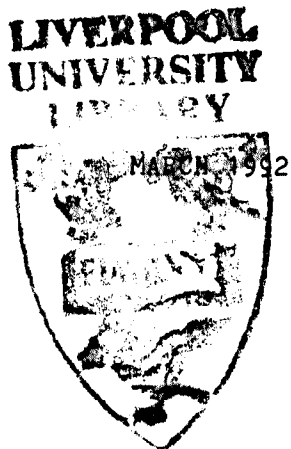


BALFOUR AND EDUCATION 1896-1911

THESIS SUBMITTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
REQUIREMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR IN PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

BALFOUR AND EDUCATION 1896-1911

by

R.S. Gibson

For Arthur Balfour, dealing with education was a 'thankless task' (1). His understanding of educational matters, as he was always quick to point out, was limited and largely stemmed from a "rooted unconcern" for the subject (2). Evidence for this 'profound ignorance' (3) appears to be widespread and even emanates from his own statements in the House of Commons: "For my part I do not profess to know anything about education. I am the last person to pose as an authority on the subject" (4).

What then is the relationship between this enigmatic politician and a topic for which his name has become inextricably linked? The answer, at least for some of his biographers (5) would appear to be that of pilot of educational reform, facilitating the restructuring of a 'chaotic' and 'ineffectual' (6) system under the guidance of Robert Morant (7). This argument, and there is much to be said for it, suggests that once the logic of reform had been appreciated by Balfour, he would pursue the cause to the bitter end, irrespective of political repercussions (8). Such an analysis however, tends to ignore the fact that educational initiative, particularly at the turn of the century, was the product of legislative judgement rather than philosophical initiative. Nevertheless, it is this view of Balfour, which sees him dealing with educational issues at an administrative level which prevails. Its adherents tend to concentrate either on the chaos surrounding the 1896 Education Bill or the passage of the 1902 Education

Act. As a result, analysis is confined to the mechanics of Parliamentary activity and the issue of education on a much wider political plane is not addressed.

Balfour's relationship with education at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century was only superficially the product of a response-reaction doctrine. That was the most visible sign of his involvement, hence the general view of his cynical (9) or indifferent attitude. In fact his involvement with education which spanned a period of twenty years, derived from political conviction based on what he understood to be the principles of Conservatism. He believed passionately in the need to preserve unchanged the twin pillars of a Conservative society, namely the established Church and Parliament. This attitude lay at the heart of what many referred to as his political blindness; issues such as tariff reform never charged Balfour to action because in proportion to the fixed philosophical points in his life they were of secondary importance (10). Education, unlike tariff reform, was bound up with the fortunes of the Church of England and as a result directly impinged upon his Conservative outlook. He became involved in education because he believed that one of the pillars of Conservatism was threatened by the radical and what was deemed to be a godless school system. Ironically, in his efforts to defend the Church he endangered the Parliamentary status quo. Defending the 1902 Act he provoked a strong Liberal reaction to his methods in 1906 and 1907 which culminated in the constitutional crisis of 1910-11.

It is the purpose of this thesis to show that Balfour's commitment to education was no transient aspect of his political career. This study will endeavour to show that the complexities of educational reform and the important political repercussions were first brought to Balfour's

attention when Chief Secretary for Ireland thus laying the basis for his active involvement in both the English and Irish Education systems.

Sources used for this thesis are both primary and secondary, unpublished and published. Attention has, in particular, been paid to doctoral research on related topics.

ABSTRACT FOOTNOTES

1. A.J. Balfour to Lady Elcho, 23 November 1896 in Dugdale, Blanche E. Arthur James Balfour Vol. 1, Hutchinson 1936, page 196.
2. Macnamara T.J. in The Nineteenth Century. June 1901, P.998.
3. Ibid,.
4. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 41, Col. 1369, 18th June 1896.
5. See Egremont, Max, Balfour, London 1980.
Mackay, Ruddock F., Balfour, Intellectual Statesman, Oxford 1985.
Young, Kenneth, Arthur James Balfour London 1963,
Dugdale, Blanche E., Arthur James Balfour, Hutchinson 1936.
Raymond, E.T., A Life of Arthur Balfour, Little, Brown and Co. 1920.
Zebel, Sydney H., Balfour: a Political Biography, Cambridge, 1973.
6. See Balfour's speech at Manchester 14 October 1902.
7. See Allen B.M., Sir Robert Morant, London 1934.
8. See Young, Kenneth op cit,.
9. William Gladstone had thought that Balfour was "...much tainted with easy and cynical indifference", see The Personal Papers of Lord Rendel, Clay and Sons 1931.
10. See Dugdale, E., Arthur James Balfour: A Political and Personal Sketch, Blackwoods Vol. CCXXVIII, October 1930, NO. MCCLXXX, page 448.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my warmest thanks to all who have helped me with this thesis. I am particularly indebted to the Fellows of Merton College, Oxford for their advice and great kindness during my secondment to the University, to Ewan Green of Brasenose College, to Mark Bonham Carter for granting permission for the use of the Asquith Papers, to Father Thomas Morrissey for his correspondence related to Irish matters, to George Thring, to Knowsley and Oxford Local Education Authorities for their financial support and to the many librarians and archivists who have assisted me. I remain particularly grateful to Dr Robin Betts for his guidance and friendship throughout the production of this thesis and to my wife Paula for her support and encouragement without which the completion of this work might not have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

I. A.J. BALFOUR - PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Through the work of his biographers, background information about Balfour, vital if his attitude to the national education system is to be understood, is easily accessible. He was born on 25 July 1848 at Whittinghame in East Lothian. His father, James Maitland Balfour had been Conservative member for the District of Burghs of Haddington, Dunbar, North Berwick, Lauder and Fedburgh between 1841 and 1847. Blanche Dugdale, Arthur Balfour's niece and biographer (1) makes the point that all Balfours, 'as a rule develop late' (2). In James Balfour's case this political development never took place and by 1856, suffering with tuberculosis he died. His wife, Lady Blanche Balfour (3), daughter of the Second Marquis of Salisbury and mother of nine children, had the greatest influence on Arthur. Dugdale suggested that Lady Blanche, "...had more to do than any other human being with forming Arthur Balfour's ideas of duty, with training the independence of his judgement, and laying the uncompromising foundations of his character" (4). When his father died Arthur, being the eldest son, inherited on his coming of age the lion's share of the family fortune, some four million pounds, which made him one of the richest men in Britain. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge in 1866 as a Fellow-Commoner and established an intimate relationship with John Strutt (5), a distinguished physicist. It was from Strutt that Balfour learned the importance of science and how technological development could be used as a force for control in society by improving living standards. From Henry Sidgwick, under whose guidance he read Moral Sciences at Cambridge, he learnt his philosophy:

"Balfour was always to be a philosopher among politicians, and a politician among philosophers. Yet during the great Edwardian debate, Free Trade v Protection, his verbal sorcery concealed his lack of constructive ideas. His very indecisiveness staved off what seemed inevitable - the destruction of the Conservative Party". (6)

His positivist approach to life provides the initial basis for his attitude to education. His rationality was perhaps too intellectual for a leading politician, for he clearly gave the impression of an individual unable to understand the process of 'unreason'. Beatrice Webb noted in her diary for November 1910 that Balfour, "...is as aloof from all intercourse as if he were a lonely College don...(he) is far too philosophical to be conscious of class - but merely from indifference" (7). His 'aloofness' was a cause of constant criticism and gave added credence to the view that he was "...constitutionally incapable of realising that the public can attach importance to anything that is unimportant to himself" (8). His contact with the 'Souls' appeared to increase the intellectual divide between himself, backbenchers and the people. While Balfour always claimed that the 'Souls', a name which he found 'ludicrous' (9) had "...no organization and purpose" (10), his link with the group did affect the public perception of his behaviour. Many believed that his "...contact with the brilliant but silly 'Souls' and his tendency to regard politics as only one part of a somewhat amusing game" (11) did great harm to the Unionist Party. This political myopia was to have major repercussions throughout his political career.

