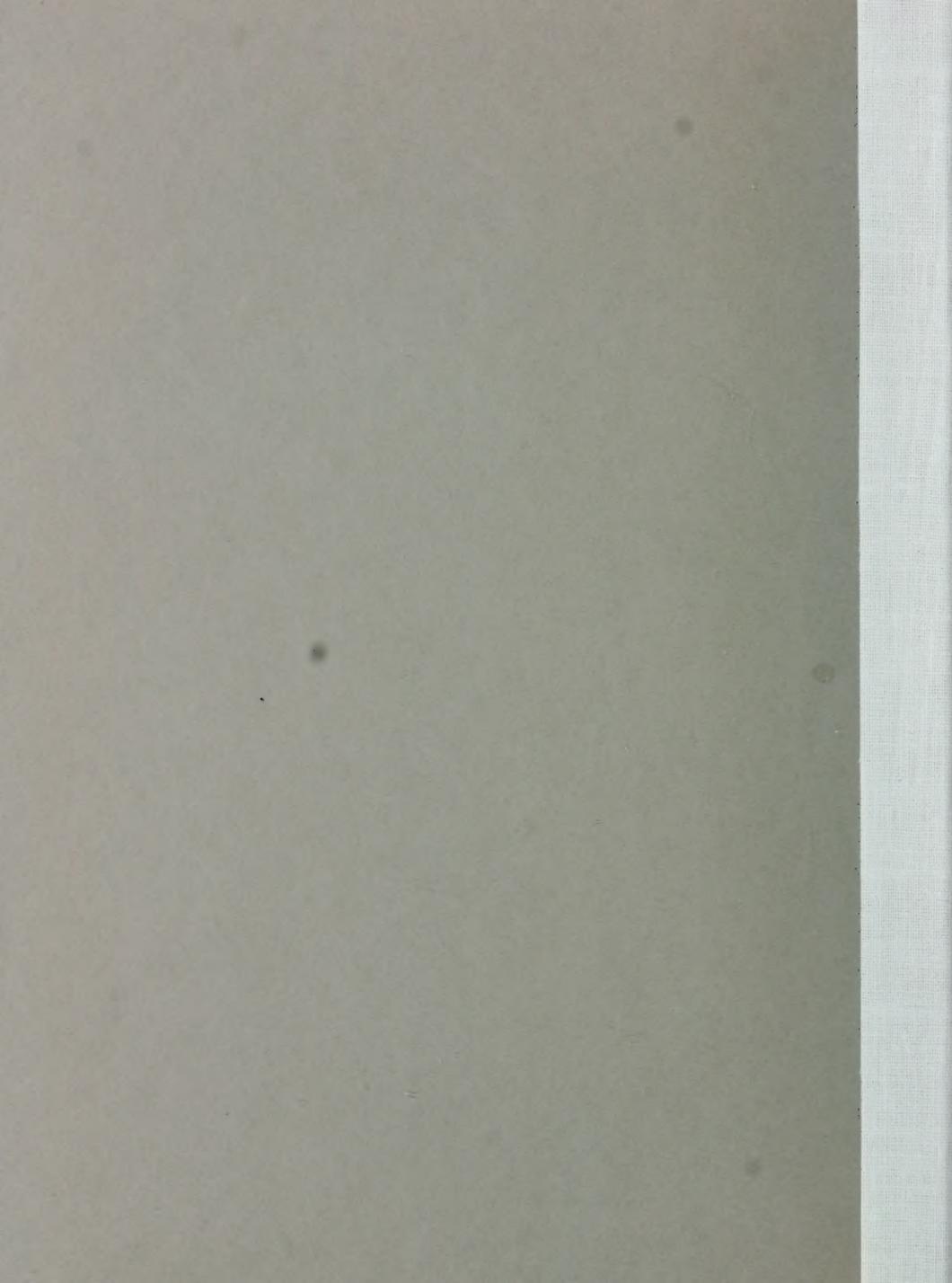




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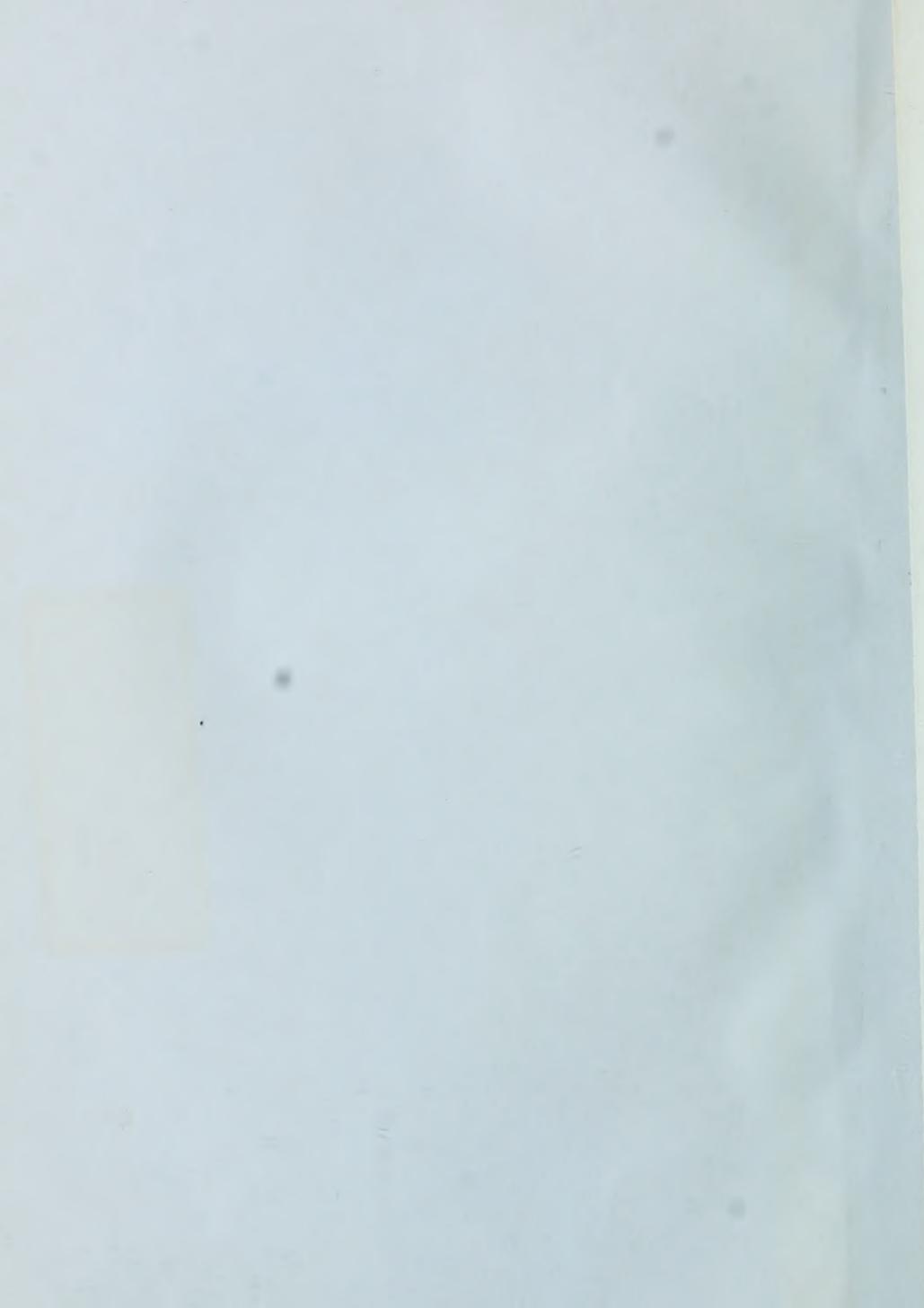
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The Irish Roman Catholic
university and Jesuits

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The Irish
Roman Catholic University
and the Jesuits

BY

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"A University for Roman Catholics will be, and must be a Roman Catholic institution, with limitations of thought corresponding to the requirements of the authoritative exponents of that creed . . . and it will be for the Government and for Parliament to judge how far the added influence which would unquestionably accrue to the Roman Catholic prelates would be exercised to the furtherance of national enlightenment and imperial strength."—*Separate Report of Lord Robertson, Chairman of the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland, 1903.*

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I

THE Bill for the endowment of a Roman Catholic University in Ireland, by the British Government, has come upon the United Kingdom with such surprise that there is some danger of its becoming law before the public has fully grasped the meaning and possible effects of the proposed legislation.

The educational "problem" in Ireland is now, and has always been: *How are the Roman Catholic laity to be educated?* Ever since Trinity College, Dublin, was founded by Queen Elizabeth, three hundred and sixteen years ago, conscientious Englishmen have been trying to solve this "problem." To the ordinary man of the world, it is not obvious why the education of the Roman Catholic Irish should be a "problem" at all.

Such a man will say: Why do they not provide for their own education, as Englishmen and Scotchmen have done? Why do not the clergy and laity unite in starting schools, as ministers and people did so long ago in Scotland; as the Church of England clergy and laity united to do in the National Society, or as the Free Churchmen united to do in the British and Foreign Schools Society? And, following these examples, why cannot the Irish Catholics take their share of the national endow-

ment for education and be satisfied, as Englishmen and Scotchmen are satisfied?

The plain answer is: These things were not done because the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, though they themselves are Irishmen, are also priests of the Roman Church, and bound to the policy of that Church in education. They have only been willing to provide a professional education for their own order, and have always been opposed to giving the laity a useful, scientific education. The reader does not require to be reminded of the policy of the Roman Church in all matters affecting the education of the laity. There are thousands now living who remember how, when Victor Emmanuel entered Rome, the headquarters of the papacy, in 1870, the illiteracy of the people in the Papal States was found to be as great as that in the Turkish Sultan's dominions across the Adriatic, though the territory of the Popes abounded in theological colleges, monasteries, and convents.

In the matter of university education for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, with which the British public is now immediately concerned, we have the solemn assurance of Lord Robertson, the eminent Scotsman who presided over the last Royal Commission on the subject, recorded in a special note to the report issued in 1903, that "a college or a university for Roman Catholics will be, and must be, a Roman Catholic institution, with limitations of thought corresponding to the requirements of the authoritative exponents of that creed." Lord Robertson says that the report of his Commission would have "at least the merit of dispelling some illusions"

on that subject—illusions entertained by people who honestly thought that a Roman Catholic university might be a place where learning would be fostered for its own sake, and with the object of increasing the sum of human knowledge.

Secular education, therefore, had to be forced upon Catholic Ireland from outside, without any active co-operation from, and mostly in opposition to, that powerful body of Irishmen who form the hierarchy and priesthood of the Roman Church in that country. The problem then resolved itself into this: *How can we educate the Irish Roman Catholics, so as to bring all the advantages of British civilisation within their reach, in spite of the opposition of the Roman Catholic bishops and priests?*

When confronted with this phase of the problem, the man of the world feels inclined to ask: If the Catholic Irish are willing to endure this autocracy, or tyranny, at the hands of their priests, why press the advantages of education upon them? Why not let them happily fulfil the inferior and more laborious, but none the less honorable and necessary, functions which fall to the lot of uneducated men and women in modern society? The answer is that the Roman Catholic Irish, under the direction of their spiritual guides, have been *mauvais sujets*, discontented, helpless, and unprofitable members of the commonwealth, always an embarrassment and often a danger to the good government of this realm; and it was hoped that enlightenment would improve their condition for the benefit of themselves and the United Kingdom.

In Protestant Ireland there was no such difficulty

to be faced ; for the bishops and clergy of the Church of Ireland and the ministers of the Presbyterian Church were, and are, not members of a great foreign politico-religious organisation, but loyal citizens of the United Kingdom, eager to keep themselves and their co-religionists abreast of the times and in the forefront of civilisation. The Church of Ireland was entirely independent, even of the Church of England ; and if, since the Union, on occasional Englishman, like Richard Whately, has obtained the archbishopric of Dublin, Ireland returned the compliment by providing York with one of its most eminent archbishops in the person of William Magee. The Presbyterian Church in the North was similarly independent even of the Church of Scotland, and its ministers were permeated with that keen love of education for which their Scottish kinsmen are, perhaps, unrivalled.

There were differences between the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterian Church, as there were in England between the Established Church and Nonconformists ; though the Irish Presbyterian, seeing his own creed and system of Church government established by law in Scotland, only fourteen miles off across St. Patrick's Channel, never felt himself in precisely the same position as the English Dissenter or Free Churchman. We need not go into the merits of these quarrels between Church and Dissent in Ireland ; let it suffice to say that they were squarely, if roughly, and sometimes cruelly, fought out, and were settled in that spirit of toleration and self-helpfulness characteristic of all those reformed Christian Churches

which are collectively, if inadequately, designated Protestant.

Though the Episcopalians and Presbyterians of Ireland are as Irish as the Roman Catholics—many of the descendants of the oldest Celtic clans being Protestants, while many of the descendants of Cromwell's Puritan soldiery are Catholics—they never once wavered, since the Union, in their loyalty to the United Kingdom, being, in that respect, at many a critical conjuncture, more loyal than a considerable section of Englishmen themselves. Their ability is self-evident, not only in the glorious part they have taken in building up the empire and carrying on the government of the three kingdoms, but also in fostering and creating industries and manufactures in Ireland itself. So much is this the case, that it may be said without possibility of refutation that if one were to eliminate the "Protestant" fraternity from commercial Ireland, there would be little left but vacancy and bankruptcy.

The explanation of all this "Protestant" success, as contrasted with the non-success of Irish "Catholics," may be put negatively thus: There was amongst the Protestants no ruling religious caste whose monopoly would be interfered with by the spread of enlightenment and education. Neither the parsons of the Church of England nor the ministers of the Presbyterian Church ever tried to maintain their power by deliberately keeping their people in ignorance. Nay, if, at any time, they had adopted such a policy, they would assuredly have been frustrated by the self-helpfulness and independence of the laity.

But, though the Protestants of Ireland are, on the

whole, as capable a body of citizens as are to be found anywhere in the United Kingdom, it must not be inferred from this that they are all men who have received, or desire, a university, or even a college education. They know too well that, while book-learning and the culture of a university training are excellent things, there are many other accomplishments far more useful to the country and more profitable to the possessor. One frequently finds in Belfast, which is now having a university forced upon it, that the sons of well-to-do merchants, instead of going to the Queen's College, are sent to Harland and Wolff's, and other large concerns, to serve their full time as apprentices, working with the mechanics, consorting with the labourers, and learning the trade from the very foundation.

Having said so much, by way of preface, as to the position of Catholic and Protestant in Ireland with reference to education, and their relative value to the commonwealth, let us now consider the successive efforts made by the United Kingdom to educate the Irish Catholics so as to make them better citizens, and let us try to understand the long game of cross-purposes which has been played between the British Government and the Roman ecclesiastics in Ireland, giving due credit to both sides for good intentions, and admitting that each side acted for the best from its own point of view.

II

The first public grant expressly made for the education of Catholics in Ireland was a yearly one of

£8,000, voted by the Irish Parliament for a new college at Maynooth in 1795, three years before the Irish Rebellion and five years before the Union ; and it was given, not for the education of priests merely, but for the higher education of Roman Catholics in general. In the preceding year, 1794, Trinity College, Dublin, the one university endowment in the country, had amended its statutes, so as to permit Roman Catholics not only to enter but to graduate ; and this grant was apparently given as an experiment to enable Roman Catholics to use the valuable privileges thus placed at their disposal. If it proved successful it might form the nucleus of an endowment, to be increased by private generosity and by the State, out of which should grow a second college, within the University of Dublin, to provide for Roman Catholics who evinced a real desire for learning, but had conscientious and other objections to Trinity College.

The yearly grant was continued after 1800 by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and an additional vote of £5,000, in augmentation of a like sum from private contributions, was given for new buildings, which now seems quite regular and in accordance with what has since become established procedure.

If the episcopal and clerical managers of Maynooth had honestly tried to educate laymen as well as ecclesiastics, the Maynooth experiment might have been deemed successful. But, instead of doing this, the Roman Church authorities changed the character of the institution by degrees, and within twenty years made it an exclusively theological seminary, to which a few lay students were admitted as an act of

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grace. During my lifetime I knew of one elderly professional man who used to be pointed out as a curiosity because he had been educated at Maynooth. He was not a "spoiled priest," who had intended to enter the Church and had lost his vocation, but one who went there as to an open Catholic college for higher education. He represented all that Maynooth had ever done for the laity. These lay students were obviously kept in the college for appearance' sake, and to ensure the grant. But the teaching of theology, ritual, and the other technicalities of the priestly profession was the serious business of the institution.

In 1829 a new epoch in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was opened by the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, which enabled Roman Catholics to be returned to Parliament. In that year Daniel O'Connell took his seat for the County Clare, and it is a noteworthy fact that the Irish Liberator was the first Irishman on the popular side to make use of the Roman Catholic bishops and priests for political ends in Ireland. A Roman Catholic, and a man of the highest natural talent, educated at St. Omer and Douay in the years following the French Revolution, O'Connell had been called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1798, the year of the Irish Rebellion, his co-religionists having been admitted a short time before to the privilege of practising in the Law Courts.

He acquired a great practice, and became the leader of an agitation for the complete emancipation of Roman Catholics, which resulted in the passage

of the Act of 1829. Measuring all lay Catholics by his own high standard of ability, he had no fear of priestly domination, and called the priests into partnership with him on the political platform, first for Catholic emancipation and then for repeal of the Union. He little foresaw that the terms of the partnership, in the new political firm of Priest and Layman, were destined to be so soon reversed, and that the layman, instead of being the predominant partner, would sink to the position of a mere cipher and a drudge.

Maynooth had started with fifty students; but by the year 1831 it had between three and four hundred, and had become the chief recruiting depôt for the Roman Catholic priesthood. Its history illustrates how the Roman priesthood monopolised, for the theological and technical education of their own order, a State grant meant for the higher education of Roman Catholics in general.

III

The next well-meaning effort of the British Government was one to secure for the illiterate lay Roman Catholics a good elementary education, which would enable them to benefit by the freedom conferred on them by the Emancipation Act of 1829. Bearing in mind the unpromising result of the experiment at Maynooth, where the Roman Catholic bishops were the sole trustees, it was now determined to try a scheme of "national, united education" for children, under which Protestants

and Catholics should receive practically similar treatment.

For this purpose Earl Grey's Liberal Government voted a sum of money to the Lord-Lieutenant, in 1831, to be spent in promoting the education of poor children of every creed. This was a *bona fide* effort to give the Irish Roman Catholic people a good secular education; and, at the same time, an attempt to prevent the Roman Catholic bishops and priests from either diverting the money to their own purposes or otherwise preventing the poor people from getting the education which the Government intended them to receive.

The Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquess of Anglesey, entrusted the administration of the money to a mixed Board of Protestant and Roman Catholic Commissioners; but Richard Whately was the man to whom belongs the credit of launching and pioneering the national system of education in Ireland. He was appointed Archbishop of Dublin by Earl Grey, the Liberal Premier, in 1831, just when the system was introduced.

An eminent scholar from Oxford, without previous parochial or diocesan experience, he seems to have come to Ireland expressly to confer a system of good elementary education on the Irish Roman Catholics from outside, because there was no Roman Catholic bishop, who had at once the will and the power and could be relied upon to do that necessary work from within.

