

IRISH CHARTER SCHOOLS

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Lecky's condemnation of the Charter schools has never been seriously challenged, nor could it easily be. Yet they were the work of that very 'improving' spirit to which such contemporary foundations as the Dublin Society and the Linen Board owed their origin in the early (and much neglected) decades of 18th century Ireland. What follows is an analysis of the concepts that gave rise to the schools in the political, theological and economic climate of the day and an examination of the *modus operandi* of Primate Boulter's 'grand design' which is one of the earliest institutions of modern Ireland for which we have something approaching adequate documentation.

Forbidding yet curiously forlorn in a number of our towns and villages stand the great hulks that once housed the Charter Schools of the eighteenth century. Built to a model plan, they must surely be a unique set of educational monuments, and should archaeology join the ever lengthening list of the sciences serving the study of education, these gaunt shells of Primate Boulter's 'grand design' will surely merit digging. There can hardly be any comparable series of Georgian buildings in Ireland, yet the charter school houses, like the decades that saw them built, have received scant attention from the preservationists who are, perhaps, repelled by so much that is Bastille like about them.

Indeed the early decades of the eighteenth century can fairly be termed the forgotten years of modern Irish history. This partial eclipse must owe something to the dominant contribution to the plotting of the eighteenth century sky by Lecky, who, though he gave five volumes to the Ireland of the period, devoted four of them to the reign of George III. Another explanation lies in the operation of what might be termed an historian's law (and while arguments may rage as to the existence of the basic laws of history itself, there can be little doubt that there are laws governing those who write history) which states that, naturally enough, the attention devoted to a subject is in proportion to the amount of relevant source material available. The later part of the century certainly has the advantage of the earlier under such conditions.

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Yet while comparatively little has been written *about* Ireland in the early eighteenth century — Swift, Wood's ha'pence and the penal laws always excepted — a great deal was written at the time. It is rich in pamphlets, and, what is more, unlike so much of Ireland's voluminous pamphlet literature, they concern themselves with advancing the Irish economy and with the application of fresh thinking to improve Ireland's land and industry. Swift's contribution is general knowledge, but not so much is heard of what was written by Prior, Dobbs, Madden and other founding fathers of the Dublin Society. Their patriotism was pre Tone, the word 'republican' to them was redolent of classical antiquity (or Venice) and Swift alone has achieved Valhalla because he more easily fits our modern concept of what a patriot ought to be. This was the Protestant Ascendancy at its creative best and two centuries were to pass before it again led a renaissance in Irish society.

Incongruous though it may at first appear, it is against this background that we must introduce another creation of that Ascendancy class to set beside the Royal Dublin Society. The Incorporated Society, in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, of whose work Lecky was to write that they 'offered a people thirsting for knowledge a cup which they believed to be poison, and sought, under the guise of the most seductive of all charties, to rob their children of the birthright of their faith'¹

The pages that follow do not seek to give a fresh coat of paint to an already whited sepulchre. Rather two tasks are attempted, one is to study the schools as educational phenomena, how they were organised and what went on in them (for they are the earliest Irish schools of which we have anything approaching adequate documentation). The other task is to attempt an understanding of the strategy underlying the scheme. This must in due course involve trying to explain the fact that high minded and humane people were responsible for immense cruelty and squalor. But for the years covered by this present essay, before the schools had fallen into total disrepute, our concern will be with the mixed motives of the initiators.

The word incongruous is used above with reference to the fact that a class purporting to be zealous for the welfare of Ireland could produce the proselytising charter schools. And yet it is not as incongruous as all that. The schools of the Incorporated Society, generally called 'charter schools' after the Society's royal mandate, were seen as agents of that very improvement so much sought after by the pamphlet writers. Indeed their hopes for Ireland's economic future were bound up with a whig view of how society was to be ordered, and the free constitution of that order had no place for popery.

So it was that the schools were seen as a grand design to meet the pressing needs of the time. According to a man's particular field of interest or responsibility they had something to attract his support. The improving landlord, perhaps a trustee of the Linen Board, saw in them a means to breed habits of good husbandry, the clergymen of the Established Church viewed them as an antidote to a still virulent popery, the politician looked to them to inculcate right thinking and loyalty. Some men represented all three interests, and of such the most prominent was Hugh Boulter, archbishop of Armagh, primate of all Ireland and, from 1724 to 1742, His Majesty's most powerful (and most devoted) Lord Justice of Ireland. There can be no doubt that it was Primate Boulter's great prestige and influence that launched the charter schools and gave to the 'grand design', as it was sometimes grandiloquently called, its initial impetus. Others, like Edward Maule, Berkeley's predecessor in the see of Cloyne, later translated to Dromore, contributed much. But Boulter held a position of leadership in Ireland and used his rank to the full on behalf of the Incorporated Society. In him we see epitomised the blending of political and religious outlooks so characteristic of the leaders of church and state at that time.

Boulter, like every Church of Ireland archbishop of Armagh in the eighteenth century, was English. He came to Ireland having been bishop of Bristol from 1719 to 1724, (a position that he held concurrently with that of Dean of Christ Church, Oxford)² Quite clearly, then, he was a man in favour with the court and marked out for preferment. But he exercised himself in the government interest for reasons loftier than those merely of self interest. He firmly believed in the revolution settlement, and it is worth remembering that, born in 1672, the most formative years of his life were those in which crown and parliament remained fearful of the Jacobites. Civil and religious liberties, as he saw them, were not yet secure. On Wednesday, 26 May 1714³ (Louis XIV defeated, the Hanoverian succession safely accomplished, but the '15' yet to come), Boulter expressed the views that animated his primacy in Armagh ten years later.

It may seem strange after that unwearied diligence that has appeared in the Papists ever since the reformation to overturn our most holy religion, by secretly perverting the minds of our people by sowing divisions amongst us, and breaking us among ourselves, by repeated plots and conspiracies, and by engaging foreign princes to assist to invade us as occasion has offered, that any fancy that they have now on a sudden dropped all their rage and malice against us, and are for permitting us to go on quietly and peaceably in our schism and apostasy,

as they call it, from the Pope

How far our civil liberties are interwoven with the preservation of the purity of our religion, and must stand and fall with the profession of Christ's trust amongst us, and how far that consideration may, as it has formerly done, sway those to defend our religion who have very little belief in it or sense of it, I need not mention nor how vain all promises must be from one bred up in the principles of Popery, which know of no faith to be kept to heretics ⁴

Extracts such as these should keep us from falling into error supposing that Boulter and his episcopal colleagues were entirely moved by considerations in which religion claimed a minor role. Far from it. The school of thought to which Boulter and the early eighteenth century bishops of the Church of Ireland belonged had more in common with orthodox seventeenth century theological views than with the 'unenthusiastic' outlook of eighteenth century Anglicanism, when, to quote Basil Willey, reason and religion had achieved an act of settlement ⁵

Nor, if we are to attempt an accurate picture, should the impression be given that the leaders of the established Church were inspired only by a negative, polemical spirit. It was there, but accompanied by what can only be termed evangelistic zeal, such as runs through the many charity sermons of the day. Even to read the charges given to his clergy by Boulter on the occasion of his visitations, is to see that a pastoral concern underlay much of what he said ⁶. When we take into consideration also his efforts for the relief of famine sufferers ⁷ there is ample evidence of a man of compassion who could, apparently, in the interests of true religion preside over a system of education whereby infants were parted from their families, and removed to those parts of the country most remote from their homes.