Victorian and Edwardian society offered Balfour little. He had been born into a wealthy and sheltered household whose artificiality laid the basis for his attitude to life and politics. Nevertheless, he did extremely well in the real world without trying, for as the satirical press noted in 1902, "...some men are born rich; others lucky. Mr Balfour united both desirable attributes" (12). His philosophical or intellectual exercises merely reinforced the alienation of 'mind' from the post Victorian age. His pedigree at least guaranteed that he would be listened to, for as Arnold-Forster suggested to Bonar Law in April 1906, "...of A.J.B's fine qualities no one has greater admiration than I. But in some very great spectacle he is altogether lacking... somehow he does not inspire... and

his leading is simply the public expression of his family affections" (13). His temperament was also both enigmatic and intellectual, which tended to produce responses of admiration and frustration from his friends. His obstinate nature enraged backbenchers and party officials, for many of Balfour's political manoeuvres were largely taken with an almost naïve appreciation of their political outcome. Once he had recognised the logic of an argument, party political considerations almost became an irrelevance; although a staunch Conservative, he sometimes behaved as a non-partisan almost neutral chairman of a large company listening to all sides and then acting upon the choice. It was this decision making process which provided the basis for one of the most persistent criticisms levelled at Balfour, namely, his failure to provide positive political leadership. His rationality allowed for the weighing up of the arguments for and against an issue, but there comes a time, as Beatrice Webb noted, "...when surely the mind should be made up conclusively... Balfour's intellect has not the organic quality... Action or inaction are open qualities, and it is a chapter of accidents on which side he throws himself" (14). He was essentially a courteous, lethargic, uninspiring, indifferent individual. The satirists of the day enjoyed the character, providing themselves with the opportunity to poke fun at his unusual physique. Descriptions could be both funny and hurtful: "...in some respects, Mr Balfour resembles a giblet pie. He is all legs and wings. What to do with the former has been one of the great problems of his life, and, up to the present, the question remains unsolved" (15).

Such a combination, interspersed with his changeable temperament, his wit, charm and the impression he gave of disliking detail, meant that Balfour the individual was largely on the periphery of events while appearing to dominate them.

The vision needed to guide Unionists into the new century was lacking in Balfour. His interests were largely self-indulgent, and political

issues generally failed to engender the necessary leadership qualities required: "He (Balfour) does not seriously believe in politics as an instrument of human progress; to him they are merely the art of neutralising forces and engaging them in an equilibrium that is more or less stable so that the really serious activities of the world may not be interfered with" (16). However, many of the issues which required attention throughout his political career were matters which sought his administrative abilities rather than his intellectual skills. Playing the intellectual was very much part of the Balfour persona; his books 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt' (1879) and 'The Foundations of Belief' (1895) reflected not necessarily a great philosophic mind but rather, a speculative one (17). When the need arose it appears that he usually had a more than adequate grasp of administrative requirements; but he mainly preferred to pose as a philosopher rather than to shine as a practical administrator.

Importantly, his attitude in relation to education demonstrated a clear link between his philosophical position and those of his actions. The basis of his Conservatism acknowledged the place of reform but only within the existing institutional framework. His dislike of state intervention reinforced this fundamental position, for he believed that reform via state intervention could only be justified if it strengthened such institutions as the Church. Here lay the rationale for his attacks upon the Liberal governments of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith, for their form of state intervention threatened rather than consolidated institutional control. The basis for this understanding lay in his belief that reform had to fulfil two criteria, namely political and economic necessity. The driving force behind this assumption, particularly that of qualified need, provided Balfour with an important analytical framework against which competing claims for reform could be judged. In the case of

education, while the necessity for reform was clear cut, the nature of the proposed change was palatable for Balfour because it was the administrative rather than the institutional framework which was to be affected.

The Education Act of 1902 was therefore a safe administrative achievement which fulfilled the criteria he believed to be acceptable for instigating reform. Consequently, by 1902, the clamour for educational reform on a large scale, boosted by the impact of the Cockerton decision, enabled Balfour to accept the rationale for reform because what was implied did not threaten the fundamental basis of institutional control. Above all, the need for reform had become so clear cut that his decision to act reflected his essentially pragmatic conservative approach to such issues. Having been convinced of the necessity to introduce education reform, it is possible to speculate that even without Morant the die had been cast.

II. THE POLITICAL SETTING

The general election of 1886 following the Home Rule debacle, produced a clear Unionist victory: 316 Conservatives and 78 Liberal Unionists against only 191 Liberals and 85 Home Rulers. Although achieved in exceptional circumstances, this defeat marked the beginning of the steady decline in the Liberal electoral position interrupted only temporarily in 1906. The secession of 1886 eliminated the two potential successors to Gladstone (Lord Hartington and Joseph Chamberlain) and produced instead the divided trio of Lord Rosebery, William Harcourt and John Morley following Gladstone's retirement. Such a divided leadership inevitably damaged the electoral chances of the party.

Against the weaknesses of its opponent, the Unionist Party enjoyed an association with imperialism, Union and the defence of property, which had far greater appeal to the voter than Home Rule. The elections of 1886

and 1895 were largely on the Irish issue, while the 1900 'Khaki election' was won solely on the basis of military success.

Balfour's elevation to the position of Chief Secretary for Ireland in March 1887 during his uncle's second administration, provided him with the opportunity to show his mettle. Following the inauguration of the 'Plan of Campaign' by the Irish National League, designed to encourage the withholding of tenant rents, Balfour pushed through the Criminal Law Amendment Act (18). His determination to treat political offences as ordinary offences and his refusal to prosecute four Irish police officers following the Michelstown affray (19) led to the infamous nickname of 'Bloody Balfour'. However, by 1890 and with the break up of the Irish National Party, he introduced a Land Purchase Act designed to extend peasant ownership (20). Although his work in Ireland as Chief Secretary (21) remains open to critical analysis (22), there seems no doubt that he did achieve substantial changes to the system of peasant land ownership.

By 1895 Chamberlain and the Liberal Unionists had joined the Conservatives due to their common adherence to Union and Empire and opposition to socialism. Unionist attitudes to social reform during the period 1895 to 1902 tended to reflect three strands of political thinking. On the right of the coalition there stood Lord Wemyss (23) and the Liberty and Property Defence League who argued against any demands for political or social reform. State intervention was, in their view, tantamount to socialism and ultimately a betrayal of Unionist principles. In the centre stood Lord Salisbury and A.J. Balfour who, having recognized the changed relationship between the Party and the mass electorate following the 1884 Third Reform Act, were willing to resist full scale reform but allow concessions. On the left, the democratic Tory tradition of Lord Randolph Churchill and the Liberal Unionist ideas of Chamberlain providing Unionism with a more radical view of social reform.

Both men believed that Unionism should offer their particular vision and interpretation of social reform, otherwise the masses would be lost to socialism. Nevertheless, what did emerge after 1895 was the effective domination of the Salisbury-Balfour stance which saw the radical option as impracticable. For Salisbury and Balfour social reform was not a priority because it affected the delicate political balance of coalition government, while and the question of how to finance change remained a thorny issue. The role of the subsidy as an instrument for both supporting existing institutions and new initiatives, lay at the heart of the economic and political debate. Gorst's Education Bill of 1896 was as much a victim of this dialogue as it was of other passions aroused by the measure (24).

Following the 1895 general election the Conservative Party, even without the Liberal Unionists, held a massive majority, and although the Liberals were to claw back much of their support by 1899, Unionist domination seemed secure. There can be little doubt that the timing of the 1900 general election, against a background of patriotism and an economy geared for war, enabled the Unionists to extend this control. What is also clear, is the degree of complacency which was to set into Unionist politics. It was the issue of education, a cornerstone of Conservative and Unionist understanding, which when placed to the fore between 1896 and 1902 began the process of testing the viability of coalition politics.

Upon the resignation of Lord Salisbury, Balfour formed his first Cabinet on 11 July 1902. It had been an easy inheritance, for the mantle of Salisbury and the solidity of Unionism provided Balfour with a position from which the patrician could control his estate and thereby the country. He was a typical Victorian politician; he was essentially a leader who saw his role as arbiter satisfying the demands of various

interests. It was an order of management to which Balfour had been brought up to recognise, for in essence he was a natural product of Whiggism which, having recognised the demise of landed interest, sought new avenues to guide and control society.