He had many difficulties to contend with. As an Englishman, he was received with disfavour by a large party in the Church of Ireland; but, looking

back now, it seems evident that no Irishman in his position would have got as fair a chance from the Roman Catholic hierarchy as Whately did. The bent of Whately's mind is illustrated by his founding a chair of political economy in Trinity College, Dublin, in the very year after he arrived in that city. He was a pioneer of social science and a man of the most liberal views in religion.

Such was the man who became the working head of the Commissioners appointed to carry out the scheme of "national, united education," the idea underlying which was to get Protestants and Catholics into the same school and make them friendly to each other in youth, giving them precisely the same education on all secular subjects, and studiously eschewing dogma and all contentious points of religion. By this means it was hoped that Ireland would be put in a fair way towards achieving the prosperity and content which England and Scotland were then beginning to enjoy.

It is a libel on Whately, as well as on Lord Grey, to say that either of them was actuated by any intention of proselytising. The truth is that both the Archbishop and the Government had to encounter the opposition of the strictest and most conscientious section of the Irish Protestants for their liberality to the Catholics, who were thus put on an equality for the first time with the members of the hitherto dominant religion.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin at that time was Daniel Murray, who, when Whately arrived, was sixty-three years old. He was a man of great diocesan experience, having been, first,

Coadjutor Bishop of Dublin for fourteen years, and he had been Archbishop for eight years when Whately came to the Irish capital. He was the son of an ordinary Irish tenant farmer in County Wicklow, on the borders of Wexford, and received his education as a boy at a Protestant school in Dublin at the end of the eighteenth century, and afterwards went for his degree to the Spanish University of Salamanca.

He was a broad-minded man, and, perhaps, one of the best types of Roman Catholic prelate that we have record of in Ireland. Devoid of bigotry, he was sedulously loyal to the interests of Roman Catholicism as a religion, and, while he is still remembered with respect in general circles in Dublin, he is spoken of in religious circles as the introducer and founder of the Order of Sisters of Charity in Ireland.

Murray took a seat on the Board of National Education with Dr. Whately, and those two men—great men, as they deserve to be called—cordially agreed in thinking that Protestant and Catholic children might safely learn reading, writing, arithmetic, and other secular subjects in peace together, without coming to blows about religion.

But Whately and Murray performed a more wonderful feat than this, for they agreed between themselves on a course of Scripture extracts dealing with the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, such as are admitted by Roman Catholics and Protestants alike; and the book thus agreed on was adopted and taught in the National Schools with the greatest success. Whately also wrote a text-book

entitled "Introductory Lessons on Christian Evidence," of which an abridgment was used in the National Schools with the approval of Archbishop Murray.

The Protestant Archbishop, moreover, wrote a number of school manuals, of the highest excellence, on subjects unconnected with religion, which were adopted by the Board and taught in the schools, thus giving the pupils the advantage of having their text-books written for them by one of the greatest scholars and educationalists in the United Kingdom. Whately literally sacrificed himself for the Irish Catholics, because his generosity to them excited the jealousy and hostility of a large but narrow-minded section of the hitherto dominant Protestants, who gave him a great deal of trouble. However, it must be admitted, to the credit of the Protestants as a whole, that they did not thwart Whately's policy, though they might well be excused for thinking it to their own disadvantage.

Those times of Whately and Murray seem like a golden age, as we look back upon them now; especially when we remember that the work of National Education was being quietly pushed on, while O'Connell's monster meetings for repeal of the Union were being held all over the country. It was a time of great political energy, a veritable Irish renaissance. The population had been increasing year by year since the Union, until, in 1841, it reached the unparalleled figure of 8,175,124, considerably over half the then population of England and Wales, and more than treble that of Scotland. Dr. Murray earned the respect of all parties, and, under his wise guidance, the Catholics of Ireland seemed in a fair

way to achieve prosperity and realise the benefits of the Catholic Emancipation Act.

Within fourteen years after the establishment of the system, the number of schools in operation had risen from 789 to 3,426, and the number of pupils from 107,042 to 432,844.

Encouraged by this success, Sir Robert Peel passed an Act, in 1845, for the establishment of three colleges, known as Queen's Colleges, at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, intended to supply a high-class education, at a very moderate fee, to young men of all religious denominations. The reasonable expectation was that the spirit of amity and brotherhood which had been cultivated in the National Schools would also prevail in the new colleges. It is as unjust to accuse Sir Robert Peel of *mala fides*, or of a desire to proselytise Roman Catholics, by the foundation of these colleges, as it was to accuse Whately and Lord Grey of similar intentions in founding the National Schools.

The blessedness of the religious truce then prevailing found expression in the public acknowledgment by the Government of the rank of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, in the same year as the Queen's Colleges Act was passed, and in the official offer of a seat on the Irish Privy Council to Archbishop Murray, a well-deserved honour, creditable alike to Sir Robert Peel and to Dr. Murray. It is to be regretted that Dr. Murray refused the distinction; but, dependent as they are upon voluntary contributions, the Roman ecclesiastics have always feared that they should lose the support of the public if they openly joined the Government.

In the same year the grant from the Consolidated Fund to Maynooth College was more than trebled, being permanently increased to £26,360 per annum, a sum equal to the *combined annual grant* for the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, and a *lump sum of £30,000* was given to it for new buildings!

By that time Maynooth College had become, more than ever, a theological seminary, where no secular education was given, save the limited instruction of that kind which priests receive, and whatever hopes may have been entertained by the Irish Parliament, which had endowed the place in 1795, had been completely disappointed. But though the college now made no pretence of educating laymen, the British Government seems to have hoped that the provision for general education might be increased as the result of this new and generous endowment.

After the passage of the Queen's Colleges and Maynooth Endowment Acts in 1845, the State provision for higher education in Ireland consisted of (a) two colleges at Cork and Galway, providing for the Roman Catholic provinces of Munster and Connaught, where the majority of the people were Roman Catholic; (b) one college at Belfast, for the province of Ulster, where the bulk of the Irish Presbyterians resided; (c) Maynooth College, centrally situated in the province of Leinster, and quite close to Dublin, with a larger endowment than any of the other colleges. There was no such fresh provision made for higher education in England at that time, nor has any ever been made, on a

proportionately generous scale, even to the present day.

It was now hoped, and not unreasonably, that, even if the priests took the whole of the new Maynooth grant for themselves and gave the Leinster laymen nothing, they would at least allow the Munster and Connaught laymen to take advantage of the new colleges at Cork and Galway.

The system of education adopted in the new colleges was that which had proved so successful in the National Schools, no theology or religion being permitted in the curriculum; but, as an additional safeguard against any tampering with the religious beliefs of the students, salaried Deans of Residence were allowed to be appointed, Roman Catholic priests to look after the Catholic students and Protestant clergymen to supervise the Protestant students. Nay, besides the Deans of Residence, the first President of the College at Galway was a Roman Catholic priest, Dean Kirwan!

Speaking of the Queen's Colleges Act, Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, said, "Security must be taken that, in the lectures, theological opportunities are not seized of making those lectures the vehicle of any particular religious tenets."

The Queen's Colleges worked successfully for some years, though O'Connell had opposed them, declaring that: "We, the Catholics of Ireland, will not trust the faith of our people to the guardianship of the Crown." That was precisely what the Catholics were not asked to do; for, though the Crown nominated the governing body of each college—namely, the President and Professors—it debarred them from

touching religion, and contrived an additional, specially-devised check upon them, in the appointment of clerical Deans of Residence.

O'Connell's outburst was not seriously taken. He died in 1847, the year of the great famine, before the college buildings were completed. At his death, the poor Catholics of Ireland were dying in thousands, of fever and starvation, and it was the British Government, so long held up by him to public odium, which nobly and promptly came to their rescue, by voting for relief works, in the single parliamentary session of 1847, no less than ten millions sterling. This generosity was followed in 1848 by the abortive little rising known as Smith O'Brien's, which was instantly suppressed.

The three Queen's Colleges were built, and, after working successfully for some years, were incorporated as the Queen's University in 1850, with full power to confer degrees in arts, science, law, medicine, and engineering.

IV

In the year 1850 occurred an event of great importance, and, as I believe, entailing great misfortune upon Ireland. In that year Paul Cullen came to Ireland as Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, in succession to Archbishop Crolly, having been appointed by Pope Gregory XVI., who disregarded the three names sent forward for his approval by the clergy of Armagh. Gregory died immediately after making the appointment, but it was confirmed by his successor, Pius IX.

Paul Cullen's career presented a curious contrast to that of Daniel Murray. Like Murray, he was the son of a Roman Catholic tenant-farmer. He was born in County Carlow in 1803, and received his first education, in the days before the Catholic Emancipation Act, at a school kept by a well-remembered Quaker family, named Shackleton, at Ballytore, in County Kildare.

At that time the Quakers themselves were as much persecuted as the Roman Catholics, not only in Ireland but in England; but they loved education, and, having the will, they soon found the way, and proved that no earthly power could prevent them from giving education to themselves and any others who desired to receive it at their hands. In the case of the Roman Catholics, the will was wanting on the part of the bishops and priests, who ruled the laity, and therefore no way could be found. Although Dr. Murray was prepared to co-operate with Dr. Whately, which was greatly to his credit, he stands out as a brilliant exception to his order; and moreover, though he co-operated, he could never have initiated and pioneered, as Whately did, the great scheme of "national, united education."

Cullen, with the consent of his uncle, parish priest of Graigue, took advantage of the opportunities offered by these self-helpful Friends; and it shows how little of proselytism there was at Shackleton's, when we find Cullen, on leaving the school at seventeen years of age, going straight to the College of the Propaganda at Rome to study for the priesthood. In Rome he received a narrow theological education

for nine years, and was ordained priest there in 1829, having won the applause of the Pope himself by his theological ability.

For nineteen years after ordination he filled the posts, first of vice-rector, and afterwards of rector, of the Irish College at Rome, acting as the agent of the Irish bishops in most of their negotiations with the Papacy. The Irish farmer's son ceased to be an Irishman and became a religious politician, permeated with the old imperial ideas of the Romans, which then found concrete expression in the policy of his master, Pius IX.

So highly was he thought of at Rome that, in 1848, he was appointed rector of the Propaganda College. And when, soon afterwards, Pius IX. had to fly from Rome and the Revolutionists, under Mazzini, took possession of the city, Paul Cullen distinguished himself by placing the college under the protection of General Cass, the American Minister, and thereby saved it from destruction.

It was after this exploit that he was appointed to the Archbishopric of Armagh and Primacy of all Ireland.

Almost his first act on his arrival in Ireland in 1850 was to issue an official denunciation of "mixed education" in every grade, elementary, secondary, and university. That was the name he coined for the system of "united education," under which Protestant and Catholic children were growing up as brothers and sisters in the National Schools; and under which Protestant and Catholic young men were learning to know and trust each other, as fellow-citizens, in the new Queen's University,

studying for their professions, side by side, in amity. Coming, as he did, direct from Rome, where he had resided for thirty years, Cullen's condemnation was as efficacious for its purpose as if it had been delivered by the Pope himself. The native-bred Irish clergy were powerless before their new master, even if some had the will to oppose him. Archbishop Murray himself, whose policy was thus rudely brushed aside, was eighty-two years old and incapable of resistance.

Cullen had not been many months at Armagh when he exercised his authority by summoning a synod of prelates and clergy at Thurles, the first assembly of the kind held by the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland since the Synod of Kilkenny, which had been summoned by Rinuccini, the Papal Legate, in 1642.

Dr. Murray attended this Cullen synod, at which an official condemnation of the Queen's Colleges as "godless colleges," and places "dangerous to faith and morals," as well as a resolution to establish a Roman Catholic University, were passed with apparent unanimity. This denunciation of the Queen's Colleges was absolutely devoid of foundation. We find in the report of Father O'Connor, Roman Catholic Dean of Residence at Cork Queen's College, for that very year, issued in the next year, 1851, the following conclusive testimony: "I have not yet seen, nor have the students experienced, danger to either faith or morals in Queen's College, Cork."

Two years afterwards, in 1852, the decrees of the Thurles Synod were promulgated in all the Roman Catholic churches in Ireland, and thenceforward it

became a question of faith and salvation to boycott the Queen's Colleges and the National Schools. And then began such a campaign of merciless and persistent calumny as no other body but the Roman Church could devise and execute, but for which European history, unhappily, affords many parallels. Its injustice to the British Government, great as it was, was only trivial in its results, compared with the irremediable wrongs and sufferings it inflicted on the Roman Catholic laity.

Dr. Murray died in February, 1852, and Dr. Cullen was unanimously elected by the priests of Dublin as their Archbishop. Pius IX., recognising that Cullen was the most efficient instrument the Papacy ever had in Ireland, confirmed the selection, and he was translated from Armagh to the Irish capital. Though this was technically a step down for him, it really gave him greater power, for his income was far larger in Dublin than at Armagh, he was at the centre of the government of the country instead of being in a remote provincial town, and he was made Delegate Apostolic for Ireland.

The Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Eglinton, at once offered him the seat on the Board of National Education which had been vacated by Dr. Murray. Cullen refused to accept it. He denounced the reading-books which had been compiled by Whately and approved by Murray, and which were being used with such good results in the schools, singling out for special denunciation the Scripture extracts and the lessons on Christian Evidence. He demanded that those books should be struck out of the school curriculum. His deputies on the Board of National Education formally

proposed that this should be done; the Protestant members weakly deserted Archbishop Whately, and the books were rejected by a majority of the Board.

Archbishop Whately took the only course open to an honourable man, and he resigned his position on the Board in 1852, being then sixty-five years old, and having pioneered the National Education system of Ireland for twenty-one years. He may be said, like so many reformers, to have watered the soil of Ireland with his own blood, for, except aspersions cast upon his motives from both sides, he received little acknowledgment of his great services. During these twenty-one years the number of National Schools had grown from 789 to 5,023, and the annual grant had risen from about £30,000 to just £200,000 per annum.

The Board of National Education had established large high-class schools, called Model Schools, at various populous centres, such as Dublin, Cork, Galway, Limerick, Belfast, Londonderry, and elsewhere, in which a secondary education was given of an admirable description, and on the same friendly non-sectarian lines as in the elementary schools. They were, in fact, a species of free High School, provided by the State, an act of generosity for which there is no parallel whatever in the educational policy pursued in England.

They were being freely attended by Catholics and Protestants with great advantage, until Cullen suddenly initiated a special campaign against them, and terrified Roman Catholic parents into withdrawing their children from them.

Cullen's words were re-echoed from every altar in the land, until Catholics were impressed with the

belief that they were consigning their children to eternal damnation if they allowed them to go inside the portals of those admirable schools. The result was that in the Roman Catholic centres the Model Schools were left almost entirely to the Protestants and were very sparsely attended, while in the Protestant centres they were crowded to overflowing.

It would be difficult to estimate, and impossible to exaggerate, the evil deliberately inflicted on the lower and middle classes in Roman Catholic Ireland by this policy. And it was all the more inexcusable because, while Cullen and his colleagues were forcing the laity to reject the benefits freely offered to them in the National Schools, the Model Schools, and the Queen's University, they themselves were drawing the Government grant of £26,630 a year, and unblushingly spending it entirely on their own order at Maynooth.

I can speak with some authority, unhappily, of the result of Cullen's decrees, even thirty years after they were issued, as I was one of a group of middle-class Catholics who attended a Protestant public school in Ireland. I was fifteen when I went to that school, having previously received my education from the Christian Brothers till I was eleven, and from the Vincentian Order of priests for four years afterwards. From the Middleton public school I went on to Trinity College, where I graduated, in further defiance of the Roman decrees, while many of my contemporaries went to the Queen's College. My two brothers, younger than myself, also went to the Queen's College, and took their medical degrees there and at Edinburgh University.

Whatever spirit of anti-Romanism I have displayed, and of which I am not ashamed, was assuredly not infused into me by any of my Protestant teachers, from whom I never heard anything derogatory to the Roman Church or priesthood; it was rather the expression of the general feeling of indignation prevalent amongst my Catholic contemporaries.

The secretiveness—indeed, I may say the duplicity—of Irish Catholics, in holding different views about their bishops and priests in private from those they express in public, is a common characteristic of the laity of the Roman Church in every country; but it is, none the less, a frame of mind, and a fact, to be reckoned with, and which does not make for good citizenship.

Irish Roman Catholics have a peculiar hankering after a professional career, which Englishmen find it hard to sympathise with, or even to realise. It is caused, perhaps, by their dreamy and unpractical upbringing, which makes them afraid of and discontented with the world, and eager to take shelter under a rule or system. Hence the young men flock into the priesthood and other religious brotherhoods, and the girls into the convents. For the same reason the young men go into the Civil Service, the constabulary, or any available branch of Government employment, rather than depend on individual exertion in the open market. The Queen's University opened a road for them to the higher Civil Service and the teaching profession. Above all, it opened a way to the medical profession, to which, as Englishmen know, young Irishmen take so kindly,

for there is hardly a district in England in which one or more Irish doctors are not to be found.

Excluded from the non-religious professions, or, at all events, seriously obstructed in their desire to enter them, the Roman Catholic young men had nothing else to fall back upon which would satisfy the craving for mental occupation; for the priestly supremacy in Ireland begets a state of mind singularly adverse to inventiveness, arts and crafts, and the development of manufactures. A small percentage of Catholics attended the Model Schools in defiance of Cullen's denunciation, a larger percentage of Catholics attended the Queen's Colleges, even in the face of the Thurles decree; but in doing so they were made to feel that they and their parents were committing mortal sin, and were subjected to much unpleasantness. This, perhaps, would have only strengthened the character of the Anglo-Saxon, but it produced very bad results on the sensitive Irish nature. Cullen's Roman policy, therefore, injured those who disobeyed his decree as well as those who obeyed it.

V

While Cullen was thus ruining the philanthropic and statesmanlike plans of the British Government for the education of Irish Roman Catholics, it must not be supposed that he was in sympathy with any of the Nationalist political movements which were then afoot. He was not disposed to allow any politician to acquire a position of pre-eminence and distract the attention of Irish Catholics from the

new Archbishop of Dublin. As it was not out of friendship to Ireland that he declared war on the British Government's education policy, neither was it out of friendship to the United Kingdom that he prevented his priests, in 1853, from taking any part in the tenant-right agitation started by Sharman Crawford, an Ulster Protestant. Admitting that he was as sincere in forwarding the interests of his Church as the British Government was in forwarding those of the United Kingdom, it is, nevertheless, a lamentable fact that the material interests of the Irish Catholic laity and of the United Kingdom were and are identical, while those of the Irish Catholic laity and the Roman Church are diametrically opposed. The elevation of the Church meant the depression of the laity. It meant £26,630 a year, for instance, from the Consolidated Fund for the priests at Maynooth, and not a single penny for the Roman Catholic laity of Leinster.

Romanised Irishman as he was, Cullen had only one object in view in all his public policy, and that was the aggrandisement of the Roman Church in Ireland. By dissociating himself from the tenant-righters he hoped to please the British Government and the Irish landlords and get concessions from them in return. By violently denouncing the British Government for its education policy he hoped to please the Nationalists and retain the support of the multitude. Like an ancient Roman, his motto was *Divide et impera*; he used the Government and the people alike for his own ends, knocking their heads together, as it were, and stupefying them, so that the Roman Church might be the gainer.