The views of another prelate, Edward Synge (archbishop of Tuam, 1716-1742) echo similar sentiments in the Irish situation. Synge published his *Brief account of the laws now in force in the kingdom of Ireland, for encouraging the residence of the parochial clergy, and erecting of English schools* in 1723, the year before Boulter's translation to Armagh ⁸. Predictably, he deploras the errors of popery, as 'destructive of eternal salvation and of most dangerous consequences with respect to the temporal welfare and prosperity of those who possess any other religion' ⁹. He exhorts protestants to 'show all the love, tenderness, and compassion towards the persons even of those whose principles we cannot but detest and abhor', for papists will more readily accept protestantism from those who love and bear good will ¹⁰.

Syngé wrote within a few years of the passing of the penal legislation, yet it is clear that he placed little reliance on such laws to achieve the genuine conversions he wished to see. Rather what was needed was that the clergy of the Established Church should reside in their cures, and that effect should be given to the Tudor statutes, largely dead letters, that had sought to cover the country with a network of diocesan and parochial schools. Quite clearly, the Established Church was not making headway, and lest one assumes – because of the cynicism of so many of the politicians – that the only motives for converting the Roman Catholic population were those of ecclesiastical and political imperialism, it is worth recording Syngé's exhortation that 'we should all endeavour by Christian ways and means to reclaim the papists of this kingdom from that gross ignorance and error wherein they are involved, and to bring them over both to understand and embrace the true religion in its primitive purity.'¹¹

But the Established Church was not only failing to make headway, all the indications were that it was losing ground. As much can be implied from Syngé's pamphlet. Disappointment, indeed alarm, run through many other contemporary utterances. A letter from Bishop Maule in the records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (a society about which we shall say more) stresses the great difficulties to be overcome if the number of papists is not to increase.¹² Bishop Tenison of Ossory, reporting on visitations made in 1731 and 1732, paints a gloomy picture of many ruined and neglected churches, a high incidence of mass houses, and a patchy system of English schools.¹³

The most comprehensive report, however, and the most disturbing was the *Report on the State of Popery* of 1731, laid before the Irish House of Lords by a committee headed by Boulter.¹⁴ Here was evidence in abundance to show the parlous state of the Established Church contrasted with the durability and vitality of the Church of Rome. Popish mass houses, friaries, nunneries and schools abounded. Wrote the commissioners 'the disproportion between mass houses and churches, Romish ecclesiastics and protestant ministers, and popish and protestant schools, is so great as to give your lordships the most just and reasonable apprehensions of the continuance and increase of the popish interest in Ireland.'¹⁵ The Egmont diarist must surely have typified Establishment reaction to such revelations.

I, having in my hand the Primate of Ireland's report to the House of Lords concerning the great increase of Popery of late years in Ireland, brought the conversation round to it. Sir John Cotton told Walpole 'it was no wonder the number of conversions to popery increased both in Ireland

and England, since so many heterodox opinions were published in print, and for his part he expected the time would come when we should all be papists ¹⁶

Something had to be done and, as before and since, leaders of church and state pinned their hopes on education. Much had been hoped for from schools in the past, and the hopes had not been fulfilled. But those past efforts had relied too much on local and indeed individual interest ¹⁷. What was now to be envisaged was a centrally directed government supported, adequately financed, 'grand design'.

The early decades of the century had not, however, been without educational activity, though of a purely voluntary kind. Charity schools were being founded in considerable numbers and there was a growing awareness of the contribution that they could make at parochial level to the inculcation of habits of industry and true godliness. Not explicitly proselytising nor, indeed, in many instances, even implicitly so, (for as often as not they concerned themselves with the children of the protestant poor), yet they can claim a place in this essay on several counts. For one thing, in a number of localities the charity school was the foundation on which the charter school was built, again, there were undoubted instances of charity schools being founded for reasons closely akin to those that lay behind the charter schools, and, perhaps most telling of all, the experience that some church leaders, Maule in particular, gained from their attempts to promote charity schools in a systematic way satisfied them of the worthwhileness of effort spent in that direction.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) a foundation of William III's reign, was the major patron of popular education in eighteenth century urban England ¹⁸. It did much else besides, in particular missionary work overseas, and carried out a publishing programme quite exceptional for its day. It did not found schools, but, rather like the Kildare Place Society a century later in Ireland, it encouraged others to found them and gave material encouragement and assistance. Nowhere are the ambitions of those who patronised charity schools more succinctly and accurately stated than in A. E. Dobbs *Education and social movements, 1700 - 1850*, when he says that they were

A system of teaching, essentially remedial in its objects and subordinated to the needs of industry and religion. The status of the poor was still roughly predetermined, education was as much a means of restraint as of improvement. The rescue motive lay at the root of popular instruction ¹⁹

It is easy to appreciate the appeal that such an approach held out to the Established Church of Ireland, and it is intriguing to read elsewhere that the English (and subsequently Irish) experience of charity schools owed something to French example, and to the seventeenth century work of the de la Salle Brothers in carrying out Louis XIV's ordinance 'to instruct all children and in particular those whose parents have made profession of the pretended reformed religion in the catechism and the prayers which are necessary' ²⁰

The interest that SPCK was to show in Irish charity schools, not least in the setting up of the Incorporated Society, was undoubtedly influenced by SPCK's awareness of the plight of continental protestants. It also, obviously, was stimulated by the involvement of many Irish prelates in SPCK's work, for it is important to remember how many of them were English by birth and had held English benefices before being preferred to Ireland.

So far as I am aware, the earliest account of charity school developments in Ireland is to be found in a pamphlet written by Edward Nicholson, rector of Cumin (Co Sligo), and published in 1721 ²¹. Nicholson was a corresponding member of SPCK (and the founder and provider of a school at Primrose Grange). He averred in a letter (n.d.) that survives among the papers of Henry Newman, secretary of SPCK, that 'promoting charity schools is the only thing my whole heart is bent upon' ²². The pamphlet lists four existing schools — Primrose Grange, Castlereagh, Castle Baldwin (Co Sligo) and Abbey Boyle and others in course of establishment. What is more, he sets out in considerable detail the manner in which the schools were (ideally) to be financed by subscription and the curriculum to be followed. Nicholson's pamphlet is, indeed, full of interest, but it must suffice here to note one telling fact: that when pupils were being admitted, preference was given to orphaned and other poor protestants, and 'after the poor children of Protestants are taken we fill with poor children of papists' ²³. In fact Catholic children made up one half of the enrolment — and this was regarded with deep misgivings by their clergy.

