESCO, op. cit., p. 100.

122 Vide infra, pp. 122-32, where the question of scholarships is given further consideration.

123 UNESCO, op. cit., p. 101.

124 Ibid., p. 103.

125 Ibid., p. 100.

126 Ibid., p. 102.

127 Great Britain: Board of Education: The Education of the Adolescent: Report of the Consultative Committee (London: H.M.S.O., 1927), p. 44; hereafter referred to as Hadow Report (1927).

128 Vide infra, pp. 251-5, where some of the problems connected with the entrance examination are considered.

129 UNESCO, op. cit., p. 112.

130 Ibid., p. 113.

131 Ibid.

132 Great Britain: Board of Education: Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools: Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council appointed by the President of the Board of Education in 1941 (London: H.M.S.O., 1943), p. 14; hereafter referred to as Norwood Report (1943).

133 Ibid.

134 Hadow Report (1927), p. xvii.

135 Ibid., p. xxiii.

136 UNESCO, op. cit., p. 98.

137 United States of America: National Education Association, Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies (n.d.; Committee appointed in 1892); quoted in UNESCO, loc. cit.

138 UNESCO, loc. cit.

139 Ibid., p. 119.

140 Ibid., p. 120.

141 Ibid., p. 103.

142 The Commissions d'Études de la Réforme de l'Enseignement; i.e., the Algiers Commission (1944), and the Langevin Commission (1946).

143 UNESCO, loc. cit.

144 Ibid.

145 W. D. Halls, Society, Schools and Progress in France (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 107.

146 Cf. ibid., where it is pointed out that conditions were so chaotic in 1964 that in one important lycée in Paris, classes in the baccalauréat year (i.e., the senior year) were forty-eight strong, and in Marseilles, a lycée built to accomodate 1,200 pupils had to house 4,500.

147 UNESCO, op. cit., p. 104.

148 Ibid., p. 100.

149 Erwin Schuppe, 'The State, Problems and Trends in the Development of the West German System', trans. from the German by W. D. Halls, Comparative Education, V, (No. 2, June 1969), 129.

150 Ibid., p. 137.

151 Vide UNESCO, op. cit., p. 105.

152 Ibid.

153 Ibid.

154 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 2.

155 Edward Cahill, 'Secondary Education for Rural Ireland', Studies, IV, (No. 16, December 1915), 545.

156 Vice-Regal Commission (1899), p. 16.

157 Ibid.

158 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 7.

159 Vide infra, p. 124.

160 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 5.

161 Vide supra, pp. 40-1, 44-6.

162 Dale and Stephens, loc. cit.

163 Ibid.

164 Ibid., p. 6.

165 Dáil, I, (1/12/1922), 2574; cf. John Mescal, Religion in the Irish System of Education (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), p. 67.

166 Ibid., VIII, (3/7/1924), 441-2; ibid., (7/7/1924), 545-7.

167 Ibid., III, (31/5/1923), 1371-2; ibid., VIII, (3/7/1924), 426-7.

168 Vide supra, pp. 22-4, where some of these changes are considered; vide infra, pp. 125-32, where the gradual expansion of scholarship provision is outlined. Vide Table IV.6, p. 323, for details of scholarship provision for pupils entering secondary schools, for selected years.

169 Dáil, LI, (11/4/1934), 1622-3. Cf. Hadow Report (1927), p. 89.

170 Mescal, op. cit., p. 100.

171 Dáil, CLXXXIX, (7/6/1961), 1613.

172 Ibid.

173 Ibid., CXCV, (6/6/1962), 2187.

174 Ibid. Cf. Local Authorities (Education Scholarships) (Amendment) Act, 1961 (No. 34 of 1961). Vide infra, pp. 122-32, where the question of scholarship provision is considered in some detail.

175 Extracts from speech of Dr P. J. Hillery, Minister for Education, on the occasion of his proposing the toast, of 'The National University of Ireland and its Graduates', in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, on 29 November 1962; reproduced in 'Documentation', Christus Rex, XVII, (No. 1, January-February-March 1963), 75-6.

176 Vide infra, p. 52.

177 Vide infra, pp. 104-9.

178 Martin M. O'Donoghue, 'The Irish Educational Scene: The Present', Christus Rex, XXII, (No. 2, April-May-June 1968), 99.

179 Ibid. Cf. Kathleen Cullen, School and Family: Social Factors in Educational Achievement (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1969), pp. 124-32. Recent studies point to the conclusion that parental attitudes are more influential in pupils staying on in schools than economic factors.

180 Vide Liam Ryan, 'Social Dynamite: A Study of Early School-Leavers', Christus Rex, XXI, (No. 1, January-February-March 1967), 7-44.

181 Ibid., p. 35. Cf. Monica Hunter, 'The Outsiders?', Secondary Teacher, I, No. 3 (March 1966), p. 17.

182 Vide supra, p. 50.

183 These structures will be considered in more detail in the next section of this chapter; vide infra, pp. 54-70.

184 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878 (41 & 42 Vic., c. 66), §6 (4).

185 Vice-Regal Commission (1899), p. 18.

186 Ibid.

187 Ibid.

188 Isabella Mulvany, 'The Intermediate Act and the Education of Girls', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 1, October 1907), 20.

189 Ibid., p. 15.

190 Ibid., p. 20.

191 Vide infra, pp. 228-9, vide also Table VI.1, p. 345.

192 Vide Table VI.3, p. 347.

193 UNESCO, World Survey of Education, III: Secondary Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 107.

194 Ibid., p. 108.

195 Great Britain: Scottish Education Department: Secondary Education: A Report of the Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (Edinburgh: H.M.S.O., 1947), pp. 31-2; hereafter referred to as Scottish Report (1947).

196 Ibid., p. 32.

197 Ibid., p. 31. The secondary modern school tended to fare worst, the Report stated. 'Status does not come', it said, 'with the attaching of a name or by a wave of the administrative wand, and the discussion to date has left the position of the modern school neither defined nor secure. Indeed, it seems clear to many that the modern school will in practice mean little more than what is left, once the grammar and technical types have been housed elsewhere, and that the scheme will end not in tripartite equality but in a dualism of academic and technical, plus a permanently depressed element.'

198 Vide infra, pp. 61-3, where this compromise is considered under the heading, 'The Comprehensive Idea'.

199 Statement by Dr P. J. Hillery, Minister for Education, in regard to Post-Primary Education (typescript copy supplied by Department of Education: undated [1963]), pp. 7-8. Cf. Dáil, CCXVI, (16/6/1965), 970, where the then Minister for Education, Mr George Colley, said, in relation to comprehensive schools, 'Is é a fheicim iontu . . . scoileanna a thabharfaidh treoir agus cinnireacht san iarbhunoideachas i gcoitinne.'

200 Thomas J. Morrissey, 'Comprehensive Schools' [part I],

Irish Independent, 11/2/1970, p. 10. This was the first of a series of five articles in which Fr Morrissey attempted to set out the function of the comprehensive school in this country.

201 Statement by Dr P.J. Hillery . . . [1963], p. 8. Cf., however, Great Britain: Board of Education, Half Our Future [Newsom Report](London: H.M.S.O., 1963), p. 115; quoted in G. Baron, Society, Schools and Progress in England (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 109; where it is pointed out that the fact that a pupil is not good at academic subjects is no reason for assuming that he will be any better at practical subjects. 'Some pupils of well below average ability', the Newsom Report states, 'are better with words than with things.'

202 Ibid., p. 9. Cf. George Colley, 'Aspects of Comprehensive Education' (Address to the Carlow Group of Pax Romana on 10/3/1966: typescript copy supplied by Department of Education), p. 11, where the Minister for Education said that during the whole course of this three-year period a pupil's achievement in each subject would be regularly reported on by his teachers and his progress would be 'closely watched by the teaching staff and the Department's psychologists'. Regular meetings with the parents would be arranged 'to report to the on the student's progress in his course generally and in individual subjects'.

203 Vide supra, pp. 44-5.

204 Article by Mr George Colley, Minister for Education, published in the Sunday Press on 9/1/1966 (typescript copy supplied by Department of Education), p. 2. Cf. Dáil, CCIX, (14/5/1964), 1571-2, where this intention had been expressly stated by Dr Hillery.

205 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1131, 1151-2.

206 Dáil, CCXXV, (30/11/1966), 1881.

207 Ibid., CCXXXVI, (31/10/1968), 1786.

208 Letter from Department of Education, dated 6/1/1970.

209 Garret Fitzgerald, 'Economic Comment: Comprehensive Picture of Educational Patterns', Irish Times, 6/6/1969, p. 15.

210 Dáil, CCIX, (14/5/1964), 1571.

211 Article by Mr George Colley . . . 9/1/1966 . . . p. 2.

212 Statement by Dr P. J. Hillery . . . [1963], p. 10.

213 Ibid.

214 Letter from Department of Education, dated 6/1/1970.

215 Ibid.

216 Dáil, CCVII, (6/2/1964), 509.

217 Article by Mr George Colley . . . 9/1/1966 . . . p. 3.

218 Ibid., p. 4. Cf. George Colley, 'Aspects of Comprehensive Education' . . . p. 11. In his Sunday Press article the Minister had made no mention of Commerce; in the later address it is mentioned in the list of optional subjects.

219 Statement by Dr P. J. Hillery . . . [1963], p. 10.

220 Dáil, CCVII, (6/2/1964), 509-10.

221 Vide Thomas J. Morrissey, 'Comprehensive Schools' [part II], Irish Independent, 12/2/1970, p. 8, where it is stated that the English six-year comprehensive schools envisaged enrolments of from 1,200 to 1,600. Cf. Robin Pedley, The Comprehensive School (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 83, where the author points out that of 68 fully-developed comprehensive schools he had studied, 11 had under 500 pupils, 30 had between 500 and 1,000, 19 had between 1,000 and 1,500, 5 had between 1,500 and 2,000, and 3 had over 2,000. Of the remaining fifty or so schools surveyed, which had not yet reached their full growth, 'the great majority were schools which were expected to grow to some point between 1,400 and 2,300'. Dr Pedley did not accept, however, that the need for having such large schools had been shown, and was inclined to the view that much smaller units could operate effectively. Cf. also Scottish Report (1947), p. 31, where the idea of very large schools had been rejected outright. In the case of Scotland, the Council concluded: ' . . . the maximum secondary roll should be six hundred, a figure which has the approval of the professional organisations, and, while we must beware of undue rigidity in such matters, we think the numbers should not far outrun that figure. It follows that we cannot recommend the setting up of huge multilateral schools . . . with two thousand or more pupils in each. The unity we seek is organic not merely administrative, and we do not believe it can be realised with such vast numbers merely by setting a collection of sub-schools of different kinds on a common campus and calling them one school.'

222 Vide Morrissey, loc. cit.

223 Cf. Juliet Clough, 'Purpose of House System', T.E.S., (27/9/1968), p. 605, however, where reference is made to a research project which was carried out in 1968 in 33 comprehensive schools in England and Wales by Professor Ralph Pounds of the University of Cincinnati, and Mrs Pounds. In their report, a summary of which was subsequently sent by the National Foundation for Educational Research to each of the participating schools, the research workers pointed out that 'Games and other competitive activities [and not the maintenance of effective contact with the individual pupils] are the exclusive or primary purpose of the house system in most British comprehensive schools'; they regarded the British house system, in fact, as 'anachronistic in the modern democratic world'.

224 Vide George Colley, 'Aspects of Comprehensive Education' (Address to the Carlow Group of Pax Romana on 10/3/1966; typescript copy supplied by Department of Education), p. 6.

225 Ibid., pp. 7-8. Cf. P. H. Pearse, The Murder Machine (A photo-mechanical reproduction of the 1916 pamphlet, produced for use in the Department of Education, University College, Cork; 1959), p. 6, where the writer referred to these lowest streams as the 'scrap-heap' or 'the limbo to which the débris ejected by the machine is relegated'.

226 Editorial, T.E.S., (6/9/1968), p. 403.

227 Vide W. D. Halls, Society, Schools and Progress in France (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965), pp. 104-5, where the

author asserts that the weight of French educational thinking today is in favour of the retention of streaming. He says: ' . . . the fact that up to 15 children must be educated together does not mean that from 11 they should not be "streamed" according to ability. Although the subjects they learn should be the same, the methods of working and the pace must be adjusted to the individual.'

228 Vide Thomas J. Morrissey, 'Comprehensive Schools' [part V], Irish Independent, 17/2/1970, p. 6.

229 Ibid.

230 Ibid., [part IV], Irish Independent, 16/2/1970, p. 10.

231 Ibid.

232 Vide infra, pp. 290-1. Cf. Regulations for the Register of Intermediate School Teachers, 1959; ibid., 1967.

233 George Colley, 'The Comprehensive School' (article published in the Sunday Press on 9/1/1966; typescript copy supplied by Department of Education), p. 3.

234 Ibid., p. 2.

235 Vide letter from Department of Education, dated 6/1/1970, Addendum.

236 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 30. Eleven of these intermediate schools were in Ulster, six in Munster, and eleven in Leinster. Similarly, 24 itinerant instructors in Science and Art subjects employed by Technical Education Committees had been placed at the service of intermediate schools as temporary teachers of those subjects.

237 Statement by Dr P. J. Hillery . . . [1963], p. 6. The Minister pointed out as well that this lack of co-operation was aggravated by the fact that there were children attending vocational schools 'who might have benefited to a far greater degree from a more academic course', and that at the same time there were large numbers of pupils in secondary schools 'who derive little benefit from the study od academic subjects but who might profit greatly from the more practical type of course provided in vocational schools'.

238 Ibid.

239 Dáil, CCXX, (16/2/1966), 1755. Such an exchange, the Minister for Education (Mr Colley) pointed out, not alone would serve the area in question better but would also constitute a step on the road to ensuring that teachers would specialise in the subjects in which they are qualified.

240 Vide letter from George Colley, Minister for Education, to the Authorities of Secondary and Vocational Schools, January 1966, p. 2. The provision of any necessary additions to the existing facilities would be by arrangement with the authorities of both schools. The Minister also suggested that where any general classrooms were not being fully utilised in any of the schools, the possibility of making them available to some extent for pupils from other schools should be investigated (p. 3).

241 Dáil, CCXXXVI, (31/10/1968), 1786.

242 Statement by Dr P. J. Hillery . . . [1963], p. 14.

243 Vide F. H. Drinkwater, Educational Essays (London: Burns, Oates, 1951), p. 59. The essay in which this view is expressed—'Secondary Education for All' (pp. 58-61)—was originally published in 1947.

244 Edmund J. King, Other Schools and Ours: A Comparative Study for Today (3rd edition; London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), pp. 135-6. Cf. P. E. Vernon, ed., Secondary School Selection: A British Psychological Society Inquiry (London: Methuen, 1957), p. 167, where it is pointed out that 'The parity of esteem envisaged in the 1944 Education Act is unlikely to be achieved so long as the curricula, vocational opportunities and social prestige [italics mine] of these schools are so widely differentiated'.

245 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1155-6.

246 Ibid., col. 1156.

247 Roger Gal, L'Orientation Scolaire (3e édition; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), p. 75.

248 Vide infra, pp. 76-8.

249 Erwin Schuppe, 'The State, Problems and Trends in the Development of the West German Education System', trans. from the German by W. D. Halls, Comparative Education, V, (No. 2, June 1969), 137.

250 Vide supra, pp. 40-6, where this matter is considered in the context of the evolution of the modern concept of 'secondary education for all'.

251 Statement by Dr P. J. Hillery . . . [1963], p. 7.

252 George Colley, 'Aspects of Comprehensive Education' (Address to the Carlow Group of Pax Romana on 10/3/1966; typescript copy supplied by the Department of Education), p. 5.

253 Ibid. The Minister did not say, however, in what way the school authorities would arrive at these 'measures of . . . potential'.

254 Ibid.

255 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

256 Ibid., p. 6.

257 Ibid., p. 11.

258 Ibid.

259 Ibid., pp. 11-12.

260 Ibid., p. 12.

261 Dáil, CCXVI, (16/6/1965), 970.

262 Seán O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 235-6.

263 Ibid., p. 236.

264 Vide infra, in chapter V, under individual subject headings, where reference is made, passim, to criticism by the

Department of the practice of allowing children, because of their age, to start their secondary course in the second year class.

265 Cf. Thomas J. Morrissey, 'Comprehensive Schools' [part III], Irish Independent, 13/2/1970, p. 10.

266 Investment in Education [1966], I, 351-3.

267 Ibid., p. 353.

268 Dáil, CCXVI, (16/6/1965), 977.

269 Ibid., cols. 977-8.

270 George Colley, 'Changes in Irish Education' (Address to the Cork Branch of Tuairim, on 19/11/1965; typescript copy supplied by Department of Education), p. 15.

271 Ibid., p. 16.

272 Vide Dáil, CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 474.

273 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 47. Cf. ibid., p. 41, where Dale and Stephens referred to at least 40 schools which 'fall in point of premises and equipment far below the standard which the State can reasonably require as a condition precedent to the grant of public money'. At best, schools of this type were conducted in an ordinary small dwelling house, the living-rooms being commonly used for school-rooms, and no provision at all being made for playgrounds, cloakrooms or storerooms. The lighting and ventilation were frequently inadequate. In some cases the lighting was so defective 'as in itself to call for the condemnation of the premises'. The sanitary arrangements, too, were as a rule inadequate for the number of pupils.

274 Ibid., p. 49.

275 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1927-8, p. 6; cf. ibid., [1924], p. 3.

276 Cf. ibid., 1969-70, p. 9.

277 Vide infra, pp. 113-15, where the details of this scheme are considered.

278 Seán O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 236.

279 Leaflet M.T.2, entitled 'Changing Concepts in Post-Primary School Building'.

280 Ibid., pp. 1-2.

281 Ibid., p. 2.

282 Ibid.

283 Ibid.

284 R.T.E. Educational Advisory Committee, Making the Most of Telefís Scoile (undated booklet), p. 2.

285 Letter from Maev Conway-Piskorski, Head of Educational Programmes, Radio and Television, R.T.E., dated 29/1/1970. Most of the information on which this subsection is based was obtained from Mrs Conway-Piskorski's detailed account

of the history of Teleffs Scoile, which she supplied in reply to a questionnaire.

286 Ibid.

287 Ibid.

288 Quoted in the Secondary Teacher, I, No. 3 (March 1966), p. 5.

289 Letter from Maev Conway-Piskorski . . . 29/1/1970.

290 Ibid.

291 Vide editorial, Secondary Teacher, I, No. 3 (March 1966), p. 5.

Notes and References to Chapter Three

1 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 12.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 3.

4 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

5 Ibid., p. 3.

6 Ibid., p. 39.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid., n.

9 Ibid., p. 40.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid., p. 41.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid., pp. 66-7.

15 Ibid., p. 67.

16 Vide Table III.1.a, p. 315.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Vide Table III.1.b, p. 315.

20 Ibid.

21 Vide Table III.1.a, p. 315. Cf. 'Scheme for the Payment of Grants towards the Building of Recognised Secondary Schools' (Department of Education typescript; undated), p. 1.

22 Investment in Education [1966], I, 265.

23 Ibid., p. 280.

24 Vide p. 316.

25 Investment in Education [1966], I, 280.

26 Dáil, CCXX, (16/2/1966), 1756.

27 Ibid.

28 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1125.

29 'Post-Primary Education', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 229-30.

30 Investment in Education [1966], I, 388.

31 Vide Graham Balfour, The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 198.

32 Vice-Regal Commission (1899), p. 21.

33 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 9.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid., p. 14.

36 Ibid., p. 15.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid., p. 23.

39 Report of the Commission on Emigration and Other Population Problems (1948-1954) (Dublin: Stationery Office, [1955?]), p. 177.

55-63;
40 Vide supra, pp. 50-2, . vide infra, pp. 103-9.

41 Vide Investment in Education, I, 154-68; II, 383-92. Figures for secondary school attendance by county of home residence of pupils are published in the Statistical Tables (formerly included in the Report of the Department of Education) issued yearly by the Department. Population by county and year of age is normally published in the Census of Population Reports, though the Report of the 1956 Census lacks this information, and enquiry by the present writer at the Central Statistics Office ascertained that the statistics for that year had never been fully processed.

42 Ibid., I, 158. The five counties with the next best participation rate to Cork (percentages in parentheses) were Tipperary (39.53), Roscommon (38.40), Limerick (38.28), Waterford (37.69), and Clare (36.75); those with the next worst participation rate to Donegal were Monaghan (21.43), Laois (24.80), Cavan (24.99), Meath (25.67), and Kildare (26.12).

43 Ibid., p. 166.

44 Ibid., p. 167.

45 Garret Fitzgerald, 'Economic Comment: Comprehensive Picture of Educational Patterns', Irish Times, 6/6/1969, p. 15. Mr Fitzgerald had put forward the same explanation in the course of a lecture on 'Education in Ireland' which he gave on 23/2/1967 in Cruise's Hotel, Limerick.

46 Vide Patrick S. Duffy, The Lay Teacher: A Study of the Position of the Lay Teacher in an Irish Catholic Environment (Dublin: Fallons, [1967]), pp. 46-8.

Notes and References to Chapter Four

1 Vide Council of Education [1962], p. 44.

2 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1879, p. 3; ibid., 1895, p. x.