In 1854 the Roman Catholic University was opened for the reception of students at Stephen's Green, Dublin, in the house now occupied by the Jesuit College, which is to receive such a large endowment under the Irish Universities Bill (1908). How gratified Cullen would have been could he have foreseen that any British Government, above all a Liberal Government, would produce such a Bill as that with which we are now confronted!

A special Sunday each year was set apart for collections in the Catholic churches all over Ireland for the maintenance of the new University, and in this way the bishops raised no less than £250,000. No account of this money was ever rendered to the public, nor is there anything to show how it went, for the outside value of the buildings at Stephen's Green and of the Medical School at Cecilia Street would not be more than £8,000, even at the present day, and the petty professorships and scholarships connected with the place must have been more than provided for by the students' fees. The Irish bishops have little reason to be proud of their financial stewardship in this matter of the Catholic University. Smaller sums than £250,000 have, as we know, sufficed to found and keep going such flourishing new universities as those at Manchester, Birmingham, and elsewhere in England.

John Henry Newman, then recently converted to the Roman Church, was brought over to Dublin to manage Dr. Cullen's Catholic University, but he soon deserted it in despair, and left nothing behind him but his pamphlet called "The Idea of a University." Under the rule of Cullen and his episcopal colleagues

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the place was like a blighted plant from the first, and its existence was a prolonged illness, ending in its death.

The bishops seem to have hoped to secure, by its means, a second large State endowment, larger than the Maynooth grant, to be administered absolutely at their own discretion. But, as such an endowment could only be given as an accompaniment to a charter, empowering Cullen and his colleagues to confer degrees in arts, science, law, medicine, and engineering, and as Parliament at that time was resolved to give no such power to the Roman Church in Ireland, the high hopes of Pius IX. and Archbishop Cullen were disappointed.

Archbishop Cullen's idea of a State-endowed Catholic University or college was "that the four Roman Catholic archbishops, for the time being, should be visitors of the said college, and their authority should be supreme in questions regarding religion and morals, AND ALL OTHER THINGS"! He further demanded that the four visitors should be "trustees of all property belonging to the College"! That is still the idea of the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, and although, on the advice of the Jesuits, to whom they have handed over the Catholic University buildings, they now condescend to dissemble, or, at all events, to veil their demands, they still hope to attain their ideal under this present Liberal Government's Bill, and, as I shall show in due course, their hope is well founded.

Pius IX. required all the money he could get from Ireland just then, being in sore straits. Not only did he get a great deal of money from Ireland, but in

1859 Cullen came to his aid in another way by successfully promoting the formation of a Papal Brigade to assist the Pope against Garibaldi; and there are Irish Catholics still living, old men now, who call themselves Nationalists and profess the same hatred of the English in Ireland as the Garibaldians had of the Austrians in Italy, yet who boast of having fought against the Italian Nationalists in their struggle for Italian unity and freedom.

Cullen's heart was not in the Catholic University, nor had his colleagues any genuine desire to construct a useful institution for the education of the laity. Their energy was directed rather towards destroying the splendid facilities for education which the Government so freely placed at the laity's disposal. As the result of their persistent agitation the system of "national, united education" was entirely changed from its original purpose. Sectarian elementary schools began to be established instead of the old united schools. Where one good school sufficed formerly, two had to be erected now, one for the Catholics, another for the Protestants, in which religious instruction was given after the legal school hours. Convents and other religious houses began to get grants from the Board for their schools. And one reads in the Nationalist papers of those days jubilant descriptions of mysterious articles of school furniture, screened by a map of the world, and seeming to the eye of the Board's official inspector mere innocent devices for holding school utensils, which became transformed, at a given signal, into elaborately decorated altars to the Blessed Virgin or St. Joseph.

We cannot conceive the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster thus conducting a campaign against the Ulster National and Model Schools or the Belfast Queen's College, and preventing the Presbyterian laity from sending their sons there ; but that only illustrates the all-important point which Englishmen have to consider throughout all this business, namely, that the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church are a totally different class of men from the clergy of either the Church of Ireland or the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, and from the clergy of the Established Church and the Free Churches in England.

If it be said that the clergy of the Church of Ireland at that time enjoyed a predominance in Trinity College, it must not be imagined that their predominance amounted to the same thing as the autocracy which the Roman Catholic clergy then aimed, and still aim, at exercising over a Roman Catholic University. Neither the Church of Ireland nor Presbyterian clergymen claim a supernatural authority over the layman, as do the Roman Catholic bishop and priest. Neither of them arrogate to themselves the right to say that a particular branch of study must not be followed up to its legitimate conclusion, or to denounce and boycott particular books which militate against their own class interests.

They may express an opinion as to the suitability, or the unsuitability, of a particular study or a particular book ; but that opinion must be founded on reason, or it will not be accepted by the laity ; and each case has to be clearly decided on its own merits by laymen and clergymen acting together.

In the Roman Catholic Church, on the contrary, the bishops pronounce their decrees in clerical assembly, and they insist upon it, as a question of "faith and morals," of eternal salvation or damnation, that their decrees must be implicitly obeyed.

When one opposes the predominance of the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy in educational institutions, therefore, one is opposing something totally different from the alleged predominance of clergymen of the Church of Ireland, or of the Presbyterian Church, or of the Church of England, or of the Free Churches, in such institutions.

In 1863, when Archbishop Whately died, he had all the mortification of seeing almost all his work for non-sectarian education and the brotherhood of Irishmen of all creeds undone by this Irish farmer's son, whom thirty years' residence in Rome had made more Roman than the Pontifex Maximus himself.

It is no wonder that Pius IX. should have looked upon Cullen as one of his right-hand men, and that he should not only have created him Cardinal in 1866, the first Irishman ever so promoted, but also made him a member of the three most important congregations of Cardinals at Rome, those of the Index, the Rites, and the Propaganda.

In the year of Cullen's election to the cardinalate, Earl Russell, the Prime Minister, granted a supplemental charter to the Queen's University, enabling it to confer degrees on students from colleges other than the Queen's Colleges, the object being to enable those who had studied at the Catholic University to take degrees at the Queen's, if they

could satisfy the examiners that they possessed the necessary knowledge. Lord Russell remained in office only a short time; his supplemental charter was declared invalid by the Law Courts; an injunction was issued to prevent the Queen's University from acting on it; and it was never put into operation. But, as we shall see, the main purpose of it was achieved, twelve years afterwards, in the Royal University.

In the following year, 1867, Cardinal Cullen won the applause of a great many thoughtless Englishmen by his denunciation of the Fenian conspiracy. The truth is that it was Cullen's own policy which begat Fenianism; for if the Whately-Murray policy, in the National and Model Schools, and the Peel policy in the Queen's Colleges, which Cullen had been denouncing for seventeen years, from 1850 to 1867, had been allowed to flourish, there would assuredly have been no Fenian Brotherhood in 1867. The Fenian rising and the Clerkenwell explosion secured the final triumph of Cullen's policy, for they hustled Mr. Gladstone into disestablishing the Church of Ireland. Cardinal Cullen and the Papacy gained by the things which they denounced, but which were the direct and only possible result of the Roman Catholic Church's official policy in Ireland.

VI

The year 1869 marks an epoch in the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland not second in importance to that which began with the Catholic

Emancipation Act of 1829. In that year Mr. Gladstone passed the Irish Church Disestablishment Act, by which the ancient Protestant Church of Ireland not only ceased to be the State Church, but was deprived of all its property in land and tithes, which were handed over to trustees to be disposed of, as Parliament should direct, for the benefit of the Irish nation.

Without questioning the principle of that Act, but calmly looking back upon what has happened in Ireland since then, it is not easy to define in what particular Ireland has been served by taking that money away from some thousands of Protestant clergymen and their families and devoting it to other miscellaneous, unproductive, and questionable purposes. That question, however, must not be discussed in these pages.

By an important corollary to the Church Act, the Government was empowered to commute the yearly grant paid to Maynooth College, and did so by the payment of a capital sum of £372,331 to the Roman Catholic bishops, who, thereupon, found themselves absolutely free from even the modified form of Government control involved in the acceptance of a yearly grant.

As it was rumoured that Mr. Gladstone intended to grant an additional endowment for a new University, as a kind of pendicle to the Disestablishment Act, and as a considerable section of Liberals were more than suspicious of the Roman Catholic bishops, Cardinal Cullen now decided on a change of programme in his campaign for a Roman Catholic University. This was especially desirable as, im-

mediately on the passage of the Church Act, the authorities of Trinity College began to approach the Government, asking for power to throw open their fellowships and other posts of emolument to Roman Catholics. It was under these circumstances now, for the first time in the history of the agitation, that the Catholic laity were invited to come forward and make an independent representation to the Government on the subject.

Accordingly, in 1870, a declaration was presented to Mr. Gladstone, signed by 718 lay Roman Catholics, of whom ten were noblemen, three Privy Councillors, and the rest commoners, including many Members of Parliament. This document is worthy of study for this reason, that its terms are so studiously brief and vague, and of such a non-committal character, that they prove conclusively, even if there were not other evidence in abundance to the same effect, that the whole movement against the Queen's University and in favour of a Roman Catholic University was *ab initio* an ecclesiastical one, in which the laity blindly followed the lead of their spiritual guides.

This is the full text of the declaration: "We, the undersigned laymen, deem it our duty to express, as follows, our opinions on university education in Ireland: (1) That it is the constitutional right of all British subjects to adopt whatever system of collegiate or university education they prefer. (2) That perfect religious equality involves equality in the educational advantages offered by the State. (3) That a large number of Irishmen are at present precluded from university education, honours and

emoluments on account of conscientious religious opinions regarding the existing systems of education. (4) That we therefore demand such a change in the system of collegiate and university education as will place those who entertain these conscientious objections on a footing of equality with the rest of their fellow-countrymen as regards colleges, university honours and emoluments, university examinations, government, and representation."

If we examine this declaration clause by clause we find—

(1) That, while it may be "the constitutional right of all British citizens to adopt whatever system of collegiate or university education they prefer," it is not the right of a minority of British citizens to force the State to provide for them, at public expense, "whatever system of collegiate or university education they prefer."

(2) That if "perfect religious equality involves equality in the educational advantages offered by the State," then the State had already given "perfect religious equality" in the National Schools, the Model Schools, and the Queen's Colleges, and more than "perfect religious equality" in the comparatively immense grant to Maynooth.

(3) That if "a large number of Irishmen" were then "precluded from university education, honours, and emoluments," it was by the compulsion of their own Pope and bishops, and not through any fault of the State, which had given "perfect religious equality," and that if the "conscientious religious opinions" of such Irishmen prevented them from using the institutions placed at their disposal by

the State on terms of "perfect religious equality," the only course open to them was to provide sectarian institutions for themselves, and thereby deprive themselves of the "perfect religious equality which existed."

(4) That the existing "system of collegiate and university education" had placed Irish Catholics "on a footing of equality with the rest of their fellow-countrymen as regards colleges, university honours, and emoluments," &c., and that any change, in the direction the declarants were supposed to long for, would only isolate them from their fellow-countrymen, and cut them off for ever from that "equality with the rest of their fellow-countrymen" which they professed to desire.

The 718 Catholic laymen of Ireland gave no other assistance to Mr. Gladstone than that document, expressive only of suppressed fear and trembling, the production of slavish deputies, not independent principals, of mere catspaws put forward by the bishops for the benefit of the Church.

In the following year, 1871, Cardinal Cullen and other bishops issued a series of resolutions for the further guidance of Mr. Gladstone, which must have caused the Liberal Premier no small perplexity. They declared it to be their "unalterable conviction that Catholic education is indispensably necessary for the preservation of the faith and morals of our Catholic people." They did not define what "Catholic education" meant, but Mr. Gladstone, as we shall see, put his own interpretation on the phrase, and that was far from complimentary to the hierarchy.

“In union with the Holy See and the bishops of the Catholic world,” they proclaimed, “we again renew our often-repeated condemnation of mixed education as intrinsically and grievously dangerous to faith and morals, and tending to perpetuate dissensions, insubordination, and disaffection in this country.” The truth is that the “mixed education” was promoting brotherhood and loyalty, and it was the Cardinal and his episcopal subordinates who “perpetuated dissensions and disaffection” by denouncing the Whately-Murray policy and wrongfully asserting that the Government was “forcing” on the people “a system of education destructive alike of our temporal and eternal interests.”

“Recent events known to all,” they continued, “and especially the acts of secret societies and of revolutionary organisations, have strengthened our convictions and furnished conclusive evidence that godless education is subversive not only of religion and morality, but also of domestic peace, of the rights of property, and of all social order.” It was the men who obeyed Cullen and stood out of the Model Schools and Queen’s Colleges that joined the secret societies and revolutionary organisations, and to that extent it was the Papal policy, and not the so-called “godless” education, which had proved “subversive of religion and morality and of all social order.” The Fenian organisation, which was referred to, was not participated in by Catholics from the Model Schools or Queen’s Colleges.

Cardinal Cullen and his colleagues then went on to assert that: “As religious equality, which, according to the constitution of this country, is our inalienable

right, is incomplete without educational freedom and equality, we demand, as a right, that in all the approaching legislation on the subject of education the principle of educational equality shall be acted on." They repudiated the pretensions of those who, "holding different religious principles from ours, seek to violate the civil rights of our Catholic people by forcing upon us a system of education repugnant to our religious convictions, and destructive alike of our temporal and eternal interests."

All this, needless to say, was sheer misstatement and fabrication. "The principle of religious equality" was already being "acted on" in Ireland; and nobody sought "to violate the civil rights of Catholics" by forcing a repugnant system of education on them, unless, as seems likely, all education, except dogmatic theology, was repugnant to their episcopal leaders and regarded by them as "destructive alike of their temporal and eternal interests."

Then followed the only logical conclusion possible from such false premises, namely, the sounding of the tocsin of religious strife, the summoning of the faithful to do battle for the faith. "In the present efforts to force godless education on this country," they say, "we recognise another phase of persecution for conscience' sake. Hence, following the example of our fathers, who sacrificed all earthly interests, and life itself, rather than imperil their faith, we shall never cease to oppose to the utmost of our power the Model Schools, the Queen's Colleges, Trinity College, and all similar institutions dangerous to the faith and morals of Catholics."

They called on the members of Parliament, "as representatives of the feelings and interests of their constituents, to sustain the principles embodied in these resolutions in Parliament and elsewhere, and to oppose any political party that will attempt to force upon this country any godless scheme of education, or refuse to redress our admitted educational grievances."

They "pledged themselves, in future elections of Members of Parliament and other representatives, to oppose the return of any candidate who will not uphold the principle of denominational education for our Catholic people."

They "invited their people to hold meetings and sign petitions in their respective parishes, under the guidance of their clergy, making known their determination to accept no system of education except in conformity with the principles here announced."

And the final order was: "These resolutions will be read on the first convenient Sunday at one of the public Masses in each of the churches and chapels of this kingdom."

This was the gage of battle thrown down to Mr. Gladstone and to the Liberal Government by Cardinal Cullen. We shall presently see how the British statesman interpreted the Papal declaration of war, and how, like Sir John Moore, he proceeded to wage his retreating fight, giving way to, though not flying from, a force which was not as formidable as he thought, and which might have been defeated by one short, firm stand.

VII

It now seemed as if the British Government, in its efforts to secure for the Irish Catholics "equality in the educational advantages offered by the State," had only to encounter one opponent worthy of notice, and that was Cardinal Cullen, as representative of that Church which, in the words of Lord Morley of Blackburn, "has broken with knowledge, has taken her stand upon ignorance, and is striving might and main, even in countries where she has no chance, to use the machinery of popular government to keep back education."

But, all-powerful as Cardinal Cullen seemed, events altogether unforeseen by him were now at hand, and a new movement had already come into being in Ireland which was destined to delay the realisation of the Roman Church's hopes of securing a further subsidy from the British Exchequer and complete mastery over the education of Irish Roman Catholics.

Since the death of O'Connell, twenty-three years previously, no parliamentary leader or agitator had been permitted to arise in Ireland capable of disputing Cardinal Cullen's sovereignty. Isaac Butt, a successful Protestant barrister, son of the rector of Stranorlar, in County Donegal, had represented the Roman Catholic borough of Youghal for thirteen years, from 1852 to 1865, and during that time had been the obedient servant of the Cardinal in all matters affecting education, inasmuch as his seat in Parliament depended upon the support of the bishops.

In 1865 Butt had retired from Parliament without

having effected anything. But, after five years' work at the Bar, he returned to politics in 1870, being, like a number of his co-religionists, and as was natural in a rector's son, dissatisfied and somewhat rebellious at the disestablishment of the Church. In conjunction with several other Protestants, he now joined a section of the Nationalists and declared for Home Rule, which was the new name substituted for O'Connell's shibboleth, Repeal of the Union. The phrase "Home Rule" is said to have been invented by Professor Galbraith, one of Butt's associates, a well-known Fellow of Trinity College and joint author, with Professor Haughton, of an equally well-known series of mathematical works.

Having founded the National Home Government Association on May 19, 1870, the little party promoted a public meeting in Dublin, at which Isaac Butt presided, and at which a formal demand was made for an Irish Parliament to deal with Irish affairs. In the next year Butt was elected member for the city of Limerick as a Home Ruler, and fifty-seven Irish members, already in Parliament, consented to follow his lead. As Butt and his new party proclaimed themselves to be the parliamentary champions and spokesmen of Cardinal Cullen on Irish educational affairs, Mr. Gladstone, whose policy in Ireland was always one of retreat, felt himself bound to produce an Irish University Bill for their appeasement.

It was only a small minority of Irish Protestants who believed, with Butt and Galbraith, that, having regard to the number of legislative experiments which the English Parliament was then trying upon

Ireland, their condition was likely to be improved under an Irish Parliament containing a large majority of Roman Catholics. But this Protestant minority, small as it was, supplied the new movement with a Protestant leader, thereby creating a precedent and giving it a force which it could never have acquired under a Roman Catholic leader.

Early in 1873 Mr. Gladstone produced his new Irish University Bill. He proposed to alter the government of the existing Dublin University, and to empower the authorities of the reformed institution to affiliate, in addition to Trinity College, a second college, which, it was hoped, would be Cardinal Cullen's "stickit" Roman Catholic University. The first governing body of the reformed university was to be nominated by Parliament, and as vacancies arose they were to be filled up by the Crown. The new college was to get a handsome yearly endowment, part of which was to come from the revenues of Trinity College, part from the Consolidated Fund, and the rest from the Irish Church surplus.

Mr. Gladstone now showed how uncomplimentary was the interpretation which he put upon Cardinal Cullen's phrase "Catholic education." He made it a vital portion of the Bill that in the new college there should be no chairs of (*a*) theology, (*b*) mental and moral philosophy, and (*c*) modern history; and that there were to be no compulsory examinations in these subjects. In Mr. Gladstone's opinion no Roman Catholic institution could teach theology, mental and moral philosophy, or modern history advantageously to its students. The true study of those three important branches of learning was obviously fatal to

the Roman Catholic Church's position; therefore the State could not legitimately assume that they would be fairly taught by an institution under the control of the Roman Catholic Church; and, consequently, public money should not be expended in paying Roman Catholics to teach these subjects. There was also a clause, to which an undue importance was attached by many Englishmen, inflicting penalties on any professor offending the religious susceptibilities of the students.