Henry Maule, whose name we have encountered when he was a bishop already displayed an interest in the charity school idea when he was vicar of St Mary's, Shandon. He wrote to SPCK on 6 September 1716 that several gentlemen 'of good repute' had met in Dublin and intended to form themselves into 'a regular society for advancing the charity schools' ²⁴. The year following, 1717, he could report progress

That the success with which it has pleased God to bless the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in England has induced several good

men to form themselves into such a body at Dublin, and to encourage them in their beginning he should be glad to receive a few of the two last years' anniversary sermons,²⁵ with rules for the conduct of masters and mistresses, in respect of their loyalty to King George ²⁶

Maule went on to say that the new society in Dublin would, he thought, willingly receive 'Mr Richardson's books in the Irish language'²⁷ (John Richardson, rector of Belturbet, firmly believed in the use of Irish translations of bible and prayer book for converting Roman Catholics, both young and old, and had produced several works himself in the language) A month later, we read of the society holding 'constant' meetings, and arranging for the first charity sermon to be delivered in St Andrew's Church by the bishop of Raphoe, the children processing through the streets²⁸ SPCK made the Dublin Society presents of books, receiving in return copies of charity sermons and 'a few other pieces as they have lately printed in Dublin'²⁹

Following the example of SPCK the Dublin Society enlisted 'corresponding members', who were kept informed of progress by pamphlet. The *Letter* of 1721, datelined St John's vestry, gives the fullest available description of what was being done to disperse 'the deplorable ignorance, superstition and error, in which our poor natives, till within these few years, were generally brought up'³⁰ One hundred and thirty schools had been started and 3,000 children attended them³¹ Some schools owed their origin to the local clergy alone, others were the work of clergy and their parishioners. 'Nor have [borough]corporations been wanting to assist in the good work, by contributions out of their public funds'³² The *Letter* gives in considerable detail the manner in which the Society operated, the scale of its endeavours, 'orders to be observed by the masters and mistresses', (and 'orders to be observed by the parents') The importance of this, for our purpose, is to make it abundantly clear that the Incorporated Society, in many ways the lineal descendant of the 1717 society in leadership if not in letter, had considerable foundations to build on

As its successor was to do, the earlier society sought to find employment for the children and to equip the girls for domestic service, 'with reputable housekeepers,' the boys for farm-work such as planting, ploughing and gardening³³ The religious motive is still predominant 'that they be carefully instructed by their respective masters in the principles of religion, the nature of the gospel covenant, and that they receive the most favourable impressions of the established religion'³⁴ But there are signs that the society also hoped to contribute to the elimination, or at least the reduction,

of rural poverty, the sentiments expressed being 'that by a due improvement that slender farm which can scarce maintain one family might provide comfortably for many, the estates of gentlemen would receive a proportionate addition, bogs and marshy lands become useful and enclosed, and the most unwholesome air be considerably amended'³⁵ Nor were the schools without results to show where religion was concerned the Incorporated Society, reporting on its own work in 1737/38, gave much credit to the 'private' charity schools in the matter of making protestants of popish boys³⁶ But if the total regeneration of the Irish poor was what some members of the Society had in mind, it could not be done by a system of schools that, to quote its own reports, at best remained constant in number

To those involved in the work, what seemed most necessary was official recognition and support Why should the state leave to private enterprise an undertaking so fundamental to the good government of Ireland as the winning of the natives to Hanover and Protestantism? The lower clergy of the Church of Ireland met in Queen Anne's reign in convocation (for the last time), had given it as their opinion 'that some other methods must be proposed, which would contribute very much towards the conversion of recusants, if some effectual provision were made for bibles and other proper books to be given or dispersed at easy rates for the encouragement of English schoolmasters to teach the poor Irish *gratis* in the English tongue and the church catechism for binding of the children so instructed apprentices in Protestant families, and they would wish that some way may be found which should oblige the parents of such children to send them to schoolmasters so appointed'³⁷ On a later occasion, October 1711, the same house of Convocation called for laws compelling 'popish parents' worth less than £50 (or £10 annual lease) to send their children to 'public schools' This same meeting drew up 'heads of a canon to be framed for regulating charity schools', whereby *inter alia*, all books used were to have the approval of the ordinary (bishop) and ministers were to visit each school twice yearly Though supported by their ecclesiastical superiors, the representations of the lower house were not acted upon by parliament which continued to depend on the negative policy of penal laws But as Archbishop Syngé was to write in 1723,³⁸ since these laws prohibited papists from teaching, 'it is very difficult and almost impossible in many remote parts of the kingdom to get a schoolmaster qualified according to law to teach the English tongue except better encouragement be given him than what commonly the minister is even able to do out of his own pocket' The advocates of the 'grand design' needed a friend at court That was to be Boulter's role

Hugh Boulter came to Ireland in 1724, by which time, as we have seen,

considerable headway had been made in the promotion of charity schools under protestant auspices. There would appear, however, to have been a point of view, equally devoted to the conversion of the Roman Catholic population, which held that the Church of Ireland should give priority to work among adults in the Irish language where appropriate. And there is evidence among the papers of Henry Newman, secretary of SPCK, (who had much to do with bringing the Incorporated Society into being), to show that differences between the two schools of thought ran deep.³⁹ So much so that there was drafted (whether transmitted or not we cannot be certain) a request to Edward Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury, 'that (he) would be pleased to recommend to each party in Ireland (where his influence is so great) that they may both unanimously join hand and heart laying aside all partiality, favour and prejudice.' Wake was, indeed, both as bishop of Lincoln and subsequently at Canterbury, a constant correspondent with the bishops of the Irish establishment, as his letters in Christ Church, Oxford, testify. He was also a strong supporter of the charity school idea in England, as well as having a great interest in SPCK's work in general.

Wake's interest in these matters was shared by the bishop of London, Edmund Gibson,⁴⁰ to whom Boulter declared his hopes for the future in a letter of 1727

We are going on with some bills to mend the state of our Church, by getting more glebes, churches, and chapels of ease, that we may in time have churches and resident ministers to answer our parts, for at present many of our people are off to the papists or presbyterians, for want of churches to repair to.⁴¹

By 1730 the importance of education to his purposes had become clear, and while he cannot have lacked advisers in Ireland to urge him in this direction, certainly the work of the Scottish SPCK was a potent influence on him, since he refers to the success that attended the work of 'the corporation established in Scotland for the instruction of the ignorant and barbarous part of that nation.'⁴² He is confident that many would give their support if a corporation on the Scottish model were founded.⁴³ To this end, Maule wrote to Sir John Philipps (a leading member of SPCK) asking for copies of the acts of the Scottish Society (printed in 1725 and 1729), and saying that 'the Lord Primate has desired him to write to his friends in London for better information on this subject.'⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the Society for Promoting Charity Schools 'have again reassumed [sic] business,' the bishop of Clogher having promised to preach for it in Lent and to allow his sermon to be printed, and the members of the Society

busying themselves 'in dispersing the tracts against popery out of their store'⁴⁵ Later that same year, 1730, Maule drew up *An humble proposal for obtaining His Majesty's royal charter to incorporate a Society for promoting Christian Knowledge among the poor natives of the kingdom of Ireland*⁴⁶

This document began by presenting the problem

That in many parts of the Kingdom there are great tracts of mountany and course lands of ten, twenty or thirty miles in length and of a considerable breadth, almost universally inhabited by papists, and that in most parts of the same and more especially in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, the papists far exceed the protestants of all sorts in number

The seriousness of this situation, not only for the protestant interest, but for the crown itself, is stressed, for these same papists

implicitly take from their clergy, to whose guidance in such matters they seem wholly to give themselves up, and thereby are kept, not only in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to your sacred majesty and government, scarce any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the pretender to your majesty's throne