3 Ibid., 1880, pp. 21-4. The money awards (exhibitions) will be considered together with scholarships in §4 of this chapter, which deals with financial assistance to pupils as distinct from financial assistance to school authorities.

4 Vide Table IV.1, p. 317.

5 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1880, p. 24.

6 Ibid. Cf. Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 39, however, where it is pointed out that under the terms of this rule results fees could be paid to a manager of a 'school' even if he presented only one pupil for examination, provided he could show that ten pupils altogether fulfilled the attendance requirement. Cf. ibid., p. 41, where Dale and Stephens pointed out that some of the smaller educational establishments which were obtaining grants from the Intermediate Board in the period immediately prior to 1905 'are frequently not in any real sense Intermediate schools at all. They consist, for example, of some twenty or thirty boys and girls, of whom only two or three are old and advanced enough to take the lower grades of the Intermediate examinations, the rest being young or backward children doing elementary work'.

7 Ibid., 1879, p. 6.

8 Ibid., p. 7.

9 Ibid., 1880, pp. 5-6.

10 Ibid., 1881, p. viii. Income failed to meet expenditure by a sum of almost £10,000.

11 Ibid., p. vi. The Board quotes from the House of Lords Debates in support of this contention; vide Hansard, CCXLI, 585.

12 Ibid.

13 Vide Table IV.1, p. 317.

14 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1881, p. vi.

15 The Board itself had not power to alter the scales of fees or of exhibitions; it could merely recommend such changes to the Lord Lieutenant, with whom the power to sanction them rested.

16 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1881, p. viii.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., 1882, p. v.

20 Ibid., pp. v-vi. Cf. 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, §8. It will be remembered that in budgeting for 1879 the Board had aimed at keeping its financial commitments at such a level that room would be left for the subsequent expansion of the system. It had hoped that by keeping the scale of fees and prizes relatively low it would be possible to meet its commitments for some years at least. It had not been anticipated that surpluses in any year should be disposed of to meet liabilities in subsequent years, and the Board was precluded by the terms of the original Act from so doing.

21 45 & 46 Vic., c. 69.

22 i.e., to Assistant commissioners and office staff, presumably.

23 45 & 46 Vic., c. 69, §4.

24 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1883, p. iv.

25 Ibid., 1884, p. v.

26 Ibid., 1885, p. vi.

27 Ibid., 1888, p. vii.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., 1889, p. vii.

30 Ibid.

31 53 & 54 Vic., c. 60.

32 i.e., the body which then had responsibility for elementary education in this country. A further sum was payable to the Agricultural Department.

33 53 & 54 Vic., c. 60, §3 (ii).

34 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1890, p. vii.

35 Ibid., 1891, p. viii.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., 1892, p. vii.

38 Ibid., p. viii.

39 Ibid., 1893, p. ix.

40 Ibid., p. x.

41 Ibid., 1894, p. ix; ibid., 1895, p. xxxii.

42 Ibid., 1895, p. x.

43 Ibid.

44 Ibid., 1896, p. 10.

45 Ibid., 1901, p. xiii.

46 63 & 64 Vic., c. 43.

47 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, p. xiii.

48 Ibid., p. xiv. Vide infra, pp. 123-4.

49 James J. Auchmuty, Irish Education: A Historical Survey (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1937), p. 154.

50 Vide supra, pp. 27-36, where the history of the inspectorate is traced.

51 Vide Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 7.

52 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, p. xiv.

53 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 7.

54 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, p. xiii.

55 [Andrew Murphy], 'The Rules of the Intermediate Board', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 9, June 1908), 547-9.

56 Ibid., p. 548.

57 Vide p. 320.

58 Ibid.

59 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1905, pp. x-xi.

60 Ibid., 1910, p. viii.

61 Ibid., p. ix.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Vide 'Starvation of Intermediate Schools', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 1, October 1907), 48-51.

65 Vide supra, p. 90.

66 'Starvation of Intermediate Schools', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 1, October 1907), p. 49.

67 Vide supra, p. 91.

68 'Starvation of Intermediate Schools', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 1, October 1907), p. 49.

69 Under the terms of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890 (53 & 54 Vic., c. 60), it will be remembered, the National Board and the Agricultural Department received fixed sums, and the residue went to the Intermediate Board; vide supra, p. 8.

70 'Starvation of Intermediate Schools', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 1, October 1907), p. 50.

71 'Statement of Ireland's Claim for Exchecquer Grants in Aid of Secondary Education: Statement on behalf of the Joint

Committee representing Heads of Secondary Schools in Ireland', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 10, July 1910), 633-7.

72 Ibid., p. 633.

73 Ibid., p. 636.

74 Ibid., p. 637.

75 'Educational Resolutions of the Irish Bishops', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 10, July 1910), 625-6.

76 1 Geo. V, c. 2.

77 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1910, p. x.

78 Ibid., 1911, p. viii.

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid., p. x.

81 Ibid., 1912, p. vi.

82 Ibid., p. vii.

83 Ibid.

84 Vide supra, p. 90.

85 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1912, p. vii.

86 Cf. UNESCO, World Survey of Education: III, Secondary Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), pp. 98, 100, et passim.

87 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1912, p. viii.

88 i.e., the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1913 (3 & 4 Geo. V, c. 29).

89 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1913, p. vii.

90 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 9.

91 i.e., the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914 (4 & 5 Geo. V, c. 41).

92 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1914, p. vi.

93 Vide infra, pp. 276-81.

94 Vide 'Statement of the Catholic Head Masters Association and the Committee Representing Convent Schools', Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 1, October 1912), 46-51.

95 Vide infra, p. 125.

96 Vide supra, p. 93.

97 'Statement of the Catholic Head Masters Association and the Committee Representing Convent Schools', Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 1, October 1912), 46.

98 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1916, p. x.

99 Ibid., p. viii.

100 Ibid., p. x.

101 Ibid., 1917, p. vi.

102 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 9.

103 Vide infra, pp. 281-2.

104 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1917, p. vi.

105 Vide Vice-Regal Committee (1919), pp. 22-4 (§§84-93). Vide supra, pp. 84 seqq., where some of these have already been considered; et infra, where the payments made by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction are considered.

106 Ibid., p. 24.

107 Ibid., p. 25.

108 Ibid., p. 24.

109 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1918, p. vii.

110 Ibid., 1919, p. x. Vide infra, pp. 283-4.

111 Ibid., 1920, p. ix.

112 Ibid.

113 Statement of the Irish Hierarchy, 27 January 1920, in 'Documents', I.E.R., 5th ser., XV, (No. 626, February 1920), p. 150.

114 Report of the Intermediate Education Commissioners, 1922, p. ix.

115 Vide infra, p. 100.

116 Vide Table IV.2.a, p. 318. Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for each of the years specified. It will be noted that a reference in this subsection to any year means the calendar year. Cf. Department of Education's financial statements, which are for the financial year ended 31 March; vide infra, p.115(n.246). It should be remembered, too, that the payments specified under the heading Teachers' Salaries in respect of 1915 and 1920 refer to payments made to schools, since the Teachers' Salaries Grant, which is what is in question here, was paid to the schools and not to the individual teachers. Cf. infra, pp. 276-82.

117 Vide Table IV.2.b, p. 319. Source: based on figures given in Table IV.2.a, p. 318.

118 Vide supra, pp. 84-99, passim; vide infra, pp. 276-82, passim.

119 Vide supra, p. 97, where the introduction of this grant is discussed; vide infra, pp. 281-2, where the implications of some of the regulations governing its distribution are considered.

120 The question of the Board's constant and, to a large extent, unavailing fight for more funds has been dealt with earlier in this chapter; vide supra, pp. 91 seqq., passim.

121 Report of the Intermediate Education Commissioners, 1922, p. ix. Vide infra, p. 302.

122 Ibid.

123 Ibid., 1923, p. vii.

124 No. 47 of 1924.

125 i.e., the School Grant.

126 i.e., the Inspection Grant (in respect of pupils under 14 years); the Teachers' Salaries Grant; and the Additional Grant.

127 Department of Education, Report of the Secondary Branch, 1924, p. viii. The question of the provision which was made for incremental salary, together with a summary of its subsequent history, will be considered in a later chapter; vide infra, pp. 302-5.

128 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 52.

129 Vide, e.g., Conditions and Regulations regarding the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1927-8, p. 4. Vide ibid., 1934-5, pp. 4-5, where it will be seen that, by then, a third category was included, viz., recognised junior pupils who were under 12 years of age: the rate of grant payable in their case was £5 for each pupil who had made 130 or more attendances in the course of the year.

130 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 3.

131 Ibid., p. 5.

132 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

133 Ibid., p. 5. Vide supra, pp. 46-54, passim, for a discussion of some of the factors which have hindered children from getting secondary education; et infra, pp. 251-5, where the question of the entrance examination, prescribed until 1957, is considered.

134 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

135 Ibid., p. 6.

136 Ibid.

137 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 106.

138 Ibid., 1930-1, p. 34.

139 Ibid., 1937-8, p. 50.

140 Ibid., 1943-4, p. 26; ibid., 1944-5, p. 29.

141 Ibid., 1945-6, p. 32.

142 Cf. Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1951, pp. 4-5. Vide John Mescal, Religion in the Irish System of Education (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), p. 111, where the author refers to a number of public statements made around this time by headmasters of Irish secondary schools, in which the serious financial plight of the schools is emphasized.

143 Mescal, loc. cit. It will be noted that in the next

published version of the Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, while the maximum grant for senior pupils is given as £16, the figure specified for junior pupils is £11 and not £10.

144 Irish Weekly Independent, 18/3/1954; quoted in Mescal, loc. cit.

145 Vide Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 157-8.

146 Ibid., col. 158.

147 Mescal, op. cit., p. 59.

148 Dáil, XIV, (23/2/1926), 916; cf. Mescal, loc cit.

149 Michael Hutchinson and Christopher Young, Educating the Intelligent (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1962), pp. 13-14.

150 Daniel Buckley, 'Presidential Address' [part II], Secondary Teacher, I, No. 6 (June 1966), p. 7.

151 Dáil, CCVI, (11/12/1963), 1080; ibid., CCXXVI, (6/12/1966), 42.

152 Seán O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 233.

153 Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 171.

154 Dáil, CCXXVI, (6/12/1966), 42.

155 Investment in Education [1966], I, xxxiii.

156 This decision was first announced by Mr O'Malley in an address to the National Union of Journalists, at the Royal Marine Hotel, Dún Laoghaire, on 10 September 1966.

157 Dáil, CCXXV, (30/11/1966), 1885.

158 Ibid.

159 Vide Department of Education, Circular M.15/67, §1.

160 The last post-primary scholarship examinations were held in 1967. Some pupils, therefore, still held scholarships even for some years after the introduction of the free education scheme.

161 Department of Education, Circular M.15/67, §5.

162 Department of Education, Circular M.44/67, §1.

163 Vide Kenneth Milne, Comments on O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), pp. 261-9, passim, where an explanation is offered for this phenomenon.

164 Dáil, CCXXV, (30/11/1966), 1886-7.

165 Ibid., col. 1887.

166 Department of Education Circular M.15/67, §2.

167 Dáil, CCXXI, (23/2/1966), 238.

168 Ibid., CCXXV, (30/11/1966), 1891.

169 Ibid., col. 1893.

170 Ibid., CCXXVII, (9/3/1967), 426.

171 Ibid., CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 467-8.

172 Ibid., col. 468.

173 Ibid.

174 Ibid., CCXXV, (30/10/1966), 1886.

175 Vide infra, p. 129. The special needs of island children had been provided for since 1962 by means of a special scholarship scheme.

176 Department of Education, Circular M.15/67, §3. Vide also Dáil, CCXXVI, (2/3/1967), 2402.

177 Department of Education, Circular M.44/67, §2.

178 Vide supra, p. 105.

179 Department of Education, Circular M.13/68, §2.

180 Dáil, CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 477.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid., CCXXV, (30/11/1966), 1888-9.

183 Department of Education, Circular entitled 'Free Books and Accessories, 1969-70', §2.

184 Department of Education, Circular Letter of 20/9/1967 re Free Book Scheme, §3.

185 Dáil, CCXXV, (30/11/1966), 1889.

186 Ibid., cols. 1889-90.

187 Department of Education, Circular Letter of 20/9/1967 re Free Book Scheme, §7.

188 Dáil, CCXXV, (30/11/1966), 1889.

189 Ibid.

190 Department of Education, Circular entitled 'Free Books and Accessories, 1969-70', §4.

191 Vide supra, p. 106. Cf. Dáil, CCXXVII, (9/3/1967), 426-7.

192 Department of Education, Circular entitled 'Free Books and Accessories, 1969-70', §4.

193 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], p. 6. Vide infra, pp. 209-11, where the purpose and the results of this grant are considered.

194 Vide, e.g., Conditions and Regulations Regarding the Payment of Grants, 1927-8, pp. 6-7.

195 Vide supra, p. 102.

196 Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, p. 34.

197 Ibid., 1945-6, p. 32.

198 Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1957, pp. 6-7. The Department of Education assured the present writer in late October 1969 that the rules for the payment of this particular grant as they appear in the 1957 version of the Rules (the then last-published one) were still in force at that time.

199 Report of the Department of Education, 1944-5, p. 29. Cf. ibid., 1946-7, p. 17.

200 Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1951, p. 7.

201 Vide ibid., 1957, p. 7. Vide supra, p. 110 (n. 198).

202 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 53.

203 Ibid., p. 106.

204 Department of Education, Statistical Tables, 1965-6, pp. 39, 40.

205 Ibid., p. 55.

206 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 106. Vide infra, pp. 117-18. These grants may be regarded as the counterparts of the grants formerly made to intermediate schools by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction in pursuance of the provisions of the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899 (62 & 63 Vic., c. 50), in respect of provision made by schools for the teaching of Experimental Science, Drawing, Manual Instruction and Domestic Economy.

207 Conditions and Regulations regarding the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1927-8, pp. 8-9.

208 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

209 Vide ibid., pp. 9-10. When taken as an 'auxiliary' subject, Manual Instruction (for boys) and Domestic Economy (for girls) required only a minimum time of ninety minutes per week as compared with longer periods when taken as full subjects.

210 Ibid., p. 11.

211 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, p. 34; ibid., 1945-6, p. 32.

212 Dáil, CLXXXIX, (24/5/1961), 846.

213 Ibid., CCXVI, (16/6/1965), 962.

214 Ibid., CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 466.

215 Department of Education, 'Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools' (typescript; 1967), p. 1.

216 Vide Dáil, CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 465-6. The new scheme of grants came into operation with effect from the beginning of the school year 1967-8. The Minister for Education, Mr O'Malley, stated in the Dáil in February 1968 that 'In view of the great expansion in the teaching of science, the increased costs of furnishing and equipping science laboratories, the revision and enlargement of the science syllabuses and the fact that the existing grant arrangements for the subject were not regarded as adequate to meet demands' it had been decided to introduce the new scheme;

and that similar considerations had led to the new provision for the teaching of the other subjects in question.

217 Department of Education, 'Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools' (typescript; 1967), pp. 1, 3. Vide Table IV.4.a, p. 321.

218 Ibid. Vide Table IV.4.b, p. 321.

219 Ibid., pp. 1-2.

220 Ibid., p. 2.

221 Ibid., pp. 2-3.

222 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 106.

223 i.e., the latest for which figures are published at time of writing.

224 Department of Education, Statistical Tables, 1965-6, p. 55.

225 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 8. Vide infra, pp. 200-1, where the purpose served by this grant is considered.

226 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1905, p. xxxiii.

227 Conditions and Regulations regarding the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1927-8, p. 12.

228 Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1957, p. 12. Vide supra, p. 110 (n. 198).

229 Vide supra, p. 99 (n. 116); vide infra, p. 115 (n. 246).

230 Department of Education, Statistical Tables, 1965-6, p. 55.

231 Cf. Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 24. Vide supra, pp. 17-21. It will be remembered that one of the purposes for which the additional £50,000 grant for intermediate education in Ireland (which was first voted in March 1918) might be used was for 'making advances upon approved security to managers of schools for new buildings, etc.' These loans, however, though of use in some cases, were obviously of no use in cases where there was little likelihood of ever being in a position to repay them. Vide also Seán O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 251, where it is pointed out that the secondary school enrolment of 1965-6 represented, at the current replacement cost of £400 per pupil-place, an investment by the school owners (without Government subsidy) of £40 million; and this did not include residential accomodation for the 25 per cent. of pupils who were in boarding schools. In the ten years 1956-66 alone, almost 40,000 new pupil places had been provided, and this represented a replacement cost of £16 million.

232 Dáil, CXC, (13/6/1961), 33.

233 Ibid., CCIX, (14/5/1964), 1569.

234 Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 169.

235 Dáil, CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 464-5.

236 Department of Education, 'Scheme for the Payment of Grants

towards the Building of Recognised Secondary Schools' (typescript; undated), p. 3.

237 Ibid., p. 2.

238 Ibid.

239 Ibid., p. 3.

240 Ibid.

241 Ibid., p. 1.

242 Ibid., p. 2.

243 Ibid., p. 3.

244 Ibid., p. 4. In accordance with this requirement it was also provided that where the school premises were not held in fee simple the shortest lease that would be accepted in the case of a new school would be one for 99 years.

245 Ibid.

246 Vide Table IV.9.a, p. 326. Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years specified. It will be noted that a reference in this subsection to any year means the financial year ended on 31 March in that year: e.g., 1965 means the financial year ended 31 March 1965. It should be remembered as well that the headings used in this table cannot be taken as being identical in meaning with those used in Table IV.2.a. The figures given, for example, in the former table (i.e., Table IV.2.a) under the heading Teachers' Salaries represent the Teachers' Salaries Grant paid to schools in accordance with the provisions of the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1914 (4 & 5 Geo. V, c. 41). In the latter table (i.e., Table IV.9.a) the equivalent of this grant is included under the heading School Grants, and the heading Teachers' Salaries now represents payments made directly to teachers in the form of incremental salary and allowances.

247 Vide Table IV.9.b, p. 326. Source: based on the figures given in Table IV.9.a.

248 Report of the Department of Education, 1944-5, p. 133.

249 Calculation based on figures in Table IV.9.b. Up to 1940 the figure would be about 90 per cent.; from 1945 on it would average 96 per cent. The difference here can be explained, at least to some extent, by the absence of information regarding the cost of administration and inspection in respect of 1945 and subsequent years.

250 Reference to the particular sections of this thesis which deal with these two subjects will throw some light on this phenomenon: vide supra, pp. 100-3, 110-15, where school grants are considered; vide infra, pp. 298-309, where the question of teachers' salaries is dealt with.

251 Calculation based on figures in Table IV.9.a.

252 Vide infra, pp. 127-8, where the implications of this Act (No. 34 of 1961) are considered.

253 Vide supra, pp. 69-70, where a brief account is given of the setting-up and early history of Teleffs Scoile.

254 Vide Graham Balfour, The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 201.

255 Vide Gerald Molloy, 'Secondary Education in Ireland', I.E.R., 4th ser., IV, (No. 372, December 1898), 486-7. Vide infra, p. 181, where the question arises in the context of the curriculum of intermediate schools.

256 62 & 63 Vic., c. 50.

257 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 8.

258 Percentages calculated from figures given in Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 12.

259 Vide p. 322 of this thesis.

260 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 12.

261 Vide supra, pp. 111-13.

262 Vide Balfour, op. cit., p. 198.

263 53 Geo. III, c. 107.

264 48 & 49 Vic., c. 78.

265 Balfour, op. cit., p. 199. Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 85.

266 Ibid.

267 Ibid., p. 198.

268 Vide Commissioners of Education in Ireland; Annual Report, 1921, p. 3.

269 S. R. & O. No. 22 of 1925.

270 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 85.

271 Ibid., p. 86.

272 Ibid., p. 87.

273 Department of Education, Statistical Tables, 1965-6, pp. 80-1.

274 Vide Balfour, op. cit., p. 199. The figures given by the Commissioners as the estimated total annual income of these schools were: income from endowments, £67,305; income from fees, subscriptions, etc., £73,601. It must be remembered, however, that the Commissioners were not dealing exclusively with intermediate schools, and that they did not state what proportion of the £73,601 represented fees.

275 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 14.

276 Ibid., pp. 7-11, passim.

277 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 29.

278 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 8.

279 Letter from K. A. O'Neill, Office of the Provincial, St Helen's, Booterstown, Dublin, dated 18/12/1969, in reply to a questionnaire submitted to the Brother Provincial.

280 Ibid.

281 Ibid.

282 Investment in Education [1966], II, 322. On average, higher fees were being charged in the larger schools; while 28·9 per cent. of pupils in schools of less than 100 pupils paid fees of less than £10, and a further 44·1 per cent. paid fees of between £10 and £15, the percentage paying fees in excess of £50 per annum was 0·5; in schools of 300 pupils or over, however, only 9·8 per cent. of pupils paid fees of less than £10, 42·9 per cent. paid fees of between £10 and £15, and 2·7 per cent. paid fees of over £50 per annum.

283 Dáil, CCXXVII, (9/3/1967), 424.

284 Ibid.

285 Vide Michael Heney, 'Why Do Schools Charge Fees? The Facts of the Government's Free Education Scheme', Irish Times, 9/1/1970, p. 10.