That was Mr. Gladstone's answer to Cardinal Cullen's demand for "Catholic education" at the public expense—a prohibition against teaching theology, mental and moral philosophy, and modern history. It is said that the Bill was received with applause. It would be more correct to say, perhaps, that Mr. Gladstone's oratorical effort in introducing it was received with applause and gave great pleasure to his hearers.

Cardinal Cullen lost no time in making up his mind about the Bill. He went post-haste to see Lord Spencer, who was then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and told him frankly that he was opposed to the measure, and that the new university would be no more acceptable to the Papacy than the existing Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges. But he gave Lord Spencer to understand that he "would be satisfied with a sum down, to redress inequality, or a grant for buildings."

This is most illuminating as to the Roman bishops' view of educational matters in Ireland. Money down is what they want. Money down is what they got in Maynooth in 1795, in 1845, and again in 1870.

And when they got it they kept it, gave no account of it, and the Catholic laity got no education whatever in return for it. Money down is what they expect now from the present Liberal Government, and there is no valid reason why, if it be given, the result should not be the same.

It was in vain that Archbishop Manning, as the friend of Gladstone, urged Cardinal Cullen to accept the Bill. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland bravely condemned it, though, at that time, Presbyterians profited little, if at all, by Trinity College, whose vested interests were affected by the Bill. Mr. Butt's party and the other Irish members, who held their seats at the will of the bishops, hearing of Cullen's opposition, threatened to vote against the Bill on second reading, though they had nothing but praise for it on its introduction.

The question then for Mr. Gladstone to decide was whether he should give Cardinal Cullen the "sum down to redress inequality, or a grant for buildings"; and Mr. Gladstone declined to do so, like an honourable man. "It is not in the power or will of your Majesty's advisers," he wrote to the Queen on March 8, 1873, "to purchase Irish support by subserviency to the Roman bishops." It cannot be too clearly understood that "subserviency to the Roman bishops" is still the only way by which a British Government may "purchase Irish support" in the House of Commons. And the present Irish Universities Bill of 1908 is the most abject and wanton effort ever made to do what Mr. Gladstone refused to do, namely, "to purchase Irish support by subserviency to the Roman bishops."

On the next day Cardinal Cullen issued a pastoral against the Bill; and three days after, when the vote on the second reading was taken, it was defeated by a majority of three, and Mr. Gladstone was driven out of power.

Sixty-eight Irish members voted against it at the command of Cardinal Cullen. They would just as certainly have voted for it if the Cardinal had got "the sum down" and had pronounced in its favour. In the same way, at the present time, it must be borne in mind that the votes of the Irish Nationalist members do not reflect any Catholic Irish public opinion whatever on the education question, but are merely given in obedience to the wish of the Roman Catholic bishops.

Irish Roman Catholics have been so kept down by the bishops, and are so puzzled as to what branch of education is, or is not, contrary to "faith and morals" and dangerous to salvation, that they always avoid the discussion of education as if it were a religious mystery, and the majority of them have no opinion on the subject. The minority, who have an opinion, are in favour of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges and of an open system of education, under which young people of all religions may meet for secular instruction. But this minority is so much afraid of the ignorant majority and of the bishops, that as yet they have found no adequate voice, and have not a single representative in Parliament.

After the defeat of the Gladstone University Bill, the last grievance which the Roman Catholics had in the matter of education in Ireland was removed

by the passage, in the same year, of Mr. Fawcett's Act abolishing religious tests for fellowships in Trinity College, Dublin, to which, as to every other office of emolument in Dublin University, Roman Catholics have since then been eligible.

When Mr. Disraeli and the Conservatives came into office, after the General Election of 1874, as the result of Mr. Gladstone's defeat, Cardinal Cullen knew that it would be impossible for them to grant an endowment for a Roman Catholic University. The Cardinal was now over seventy and past his prime; and, though he had failed in his attempt to secure for the Roman Church in Ireland a royal charter and a State subsidy empowering it to confer degrees in arts, science, law, medicine, and engineering, he could look back upon a quarter of a century of triumph.

As the result of his labours in the cause of ultramontaniam, the profession of lay Roman Catholic headmasters had been almost driven out of existence, and secondary education was now controlled by the priests in newly founded diocesan colleges and seminaries. Christian Brothers and various orders of nuns were established broadcast over the country, and their elementary schools were an effectual barrier against the spread of "national, united education." He had initiated the movement for giving a clerical education to young men intended to be elementary teachers; and he and his colleagues were now in a position to insist on the appointment of those young men to masterships in the State-endowed National Schools. He had crushed out the independence which permeated the older generation

of elementary teachers, bred under the Whately-Murray *régime*, and made the powerful and growing force of State-paid Roman Catholic teachers an auxiliary department in the ever-increasing clerical army of the Church.

He initiated the policy, since perfected, of acquiring for the Church complete control over the Catholic medical profession in Dublin, (1) by the establishment of a Catholic medical school in Cecilia Street, in connection with his Catholic University, where Catholics studied before presenting themselves for degrees to the Royal College of Surgeons, or some other body having power to issue licences ; and (2) by founding, in 1861, the Mater Misericordiæ Hospital in Eccles Street, the thoroughfare in which he himself resided, and placing it in charge of the Sisters of Mercy. Archbishop Murray had founded St. Vincent's Hospital in Stephen's Green, in 1834, as the first headquarters of the Sisters of Charity, but it is doubtful whether he then foresaw the great scheme which Cullen evolved from that small beginning. The result is that, while the Protestant hospitals are managed by representative boards, the Roman Catholic hospitals in which Catholic students learn and Catholic doctors teach and practise their profession, are managed, all over Ireland now by orders of nuns, who acknowledge no authority but that of the diocesan bishop.

For the last four years of his life, after the return of the Conservatives in 1874, Cullen did nothing remarkable, except, perhaps, to celebrate the jubilee of his master, Pius IX.'s, tenure of the papacy, and to convene a second synod of prelates and clergy in 1875. He presided over the great ultramontane

organisation he had called into being, and seemed to exult in the carnival of building by which the bishops and religious orders were changing the face of Ireland. Mr. Butt, his near neighbour in Eccles Street, soon degenerated into a "nominal" leader and a "nominal" Home Ruler, always ready to act the part of the Cardinal's henchman, and, outside that, unable to accomplish anything useful for Ireland; and it seemed as if the Catholic laymen were never again to play any part in Irish politics, except to be driven to the polls to vote for the candidates who had offered the best terms to the Church.

Cullen died in 1878, his master, Pius IX., having predeceased him by a few months, and the effect of their twenty-eight years' joint rule in Ireland may be summed up thus: They found Catholic Ireland in a fair way to become a contented and loyal partner in the commonwealth of the United Kingdom. They found all Catholic Ireland's old grievances being rapidly redressed, and a spirit of brotherhood beginning to animate Catholics and Protestants. They found Catholic Ireland in possession for the first time of full educational equality with Protestant Ireland. At their death they left Catholic Ireland perplexed, dissatisfied, and disloyal; they had fomented a spirit of distrust and antagonism between Catholics and Protestants; they had ruthlessly prevented the Irish Catholics from taking advantage of the full educational equality offered them, and driven them back into the wilderness of isolation and sectarian strife.

Isaac Butt only lived a few months after Cardinal

Cullen, and then a new *régime* began in Ireland, especially in the educational world. The contest for control of the ignorant Irish Catholic people, so long waged between the British Government, as representing the United Kingdom, and the Irish Catholic bishops, as representing the Roman Church, now entered upon a new phase.

VIII

At Cullen's death there was no Irish ecclesiastic of the same Roman type to succeed him. Edward McCabe, parish priest of Kingstown, was elected as *dignissimus* by the parish priests of the archdiocese of Dublin, and the selection was approved by the new Pope, Leo XIII. McCabe was a home-bred Irish priest, sixty-two years of age, son of a Dublin shopkeeper; and, though he had been a *protégé* of Cullen's, he had not imbibed the imperial ideas of his Romanised predecessor. He was a dogged and obstinate man, but it is highly probable that if he had been born thirty years earlier, and had succeeded Archbishop Murray, he might have continued the Whately-Murray policy, and Catholic Ireland might have become a contented section of the United Kingdom, inhabited by reasonable people.

In the year 1878 the Conservative Government passed the Intermediate Education Act for Ireland, granting a million sterling from the Irish Church surplus, the interest on which was to be expended by Commissioners in holding competitive examinations and giving money exhibitions and other prizes

to successful candidates, boys and girls, as well as result fees to teachers; the examinations to be held at various centres throughout the country by examiners appointed by the Government.

In the following year Lord Beaconsfield's Government decided to give effect to the policy aimed at by Lord John Russell in 1866, when he granted the supplemental charter to the Queen's University. By an Act passed in 1879 it abolished the Queen's University and established a new examining university, on the lines of the London University, to be called the Royal University of Ireland, with power to grant degrees to students who had studied privately, or at any school or college whatever, including the Queen's Colleges; thus enabling the Catholic University students to present themselves for examination and, if competent, to obtain the same degrees as the students of the Queen's Colleges.

One would have thought that this Act would have completely removed the "grievances" of the Roman Catholic bishops, and for the moment it seemed as if such were the case. The Chancellor of the new university was the Duke of Abercorn, a resident Irish nobleman who had been twice Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The Senate consisted of thirty-six members, foremost amongst whom were the famous Archbishop Trench, of Dublin, and the new Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dr. McCabe, who, by his acceptance of the position, signified his approval of the new institution; the other senators consisting of representative Protestants and Catholics in nearly equal numbers—an arrangement which still subsists.

The suppression of the Queen's University caused

great indignation amongst its graduates, and the men who had been loyal to that institution through thirty years of stress and turmoil freely denounced the new Act as a "piece of tricky legislation." The success of the Queen's University had been undoubted, notwithstanding all Cardinal Cullen's fulminations. Catholic young men had gone there to graduate in arts and take their professional degrees, especially in medicine, not in as great numbers as they might otherwise have gone, but still in considerable numbers. Despite the falling population of the country, there had been a steady growth in the number of students from 762 in 1867 to 1,154 in 1881, the year in which the university ceased to exist. It is little wonder, therefore, that there was some soreness felt at its dissolution.

Without at all censuring the principle of the Royal University Act, it must be admitted that the epithet "tricky," as applied to it, was not undeserved. In the first place, it appears to have been a device of Lord Beaconsfield to bring the Catholic University into the scheme of National University education, with all the honours of war, by obliterating the name of the obnoxious university. But this was not all, for we now have it on the authority of Mr. Edmund Dease, in a letter written to the *Spectator* in 1899, twenty years after the foundation of the Royal University, that Lord Beaconsfield had thus unbosomed himself to a Mr. Langdale, who had obtained an interview with the Premier in 1879:—"We cannot now induce Parliament," Mr. Dease reports him to have said, "to grant a special and direct endowment, but we propose to grant an

indirect endowment through the means of fellowships to a Roman Catholic College. This is done in such a way that it will not be understood ; and when, in due time, the people of Great Britain find that they are virtually accepting the *principle* of an endowment which is quite inadequate, their sense of justice will cause them to admit that the Irish Roman Catholics are entitled to a properly endowed University College, as regards income, buildings, and appliances. In fact, Mr. Langdale, what we are doing is to place the ball at the foot of the Irish Roman Catholics, and if they do not kick it, the fault will be theirs and not ours."

This version of a conversation, given twenty years after the event, and long after Lord Beaconsfield's death, must be received with reservation ; but it is undoubtedly true that an indirect endowment was thus given to the Catholic University in an underhand manner, which has done a great deal of harm to Irish education and to Roman Catholics in particular.

Taking a broad view of the question, however, it seems as if both the Intermediate Education Act and the Royal University Act were passed with the object of commencing a new era of peace, after the death of Cardinal Cullen, who had been the chief protagonist in the thirty years' war between the Roman Church and the Government.

But events were now taking place in Ireland which threw the contention between the Church and the Government completely into the shade. In 1875, Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, a young County Wicklow squire, a Protestant, and a member of an old English

family long settled in Ireland, had been elected as a Home Ruler for the County Meath. His election had attracted little notice from Cardinal Cullen or Mr. Butt at the time; but, within a few years, Parnell displayed such extraordinary ability in the House of Commons, especially in prosecuting a policy of obstruction by which he brought all parliamentary business to a standstill, so as to call attention to the state of Ireland, that he became a marked man, and, in 1877, was actually elected President of the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain in preference to Mr. Butt.

When Isaac Butt died, early in 1879, the Irish Party elected Mr. William Shaw as their chairman and leader, he being the second Protestant to hold that position. The acute agricultural distress caused by the failure of the harvests and potato crop in '78 and '79, followed by a great fall in the price of cattle, gave Mr. Parnell his opportunity, and made the land question once more predominant in Ireland. Mr. Parnell, whose mother was an American, went to America, in 1880, and called upon the Irish in the States to help their kinsmen at home in their distress. When he returned he was the idol of the Catholic laity, who were ready to follow him whithersoever he led. The General Election of that year brought Mr. Gladstone back to office, and Mr. Shaw had to give way to Mr. Parnell, who became the third consecutive Protestant leader of the popular party in Ireland.

The priests stood aloof from him at first, but they were merely waiting to see how the new movement would progress, before declaring themselves. Parnell

aroused the people against landlordism, and Gladstone, as usual, fought a retreating battle. In 1881 he passed a Coercion Act and also his famous Land Act, which took the ownership of Irish land from the landlords and placed the right of fixing rents in the hands of a legal tribunal. The Act did not apply to leaseholders, but, as the majority of tenants held from year to year, owing to the mistaken policy of the landlords, the Act produced a revolution in land tenure, and raised the hopes and ambitions of the Irish farmers to an extraordinary pitch.

Mr. Parnell was arrested in October of the same year, under the Forster Coercion Act, which enabled the Lord-Lieutenant to arrest persons on suspicion and without trial, and keep them in gaol for any length of time he thought advisable. Early in 1882 peace was made between Mr. Parnell and the Government, Mr. Forster resigned the Chief-Secretaryship, and the imprisoned "suspects" were released. Immediately following this truce came the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish, the new Chief-Secretary, and Mr. Burke, the Permanent Under-Secretary, in the Phoenix Park, in May, 1882.

This horrible deed does not seem to have been connected in any way with the land agitation, being the work of a Dublin secret society which was presided over by the notorious James Carey, who was, curious to say, a priest's man and a great devotee at one of the Archbishop's chapels. It was Mr. Burke whom the assassins meant to kill, and not Lord Frederick Cavendish. Thomas Henry Burke was what may be called an independent Irish Roman Catholic, who was not willing to become the

tool of the priests on the subject of education ; and he was much blamed for the failure of the Church's campaign in favour of a Roman Catholic University, as well as for his stand against clerical demands in the other departments of public policy, being more obnoxious, perhaps, than any Protestant in his position could have been.

There was nothing on the face of Irish politics at that time to justify the assassination of Mr. Burke ; and, accompanied as it was by the murder of the innocent Lord Frederick Cavendish, it had the effect of discrediting Mr. Parnell's movement in the eyes of the world. A very ugly state of things ensued, not only in Ireland, but also in England, where a number of dynamite outrages were perpetrated.

While these tragic events occupied public attention, the priests and nuns found in the Intermediate Act a great opportunity, which they seized upon to perfect their monopoly in Catholic secondary education, so that not a single school kept by a Catholic layman or woman now remains in Ireland. The students from all the clerical colleges and schools achieved a great success at the Intermediate examinations ; but, unfortunately, the nature of the test, and the method by which success was achieved, did not imply a corresponding improvement in education. The course from which students had to select included, besides classics, science, history, and literature, a variety of out-of-the-way subjects, in each of which specific text-books were prescribed long before the date of the examinations. The exhibitions and prizes were awarded on the total of marks received by each student ; and the priests

entered their pupils for the greatest possible number of subjects, cramming them up for the examination, with the result that they achieved quite a remarkable success in exhibitions and result fees.

It would be unfair to depreciate their success, but it is only right to say that, so far as the solid branches of learning went, it was achieved by employing Protestant teachers who had been educated at the colleges and universities upon which the ban of the Roman Catholic Church had been imposed. Neither ought we to overestimate the value of that success, which only demonstrated what was already known, namely, that Irish Catholics are as talented as Irish Protestants, if only their Church allowed them to take advantage of the opportunities at their disposal.

That success was achieved by the priests, through a few special pupils, for a special purpose—namely, to secure a large Government endowment and a university under their own complete control. But, if that end be now attained through the Irish Universities Bill of 1908, the success of the Jesuit and other clerical students in those competitive examinations will afford no guarantee whatever that the Roman Church, after it has got a university entirely to itself, will depart from its immemorial policy with regard to all scientific and useful education.

The Senate of the Royal University was empowered to appoint men to fellowships of the university without competitive examination; and, at a meeting held in November, 1882, it was resolved that there should be twenty-eight Fellows, and the salary was fixed at £400 a year. It was decided that,

where a Fellow held office in any college endowed with public money, he should only receive from the Royal University "such annual sum as, with his other fellowship or professorship, shall amount to £400 a year." It was further decided to allocate fourteen fellowships to the Catholic University, one fellowship to the Magee Presbyterian College at Londonderry, and to divide the rest amongst the professors of the three Queen's Colleges.

As the Catholic University received no public money, the fourteen Fellows to be nominated by it were to receive the full salary of £400, which meant an immediate endowment of £5,600 per annum for that institution. The same rule applied to the single Fellow allotted to Magee College. But, in the case of the thirteen Fellows in the three Queen's Colleges, as they already drew salaries from the public purse, the stipends accruing to them were various small sums between £70 and £180 a year. At the same time eight medical Fellows were appointed at £100 a year, raised afterwards to £200, and of these four were to be nominated by the Catholic University Medical School in Cecilia Street.

If the Government made all the financial concessions in the Intermediate Education and Royal University Acts with the view of gaining the support of the Roman Catholic Church in the agrarian troubles which were then beginning, the result proved their hope to be ill-founded. The bishops and priests effected nothing for the Government or the landlords during the dreadful decade of the 'eighties.

Thenceforth there was money in the "stickit"

Catholic University, and the Jesuits now came forward with an offer to take over the place and become managers of it for the hierarchy, and, in 1883, the bishops handed over the house at Stephen's Green to the Dublin branch of the Society of Jesus, to conduct it in the interests of the Church. The obvious interpretation placed on their surrender was that, as the Royal University put an end to their "grievances," they had no further object in keeping up the pretence of a separate Catholic University. The new President of the Catholic University College, as the place was now called, was Father William Delaney, Jesuit, and we find the present Chief Secretary referring to that institution, in his speech introducing the Irish Universities Bill, on March 31, 1908, as "Dr. Delaney's College." The truth is that the bishops still remain the owners of the place, and that the Jesuits are only their managers.