The remedy, say the petitioners, is the erection of English protestant schools, which must be *gratis*, since it has been found that those papists who can afford fees refuse to patronise such schools, and the poor cannot pay What is asked for is a royal charter, incorporating such persons as the king shall think fit, and enabling them to accept gifts, benefactions and lands, to be used for supporting and maintaining schools The petition ends with an expression of confidence that the scheme will work, based on the Scottish experience, 'and by what we have seen already done in this kingdom, in some few places where such schools have been erected and maintained at the private expense of charitable persons'

*Biographia Britannia*⁴⁷ records that Boulter convened a meeting 'to concert means for forwarding a petition to the king', and that, a few days later it was signed in the parliament house Maule then indicated to the archbishop of Canterbury that he should ask the lord lieutenant (Dorset) to forward the petition Boulter sent a duplicate to the bishop of London⁴⁸ doubtless seeking to enlist his good offices as he did so

All this was done in the early months of 1731 (or late in 1730, old

style)⁴⁹ but the opening of the charter was not to take place until February 1733/4 (to use the contemporary calendar) The intervening period of delays and diplomacy must have been exasperating for the petitioners, or at least for their leaders, particularly Boulter and Maule, (who was to be translated from Cloyne to Dromore before the charter had been secured) Henry Newman, the secretary of SPCK, was active on the petitioners' behalf in official circles in London, and perhaps it is worth giving generous extracts from his many letters, to illustrate the processes of eighteenth century bureaucracy and protocol

We begin with a letter dated 31 March 1730⁵⁰ *Henry Newman to Cloyne* thanking him for information about the steps being taken to have a society 'upon the plan of the Society of Edinburgh' incorporated in Ireland

Henry Newman to Cloyne (23 July 1730)⁵¹

On Maule's instructions, Newman waited on the attorney-general to obtain his report on the petition The attorney general at present sees no objection to it, and will let him know should any arise, but

he desires to be excused drawing of the charter, because he believes it will be better done to the satisfaction of the petitioners on your side of the water, and that when the heads of it are approved that it pass the Seals in Ireland I shall wait on His Grace of Canterbury in 2 or 3 days and desire him to quicken the attorney-general as he comes in His Grace's way if he should happen to forget his promise

Henry Newman to Archbishop of Armagh (13 March 1730/31)⁵²

May it please Your Grace I this day left with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland a packet for my Lord Duke of Newcastle [southern secretary of state, responsible for Irish business] containing a full answer to Your Grace's petition with the other great persons to his majesty for the uses therein mentioned I believe my lord duke of Dorset [lord lieutenant] will send it over soon to Your Grace to prepare heads of such a charter to your own mind pursuant to the opinion of the attorney-general here reported to and approved by His Majesty

Henry Newman to Archbishop of Armagh (17 April 1731)⁵³

In obedience to Your Grace's order of 25th of last month after consulting'

some friends better acquainted than I was with fees to the attorney general I waited on him the day before yesterday with five guineas as a gratuity from Your Grace for his kindness in dispatching so favourable a report as he did on the petition for a charter etc But after a little pause he generously told me that he must desire to be excused accepting it, since it was a charity affair to serve the protestant interest in Ireland

Newman now recommended printing in the English newspapers an account of the petition (based on a letter of Maule's in the Irish papers in March 1729/30), believing that it would elicit English benefactions Delay now appears to have attended the drawing up of the heads of the charter, which was being done in Dublin by the petitioners

Henry Newman to Lewis Thomas (a corresponding member of SPCK in Dublin) (3 June 1731)⁵⁴

I shall be glad to know what progress is made in drawing up the charter in Dublin,

and again (29 February 1732/33)⁵⁵

Pray give my most humble duty to my lord primate and the bishops of Dromore [now Maule] and Ossory [Tennison], when you see them, and let me know the progress of the new charter, which their lordships have so earnestly and I hope successfully solicited

Eventually, (25 March 1733)⁵⁶ Maule writes to SPCK enclosing a copy of the draft of 'the charter of the Society for promoting Charity schools', (a title which suggests that perhaps Maule foresaw the new body as an incorporated version of the 1717 'Society') But the business is by no means at an end, and months go by while the petitioners await the letters patent that will deliver the charter to them Newman enquires after the charter, 'as often as I hear of His Grace [Newcastle] being in town'⁵⁷ In a further letter to Boulter (who has been impatient), of 30 December 1732,⁵⁸ Newman reports

I was this day at the duke of Newcastle's office and unexpectedly got access to Mr Delafaye who told me that he knew of no difficulty that attended the passing of it, and promised to put His Grace in mind of it as soon as he returned from Claremont whither he went this morning with some other persons of quality to divert himself with hunting

In fact, it was not until 19 July 1733⁵⁹ (three years from the lodging of the petition), that Newman could tell Boulter

I am glad to acquaint Your Grace that yesterday I saw at the duke of Newcastle's office the King's letter patent for the Irish charter, signed by his majesty and countersigned by His Grace of Newcastle. But I could not receive it, to deliver my lord lieutenant of Ireland till to morrow, it being to be first entered in the signet office, and marked as they call it, which I am promised shall be done by tomorrow afternoon. In the mean time I have wrote to Mr Potter [Dorset's Secretary] to let him know that I hope then to bring it to him, that if possible it may be conveyed to Your Grace by the next post so as to come to hand before Wednesday the 1st of August when according to the Charter there is to be a meeting of the members, i.e. the 1st Wednesday in every month of August, November, February, and May. This was one of the last acts His Majesty did before the removal of the court to Hampton Court, and I congratulate Your Grace on the conclusion of the formalities belonging to it required on this side of the water

The Charter was solemnly opened and read in the Council Chamber of Dublin Castle to an influential gathering that included Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant, on Wednesday 6 February, 1733/34⁶⁰. Commissioners were appointed, headed by the Lord Lieutenant, to execute the purposes of the charter, and so 'The Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland', came into being. It was empowered to receive, for the purposes of establishing and supporting the schools, gifts of money or property to the annual value of £2,000. The charter also authorised the Society to appoint school masters and school mistresses, though these must be approved by an archbishop and licensed by the appropriate bishop.

The most immediate duty imposed on the commissioners was that of electing the Society's officers, as named in the charter, and this they proceeded to do once the letters patent had been opened. Dorset was made president, Archbishop Boulter, vice president and treasurer, and John Hansard secretary⁶¹. The treasurer quickly assumed his responsibilities, for, a subscription being then proposed, it was 'cheerfully made by most of those present'⁶². A committee of fifteen, meeting in Dublin, was appointed at a further General Meeting, according to charter, and the secretary set up offices at his house in Big Butter Lane. The Incorporated Society was in business.