286 Ibid.

287 Dáil, CCXLIII, (11/12/1969), 1162.

288 Ibid., col. 1157.

289 Vide 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66, Schedule of Rules: 'Prizes and Exhibitions'. Vide infra, pp. 221-2,where the various divisions in which examinations were held are listed.

290 Ibid.

291 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1879, p. 5. It is pointed out here that girls, although examined in the same papers as boys, competed only among themselves for all rewards, and the number of exhibitions for girls in each grade was determined by giving one for every ten girls who passed in three divisions.

292 Gerald Molloy, 'Secondary Education in Ireland', I.E.R., 4th ser., IV, (No. 372, December 1898), 484.

293 Vide ibid., pp. 484-91, for his adverse criticism of the system.

294 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 8. The subjects in which proficiency was demanded included the Classics, Mathematics, Modern Languages, and Experimental Science, subjects for which provision was, apart from the most exceptional cases, never made in the ordinary national schools.

295 From the context it is clear that the term 'higher education' refers to any form of education beyond the elementary kind given in the national school.

296 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 7.

297 Ibid. Vide also ibid., pp. 8-10. Dale and Stephens were not unaware that what amounted to some slight scholarship provision was being made in certain schools or categories of schools: they referred to the large-scale remission of fees obtaining in Christian Brothers' Schools (p. 8), to a small number of bursaries and free places offered in Diocesan Colleges (p. 9), and to some free places

offered in many of the Endowed Schools (pp. 9-10). But they insisted that while the practice of the Christian Brothers did provide the equivalent of scholarships for many needy pupils, the Christian Brothers' Schools were concentrated, in the main, in or near large towns, and the facilities which they offered were out of reach of 'the large number of Roman Catholic boys living in the rural districts'; in the other cases mentioned, they pointed out that the extent of the provision was minimal; and they added that in the case of girls they could find no evidence at all of any desire to make such provision for them.

298 62 & 63 Vic., c. 50.

299 Ibid., §16 (1) (c).

300 Dale and Stephens (1905), pp. 11-12. The councils in question were those of Kerry, Tipperary (N.R.), Tipperary (Joint Urban and Rural), Carlow, Longford, Laoighis, Wexford and Galway.

301 Ibid., p. 12.

302 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, p. xiv. Vide supra, p. 89.

303 Vide supra, pp. 91-4, where consideration is given to this phenomenon, and the reasons for it outlined.

304 James P. Clenaghan, 'Some Anomalies in the Intermediate', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 2, November 1909), 74-5. Vide infra, p. 125, where it will be seen that even though some attempt was subsequently made to remedy this situation the position in 1917 was by no means comparable to what it had been at the turn of the century.

305 Quoted in 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 6, March 1910), 363.

306 Dale and Stephens (1905), p. 74.

307 Ibid.

308 8 Edw. VII, c. 38.

309 Ibid., §10 (1).

310 Ibid., (2).

311 It will have been obvious from what has been said in an earlier section of this chapter (vide supra, p. 91 seqq.) that, at this particular time the Intermediate Board were finding it almost impossible to meet their existing commitments, and that the likelihood that they would see their way to using the new liberty afforded them by this Act was extremely remote.

312 J. P. Molohan, 'Suggestions for an Educational Ladder', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 10, July 1909), 600.

313 Vide infra, p. 130. Vide Table IV.7, p. 324.

314 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1911, pp. viii-ix.

315 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 29.

316 Vide infra, pp. 125-9.

317 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, pp. 42-3.

318 No. 9 of 1923.

319 Ibid., §17 (1).

320 Ibid., (2).

321 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 43.

322 Cf. ibid., 1927-8, p. 47; vide infra, p. 128. Scholarships to secondary schools proper, as distinct from those to other kinds of post-primary schools, were tenable up to the end of the Intermediate Certificate course. The pupil would then have the opportunity of securing one of the Department's scholarships which were awarded on the results of the Intermediate Certificate examination.

323 Ibid., 1924-5, p. 43.

324 Ibid., p. 44.

325 Ibid.

326 Ibid.

327 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 47.

328 Ibid., 1930-1, p. 13.

329 Ibid., 1931-2, p. 17. 'The very poor child,' the Department explained, 'who succeeds in gaining entrance to a Preparatory College, is practically assured of free residence and tuition over a period of four years, with almost the certain prospect of entry into a training college and a position as teacher later . . . '

330 No. 23 of 1941.

331 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1942-3, p. 19.

332 i.e., Local Authorities (Education Scholarships) Act, 1944 (No. 13 of 1944).

333 Report of the Department of Education, 1943-4, p. 20.

334 Ibid.

335 No. 34 of 1961.

336 Vide infra, pp. 129-32, where the provision of scholarships for promising senior secondary pupils, to enable them to follow a university course, is considered.

337 Investment in Education [1966], II, 569. The extent of the State contribution was to be determined as follows: in the first year after the commencement of the Act the State would provide £1 for £1, subject to a maximum corresponding to the produce of a rate of 1d. in the pound; in the second year, £1 for £1, subject to a maximum corresponding to the produce of a rate of 2d. in the pound; in the third year, £1 for £1, up to the amount raised by a rate of 2d., and £3 for every £2 provided by the council in excess of the produce of a rate of 2d. in the pound, subject to a maximum corresponding to the produce of a rate of 3·5d. in the pound; in the fourth and subsequent years, £1 for £1, up to the amount raised by a rate of 2d., and £3 for every £2 in excess of the produce of a rate of 2d., subject to a maximum

corresponding to the produce of a rate of 5d. in the pound.

338 Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 169. Cf. Table IV.6, p. 323, where the numbers of such scholarships held in each local authority area, in a series of representative years, are set out.

339 Table IV.6, p. 323.

340 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 53.

341 Ibid. Cf. ibid., p. 43. Vide supra, p. 126 (n. 322).

342 Report of the Intermediate Education Commissioners, 1923, p. viii.

343 Report of the Department of Education, 1927-8, pp. 46-7.

344 Ibid., p. 47.

345 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1928-9, p. 12.

346 Report of the Department of Education, 1928-9, p. 75.

347 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1965-6, p. 29.

348 Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, pp. 38-9.

349 Ibid., p. 39.

350 Ibid.

351 Ibid.

352 Ibid., p. 40.

353 Ibid., 1931-2, p. 34.

354 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1966-7, p. 113.

355 Ibid., 1963-4, p. 11.

356 Report of the Department of Education, 1963-4, p. 128.

357 Vide supra, p. 107. Cf. Dáil, CCXXVI, (2/3/1967), 2402.

358 Vide supra, pp. 124-5.

359 Report of the Department of Education, 1929-30, p. 61.

360 Vide Table IV.7, p. 324.

361 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1944-5, p. 131. The total number of such scholarships actually awarded in 1945 was 97.

362 Ibid., p. 124.

363 A calculation based on the figures given here for 1945 shows that, on average, 2·6 per cent. of Leaving Certificate candidates qualified for a university scholarship in that year.

364 Vide Table IV.7, p. 324. Cf. Table IV.6, p. 323. Vide supra, pp. 127-8.

365 Vide Local Authorities (Education Scholarships)(Amendment)

Act, 1961 (No. 34 of 1961), §3 (b).

366 No. 24 of 1968.

367 Vide infra, p. 132.

368 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, pp. 38-9.

369 To be eligible under this head it was necessary to have been reared in a district where Irish was the hone language in ordinary use and to have received his/her education through the medium of Irish.

370 Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, p. 39.

371 Ibid., p. 40.

372 Ibid., 1931-2, p. 43.

373 Vide Rules and Programme fro Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 149. Vide ibid., 1969-70, where no further mention is made of these scholarships, and from which it appears that their place is now effectively taken by the new scheme of grants offered under the terms of the Local Authorities (Higher Education Grants) Act, 1968 (No. 24 of 1968); vide infra, p. 132.

374 Vide Table IV.8.a, p. 325.

375 Report of the Department of Education, 1947-8, p. 18

376 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

377 Ibid., p. 19.

378 Catholic Headmasters' Association, 'Reply to the Questionnaire submitted by the Council of Education' (typescript; undated), p. 39.

379 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1969-70, p. 147.

380 Vide Table IV.8.b, p. 325.

381 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1966-7, p. 115.

382 Ibid., pp. 115-17.

383 Ibid., p. 117.

384 Vide ibid., 1969-70, pp. 147-9. Under the new system of grading marks at the Certificate Examinations the requirements for eligibility for these scholarships require that candidates must, inter alia, obtain at least grade C in Irish (honours paper) and obtain at least grade D in the number of subjects necessary to qualify for the award of the Leaving Certificate.

385 No. 24 of 1968.

386 Vide Seán O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), p. 237. The standard of attainment required in the first year of the operation of the new schemes was four honours at Leaving Certificate.

387 Local Authorities (Higher Education Grants) Act, 1968, §2. Vide O'Connor, loc. cit. Where the family income is £1,200 a year or less the full grant would be payable; thereafter, the grants would be scaled downwards

according to income and size of family.

388 Ibid.

389 Ibid., §3.

390 Ibid., §4.

391 O'Connor, loc. cit.

392 Ibid.

Notes and References to Chapter Five

1 12 Eliz., c. 1.

2 Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry (1791); quoted in Council of Education [1962], p. 16.

3 Council of Education [1962], pp. 16-20.

4 William Shaw Mason, A Statistical Account or Parochial Survey of Ireland (1814-19), I, 314; quoted in Council of Education [1962], p. 32.

5 Peter Birch, St Kieran's College, Kilkenny (Dublin: Gill and Son, 1951), p. 10.

6 Ibid., p. 11. Vide also Council of Education [1962], p. 32.

7 Birch, op. cit., p. 21.

8 Ibid., p. 42.

9 Council of Education [1962], p. 40.

10 Quoted in Edmund Ignatius Rice and the Christian Brothers (Dublin: Gill and Son, 1926), pp. 482-3. The date on which this passage originally appeared in the Irish Times is not given.

11 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66.

12 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1879, pp. 13-20; ibid., 1880, p. 24.

13 Ibid., 1921, pp. x-xi. It will be noted that while Irish was now included in the Programme it did not occupy an important position; it was not until 1908 that it was given the status of a main subject.

14 Vide UNESCO, World Survey of Education: III, Secondary Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 100.

15 Gerald Molloy, 'Secondary Education in Ireland', I.E.R., 4th ser., IV, (No. 372, December 1898), 489.

16 These were based on the recommendations of the Intermediate Education Commission, 1898, which had been endorsed by the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1900 (63 & 64 Vic., c. 43).

17 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, pp. xiii-xiv.

18 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 50. In practice, however, it would seem that the degree of actual specialisation brought about by this change was fairly slight. Cf. Graham Balfour, The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 208; also 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 9, June 1908), 548-9, and ibid., II, (No. 1, October 1908), 57-8. The question is considered

more fully in the chapter on Examinations; vide infra, pp. 226-7 of this thesis.

19 Rules of Examinations, 1903, p. 9.

20 Ibid., 1908, p. 20.

21 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 51.

22 Molloy, loc. cit., pp. 486-7.

23 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 8. In the ensuing session (1901-2) this programme was adopted by 154 schools, which earned grants from the Department amounting to £9,575.10s.8d.

24 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, p. xi. Vide also Birch, op. cit., pp. 251-2.

25 Le Roux, P. H. Pearse, trans. by Desmond Ryan, p. 102; quoted in Thomas A. Finnegan, 'Pearse on Education', The Furrow, IV, (No. 9, September 1953), 510.

26 P. H. Pearse, The Murder Machine (A photo-mechanical reproduction of the 1916 pamphlet, produced for use in the Department of Education, University College, Cork; 1959), pp. 14, 6.

27 F. Hugh O'Donnell, The Ruin of Education in Ireland and the Irish Fanar (3rd ed.; London: David Nutt, 1903), pp. 149-50.

28 Seán Ó Catháin, Secondary Education in Ireland (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1958), p. 9.

29 Molloy, loc. cit., p. 484. Cf. Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1881, pp. v-vi, where it will be seen that the Board's rules for examinations had been drawn up with these intentions in mind.

30 Vide infra, under individual subjects, for a more detailed assessment of the curriculum in intermediate schools.

31 This was first published in provisional form as Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools and appeared in August 1924; a definitive version, which is substantially the same, appeared in January 1925 under the title Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools and was dated 26 November 1924.

32 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools ([definitive version] dated 26 November 1924), pp. 8-9; hereafter referred to as Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924]. The subjects of examination were to be: Irish, English, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, History & Geography, Commerce, Mathematics, Drawing, *Science, *Domestic Science (for girls only), *Music. A qualifying practical examination would be held in the subjects marked with an asterisk.

33 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 10.

34 Ibid., [1924], p. 9. The subjects of examination in this case were to be: Irish, English, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, History, Geography, Commerce, Mathematics, Drawing, *Applied Mathematics (with experimental treatment), *Physics, *Chemistry, *Agricultural Science, *Botany, *Physiology & Hygiene, *Domestic Economy (for girls only), *Music. Candidates presenting subjects

marked with an asterisk would be expected to pass a practical examination.

35 Ibid., 1934-5, p. 13.

36 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, pp. 51-2.

37 T[imothy] Corcoran, 'The New Secondary Programmes in Ireland: II, The Teaching of History', Studies, XII, (No. 46, June 1923), 249.

38 Vide Michael Tierney, Education in a Free Ireland (Dublin: Martin Lester, n.d. [1920?]), p. 88 et passim.

39 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 51.

40 Ibid., p. 52.

41 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 44.

42 Ibid., pp. 44-5. Vide infra, pp. 237-9, where these changes are considered.

43 Vide ibid., 1930-1, p. 35; ibid., 1931-2, pp. 39-40; ibid., 1932-3, p. 52.

44 Ibid., 1937-8, pp. 44-5.

45 John F. G. O'Meara, A Critical Study of External Examinations and of their Influence on Secondary Education (thesis for M.A. degree, University College, Cork, 1944), pp. 121-2.

46 Seán Ó Cathán, 'Education in the New Ireland', in The Years of the Great Test: 1926-39, ed. by Francis MacManus (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), p. 107. This article is the text of a lecture given on Radio Eireann in 1962 in the series 'The Thomas Davis Lectures'.

47 Ó Cathán, Secondary Education in Ireland, p. 11.

48 Report of the Department of Education, 1937-8, p. 45.

49 Vide infra, under some of the language subjects, for a further criticism of this policy. Vide also chapter VI, where the problems connected with setting external examinations in literature subjects are considered.

50 Vide infra, under individual subjects, for a discussion of particular changes.

51 Vide supra, pp. 49-51, for a discussion of these changes.

52 Patrick McCann, 'The Curriculum of the Secondary School: Monologue or Dialogue: Reflections on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry', Studies, LI, (No. 204, Winter 1962), 474. Cf. Investment in Education [1962], I, 276, where this criticism is substantiated.

53 Seán O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 233. Vide also chapter II of this thesis for a discussion of the organisational implications of these changes. The main proposals were for the establishment of Comprehensive Schools and of Regional Technical Colleges. Proposals were also made for the introduction of the Common Intermediate Certificate and of the Technical Leaving Certificate.

54 Ibid., p. 235.

55 Charles McCarthy, Comments on O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: . . . ', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 271-2.

56 T. J. McElligott, 'The Irish Educational Scene: The Future', Christus Rex, XXII, (No. 2, April-May-June 1968), 109. This article is the text of a paper which was read at the 15th Annual Summer School of the Social Study Conference, held at St Patrick's College, Carlow, in August 1967, on the general theme 'Education in Ireland'. Cf. John Vaizey, Education for Tomorrow (rev. ed.; Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1967), p. 44.

57 Vide UNESCO, World Survey of Education: III, . . . , pp. 128-48.

58 Vide Council of Education [1962], p. 80.

59 Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1878 (41 & 42 Vic., c. 66), §7.

60 Council of Education [1962], p. 110.

61 Michael Maher, 'Religious Instruction in Irish Catholic Intermediate Schools', Studies, V, (No. 17, March 1916), 53-4.

62 Seán C. Ó Mórdha, 'The Origin of the Written Examination in Religious Knowledge in Irish Secondary Schools', I.E.R., 5th ser., CIV, (Nos. 4-5, October-November 1965), 278.

63 Michael Tynan, 'Christian Doctrine in Secondary Schools', The Furrow, XII, (No. 11, November 1961), 676.

64 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66.

65 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, pp. x-xi.

66 Ibid., 1898, p. 43. Vide Appendix A, pp. 446-9, where samples of actual examination papers in this subject are reproduced.

67 Ibid., 1901, p. 54.

68 Ibid., 1902, p. xxiv.

69 Ibid., 1903, p. xxiv.

70 Arthur E. Clery, 'Gaelic Colleges', Studies, VI, (No. 23, September 1917), 471.

71 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], p. 7.

72 Ibid., pp. 12-13.

73 It will be noted that while the Rules for 1927-8 prescribed that recognised schools would have to 'provide for instruction in an approved programme' in Irish (p. 7), there was as yet no bligation on individual pupils to take Irish as a subject.

74 Report of the Department of Education, 1928-9, p. 223.

75 Ibid.

76 Ibid., 1931-2, p. 39.

77 Ibid.

78 Ibid., 1930-1, p. 35.

79 Ibid., 1937-8, p. 42.

80 Those measures which were introduced for the purpose of inducing schools to adopt Irish as their normal medium of communication are dealt with specifically in the section dealing with the use of Irish as a medium of instruction; vide infra, pp. 209-12.

81 Report of the Department of Education, 1932-3, pp. 51-2. These Shields were competed for annually during a period of ten years, and at the end of that time they became the property of the schools to which they had been most often awarded during the competition, viz., the Christian Brothers' School, Dingle, and the Presentation Convent, Mountmellick.

82 Ibid., 1944-5, p. 29. A separate quota of awards was provided for the various categories of schools, and a separate minimum standard of qualification was determined for each category.

83 Ibid., 1945-6, p. 26.

84 The 'open course' in Irish, where each teacher could, subject to the Department's approval, choose his own reading material, had disappeared more than ten years previously, and the system of set texts had been no sooner reintroduced than teachers were complaining of a noticeable decrease in students' private reading.

85 Report of the Department of Education, 1952-3, p. 15.

86 Ibid., 1957-8, p. 12.

87 Vide ibid., 1956-7, p. 85. In the school year 1956-7, out of a total of 480 recognised secondary schools, 84 were in category 'A', 72 in category 'B(1)', and 75 in category 'B(2)'. Apart from these schools, the various inducements which had been introduced had little or no effect.

88 Council of Education [1962], pp. 118-20. Vide also Report of the Department of Education, 1935-6, p. 63, where reference is made to a suggestion which the Department had made to the various Associations of Managers and Teachers as early as December 1935 that provision should be made for an oral examination in Irish for all pupils of secondary schools; the proposal was not received with any great enthusiasm, however, and was consequently dropped.

89 Report of the Department of Education, 1960-1, p. 58.

90 Council of Education [1962], p. 120. This Report was submitted in September 1960, but was not published until 1962.

91 Ibid., p. 114.

92 R. A. Breatnach, 'The Curriculum of the Secondary School: Recommendations relating to Irish', Studies, LI, (No. 204, Winter 1962), 479-80. The questions which Professor Breatnach thought should have been considered were: (a) the qualifications of teachers in oral Irish; (b) the compilation of graded handbooks based on a scientific

survey of the grammatical structure and vocabulary of spoken Irish; (c) the provision of scholarships to the Gaeltacht; (d) the necessity of introducing an elementary practical course in phonetics; (e) the need for recommending a fixed minimum number of weekly periods devoted entirely to oral Irish; (f) the need for pedagogical research with a view to ascertaining the most effectual methods of teaching spoken Irish at secondary school level; and (g) the need for keeping the position of oral Irish under close and continuous review.

93 Ibid., p. 480. The grounds for these misgivings were: (i) that there was no provision made for coordinating the standards of marking in the Leaving Certificate and Matriculation examinations; (ii) that there was no prospect of making use of the examination as an instrument to ensure that there would be a gradual improvement from year to year in the performance of candidates; and (iii) that the syllabus prescribed was not sufficiently particular in certain respects (e.g., in the matter of pronunciation).

94 Council of Education [1962], pp. 116-18.

95 Breatnach, loc. cit., p. 479.

96 Council of Education [1962], p. 118.

97 Vide John Wilson, 'Second Language Teaching and the Problem of Bilingualism', Studies, XLIX, (No. 194, Summer 1960), 183-93. The author was at that time Lecturer in Education in the Department of Education in Tropical Areas, at the University of London Institute of Education, and he belonged to an active vernacular group in London which aimed at promoting the languages of Scotland as living languages. He had spent thirty-three years in education in a variety of capacities, from teacher and headmaster to college principal and university lecturer, and most of that time had been spent 'wrestling with the practical problem of teaching English as second language to indigenous African languages' (p. 183).

98 Ibid., p. 192.

99 Thomas Halton, 'English in Our Secondary Schools', Studies, XLIX, (No. 196, Winter 1960), p. 409. This, of course, is true of the study of the literature of any vernacular language.

100 Vide J. L. Brereton, The Case for Examinations: An Account of their Place in Education with some Proposals for their Reform (Cambridge University Press, 1944), p. 115, where it is stated: 'One can arrange students in an order according to the merits of their own writings, but it is undesirable to attempt to place them in order according to their appreciation of other people's work, because this leads in practice to the mere recapitulation of secondhand opinions, and so may defeat its own purpose and discourage genuine appreciation.'