However, politics by the early twentieth century was at last progressing beyond the aristocratic, for the very nature of British society and the new social, economic and political demands meant that the attitudes of the extended 'Cecil' household, had become anachronistic. The 'Hotel Cecil', with Balfour as the guarantor of aristocratic Toryism could not survive the changing political environment. The Salisbury inheritance was inevitably to weigh heavily upon Balfour's shoulders. He owed his position to Lord Salisbury and his government remained the product of his uncle's majority. As a result, he always regarded himself as the, "...trustee rather than the master of his inheritance, and he inevitably tended to display the characteristics of a regent rather than a ruler in his own right" (25). By 1911 this sense of change, particularly the weakening of aristocratic control had become a political reality. Balfour's activities in Opposition did much to bring about this change. The persistent mauling of government bills while out of government from 1906, and the subsequent Parliament Act of 1911, merely reflected a determination to maintain a democratic order with a 'Tory complexion' (26). The Constitutional Crisis, instigated by the Lords rejection of the government budget in 1909, reflected Balfourian determination to fight for the preservation of the Unionist order and its twin citadels of Parliament and the Church. The Budget of 1909, a necessity given the spate of Liberal government reforms, became fused in the differing strands of political passion of the day; the Lords veto, the fear of socialism and the re-emergence of tariff reform arguments from Austen Chamberlain and Bonar Law who regarded the budget as an admission that free trade had failed. The wrecking tactics of the Unionist Party under

Balfour's leadership were ultimately the most obvious manifestation of an individual seeking a cause to rally backbenchers. He had great difficulty in reconciling himself and his party to the new political situation which followed the 1906 general election. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was quick to rebuke Balfour for his attitude:

"The right hon. gentleman is like the Bourbons. He has learned nothing. He comes back... with the same airy graces, the same subtle dialectics, the same light and frivolous way of dealing with great questions. He little knows the temper of the new House of Commons if he thinks these methods will prevail here" (27).

The shock of not being in power lay at the heart of Balfour's problems while in Opposition. As Hensley Henson was to note: "His [Balfour's] political failures had their origin, less in his own unwisdom, than in his inadequate recognition of the temper and process of democratic politics" (28). During the controversy surrounding Augustine Birrell's Education Bill of 1906 Balfour's tactics led many to question his leadership of the Unionist party:

"The King worked hard for a compromise on Education. Lansdowne and the Archbishop if left to themselves would certainly have done it but A.J.B., was bent on some incomprehensible reason both to his opponents and his followers, on wrecking the Bill" (29).

III. THE POLITICAL PARTIES

The years between the death of Queen Victoria and the outbreak of the First World War have been remembered with heavy and distorting nostalgia. However, as recent research seems to indicate, the Edwardian era was far from being a 'golden age' (30). So aware were Edwardians of their many difficulties that The Times of 19th January 1909 particularly emphasized how contemporaries shared no golden illusions about themselves: "They place the golden age behind them and assume that no generation ever had to deal with evils so great and perplexing as those of the present day" (31).

The Edwardian evils were products of a range of social and political contrasts, all of which had existed in Victorian times. Issues such as the attack on free trade; the need to define the real relationship between the state and the individual; the new attitude to Empire following the initially disastrous Boer War; the introduction of the 'social service state' after 1906; the continuous trade union unrest; the re-emergence of the Irish question which ultimately led to the brink of civil war by 1914; and finally, a British foreign policy which seemed to indicate, no matter how vaguely, that in the event of war, France and Russia would receive support; the militant demand for female suffrage. The campaign for female suffrage was in part a product of Arthur Balfour's actions, for by terminating the school boards to which women could be elected, he activated the Women's Social and Political Union into a plan of campaign the following year, more radical than many had expected.

It is against this background that the state of the political parties has to be placed. The Unionist Party had been in power since 1895 and at the turn of the century, it still bore its landowning image. However, it was a party which was changing its complexion and its electoral base. In the Cabinet sat Joseph Chamberlain; his concept of imperialism had led him towards the idea of 'Imperial Preference' in the 1890's which inevitably meant overthrowing 'Free Trade'. The issue of 'Free Trade' was to be Balfour's sternest test of leadership, but it was to be one in which he would ultimately fail:

"The really unfortunate part of the Tariff Reform agitation was that it disintegrated the Unionist Party, and thus contributed largely to the electoral debacle of 1906. But this would not have been the case if Mr Balfour had had the courage to give the country a definite lead" (32).

In the Lords, there was an increasing number of Unionist Peers whose peerages were recent and who had little connection with the landowning

class (33). As a body, Unionism was beginning to represent the new business culture, rather than the agricultural elite. In the great electoral victory of 1895, the Conservatives had conquered both the English counties and boroughs. They were particularly strong in the south and central England, in London and the Home Counties, in the West Midlands and Lancashire. They were by the turn of the century a party which represented a 'plutocracy' (34).

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Liberal party was faced with division and dissension. The party was split before Gladstone's Home Rule Bill and was left in a fragmented state by his retirement. The Newcastle programme of 1891 exhibited the multiplicity of groups within the party rank and file, with each centered on a political figure and his vision of policy. The most influential group consisted of the Liberal Imperialists and their most lively personality, Lord Rosebery. These 'Limps' had the support and backing of many powerful and influential political figures - Asquith, Grey and Haldane being the most obvious. Running counter to this group were the Liberal anti-imperialists, nicknamed the 'Little Englanders'. They disliked all imperial connections and were extremely unpopular during the Boer War, sometimes being described as pro-Boer. The leading and most detested of these was Lloyd George (often as unpopular with his fellow Liberals as he was with the Tories). Another group, the Radicals, led by Campbell-Bannerman, who was unanimously elected leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Commons on Harcourt's resignation in 1898, placed more emphasis on domestic policies, seeking sweeping change. In essence, the Liberals (and Joseph Chamberlain's 'Liberal Unionists') were indeed politicians in search of a party. However, a new type of candidate was making his way into the Liberal ranks, men from the professional classes who had made their names as journalists, academics and writers. These had neither wealth nor local attachments, and tended to be men of progressive or radical views. In reality, it was these

'progressives' or 'social radicals' who took the initiative in re-shaping the ideology of Liberalism. Under the influence of individuals such as C.P. Scott (Manchester Guardian) and L.T. Hobhouse, an alternative to traditional Gladstonian policy was forged.

These changes within the Liberal attitude to government and hence to society, was not reflected within Unionist ranks. The Unionist Party and in particular Conservatism was the same in 1914 as it had been in the nineteenth century. For Liberalism, its metamorphosis was merely a symptom of the age, while its attempts to influence Unionism with its inbuilt majority in the House of Lords, was ultimately to destroy it: "...It was ...a melancholy fate which decreed that the Liberals should turn upon their heredity foe (the Lords): that they should spend their last energies on beating it to its knees - and there upon themselves - expire" (35). Yet the progressive ideals of Liberalism and the desire on the part of Unionism to preserve the status quo raises a number of intriguing questions, given the permissive educational reform of 1902. The momentous Education Act, a watershed in the history of English education is bound up with the name of A.J. Balfour; but how easily does the mantle of 'Educational Reformer' lie upon his head? For Balfour, education as a political issue was demonstrably in need of action, but how far was it a conclusion arrived at after much persuasion and intellectual debate? The basic framework for what was to happen in 1902 was forecast by the Bryce Commission in 1895, but the logic of its conclusions were more apparent to J.E. Gorst whose Bill of 1896 has been referred to as the 'dress rehearsal for 1902' (36).

IV. EDUCATION

The educational systems of Great Britain and Ireland, to which Balfour was to become inextricably involved, provides a useful framework of analysis for understanding his reform activities.

1. Scotland

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 was a milestone in national educational history. The Act dealt with both elementary and secondary education unlike its English 1870 counterpart. A central authority for education with representative local authorities for administration purposes was created. The central authority became the Scotch Education Department with powers to inspect on an annual basis and legislate through Minutes which, once approved by Parliament, had the same force as an Act (37).

Local administration was conducted through 984 school boards. In effect all schools, whether burgh or parish fell under the control of the school board. Schools which did not wish to transfer into the new structure, such as Catholic schools, had to be maintained at their own expense (voluntary schools). Those under the control of school boards were known as public schools. Within the public school structure two school types emerged: state aided elementary and Higher Class public schools. The Higher Class public schools gave instruction in Greek, Latin, modern languages, mathematics and natural science. These schools depended upon fees, receiving no grant from the Education Department. It was not until 1892 that they were able to benefit from the Education and Local Taxation Act. While a definition of higher class public schools was provided by the 1872 Act there was no attempt to do the same for secondary instruction. A third class of school, the higher class school was also acknowledged. These were endowed, private or subscription schools. In reality there were no serious divisions in Scotland between Church and non Church.