Five members were appointed to prepare a scheme for the future, and

this was set out in a set of Rules, some 'general', and some 'particular', the former dealing as might be expected with the arrangements under which the schools were to be founded, the latter specifying the day to day regulations by which they were to be conducted. The first of the general rules was that the Society should begin with a school in each of the four provinces, which would serve as a model to private schools. Its situation was to be 'some very popish and extended parish, in or near which there is some country town'. Further rules provide that there should be a local committee of inspection, comprising the Society's members in the neighbourhood, and that this local committee should supervise the school, and keep the Society informed of its progress through the Secretary. The local committee was a sound idea, but experience was to show that it needed supervision itself, and that in many ways it was the weak, but, unfortunately, the crucial link in the Society's chain of command.⁶³

The Society, by publishing, *Reports*, *Sermons*, and *Letters* sought to enlist support of two kinds. It needed subscribers, who would regularly contribute to the funds, and sustain, so to speak, the current expenditure of paying masters, equipping schools, and indenting apprentices. (Lewis Thomas reported to SPCK a month after the opening of the charter 'that the subscriptions for the Dublin Incorporated Society rise very well')⁶⁴ But most of all the Society wanted to see schools getting under way, and, understandably, the greatest praise in the reports is reserved for those benefactors who (as was generally the case) gave one acre in perpetuity, and set twenty or so additional acres on easy terms. The first school to be founded was at Castledermot, Co Kildare. On the very day of the Society's inauguration, the earl of Kildare had donated £500, and subsequently given one acre in perpetuity and others at an easy rent. The Society responded with alacrity, and ordered the erection there of its first school, and opened it in May 1734, within months of the opening of the charter. This is how it was described in a *Report*

It consists of 10 boys and 10 girls, who are clothed, dieted, and lodged. The boys are daily employed in cultivating that little portion of ground that belongs to the school, the girls in spinning and other parts of housewifery, under the tuition of a mistress. They have a web of cloth of their own manufacture, the weaving only excepted. Two hours in the day are spent in reading, and they have made such proficiency, that the English tongue is become familiar to them, who before spoke Irish only, and they have made a progress, according to their age, in the knowledge of our holy religion.⁶⁵

So it would appear that in the school at Castledermot all the objectives of the Society were being pursued. But if land for new schools, the greatest need, were to be forthcoming then the scheme must be made to appear attractive to landowners. Fortunately for the Society, it was able to present a case to the effect that its work of general moral improvement was very much in keeping with the country's economic needs. It was also to the Society's advantage that these were years of lively interest in agricultural improvement. It is significant that the (Royal) Dublin Society and the Incorporated Society were founded within two years of each other.

The Incorporated Society's schools, as envisaged by the Charter, would instruct the children in 'husbandry, housewifery, trades, manufactures, etc., so that they would be brought up, not only in virtue, but also in "labour and industry"'. The Society's seal bore the legend 'religione et labore' and depicted, not only an open bible, but also the implements of agriculture and spinning.⁶⁶ The *Abstract of Proceedings*, published in 1737, stressed 'that habit of idleness, which is too prevalent among the poor of this kingdom', and stated the Society's intention 'to remedy this, by inuring the children early, in their working schools, to those labours that may promote the public good, especially, that may improve the *agriculture* and the *linen manufacture*'.⁶⁷

The most influential writers of the day were thinking similarly. Berkeley's *Querist* asked (no. 85) 'Whether if all the idle hands in this kingdom were employed on hemp and linen, we might not find sufficient vent for these manufactures?'.⁶⁸ Swift likewise 'In most parts of this kingdom the natives are from their infancy so given up to idleness and sloth, that they often choose to beg or steal, rather than support themselves with their own labour'. He applauded those 'pious persons' who founded charity schools, 'where are learnt (or should be) reading, writing and casting accounts'. Again, 'If these charity children were trained up in the manner I mentioned, and then bound apprentices to families of gentlemen and citizens [they] would learn in a month, more than another without those advantages can do in a year and when such children come to years of discretion, they will probably be a useful example to their fellow servants'. 'Therefore, in order to make these parish charity schools of great and universal use, I agree with the opinion of many wise persons, that a new turn should be given to this whole matter'.⁶⁹

Arthur Dobbs saw the usefulness of charity schools, (especially annexed to work houses), suggesting that if the children were at their books (reading, writing, and principles of the Christian religion) for two hours a day, and the girls spent the rest of their time knitting and spinning, and the boys at gardening and husbandry, 'this would employ the time of many children

profitably to the public, who are now bred up to idleness or attending of cattle',⁷⁰

Berkeley, Swift and Dobbs were founder members of the Incorporated Society, Dobbs also being (with Boulter) a founder of the Dublin Society which is, naturally enough, regarded as the main source of encouragement to the improving landlord (or tenant) in early eighteenth century Ireland. Indeed both societies had members in common. But many supporters of the Incorporated Society were also engaged in another, older, important economic enterprise as trustees of the Linen Board, founded in 1711.⁷¹ The growing of flax and the spinning of yarn were regarded by the Incorporated Society as vital parts of its curriculum, and therefore the charter schools held a particular interest for the Linen Board.⁷² The ambitions of Board and Society converged, the former seeking through grants of seeds and equipment (and sometimes by the setting up of its own spinning schools — Ireland's first technical schools) to promote the cultivation of flax throughout the country and the increase of Ireland's linen trade, the Society acknowledging the contribution that such activity could make to the economy of its schools, and indeed to its overall purpose. Furthermore, when a 'gentleman of estate', read in a Dublin Society pamphlet of 1732 that 'it is manifestly the interest of every gentleman of estate in this kingdom to furnish all the poor people living on their estates with spinning wheels and flax',⁷³ and read the publications of the Incorporated Society, many arguments in favour of his setting up a charity or charter school were brought before him. Maria Edgeworth gives an account of Lady Skinflint of *Castle Rackrent*, describing her as being 'very charitable in her own way. She had a charity school for poor children, where they were taught to read and write *gratis*, and where they were kept well to spinning *gratis* for my lady in return'. Furthermore, she got her looms free from the Linen Board.⁷⁴

The Incorporated Society sought to capitalise on the shortage of reliable servants by drawing attention to the fact that the schools would be 'a fit nursery for servants and other persons proper to fill the offices of low life'. Such an undertaking may also have served as assurance that the Society had no intention of educating the poor beyond what the useful performance of their station in life required.⁷⁵

The economic structure devised for the schools is nowhere better summarised than in the *Report from the Commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland, 1809-12*.⁷⁶

In fixing on the sites of these and their other schools in general, the Society appears to have been determined partly by the presumed necessity

for them in very popish districts, and partly by the offers of protestant landowners to endow them with lands, not only for building on, but for the maintenance and support of the schools, and to afford opportunities for instructing and exercising the boys in agriculture and gardening and the lands annexed to each school are held under the Society by the masters at an advanced rent, but usually far below the real value, so as to form a considerable part of their income ⁷⁷

As we have seen, the earl of Kildare provided the prototype school, so to speak, at Castledermot. But Primate Boulter, as befitted a man who held a leading position on the Linen Board, ⁷⁸ Dublin Society ⁷⁹ and Incorporated Society, gave due emphasis to the practical side of the school he himself established at Santry, (Co Dublin). A house was provided there at Boulter's expense for forty boys, and the school is described as 'a nursery for flax dressers, who may from time to time be distributed throughout the kingdom, to propagate the knowledge of that particular branch'. In addition to the school proper, there were to be two outbuildings, one a flax store and the other to house drying ovens. The land at Santry, we are told, was walled in and canals made for steeping the flax, of which there have been twelve acres sown, 'the produce of which is sent to the work house to be manufactured for the use of the Society' ⁸⁰

The extension of the Incorporated Society's work was slow, but sure, for a decade, and progress can be charted by reference to the regularly published *Reports of Proceedings*, and to some extent, from the transactions of the corresponding Society in London. That particular body, whose early minutes survive, was plentifully furnished with progress reports from Dublin, and frequently felt impelled, as we shall see, to air its own views on how the business of the Society should be conducted. After all, as again we shall see, the English contributions formed a far from negligible part of the Incorporated Society's income.