101 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1898, p. 28. Vide Appendix B, pp. 450-3, where samples of actual examination papers in this subject are reproduced.

102 e.g., ibid., 1900, p. 24.

103 Ibid., 1901, pp. 33-4.

104 Ibid., p. 23.

105 Ibid., 1902, pp. xvii-xviii.

106 Ibid., p. xviii.

107 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, pp. 51-2.

108 Ibid., 1928-9, p. 93. This latter difficulty did not arise to the same extent in the case of other languages as the syllabuses submitted did not cover so wide a range of literature. Vide also ibid., 1929-30, pp. 75-6.

109 Peter Birch, 'Secondary School English', I.E.R., 5th ser., LXIII, (No. 918, June 1944), 391-2.

110 Report of the Department of Education, 1937-8, pp. 44-5.

111 Ibid., 1930-1, p. 35.

112 Ibid., 1931-2, p. 40. This course became known as 'English Language' in the year 1939-40, and continued in existence, with minor modifications, under the same name until 1967-8.

113 Ibid.

114 Vide ibid., 1934-5, p. 160. In the year 1934-5 12,221 boys and 9,224 girls were following the higher course in Irish, compared with 3,223 boys and 2,039 girls who were following the lower course.

115 Birch, 'Secondary School English', p. 393.

116 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1967-8, pp. 118-22.

117 Vide ibid., p. 3.

118 Vide ibid., 1968-9, p. 3.

119 Halton, loc. cit., p. 408.

120 Vide, e.g., Peter McBrien, 'English Literature in the Secondary Schools', Studies, VI, (No. 23, September 1917), 459-60, where the author severely criticised the Intermediate Board's selection of texts in English because, at least for adolescents, they lacked the element of relevance.

121 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, pp. 51-6.

122 Denis Donoghue, 'Songs the Sirens Sing', Studies, L, (No. 200, Winter 1961), 404.

123 Norwood Report (1943), p. 13. The complaint was that 'too many pupils show marked inability to present ideas clearly to themselves, to arrange them and to express them clearly on paper or in speech; they read without sure grasp of what they read, and they are too often at a loss in communicating what they wish to communicate in clear and simple sentences and in expressive and audible tone'.

124 Scottish Report (1947), p. 61.

125 Vide, e.g., Report of the Department of Education, 1944-5, p. 25.

126 Vide ibid., 1957-8, p. 12.

127 Stephen J. Browne, 'The Role of the Library in an Intellectual Revival', Studies, XXXIII, (No. 130, June 1944), 219.

128 Vide Birch, 'Secondary School English', p. 395. Here Dr Birch suggested that some questions could be included in the honours papers which would adequately test inter alia the candidates' appreciation of some unfamiliar passage of high merit.

129 Vide Tables V.1, pp. 327-8, 330-1; and Diagrams A and B.1 pp. 329, 332.

130 Cf. Council of Education [1962], p. 166, (§273). This Report states: 'The study of French was at its peak about 1890, when in the Middle and Senior Grades of the Intermediate examinations about 90 per cent. of the girls and between 80 and 90 per cent. of the boys presented that subject.' Judging from the figures given in the relevant Reports of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, however, it would seem more correct to say that the peak occurred around 1900 and that the percentages at the peak were, in the case of girls, in excess of 99 per cent., and in the case of boys, in excess of 95 per cent.

131 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1902, p. xxv, where it is pointed out that the relegation of Italian to the Pass Programme (under the new Reles which had just come into effect) had apparently the immediate effect of discouraging the study of that language in Ireland. In support of this assertion the following statistics are given:- the numbers of students who presented for examination in Italian in 1901 were: boys, 120; girls, 292; total, 412; the corresponding figures for 1902 were: boys, 15; girls, 38; total, 53.

132 Ibid., 1899, p. 37. Vide Appendix C, pp.454-5, where a sample examination paper in this subject is reproduced.

133 Ibid., 1900, p. 39.

134 Report of the Department of Education 1937-8, p. 43.

135 Ibid., 1941-2, p. 20.

136 Council of Education [1962], p. 172

137 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 81.

138 Vide the Secondary Teacher, November 1968, pp. 10-12, for the text of the Circular sent to Managers of Secondary Schools and Chief Executive Officers of Vocational Education Committees by the Department of Education outlining the Department's proposals.

139 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1903, p. xxvi.

140 Report of the Department of Education, 1937-8, p. 43.

141 Ibid., 1945-6, p. 28.

142 Ibid.

143 Ibid., 1960-1, p. 60.

144 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 59.

145 Ibid.

146 Ibid., 1943-4, p. 24.

147 Council of Education [1962], p. 168.

148 Report of the Department of Education, 1962-3, p. 54.

149 Council of Education [1962], p. 168.

150 Vide Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary to Secondary Teachers, 1958, pp. 3-5.

151 Report of the Royal Commission on Public Schools,(1864) [the Clarendon Report]; quoted in Spens Report (1939), p. 28.

152 Matthew Arnold, 'Report on French Secondary Schools' (1866), prepared for the Schools Inquiry Commission (appointed in 1864 to inquire into the education given in schools not included within the terms of reference of the Public Schools Commission); in Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission (1868), VI, 512; quoted in Spens Report (1939), p. 34.

153 Vide supra, pp. 138-9.

154 McBrien, loc. cit., p. 455.

155 Michael T. Casey, Comments on Birch, 'The Place of the Classics', The Furrow, V, (No. 2, February 1954), 79.

156 T. P. Donnelly, Comments on Birch, 'The Place of the Classics', The Furrow, V, (No. 2, February 1954), 80.

157 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1898, p. 24.

158 Ibid., 1899, p. 19.

159 Ibid., 1904, p. xiii.

160 Ibid., 1899, p. 11.

161 Ibid., p. 13.

162 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1945-6, p. 27.

163 Ibid., 1950-1, p. 14.

164 Ibid., 1925-6-7, p. 60.

165 Ibid., 1942-3, p. 22.

166 Ibid., 1943-4, pp. 23-4.

167 Ibid., 1953-4, p. 12.

168 Henry Browne, 'The Future of Classical Education in Ireland', Studies, I, (No. 3, September 1912), 458.

169 Ibid. This is a suggestion which might well be borne in mind today, especially in view of the large numbers of boys of well below average intelligence who are still forced to study Latin in our schools.

170 T[imothy] Corcoran, 'The New Secondary Programmes in Ireland: I, Classical Studies', Studies, XI, (No. 44, December 1922), 560-8.

171 Peter Birch, 'The Place of the Classics', The Furrow, V, (No. 2, February 1954), 69.

172 Edward Leen, What is Education? (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1943), pp. 96-7.

173 Ibid., p. 99.

174 Council of Education [1962], p. 150.

175 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1966-7, p. 53.

176 T. McDonnell, 'Another Plea against Proses', I.E.R., 5th ser., LXV, (No. 930, June 1945), 401.

177 J. M. Woodlock, 'Latin in Schools: "Audi Alteram Partem" ', I.E.R., 5th ser., LXVI, (No. 934, October 1945), 271.

178 McCann, loc. cit., p. 473.

179 Ibid.

180 John J. O'Meara, 'The Relevance of Classics in Modern Education', I.E.R., 5th ser., CVI, (No. 1, July 1966), 23. This article is the text of the opening lecture delivered at the Conference of the Association of Classical Teachers, in June 1966.

181 Ibid., pp. 26-7.

182 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 77.

183 Council of Education [1962], p. 150.

184 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1961-2, p. 58.

185 Council of Education [1962], p. 152.

186 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1902, p. xxvi. Vide Appendix D, pp. 456-7, where a sample examination paper in this subject is reproduced.

187 Arthur O'Leary, 'Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics' [part I], Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 10, July 1908), 605-6.

188 Ibid., p. 608.

189 Vide Arthur O'Leary, 'Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics' [part III], Ir.Ed.Rev., II, (No. 6, March 1909), 348-51.

190 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1903, p. xxx.

191 Ibid., p. xxxv.

192 Ibid., 1901, p. 67.

193 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1903, p. xxx.

194 Isabella Mulvany, 'The Intermediate Act and the Education of Girls', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 1, October 1907), p. 15.

195 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, pp. 65-6.

196 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1943-4, p. 24, where it is remarked that many of the younger teachers were now very well able to teach Algebra and Geometry—two branches of Mathematics which had previously been very badly taught.

197 Ibid., 1957-8, p. 14.

198 Ibid., 1960-1, p. 62.

199 Dáil, CCII, (14/5/1963), 1375.

200 Report of the Department of Education, 1960-1, p. 62. Vide also Seán O Laoghaire, 'Mathematics at Second Level', Oideas, No. 2 (Spring 1969), pp. 14-15, where the author, who is senior inspector with responsibility for Mathematics in the Secondary Branch of the Department of Education, points out that because of the extraordinary development which has taken place in the field of mathematics in recent decades many courses have been and will continue to be organized for the purpose of bringing existing teachers of Mathematics up to date. Since the changes which have taken place in the content of the mathematical syllabus are so great, it seems likely that the number of teachers who will find it necessary to avail of these courses will be considerable, and in this way something will be done to remedy the position.

201 Vide infra, pp. 296-7.

202 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 65.

203 Vide ibid., 1942-3, p. 22; ibid., 1943-4, p. 24.

204 Ibid., 1925-6-7, p. 65.

205 Ibid.

206 Ibid., p. 66.

207 Ibid.

208 Ibid., 1929-30, p. 75.

209 Arthur W. Conway, 'Whither Mathematics?', Studies, XXXIV, (No. 134, June 1945), 159.

210 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], p. 19.

211 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1927-8, p. 60.

212 Ibid., 1944-5, p. 26.

213 Ibid., 1945-6, p. 29.

214 Vide Table V.2, p. 333.

215 Report of the Department of Education, 1957-8, p. 14; ibid., 1960-1, p. 62.

216 Seanad, LVII, (16/12/1964), 145-6.

217 Ibid., col. 146.

218 Report of the Department of Education, 1945-6, p. 29.

219 Ibid., 1946-7, p. 16.

220 Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question. Vide Table V.2, p. 333.

221 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 65. Vide also Table V.2, p. 333.

222 Ibid., 1956-7, p. 15.

223 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], p. 7.

224 Report of the Department of Education, 1927-8, p. 60.

225 Ibid., p. 61.

226 Ibid.

227 Ibid., 1930-1, pp. 34-5.

228 Ibid., 1931-2, p. 40.

229 Ibid., 1937-8, p. 43.

230 Ibid., p. 47.

231 Ibid., 1940-1, p. 21.

232 Ibid., 1956-7, p. 15.

233 Ibid.

234 Vide p. 333 of this thesis.

235 Vide Table V.3, p. 334.

236 Vide ibid.

237 Council of Education [1962], p. 158.

238 [Timothy] Corcoran, Clongowes Record, p. 145; quoted in Peter Birch, St Kieran's College, Kilkenny (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1951), pp. 251-2.

239 Birch, St Kieran's College, Kilkenny, p. 252.

240 Source: Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for each of the years in question. Vide also Gerald Molloy, 'Secondary Education in Ireland', I.E.R., 4th ser., IV, (No. 372, December 1898), 486-7, where reference is made to a plea which had been sent to the Lord Lieutenant by the Council of the Royal Dublin Society in June 1898 to have something done immediately to counteract the harm which the working of the Intermediate System was then doing to the teaching of Science in the intermediate schools, and where it was pointed out that between 1887 and 1897 the percentage of boys offering Natural Philosophy at the Board's examinations had dropped from 56 per cent. to 9·2 per cent., and the percentage offering Chemistry had dropped from 30 per cent. to 4·6 per cent.

241 Vide [Andrew Murphy], 'Technical Instruction in Ireland', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 12, September 1908), 753-4, where a detailed account is given of the actual steps the new Department took to make its influence felt, and where the striking success which attended them is borne witness to.

242 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, p. xi. Cf. Dale and Stephens (1905), pp. 27-9.

243 Council of Education [1962], p. 184.

244 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1899, p. 61.

245 Ibid., 1901, pp. 71-2. Vide Appendix E, p. 458, where a sample examination paper in Natural Philosophy (i.e.,

Physics) is reproduced.

246 T[imothy] Corcoran, 'The Place of the Sciences in General Education', Studies, XII, (No. 47, September 1923), 412.

247 Michael T. Casey, 'General Science and Education', I.E.R., 5th ser., LXXX, (No. 1,028, August 1953), 103.

248 Corcoran, loc. cit.

249 Henry V. Gill, 'Science in our Schools', Studies, XXI, (No. 83, September 1932), 467.

250 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 67.

251 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 62.

252 Ibid., 1928-9, p. 98.

253 Ibid., 1929-30, p. 80.

254 Ibid., 1940-1, p. 22.

255 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1942-3, p. 23.

256 Ibid., 1951-2, p. 17. It should be remembered, of course, that this was a practice which caused serious difficulty in the case of the majority of subjects.

257 Ibid.

258 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], pp. 34-41.

259 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 67.

260 Vide infra, pp. 189-90.

261 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 67.

262 Ibid., 1937-8, p. 45.

263 Ibid., 1940-1, p. 21.

264 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1942-3, p. 23; ibid., 1946-7, p. 16; ibid., 1960-1, p. 61.

265 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], pp. 42-51.

266 Report of the Department of Education, 1929-30, p. 81.

267 Ibid., 1940-1, pp. 21-2.

268 Vide ibid., 1945-6, p. 30.

269 Ibid., 1956-7, p. 16.

270 Vide p. 335.

271 Source: Report of the Department of Education for each of the years in question.

272 Report of the Department of Education, 1956-7, p. 16.

273 Vide supra, p. 183.

274 T[imothy] Corcoran, 'The Place of the Sciences in General Education', Studies, XII, (No. 47, September 1923), 414.

275 Council of Education [1962], p. 186.

276 Ibid., p. 182.

277 Dáil, CLXXXIX, (24/5/1961), 846.

278 Report of the Department of Education, 1960-1, p. 61.

279 Edward Cahill, 'Secondary Education for Rural Ireland', Studies, IV, (No. 16, December 1915), 559.

280 Ibid., p. 562.

281 Peter Birch, 'Secondary Schools and Agriculture', I.E.R., 5th ser., LXI, (No. 906, June 1943), 390, 394.

282 Report of the Commission on Technical Education (1926); quoted in M[artin] Brenan, 'Agriculture in Our School System' [part II], I.E.R., LX, (No. 895, July 1942), 9.

283 Report of the Commission on Vocational Organisation (1943), p. 333.

284 M[artin] Brenan, 'Agriculture in Our School System' [part II], I.E.R., LX, (No. 895, July 1942), 10.

285 Martin Brenan, 'Rural Education: The Principles', Christus Rex, VII, (No. 1, January 1953), 396.

286 Vide Table V.5, p. 336.

287 Report of the Department of Education, 1942-3, p. 24; ibid., 1943-4, p. 25; ibid., 1944-5, p. 27.

288 Ibid., 1946-7, p. 16.

289 Ibid., 1951-2, p. 18.

290 Council of Education [1962], p. 192.

291 Vide supra, pp. 182-3.

292 Vide Maud R. Taylor, 'Housecraft as a School Subject', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 11, August 1910), 675, where Miss Taylor expresses the view that the current system of education militated strongly both against those subjects which were aimed at catering for the specific needs of girls, and, in general, against any approach which tended to take these into account.

293 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1898, p. 45.

294 Ibid., p. 46.

295 Ibid., 1899, p. 48.

296 Ibid., 1900, p. 51.

297 Vide M. A. Gilliland, 'Home Arts in the Secondary-School Curriculum', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 12, September 1908), 746-51. This article is a reprint from School World and constitutes the text of a paper read by Miss Gilliland at the Conference of Headmistresses in Manchester in June 1908. Referring to her own experience as a Domestic Science teacher, she asserted with the utmost conviction that if this subject were given equal status with the other subjects of the Programme and not, for example, reserved for children of little or no ability, it would be taken seriously and the outcome would be most satisfactory.

298 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 67; ibid., 1927-8, p. 63.

299 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 63.

300 Report of the Commission on Vocational Organisation (1943), p. 334.

301 Hadow Report (1927), p. 234.

302 Edward Leen, What is Education? (London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1943), 196, 201.

303 Report of the Department of Education, 1949-50, p. 19.

304 Vide p. 336.

305 Council of Education [1962], pp. 192-4.

306 Vide Rules of Examinations, 1903, p. 9. Cf. ibid., for previous years.

307 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1879, pp. 13-20, for details of the Programme prescribed at the different levels for the year 1879.

308 Ibid., 1899, p. 29.

309 Ibid., p. 22.

310 Vide John O'Connor, 'A Plea for Memory in Intermediate Education', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 10, July 1910), 585.

311 T[imothy]Corcoran, 'The New Secondary Programmes in Ireland: II, The Teaching of History', Studies, XII, (No. 46, June 1923), 251.

312 Hadow Report (1927), p. 195.

313 Vide [Andrew Murphy], 'The Teaching of History' [part II], Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 3, December 1907), 182, where the author alleges that the demands of the Intermediate Board's Programme imposed such restrictions on a teacher's freedom that the adoption of methods which might be calculated to arouse the interest of the children was altogether out of the question.

314 Vide Máire Ní Mhurcadha, 'Geography Teaching', Ir.Ed.Rev., II, (No. 3, December 1908), 145.

315 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, p. 31.

316 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1898, p. 31.

317 Vide Isaac Swain, 'Suggestions for the Teaching of Physical Geography', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 12, September 1910), 722-8, where some indication can be found of the degree of emphasis which was expected. In a further article ('The Teaching of Geography', Ir.Ed.Rev., VII, (No. 8, May 1914), 468-74) Professor Swain gives a good idea of the content of the current Programme in the whole subject.

318 T[imothy] Corcoran, 'Geography as a Subject of General Education in Ireland', Studies, XII, (No. 48, December 1923), 621.

319 Ibid.

320 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], pp. 9, 10

321 Council of Education [1962], p. 132.

322 Ibid.

323 T[imothy] Corcoran, 'Geography as a Subject of General Education in Ireland', Studies, XII, (No. 48, December 1923), 616.

324 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 25. This emphasis is borne in mind in the allotment of marks: in Syllabus A, History gets 300 marks and Geography gets 100; in Syllabus B, they get 200 each; and in Syllabus C, Geography gets 300 and History 100.

325 Report of A.S.T.I. History Sub-Committee Meeting, Dublin, 5/12/1966; in Secondary Teacher, I, No. 9 (November 1966), 15. The reason why the November issue of this periodical was able to carry a report of a meeting held on 5 December is that at this period the Secondary Teacher usually some months late in being published.

326 Ibid.

327 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 64.

328 Ibid., 1929-30, p. 74.

329 Ibid., 1944-5, p. 26.

330 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 58.

331 Vide, under the other subjects, supra et infra. The practice of allowing children, for one reason or another, to sit for the Intermediate Certi. cate Examination after having spent three (or in some cases only two) years in a secondary school, played havoc with the Department's plans for most subjects.

332 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools. [1924], p. 13.

333 Ibid., pp. 13-14.

334 Vide, e.g., Report of the Department of Education, 1927-8, p. 57; ibid., 1928-9, pp. 91-2; ibid., 1929-30, p. 73.

335 Ibid., 1927-8, p. 57.

336 Ibid., 1935-6, pp. 62-3.

337 Vide supra, p. 194.

338 Vide, e.g., Report of the Department of Education, 1942-3, p. 23; ibid., 1943-4, p. 25.

339 Ibid., 1951-2, p. 16.

340 Ibid.

341 Council of Education [1962], pp. 136-8.

342 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 118.

343 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 66.

344 Ibid.

345 Ibid.

346 Ibid., 1942-3, p. 23.

347 Ibid.

348 Ibid., 1947-8, p. 15.

349 Ibid., 1949-50, p. 17.

350 Vide Council of Education [1962], p. 132.

351 Ibid., p. 138.

352 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 25. Vide supra, pp. 193-4.

353 Council of Education [1962], p. 108.

354 Vide, e.g., Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 148-9, where Senator Professor Stanford emphasised the importance of making specific provision for this subject.

355 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, pp. 13, 15, 110-11.

356 Ibid., p. 111.

357 Richard Livingstone, On Education (Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 221. This book comprises two works which had already been published separately: (1) The Future of Education (1941); and (2) Education for a World Adrift (1943). The present quotation is found originally in the second work.

358 Vide Maurice Hugh O'Connell, 'Social Studies in the Secondary School', Secondary Teacher, I, No. 8 (October 1966), 13.

359 Scottish Report (1947), p. 17.

360 Ibid.

361 Norwood Report (1943), pp. 122-3.

362 Council of Education [1962], p. 198.

363 Ibid., p. 200. The Council took the figures for 1955, 1956 and 1957, which were the latest ones available at the time. These showed that while the total number of boys taking the Intermediate Certificate Examination in those three years had been 17,925, only 43 had been examined in Music; at the Leaving Certificate the corresponding numbers had been 10,011 and 15. In the case of girls things were somewhat better, but were, nonetheless, very far from being satisfactory: at the Intermediate Certificate the figures had been 20,787 taking the whole examination and 400 taking Music; at Leaving Certificate, 9,134 as compared to 289.

364 Ibid., p. 202.

365 Maurice Weymes, 'General Musical Education in Ireland', I.E.R., 5th ser., LX, (No. 899, November 1942), 354.

366 Ibid., p. 353.

367 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, p. 16.