In 1885, the Scottish Education Department was reorganised with the Secretary for Scotland becoming the head of the education system. The first secretary of the Education Department responsible to the Secretary

for Scotland was Sir Henry Craik (38). His first action was to remove the system of payment by results, which he did via a Code in 1886. As a result of his work, elementary education became free for children from 3 to 15 in 1893. Craik ensured that the four Scottish Universities received £30,000 from the Education and Local Taxation Act. His greatest achievement was perhaps to instigate a Leaving Certificate Examination. This development provided a valuable focus for the various secondary schools leading to curricular cohesion.

The position of School Boards were further strengthened by the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908. Provision was made in this act for medical examination and supervision of pupils while special provisions for the education of physically and mentally handicapped pupils was established. The question of which administrative units should be used for the delivery of national education was addressed in the English Education Act of 1902: then it was shown that the county and county boroughs were the obvious administrative structures. This reorganisation did not take place in Scotland until the Education (Scotland) Act 1918, creating a partnership between central and local authorities. The central authority became the Scottish rather than the Scotch Education Department while the 947 school boards were superseded by education authorities.

Despite the radical changes implemented by the 1872 Act, the training of teachers remained under the control of the Churches. Until 1901 the Scotch Education Department examined and certificated the teaching profession. Craik abolished this system empowering colleges to set their own syllabuses and examination, recommending candidates to the Department for certification or failure. Under the Education (Scotland) Act 1908 a superannuation scheme for both primary and secondary teachers on a contributory basis was established. The development of Universities was enhanced by the University (Scotland) Act of 1889 remodelling the

constitution of Scottish Universities. It was not until 1922 that further modifications were made to the constitutions of Universities bringing all teaching staff under the federated superannuation scheme.

ii. England and Wales

The extension of the vote to the town worker in 1867 made educational reform a matter of urgency in the second half of the 19th century. Attempts by various governments to provide at least a minimum of education for all children had been haphazard and ineffectual. The early Factory Acts had marked the first hesitant steps towards a system of compulsory education (39). The Health and Morals of Apprentices Act (1802) stated that apprentices were to be 'instructed in some part of every working day.... in the usual hours of work in reading, writing and arithmetic... by some proper person' (40). The 1833 Factory Act was more explicit. All factory children in cotton and woollen manufacturing between the ages of 9 and 13 were to have two hours' schooling every day except Sundays. One of the duties of the factory inspectors, who were appointed for the first time, was to see that this was properly carried out. But most manufacturers did not think it was their job to provide schools, and only a few made even half-hearted efforts to carry out the intention of the law.

The church societies were unable to provide sufficient school places and teachers for the school population which was estimated in 1870 at over 3 million. Since there was accommodation for only 2 million children school attendance was not compulsory. But even in areas well endowed with schools many children went only when there was no work available and, of those who did attend school, over half went for fewer than one hundred days a year. Not surprisingly, nearly three-quarters of the children left school unable to write a letter properly or add up a bill. It was to remedy these gaps in education that the 1870 Education Act was passed.

This Act established a national system of elementary education in England and Wales. In areas where there were not enough schools the church societies were given six months in which to provide them. If they failed to do so local school boards, with powers to build and maintain schools, and to levy a local rate, were to be elected by rate payers. The school boards could make education in their area compulsory, though very few did so. The problem of religious instruction was overcome by the Cowper-Temple Clause in the Act, which stated that religious education in board schools was not to be biased in the direction of any one particular denomination. Parents were given the right to withdraw their children from scripture lessons and school assemblies if they wished.

A series of Acts quickly followed to improve upon the existing system. The 1876 Education Act laid down that no child under 10 years was to be employed, and no child under 13 who could not reach a certain standard in reading, writing and arithmetic, unless a certificate of regular school attendance was produced. The Act of 1880 made education compulsory to the age of 10, and laid the responsibility for attendance on the school board. In 1893 the school leaving age was raised to 11 and in 1899 to 12. Elementary education was made free in 1891 while the system of Payment by Results was abandoned in 1897.

However, by the turn of the century, the effects of Forster's Education Act of 1870 had been to create a dual system. Under the Act elected school boards, designed to work alongside the varying matrix of voluntary schools, normally provided by the National Society (Church of England), the British and Foreign School Society (non-denominational), the Weskyans and the Roman Catholics, were established in most towns and cities in England and Wales.

It was in the towns and cities that the impact of the school boards was most prolific with voluntary schools being supplanted by them. Rural

areas were for the most part, occupied by voluntary schools. The speed with which school boards developed had much to do with local circumstances as anything else. The boards had the power to levy a rate, but a 1d. rate in London or any other major city or town generated enough money not only to survive but to expand. In rural areas the rate needed to support school board education had to be higher. In the urban areas, in the face of what was termed 'school board competition' voluntary schools and Roman Catholic schools century began to suffer as they tried to meet increased costs. J.E.B. Munson has suggested that part of the voluntary school problem lay in the fact that in many of the large cities, such schools survived in the central wards with a declining population, while board schools occupied the newer outer wards with a rising population and subsequent rising rate income (41).

Secondary education, on the other hand, was neglected, for the Act of 1870 dealt only with elementary education. Although the Clarendon Commission (1864) and the Taunton Commission (1868) called for reform of secondary school provision, little was done. The only positive development was the implementation of a Technical Instruction Act (1889) which levied a penny rate to aid technical instruction. In 1890 local authorities were allowed to establish some form of technical instruction using some of the revenue raised from increased duties on wines and spirits. This was the so-called whiskey money.

As a result, by the end of the century English education was in a hopeless muddle. As Balfour was to tell the Conservative Party Conference in Manchester on 14 October 1902: "...the existing education system of this country is chaotic, is ineffectual, is utterly behind the age, makes us a laughing stock of every advanced nation in Europe and America..." (42). Five separate authorities existed for secondary schools; the Education Department, the Science and Art

Department, the Board of Agriculture, the Charity Commissioners, and the local authorities. There remained similar confusion at the local level also, with school boards, school committees, boards of managers, boards of governors, and the county and county borough councils, all with overlapping duties.

iii. Ireland

During the early 19th century, attempts to formulate a coherent and comprehensive education policy ran up against the Catholic concern that education would be the mechanism by which a Protestant government might use to convert the people. The rivalry between Protestant and Roman Catholic, between English and Irish was to be much more painful than that between board and voluntary in England and Wales. Against the background of this fear there lay a chaotic system of elementary education. While in England reform was seen in terms of local development, in Ireland a decision was taken in 1831 to "...enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to assist with the education of the people", (43) and a grant of £30,000 was allocated for the purpose. Up to 1831 there existed three societies for the promotion of education; the Incorporated Society in Dublin for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland and the Association for Discountenancing Vice and Promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion were both "...avowedly proselytising agencies" (44). The third, the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland attempted to promote denominational education but failed.

It was the creation of a National Board of Education in 1831 assuming responsibility for the allocation of grants, which effectively glossed over many of the problems created through denominational divisions. Schools affiliating to the National Board benefited financially with grants being made towards teachers' salaries the provision of cheap text books and payments towards building costs. The success of the National

School system certainly remains unchallenged. Not only did the number of schools in operation rise from 4,500 in 1850 to nearly 9,000 in 1900, but there is fairly reliable evidence to show that the number of children making at least one attendance in the year had grown from about 800,000 in 1860 to around a million thirty years later (45). It should be noted that this was largely the product of a voluntary system. Although the Irish Education Act of 1892 was designed to impose a measure of compulsion, these figures were largely achieved without the legislation. Effectively however, while the Scots were to settle the question of Church and State in education, the problem remained to be tackled in England and Ireland. Unexpectedly, it was to Irish education that Balfour was to deal with first, which was to provide an experience from which he could draw when dealing with England and Wales.

V. CONCLUSION

Analysis of Balfour's attitude to education normally begins with his activities during the debates surrounding the Education Bill of 1896. His decision to drop the Bill and subsequent humiliation of Gorst normally provides the focus around which his general dislike of the topic centres.