We learn from a memorial presented by Dr. Delaney to the Robertson Commission in 1901 that at his final interview with the bishops in November, 1883, when he took over the college, he was asked: "What policy do you propose to follow about the admission of students?" And Father Delaney's answer was, according to himself, "An open door to students of all denominations, on the sole condition that they should attend regularly and observe the ordinary discipline of the college." The bishops then asked him: "And what about the professors?" His answer was, as he tells us, "I should get the best men I could find—Catholics if they were to be had—but, as few then existed who were qualified, I should employ Protestants."

Dr. Starkie, one of the members of the Robertson Commission and a Roman Catholic Fellow of Trinity College, pressed the Jesuit on this point, and said, "Then, Father Delaney, you are a champion of mixed education?" Father Delaney, in his evidence, simply replied, "No, I am not a champion." But in a further note, afterwards presented to the Commission, he excuses himself for the brevity of that answer by saying that he was so surprised by Dr. Starkie's question that he had not time to frame a more elaborate reply. He adds, "Not merely am I not a champion, I am not in any sense an advocate of mixed education. Quite the contrary, I am strongly in favour of denominational education."

How could Father Delaney possibly admit that he supported mixed education? His Order in Ireland preach that Protestantism is moral leprosy. "In other lands," said Father Kane, one of the most distinguished Jesuits in Ireland, preaching in Derry, some months after Father Delaney's encounter with Dr. Starkie, "other kinds of error imperil faith. The mental poison of our Irish atmosphere is Protestantism."

It is for those who now profess to believe that Father Delaney has established his right to receive an endowment of £42,000 a year, besides a building grant of £150,000, for a new college and university in Dublin, to reconcile those two statements, and to say whether this Jesuit college, whose president seems to be so typical a member of his Order, ought to be converted into a Government institution.

Of the fourteen Fellows allocated to the Catholic

University College in 1883, four were Jesuits and ten were lay nominees of the Jesuits. A few years afterwards the number of Fellows was increased to twenty-nine, and a fifth Jesuit was appointed to teach the "Irish language and literature" at full salary, raising the Government grant to the Jesuit college to £6,000 a year.

There used to be a fiction which, one is glad to notice, was not persisted in at the introduction of the Irish Universities Bill of 1908, namely, that the Jesuits conduct this institution in a spirit of philanthropy, taking nothing for themselves. It found voice in a passage in Mr. Dease's letter to the *Spectator* in 1899, when he said that "the majority of the Fellows are Jesuitic Fathers who keep no income individually for themselves, but pass on all they receive to the general expenses of the college." Mr. Dease was one of the old-time Catholic gentry whose views on this subject were of a romantic character. The Jesuits manage their college on strict business principles, spending nothing that they can avoid, charging the highest fees they can get, taking every farthing of their fellowship salaries, and they realise a substantial profit by this enterprise. No Jesuit keeps his individual income, because they are a body of socialists, or communists, with a common purse; but any individual Jesuit can command that common purse for any approved object, and each individual gains in power, wealth, and comfort by belonging to the Society.

At the General Election of 1885 Mr. Parnell's candidates completely swept the polls in Ireland, Home Rule being the one and only question sub-

mitted to the people, and he returned to Parliament with eighty-five members at his back, absolutely pledged to obey his orders. The agitation for a Catholic University had almost subsided. If it was even mentioned, Mr. Parnell's answer was that all such questions should await settlement by a Home Rule Parliament. In the same year, 1885, Cardinal McCabe died, and Dr. William J. Walsh, the present Archbishop of Dublin, succeeded him. McCabe had held aloof from Mr. Parnell's movement, not only refusing to join it, but not even allowing his priests to be connected with it. Archbishop Walsh now proclaimed himself a follower of Mr. Parnell, and the entire Roman Church in Ireland publicly threw in its lot, for the moment, with the advanced Nationalists and the Irish Party.

It is amusing now to read Archbishop Walsh's welcome to Mr. John Morley, when he came to Ireland as Chief Secretary in 1886. "We may safely receive him with no unfriendly greeting," said Dr. Walsh. "He is not coming to govern Ireland. He is coming to lend his help in the noble scheme of his great political leader, as probably the last English Chief Secretary of Ireland."

Shortly after Archbishop Walsh's appointment, in 1885, he and the other bishops passed a series of resolutions, such as might have been passed if there had been no Intermediate Act, no disruption of the Queen's University, no Royal University Act, and no endowment of the Catholic University. Every new financial concession had only strengthened the Roman Church's position and encouraged it to press for more, and the State need never look for rest until

it stops concession and takes its stand on the justice and equality which, since 1873, has existed in Ireland in the matter of university education. One of the Walsh resolutions was, "That we renew our condemnation of the Queen's Colleges and of Trinity College, Dublin, and warn Catholic parents of the grave dangers to which they expose their children by sending them to institutions conducted on a system repeatedly condemned by the Holy See as intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals."

But Mr. Parnell took no notice of this fulmination, and, despite some plausible words, his unwelcome policy continued to be that the university question should not be reopened until after Home Rule. The subserviency of the Church and of the Press to the Irish Party at that juncture seems hardly credible now; but the bishops could afford to bide their time. They knew, even then, certain secrets about Mr. Parnell's life which gave them reason to hope that his supremacy could not last long.

Mr. Gladstone retreated before the Irish once more, and when his first Home Rule Bill was defeated in 1886, the General Election which ensued sent Mr. Parnell back to the House with eighty-six members. Even then Parnell would not allow any minor Irish questions to be pushed forward, although the Unionist Government might have been favourably disposed to their consideration. He told the priests and others that they must wait for a native Parliament, so as to concentrate all the Nationalist energy on Home Rule.

It was not until the Divorce Court proceedings were about to be taken against Mr. Parnell by

Captain O'Shea that the question of a Catholic University was seriously mooted again. Towards the end of the session of 1889, when the advent of these proceedings began to be known, Mr. A. J. Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, said in Parliament that something ought to be done towards giving a Catholic University. His statement was regarded as a bomb likely to create dissension in the ranks of the Irish Party and to strengthen the priests against the apparently invincible Irish chief.

It seems strange now to have to record that the leading Irish members condemned Mr. Balfour's suggestion. Mr. T. P. O'Connor said he "should be sorry to see the college of any sect endowed by the Government, and that the Nationalists of Ireland did not think a man to be the better or worse for his religion." Mr. Davitt, too, denounced what he called a proposal for endowing denominational education in Ireland. Both those gentlemen were then in the closest touch with English Liberals, and, in this, they only voiced the accepted Liberal creed in matters educational.

The Liberals and Radicals were totally opposed, as a body, to a Roman Catholic University. The Non-conformist Churches were all opposed to it. In fact, it would be impossible to say that any English party, or recognised section of public opinion, was in favour of it except Mr. A. J. Balfour and his immediate personal following—and they did not carry Lord Salisbury or the Conservative Party with them. Nor can any one, but Mr. Balfour himself, tell us what happened to him in Ireland to bring about his conversion.

Early in 1890, when the divorce proceedings became a certainty, one of the Catholic bishops, Dr. Healy, now Archbishop of Tuam, encouraged by Mr. Balfour's statement, published an article in which he demanded a Catholic University on the grounds that "a sound Catholic education is, in the estimation of all true Catholics, a precious pearl beyond price, because it is so intimately connected with the salvation of immortal souls." One cannot accept the insinuation that a Catholic's soul is jeopardised by association with his respectable and God-fearing Protestant fellow-countrymen, however much one may sympathise with all honest zeal for the salvation of souls.

The Roman Church was beginning to lose its fear of the Irish Party, and Bishop Healy urged the then Chief Secretary to screw up his courage and ignore the Irish members altogether: "Mr. Balfour has already proved," he said, "that as an administrator he is not afraid of Mr. Healy or Mr. Davitt, and he need not fear them in this matter either. *There is a limit beyond which even they dare not go.*"

The Irish Party dare not oppose a measure which the bishops decide to be favourable to the interests of the Church. They may indulge in vague, violent language, and in "scenes" to any extent; but that is their limit. And since Mr. Parnell's death in 1891, the Irish Party, under Roman Catholic leadership, has been rigorously kept within that limit and has been nothing more than the mouthpiece of the Church in Parliament. When the present Liberal Government, in 1907, offered to place the Board of Works, Local Government Board, and other impor-

tant departments in Ireland under representative government, the Irish Party had to refuse the offer, because it was only Catholic laymen who would have gained by the change; but now they dare not refuse the Irish Universities Bill, because it is the Church which will gain by its passage.

At the Manchester by-election recently, we saw the English Roman Catholic priests opposing Mr. Winston Churchill and helping to secure his defeat, because the Government's educational policy in England is unfavourable to the Church. And then, when their object had been achieved, Mr. Redmond was permitted by the Irish hierarchy to express his dissent from the action of the Manchester priests, because the Government's educational policy in Ireland is in the best interests of the Roman Church in that country.

IX

During the fratricidal strife between Parnellites and anti-Parnellites, following upon the death of Mr. Parnell, the bishops ranged themselves on the side of the anti-Parnellites, and the Church regained the predominance it had lost after the death of Cardinal Cullen and during the ascendancy of Mr. Parnell. Mr. A. J. Balfour left Ireland soon after he had thrown out his suggestion about the advisability of endowing a Roman Catholic University, and at the General Election of 1892 his party went out of office.

When Mr. Gladstone returned to power, with Mr.

John Morley as his Chief Secretary, it was well understood in Ireland that, though Mr. Morley was prepared to discuss it in the abstract, the Liberal Party would not, and could not, legislate on the Roman Catholic University question. Pledged as they were to undenominational education in England, and under the influence of what Mr. Gladstone called "the Nonconformist conscience," no Liberal Government could be expected to propose a scheme of denominational endowment for university education in Ireland.

The English Roman Catholics, who had been closely watching the Irish hierarchy's fight for a religious university, then apparently concluded that there was no hope of such an institution. The Pope had ordered them to keep aloof from Oxford and Cambridge, for the same reasons as he had ordered the Irish Catholics to keep aloof from Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges.

If a Roman Catholic University were granted for Ireland, they, of course, would have an irresistible claim for similar treatment in England. For, if three millions of Roman Catholics in Ireland must have a university of their own endowed by the State, surely three millions of Roman Catholics in Great Britain are also entitled to a university. Once the hierarchical definition of "equality of treatment," as implying a State endowment for "sound Catholic education," has been admitted within the United Kingdom, the principle must be applied all round.

We may all see how Roman Catholic influence is increasing in England. Almost everywhere one goes new Roman Catholic churches, convents,

monasteries, and separate schools are to be found. The great new cathedral at Westminster, whose tower dominates the south-western district of London, challenges the ancient foundation of Edward the Confessor close at hand. So powerful are the Roman Catholics now in England that they almost succeeded in changing the terms of the Act of Settlement and altering the coronation oath after the accession of the present Sovereign.

One need not multiply instances of the growth of Roman Catholic influence in England by mentioning even more ominous signs of the times. Suffice it to say that if this proposed Roman Catholic University be granted in Ireland, another Roman Catholic University for England will follow as a matter of course. The same coercive influences which were brought to bear upon the present Government to force them to produce this Bill can be employed again on behalf of the English Catholics. The force of the Irish Party has been already brought into play to secure privileges for the English Roman Catholics under every English Education Act, as well as in resisting every English Education Bill projected by the present Government for the purpose of carrying out what it fondly believed to be the will of the country and the true educational policy of Liberals.

Opinions differ as to the justice of the Government's policy with regard to old-established schools and systems in England; but the endowment of a Roman Catholic University in the United Kingdom is such a reactionary departure from the principles which have hitherto guided both great English

parties, and it is also so contrary to the whole trend of European and American policy, that it rises completely above the level of mere party measures, and is one of those fundamental questions in which none should be for the party, but all should be for the State.

It is to the lasting credit of the Unionist Party, which now controls the House of Lords, that, during its long tenure of power, it never produced a Bill on the subject, and, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, refused "to purchase Irish support by subserviency to the Roman bishops." The millions of Englishmen who, from instincts of piety and patriotism, feel bound to maintain the native Church of England at any sacrifice, have no wish to re-endow Romanism within the United Kingdom. It is to be hoped that even the highest section of the High Church Party is too loyal to the English Church to contemplate such a surrender to Ultramontaniam.

Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill of 1893, having passed the House of Commons, was thrown out by the House of Lords; but no University Bill was proposed as a *solatium*.

In the next year, and the date is important, the English Roman Catholics, headed by the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquess of Bute, presented a memorial to the Roman Catholic bishops of England urging them to advise the Propaganda to withdraw the rule forbidding English Catholics to enter Oxford and Cambridge. For many years they had maintained a Jesuit mission at Oxford to look after the religious interests of Roman Catholics who

went to the university in the face of the Propaganda's prohibition.

The memorialists now quoted reports from the Jesuits in charge of that mission, with a view to proving that the English university was not dangerous for faith and morals. One of the Jesuits is quoted as having said: "As far as I could judge, the effect on the young men who were at Oxford, in my time, was generally of a satisfactory kind. As to the difficulties that Catholics are supposed to encounter during their residence, social or otherwise, it is true, I think, to say that they did not exist." Another Jesuit said: "I have an actual experience of sixty or seventy young Catholics whom I knew at Oxford from 1887 to 1893. None of them lost their faith. They were very regular at Mass, many coming on week-days to Mass. They always carried the canopy in processions of the Blessed Sacrament. They dined together at an hotel on Fridays, so that they might observe abstinence."

If this could be done in Oxford, an English Protestant city, it should have been much easier to protect the faith and morals of Roman Catholic students in Trinity College, Dublin, or in any of the Queen's Colleges. In Dublin there are thousands of priests, monks, and nuns; Cork and Galway are also full of religious, and there is a very large contingent of Roman Catholic religious even in Belfast. If it were possible for Catholic young men to reside in an English Protestant city without danger to their faith, how hollow must be the pretence that a Roman Catholic could not go to Trinity College, in the Roman Catholic city of Dublin,

or to Queen's College, in the Roman Catholic city of Cork, without imperilling his faith and being mentally poisoned by the Protestantism in the atmosphere.

This Norfolk-Bute memorial should convince any fair-minded Englishman, Liberal or Conservative, that the opposition of the Roman Catholic bishops to Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges, which offer full equality to all creeds, did not emanate from zeal for "the salvation of immortal souls," but was entirely a financial objection, and founded upon a desire, not for equality, but for supremacy, autocracy, and exclusiveness.

X.

Mr. Gladstone resigned in 1894, and was succeeded by Lord Rosebery, who did not touch the Roman Catholic University question. The Conservatives returned to power in 1895, Lord Cadogan becoming Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, with Mr. Gerald Balfour as his Chief Secretary.

The bishops at once passed resolutions on the university question, and published a statement, signed by Cardinal Logue, in which they declared: "It must now be plain to every one that Irish Catholics, as a body, will not accept a university education which is either Protestant or godless. Catholics will not send their sons to Trinity College nor to the Queen's Colleges; and, consequently, the only alternatives practically remaining are either to keep the Catholics of Ireland in ignorance, and let them fall behind every country in the world, or give them oppor-

tunities of university education which their consciences can accept."

This resolution defines the policy which Cullen and his successors had pursued since 1850. They had done their best to "keep the Catholics of Ireland in ignorance, and let them fall behind every country in the world," rather than allow them to partake of the equal opportunities with their Protestant fellow-citizens given to them by the State.

It is not equality the Roman Catholic bishops want, but supremacy and superiority; and it is not to forward but to retard the spread of education that the Roman Church wants that supremacy and superiority. They shriek the doctrine of equality while they reject equality and aim at becoming autocrats.

There is an erroneous idea entertained by many conscientious Englishmen, as, for instance, the late Leslie Stephen, that the Catholics of Ireland get *no education* at present, because of the Roman Church's opposition to the existing system; and that it would be better, therefore, to give the authorities of the Roman Church a large sum of public money and complete control over the education of Catholics, so that the lay Catholics might at least get *some education*. Such a notion could only be entertained by a man who knew next to nothing of the internal condition of Ireland.

The Catholics of Ireland since 1831 have been getting *some education*, because of the joint Protestant control maintained in the National Board of Elementary Education, in the Intermediate Education Board, in the Queen's Colleges, and in the

Royal University. Indeed, with an experience of both countries, it appears to me that the Catholic layman in Ireland is getting as good, perhaps a better, education now, as far as mere book-learning goes, than the average Englishman of the same class; but that education is rendered nugatory by the obstructions and perplexities, so damaging to his character, which are inflicted upon him by the Roman Church.

If we were to abolish the present system just because the bishops find fault with it, and if we were to hand over the education of the Catholic laity entirely to the Roman Church, with a large Government endowment to be administered by that Church, so far from thereby securing to the lay Catholic *some* education instead of *none*, we should rather bring it to pass in time that the Catholic laity should get *no education*, instead of the very considerable education they have now been receiving for over seventy years.

Englishmen must not be disturbed by the grumbling of the Roman bishops, whose resolutions, as we shall see, would produce very little effect on the respectable Catholics in Ireland, if it were not for the unaccountable terror they seem to inspire in the minds of English statesmen who know nothing about Ireland.

The policy of Cardinal Cullen was now repeated by Cardinal Logue, and in 1897, the year following the bishops' resolutions, the Catholic laity were once more invited to come forward, after an interval of twenty-seven years, and make a declaration to Lord Cadogan and Mr. Gerald Balfour on the question of university

education for Catholics. It might have been expected that after a generation they would have had something new to say for the guidance of the Government. On the contrary, the men of 1897 proved even more puppet-like than their fathers in 1870. The meagre declaration of their fathers, already quoted, may have been original, however impotent it seems; but the selected lay Catholics in 1897 could not even claim so much, for their declaration was a *verbatim* reiteration, without a word added or subtracted, of the declaration made in 1870! It was signed by about a thousand people, as compared with seven hundred and eighteen who signed in 1870, and contained a codicil with the names of thirteen Protestant Nationalist Members of Parliament, a class of men who, fired by all the zeal of the convert, are even more pliable in the hands of the Roman Catholic bishops than even the Roman Catholic Members.

In the same year the bishops themselves signed a corporate statement on the question, in which they disclosed their latest views. They said that they would not ask for "a preponderance of ecclesiastics on the governing body" of a new university. But they added: "One of the advantages which we expect from the foundation of a Catholic University is the opportunity which it will afford of giving a higher education to the candidates for the priesthood in Ireland; and these alone, it will be observed, will make from the first a large accession to the number of students in the university."

Maynooth had just celebrated its centenary in 1895, and it was announced that the number of theological students then at the college was over six hundred;

and it was now only one of several Roman theological colleges in Ireland! We shall presently see how little desire there was for higher education amongst its students and governors as judged by the small use they made of the Royal University for twenty years.

The bishops, furthermore, pointed out that the Jesuit students in the Catholic University College and the students of the College of the Holy Ghost at Blackrock would form another large contingent for the new university. "And hence it will be seen," they continued, "that we bishops approach the settlement of this question not empty-handed." From this we may gather that the clerical students are expected to control the proposed new Roman Catholic University. They will be all-powerful in the Dublin college, and equally so in the colleges of Cork and Galway; and, however the governing bodies of these three places may be constituted to begin with, they will, after a few years, when they are elected academically, contain that very "preponderance of ecclesiastics" which the bishops are prepared to disclaim at the start.