368 Vide, e.g., Report of the Department of Education, 1947-8, p. 16.

369 Ibid., 1949-50, p. 20.

370 J. F. Larchet, extract from a talk delivered on Radio Eireann 'recently', and quoted in Report of the Department of Education, 1943-4, p. 29.

371 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1905, p. xxxiii.

372 i.e., the latest for which figures are available.

373 Report of the Department of Education, 1965-6, p. 55.

374 Ibid., 1937-8, p. 44; ibid., 1948-9, p. 17.

375 Ibid., 1947-8, p. 16.

376 Ibid., 1949-50, p. 20.

377 Ibid., 1953-4, p. 17.

378 Vide 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66.

379 Cf. Programme of Examinations, 1921, pp. 28, 39, 53; and Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, pp. 138-9.

380 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, pp. 100-1, 108-9.

381 Cf. ibid., 1967-8, pp. 94-5; and ibid., 1968-9, pp. 100-1, 108-9.

382 Vide pp. 339-40.

383 The renaming of the courses, however, was not accompanied by any basic change in content or approach.

384 Council of Education [1962], p. 212.

385 Vide Tables V.8.b, p. 341, from which the present figures are worked.

386 Report of the Department of Education, 1949-50, p. 19.

387 Ibid., 1952-3, p. 20.

388 Ibid., 1957-8, p. 17.

389 Norwood Report, (1943), pp. 126-7.

390 Report of the Department of Education, 1927-8, p. 63.

391 Vide supra, p. 199.

392 Vide J. Brian Weir, 'The Development of Commercial Education in Secondary Schools', Secondary Teacher, October 1968, p. 11.

393 Council of Education [1962], p. 178.

394 Norwood Report (1943), p. 131.

395 Ibid., p. 132.

396 Scottish Report (1947), pp. 108-9.

397 Ibid., p. 108.

398 Council of Education [1962], pp. 178-80.

399 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1940-1, p. 21; ibid., 1941-2, p. 21; ibid., 1942-3, p. 23; ibid., 1944-5, p. 27.

400 Ibid., 1943-4, p. 26; ibid., 1947-8, p. 16.

401 Vide Tables V.9.a, V.9.b, pp. 342-3, and Diagram D, p. 344.

402 Vide Table V.9.a, p. 342.

403 Vide Table V.9.b, p. 343.

404 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, pp. 102-7.

405 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1915, pp. ix, x; ibid., 1920, pp. xi, xii.

406 Vide, e.g., Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 68; ibid., 1927-8, p. 63.

407 Vide Council of Education [1962], p. 194.

408 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 102.

409 Council of Education [1962], p. 196.

410 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 13.

411 Ibid.

412 Ibid.

413 Vide Council of Education [1962], p. 94.

414 Statistics are not published of the number of schools which provide for physical training and/or organised athletic games, nor of the number of pupils who follow approved syllabuses in physical training.

415 Council of Education [1962], p. 214.

416 Vide, e.g., Report of the Department of Education, 1943-4, p. 26.

417 Council of Education [1962], p. 214.

418 Vide Padraig Griffin, 'Compulsory Games in Irish Schools', Secondary Teacher, I, No. 10 (December 1966), 12, where it is pointed out inter alia that the most common complaint that is heard is not that adequate provision for games is lacking, but rather that too much emphasis is placed on them.

419 Patrick J. Hogan, 'Logic in Girls' Schools', Ir.Ed.Rev., II, (No. 7, April 1909), 400.

420 Vide Denis Fahey, 'The Introduction of Scholastic Philosophy into Irish Secondary Education', I.E.R., 5th ser., XXII, (No. 668, August 1923), 177-93, esp. pp. 179-80.

421 Vide Arthur Little, 'The Case for Philosophy in Secondary Education', Studies, XXVII, (No. 108, December 1938), 529-42.

422 Studies, XXVII, (No. 108, December 1938), 552-3.

423 Ibid., pp. 546-8.

424 Ibid., pp. 548-52.

425 Ibid., pp. 544-6.

426 Ibid., pp. 542-4.

427 Council of Education [1962], pp. 106-8.

428 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 188.

429 Timothy Corcoran, State Policy in Irish Education, A.D. 1536 to 1816 (Dublin: Fallon Brothers, 1916), pp. 33, 55.

430 T[imothy] Corcoran, 'The Irish Language in the Irish Schools', Studies, XIV, (No. 55, September 1925), 386.

431 Peter Birch, 'Secondary School English', I.E.R., 5th ser., LXIII, (No. 918, June 1944), 393. Here Dr Birch points out that the rapid propagation of English cannot be accounted for merely by the exclusion of Irish from the schools. 'It was hastened by this means, certainly,' he says, 'but our unfortunate tendency to imitate the dashing foreigner, and our interest in the material gains which a knowledge of the English language afforded, provide better explanations for the readiness with which our ancestors availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them in the schools.'

432 Vide supra, pp. 149-50.

433 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], pp. 5-6.

434 Ibid. Vide also Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 189. Class B was originally designed for schools where approximately half the work was done through Irish, but in 1925-6 it was replaced by two classes, viz., B(1) and B(2), ' . . . in order to give recognition to those schools which, although accomplishing good work for the language, were unable to attain the amount necessary for admission to Class B'.

435 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], p. 8. Vide also Report of the Department of Education, 1933-4, p. 27, where reference is made to an alteration in this regulation to the effect that no bonus mark would thenceforth be awarded in Drawing, and the maximum bonus awardable in Needlework would be reduced to 5 per cent.

436 Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary to Secondary Teachers, 1931, p. 5.

437 Ibid., 1946, pp. 11-13.

438 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 93.

439 Ibid.

440 Ibid., 1930-1, p. 87.

441 Irish National Teachers' Organisation, Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Use of Irish as a Teaching Medium to Children whose Home Language is English (Dublin: I.N.T.O., 1941), p. 63; hereafter referred to as I.N.T.O., Inquiry into the Use of Irish (1941).

442 Council of Education [1962], p. 130.

443 Ibid.

444 Vide Irish Times, 8/7/1970, p. 15, where Mr Gearóid Ó Súileabháin [sic], Assistant Chief Inspector (Primary Schools), Department of Education, is reported as commenting adversely on the dearth of reference works in Irish and pointing out the considerable difficulty the Department was having in getting suitably qualified people to produce works of this kind.

445 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 54.

446 Regulations for the Register of Intermediate School Teachers, [1937], pp. 5-7; ibid., 1959, p. 5.

447 Ibid.

448 Cf. Dáil, CXCV, (24/5/1962), 1481-3, where Mr James Dillon ridiculed the method sometimes employed to administer this test. He said: 'The procedure for establishing the capacity of a teacher to teach through the medium of Irish is this. You walk down the avenue with him and say: "Conas atá tú?" "Tá mé go maith." "Lá brea é?" "Sea, go deimhin." He is then deemed to be qualified to teach through Irish and to conduct his relations with other teachers through Irish.' While Mr Dillon may not have given here an accurate picture of the average test, one is well aware that he comes very close to what sometimes happens.

449 Council of Education [1962], p. 128.

450 Patrick McCann, 'The Curriculum of the Secondary School: Monologue or Dialogue:—Reflections on the Report of the Commission of Inquiry', Studies, LI, (No. 204, Winter 1962), 472.

451 Martin Brenan, 'Agriculture and Our School System' [part I], I.E.R., 5th ser., LIX, (No. 891, March 1942), 194.

452 Ibid.

453 Cf. John Macnamara, Bilingualism and Primary Education (Edinburgh University Press, 1966), p. 135.

454 R[isteárd] A. Breatnach, 'Revival or Survival? An Examination of the Irish Language Policy of the State', Studies, XLV, (No. 178, Summer 1956), 143.

455 Ibid., pp. 134-5.

456 Seán Ó Catháin, 'The Report of the Council of Education' [i.e., on the function and curriculum of the Primary School], Studies, XLIII, (No. 172, Winter 1954), 374.

457 Ibid.

458 Vide supra, p. 153.

459 John Wilson, 'Second Language Teaching and the Problem of Bilingualism', Studies, XLIX, (No. 194, Summer 1960), 189.

460 The work he refers to is Joshua Whatmough, Language: a modern synthesis (n.p.: Secker and Warburg, n.d.)

461 Wilson, loc. cit., p. 189.

462 W. H. Rees, Le Bilinguisme des Pays Celtiques: Regards sur

le passé et l'avenir surtout en ce qui concerne l'Enseignement (Thèse de Doctorat d'Université, presentéé à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Rennes) (Rennes: Maurice Simon, 1939), p. 52.

463 Vide supra, p. 214.

464 Seán Ó Catháin, Secondary Education in Ireland (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1958), p. 12.

465 Ibid.

466 R[isteárd] A. Breatnach, 'Revival or Survival? An Examination of the Irish Language Policy of the State', Studies, XLV, (No. 178, Summer 1956), 141.

467 Ibid.

468 I.N.T.O., Inquiry into the Use of Irish (1941), pp. 18-19.

469 Vide ibid., p. 18. In the case of the results mentioned here the procedure adopted had been as follows:- questionnaires had been sent out to the teachers and 422 replies had been received. Each of these teachers had used Irish as the sole medium of instruct n through the entire school day for the greater part of his or her teaching service. Of the 422 replies received, 9 were discarded for lack of experience; the teachers who composed the balance were all giving satisfactory service, 115 of them being rated Highly Efficient and 298 Efficient.

470 Seán Ó Catháin, 'Education in the New Ireland', in The Years of the Great Test: 1926-39, ed. by Francis MacManus (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), pp. 109-10.

471 Ibid., p. 110. Cf. John Macnamara, Bilingualism and Primary Education (Edinburgh University Press, 1966), p. 137. Fr Macnamara's enquiry, conducted on more scientific lines than that of the I.N.T.O., led to similar conclusions.

472 E. F. O'Doherty, 'Bilingual School Policy', Studies, XLVII, (No. 187, Autumn 1958), 260. This article incorporates the substance of a lecture delivered to Tuairim on 17/1/1958.

473 Ibid., p. 263.

474 Ibid. He had given previously what he understood were the universally-accepted figures for distribution of intelligence. These were (by approximate percentage of population and I.Q. level): 1·5% below 70; 1·5% above 130; 6·5% between 70 and 80; 6·5% between 120 and 130; 16% between 80 and 90; 16% between 110 and 120; 52% between 90 and 110. While in general the foregoing percentages hardly differ sufficiently from those widely accepted, to warrant mention, it should perhaps be pointed out that the percentages normally given for below 70 and over 130 are noticeably bigger than those given by Professor O'Doherty. Cf., e.g., W. J. McKeachie and C. L. Doyle, Psychology (London: Addison-Wesley, 1966), p. 355; Norman L. Munn, Psychology: The Fundamentals of Human Adjustment (5th ed.; Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin, 1966), p. 121; P. H. Mussen, J. J. Conger, and J. Kagan, Child Development and Personality (3rd ed.; London: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 464; K. Lovell, Educational Psychology and Children (10th ed.; University of London Press, 1969),

p. 48; Rex and Margaret Knight, A Modern Introduction to Psychology (7th ed.; London: University Tutorial Press, 1966), p. 132.

475 i.e., Council of Education [1954], §235.

476 O'Doherty, loc. cit., p. 267.

477 Council of Education [1962], p. 130.

Notes and References to Chapter Six

1 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Commissioners, 1923, p. viii. By order of the Executive Council under section 7 of the Adaptation of Enactments Act, 1922 (No. 2 of 1922), a Board of Commissioners, to be known as Intermediate Education Commissioners, was established to exercise in Saorstát Éireann all the functions which were formerly exercised in that area by the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland. In pursuance of this Order, the Commissioners, who were to be two in number, were appointed on 18/6/1923 by the President of the Executive Council. They were Proinnsias O Neill (sic) and Proinnsias O Dubhthaigh (sic).

2 41 & 42 Vic., c. 66.

3 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1879, p. 4.

4 Graham Balfour, The Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 205.

5 Ibid., p. 206.

6 Cf. Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 48.

7 Vide infra, pp. 242 seqq.

8 i.e., Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1879, p. 4. This Report was presented to the Lord Lieutenant on 1/5/1880. Reports for subsequent years, both those of the Intermediate Board and those of the Department, will normally be found to have been presented/published about a year after the end of the particular school year to which they refer. This will account for the fact that reference will sometimes be found in one of them, to matters which one would have expected to find in the Report for the following year.

9 Ibid. It had been assumed originally that town halls would prove the most suitable places for holding the examinations, but in many Irish towns it was found that there were no town halls or that those existing were unfit for examination purposes. The various religious denominations, however, immediately placed the halls of their schools and colleges at the disposal of the Board, either gratuitously or for a sum barely sufficient to cover the expenses incurred in connection with the examinations.

10 Vide ibid., p. 20.

11 Ibid., pp. 13-20.

12 Ibid., p. 20.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., pp. 20-1.

17 Ibid., p. 21.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid. The question of exhibitions and results fees as such is dealt with in chapter IV, pp. 84-100, 122-5.

21 Ibid., p. 8.

22 Ibid., p. 5.

23 Ibid., 1890, pp. vii-viii; ibid., 1891, p. viii. Cf. Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 49, where it is incorrectly stated that this examination was introduced in 1891.

24 53 & 54 Vic., c. 60.

25 Vide supra, pp. 87-8.

26 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1893, p. x.

27 viz., in a paper written by him for the Social Science Congress which was held in Dublin in October 1881.

28 Maurice C. Hime, An Apology for the Intermediates (for Boys) (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1899), pp. 39-40.

29 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1911, p. ix. Due to uncertainty as to its precise powers in the matter, the Board deferred the actual abolition of this examination until it could take legal advice in the matter and until the representatives of the schools could be consulted. By 1912, however, it had both ascertained that it was within its powers to abolish the examination in this Grade, and had discussed the matter with the schools. Accordingly, in drawing up the Rules for 1913 it made no further provision for examination in the Preparatory Grade.

30 Ibid., p. xi.

31 Ibid., 1913, pp. vii-viii.

32 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 12, August 1913), 696.

33 63 & 64 Vic., c. 43.

34 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1901, pp. xiv-xv.

35 Vide ibid., 1921, p. xiii.

36 i.e., the Report which formed the basis for the Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act, 1900, which in turn led to the changes which were made in the Rules for 1902.

37 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, p. xiii.

38 Vide supra, pp. 139-40.

39 This is but one af a number of examples which could be brought forward in support of the contention that official pronouncements on the success or failure of officially introduced innovations tend to err on the side of attributing to these measures a degree of success which often seems quite unwarranted by the reality. Others are mentioned elsewhere in this thesis: vide pp. 208-18, passim, esp. pp. 213-4; also p. 162.

40 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, pp. 44-54.

41 Cf. ibid., p. 50.

42 Balfour, op. cit., p. 208.

43 [Andrew Murphy], 'Education Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 9, June 1908), p. 548.

44 Ibid., II, (No. 1, October 1908), 57-8. The two schools whose results were taken by Fr Murphy as the basis for his analysis were the O'Connell Schools, North Richmond St., Dublin, and the Royal Academical Institution, Belfast.

45 The financial problems with the Board had continually to contend are dealt with in the chapter on Finance: vide supra, pp. 85-99, passim.

46 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1888, p. vii.

47 Ibid., 1890, pp. viii-ix.

48 Ibid., p. iii.

49 Ibid., 1881, p. vii.

50 Ibid.

51 Vide p. 345. Vide also Diagram E, p. 346.

52 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1882, p. iv.

53 Ibid., p. v.

54 The percentages here are worked from the statistics given in Table VI.1, p. 345. Source: the Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland for each of the years in question.

55 Vide infra, pp. 240-2.

56 F. Hugh O'Donnell, The Ruin of Education in Ireland and the Irish Fanar (3rd ed.; London: David Nutt, 1903), p. 58.

57 Ibid., p. 59.

58 L. Paul-Dubois, Contemporary Ireland (Dublin: Maunsel, 1908), p. 375.

59 Ibid., p. 376.

60 Balfour, op. cit., p. 207.

61 Ibid.

62 Vide M. Barrett, 'Intermediate Examinations, 1907: Reports

of the Examiners', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 3, December 1907), 172.

63 Ibid., pp. 174-7.

64 Arthur O'Leary, 'Thoughts on the Teaching of Mathematics' [part II], Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 11, August 1908), 651-2.

65 Ibid., p. 652.

66 [Andrew Murphy], 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 1, October 1907), 65.

67 Vide Edmund Ignatius Rice and the Christian Brothers (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1926), p. 483, where the relevant extract from the speech in question is reproduced.

68 Hime, op. cit., p. 12.

69 Vide [Andrew Murphy], 'Cram, Cram, Cram', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 4, January 1908), 243-5.

70 Vide supra, e.g., pp. 167-8, 173-4.

71 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1881, p. v.

72 Ibid.

73 Vide ibid., 1885, p. vi.

74 Vide Seán Ó Catháin, 'Education in the New Ireland', in The Years of the Great Test: 1926-39, ed. by Francis MacManus (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), p. 106.

75 Vide Peter Birch, St Kieran's College, Kilkenny (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1951), pp. 249-50.

76 Vide supra, pp. 27-36, for an account of the evolution of our system of inspection.

77 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1906, p. xii; cf. ibid., 1916, p. vii.

78 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 46.

79 Department of Education, Report of the Secondary Branch, 1924, p. viii.

80 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 48.

81 Vide supra, pp. 142-3.

82 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 51.

83 Ó Catháin, 'Education in the New Ireland', p. 106.

84 Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools [n.d.; printed, August 1924], p. 9. Cf. Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 21, where it will be seen that the stated aim of the Intermediate Certificate examination is the same today.

85 Ibid., p. 10. Cf. Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 25, where the stated aim of today's Leaving Certificate will be seen to be identical.

86 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1916, p. ix. Vide also ibid., 1912, p. vii, where a similar

recommendation is made.

87 Ibid., p. viii.

88 Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], p. 9. In the case of pupils who had passed the Junior Grade Examination in or before the year 1924, one year might be substituted for two years or three years in this rule.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid., pp. 9-10.

91 Ibid., p. 10.

92 Ibid. In Mathematics alternative papers or alternative questions would be set, if necessary, for pupils following the alternative Programme B in place of the standard Programme A.

93 Ibid.

94 Ibid. Pupils, however, who had passed in the Middle or Senior Grade at the Intermediate Examinations in 1924 would be eligible for admission to the Leaving Certificate Examination in 1925 provided they followed an approved course as recognised senior pupils in the school year 1924-5.

95 Ibid. The requirement that candidates had to pass in Irish or English had been altered by the mid-thirties, as had the similar requirement in relation to the award of the Honours Leaving Certificate: henceforth candidates would have to pass in Irish; vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1934-5, p. 13.

96 Ibid. Vide previous note (i.e., note 95).

97 Ibid.

98. Ibid., p. 11.

99 Ibid., p. 9.

100 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 51.

101 Ibid.

102 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1928-9, p. 74.

103 The examinations themselves were first held in June 1925 in 149 centres throughout the country; vide ibid., 1924-5, p. 100.

104 Vide Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], pp. 9-10.

105 Vide supra, p. 144, where reference is made to a proposal the Department made in January 1928 to remedy this situation by the introduction of a series of 'half-courses', and where it is pointed out that the lack of enthusiasm, on the part of the schools, which greeted this suggestion, led to its abandonment, and to the introduction of the measures we are now about to consider.

106. Report of the Department of Education, 1927-8, p. 44.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 Ibid., 1928-9, pp. 73-4.

111 Vide ibid., 1929-30, p. 57.

112 Ibid., pp. 57-8.

113 Ibid., p. 58. Vide Table VI.2, p. 347.

114 Ibid.

115 Vide ibid., 1931-2, pp. 39-40.

116 Vide supra, p. 235. The requirement was that candidates should pass the examination generally and obtain honours in at least three subjects.

117 Cf. Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1929-30, p. 11; ibid., 1931-2, p. 12.

118 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, p. 35. In 1930 only 24·1 per cent. of the candidates examined for the Intermediate Certificate passed with honours; in 1931, however, the corresponding proportion was 38·7 per cent.

119 Ibid., 1928-9, p. 75.

120 Ibid.

121 Ibid., 1929-30, pp. 61-2.

122 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1930-1, p. 34; ibid., 1931-2, p. 39; ibid., 1934-5, p. 52; ibid., 1935-6, p. 59; ibid., 1936-7, p. 50.

123 Vide ibid., 1937-8, pp. 47-9, where full details are given of the Rules for Examinations which would operate from the school year 1938-9.

124 Ibid. This provision had been introduced in the mid-thirties; cf. Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1934-5, pp. 12, 13.

125 Ibid. Cf. Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], pp. 9-10.

126 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1941-2, p. 22, where it is stated that, for the Leaving Certificate Examination in 1943, candidates, in order to pass with honours, would, in addition to passing the examination generally, be required to obtain honours in three subjects instead of in two as in previous years. Vide also ibid., 1942-3, p. 25, where it is stated that, for the 1944 Leaving Certificate Examination, the honours standard in a subject would be 60 per cent. as compared with 50 per cent. in previous years. At the Intermediate Certificate Examination, to qualify for honours in the examination as a whole, it would no longer be sufficient to pass the examination and obtain at least 50 per cent. in each of four subjects; the requirement here would now be 60 per cent. in two of the four subjects and 50 per cent. in the remaining two.