When examining his role during the events of June 1896, Balfour, as Leader of the House, had to take into account two factors; first the government's legislative programme, which included the Agricultural Rating Bill, the Irish Land Bill and the Finance Bill; and second, the effectiveness of the proposed educational measure. His decision whether or not to drop the Education Bill had to stem from a pragmatic view of politics which necessitated a realistic assumption of what could be implemented as much as from educational considerations. The trigger mechanism for a full scale reform of the education system did not exist in 1896 as it was to appear, in the form of the Cockerton decision in 1900. Political survival, particularly coalition government, necessitated

a piecemeal approach in step with evolutionary rather than revolutionary Unionism.

Ultimately education became a focal point around which the forces which had established Unionism became strained. Unionist coherence for Lord Salisbury had been preserved by the use of small 'Bills' (in order to preserve the consensus), but the Education Bill of 1902 ignored this maxim and immediately set in train a series of events which culminated in the heavy defeat of the Unionist Party in January 1906. Why Balfour ignored his uncle's maxim perplexed many of his colleagues, but the decision to press ahead with an all encompassing bill for educational reform was largely dictated by the events surrounding the Cockerton decision. Why Balfour insisted on pressing ahead is one of the main issues with which this thesis intends to deal. The Cockerton judgement certainly provided the *raison d'etre* for a large educational bill, but Balfour's decision to press ahead was not the product merely of political blindness, rather it was the product of his acknowledgement that educational need had become political need. The logic of such a conclusion led to a questioning of his leadership qualities; many Unionists had argued that upon the resignation of Lord Salisbury there should have been an interval before Balfour assumed control (46). However, what the critics failed to appreciate was that Balfour inherited from Salisbury not merely the title of Prime Minister, but a series of issues which needed more than piecemeal action: education was but one of these issues.

For Balfour the criticism, although hurtful, did not necessarily worry him. It could be argued that the Unionist Party did not have a leader in the normal party political sense - what they may have had was a figurehead. Control of the 'Party' was a task which Balfour saw only in terms of representation. Ten years of continued unbroken Unionist

rule may well have reinforced the Balfourian attitude in relation to particular issues. His attitude and approach to politics recalls that of Robert Peel who recognised the changing nature of English society but disliked the environment in which political activity was to survive. In March 1819, Peel asked whether the tone of England was,

"more Liberal - to use an odious but intelligible phrase - than the policy of the government, and whether there was not a 'feeling', becoming daily more general and more confirmed in favour of some undefined change in the mode of governing the country" (47).

Such was Balfour's position, hence by 1911 he had become disillusioned with politics. A resolution from the Brightside division of the Sheffield Conservative and Constituent Association on September 24th 1911 also illustrated rank and file frustration with Balfour, demanding that the Party Leaders, "...establish some definite constructive and fighting policy which will appeal to the electors and in which they can be educated, and respectfully call upon Mr A.J. Balfour to declare such a policy..." (48). Here perhaps lies the central problem in Balfour's political life, for policy direction was normally the result of an identified need rather than political philosophy. This was as much part of Balfour's character, as it was an inherited characteristic of Salisbury's piecemeal tactics. His inability to offer a clear policy direction provided the basis for much of the criticism levelled at him while Prime Minister with his normal answer to questions being: "Theoretically: Yes.... Practically: No" (49). Over the issue of education, Balfour's initial prevarication during the 1896 Bill should not however overshadow his commitment to a cause, which when examined in philosophical terms, provided an example of his character which many failed to appreciate. When convinced of the need for reform there was no one better suited in the Cabinet to deliver, irrespective of political repercussions. Educational reform was just such an issue and reflected

commitment not just to administrative change but to a 'real'
restructuring of the education system.

INTRODUCTION
FOOTNOTES

1. Dugdale, Blanche E. Arthur James Balfour, Hutchinson 1936.
2. Ibid, page 16.
3. Her full name was Lady Blanche Mary Harriet Gascoigne Cecil.
4. Dugdale, Blanche E. op., cit., page 19.
5. Later Lord Rayleigh.
6. Brendon, Piers Eminent Edwardians, Secker and Warburg 1979, page 77.
7. Webb, Beatrice The Power to Alter Things 1902-1925, Vol. 3, edited by MacKenzie, Norman and Jeanne, Virago 1984, pages 146-7.
8. Spender, J.A. A Modern Journal Being the Diary for Greville Minor For the Year of Agitation 1903-1904, Methuen 1904, page 1.
9. Balfour, A.J. Chapters of Autobiography, Cassell 1930, page 232.
10. Ibid,.
11. Webb, Beatrice op., cit., page 54.
12. Rodgers, E. and Moyle E.J. The Rt. Hon. A.J. Balfour, Trehernes Penny Series - Men of the Moment No. 5, London 1902.
13. Bonar Law Papers box 18/12/16 Arnold-Forster to Bonar Law 24 April 1906, House of Lords Library.
14. Webb, Beatrice All the Good Things of Life, Vol. 2 1892-1905, edited by Mackenzie, Norman and Jeanne, Virago 1983, page 261. Also see Birrell, Augustine 'A.J.B. - A Character Sketch' in The Nation and Athenaeum, Vol. XLVI, No. 26. Balfour believed that, "...Delay is as important as progress." page 887.

When Balfour did make up his mind he sometimes found that being decisive could lead to personal sadness: "...Constance Wenlock... told me several interesting things, also some of A.J. Balfour's love affairs. At one time he had quite made up his mind to marry the future Duchess of Rutland and proposed himself at her father's house in the Country, with the intention of asking her. He was met with the news of her engagement to Lord Granby, and left early the next morning." See Lascelles, Sir Alan Letters and Journals of Sir Alan Lascelles from 1887 to 1912, Hamish Hamilton, 1986, Diary entry, 6 August 1911, page 108.

15. Trehernes Penny Series, op., cit., page 3.

Also see Hamilton, Lord Frederic The Days Before Yesterday, Hodder and Stoughton 1920, page 102; "When the Cambridge graduate appeared, he was, on the contrary very tall and thin, with a slight stoop, and... an exceedingly long neck emerging from a very low collar. His name was Arthur James Balfour."

16. Sidebotham, Herbert Pillars of The State, Nisbet 1921, page 47.
17. See Brendon, op cit, page 77.
18. Criminal Law Amendment Act July 1887. This was pushed through by Balfour granting the Lord Lieutenant power to declare illegal Irish Leagues and allowed the trials of persons accused of crime to be conducted in England if necessary.
19. On 9th September 1887 at the trial of William O'Brien, one of the radical leaders of the Irish National League, a crowd of 8,000 was forcibly dispersed. Three people were killed. A verdict of wilful murder was returned by the jury against an inspector and three constables. The government refused to prosecute.
20. Land Purchase Act 1890: The main objectives of the act were to, (a) establish a central department to deal with all land questions. (b) The government to advance to all purchasers of land the total price, to be repaid in 49 years. (c) Establish a Congested Districts Board to deal with areas in which the population was too many and the holdings too small to justify an attempt to make every tenant a peasant proprietor.
21. Balfour relinquished the Irish Secretaryship to W.L. Jackson in October 1891, succeeding the deceased W.H. Smith as first lord of the treasury.
22. See the critical essay written by Brendon, Piers Eminent Edwardians, op., cit.,.
23. Later Lord Elcho.
24. See Offer, Anver Property and Politics 1870-1914, Cambridge University Press 1981.
25. Cecil, Algernon The Earl of Balfour, The Quarterly Review, Vol. 251, No. 498, October 1928, page 390.
26. Balfour, A.J. Chapters of Autobiography, Cassell, 1930.
27. P.D., 4th Series, Vol. 153, Col. 992, 14 March 1906.
28. Henson, Herbert Hensley Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. I, Oxford University Press 1942, page 95. H.H. Henson later became the Bishop of Durham.
29. Ponsonby Ms Eng hist c653, Diary entry for January 1907.

Arthur Ponsonby (1871-1946) was educated at Eton and Balliol. He joined the diplomatic service in 1894, serving in Constantinople (1894-1897) and Copenhagen (1898-1899) and the Foreign Office (1900-1902), but he resigned in 1902 after pressing unsuccessfully for reforms in the diplomatic service. From 1903 he worked in Liberal Party headquarters and stood unsuccessfully as Liberal candidate for Taunton in the General Election of 1906. He was principal private secretary to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and on Campbell-Bannerman's death in 1908 was elected his successor as member of Parliament for Stirling Burghs, a seat he held until 1918.