The *Reports*, with their accounts of schools erected, erecting and proposed, suggest a highly anachronistic comparison with aircraft stacked for landing above a somewhat inadequate airport. The summary of the Society's first full year of activity shows the enterprise getting under way, with four schools opened and one pending ⁸¹. But the following three years saw but *one* more school opened, four under construction, and a waiting list of fourteen proposals put to the Society, half of them approved, but not as yet proceeded with ⁸². One year more, bringing us to March 1738/39 ⁸² shows nine schools established, five under way, (four of which had been among those 'pending' a year earlier), with a further fourteen suggested sites, two of which were due for immediate building when the Society had

had sufficient funds

By mid 1741 a balance had been struck between schools founded and schools proposed fifteen open, three in building, and twelve under consideration⁸⁴ and by 1743⁸⁵ the transformation is complete the Society presiding over sixteen schools, constructing (or financing the construction of) four more, and with only two proposals before it. Yet the clearance of back log gave little cause for satisfaction. Many projects had been abandoned, for one reason or another, and the Society (much in debt to its Treasurer) was hoping on the one hand for more proposals, and at the same time for financial support to realise them.

We have, however briefly, already described the Society's first school at Castledermot. Minola, Co Mayo, came next⁸⁶ the school being founded by the brothers George and John Brown who, with the help of the Linen Board, had settled a colony of northern protestants on their estate. The hopes of the Society that these settlers would impart both their craftsmanship and their religious outlook to the children were strengthened by the fact, duly reported, that 'two of the girls who were enticed away by their popish relations took the first opportunity of returning voluntarily to their school', and that, on the economic side, 320 yards of linen and woollen yarn were spun by the children in 1740, which was sufficient to clothe them. By that time the first apprentices were being put out, and there were good reports of those serving their time in Foxford.

Shannon Grove gave the Society particular satisfaction⁸⁷. Ten boys and ten girls formed the school, 'so well managed by the Local Committee' that for the whole of 1736 it formed no charge on the Society's funds. Food was produced on the land, and seventy one yards of linen were prepared for weaving. When the boys were not working at the school, the landlord — William Bury — employed them himself at the rate of two pence a day, which went to the school.

The schools are significantly few in the province of Ulster, this was not an area where protestantism was felt to be at risk, nor did flax and linen need boosting there by the Linen Board. One of the earliest foundations, however, was at Ballynahinch, described by Harris in his *Ancient and present state of the county of Down (1744)*⁸⁸ as having 'twenty popish children of both sexes', many having already gone out of this school into the families of protestant farmers and linen weavers.

A significant point mentioned by Harris is that some of the children had been transplanted to Ballynahinch, for this introduces an aspect of the Society's policy to which it attached great importance that of transplanting children to schools far from their homes. In a letter to its London correspondents,⁸⁹ the Society wrote as follows from Dublin

The transplanting of children in order to put them quite out of the influence of their popish relations has been loudly and justly demanded by the gentlemen of this kingdom, and the Society saw the necessity of it from the beginning, but could not in prudence attempt it upon the first opening of the charter for fear it might discourage parents from giving up their children to the disposal of the Society, for the priests would not have failed to represent this as a sort of kidnapping, and that they would never hear more of their children, but since they have learnt that children are safe, and kindly treated those apprehensions are reversed. Now a beginning has been made, first putting children initially into schools remote from their homes – ‘as from Dublin and places adjacent to it to Castlecaulfield, Ballycastle and other distant schools’

Later still, the Society’s ‘nurseries’ at Monasterevan and Shannon Grove, among other places, would act as clearing houses for this grim traffic that from the start raised scruples, at least among English supporters.

We may see the policy of transplant at work in the growth of the school at Creggan, Co. Armagh. Opened on Tuesday 13 September 1737 ‘in the presence of several protestant gentlemen of that neighbourhood’⁹⁰ and in an area remembered for popish cruelties in 1641, the school housed thirty two pupils whose homes were in Dublin, Meath, Down, Antrim parts of Munster and ‘the remote parts of the county of Armagh’⁹¹. The Society reported that local children would be sent to other schools, and that ‘the prejudices of the popish parents against the charter scheme are wearing off, and they begin to think much better of it, though the priests are as busy as ever’.

The number of schools grew, and the reports make clear the Society’s hopes for them, and if, perhaps, optimistic, they give some indication of what was happening, and from them we piece together the picture. The Reverend John Corry gives an acre and builds the school at Newtown Corry at his own expense, but furniture and clothing are sent down from Dublin by the Society.⁹² The Right Hon and Reverend Lord Blayny, proposing a school at Castleblayny, offers sixteen acres rent free in perpetuity, and hopes (in vain) to raise the cost of erection by local subscription.⁹³ Robert Oliver, sovereign (chief magistrate) of the borough of Kilmallock⁹⁴ erects ‘a complete charter school’ on land given by the corporation. Stratford Eyre of the powerful Galway family, builds a school in accordance with the Society’s specifications at Kiltoran, a parish that has only four protestant families, an ash plantation has been set, and the Linen Board grants a spinning school and twenty eight bushels of flax for one year’s use.⁹⁵

Successful schools were, of course, the Society's best advertisement, and were used as such both by the Committee of Fifteen in Dublin, and by the Corresponding Society in London. The latter, in particular, inserted frequent accounts of the best schools in the London press⁹⁶. The result of all exertions on both sides of the Irish Sea was that by 1748 the Society had thirty schools operating, almost 900 children in them, and claimed to have put over 500 out to apprenticeship⁹⁷. In a sense, that year marks the end of a phase in the life of the Society, from then on it was in receipt of substantial sums of public money voted by the Irish parliament.

The Society's financial position was a constant source of anxiety to its leaders. No account books for the early period survive, but an abstract of accounts covering 1733/34 to 1737/38 highlights one feature of the financial picture discernible from such scraps of evidence as we possess: that there was considerable dependence on English support⁹⁸. In fact, contributions and annual subscriptions from English sources totalled £3,352, as compared with half that sum collected at home. Admittedly, the Society was receiving valuable gifts of land for schools from Irish proprietors, and appears to have been reconciled to this state of dependence. One annual report⁹⁹ stressed that the different circumstances of the two kingdoms obliged the Society to place its chief reliance on England, and credited the Corresponding Society with enabling Dublin to make 'no small progress'. This was no more than London's due, considering that, according to a later report, the Society had by late 1748 received £28,000 from England¹⁰⁰. Suggestions of other sources of supply were from time to time mooted by the Corresponding Society, and in due course approached. As early as 1737, the London members were debating whether or not the time had come to seek royal support,¹⁰¹ and following the customary soundings and address, the King, in 1739, gave £1,000 as royal bounty, and a further £1,000 'as an established annuity'¹⁰². Again, from 1739 at latest, the London members were suggesting to the society that parliamentary aid be sought,¹⁰³ but the committee of fifteen seems to have wanted to establish a reasonable record of voluntary effort before seeking further official support. Thus they felt to be the case by 1745, in which year the Irish parliament was petitioned for help, and in 1747 the Society was granted an income (averaging £1,150 per annum) derived from the licensing of hawkers and pedlars¹⁰⁴. This was but the modest beginning of help from the legislature that was to average £3,500 per annum in the first decade, £8,820 in the next,¹⁰⁵ and, looking far into the future, would justify the assertion that by 1824, (when the financial position of the Incorporated Society was investigated by parliament), over half a million pounds of public money had been received¹⁰⁶.