127 Vide Council of Education [1962], pp. 118-20.

128 Vide Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1967-8, pp. 19-23, 29-31.

129 Vide p. 347; also Diagram F, p. 348.

130 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1940-1, p. 22; ibid., 1941-2, pp. 19-20; ibid., 1942-3, p. 21; ibid., 1943-4, p. 22; ibid., 1944-5, p. 24.

131 Vide p. 348 of this thesis.

132 The percentages here are worked from the statistics given in Table VI.3, p. 347. Source: Report of the Department of Education for each relevant year.

133 Vide supra, p. 228.

134 Vide supra, p. 240.

135 Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], p. 3.

136 Seán Ó Catháin, 'Education in the New Ireland', in The Years of the Great Test: 1926-39, ed. by Francis MacManus (Cork: Mercier Press, 1967), pp. 107-8. The article in question was originally read as one of the Thomas Davis Lectures on Radio Éireann in 1962.

137 Ibid., p. 108.

138 Thomas A. Finnegan, 'Pearse on Education', The Furrow, IV, (No. 9, September 1953), p. 514.

139 Ibid. Cf. Dáil, CCVII, (5/2/1964), 452, where the same practice is criticized by Deputy Desmond.

140 John Bithrey, 'Public Examinations: For and Against', Studies, XXXIII, (No. 131, September 1944), 385.

141 Vide infra, pp. 256,seqq.,where the report of these investigators is considered in conjunction with a similar report, prepared by George Madaus, Ph.D., Fr John Macnamara, C.M., Ph.D., and others, on the Department of Education's Leaving Certificate, and presented to the Department in January 1969.

142 Bithrey, loc. cit., p. 380.

143 Catholic Headmasters' Association, 'Reply to the Questionnaire submitted by the Council of Education' (typescript; undated), p. 36.

144 Vide supra, p. 128, where the question of these Intermediate Scholarships is considered.

145 Dáil, CXCV, (6/6/1962), 2189-90.

146 Council of Education [1962], pp. 218-20.

147 Vide Press Statement by Dr P. J. Hillery, T.D., Minister for Education, in regard to Post-Primary Education (typescript; undated [1963]), p. 8.

148 Dáil, CCVII, (6/2/1964), 505. Cf. J. L. Brereton, The Case for Examinations: An Account of their Place in Education with some Proposals for their Reform (Cambridge University Press, 1944), p. 197, where it was pointed out that if such slogans as 'secondary education for all' and 'equality of [educational] opportunity' were to mean anything, all

forms of secondary education should normally lead towards a common examination at the age of 15 or 16.

149 Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 166.

150 Dáil, CCXVI, (16/6/1965), 961.

151 Daniel Buckley, 'Presidential Address' [part II], Secondary Teacher, I, No. 6 (June 1966), p. 10.

152 Ibid.

153 Dáil, CCXX, (16/2/1966), 1757.

154 Ibid., CCVII, (6/2/1964), 505.

155 Ibid., col. 506.

156 Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 167.

157 Ibid.

158 Vide Dáil, CCXXXVI, (31/10/1968), 1787.

159 Ibid.

160 Vide Association of Secondary Teachers, Ireland, Official Programme of 47th Annual Convention (Dublin: A.S.T.I., 1969), p. 81. The full text of the Minister's communiqué is given in this Programme on pp. 78-85. This publication will be referred to henceforth as A.S.T.I., Programme of Convention.

161 Ibid. The five proposed subject groupings were to be as follows:- (i) Language Group: (Leaving Certificate and Advanced Certificate) Irish or English and any other two languages from Modern Languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew; (ii) Science Group: (Leaving Certificate) Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Physics & Chemistry (joint subject); (Advanced Certificate) as for Leaving Certificate but excluding Physics & Chemistry (joint subject); (iii) Business Studies Group: (Leaving Certificate) Accounting, Business Organisation, Economics, Economic History; (Advanced Certificate) Accounting, Economics, (including Economic Statistics), Business Administration, Commercial Law; (iv) Applied Science Group: (Leaving Certificate) Engineering Workshop Theory and Practice, Technical Drawing, Building Materials and Processes, Mechanics, Physics & Chemistry (joint subject), Applied Physics, Agricultural Science (Plant and Animal Husbandry), Farm Economics, a Scientific subject based on Home Economics, Home Management; (Advanced Certificate) subjects of this group to be further considered; (v) Social Studies Group: (Leaving Certificate and Advanced Certificate) History, Geography, Art (including Crafts), Music, Home Management.

162 Ibid.

163 Denis Donoghue, Comments on O'Connor, 'Post-Primary Education: Now and in the Future', Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 285.

164 Seanad, LXVI, (12/12/1968), 214.

165 Irish Times, 23/7/1969, p. 1.

166 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, p. 23.

167 A.S.T.I., Programme of Convention, 1969, pp. 79-80. Vide also Brereton, op. cit., p. 101, where reference is made to a statement which appeared in the T.E.S. on 6/2/1912 to the effect that: 'The Cambridge Syndicate are ready to issue for each student "detailed reports", which class his work in each subject according to six standards: "distinguished", "good", "moderate", "pass", "failure" and "bad failure".' From this it can be seen that the introduction of a new system of grading in this country in 1969 is far from being a novel idea.

168 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1968-9, pp. 23, 27.

169 Ibid.

170 A.S.T.I., Programme of Convention, 1969, p. 79.

171 Vide Council of Education [1962], p. 222.

172 'Matriculation Examination', Ir.Ed.Rev., V, (No. 2, November 1911), 66. The writer of this article is not named.

173 Ibid., p. 70.

174 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 52.

175 Ibid., 1940-1, p. 23.

176 Vide Seán Ó Catháin, 'University Selection in Ireland', Studies, LIII, (No. 209, Spring 1964), 50.

177 Dáil, CCXXI, (22/2/1966), 47.

178 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1, p. 36, where it will be seen that, prior to 1931, the situation had been even more complex still; it was not until that year that the Leaving Certificate took the place of the former Easter Scholarship Examination as the open competitive test for admission to Training Colleges for Primary Teachers, and also as a qualifying test for candidates for recognition as temporary untrained assistant teachers, and as Junior Assistant Mistresses in National Schools.

179 Dáil, CXCV, (5/6/1962), 2063.

180 Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 144.

181 Ibid., col. 145.

182 Scottish Report (1947), p. 58.

183 Norwood Report (1943), pp. 27-8, where this statement of the earlier body is quoted.

184 Ibid., p. 44.

185 Council of Education [1962], p. 226. Among the examinations named by the Council are the Matriculation Examination, the examination set by the Civil Service Commission for prospective entrants to certain grades in the civil service, the examinations set by certain local authorities in recruiting clerical staff, and those set by some professional bodies and business concerns either for entrance to professional study or for immediate employment.

186 Ibid.

187 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 53.

188 Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, [1924], pp. 4-5.

189 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 53.

190 Ibid., 1925-6-7, p. 52.

191 Seán Ó Catháin, Secondary Education in Ireland (Dublin: Talbot Press, 1958), p. 12. The first section of this book (i.e. the section from which the present quotation is taken) had been published in Studies in December 1951.

192 Ibid., p. 13.

193 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1128.

194 Vide supra, pp. 40-54, where the question of access to secondary education is considered.

195 Vide UNESCO, World Survey of Education: III, Secondary Education (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 112.

196 P. B. Ballard, 'The Special Place Examination', in International Institute Examinations Enquiry, Essays on Examinations (London: Macmillan, 1936), p. 119.

197 Cf. Hadow Report (1927), pp. 132-9. The proposals here referred to had envisaged the employment of some suitable combination of written examination, oral examination, written psychological test and teachers' estimates.

198 Ballard, loc. cit.

199 Vide UNESCO, World Survey of Education: III, . . . , p. 113.

200 Ibid., p. 117. Vide supra, pp. 46-54, where the effect of such developments on the organisation of Irish secondary education is considered.

201 Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools, 1966-7, pp. 7, 15-19; ibid., 1967-8, p. 7.

202 Department of Education, Circular M.47/67; quoted in full in the Secondary Teacher, II, No. 7 (September 1967), pp. 12-13.

203 Vide supra, pp. 40-54, where the question of access to secondary education is considered.

204 Dáil, CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 463.

205 Ibid., CCXXXVI, (31/10/1968), 1773-4.

206 The fact that some secondary schools still require prospective pupils to undergo an entrance examination, even though the official requirement in this regard is now altered, is a matter which does not concern us in the present chapter. Reference is made to it, however, elsewhere in this thesis; vide supra, p. 121.

207 Vide supra, p. 126.

208 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 52.

209 Vide, e.g., Scottish Report (1947), p. 42.

210 Vide Council of Education [1962], p. 70.

211 Scottish Report (1947), p. 42.

212 J. L. Brereton, The Case for Examinations: An Account of their Place in Education with some Proposals for their Reform (Cambridge University Press, 1944), p. 21.

213 Council of Education [1962], p. 216.

214 Ibid., p. 218.

215 Ibid.

216 Ibid.

217 Daniel Buckley, 'Presidential Address' [part I], Secondary Teacher, I, No. 5 (May 1966), p. 7.

218 F. H. Drinkwater, Educational Essays (London: Burns Oates, 1951), p. 201. The essay from which the present passage is taken was originally written in 1921. It is to be noted that the view expressed here represents an attempt on Fr Drinkwater's part to give the credit side of the argument; unlike the Council of Education, he is also well aware of the many glaring deficiencies which these examinations have, and he states these unequivocally; vide infra, p. 258.

219 Vide infra, pp. 259-62.

220 James Devane, 'Examinations', Ir.Ed.Rev., I, (No. 12, September 1908), 722.

221 Drinkwater, op. cit., p. 200.

222 Denis Donoghue, 'Songs the Sirens Sing', Studies, L, (No. 200, Winter 1961), 413-4.

223 Thomas Halton, 'English in Our Secondary Schools', Studies, XLIX, (No. 196, Winter 1960), 408.

224 Ibid.

225 Ibid., p. 410.

226 Richard Livingstone, On Education (Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 204. The passage referred to here appeared originally in Education for a World Adrift (1943).

227 Ibid., p. 203.

228 Ibid., p. 204.

229 John Bithrey, 'Public Examinations: For and Against', Studies, XXXIII, (No. 131, September 1944), 379.

230 Seán Ó Catháin, 'Secondary Education in Ireland: Conclusion: A New Plan', Studies, XLV, (No. 181, Spring 1957), p. 61.

231 Ibid.

232 Vide Thomas Halton, 'English in Our Secondary Schools', Studies, XLIX, (No. 196, Winter 1960), 413.

233 Vide John Bithrey, 'Public Examinations: For and Against', Studies, XXXIII, (No. 131, September 1944), 381.

234 Philip Hartog and E. C. Rhodes, The Marks of Examiners: . . . (London: Macmillan, 1936), p. xii.

235 Ibid., p. 243.

236 Vide George Madaus and John Macnamara, Improving the Public Examination: A Study of the Leaving Certificate (Report submitted to the Department of Education in January 1969). This work is as yet unpublished; reference to it in the present thesis follows the pagination etc. of the typescript copy retained at the Educational Research Centre, St Patrick's College, Drumcondra, Dublin 9.

237 Irish Times, 27/3/1969, p. 8. Vide Madaus and Macnamara, op. cit., p. 1.44.

238 Vide Madaus and Macnamara, op. cit., pp. 1.21-1.24. This judgement, it was alleged, could be made, with a varying degree of validity, of most subjects on the Programme. In the case of History, for example, every single subsection in every single question fell under the heading of 'knowledge', and a candidate could get full marks 'for merely repeating a set of propositions'. In English many questions appeared to be tricky, but in many of these cases the investigation showed that all that was really necessary was rote-memory. In Mathematics, however, it was found that 'high marks could only have been gained by students who exercised a wide range of intellectual abilities, including some of a quite high order'.

239 Irish Times, 27/3/1969, p. 8. Cf. Richard Livingstone, On Education (Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 206, where the author states: 'It is as impossible to examine in the most vital parts of education as to anatomize life on a dissecting table, and therefore the pressure of examinations continually pushes them into the background or out of sight.'

240 Hartog and Rhodes, op. cit., p. xiii. The section from which this particular passage is taken was contributed by Sir Philip Hartog.

241 C. J. Lucas, 'Examinations: The Forgetten Dimension', T.E.S., (2/8/1968), p. 215.

242 Vide Hartog and Rhodes, op. cit., p. xiii, where reference is made to the practice, adopted by some English examining bodies, of taking school records into account in border-line cases, as an expedient calculated to reduce to some extent at least the unfairness involved in the operation off this factor.

243 J. L. Brereton, The Case for Examinations: . . . , p. 187.

244 John Bithrey, 'Public Examinations: For and Against', Studies, XXXIII, (No. 131, September 1944), 386.

245 Seán Ó Catháin, 'Education in the New Ireland', The Years of the Great Test: . . . , p. 108.

246 Seán Ó Catháin, 'Secondary Education in Ireland: Conclusion: A New Plan', Studies, XLV, (No. 181, Spring 1957), p. 69.

247 Ibid., p. 71.

248 Vide Hartog and Rhodes, The Marks of Examiners: . . . , p. xviii.

249 Ibid.

250 Ibid.

251 Irish Times, 27/3/1969, p. 8.

Notes and References to Chapter Seven

1 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), pp. 12-13.

2. Ibid.

3 Vide Martin Brenan, Schools of Kildare and Leighlin, A.D. 1775-1835 (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1935), p. 90. It will be remembered that Monsignor Brenan does not limit his remarks strictly to the specified period: he refers occasionally to the existence, late in the nineteenth century, of very good teachers in the hedge school tradition, many of whom certainly continued to teach under the Intermediate System.

4 i.e., the scale of results fees was reduced by a half; exhibitions in Junior and Middle Grades, and prizes in Senior Grade, were reduced from £20, £30 and £50, respectively; and the number of exhibitions and prizes awardable was reduced by a third.

5 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1881, p. viii.

6 The term 'religious' is used here in its strict canonical sense: it refers to members of religious orders, congregations, societies etc., and does not include diocesan clergy. Cf. Patrick S. Duffy, The Lay Teacher: A Study of the Lay Teacher in an Irish Catholic Environment (Dublin: Fallons, n.d. [1967], p. 44 et passim. Fr Duffy uses the term 'religious' in a wider sense to include diocesan clergy as well.

7 The terms 'layman' and 'laymen' as used in this chapter refer, where applicable, both to men and women.

8 Vide F. Hugh O'Donnell, The Ruin of Education in Ireland and the Irish Fanar (3rd ed.; London: David Nutt, 1903), pp. 24-5, where the author clearly implies that the very existence of religious and clerical teachers in intermediate schools constitutes an injustice to lay teachers.

9 Ibid., pp. 103-4.

10 Submission of Most Rev. Dr O'Dwyer to the University Commission, 19/9/1901; quoted in O'Donnell, op.cit., p. 133. It is not stated whose the italics are, but judging from O'Donnell's practice elsewhere in this work, they would seem to be his rather than Dr O'Dwyer's.

11 Vide supra, p. 141.

12 Vide supra, pp. 148-89, passim.

13 Vide Michael Maher, 'Religious Instruction in Irish Catholic Intermediate Schools', Studies, V, (No. 17, March 1916), 61-2.

14 Graham Balfour, Educational Systems of Great Britain and Ireland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 209.

15 Ibid.

16 Vide W. O. Lester Smith, Education (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 156.

17 Ibid.

18 Balfour, op. cit., p. 209.

19 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 12.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid., p. 13.

22 Ibid.

23 Quoted in Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 13. Cf. Dale and Stephens (1905), pp. 43-4.

24 Ibid.

25 James Johnston Auchmuty, Irish Education: A Historical Survey (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., 1937), p. 155.

26 Ibid.

27 [Andrew Murphy], 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., IV, (No. 7, April 1911), 432.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Catholic Headmasters' Association, Report of General Meeting, 5/10/1910; in Ir.Ed.Rev., IV, (No. 2, November 1910), 120.

32 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1910, p. xii.

33 Ibid. It should be noted in passing that while the position of secondary teachers in England had been, on the whole, rather better than that of their Irish counterparts, there was still considerable room for improvement. The President of the Board of Education (in England), Mr Runciman, when introducing the Education Budget in 1911 had stated: 'The first and most startling fact with regard to the staff in Secondary schools is the extremely small salaries which are paid to the assistant masters and mistresses'; quoted in 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., V, (No. 1, October 1911), 51.

34 Ibid., 1911, pp. viii-ix.

35 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 14. This grant is discussed more fully in a later subsection of this chapter; vide infra, 276-81.

36 4 & 5 Geo. V, c. 41.

37 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1915, p. vii.

38 Ibid., 1921, p. xv. Vide infra,

39 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 9.

40 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, p. xii.

41 Vide supra, pp. 267,269; vide also Report of the Department of Education (1924-5), p. 104, where it will be seen that considerably more than half of all secondary teachers registered by 31/7/1925 held no qualification other than teaching experience; vide infra, p. 295.

42 [Andrew Murphy], 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., V, (No. 2, November 1911), 112.

43 Vide ibid., IV, (No. 12, September 1911), 762.

44 Published as a Parliamentary Paper (Cd. 5726).

45 Sizeable extracts from this Report are reproduced in Ir.Ed.Rev., IV, (No. 12, September 1911), 762-5. The present quotation is taken from p. 764 of this journal.

46 Ibid., p. 765. The solution eventually recommended by the English Registration Council (which was set up by an Order in Council of 29/2/1912, and which brought in its recommendations in November of the following year) was that there should be one Register only, with no division into separate columns of primary and secondary teachers. The main conditions of enrolment were to be ' . . . a training in teaching as well as three years' continuous experience', though in the case of existing teachers five years of continuous teaching would be accepted and no evidence of formal training would be demanded; vide ibid., VII, (No. 3, December 1913), 184-5.

47 Statement issued by the Irish Hierarchy, 8/10/1912; in Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 2, November 1912), 106.

48 Ibid.

49 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), pp. 9, 20.

50 Vide infra, pp. 285-7, 283-5 and 287-8, respectively.

51 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 20.

52 Martin Brenan, Schools of Kildare and Leighlin, A.D. 1775-1835 (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1935), p. 90.

53 Ibid.

54 Vide infra, p.291, where subsequent alterations in the Regulations for the Register are considered.

55 4 & 5 Geo. V, c. 41. Quoted in Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1914, p. vi.

56 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 14.

57 Vide 'Correspondence: The £40,000 Grant', Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 10, July 1913), 615. This issue (pp. 615-40) gives the full correspondence which took place between Fr Andrew Murphy on behalf of the Catholic Headmasters' Association, and Mr Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, between 18/12/1912 and 25/6/1913, on the question of proposed rules for the distribution of the Grant. The correspondence throws considerable light on the basic issues involved, as do the various comments which Fr Murphy made, from issue to issue, in his 'Educational

Notes', on the progress of the negotiations.

58 Ir.Ed.Rev., V, (No. 12, September 1912), 751-2.

59 Ibid., p. 752.

60 Ibid., VI, (No. 1, October 1912), 30.

61 Ibid., V, (No. 12, September 1912), 753.

62 Ibid.

63 Statement of the Catholic Headmasters' Association and the Committee Representing Convent Schools; in Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 1, October 1912), 46.

64 Ibid., p. 47.

65 Ibid., p. 48.

66 Ibid., (No. 2, November 1912), p. 106.

67 Ibid.

68 Vide letter of Augustine Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, to Fr Andrew Murphy, 18/3/1913; in 'Correspondence', Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 10, July 1913), 622-3.

69 Vide Augustine Birrell to Andrew Murphy, 4/1/1913; in 'Correspondence', Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 10, July 1913), 617.

70 Ibid., pp. 617-8.

71 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1915, p. vii.

72 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 14.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid., pp. 14-15.

75 Ibid., p. 15.

76 Ibid., p. 16.

77 Vide 'Statement of Ireland's Claim for Exchequer Grants in Aid of Secondary Education: Statement on behalf of the Joint Committee representing Heads of Secondary Schools in Ireland', Ir.Ed.Rev., III, (No. 10, July 1910), 633-7.

78 This is quoted by Fr Murphy as being Lloyd George's own expression.

79 [Andrew Murphy], 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., VI, (No. 10, July 1913), 604-5.

80 Vide supra, pp. 279-80.

81 Vide Ir.Ed.Rev., V, (No. 12, September 1912), 753.

82 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 9.

83 Vide supra, pp. 279-80.

84 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 16.

85 Ibid.

86 Ibid., pp. 9, 16.

87 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1916, p. x.

88 Vide supra, pp. 279-80, for these requirements.

89 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1916, p. x.

90 Ibid.

91 Council of Education [1962], p. 60.

92 Ibid., p. 62. Vide infra, pp. 309-12, where the history of the pension scheme which eventually materialized is traced.

93 P. H. Pearse, The Murder Machine (A photo-mechanical reproduction of the 1916 pamphlet, produced for use in the Department of Education, University College, Cork; 1959), p. 8.

94 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 18.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid., p. 19.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Ibid., p. 36, (Reservation by the Chairman, Mr James Maxwell Henry and Mr Thompson).

102 Report of the Departmental Committee for inquining into the principles which should determine the fixing of salaries for teachers in Secondary and Technical Schools in England and Wales (Cd. 9140); quoted in Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 36.