30. See for example Thompson, Paul, The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society, Paladin 1975.
31. The Times 19 January 1909.
32. Boscawen, Arthur Griffith Memories, page 86, London 1925. Sir Arthur Sackville Trevor Griffith Boscawen was born in 1865. He was Private Secretary to Sir Michael Hicks Beach when Chancellor of the Exchequer (1895-1900); Parliamentary Charity Commissioner (1900-1906); Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Pensions (December 1916-January 1919); Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Agriculture and Ministry of Fisheries (January 1919).
33. See Pugh, Martin The Making of Modern British Politics 1867-1939, Blackwell 1982.
34. Ibid., See Chapter 3.
35. Dangerfield, George, Strange Death of Liberal England 1910-1914, Pedigree 1980, page 47.
36. Sir John E. Gorst, Vice President of the Council. See Daghish, N.D. Planning the Education Bill of 1896, History of Education, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1987, page 91.
37. See Curtis, S.J., History of Education in Great Britain, University Tutorial Press 1967.
38. Sir Henry Craik, Secretary of the Scottish Education Department 1885-1904.
39. Curtis, S.J., History of Education in Great Britain, op., cit.,.
40. Ibid., See Chapter V.
41. Munson, J.E.B., The Unionist Coalition and Education, 1895-1902, The Historical Journal 20, 3 (1977), page 608.
42. Balfour's speech to the Conservative and Unionist Party Conference in Manchester 14th October 1902. See The Times, 15th October 1902.
43. Cited in Lyons, F.S.L. Ireland Since the Famine page 82, Fontana Press 1985.
44. Ibid., page 82.
45. Ibid., page 83.
46. See Fitzroy, Almeric Memories (entry for 9 April 1901) London 1925, page 50.
47. See Clark, G. Kitson The Making of Victorian England, University Press 1962, page 40.
48. Conservative Party Archives; Minutes of the National Union Executive Committee; letter received from the Brightside division Sheffield, September 24 1911.
49. Cited in Brendon, op., cit., page 77.

CHAPTER ONE

I. BALFOUR, HIS BIOGRAPHERS AND EDUCATION

When Arthur Balfour addressed members of the Press Gallery in December 1911, he suggested that there were three types of journalist; those who criticised, those who praised and those who tried to interpret or explain his political career. It was to this last group that he drew the banquet's particular attention, for while he was always pleased to be 'praised' and a little 'uncomfortable' when criticised, he admitted that he had "... moments of uneasiness when being explained" (1). This sense of 'unease' may well have been cautionary advice to those assembled, but it was also a forewarning to historical researchers who have struggled to understand his esoteric personality. The complexities of the Balfour character and ultimately his attitude to education can only perhaps be understood when the essential themes of his life have been identified. Was he an intellectual unable to come to terms with the realities of late nineteenth and early twentieth century society? Courtney Ilbert, former Parliamentary Counsel suggested to James Bryce that Balfour, "...like clever men of his type (lacked) depth of feeling or conviction" (2); or was he too aristocratic, too noble, perhaps the final patrician, incapable of appreciating the needs of ordinary men? Cecil Chesterton, writing in 1910 has given credence to this view, for he has argued that for Balfour, "...the governing class should go on governing, and that the party system was only valuable because it enabled them to do so" (3); or did Balfour fool everyone (even his biographers) (4) into believing that he hated power when in reality the opposite was the case?

Such questions naturally form the basis of any study of A.J. Balfour who, as a major political figure, has been the subject of seven

biographies in the past seventy years. Unfortunately, however, his personality and his activities within an aristocratic political circle have proved so attractive that issues of a more mundane kind, education amongst them, have tended to receive less detailed treatment. Because his name is associated with the Act of 1902 the issue cannot be omitted, but in all seven studies it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that it has been treated superficially.

The first attempted biographical account of Balfour's life and work appeared in 1903 (5). It was written by Bernard Alderson and was based entirely upon the reminiscences of those who knew Balfour and 'The Times' verbatim reports of Parliamentary debates and speeches. The author in his preface (6) expresses his surprise that no biographical account of Balfour had so far been produced, but answers this question himself by suggesting that his subject never liked publicity. While that may have been true, Alderson was nevertheless delighted to have the opportunity to produce a first account of the man and his work.

Whilst Balfour disliked investigations of any kind into his private and public life, he nevertheless recognised that a review of his life and work would at some time have to be written. What he was apparently determined to do was to keep some control over the writing of any account and if possible limit authorship to the extended family only. Alderson was a man who fitted Balfour's criteria. His sister Georgina (7) had married the third Marquis of Salisbury, and as a result he had become an extended member of the Cecil family. Interestingly there is no indication regarding a family connection made in the book which is a celebration of Balfour's work and personality although it is somewhat at variance with the author's claim to "...give an impartial estimate of his work" (8). This aim was

always going to be questionable given Alderson's family connections, but this does not mean that his efforts lack the validity of those crammed with sources and facts made available since Balfour's death and the release of Cabinet papers. The personal reminiscences cited in the book do provide some useful if limited glimpses of the growing Balfour. It does contain a few interesting facts ignored in the more elevated professional attempts of the post 1960's. For example, Alderson rightly points out that Balfour's support for the Universities Bill of 1877 (9) and the proposal that women should be granted degrees reflected his view of the "importance that the privileges given to men should be extended to women" (10). Curiously, Kenneth Young in his analysis of Balfour (11) makes the same point but it is presented in a manner which appears to suggest that Balfour favoured the full extension of women's rights. This was not the case and Alderson balances his statement by pointing out that while Balfour had supported amendments on 17th May 1877 which sought to grant degrees to women, on 7th June he opposed a measure seeking to grant female suffrage (12).

The general thrust of Alderson's work centres on Balfour as Leader of the Commons and Prime Minister. Education is dealt with very sketchily (13), with the 1896 Education Bill and the subsequent Voluntary Schools Act of 1897 not even being mentioned. It is clear that Alderson who wrote his book during 1902, was never in a position to stand far enough away from the events surrounding the Education Act to provide any useful analysis. He does suggest however that Balfour, "...showed a mastery of its.... complex details and a grasp of educational affairs which added considerably to his reputation as an administrative statesman". (14) Such a conclusion is not dissimilar to that arrived at by those biographers with access to more sources. Nevertheless, although some useful glimpses of Balfour peek through

the reminiscences, the lack of critical analysis produces a very lightweight chronology of Balfour's work up to 1902. In essence it is a family biography written for family consumption and its historical value can only lie in the fact that it was the first attempt to draw together some of the events surrounding Balfour's thirty years in public life.

The second biographical account of Balfour's life and work appeared in 1920, (15) ten years before his death. It was written by the journalist E.T. Raymond (16) who became the editor of the Evening Standard in 1923. The newspaper, originally a daily, had flourished throughout Lord Salisbury's premiership as the leading Conservative Party paper, "...drawing intimate inspiration from the prime minister" (17). Its sale to C. Arthur Pearson in 1904 who made a memorable failure with it led to its move into evening editions by 1910 (18). By 1920, with Unionism hidden within Lloyd George's coalition and the memory of Unionist government some fifteen years old, Raymond attempted to put into perspective a journalist's analysis on Balfour's responsibility for its predicament. His book, although generally affectionate is nevertheless punctuated with a highly perceptive view of the man and his politics. Throughout, as with most biographical accounts, Raymond struggled to understand the Balfour persona and it is no surprise that halfway through the book, almost in exasperation, he suggests that, "...nobody... has really succeeded in getting to know him. Mr Balfour is an island, entirely surrounded by urbanity (modified by some puzzling cross-currents), and many determined attempts at invasion have failed" (19). Raymond's critical analysis, the product of a journalist's craft of exposé, rather than the historians skill of synthesis still provides a very useful and interesting conservative critique. There are five basic charges or allegations made against Balfour in the book which are: deficiency of

judgement; deficiency of energy; an intellect which remained critical rather than creative; a mental and physical distance from the realities of life and finally, that he was not a true Conservative.

Raymond suggests that there are many examples of Balfour's poor judgement as a statesman not only prior to the 1906 general election but also in Opposition, and in particular his wrecking tactics adopted during the debates on the Liberal government's 1908 Licensing Bill. This aspect of his character, an infuriating one for the biographer, led him to conclude that Balfour,

"...has always appeared to experience some difficulty in getting all objects, near and remote, simultaneously in just focus; his is not the automatic and almost infallible judgement of some great statesman, contracting to the smallest details, expanding to the largest demands" (20).