Mr. John (now Lord) Morley had suggested that "a theological faculty should not be excluded from a new Catholic University, provided that the chairs of the faculty are not endowed out of public funds." The bishops now assented to that. With Maynooth already in their hands, and several other theological colleges besides, it would have been rather hard on Mr. Morley to compel him to ask the British Exchequer for money to endow chairs for Roman Catholic theology, especially during Mr. Gladstone's lifetime.

The incongruous attitude taken up by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Morley and other less distinguished Chief Secretaries with reference to this Catholic University question, induces one to paraphrase what Dean Swift said of those English clergymen who used to be appointed to Irish bishoprics in days of old: "Excellent and moral men have been selected on every occasion of vacancy. But it unfortunately has uniformly happened that, as they crossed over to Ireland, they and their patents were seized upon by highwaymen, who came to Dublin in their stead and were sworn in as Chief Secretaries."

On the antiquated question of religious tests the bishops declared: "We have no objection to the opening up of the degrees, honours, and emoluments of the university to all comers." That was a very safe concession; for, once the bishops control the governing body by an overwhelming majority, they may safely invite all comers to present themselves as candidates for posts of emolument, but they will not be in the least likely to elect anybody except one of their own docile followers. When a corporate body has a continuous existence with powers of co-optation, without any influence from outside, the abolition of religious tests will not change its constitution. Universities are still conceded that right which has been taken away from every other representative corporation handling public money; and the Roman Catholic University which is proposed in the Bill of 1908 is to possess that right even more fully than the ancient universities of England.

This Logue statement of claim of 1897 is a most valuable document for the insight it gives into the

ulterior intentions of the Roman Church with regard to the Roman Catholic University. They will flood it with theological students. They will acquire the sole control of it. They will be relieved from the presence of Protestants and from the spur of competition with Protestants, that "mental poison" with which they are now afflicted in the Royal University. They will then do as they like with regard to the secular education given within it. It will not take long to accomplish all this; and then truly the last educational state of isolated Roman Catholic Ireland promises to be worse than that which existed before the Irish Parliament gave the first grant to Maynooth College in 1795; for at the end of the eighteenth century there was hope of improvement; henceforth, if the Bill becomes law, there will be none.

In 1898 Lord Cadogan, one of the most conscientious of Irish Lord-Lieutenants, secured the passage of a Local Government Act which gave Ireland County Councils and District Councils on the same lines as in England. But, friendly as the Unionist Government seemed to be to the Roman hierarchy, it had the strength of mind to exclude clergymen of all denominations from membership of these Councils, although clergymen were eligible for them in England. Cardinal Logue and other bishops protested, but Lord Salisbury's Government held firm and excluded them; thereby recognising the indubitable fact that the Roman Catholic priests are essentially a different class of men from English clergymen of any denomination.

During the Boer War the Catholic University agitation subsided again, but after the war Lord Cadogan

was once more approached, and he consented, in 1901, to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the Irish university question. Lord Robertson, a well-known Scotch lawyer, presided over this Commission; many of its members were men already committed to the Roman Church's views; many also were professional educationalists not unnaturally predisposed to favour the creation of a new professional endowment.

XI

The Robertson Commission elicited some startling facts concerning the working of the Queen's Colleges. It must have astonished the Commissioners, as well as every one in England who had read their final Report, to find that, out of 190 students on the books of the Cork Queen's College for the session 1901-2, no less than 118 were Roman Catholics. In the Galway Queen's College it was found that, out of 93 students, 35 were Roman Catholics; and even in Belfast the Roman Catholics were not unrepresented, there being 17 Roman Catholic students out of a total of 349.

There were thus 170 Catholic young men of the respectable middle classes studying for degrees and professions in the three Queen's Colleges, or about 27 per cent. of the total number of students, and over 60 per cent. of the total number of students in the Catholic districts of Cork and Galway, in spite of all the fulminations of the Roman Catholic bishops.

Furthermore, in each college there were Deans of Residence for every religion except the Roman Catholic, namely, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, and non-subscribing Presbyterian. The Roman Catholic bishops, with all their professed solicitude for the salvation of souls, were the only religious body in Ireland who refused to provide a Dean of Residence, even at a salary paid by the State, to look after the religion of the students of their own denomination.

It was found that the number of students attending the Jesuits' Catholic University College was 181, of whom 164 were Catholics; so that the number of Catholics attending the college which had the blessing and patronage of the bishops and is situated in the Irish capital, with a population of 400,000 people, almost entirely Catholic, within a radius of twenty miles, was actually less than the number of Catholics attending the godless Queen's Colleges which the bishops had been denouncing in such violent language.

It was furthermore found that during the fifteen years, from 1886 to 1900 inclusive, during which the Royal University may be said to have been in full working order, the number of students who graduated in arts was as follows: Belfast Queen's College, 343; Cork Queen's College, 65; Galway Queen's College, 99; making a total of 507 graduates in arts from the three Queen's Colleges during the period.

In the same time the number of students who graduated from the Roman Catholic colleges, managed by priests, was: Jesuits' Catholic Univer-

sity College, Dublin, 171; Holy Ghost College, Blackrock, 38; Holy Cross College, Dublin, 45; St. Mungret's, Limerick, 54; St. Patrick's, Carlow, 15; Presentation Brothers, Cork, 14; St. Malachy's, Belfast, 13; Jesuits' School, Clongowes, 4; and Maynooth College, 1.

These figures prove to demonstration how little the directors of Maynooth love the higher education about which they talk so unctuously and pass such high-sounding resolutions. During the whole working career of the Royal University, which was expressly created to please them, only one student from Maynooth had taken a degree in arts!

All the priest-managed Colleges of the Roman Church combined only obtained 355 degrees in arts, as against 507 obtained by the three boycotted Queen's Colleges.

During the period under review 281 degrees in arts were obtained by students who were not claimed by any particular school or college, and the majority of whom we may take to be Protestants. In the same period 489 students obtained degrees from private study, of whom again we may assume that the vast majority were Protestants.

Out of the total of 2,172 degrees in arts conferred within the period, the priests only specifically claim 355, or about 16 per cent.; and of these **ONLY ONE WAS OBTAINED BY A MAYNOOTH STUDENT!** All that is necessary to obtain a degree in the Royal University for those Maynooth students is half-an-hour's journey by train to Dublin, and a small fee of £4 for the whole course in arts. But then there is the examination test to be passed to the satisfaction

of a joint Protestant and Catholic senate—a difficulty which will disappear, if this new Bill should unhappily become law! These figures, one would hope, ought to dispose completely of the argument put forward by the bishops, that their main anxiety for a Roman Catholic University is to secure higher education for the Maynooth students.

If higher education were valued by those who govern the Maynooth students, they would not have lost the chance of acquiring it for fifteen years. If they should flock into a new Roman Catholic University, it would only be for the purpose of controlling the elections to the governing body, lowering the character of the education given, and putting the place entirely into the power of the bishops—after which ecclesiastical students, we may be sure, would find little difficulty in satisfying the requirements of the university examiners.

During the ten years 1891 to 1900 inclusive, there were 495 medical degrees conferred by the Royal University, divided as follows amongst the affiliated institutions: Queen's College, Belfast, 228; Queen's College, Cork, 94; Jesuit School of Medicine, 87; Queen's College, Galway, 16; mixed and various schools, 70.

Thus, out of 495 medical men qualified in the period, the medical school of the Bishops and the Jesuits claims only 87, or under 20 per cent., while the non-sectarian Queen's Colleges claim nearly 70 per cent., of whom a large proportion were gained by Catholics.

In the Faculty of Laws during the same period of fifteen years, out of 150 Bachelorships of Laws given

in the Royal University, while students from various unendowed schools and private study obtained 114, only THREE were granted to the students of the Jesuit Catholic University College!

In engineering the failure of the Jesuit Catholic University College was worst of all, for out of 109 Bachelorships in Engineering conferred, NOT A SINGLE ONE was obtained by a student from that college.

With regard to the education of women, an important element to be borne in mind in considering this question, while the students of Alexandra College, Dublin, and Victoria College, Belfast, obtained 185 degrees in arts, only 19 degrees were obtained by the students from Roman Catholic convents. To me, at all events, it appears that the change now proposed in the constitution of State-endowed university education in Ireland would, if it became law, have disastrous effects upon the higher education of Roman Catholic women.

XII

Almost every one of the Commissioners signed the Report of the Robertson Commission with a reservation. The Chairman himself was, perhaps, the member of the Commission who may be said to have commanded the highest degree of public confidence. As an educated Scotsman, he was presumed to possess all that love for education for which his countrymen are distinguished all over the world. Though he signed the Report, he disagreed with his colleagues, and his separate report

is so important and, at the same time, of such moderate length, that I print it in full, in order that it may be studied by all who are interested in the question.

1. Lord Robertson makes it clear that there was only one reason for re-opening the University question in Ireland, and that was to "satisfy those who determine Roman Catholic opinion on those matters"—that is to say, the Roman Catholic bishops. It is idle to pretend that it is in response to any other public opinion in Ireland, Protestant or Catholic, that this question is being wantonly tampered with at the present time.

2. Lord Robertson declares that the evidence which he heard in Ireland dispelled any illusion which he might previously have entertained on this subject. He is now convinced that "a college for Roman Catholics, or a university for Roman Catholics, will be and must be a Roman Catholic institution with limitations of thought corresponding to the requirements of the authoritative exponents of that creed."

3. He asserts that if such an institution be endowed by Government, a great "added influence will unquestionably accrue to the Roman Catholic prelates."

4. He puts the question straightly to the United Kingdom, and says it is for Parliament to determine whether that added influence "would be exercised to the furtherance of national enlightenment and imperial strength."

The following is the full text of Lord Robertson's separate report:—

“I entirely agree in the educational views expressed in the Report. I share the opinions of my colleagues as to the defects in the existing higher education in Ireland. I think also that the scheme of a reconstituted Royal University, with a Roman Catholic College as one of its constituent colleges, is, *on paper at least*, the best adapted to the complicated situation to which it is applied.

“But the Report goes on to recommend the adoption of this scheme, and *I am unable to concur in this recommendation* for two reasons:—

“1. *The raison d'être of any such scheme must be that it will satisfy the Roman Catholics, or rather those who determine Roman Catholic opinion on those matters*, for otherwise no one would think of the State endowing a Roman Catholic College or University. But not only are those who speak for the Roman Catholics not agreed that the scheme recommended by my colleagues will be accepted, but the most authoritative opinions are expressed to the contrary.

“2. It is implied in any recommendation that a Roman Catholic College should be established and endowed by the State that we decide, or that we ignore, the grave political problem which stands between the Legislature and that step. For my part, I think that our duty would have been usefully fulfilled, if we had presented, as we have done, a reasoned analysis of the several proposals, stating which of them most completely meets the educational requirements of the country, and had stopped there, for each of those proposals issues not in an educational, but in a political question, the solution of

which I cannot suppose to have been confided, even tentatively, to this Commission. Our Report, which has at least the merit of *dispelling some illusions*, makes it clear that *a College for Roman Catholics, or a University for Roman Catholics, will be and must be a Roman Catholic institution, with limitations of thought corresponding to the requirements of the authoritative exponents of that creed.*

“The question whether such an institution ought to be endowed by Parliament would at any time be important; and it arises after the system of concurrent endowment has been finally extinguished by the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland. But, further, that question must be faced in all its bearings; and it will be for the Government and for Parliament to judge *how far the added influence which would unquestionably accrue to the Roman Catholic prelates would be exercised to the furtherance of national enlightenment and imperial strength.* In so speaking, I must not be taken to express or suggest any opinion of my own upon the question which I state, or to estimate lightly the grave evils caused by the imperfect education which exists. These must inevitably enter the general account to be taken when those responsible for the welfare of Ireland approach the problem with which we now part.

“ROBERTSON.”

Lord Robertson deserves the gratitude of the public for his straightforward statement, and if his words have not borne fruit with “those responsible for the welfare of Ireland” at the present moment, the consequences of the inexplicable reactionary movement now afoot cannot be laid at his door.

For those who have studied the policy of the priests from the beginning, there can be no doubt as to whether such "added influence," if it should accrue, to the Roman Catholic bishops, will bring an increase of national enlightenment or imperial strength. The contrary is what history teaches us to expect; and Mr. Birrell has not been able to adduce a shred of evidence to prove that the Roman Church has changed its educational policy in Ireland, or that the Irish Roman Catholic bishops and the Jesuits have at all changed their disposition towards the Protestant United Kingdom.

The findings of the Robertson Commission made it impossible for the Government to contemplate legislation upon the lines of an independent Roman Catholic University approved by the bishops, and accordingly the agitation entered on a new phase. In 1902, when the Commission was still sitting, Sir David Harrel, Under-Secretary for Ireland, was compulsorily retired from office to make room for Sir Antony MacDonnell, a Home Ruler and a Roman Catholic—a strange appointment to be made by a Conservative Government—and the new Under-Secretary at once threw himself into the Catholic University agitation with greater zeal than any official had hitherto displayed.

A pupil of the Jesuits, and on terms of intimacy with the leading members of the Order in Dublin, he was understood to be acting with their entire concurrence and on their behalf. His project was not to endow a Roman Catholic college simply, as Mr. Gladstone intended, or to destroy the Royal University, as Mr. Birrell proposes, but a scheme for the

endowment of a Roman Catholic college and an increase of endowment for the Belfast Queen's College; the object being, not so much to benefit the Presbyterians, as to secure their support for the Roman Catholic University.

The Presbyterian position on this question from the beginning has been one of singular unselfishness. They had been the most active opponents of the project, although, being Nonconformists and outside the pale of the Established Church, it would not have been unnatural if they had joined hands with the Roman Catholics, as English Free Churchmen and English Roman Catholics did at the inception of the London University. The Irish Presbyterians, however, know more about Roman Catholicism than did the English Free Churchmen of seventy years ago, for they see it in full working order as the religion of the majority of the Irish people, while the English Nonconformists then only saw it as the religion of a minority, and had not the same opportunity of knowing what it really means in full practice.

Sir Antony MacDonnell's hope was, and is, that by making a substantial grant for new buildings and increasing the yearly endowment to the Belfast Queen's College, the opposition of the Presbyterians could be bought off. During 1903, after the issue of the Report of the Robertson Commission, Ireland was full of rumours, and the papers abounded with letters on the "university question" from Roman Catholic bishops and priests, and from a few persons of that class described by Lord Morley of Blackburn as "clerically-minded laymen."

All the writers declared that there was a "pro-

blem," and that there was a "question," which had to be solved by British statesmen. Whereas the truth is that university education is one of the few questions in Ireland which may be said to have been really and definitely settled by the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, the throwing open of Trinity College, and the establishment of the Royal University. It is one of those questions which only requires to be left alone to bring itself to a most satisfactory solution. The Catholics who are now attending Cork and Galway Queen's Colleges and the Royal University will continue to do so, and in increasing numbers. Furthermore, the small and decreasing Roman Catholic population of Ireland now receives from the State, if we take into account the State grants for elementary education, for secondary education under the Intermediate Act, and for university education in the Queen's Colleges and Royal University, a far larger endowment for education than any equal number of the population in any other part of the United Kingdom—and this without counting the advantages they possess in Trinity College.

Sir Antony MacDonnell's scheme of concurrent endowment for the Presbyterians and for his Jesuit friends was taken up by Mr. Wyndham, the Chief Secretary, and Lord Dudley, the Lord-Lieutenant. These two young men had had very little experience of Ireland, and seemed to be entirely in the hands of Sir Antony MacDonnell, who was himself in the hands of the Jesuits, and, having spent his whole life in India, was not very well versed in Irish affairs.

One plan put forward by them was to leave the Queen's Colleges and the Royal University as they

were, and to endow a new Roman Catholic college in Dublin as an integral part of Dublin University, constituted so as to satisfy the Roman Catholic bishops, and at the same time to give a considerable fresh endowment to Belfast Queen's College. For some time this project seemed to be progressing favourably in the newspapers, on the assumption that Trinity College would consent to it, until the bubble was ruthlessly pricked by a masterly letter from Dr. Gray, one of the senior Fellows of Trinity.

Trinity College naturally objected to be reduced to the level of a college managed by the Roman Catholic bishops, the directors of Maynooth. If such a Roman Catholic college were founded within Dublin University, we should soon see almost illiterate students from the diocesan seminaries possessing degrees from Dublin University, apparently just the same as the Trinity College graduates; and the high reputation so justly held by Dublin University would have been unquestionably lowered by such a combination. The result of Trinity College's refusal to be drawn into the MacDonnell scheme was that Mr. Wyndham did not allow himself to be hustled into producing a Bill, as Mr. Birrell has foolishly done.

I may not dwell on the opposition to the Roman Catholic University project from 1902 to 1905, as I was largely concerned in it, both by way of lectures and by my books, "Five Years in Ireland" and "Priests and People in Ireland." Suffice it to say that none of the MacDonnell schemes in those years came to a head, and that the Presbyterians rejected the bribe proffered to them.

At the General Election of 1906 the Roman Catholic University "question" was not once mentioned by the candidates of either political party; and Parliament has, therefore, NO MANDATE TO DEAL WITH IT. On the contrary, it has a mandate not to deal with it; for, while the subject of education was freely discussed, this branch of it was studiously avoided, and its avoidance constituted an implied pledge to the electorate that it would not be dealt with. The unpopularity of Mr. Gerald Balfour and Mr. Wyndham in Belfast was notorious, and it was almost entirely due to their leanings first towards a Roman Catholic university, and then to the MacDonnell scheme of concurrent endowment.

When the present Government came into office Mr. Bryce, who became Chief Secretary for Ireland, being himself a North of Ireland Presbyterian, appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into the affairs of Trinity College. His view was to create a national university for Ireland, with three or four colleges, one at Dublin and one at Cork for the Roman Catholics, Trinity College for the Episcopalians, and Belfast Queen's College for the Presbyterians, so that the students in all the colleges might get the same degrees.

If such a scheme could be carried out, the Catholic colleges, thus included in the national scheme of university education, would be kept up to the mark by the joint control which the University Board would exercise over them, and they ought not to relapse into the educational lethargy likely to infect an institution managed, like Maynooth, entirely by priests and their pupils. But this proposition was

also opposed by Trinity College as involving the same sacrifice as Mr. Wyndham's scheme. If it became law Trinity College would have forfeited its old-established pre-eminence, and almost lost its identity amongst the other colleges thus admitted to a level of equality with itself.

If Trinity College had been the only opponent of Mr. Bryce's scheme and if the Government possessed control of the House of Lords, it might have been carried; but the Roman Catholic bishops did not approve of the proposal, because it did not give them sufficiently absolute control over the new endowment, or bring the new colleges sufficiently under their influence. They were, therefore, lukewarm in support of it, and if the Bill had come before the House of Commons the Irish Party would have voted against it under their instructions.

Mr. Bryce left Ireland soon after the publication of his scheme, and when Mr. Birrell was appointed Chief Secretary, it was confidently expected that he, at all events, the recognised champion of Non-conformity and undenominationalism in England, would never propose to endow a Roman Catholic university for Ireland. It is, perhaps, the most sudden and astonishing display of political inconsistency witnessed in modern times to find such a man entirely forgetting his own principles and introducing a measure more favourable to the claims of the Roman Catholic Church than anything hitherto put into the form of a parliamentary Bill. Mr. Balfour or Mr. Wyndham could have excused themselves by saying that they favoured denominational education in England, but Mr. Birrell had no such excuse.