103 [Andrew Murphy], 'Educational Notes', Ir.Ed.Rev., V, (No. 12, September 1912), 756-7.

104 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 19.

105 Ibid., p. 17.

106 Vide supra, pp. 279-80.

107 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 17.

108 Cf. Rules for the Distribution of the Teachers' Salaries Grant; summarized in Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 15.

109 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 17.

110 Ibid.

111 Ibid., p. 41, (Note by Rev. Professor Corcoran).

112 Ibid. Cf. also C. A. Richardson et al., The Education of Teachers in England, France, and the U.S.A. (Paris: UNESCO, 1953), p. 219, where it is stated that in some

American communities and states teachers are required to take an oath of loyalty to the United States. This is to ensure that the teacher will not engage in activities which are unacceptable to ordinary loyal citizens, or to ensure his dismissal if he does.

113 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), p. 36, (Reservations by Very Rev. Canon Marshall).

114 Ibid., p. 43, (Minority Report of R. M. Henry, W. J. Williams and Annie McHugh).

115 Ibid., p. 44.

116 Ibid.

117 Ibid.

118 Ibid., p. 19.

119 Ibid., pp. 19-20.

120 Ibid., p. 20; i.e., the non-contributory scheme just introduced for secondary teachers in England. Vide infra, where the actual scheme which was eventually introduced in this country is discussed.

121 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, p. xvii.

122 Ibid.

123 Statement of the Irish Hierarchy, 27/1/1920; in I.E.R., 5th ser., XV, (No. 626, February 1920), 150-1.

124 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1921, p. xviii.

125 Council of Education [1962], p. 62.

126 Vide Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1920, pp. viii-x.

127 Ibid., p. ix. To bring these figures into focus for the modern reader it needs to be remembered that the cost of living in 1969 is approximately six times what it was in 1914 when the 'Cost of Living Index' (known as the 'Consumer Price Index' since 1953) was originally set at 100: Vide Statistical Abstract of Ireland, 1938, p. 190; ibid., 1951, p. 245; ibid., 1967, p. 327.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid.

130 Ibid.

131 Michael Tierney, Education in a Free Ireland (Dublin: Martin Lester, n.d. [1920?], p. 83.

132 Cf. Regulations for the Register of Intermediate School Teachers in Ireland, 1918; Regulations for the Register of Intermediate School Teachers in Saorstát Eireann, [1937]; Regulations for the Register of Intermediate School Teachers, 1953; idem., 1959; and idem., 1967; hereafter referred to as Regulations for the Register, 1918, [1937], 1953, 1959 and 1967, respectively.

133 Regulations for the Register, 1967, p. 3. Cf. Table VII.4, p. 351, where details are given of the qualifications held by secondary teachers in the school year 1969-70.

134 Vide, ibid., pp. 25-7. This Schedule contained, in the 1967 Rules, a list of 25 qualifications or groups of qualifications; it would seem, in fact, to cover not only the qualifications referred to in section (b) of the regulation but also the alternative university degrees mentioned in section (a).

135 Ibid., pp. 3-5.

136 Vide ibid., p. 27. These qualifications are, by and large, Diplomas in Education which are considered to be the equivalents of the Higher Diploma in Education of the National University of Ireland and that of the University of Dublin. They include: the Diploma in Education of the Queen's University, Belfast; specified diplomas and certificates from universities in Great Britain; the University Diploma in Education of the University of Calcutta; and the Certificate in the Practice and Theory of Education, of Clongowes Wood College, Co. Kildare (as long as recognition is continued by the Council).

137 Ibid., p. 5.

138 Vide ibid., p. 11, where this is defined as being 'a year of teaching service which, were the applicant a registered teacher, would be accepted as a year of approved teaching service for the purposes of the Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary to Secondary Teachers', provided that, if a headmaster or a headmistress, the teacher give at least 300 hours' actual teaching service, and provided that 'service in certain schools in certain underdeveloped countries accepted by the Minister for Education for the purposes of placing on the incremental salary scales for secondary teachers' also be accepted.

139 Ibid., p. 5. Vide supra, p. 212, where this requirement and the manner in which it is enforced are considered.

140 Statutory Rules and Orders, No. 17 of 1926. Vide Regulations for the Register, 1967, p. 3.

141 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1941-2, p. 23.

142 Vide Regulations for the Register, [1937], p. 5.

143 Vide ibid., 1959, p. 5.

144 Cf. ibid., [1937], pp. 25-6; ibid., 1953, pp. 27-9; ibid., 1959, pp. 25-7; and ibid., 1967, pp. 25-7.

145 Vide Patrick Kevin O'Leary, The Development of Post-Primary Education in Éire since 1922 (thesis for Ph.D. degree; 2 vols.; Queen's University, Belfast, 1962), I, 319.

146 Vide also Michael Duane, 'How We Ought to Try to Train Teachers', T.E.S., 26/7/1968, p. 186, where similar complaints were levelled at the quality of training given in England, and where the practice of allowing graduates to teach without having any qualification in teaching was deplored. Cf., however, E. C. Wragg, 'Practical Training for Graduates', T.E.S., 6/2/1970, where reference is made to the imminent introduction of compulsory training for all graduates who wish to engage in teaching.

147 Dáil, CXCV, (5/6/1962), 2064.

148 Irish Times, 5/6/1968, p. 8.

149 Dáil, CXCV, (5/6/1962), 2064.

150 Ibid., CCXXXII, (8/2/1968), 775. Cf. Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary to Secondary Teachers, 1958, pp. 3-5.

151 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1158.

152 Ibid.

153 Investment in Education [1966], I, 275.

154 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 54. Cf. ibid., 1925-6-7, p. 53; ibid., 1927-8, pp. 47-8; ibid., 1935-6, p. 58; ibid., 1936-7, p. 50. The Department's comments in the 1925-6-7 Report would seem to ascribe at least some degree of irresponsibility to the teachers for not being more enthusiastic about participating in these courses, especially since the teachers could still have 'a holiday of reasonable duration' and since teachers attending the courses received 'an allowance towards their expenses'. Experience of the Department's interpretation, however, even in the past few years, of what should constitute a reasonable allowance towards such expenses leaves one with the impression that even if the Department employed comparable standards then—which is rather unlikely—the teachers would still be expected to provide, out of a totally inadequate salary, a sizeable proportion of the total cost. In such circumstances, relatively small attendances are not to be wondered at.

155 Vide, e.g., ibid., 1925-6-7, p. 66; and ibid., 1927-8, p. 48.

156 Thomas Halton, 'Religion in Irish Education', Christus Rex, XII, (No. 3, July 1958), 196.

157 John Vaizey, 'Education and the Irish Economy', Ir.Journ.Ed., I, (No. 2, Winter 1967), 115. That the author is here referring especially to teachers is clear from the context.

158 Dáil, CCIX, (14/5/1964), 1570.

159 Ibid., CCXVI, (16/6/1965), 961-2.

160 Vide Regulations for the Register, 1967, (Appendix I), p. 29, where this regulation will be found.

161 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 104. The number given here includes 132 who had been given provisional registration only.

162 Ibid.

163 Vide p. 349. Source: Report of the Department of Education for each relevant year.

164 Vide A.S.T.I., Programme of Convention, 1964, p. 98, where particulars, supplied by the Department of Education, are given, from which the very small number of registered teachers who were employed only on a part-time basis in recognised secondary schools in the school year 1963-4 can be calculated (by comparing §3 and §§14, 15).

165 Vide Teachers' Salaries Committee: Reports and Appendices presented to the Minister for Education, 29 July 1960 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1960), p. 15; hereafter referred to as Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960).

166 Investment in Education [1966], I, 271. These percentages are based on returns furnished by about 85 per cent. of all full-time teachers with a university degree.

167 Ibid., p. 340. Vide also Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, pp. 53, 65; ibid., 1956-7, p. 15; vide supra, 174-80, where the dearth of good teachers of Mathematics in girls' schools is considered.

168 General Synod of the Church of Ireland, Report of the Advisory Committee on Secondary Education in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin University Press, 1965), p. 7.

169 Michael Hutchinson and Christopher Young, Educating the Intelligent (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 17.

170 John Vaizey, Education for Tomorrow (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 94-5.

171 Ibid., p. 95. One feels that the expression 'first-class graduates' is used here rather in the less specific sense of 'graduates with good honours degrees' than in that of 'graduates with first-class honours degrees'.

172 Investment in Education [1966], II, 189. This percentage is a calculation based on the Survey Team's figures. The picture presented by these figures is not absolutely accurate, since the figures for 'Number of Graduates doing the Higher Diploma' does not include the figures for St Patrick's College, Maynooth. The discrepancy here, however, will be minimal, since at the period in question the numbers doing the Higher Diploma course in Maynooth were very small. Vide Table VII.2, p. 350.

173 Ibid. The figures taken refer only to 'Graduates: Total First Degrees'. They would seem, however, to cover graduates in all faculties; and in this case they include Maynooth graduates. Vide Table VII.2, p. 350.

174 Ibid.

175 Ibid., p. 186.

176 John Vaizey, review of Investment in Education, in Ir.Journ.Ed., I, (No. 1, Summer 1967), 73.

177 John Vaizey, 'Education and the Irish Economy', Ir.Journ.Ed., I, (No. 2, Winter 1967), 118.

178 Ibid.

179 Ibid.

180 Dáil, CLXXXIX, (30/5/1961), 1104.

181 Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries: Report presented to the Minister for Education (Dublin: Stationery Office, [1968]), p. 9; hereafter referred to as Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries [1968].

182 Hutchinson and Young, Educating the Intelligent, p. 19.

183 Vide infra, pp. 301-4.

184 Vide infra, pp. 301-2, where it is pointed out that in a very limited number of cases, mainly in the more exclusive boarding-schools, basic salaries considerably in excess of the stipulated minimum were paid to teachers.

185 Reports and Appendices of the Committee on National Teachers' Salaries, etc., presented to the Minister for Education, 18 May 1949 (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1949), p. 7; hereafter referred to as National Teachers' Salaries (1949). While this Committee addressed itself to the specific question of national teachers' salaries, the present statement is made in reference to teachers in general.

186 General Synod of the Church of Ireland, Report of the Advisory Committee on Secondary Education in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin University Press, 1965), p. 7.

187 George Lodge, 'Training for Science Teachers', Secondary Teacher, II, No. 7 (September 1967), p. 16.

188 Ibid. Vide infra, p. 304, for details of improvements made in the salaries of probationer teachers in the nineteen-sixties.

189 Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 159.

190 René Maheu, 'The Teachers' Charter', Secondary Teacher, I, No. 8 (October 1966), p. 6. This article is a review of a 'Teachers' Charter' which had recently been approved by an inter-governmental conference convened in Paris by UNESCO.

191 Ibid.

192 Vide supra, pp. 270-2.

193 Vide, e.g., Dáil, I, (1/12/1922), 2574, where the Minister for Education, Professor Eoin MacNeill, praised the work of the teachers highly.

194 E. B. Castle, A Parent's Guide to Education (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 153.

195 Ibid.

196 Vide A.S.T.I., Programme of Convention, 1968, p. 76. The precise number was 4,896. This information was supplied to the A.S.T.I. by the Department of Education.

197 Vide supra, pp. 115-17, where the extent of public expenditure on secondary education in this country at various stages is considered.

198 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 36.

199 Ibid., p. 47. Cf. Conditions and Regulations regarding the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1927-8, p. 16; Secondary Schools Grants Regulations, 1934-5, p. 17; Rules for the Payment of Grants to Secondary Schools, 1951, p. 15; and ibid., 1957, p. 16. These publications will henceforth be cited as Rules for the Payment of Grants, 1927-8, 1934-5, 1951 and 1957, respectively.

200 Vide A.S.T.I. explanatory one-page circular to its members, 19/2/1969. A conciliation offer of 14/2/1969 (on the secondary teachers' claim of 23/9/1968) was accepted by the teachers in late February 1969 and became operative retrospectively from 1/7/1968.

201 Ibid.

202 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, pp. 7-8.

passim,
203 Vide supra, pp. 40-54, where the social implications of this freedom are considered.

204 i.e., the Catholic Headmasters' Association (C.H.A.), the Conference of Convent Secondary Schools (C.C.S.S.), and the Teaching Brothers' Association (T.B.A.). The latter (T.B.A.) represented the Irish Christian Brothers, the Presentation Brothers, the Patrician Brothers, the De La Salle Brothers, and the Marist Brothers; vide Studies, LVII, (No. 227, Autumn 1968), 283.

205 Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries [1968], pp. 5-6. The 'standard salary' consisted of the minimum school salary of £200 plus the Department's incremental salary.

206 Vide ibid., p. 6, and A.S.T.I., Programme of Convention, 1968, p. 76.

207 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 35.

208 Report of the Intermediate Education Commissioners, 1922, p. ix.

209 Ibid., 1923, p. ix.

210 Department of Education, Report of the Secondary Branch, 1924, p. viii.

211 Report of the Department of Education, 1924-5, p. 54. Cf. Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 36.

212 John Mescal, Religion in the Irish System of Education (Dublin: Clonmore and Reynolds, 1957), p. 110.

213 Vide Report of the Department of Education, 1928-9, pp. 80-3. Vide infra, pp. 309-12, where the Superannuation Scheme is considered and its major subsequent amendments outlined.

214 Vide ibid., 1931-2, p. 41; ibid., 1932-3, p. 62.

215 Vide Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), pp. 35-6. The rates of the emergency bonus varied from year to year; from 1/1/1946 they were £39.2s.0d. per annum for men and £33.17s.8d. per annum for women.

216 Report of the Department of Education, 1945-6, p. 34.

217 Ibid.

218 Ibid., p. 35. Vide Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary to Secondary Teachers, 1946, pp. 11-13; hereafter referred to as Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary.

219 Ibid.

220 Vide Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries [1968], pp. 6-7.

221 Report of the Department of Education, 1949-50, opp. p. 82.

222 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 46. Vide infra, pp. 309-12, for an account of the Superannuation Scheme.

223 Ibid., pp. 49, 48, respectively. The allowances were to be made in respect of dependent children, and were payable to married men, and, in certain cases, to widows, at the rate of £25 per child for the third, fourth and fifth child in the case of married men, and for up to

five children in all in the case of widows.

224 Ibid., p. 55.

225 Ibid., p. 64. Vide Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary, 1958, p. 11.

226 Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries [1968], p. 68.

227 Vide Dáil, CLXXXIX, (24/5/1961), 845; ibid., CXCIV, (27/3/1962), 512.

228 Ibid., CCXXXII, (6/2/1968), 466.

229 Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary, 1958, pp. 3-5. A headmaster, provided his school has more than 60 recognised pupils, can qualify for incremental salary without teaching at all; while the headmaster of a smaller school need teach only 10 hours a week.

230 Vide Table VI.3.a, p. 351. Cf. Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 170. The figures in this table are not to be confused with those relating to the minimum number of registered teachers which must be employed in a secondary school if it is to qualify for the payment of grants. Vide Rules for the Payment of Grants, 1957, (Appendix I, Schedule I), p. 16. The figures, in this case, are given in Table VII.3.b, p. 351.

231 Dáil, CLXXXIX, (7/6/1961), 1624.

232 Rules for the Payment of Incremental Salary, 1958, p. 15. Cf. Seanad, LVIII, (16/12/1964), 170.

233 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), pp. 24-5.

234 Vide infra, pp. 306-7.

235 Michael Tierney, Education in a Free Ireland (Dublin: Martin Lester, n.d. [c. 1920?]), p. 82.

236 Seanad, LVIII, (3/3/1965), 1129.

237 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 39.

238 Ibid., p. 40. The strike was confined to teachers engaged in schools in Dublin city, and lasted from 20/3/1946 to 30/10/1946. In the end, the teachers were forced to accept the same offer which they had rejected before the strike began; and the new salary scales became effective two months later than they would have done under the terms of the original offer.

239 i.e., the claim submitted to the Roe Committee in January 1949, and the claim submitted to the national teachers' conciliation council in April 1951.

240 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 52. With effect from 1/11/1952 secondary teachers and vocational teachers were being paid according to the same salary scales (assuming that secondary teachers were being paid the specified minimum basic school salary).

241 Ibid., p. 4.

242 Ibid., p. 27.

243 Vide Dáil, CLXXXIX, (24/5/1961), 869, 872; ibid., (25/5/1961), 884-5.

244 Vide ibid., CXC, (13/6/1961), 29-32, where the Minister for Education, Dr P. J. Hillery, sought to justify the Government's decision to accept the findings of the Committee, and stated: 'I fail to see how there could be any question of a responsible government setting up a special committee and ignoring its findings.'

245 The opinion is widely held that, while the national teachers' strike in 1946 failed in its immediate objective, its long-term effect was to convince the Government that the I.N.T.O. was a body to be reckoned with: among other things, many national teachers who had previously held key positions, mainly at branch level, in the Fianna Fáil party, in retaliation for what they considered to be the unfair treatment they had got at the hands of the Government, transferred their allegiance to the emerging Clann na Poblachta party and in that way contributed, at least to some extent, to the downfall of the Fianna Fáil Government in 1948.

246 Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries [1968], p. 5.

247 Cf. Dáil, CXC, (13/6/1961), 29-32, where the then Minister for Education clearly implied that such action on the part of a government would be irresponsible; vide note 244, supra.

248 Vide supra, pp. 301-2. As well as the teachers who benefited from the 1964 agreement with the Catholic Managerial Schools, there were still other teachers, notably in Protestant schools, who were receiving salaries in excess of the minimum £200; in some cases, indeed, the school salary exceeded the maximum offered in the Catholic Managerial Schools, by a considerable margin.

249 Vide Irish Times, 29/5/1968, p. 8; also Secondary Teacher, October 1968, p. 7.

250 Vide infra, p. 309.

251 Vide A.S.T.I. one-page explanatory memorandum of 19/2/1969 which outlined the offer made in conciliation on 14/2/1969.

252 Ibid.

253 Vide, e.g., John Vaizey, Education for Tomorrow (Harmondsworth, Middx.: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 94-5, where the author refers to the existence of a similar problem in Britain, and asserts that the solution adopted there in 1945 of having a common basic salary scale for all trained teachers—men and women, graduates and non-graduates—has proved unsuccessful in a number of ways; he attributes to it, for example, 'a noticeable decline' which he alleges has taken place in the professional qualifications of those who teach such subjects as mathematics and physics in the sixth forms.

254 Dáil, CLXXXIX, (8/6/1961), 1677.

255 General Synod of the Church of Ireland, Report of the Board of Education (Dublin: 52 St Stephen's Green, East, 1965), p. 9.

256 Vide Patrick S. Duffy, The Lay Teacher: A Study of the Position of the Lay Teacher in an Irish Catholic Environment (Dublin: Fallons, [1967]), p. 27. The author distinguished, however, between 'Catholic schools'

and 'lay schools'; there were 59 of the latter in operation in the school year in question, and the principals of them were laymen or laywomen.

257 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 99.

258 Ibid., p. 24. The Committee stated: 'It is debatable to what extent the presence or absence of promotion opportunities within a service should of itself be taken into account in the fixing of the rate of the remuneration. It is for the particular function to be performed that the salary as such is paid, and additional remuneration, where it arises for particular posts within the service, is paid for the additional duty or responsibility attached to these posts. In considering, however, the question of the relativity which would be reasonable as between the salaries of teachers in services in which there are such posts and the salaries of teachers in a service in which such posts do not exist, we feel, on balance, that in this context some weighting might be assigned to this factor . . . [since] a young person contemplating entering the teaching profession would have regard to prospects of promotion.'

259 Tribunal on Teachers' Salaries [1968], p. 26.

260 Vide ibid., pp. 12-13. Under a points system, the number and value of posts of responsibility tenable in any school are determined by the total number of points scored by that school in accordance with a scale which allows a certain number of points for each pupil of a given age. This number increases considerably with the age of the pupils; and so both the number of posts and the size of the allowance payable for them are always, ceteris paribus, considerably greater in secondary schools than they are in primary schools. The scale in operation in Northern Ireland ranged from 1 point for each pupil under 13 years of age to 10 points for each pupil over 17 years of age. The scale recommended by the Tribunal would give, e.g., 2 points for each pupil between 9 and 13 years of age, and only 6 points for a pupil over 17.

261 Vide supra, pp. 307-8, where one of these—the Government's need to find a speedy and acceptable solution to the impasse which developed in February 1969 in the secondary teachers' dispute—is discussed. Another was the near-impossibility of arriving at a formula, equally acceptable to the layteachers and to the school authorities, according to which such responsibility posts might be awarded.

262 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland, 1916, p. x.

263 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), pp. 19-20. Vide supra, pp. 287-8.