By that time, the work of the Society had been subjected to close scrutiny by several committees of enquiry — a scrutiny that revealed the appalling abuses on which the Lecky judgement was based¹⁰⁷ But in its initial decade or so, the picture was not so grim or if, to modern eyes, grim enough, it must be remembered that eighteenth century attitudes to poverty were harsh, and that children were treated no better than adults Nor should we lose sight of the fact that Protestant attitudes to the Catholic Church, derived not only from fears of Jacobitism and the overthrow of the Williamite settlement, but also (and this was especially true of those clergy who were SPCK supporters), from a view of Rome seen through the eyes of protestant refugees from the continent The very letter in which Boulter acknowledged SPCK's good offices on behalf of the Charter also asked for information about the plight of the Saltzburger¹⁰⁸

Many of the concepts underlying the 'grand design' were not original, nor was the idea of working schools with a religious motive However, the Incorporated Society did introduce the boarding aspect, endeavoured to effect a central administration on a totally new scale, and, perhaps most remarkable of all, obtained 'the first parliamentary grant to elementary education in the history of the United Kingdom'¹⁰⁹ In some ways, these innovations were the Society's undoing It is scarcely to be expected that the great cruelties and other abuses that arose in the later eighteenth century would have been so enormous in day schools — less opportunity and parental contact being allowed for Nor would things have got so bad (though we must not forget our Dickens) had not responsibility rested with a remote Dublin committee, unable rather than unwilling to give proper supervision Even the state funding was a danger, making the Society less sensitive than if it had had to depend on voluntary support alone Indeed voluntary support became a small part of its income

These schools have a significance in many directions But a particularly interesting one is the evidence they provide to show that within years of being entered on the state book, the penal laws were seen as merely a negative approach to Roman Catholicism, offering little promise of conversion, and that conversion was desirable Little as such a sentiment may appeal to modern taste, it is important to establish that the attitudes of the Established Church of the day, though desirous of eliminating popery, wished to give people something in its place This is important because of the present day tendency to regard the penal period as one wholly concerned with the preservation of political and economic ascendancy

William Harris, writing in 1744, commending the Charter schools, referred to 'penal and coercive laws, which in their nature are odious'¹¹⁰

More authoritatively, the Incorporated Society, in 1748, spoke of achieving its ends 'not by force or terror, not by penal laws and prosecutions which can only make hypocrites, but by the innocent and gentle means of enlightening and instructing the ignorant minds of children in the pure truths of the gospel'¹¹¹ But however high the hopes of the founders, the charter schools were to come to grief on the very rock that so frequently figured in the charity sermons the frailty of human nature

FOOTNOTES

1 W E H Lecky *A history of Ireland in the eighteenth century*, (London 1913) 1, 235 (On p 233 Lecky attributes the origins of the schools to Marsh bishop of Clogher' This is in mistake for Maule, successively bishop of Cloyne and Dromore)

2 He had his critics at Oxford One of them, a canon of Christ Church, wrote in a letter full of college gossip in 1722, 'our governor is as weary of us as we can be of him and that he will leave us as soon as ever he can' (H M C *Portland* vii 321 (Stratford to Edward Harley) Apparently one cleric took as a text for a sermon preached before Boulter 'The devil is come down unto you having great wrath because he knoweth that his time is but short' (*Ibid* 386, misquoting Revelation XII 12)

3 *A sermon preached at the visitation of the clergy, held at Kingston upon Thames, by Hugh Boulter DD, Rector of St Olaves Southwark* (London 1714) pp 20 21

4 *Ibid*, p 23

5 Basil Willey *The seventeenth century background*, p 258 Pelican, 1972

6 e.g. *The charge given by Hugh, Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland at the triennial visitation of the clergy of his province begun at Trim June 30 1730 (Dublin 1730)*

7 Lecky, 1 188

8 (Dublin, 1723)

9 *Ibid* p 4

10 *Ibid* p 6

11 *Ibid* p 3

12 SPCK London ALB Vol 15, 10604, Lord bishop of Cloyne 13 January, 1729

13 Typescript copy of notes made by Bishop Tenison showing his itinerary during 1731 and 1732 visitations Indexed, PROI M 2462 and Representative Church Body Library [In Aghavo he found the English school master teaching the rudiments of Latin 'which must not be allowed', (35)]

14 Lords Jn Ire (Dublin 1779), III 169 ff 6 December 1731 (Printed in *Archivium Hibernicum*, 1 (1912) p 10)

15 *Ibid* p 200

16 H M C 63 *Egmont Diary* 1 262

17 The best modern account of government activity in education before the eighteenth century is in Akenson, *The Irish Education experiment*, (London, 1970) There is also of course much about them in the nineteenth century official reports

18 See M G Jones, *The charity school movement* (London 1938 New impression 1964) SPCK's superbly kept records constitute a major source for this

present study and I am deeply grateful for much assistance given by the Society's archivist and librarian Mr Arthur E Barker

19 Pp 112 113

20 William Boyd *The history of western education* (9th ed revised King 1969) p 281

21 *A method of charity schools recommended for giving both a religious education and a way of livelihood to the poor children in Ireland Dublin 1712* (copy in library of Lough Fea Carrickmacross)

22 Bodleian Library Oxford Rawlinson Mss d 743 f 72 The letter is undated, but it refers to the setting up of his own school (presumably Primrose Grange) '4 or 5 years ago and from the above mentioned pamphlet we can deduce that Primrose Grange was started in 1709 or 1710

23 *A method of charity schools*, p 41 Some records of Primrose Grange in the first years of the nineteenth century survive and it would appear from them that theory (as set out in Nicholson's pamphlet) and practice (as recorded in the school books) were reasonably consonant

24 SPCK Mss ALB Vol 7 4904 Henry Maule at Cork in Ireland to Mr Jennings

25 The annual charity sermon was a feature of parochial life in London and Dublin and was a valuable source of income for the schools

26 SPCK Mss ALB, Vol 8 5414 H M to Mr Shute 19 October, 1717

27 *Ibid*

28 SPCK Mss ALB Vol 8, 5445 H M to Brigadier Stearne (12 Nov 1717) Stearne was one of SPCK's corresponding members in Ireland

29 SPCK Mss ALB Vol 9 6076 Dr John Travers at St John's Vestry in Dublin (where the society held its meetings) 25 July, 1719

30 *A letter from a residing member of the society in Dublin for promoting charity schools in Ireland to a corresponding member in the country* (Dublin 1721) p 4

31 *Ibid* p 9

32 *Ibid* p 13

33 *Proceedings of the society for promoting charity schools, Dublin St Andrew's Vestry, December, 1725* (Marsh's Lib Z 1 13 Date entered in ink 3pp)

34 *Ibid*

35 *Ibid*

36 *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society, 6 February, 1733 to 25 March, 1737, London 1737*, p 15

37 *Diurni superioris domus Convocationis* Vol 1, 1703-08 Vol 11, 1708 13 Registry of the archbishop of Armagh 10 June 1709

38 *A brief account of the laws now in force in the kingdom of Ireland for encouraging the residence of the clergy and erecting of English schools* pp 30 31

39 Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Mss d 839 Papers of Henry Newman f 7