It is the inconsistency in Balfour's views about particular issues which provided Raymond with material for some of his most scathing attacks. Following his election victory to the eastern division of Manchester (21) in 1885 he seemed to imply in his election address following the declaration of the poll that Home Rule was not an issue which he would fight (22). However, his speech in Ulster on 5th April 1893 endorsing possible rebellion against Gladstone's Home Rule Bill was, according to Raymond not only unnecessary, but also "unworthy of his fame and position" (23). Consistency in judgement remained a key character defect for Raymond and one which he believed had led the Conservative Party into the wilderness of coalition government.

Raymond emphasizes that Balfour's inadequate judgemental attributes stemmed from his lethargic, indolent manner. While accepting the delicate nature of the Balfour constitution, he suggests that his generally poor leadership of the Unionist Party was the product of

a lack of energy although he suggests that when Balfour did show some form of energy, it was,

"...a fitful energy, requiring the stimulus of a great occasion to arouse it; with success comes lethargy. Mr Balfour is constitutionally indolent - the effect partly of a too narrow margin of physical strength" (24).

To Raymond, the Unionist Party left in the hands of a lack lustre almost disinterested individual, was always likely to produce the degree of policy inconsistency and leadership inadequacies exposed by such issues as tariff reform. This aspect of the Balfour personality was mirrored by what the biographer termed as a 'coldness of imagination' (25) and a distance, both intellectually and physically from ordinary men. It is a charge which is a recurring theme throughout the book and tends to reflect the frustration of Unionism in 1920. There is, however, an important aspect to Raymond's critique which needs to be considered. As a result of Balfour's sheltered upbringing Raymond seems to suggest that there developed a negative, almost nihilistic trait in his personality. In 1893, during the Home Rule debates, Balfour was quite prepared to "...vote for any amendment which would improve the Bill and any that would destroy it" (26). This nihilistic tendency pervaded his leadership of the Unionist Party in Opposition between 1906 and 1911, and remained a characteristic of the party following his resignation. that the supremacy of Unionism in Britain depended upon the maintenance of his authority at the head of the Party and that while keeping the Party together remained a key task, the need for a figurehead to embody the nature of Unionism became an essential ingredient in preserving control:

"If he (Balfour) was inspired by one sincere and overpowering conviction, it was that the safety and dignity of Great Britain depended on the supremacy of Conservatism, and he might be pardoned if, on a review of his record and a glance of the contemporary political gallery, he believed that the supremacy of Conservatism depended on the maintenance of his own authority" (27).

For Raymond, the nature of Balfour's Conservatism remained a topic of considerable complexity. In one sense he suggests that Balfour was a traditional Conservative wanting to maintain the status quo with as little change as possible. Revolutionary change was an anathema to Balfour and generally, "...he elected to stand still unless pushed" (28). However, the nature of his Conservatism derived from a variety of sources and therefore classification of Balfour on the political spectrum varies greatly depending on the issue or topic he was dealing with at the time. When Margot Asquith asked him if there was much difference between him and his uncle he replied: "There is a difference. My uncle is a Tory... and I am a Liberal" (29).

This self analysis has to be placed within the context of Lord Salisbury's Conservatism, but generally Balfour tended to place himself in the centre or possibly to the left within the Unionist ranks. Such an analysis complements Raymond's view that while Balfour was always keen to stand still as far as possible, he was also quite prepared to move in a revolutionary direction. The Education Act of 1902 is a good example of Raymond's interpretation and as a result, he concludes that: "In one sense he (Balfour) is hardly a true Conservative" (30).

In a book of nearly 70,000 words, Raymond devotes only 400 words to the issue of Education. There is no mention of the events surrounding the 1896 Education Bill or the subsequent Voluntary Schools Act of 1897. Moreover, his analysis of the Education Act of 1902 is based

upon confusion, perplexity and a general failure to appreciate the importance of education as an issue in Balfour's life. Raymond's confusion over the issue begins early when he suggests that Balfour was intent on "capturing the school boards" (31). This was not Balfour's policy at least up to the Cockerton decision of 1900: it had been his uncle's. Nevertheless, why Balfour should have been interested in education remained a puzzle for Raymond, although he does suggest, without providing evidence, that he appeared to be interested in the topic if only as a means of placating "an important body of political supporters" (32). The impact of the Education Act of 1902 was never anticipated by Balfour according to Raymond. It was characteristic of him to be pushed into action over a very difficult and tricky topic when his natural tendency was towards inertia. This lack of judgement which Raymond emphasizes, inevitably contributed to sharpening the differences between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists:

"I am afraid Jesse Collings is quite right as to the smashing blow inflicted on the Liberal Unionist party by the Education Bill. Our reports are black as night... What can be done to make Arthur Balfour understand the position? If he makes no concession to the anti-clericalists I am quite sure there will be an opposition to the Bill being worked which will produce chaos" (33).

The impact of the Education Act of 1902 upon the national system of education is, for Raymond, not in question. It might however have been an issue in his mind when the Act was going through its Parliamentary stages. In 1920 however, it is clear that Balfour's action in pushing through the Act leaves Raymond highly critical, not of the Act but of the impact upon the Unionist coalition and the subsequent rebuilding of the Liberal Party under Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith. This aspect of Raymond's work is particularly interesting, for the writing of the biography provides

him with a suitable vehicle to insert critical insight into the malaise of the Unionist Party in 1920. It is probably a temptation which no journalist could resist. In short, the absence of a Unionist government for fifteen years lies at the heart of Raymond's critique. Education is, therefore, reduced within the overall context of the book because it is just one of several issues upon which Balfour failed to carry his party. Or rather, it is for Raymond, just another example of the inconsistency of the Balfour personality and of his enigmatic character which ultimately undermined Unionism. As a result, he was,

"a living problem, a personality of irreconcilable elements all compact - a Tory preaching democracy, a sceptic with a mania for theology, a politician profoundly disgusted with politics... If he were sincere, what a riddle! And if he was not, what a comedy!" (34).

In 1936, Blanche Dugdale (35), Arthur Balfour's niece, produced a two volume biography of her uncle. This work had been preceded shortly after his death with the publication of her political and personal sketch of Balfour (36) which included conversational reminiscences. There is no doubt that Dugdale's two volume biography was a pioneering study but its interpretation of Balfour reflects family piety and a reluctance to criticise. It is written in the same vein as Alderson's work, and although of much greater depth and information, it lacks any precise objective other than to elevate Balfour's life and work. It is clear that she, like Alderson, was too close to the subject to provide a balanced and objective interpretation.

Although she contributed to articles on Balfour in Blackwood's and The Quarterly Review (37), Dugdale remained an enthusiastic amateur historian who happened to have a well known uncle. Between 1915-1919 she had been employed in naval intelligence 'Department 32' and from

1920 until 1928 ran the intelligence department of the League of Nations Union. By 1932, she was not only a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations Union but also one of the British government's delegates to the League of Nations Assembly.

If Raymond had difficulty in understanding the enigmatic personality of Balfour, then Dugdale always believed that this aspect of her uncle's character could be laid at the door of his Cecil mother:

"Mother and son were alike in many ways, not least in their extreme reserve about emotional matters. She was intimate with very few, and during her widowhood she withdrew so much from ordinary society, that hardly anyone came near her who could speak of her in terms of absolute equality". (38)

Dugdale concentrates on personal relationships emphasizing Balfour's introspection and reserved nature, inherited from his mother. This introspection is not viewed by her as a disadvantage or a handicap, unlike the implied concern as expressed by Raymond and the more psycho-analytical stance of later biographers (39). His entry into Cambridge as a Fellow Commoner in 1866 provides her with the opportunity to develop Balfour's evolving character. However, her interpretation lacks the precision which perhaps distance from the subject might have provided. Clearly he enjoyed his time at Trinity College but his more personal affectations, such as a liking for blue china or the fact that a Fellow Commoner paid higher fees than other students which allowed him to sit at high table is largely overlooked in the analysis. This aspect of Dugdale's interpretation is important for there is a tendency to gloss over certain aspects of her uncle's time at Cambridge which might perhaps assist in understanding his esoteric personality. The privilege of sitting at high table placed Balfour in the company of F.W.H. Myers (40), Henry Sidgwick (41) and John Strutt (42). There remains considerable doubt amongst later

biographers as to the true extent of influence these men had on Balfour, nevertheless, there seems no doubt that they all played some part in shaping his personality. Dugdale appears unwilling to acknowledge the degree of influence other than to note that both Strutt and Sidgwick became his brothers-in-law. Although Henry Sidgwick was Balfour's tutor at Cambridge, Dugdale does not indicate that his decision to read Moral Sciences emanated from his future brother-in-law. In reality, Dugdale appears incapable of accepting the point that the young Balfour when he arrived at Cambridge lacked the intellectual direction which Sidgwick provided for him.