264 Report of the Department of Education, 1925-6-7, p. 53.

265 Ibid., 1928-9, p. 80.

266 No. 32 of 1928; vide supra, p. 14.

267 Vide Secondary Teachers' Superannuation Scheme, 1929 (S. R. & O. No. 19 of 1929), p. 2.

268 Ibid., pp. 10, 17.

269 Ibid., p. 7.

270 Ibid., pp. 8, 10.

271 Report of the Department of Education, 1929-30, p. 60.

272 Ibid.

273 Vide Secondary Teachers' Superannuation (Amendment) Scheme, 1932 (S. R. & O. No. 54 of 1932); ibid., 1933 (S. R. & O. No. 107 of 1933); ibid., 1935 (S. R. & O. No. 48 of 1935); ibid., 1942 (S. R. & O. No. 141 of 1942); ibid., 1947 (S. R. & O. No. 358 of 1947); ibid., 1949 (S.I.. No..322 of 1949); ibid., 1951 (S.I. No. 48 of 1951); ibid., 1952 (S.I. No. 56 of 1952); ibid., 1954 (S.I. No. 234 of 1954); ibid., 1956 (S.I. No. 153 of 1956); ibid., 1963 (S.I. No. 112 of 1963); ibid., (No. 2) (S.I. No. 244 of 1963); ibid., 1966 (S.I. No. 125 of 1966); ibid., 1967 (S.I. No. 46 of 1967). The texts of the subsequent changes have still to be published: that of 1968 permitting teachers in certain circumstances to continue in approved teaching service for a period of not more than three months beyond the normal time of retirement provided such retention enabled such teachers to complete an additional year of service for pension purposes (vide Dáil, CCXXXVI, (9/7/1968), 545-6); and that of 1969 providing for pensions for widows and orphans of deceased teachers (vide infra, pp. 311-12.

274 Vide Secondary Teachers' Superannuation (Amendment) Scheme, 1951 (S.I. No. 48 of 1951), p. 3.

275 Teachers' Salaries Committee (1960), p. 46.

276 Vide Secondary Teachers' Superannuation (Amendment) Scheme, 1951, p. 17, where it is provided that in the case of a person to whom this part of the Scheme applies and to whom a pension is not payable because of inadequate length of teaching service, there may be paid to him a gratuity (known as a disablement gratuity) equal to one-twelfth of his pensionable salary multiplied by a number equal to the number of completed years of his gratuity service.

277 Ibid., p. 15.

278 Ibid.

279 Ibid., p. 17.

280 Ibid., p. 7.

281 Ibid., p. 13.

282 Vice-Regal Committee (1919), pp. 19-20. Vide supra, p. 287.

283 Vide 'Outline of Pension Scheme for Teachers in England and Wales', Secondary Teacher, II, No. 8 (October,1967), pp. 5-7.

284 Department of Education, 'Contributory Pensions Scheme for the Widows and Children [sic] of National and Secondary Teachers' (unclassified four-page circular, issued to teachers in August 1969), p. 1; hereafter referred to as 'Contributory Pensions Scheme for Widows and Children' (1969). A further three-page 'Explanatory Memorandum on the Widows' and Orphans' [sic] Pension Scheme' was also circulated, but, judging from normal

practice, the relevant Statutory Instrument is unlikely to be published for some considerable time. Neither the reference to 'children' in the main circular nor that to 'orphans' in the explanatory memorandum would seem to be fully adequate, since the Scheme makes provision both for children (whose mother is still alive) of deceased male teachers, and for orphans (both of whose parents are dead), and both documents purport to treat of the whole Scheme.

285 'Contributory Pensions Scheme for Widows and Children' (1969), p. 1.

286 Ibid., p. 2.

287 Ibid.

APPENDIXES

Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Examinations, 1903

Senior Grade I R I S H Pass

Saturday, 20th June—Morning, 10 a.m. to 1 p.m.

Examiner, Kuno Meyer, Ph.D.

I Translate into Irish:-

(a) The English had a fortress to the north of Armagh, in which they placed three hundred of their best soldiers to hold it against the Cinel Conaill. But O'Neill placed the same number opposite them, and O'Donnell also came to aid O'Neill. Both of them ordered their people to attack the fortress. Then they made a fierce attack upon it, but a great number of them were wounded and killed, and they gained nothing thereby. So they retired and went to their homes.

(b) It is a pity indeed that there is no good Irish Dictionary, but there is one in preparation now.

(c) Though he was a poor man he was highly esteemed by all of us.

(d) I owe you fourteen shillings, but I cannot pay you at present.

(e) He prepared a great feast and invited all his neighbours and friends.

(f) When the lad grew up, his mother sent him to school and gave him money to buy books.

II Translate into English:-

(a) Annsain d'ionnsuigheadar a chéile mar dhá leomhan lonnacha luaith-fheargacha, nó mar dhá nathair nimhe neimheaglacha, nó mar dhá tharbh do-ionghabhála troda. Dorinneadar comhrac féigh fuilteach faobhrach coimhneartmhar calma croidheamhail comh-uaibhreach roinnmhear reachtmhar ró-ghoineach bonn-mhall bas-luath béimeannach láimh-dhearg láidir luath-ghoineach. Cidh trácht do bhíodar ar an gcomhthuargaint sin ag gearradh corp & cneas a chéile go cionn trí lá & teóra oidhche gan

codladh gan suan gan comhnaidhe, & ag eirghe gréine an ceathramhadh lá do thug Conán treasbhéim coimh-neartmhar sgrios-fhaobhrach chum Aonghuis, gur theilg a cheann dá chaomh-cholainn..

Parse troda, trácht, teóra. Give the first person singular of the present and future tense indicative and the infinitive of dorinneadar. Derive adjectives from lá, grian, aimsir.

(b) Do líon na hallmhuraigh isteach annsin, ar dtús go lag, acht do réir mar do bhí ag éirghe, bhíodar ag dul i dtreiseacht, ag cur a gcleathach i dtalamh & ag faghail ghreama níos doichte & níos daingne ó lá go lá. Do chuaidh cuid do chloinn na béithe (.i. na mná .i. Éirenn) & do throideadar leó & do mharbhadar iad, acht níor chuireadar go léir le chéile, 'nuair thainig cuallacht eile thar lear arís chum na tíre ar fad do bhaint di. Troid an méid do throid aca go cródha, acht bhí ceannairc 'na measg féin, i n-áit í chaitheamh uatha, táthadh le chéile & aon lom-bhuille amháin do bhualadh i n-éinfheacht ar an námhaid, is amhlaidh leigiodar do shleamhnughadh isteach eatorra.

State the derivation of allmhurach, treiseacht, and cuallacht. Give the rule by which greama is aspirated in ag faghail ghreama.

(c) Cois taoibhe abhann sínte is né tráth i ndé,
Ag smuaineamh ar chlaoin-bheartaibh gnáis an tsaoghail,
Chuir síol flatha is saoithe d'fhuil ársa Gaedheal,
Tar taoide fá dhaoirse gan scáth ná réim.

Tig ríoghan lem thaoibh-se dob áilne scéimh
Dár shíolruigh ó phríomh-shleachtaibh Áda is Éibh;
Bhí a dlaoighthe léi ar mhín-chrith go bárr an fhéir,
Is í ag caoi frasa caointeacha cráidhte déar.

Describe the metre of this poem. Give the nominative singular of flatha and saoithe. Parse dob áilne scéimh and shíolruigh.

III (a) Give some account of the functions and position of the file and bard.

(b) State what you know of any one of the following works:- Seanchus Mór, Leabhar na hUidhre, Cath Fionntrágha, Dinnsheanchus.

(c) Mention some of the extant annals of Ireland.

(d) Mention the titles of some of the tales of the Ossianic or Fenian cycle, sketching briefly the contents of one of them.

Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Examinations, 1906

Junior Grade I R I S H Honours

Saturday, 16th June—Morning, 10 a.m. to 12 noon

Examiner, Agnes O'Farrelly, M.A.

I Translate into Irish:-

A

(a) Connemara is a beautiful country.
(b) It is I who went to Drogheda on St. Patrick's Day.
(c) Throw that stone over the wall.

B

One day in springtime Una was in the meadow down by the river. The day was bright and she saw a speckled trout in the water. "I would like to bring home that trout;" said Una to herself. But when she stooped down to catch it, she fell into the water. There was a man working in the field on the other side of the river, and when he saw Una falling he jumped in and saved her.

II Translate into English:-

(a) Bhí cailín fad ó i dtigh na mbráithre agus ní bhíodh aon teóra leis an méid oibre bhíodh sí a chur roimpi le déanamh.

Is cuma cad a bheadh gan déanamh agus b'fhéidir go mbeadh sé gan déanamh ar feadh ráithe, nuair déarfaidhe leis an gcailín é 'dhéanamh, 'sé an freagra bhíodh aici i gcómhnuidhe: "Ó bhíos chum é sin a dhéanamh mé féin."

(b) Níor bh'fhada dhóibh ag dul a bhaile agus is ar an ngiolla a bhí an t-áthas nuair a sgar sé leis an nduine uasal ar shráid Chill' Áirne agus a leath-ghiní 'n-a phóca aige de bharr an lae. Bhí an fear eile searbh go leor de féin agus d'obair an lae. 'Sé an chéad fhear a bhuail uime ar an tsráid ná oifigeach na gconnstábla.

Ar seisean, "Níor cheapas go mbeitheá ar n-ais chomh luath. Ná raibh an fear 'sa bhaile?"

Parse déarfaidhe which occurs in (a), and write short notes on de bharr an lae and a bhuail uime which

occur in (b). Give the present and past autonomous forms of brisim and déanaim.

(c) D'éirigh an chaint chonh dána soin eatorra fá dheireadh, nár bh'fhéidir an sgéal a réidhteach gan cuid gach éinneach a chur i gcomórtas le cuid an duine eile. Tugadh amach annsin gach a raibh ag Meidhbh, idir ór & airgead, seóid agus péarlaí, síodaí & sról, beathadhach ceithre gcos & gach éinnídh eile d'á raibh aici, & cuireadh fré chéile iad. Rinneadh an cleas céadna le naoin Oiliolla, & 'sé an oiread céadna bhí ag duine & bhí ag an duine eile, cé is moite do tharbh breagh bhí ag Oilioll thar nar bhí ag Meidhbh.

Give a short account of the druids of ancient Ireland.

(For Translation at Sight)

III Translate into English:-

Is baoghlach go bhfuil mór-chuid aca sínte fé'n gcré & ag tabhairt an fhéir, acht pé 'ca marbh nó beo iad, tagann na deora im' shúilibh nuair a chuimhnighim ar an sean-aimsir, & mise im' gharsún ag suidhe ar an gclaidhe & b'fhéidir anois & arís ag caitheamh sgraith nó cadhráin le garsún eile a bhí nar né féin, go héadtrom aerach ar an gclaidhe eile, ar m'aghaidh anonn. Ní féidir ceann críona a chur ar cholainn óig & sin nar is fearr an sgéal. Tagann annró & anaithe an tsaoghail luath go leor orainn.

Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Examinations, 1910

Senior Grade E N G L I S H Pass

Tuesday, 14th June--Afternoon, 4p.m. to 6.30p.m.

Examiner, P. J. Merriman, M.A.

Composition

Write a composition on one, and only one, of the following subjects:-

(a) The influence of Donald Bean Lean on Waverley's Career.

(b) The Loyalty of the MacIvors.

Literature

(Students must attempt the first question.)

1 Write whatever notes you think necessary on any four of the following passages:-

(a) "Or with pale beggar-fear impeach my height
Before this out-dared dastard."

(b) "Now he that made me knows I see thee ill
Ill in myself to see, and in thee seeing ill."

(c) "And love to Richard
Is a strange brooch in this all-hating world."

(d) "The streams were perennial which fed his fisc."

(e) "I can feel for all indifferently, but I cannot feel towards all equally."

(f) "These almost clergy imps who sport their cloth without assumption."

(Students must attempt not more than two of the following questions.)

2 How far does the author enlist our sympathy on the side of Richard, by his method of delineating that character?

or,

Consider the Duke of York in his relations to King Richard and to King Henry.

3 What may be deduced from the Essays of Elia as to Lamb's literary tastes? To what extent did his reading affect his style?

or,

Show by reference to the Dissertation upon Roast Pig how far that essay is typical of Lamb's peculiar characteristics.

4 (a) Consider briefly the relevancy of the Aumerle plot (Act V) to the main theme of Richard II.

(b) "It is not books, or pictures, or the stories of foolish servants, which create these terrors in children." What does Lamb bring forward in support of this statement? What peculiar idea does he throw out about dreams?

Appendix B.2

Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Examinations, 1906

Junior Grade

ENGLISH LITERATURE

AND COMPOSITION

Tuesday, 12th June—Afternoon, 4 to 6 p.m.

Examiner, William Magennis, M.A.

English Composition

(NOTE: The examiners have instructions to withold marks in the cases of compositions which are irrelevant.)

Write a short essay on one, and only one, of these subjects (suggested by Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare):-

(a) How Oliver became a good man.

(b) The fault of Cordelia, and what it brought on her.

(c) Hamlet's pretence of being mad; why he thought of it; how he kept it up; and what came of it.

(d) Ariel.

(e) Timon's refusal to save Athens.

English Literature

(The candidates must not attempt more than four questions, selecting two of the four from Section A and two from Section B. The number of marks attached to each question is the same in both sections.)

SECTION A

Steele: Selected Essays

1 What does Steele mean by a "story-teller"? Why does he look upon a tedious talker as worse than a tedious writer? Do you agree with the reason that he gives for his opinion?

2 How does Steele show the difference between wise thrift and miserliness?

3 What have you learned about the manners and the dress of Society in Steele's day from reading these essays of his?

4 (a) What does Steele take to be "that great end of education"? Give briefly his explanation of his view.
(b) Was Ellen Douglas educated in Steele's sense of this word?

5 What was meant, in the time of Queen Anne, by a man of honour, a fine gentleman, a man of quality? Compare Roderick Dhu and one of those gentlemen.

6 Which of the essays in this selection from Steele do you consider the most amusing, and which the most instructive? Explain your reasons for thinking so.

SECTION B

Scott: The Lady of the Lake, Cantos I and II

7 What do you like in the character of Malcolm Graeme? Why did Roderick dislike him? How do you know that he is young? Has he Steele's "art of being agreeable"?

8 What did the old bard think was the meaning of his harp's failure to "sound the glory of the Graeme"? How did Ellen account for it?

9 "What think'st thou of our stranger guest"? Who was the guest? What did Allan say of the guest in reply to this question? What, in your view, did Ellen really think of the stranger?

10 "The hunter . . paused, so strange the road,
So wondrous were the scenes it showed."

Describe the road, and mention some of the wonders that the hunter saw from it.

Appendix C

Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Examinations, 1906

Junior Grade F R E N C H Honours

Tuesday, 19th June—Morning, 10 a.m. to 12 noon.

Examiner, Katharine Hogan, M.A.

Composition

1 Translate into French:-

(a) How beautiful spring is! Let us all go out together to spend our holiday in the woods.

Mother will give us our dinner to bring with us, so that we need not return home until evening.

We shall gather violets, the sweetest flowers that can be found, which grow in abundance near the stream.

(b) A German general who was noted for his kindness of heart was walking one day in the public gardens of Berlin, when he saw a young man anxiously searching for something on the ground. Having learned that the lost object was a small souvenir of the young man's dead father, the general helped him to find it and then presented him with a watch, saying that dutiful children deserved to be encouraged.

2 Translate into English:-

A

Maurice ne quittait pas son cousin d'une semelle; il était un peu dépaysé. Il n'avait jamais vu une ferme; et la grande cuisine, toute nue, avec ses chaises de paille et ses jambons pendus au plafond, son énorme cheminée avec un grand pot en fer suspendu au-dessus du feu—tout cela l'étonnait, et il ne savait au juste comment répondre à la fermière, qui parlait un peu haut et avait des gestes un peu brusques.

Mairet: La Tâche du Petit Pierre.

B

L'ABBÉ: Dire ce qu'il m'en a coûté, est impossible... mais cette idée de recréer une âme... (Il désigne Théodore)

cette sublime idée donne tant de force et de courage!... Si le cultivateur laborieux, en voyant les riches moissons qui couvrent les champs qu'il a défrichés, éprouve une jouissance proportionnée à sa peine, jugez de ce que je dois ressentir, lorsqu'au milieu de mes élèves, je vois ces infortunés percer peu à peu l'ombre qui les environne; s'animer aux premiers rayons de l'intelligence suprême; arriver par degrés au bonheur inexprimable de se communiquer leurs idées, et former autour de moi une famille intéressante, dont je suis l'heureux père...

Bouilly: L'Abbé de l'Epée.

(a) Differentiate between peu and petit, and compose two short sentences in French to illustrate this difference.

(b) Write out the present indicative of percer; and the past indefinite of s'animer.

For Translation at Sight

3 Translate into English:-

L'abbé de l'Epée venait alors de commencer à se faire connaître.

Faisant une visite à une dame, touché de pitié pour deux sourdes-muettes qu'il avait vues, par hasard, travailler à l'aiguille, la charité qui remplissait son âme s'était éveillée tout à coup, et opérait déjà des prodiges. Dans la pantomime informe de ces êtres misérables et méprisés, il avait trouvé les germes d'une langue féconde, qu'il croyait pouvoir devenir universelle. Comme la plupart des hommes de génie, il avait peut-être dépassé son but, le voyant trop grand. Quelle que pût être l'ambition de sa bonté, il apprenait aux sourds-muets à lire et à écrire. Il les replaçait au nombre des hommes.

Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Examinatio , 1912

Senior Grade **G E O M E T R Y** Honours

Wednesday, 19th June—Morning, 10 a.m. to 12 noon.

Examiner, H. C. McWeeney, M.A.

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1 In two triangles ABC and PQR, AB:AC::PQ:PR, and the angles at C and R are equal. Prove that the angles at B and Q are equal or supplementary.

2 Similar figures are similarly described on the three sides of a right-angled triangle. Prove that the figure on the hypotenuse is equal to the sum of the other two.

3 Prove that straight lines drawn across three parallel planes are divided proportionally.

4 The perpendiculars from A and B on the opposite sides of the triangle ABC meet at O. Prove that AO is double the perpendicular from the circumcentre of the triangle on the side BC.

5 Perpendiculars are let fall on the sides of a cyclic quadrilateral from any point on the circumscribing circle. Prove that the rectangle under the perpendiculars on one pair of opposite sides is equal to the rectangle under the perpendiculars on the other pair of opposite sides.

6 Three circles pass through two common points A and B. Two straight lines drawn through A meet the circles again in points P, Q, R, and X, Y, Z, respectively. Prove that PQ : QR :: XY : YZ.

7 Show how to construct a triangle ABC, being given the positions of the angular point A and the points where the bisectors of the angles B and C meet the opposite sides.

8 A and B are two points on a circle of centre C. M is a point on AB produced. The tangents at A and B meet the perpendicular through M to CM in the points P and Q. Prove that MP = MQ.

9 Given two non-intersecting straight lines in space, show how to draw a straight line meeting them both at right angles, and show that this line gives the shortest distance between the two given lines.

10 A, B, C, and D are four non-coplanar points. Points X and Y are taken in AB and CD respectively, so that AX : XB :: DY : YC. Points P and Q are taken in BC and DA respectively, so that BP : PC :: AQ : QD. Prove that the straight lines XY and PQ intersect.

[Note: All questions would seem to have been obligatory, since no indication was given as to the number of questions a candidate was required to answer.]

Intermediate Education Board for Ireland

Examinations, 1910

Senior/Middle Grades. NATURAL PHILOSOPHY Pass

Monday, 13th June—Morning, 10 a.m. to 12 noon

Examiner, Stephen B. Kelleher, M.A.

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1 Describe an experimental verification of the law of the parallelogram of forces.

2 A body of weight 50 lb. is suspended by strings whose lengths are 2 ft. and 2 ft. 8 ins. from two points in a horizontal line whose distance apart is 3 ft. 4 ins.; find the tensions of the strings.

3 Prove that the moment of the resultant of any two forces about a point in their common plane is equal to the algebraic sum of the moments of the forces about the same point.

4 From a square area ABCD the portion forming an equilateral triangle on the side AB is removed; find the distance of the centre of gravity of the remainder from CD.

5 If the velocity of a particle changes in one second from V in a given direction to V in a perpendicular direction, find the acceleration in magnitude and in direction.

6 Prove the equation: $s = ut + \frac{1}{2} t^2$ for a body moving in a straight line with constant acceleration f.

7 What constant force will reduce to rest in 10 seconds a body of weight 100 grammes, moving with a velocity of 100 centimetres per second?

8 How may the specific gravity of a body which floats on water be found?

9 Find the total pressure on one of the vertical sides of a cubical box filled with water, if the box contains 27,000 cubic centimetres.

10 Give the theory of the barometer.

[Note: All questions would seem to have been obligatory, since no indication was given as to the number of questions a candidate was required to answer.]

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I Unpublished Material

- A Official Circulars, Memoranda, Typescripts of Speeches
- B Unpublished Academic Theses
- C Other Unpublished Material

II Official Sources

- A United Kingdom (to 1922)
  - 1 Statutes
  - 2 Reports, Rules, Regulations, etc.
    - (a) Annual Reports
    - (b) Reports of Commissions of Inquiry, etc.
- B Irish Government (since 1922)
  - 1 Statutes
  - 2 Reports, Rules, Regulations, etc.
    - (a) Annual Reports
    - (b) Reports of Commissions of Inquiry, etc.
    - (c) Reports of Parliamentary Debates
    - (d) Other Material

III Secondary Sources

- A Printed Works
- B Articles in Periodicals, Bookreviews, etc.
- C List of Periodicals and Newspapers *

IV Works relating to Presentation of Material

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*Note: The inclusion of the title of a periodical or newspaper need not necessarily imply that every number of that publication has been searched for relevant material, though this has been done in the case of quite a number of them.

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