Until the official secrets of the present time are made public in years to come, we cannot say for certain what may be the power urging on this Liberal Government to do an iniquitous act entirely contrary to their principles, and from which the Party can reap nothing but political disadvantage.

The Roman Catholic bishops refused to give evidence before Mr. Bryce's Commission to inquire into the affairs of Trinity College; and the Commission had no opportunities for eliciting any new information on the general question which had not been already obtained by the Robertson Commission. It included a Roman Catholic Fellow of Trinity College, Mr. Kelleher, just as the Robertson Commission had included another Roman Catholic Fellow of Trinity College in the person of Dr. Starkie, ex-President of Galway Queen's College, and now the Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland.

In a separate note by Sir Edward Fry, Sir Arthur W. Rucker, and Mr. S. H. Butcher, the objection of Trinity College to Mr. Bryce's scheme is pointed out in peculiar terms, as well as the objection of the Roman Catholic bishops, though the bishops did not openly denounce the proposals, leaving it to Trinity College to do the fighting. "If a second college were created in the University of Dublin," these three Commissioners say, "it is evident that the governing body of the university would have to comprise representatives of these two colleges, and there is at least good reason to fear that the jealousies of religion and race, which in other fields tend to mar the work of education in Ireland, would

reappear, and all offices would be given, not to the best man, but to the best man only of the Protestants or the Roman Catholics, according as it was the turn of the one or the other."

Trinity College would have been dragged down, and it is doubtful whether the Roman Catholic bishops' college would have been elevated. If Mr. Butcher doubts the possibility of "the best man" being appointed in a university governed by a joint board of Protestants and Catholics, what hope does he entertain of the best man being appointed in a university ruled, like Maynooth, entirely by Roman Catholic bishops? There "the best man" will naturally be the man from Maynooth.

Mr. Kelleher, the Roman Catholic Fellow of Trinity College, appends a note to the Report which is peculiarly worthy of consideration, as giving an independent Roman Catholic lay opinion on this question:

"I have considered carefully," he writes, "the demand for the establishment of a college for Catholics in Dublin.

"I believe that the demand is UNREASONABLE, and could not be conceded without GRAVE INJURY TO THE INTERESTS OF IRISH LAY CATHOLICS AND GRAVE DANGER AT NO DISTANT DATE TO THE PEACE OF THE COUNTRY.

"I am, therefore, very strongly of opinion that such a college ought not to be established by the State."

It would not be possible to put the objections to a Roman Catholic university in fewer words, or with greater force.

XIII

Let us now consider Mr. Birrell's, or, perhaps we should say, Sir Antony MacDonnell's and Father Delaney's, present Bill for the satisfaction of the Roman Catholic bishops, and let us see whether the "added influence," certain to accrue to the Roman Church from its enactment, is likely to make for "national enlightenment and imperial strength." We may accept Lord Robertson's well-considered conclusion that "the *raison d'être* of any such scheme must be that it will satisfy the Roman Catholics, or rather those who determine Roman Catholic opinion on those matters, for otherwise no one would think of the State endowing a Roman Catholic college or university." There is no other *raison d'être* for such a Bill than that it will satisfy the Roman Catholic bishops.

Mr. Birrell's or Sir Antony MacDonnell's Bill goes farther than any measure hitherto proposed, for it empowers the King to found TWO NEW UNIVERSITIES in Ireland, one at Dublin and one at Belfast. As the true object of the Bill is to satisfy the Roman Catholic bishops by founding a separate Roman Catholic university, we need not seriously discuss the Belfast section of the measure, which proposes to convert the Belfast Queen's College into a university, to advance £60,000 for new buildings, and increase its permanent grant by about £15,000 a year. There would be nothing objectionable in this in itself, for the Belfast Queen's College has been doing good work, the number of its students being

considerably more than the combined numbers attending the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway; and the Belfast people would be delighted to get this grant, if it were given *bonâ fide* in recognition of the successful working of their college.

There are no people more alive to the value of money than those of Belfast; yet we find that, with the exception of the president and professors of the Belfast College, whose influence and salaries would be largely increased by this Bill, public opinion in Belfast is dead against it. It must be admitted that, when the Belfast people reject this gift offered by the Government, they only do so for some weighty reason.

The Members of Parliament for Belfast, except the Nationalist who temporarily sits for one division of the city, are all opposed to it, and they include two of the largest employers of labour in the city, namely Mr. Clark, of Workman & Clark's, and Mr. Wolff, of Harland & Wolff's, both famous shipbuilding firms. The Ulster parliamentary party has unanimously opposed the Bill. The press of Belfast, except the Roman Catholic newspaper, is either not in favour of it or actively opposed to it.

Amongst many citizens of Belfast who have denounced it in unqualified terms, special mention deserves to be made of the Right Hon. Thomas Sinclair, who is, perhaps, the most influential lay Presbyterian in Ulster, a distinguished graduate and benefactor of the Belfast Queen's College, a wealthy merchant, and several times president of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce.

But, more important than all these expressions

of public sentiment, is the fact that the freely-elected General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland has specifically condemned and rejected this measure at its annual meeting recently held.

If the condemnation of the Roman bishops would—and we know it would—instantly cause the Government to withdraw the whole Bill, surely the condemnation of the free General Assembly should have equal influence at least with regard to the Belfast portion of the Bill.

If the support of the Irish Nationalist Party is to be counted as an argument in favour of the Roman Catholic university portion of the Bill, then assuredly the opposition of the Ulster Party should have equal weight against the Belfast section of the measure. The Government should at least clear themselves from the charge of hypocrisy, drop the Belfast section of the Bill, and proceed with the Roman Catholic university section alone, as the only *raison d'être* of the measure is to satisfy the Roman Catholic bishops. We cannot conceive Mr. Birrell proceeding with the Roman Catholic university section of this Bill in opposition to the Nationalist Party; by what right, then, should he proceed with the Belfast section in opposition to the Ulster Party?

There is no precedent for the procedure of the Government in this matter. Can we suppose, for instance, that the Government would insist upon forcing a grant of money upon University College, London, or on Birmingham University, or on Liverpool University, against the combined protests of the local members, the local press, and every other local body through which public opinion may make

itself heard, even assuming that the professors were unanimously in favour of accepting the increased grant?

That is the anomalous political situation which the Government has forced upon Belfast.

The proposed generosity to the Belfast Queen's College is regarded as *mala fide*, being intended to cover the endowment of the Jesuits' College in Dublin, the Romanisation of Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway, and the constitution of the three into a Roman Catholic University, with power to affiliate the theological college of Maynooth, which will ultimately control the whole university.

That is why the Belfast and Ulster Protestants reject this gift; and that is why English Churchmen and English Free Churchmen, who value freedom of mind, should support them in their heroic stand against the revolutionary proposals in Mr. Birrell's Bill.

If Trinity College is silent, it is only because its authorities feared that its endowments might have been taken from it, or its distinct position forfeited, under the national university scheme advocated by Mr. Bryce. Relieved from the terror of amalgamation with Maynooth, the friends of Trinity College are now reluctant to enter the arena of political strife; but they assuredly do not approve of this scheme for endowing Jesuitry and Maynoothism. This position is not, perhaps, a noble one, nor worthy of the college traditions, but it is at least explicable.

The Bill reserves power to the King to give a name to the new Roman Catholic university at

Dublin, and already we learn from Mr. Birrell that there is a split amongst his Irish clerical friends, some of whom are for calling it "The University of Ireland," while others would be content with the more characteristic title of "The University of St. Patrick." Mr. Birrell's Belfast friends aim at no higher name than "The University of Belfast"; but his Maynooth advisers are ambitious to have a title which would convey by innuendo that their university, like their Church, was the only true institution of its kind in Ireland. The university which it is proposed to abolish deserved its title of "The Royal University of Ireland," because its operations took in the whole country. But the new Roman Catholic university would be confined to the southern portion, or, as it used to be known, Mug's Half, of the country, while the new university at Belfast would cater for Con's Half.

The Bill proposes that "the present Queen's College at Cork, the Queen's College at Galway, and a new college, having its seat at Dublin, shall be constituent colleges of the new university having its seat at Dublin." Further powers are given to enable the authorities to bring in Maynooth College, in the fourth section of the second clause: "Nothing in this section shall prevent provision being made by the charter of the new university, under which the university may give to students who are pursuing a course of study of a university type, approved by the governing body of the university, in any college or educational institution in Ireland under teachers recognised by the governing body for the purpose, *the benefit of any privileges of matriculated students*

of the university, or the right of obtaining a university degree, subject to any conditions or limitations contained in the charter or statutes of the university."

"It would be a great hardship upon the Maynooth students," said Mr. Birrell, introducing the Bill, "if we prevented them from taking degrees at the university which takes the place of the Royal, to which they have gone hitherto for their degrees." The reader apparently knows more about this part of the question than the Chief Secretary, for, as we have stated, ONLY ONE STUDENT FROM MAYNOOTH graduated in arts at the Royal University in the fifteen years preceding the appointment of the Robertson Commission! One cannot be too cautious in examining the statements of counsel for the hierarchy in connection with this Bill. "My own belief," said Mr. Birrell, "is that the senate will affiliate Maynooth." It is also my belief, and there need be little doubt on the point.

The senate, or governing body, of the university must be *personæ gratæ* to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, whose satisfaction constitutes the only *raison d'être* for the Bill. Such a body must approve of the system of teaching carried on at Maynooth, and must admit Maynooth students, as a matter of course and, as it were, *honoris causa*, to all the privileges of matriculated students, and confer degrees upon them. It would be absolutely impossible for the senate of this Roman Catholic university to refuse to recognise the teachers at Maynooth as persons capable of giving "a university type of education."

The power of the Roman Catholic bishops over Mr. Birrell may be gathered from a singular discrepancy between the Chief Secretary's introductory speech and the actual terms of the Bill. "The professors," he said, "will be appointed by the senate and they will be dismissed by the senate. The question arises as to whether a professor who has been dismissed should not have a right of appeal to the visitor." And he added: "The Crown reserves the right of being the visitor, and it will act through a Board of Visitors, who will be nominated by the Crown as occasion arises, and regard being had to the nature of the dispute to be decided." Almost the day after Mr. Birrell's speech appeared in print, I saw an opinion from the Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry on the Bill in one of the Irish newspapers, in which he said that this permission of an appeal to the Crown "might cause some trouble"! I search the printed Bill in vain now for any clause proposing to make this right of appeal the law of the land, in case, unhappily for the United Kingdom, this Roman Catholic university project shall be carried through!

The third clause says "that no test whatever of religious belief shall be imposed on a professor, lecturer, fellow, scholar, exhibitioner, graduate, or student" of the new Roman Catholic university. I have already dwelt on the uselessness of such a proviso, which seems very plausible on paper, but will be null and void in practice. The only *raison d'être* of the Bill being to please the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the governing body of the University must be *personæ gratæ* to the Roman Church, and any sensible man will take it for granted that if

the Roman Catholic hierarchy approve of this Bill, it will be because they feel confident that they hold the governing body of the new university in the hollow of their hands. The governing body need not ask candidates for university posts to state their religion. That will be known beforehand, and the *protégé* of the bishops or the Jesuits will always be elected to the vacant position.

The *Times*, with its usual wisdom, commenting on the passage of the second reading of the Bill on May 12th, said: "The fiction that the measure is anything but denominational is too gross to deceive anybody, or to soothe, we should imagine, any but very adaptable consciences."

Under the second section of the first clause, the governing body is to be nominated by the Government for the five years following the establishment of the university. Mr. Birrell told us in his speech that it will consist of thirty-six members, of whom seven are to be Protestants and twenty-nine Roman Catholics. If the senate, as thus nominated by the Government, be accepted, we may take it for granted that it has been constituted entirely in accordance with the wish of the Roman Catholic bishops.

After the first five years, the senate or governing body is to consist of thirty-five members, of whom six will be elected by the governing body of the new Dublin college which is to be constructed out of the present Jesuit College at Dublin; four by the governing body of the Queen's College, Cork; four by that of the Queen's College, Galway; five by the convocation of the whole university;

six by co-optation; and the *ex-officio* members will be the Chancellor of the university, the three Presidents of the colleges at Dublin, Cork, and Galway, and six persons nominated by the Government. After five years it will be found that the heavy brigade of students from Maynooth, from the Jesuits' Catholic University College, from the College of the Holy Ghost, and from Holy Cross College, as well as those from other clerical seminaries who will enter the Cork and Galway Colleges, will place the control of the university in the bishops' hands. They spoke truly when they said in 1897, "We bishops approach the settlement of this question not empty-handed!"

It will also be found in practice that the right of nomination by the Crown will never be exercised, except in favour of men agreeable to the Roman Catholic bishops. The check of seven Protestant members, with which the university senate is to start on its career, will cease after the first five years; and the body may become entirely Roman Catholic, unless it suits the interest of the bishops to keep a few Protestants on it for the sake of appearances. There are many Protestants in Ireland from whom a few respectable men can be selected who, like the Protestant Nationalist Members at present, are more subservient to the bishops than any Roman Catholics.

In passing, we may contrast the constitution of the permanent governing bodies proposed in the first schedule of the Act for the new universities. On the Belfast senate, besides the Chancellor and two or three pro-Chancellors, who are *ex-officio*

members, we find a number of men holding representative offices entitled *ex-officio* to seats on the senate, while not one representative man of that description appears in the composition of the Roman Catholic senate at Dublin. We find, for instance, the President for the time being of the Students' Representative Council; the Lord Mayor for the time being of the city of Belfast; the President for the time being of the Belfast Chamber of Commerce; the Chairman for the time being of the Board of Management of the Royal Victoria Hospital; and the Principal of a secondary school in Ulster.

If such a university were constituted in Belfast, these men would help to insure a continuous infusion of new blood from outside into the governing body. It is not stated, of course, nor is it likely, that the gentlemen at present holding these offices support this scheme of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Mr. Birrell. All we know is that the names of their offices, appearing in the schedule to the Bill, give it a plausible appearance, and thus fulfil a useful function; but the representative character of the proposed senate for Belfast is, nevertheless, worthy of notice, as compared with the non-representative character of the senate proposed for Dublin.

XIV.

But a more fatal objection to this Bill remains to be mentioned. The statutes by which the new Roman Catholic university and its constituent colleges at Dublin, Cork, and Galway are to be governed are

not to be drawn up, NOR ARE ITS FIRST OFFICERS TO BE APPOINTED, by Parliament; which is thus asked to pass a law creating a Roman Catholic university for the first time in the United Kingdom without knowing the rules by which it is to be governed or the manner of men who will constitute its staff! Both the making of the statutes and the appointment of the staff are to be delegated to seven commissioners, who are apparently not to be named until this Bill becomes law, contrary to the precedent set by the Universities Act of 1877.

Again bearing in mind Lord Robertson's *dictum* that the only *raison d'être* for this scheme is that it will "satisfy the Roman Catholics, or rather those who determine Roman Catholic opinion on those matters," it is evident that those seven commissioners must contain a large working majority of persons agreeable to the Roman Catholic bishops. If the Roman Catholic bishops approve the appointment of those seven commissioners, then it may be taken for granted that the majority of them are men who accept the Roman hierarchy in Ireland as infallible guides in the matter of what Cardinal Cullen called "Catholic education," be those men professing Protestants, like Mr. Butcher of Cambridge, or professing Roman Catholics, like Mr. MacWeeny of Dublin; and these seven commissioners will make no statutes for the government of that university, except such as have been approved beforehand by the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

Three of the seven commissioners are to be nominated by the Government and four by the senate of the new university. It is not likely that the Govern-

ment's nominees will be hostile to the bishops; if they were, it would destroy the *raison d'être* for the Bill. But, in any case, the Government commissioners would only be a minority, for the governing body, or senate, of the new university would have the power of appointing the other four. And, as that governing body must be amenable to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, it follows that the commissioners who frame the statutes, AND APPOINT THE FIRST PROFESSORS, will also be in the power of the bishops.

When the statutes have been framed by these commissioners they are to be laid before Parliament and published in the *Dublin Gazette*, and, "if either House of Parliament, within forty days after a statute has been laid before it, presents an address praying his Majesty to withhold his assent from the statute, no further proceedings shall be taken on the statute." We all know that this provision amounts to very little; for neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords will present any such address. Such a proceeding is never taken. Our judges hold their posts subject to dismissal by the Crown, on a joint address from both Houses of Parliament, but no such address has ever been presented; nor need we expect that any address for the modification of one of those university statutes is ever likely to be passed by Parliament. When the Commissioners go out of office in a year or two after the passage of the Bill, all their statutes may be rescinded. In any case, we may expect to find a rigid enforcement of auricular confession and all the other observances enforced at Maynooth at present.

There is no provision that the names and qualifications of the officers and professors of the new university, as appointed by the commissioners, are to be laid before Parliament for approval!

If this Irish Universities Bill of 1908 should pass, the entire government of the new university at Dublin, with its three constituent colleges at Dublin, Cork, and Galway, will be as absolutely vested in the Roman Catholic hierarchy as if Cullen's old scheme of 1850, with the four archbishops as visitors and trustees of all the college property, had been carried into effect.

The financial provisions are more lavish than anything ever hitherto contemplated. By the seventh clause of the Bill the £20,000 a year now paid to the Royal University from the Irish Church Surplus will be divided into two equal parts, £10,000 going to the Roman Catholic university at Dublin and £10,000 to the Belfast university. In addition to this "there shall be annually paid out of moneys provided by Parliament for the constituent colleges of the new university having its seat at Dublin" the following sums:—

1. The new college having its seat at Dublin—that is, the present Jesuit College, or "Dr. Delaney's College," as Mr. Birrell truly calls it—£32,000 yearly;
2. The Queen's College, Cork, £18,000 yearly;
3. The Queen's College, Galway, £12,000 yearly.

In addition to this there will be paid:—

In the case of the new university and college having their seats at Dublin, the combined maximum sum of £150,000;

In the case of the Queen's College, Cork, £14,000;

In the case of the Queen's College, Galway, £6,000.

These latter sums are to go in purchasing sites and providing buildings. It is stipulated that "no such sum shall be applied for the provision or maintenance of any church, chapel, or other place of religious worship or observance, or for the provision or maintenance of any theological or religious teaching or study." This does not forbid the building of a chapel on the grounds, or the teaching of dogmatic theology in the colleges; and, as almost the first work done in connection with the Cullen University at Stephen's Green was the building of a chapel, so we may take it that a fine Roman Church and Divinity Hall will occupy the best site in the new university at Dublin, and will be built long before the other halls of learning are out of the builder's hands.

The buildings of the Royal University of Ireland shall be transferred to, and become invested in, the new university at Dublin; and every graduate of the Royal University, at the time of the passing of the Act, will have the right to be registered as a graduate of the new university.

There is provision made for changing the names of the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway to some titles less obnoxious to the Roman hierarchy than they at present bear—some name which will not be suggestive of the honoured memory of one who filled the office of head of the Established Church of England and of the British Empire for sixty-four years.

The seven commissioners, in making their appointments in the new university, may appoint the

present professors at the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, and, of course, they will appoint the five Jesuit fellows and ten lay fellows, nominees of the Jesuits, who teach at the Catholic University College, to positions of equal, if not superior, emolument to those they at present hold.