40 Boulter and Gibson were friends and indeed Boulter had preached at Gibson's consecration to the see of Lincoln in 1716 N Sykes suggests (*Wake* 11 p 232) that the archbishop of Armagh tended to write to London rather than Canterbury being somewhat suspicious of Wake on account of his constant correspondence with Archbishop King of Dublin and other Irish born prelates in whose devotion to the English interest Boulter placed but qualified trust

41 *Letters written by his excellency Hugh Boulter, D D, Lord Primate of all Ireland to several ministers of state in England and some others* Dublin 1770 Letter of 11 January, 1727

- 42 Letter of 5 May, 1730 to Bishop of London See Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, Chap VI
- 43 Letter of 5 May, 1730
- 44 SPCK ALB Vol 15, 10604
- 45 *Ibid*
- 46 Dublin 1730, Printed *in extenso* in Jones, *Charity School Movement* pp 233 35
- 47 2nd edition (1778 93) III 432 (The signatories were the Primate the Lord Chancellor the archbishops of Dublin Cashel and Tuam six earls five viscounts twelve bishops six barons and over a hundred beneficed clergy and gentlemen)
- 48 SPCK, ALB, Vol 15, 10763
- 49 It has to be remembered that until 1752 the new year began with 25 March
- 50 SPCK, CS 2, Vol 21, p 37
- 51 *Ibid*, p 52
- 52 CS 2 Vol 22 p 44
- 53 *Ibid* p 51
- 54 *Ibid*, Vol 23 p 4
- 55 *Ibid* Vol 24, p 2
- 56 SPCK, ALB, Vol 16, 11615
- 57 CS 2 Vol 25 pp 56 57
- 58 *Ibid* pp 68-69
- 59 CS 2 Vol 27 p 37
- 60 *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland from the opening of His Majesty's royal charter on the 6 day of February 1733 to the 25 day of March 1737* (London 1737 Reprinted from the Dublin edition)
- 61 *An account of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English protestant schools in Ireland, from February 1733 to 6 March following* (Dublin 1734)
- 62 *Ibid*
- 63 *Abstract of Proceedings 1733 to 1737*, pp 16 22
- 64 SPCK ALB, Vol 17, 12587
- 65 *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society, 6 February, 1733 to 25 March 1737* pp 7 8
- 66 Draped with a scroll bearing the words 'Pauperibus Evangelium' and open at Matt XI 5
- 67 *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society, 6 February 1733 to 25 March, 1737* (original italics) p 5
- 68 Berkeley, *The Querist, containing several queries proposed to the consideration of the public* Dublin 1725, p 18
- 69 *The prose works of Jonathan Swift D D, ed Temple Scott* Vol IV (1898) pp 211 21 A sermon (undated) on the causes of the interesting condition of Ireland
- 70 *An essay on the trade of Ireland*, Part II, (Dublin 1731), pp 53 54
- 71 More correctly 'The board of trustees of the Linen and hempen manufacture in Ireland' In a *Letter from a residing member of the Incorporated Society* (1733) the hope is expressed that it will be easy to find employment for charter school children because several trustees of the Linen Board are commissioners to act on the execution of the charter
- 72 The incorporated Society's London members were informed that the flax trustees (Linen Board) by supplying the schools with seed wheels, reels, hackles and

looms saved the Society's funds. It was gauged that two barrels of flax seed was sufficient for two plantation acres, thus providing full employment for a school. (Corresponding Society minutes, recording letter of May 1740 from Dublin)

73 *The advantages which may arise to the people of Ireland by raising of flax and flax seed considered. Drawn up and published by the direction of the Dublin Society.* Dublin 1732 p 10

74 Everyman edition 1910, reprinted 1972 p 7

75 Printed circular of 30 May 1734 signed John Hansard (in ink) soliciting corresponding members

76 Pt III The Protestant Charter Schools pp 16 ff with Appendices

77 *Ibid*, p 17

78 *Precedents and abstracts from the journals of the trustees of the linen and hemp manufacture of Ireland to 25 March 1737.* Dublin 1784 (He was instrumental in establishing a cambric factory under the Huguenot de Joncourts at Dundalk in his own diocese)

79 Boulter was named vice president of the Dublin Society in a list of 1733 members. Berry, H, *History of the Royal Dublin Society* (Dublin 1915) p 24

80 *A continuation of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society 25 March 1740 to 25 March 1742* pp 4 18

81 *A brief account of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society Published by order of the Society* (London, 1735)

82 *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society 6 February 1733 to 25 March 1737* (London 1737)

83 *Proceedings of the Incorporated Society 25 March 1737 to 25 March 1738* (Dublin 1738)

84 *A continuation of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society 25 March 1738 to 25 March 1740*, (Dublin 1740)

85 *A continuation of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society 25 March 1740 to 25 March 1742*, (Dublin 1742)

86 *Proceedings* 1733 37, 1737 38, 1740-42

87 *Proceedings*, 1733 37 1740-42

88 p 77 ff

89 Corresponding Society London, Minute Book 1735-1743 Entry 14 March 1740. Rome was, needless to say, made highly apprehensive by the reports received there on the activities of the *Societas incorporata Dublini pro promovendis scholis Anglo Protestantibus in Hibernia*, and Irish bishops and priests were instructed to warn parents of the grave sin of sending their children to Protestant schools. But the Vatican felt powerless to do much more than encourage the secular and religious clergy to provide alternative education ('Scribhinní i gCartlann an Vatican le MacFhinn in *Analecta Hibernica*, 16, (March 1946), p 174)

90 *Faulkner's Journal* 1179 29 October to 1 November 1737 (PRONI T 2045/1)

91 *Proceedings 1737 1738*

92 *Proceedings 1738 1740*

93 *Proceedings 1738 1740*

94 *Proceedings 1737 1738*. This is only one example of a municipal patron. Waterford was another

95 (*Ibid*)

96 Minute Book, e.g. 4 July 1739 advertisements to be put in *Daily Advertiser* and *London Evening Post* about five new protestant working schools to be erected

in Ireland (The working aspect was much stressed in England and the Corresponding Society liked to see the word used of the schools Minute of 4 October 1738)

97 *A brief review of the rise and progress of the Incorporated Society, 6 February 1733 to 2 November 1748* (Dublin 1748)

98 *An abstract of the proceedings of the Incorporated Society 6 February 1733 to 25 March 1737*, p 27

99 *Proceedings 1738 1740* p 5-6

100 *A brief review of the rise and progress of the Incorporated Society, 6 February 1733 to 2 November 1748* Dublin 1748 p 41

101 Corresponding Society minutes, 18 May 1737

102 *Cal Treas Books and Papers* IV (1739-41), p 17 Warrant of 27 March 1739 (50)

103 Corresponding Society minutes

104 19 Geo II c 5 and 21 Geo II c 3

105 *Report from the commissioners of the Board of Education in Ireland 1809 1812 The Protestant Charter Schools*, pp 16 17

106 M G Jones, *Charity School Movement*, p 238

107 *Supra* p 2

108 SPCK ALB Vol 17 12176 Letter of 12 May 1733

109 Jones *Charity School Movement*, p 238

110 W Harris *The ancient and present state of the county of Down* (1744) p 17 18

111 *A brief review of the rise and progress of the Incorporated Society, 6 February 1733 to 2 November 1748* pp 9 10