It is important to notice that all appointments made by the commissioners "shall be temporary only, and shall not have effect after the expiration of six years from the day appointed for the dissolution of the Royal University of Ireland." If the commissioners, in a moment of forgetfulness, should appoint any president or professor who is not pleasing to the bishops, or if any professor appointed by them should turn out to be of an independent bent of mind, he may be dismissed, without right of appeal, at the end of six years by the new governing body of the university; whereas under the existing arrangement the professors of the Queen's Colleges held their offices during good behaviour and were only dismissible by the Crown.

Existing officers who are dissatisfied with the appointments given to them in the new university "shall be entitled to such compensation as may be determined by the commissioners"; and "an appeal may be presented to the Lord-Lieutenant in Council—(a) against any scheme of the commissioners relating to the transfer of property; or (b) against any scheme in relation to existing officers or any provision thereof." It will be found that those who are not pleasing must leave.

XV

The results of the Irish Universities Bill of 1908 may be summed up as follows:—

1. It reverses, without authority from the electorate, and in a way unsanctioned by any authoritative body, Royal or other Commission, the educational policy steadily pursued by successive British Governments in Ireland for over a century.

2. It abolishes the Royal University of Ireland, a national institution, under the joint management of representative Protestants and Roman Catholics, of North of Ireland men and South of Ireland men, whose degrees have attained a justifiably high reputation, in order to “satisfy” the Roman Catholic bishops and their deputies, the Jesuits.

3. It transfers the entire control of higher education in the South and West of Ireland, with power to grant degrees in arts, science, law, medicine, and engineering, to a new university with three colleges at Dublin, Cork, and Galway, whose senate, or governing body, will be absolutely at the disposal of the Pope and his deputies, the Roman Catholic bishops and the Jesuits.

4. It endows with a sum of £32,000 per annum the “stickit” Cullen University by transforming it into the Dublin College of the new university; and the place will continue under the management of the Jesuits and the hierarchy, all present appearances to the contrary notwithstanding.

As the Cullen University will be the Dublin College of the new university, it will have the full

enjoyment of all the buildings, university as well as collegiate, erected under the building grant of £150,000, as well as the best part of the £10,000 per annum taken from the Royal University, in addition to its yearly endowment of £32,000. That it will continue to be the Jesuitic Catholic University College, as it is at present, is not open to doubt; for its membership will be the same as it is now, namely, the students of what Mr. Birrell truly called "Father Delaney's College"; the students of the Holy Ghost College, Blackrock; the students of Holy Cross College, Clonliffe; and, above all, the students of Maynooth. The first collegiate governing body of the college, to be nominated by the Government on the passage of the Bill, will only hold office for three years, according to Mr. Birrell's statement in his introductory speech; and, after that, the collegiate governing body will be elected by the members of the college, of whom the vast majority will be composed of the students of the ecclesiastical colleges mentioned.

Its first president, we are promised, is to be a layman, a concession for which Mr. Birrell elaborately thanked Father Delaney; but there is no provision to that effect in the Bill. And, bearing in mind Lord Robertson's *dictum*, we may be sure that that layman must be the selection of the Roman Catholic bishops; and if they approve of him, we may be absolutely certain that he is a man pledged to obey them. Moreover, when he ceases to hold office, a bishop or a Jesuit can be appointed to the presidency.

5. It takes the management of the Queen's College,

Cork, out of the hands of the Crown and transfers it to that of a body nominated for the first three years by the Government, but, after that period, elected by the members of the college itself. It increases the yearly grant for that college to £18,000 and gives a lump sum of £14,000 for new buildings.

Mr. Birrell is very sanguine as to the character of this temporary governing body which he hopes to appoint. "Catholic bishops, Protestant bishops, the Catholic gentry, professional men, and persons academical," he says, are all standing ready to be called upon to take part in it. Assuming that this is true, what power will the Government, which provides all the money, have over that governing body at the end of three years? It will have none; and I speak with more than a superficial knowledge of Cork when I say that, after that time, the Cork college will be nothing more than an appanage of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, an "added influence" accruing to him which is not at all likely to be "exercised to the furtherance of national enlightenment and imperial strength." A Romanised Irishman, like Cardinal Cullen, should find a fine field for operations lying ready to his hand in Cork.

6. It transfers the management of Queen's College, Galway, also from the Crown to a temporary body appointed by the Government for three years, and then to a body appointed by the members of the college. The distracted, impoverished, boycotting, and cattle-driving province of Connaught is, at the present moment, entirely under the rule of Archbishop Healy, who defined the limit beyond which

the Irish Party dare not go, and his five episcopal colleagues, save for such education as is forced upon it by joint national Boards of Education and the Queen's College; and there is nothing to be said of the future of the Galway college, except that its yearly grant of £12,000 and the lump sum of £6,000 to be given for buildings will give the Connaught bishops a substantial "added influence." It is not likely that the large percentage of Presbyterian students from the North, who have been keeping it going hitherto, will have any inducement to attend it in the future. I understand that Mr. Bryce contemplated the discontinuance of this Galway college, and assuredly there was much to be said in favour of that course; but now, since the satisfaction of the hierarchy is the only object to be achieved by the Bill, it must not only be continued, but also have its State endowment increased, to please Archbishop Healy.

7. It enables Maynooth College, which is, perhaps, the most powerful scholastic corporation in Ireland, to become a constituent part of, and the predominant partner in, the new university.

Under all the circumstances, then, one is justified in saying that the proper title of this measure should be: A Bill for the Endowment of the Roman Catholic Bishops' College at Dublin, now managed by the Jesuits; for the Romanisation of the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway; and for the constitution of the same into a Roman Catholic University, with Power to Affiliate the Theological College at Maynooth.

That is a Bill which should not be passed without an express mandate from the country. It is a Bill

which should never have been proposed by any Government calling itself a Liberal Government. It is a revolutionary measure; and the Belfast section of it should not be forced through Parliament against the will of the Ulster Party and of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The establishment of the proposed new university in Ireland must be followed by the endowment of a similar university for the Roman Catholics in Great Britain.

The passage of the Bill, in the face of the protest of the Nonconformists of Ireland, will involve a complete betrayal of Liberal principles, and a palpable breach of faith with the electorate, and will be an indelible disgrace to the Free Churches of England, for which they shall yet pay dearly.

Mr. Haldane, whose interference in this question has occasioned no little surprise, describes the Bill as "a response to an educational claim." The hope is that the Bill will pacify the bishops and put an end to their agitation. All experience proves the contrary. Just as the Gladstone Land Act of 1881 only strengthened the hands of the Land League and marked the beginning of the Land Agitation, so this Birrell Bill, if it pass, will only strengthen the hands of the bishops and the Jesuits, and prove to be the beginning of such a period of educational turmoil and agitation as we have never yet witnessed—an agitation which will not be confined to Ireland, but will extend itself to Great Britain.

Nor was it a sound argument of Mr. Haldane's to contend that because, within the last sixty years, increased facilities have been given in England for

higher education by the foundation of Manchester and other universities, new endowments, even on unsectarian lines, ought to be given to Ireland. The new institutions in England are the natural outcome of a growth in the population, which has increased over 110 per cent., namely, from 15,914,148 in 1841 to 32,526,075 in 1901; and they were all founded by local endowment, not State endowment. In Ireland, during the same period, the population has decreased from 8,175,124 to 4,458,775, and, so far, not one penny has been locally contributed.

It is no mere prophecy or alarmist forecast to say that if the Roman Catholic hierarchy accept this Bill, or allow the Irish members to vote for it in its final stages, they will control the new university and its constituent colleges. It is simply to make the safe assertion that the policy of the Roman Church in Ireland has not changed and will not change. It is Mr. Birrell who has changed his position, and not the Roman Catholic bishops; just as it was Mahomet who went to the mountain, and not the mountain which came to Mahomet.

And the hierarchy have already accepted the Bill, whatever small show of dissatisfaction individual bishops may make. "On behalf of the Catholics of Ireland we are willing to sink all our differences and accept the Government scheme," said Mr. Redmond, at the second reading. Mr. Dillon, speaking for the Catholics on the same occasion, accepted the Bill, and thanked Mr. Birrell for it.

Can any sensible man hesitate as to which is the more reasonable view to take? Is it likely that Mr. Birrell has trapped the Jesuits and the Roman

Catholic hierarchy into accepting a non-sectarian university under lay control as a full discharge of the Catholic "claims"? Is it not rather likely to be the fact that the Jesuits and the hierarchy have trapped Mr. Birrell, and got from him such a Bill as Cardinal Cullen himself would have been delighted to accept?

The lay control which the Bill professes to give, though it might be a reality if any other religious denomination were concerned, becomes only a pretence and a veneer where the Roman Catholic Church is in question. Father Delaney's college at present contains ten lay Catholic Fellows as against five Jesuit Fellows, which is due to the control exercised over it by the Protestant-Catholic senate of the Royal University; but, even with this preponderance of lay Fellows, there is as little "lay control" in the institution as there is in Maynooth.

There may be two thousand Roman Catholic laity in the habit of attending a particular Catholic church, yet the entire control of the edifice, of the money collected, and of the worship carried on in it, will be always vested in the priest alone. Established Churchmen and Free Churchmen of England alike cannot be too often reminded that the Church of Rome is a very different Church, in this respect, from their Churches.

The abandonment of the united Protestant-Catholic Royal University, which has done so much for the higher education of Irish Catholics for a quarter of a century, will assuredly be followed by the abandonment of the united Protestant-Catholic Board of Intermediate Education, which has done so much for

the secondary education of Irish Catholics in the same period, and by the abandonment of the united Protestant-Catholic Board of National Elementary Education, which has given the Irish peasantry for over three-quarters of a century a knowledge of letters they could not possibly have received from within their own Church.

If this Bill passes, the Protestant hand of fellowship in education, to which Irish Catholics owe the very considerable amount of learning they possess, will be withdrawn for ever. The injury to persons professing any of the Protestant religions, in the part of Ireland over which the new Roman Catholic University will hold sway, will be incalculable. It is not merely that the scattered Protestant communities of the South and West and Midlands, who cannot afford to go to Trinity College, will have to seek their higher education from the Roman Catholic Church. It is that Protestants, as a whole, will be ousted from every public position, in the gift of popular bodies, in favour of men possessing the inferior degrees from the new university of the Bishops and the Jesuits.

This Bill means the surrender to the Papacy of the Imperial Government's responsibility for the higher education of three-fourths of the Irish people, and the permanent endowment of the agents of the Papacy, by the Imperial Exchequer, for the first time, as the official educators of the Irish Catholics, with power to confer degrees in arts, science, law, medicine, and engineering.

That is not a policy making for "national enlightenment and imperial strength." On the contrary, it

will be an educational Sedan, a downfall and a retreat, the reversal of a policy of generous effort steadily pursued by the British Government in Ireland for over a century, the abandonment of a policy which aimed at doing what is right by the Irish people in the matter of secular education, and which, considering all the circumstances, has proved highly successful, and satisfactory to every one concerned, except Mr. Birrell's new friends, the Roman Catholic Bishops and the Jesuits and their spokesmen in Parliament. If the House of Lords should be magnanimous enough to save the United Kingdom from the calamities which cannot fail to follow the passage of this Bill, it will have done at once a great act of justice and a priceless service to the Empire.

NOTE.—The members nominated to the *temporary* governing body of the Dublin College, though nearly all laymen, prove that the new institution will be as Jesuitic as heretofore. The president and five others are Catholic doctors, an explanation of which may be discovered at page 53. It is at the end of three and five years respectively, when things are in working order, that the Church will really assert itself on the *permanent* governing bodies of the colleges and the university senate.

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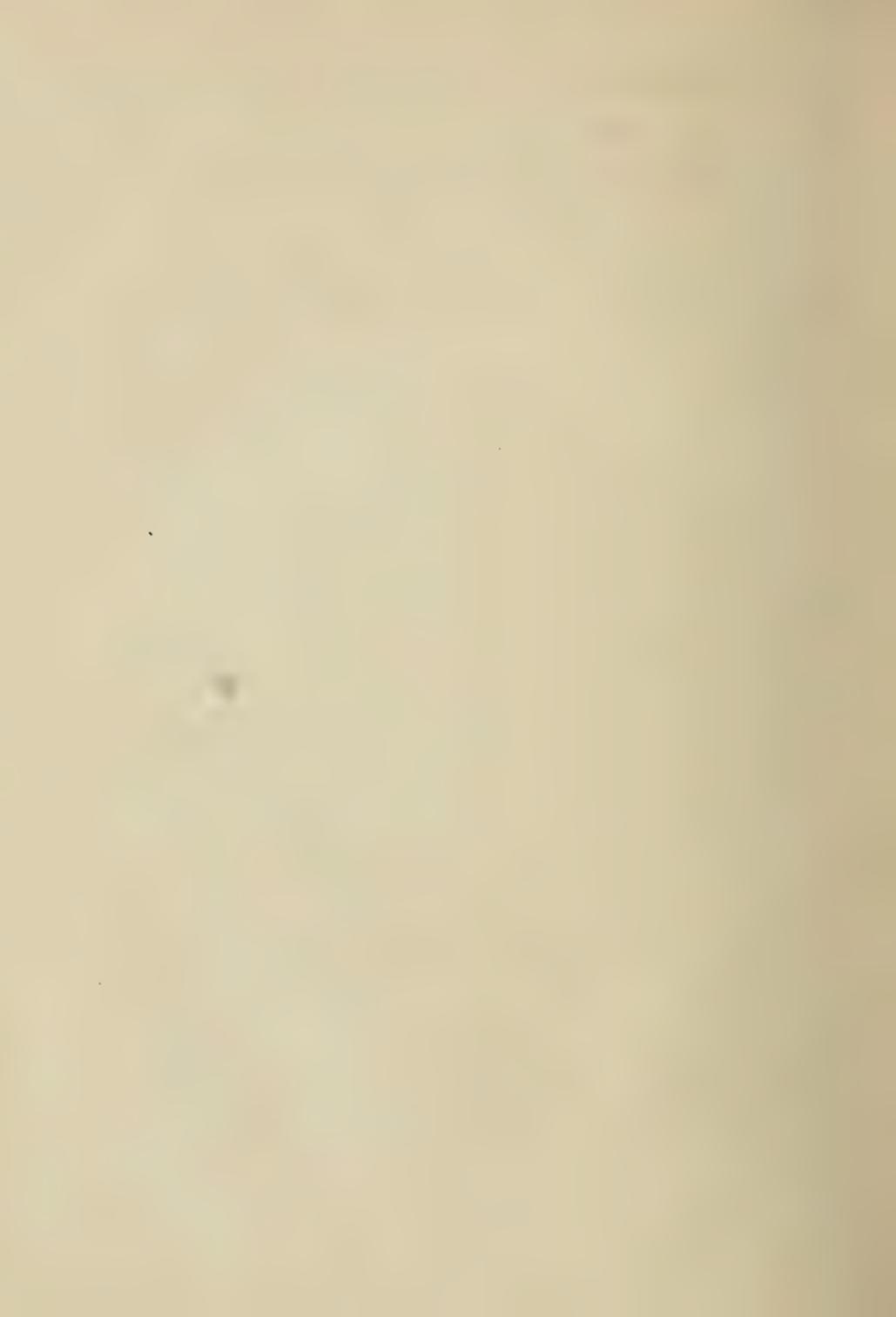
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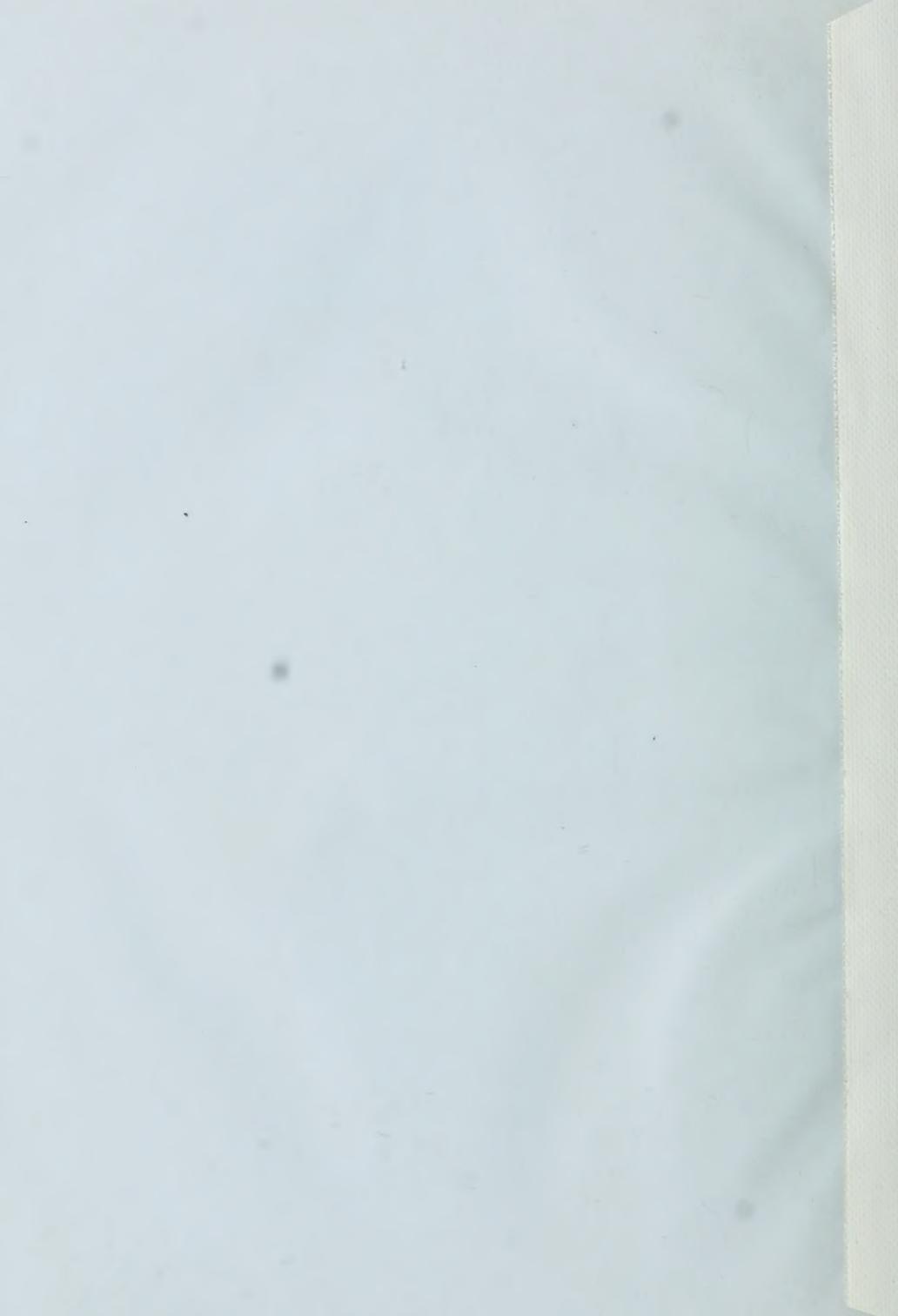
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