If there is a central theme to Dugdale's biographical account it is one centred upon achievement and a view of natural leadership. This interpretation of 'natural leadership' was one which Balfour always acknowledged and to which his upbringing prepared him. His attitude to the Asquith government when in Opposition reflected this self belief and to a large extent explains the adoption of wrecking tactics over particular issues, education being but one (43). Dugdale provides the 'patrician' interpretation of Balfour and as a result fails to come to terms with the anti-democratic actions of her uncle particularly during the constitutional crisis of 1911.

Dugdale's omission of the pitfalls encountered during her uncle's life provides an unbalanced interpretation of his political career. This is particularly apparent when she examines the issue of education. To find open apology about the handling of a particular aspect of his life, such as the ill fated Education Bill of 1896 is a surprise in any biography. This Bill only receives a cursory glance in her two volume account because,

"...this failure was the prelude to the Education Act of 1902 - associated always with Balfour's name, the Act that laid the foundation on which the system of National Education in this country has since been built". (44)

That Party confidence in Balfour's parliamentary skills went into steep decline was for Dugdale, always going to be "temporary" (45). This apologetic analysis of Balfour's activities during the 1896 Education Bill reflects Dugdale's closeness and affection for her subject. When examining her uncle's tactics during the Committee Stage of the Bill in June 1896 and his subsequent acceptance of the Rollit amendment, which effectively killed it, Dugdale suggests that this "...may be counted as one of his few Parliamentary mistakes" (46). For whatever reason Balfour accepted the amendment, thus killing off the Bill, he effectively reduced Sir John Gorst's (47) standing within the House of Commons. As a result, Dugdale's analysis of his activities during the Committee stage remains apologetic with the suggestion that really his "...instinct ... may have been right" (48). Such a conclusion can only have been the product of hindsight given that the principle of the Rollit Amendment was to be accepted by him in 1902. Consequently, Dugdale views the 1896 Bill as a minor hiccup:

"...Balfour's skill in the management of business on the floor of the House was established at its close. His authority over his followers there was less questioned, and in spite of the devotion, admiration and enthusiasm that his personality evoked, authority was the weak side of his Party leadership till its end in 1911" (49).

There is little indication in Dugdale's analysis regarding Balfour's attitude to education generally. The glossing over of the events surrounding the 1896 Bill produces a concentration on Balfourian activity in relation to education after 1901. The only reference to

education prior to 1896 is a statement concerning Eleanor Balfour who was later to marry Henry Sidgwick. She was an active campaigner for women's university education and was a clear influence on Arthur Balfour during the 1877 Universities Bill (50). However, Dugdale appears to be less interested in the educational significance of Eleanor Balfour's activities than in the fact that following her marriage to Henry Sidgwick, organisation of the Balfour household fell to Alice Balfour (51).

It is the Education Act of 1902 which concentrates Dugdale's mind, despite the fact that Balfour's activities in education generally were well known and not limited to England (52). It was the need to avoid the debacle of 1896 which she suggests was the primary concern of her uncle in 1901. This interpretation of Balfour's attitude to the education issue is consistent with the view that he regarded the topic as an irritant but for which something had to be done. As a result, Dugdale suggests:

"During October and November discussions were held at Whittingham with people concerned, and by the time that the Cabinet in December began to estimate the obstacles to acceptable legislation along any lines, Balfour had more or less made up his mind as to how the difficulties should be faced" (53).

What is interesting about this interpretation is the pivotal role allocated to Balfour when little evidence of his interest or otherwise in education is apparent from the preceding pages. There is an assumption made on the part of Dugdale that the reader is ready to accept that Balfour took control of the issue because he was the only one in the Cabinet able to deal with this tricky and politically delicate topic. It is the actions of her uncle not his relationship to the topic, which are given priority in the analysis.

Her dismissal of the Duke of Devonshire's role in the events

surrounding the Education Act is immediate, as is Sir John Gorst's: "The Duke's interest in education did not lead him in the direction of constructive proposals, and Sir John Gorst had not proved himself the most reliable of guides through the pitfalls besetting the question" (54). Dugdale's charge against the Duke of Devonshire is certainly without foundation. While it is true that Devonshire found education a difficult topic to master, he certainly influenced the final stages of the Education Bill and under Robert Morant's guidance, Balfour was later to accept the Duke's principle of religious instruction under the rates (55). It is this aspect of Dugdale's methodology, which seeks either to discredit in the eyes of the reader those close to the development of the Bill or, as in the case of Robert Morant, to highlight the role of more reliable advisers which prevails. As far as Sir John Gorst was concerned, Dugdale merely maintains the generally held belief within the Unionist Party at that time, that he was an eccentric and the real villain of the 1896 fiasco, not Balfour. The logic of her approach is therefore straightforward: Balfour, surrounded by unreliable, eccentric and even incompetent colleagues was forced to pick up the mantle of reform and rely for sensible guidance outside the Cabinet. It is at this point, as with her analysis of events surrounding the 1896 Bill, that Dugdale allows her affection for her uncle to muddy the waters of the events surrounding the 1902 Act. While Balfour's conversion to the rate aid principle was never easy, Dugdale's analysis implies a smooth transition despite the apparent lack of direction from within the Education Department. Even within the Cabinet, Balfour had to deal with the powerful forces of opposition from Lord Salisbury and Joseph Chamberlain. However, Dugdale emphasizes Balfour's ability to argue the case in the Cabinet suggesting that, "...the logic of facts began to compel the reluctant Government to accept the principle of rate aid

for Church, and other Voluntary Schools" (56). As a result, Balfour is triumphant and the significance of the achievement although not fully appreciated in 1902, is given full weight in terms of national education by his niece, years later. Significantly, the 1902 triumph lays the foundation for Balfour's actions when in Opposition in 1906 and the subsequent Education Bills of the Liberal government. Consequently, according to Dugdale, his action or opposition to the Education Bill of 1906 is justified because the 1902 Act is judged to be the only sensible and reliable settlement of the matter. Throughout her interpretation of the events surrounding the issue of education post 1906, Dugdale appears unwilling to acknowledge the justified claims of an elected government to amend an Act of Parliament which it viewed as a victory for sectional interest. Inevitably, the man who had found the topic of education such a difficult nettle to grasp had now become the expert, and as a result,

"He was in his element in the opening fight over the Education Bill, knowing his subject from A to Z, and stirred to the depths of his political convictions by the attempt to upset freedom for religious teaching on which his own Act was founded" (57).

The manipulation of the House of Lords in order to so amend the government's Education Bill so as to make it unworkable is not seen by Dugdale as being undemocratic. Rather it is Campbell-Bannerman's government in December 1906 which called on the Commons as a whole to reject the upper house's amendments which is interpreted as being unconstitutional: "This was an unprecedented challenge to the Peers" (58). What Balfour wanted, and what his niece agreed with in her analysis was not to 'save' the Birrell Education Bill but to, "save... the education system of which he had himself been the chief architect" (59). As a biographical account, Dugdale's work provides useful snippets of an insiders view of her uncle's activities. What it

fails to do is to provide a balanced picture of his actions, particularly in relation to education. It merely paints an affectionate picture of a famous uncle.

In 1963, the then editor of the Yorkshire Post, Kenneth Young wrote the first biographical account of Balfour based upon some Cabinet and family papers (60). The complexity of the Balfour personality, irrespective of Young's access to archival material is reflected in his rather untidy sub-title: 'Arthur James Balfour - The Happy Life of the Politician, Prime Minister, Statesman and Philosopher 1848-1930' (61). The claim on the 'fly' cover of the book is equally important in understanding the raison d'etre for his work. Essentially, as will be seen later with Max Egremont's work, access to archival material for the biographer is seen to offer opportunities to provide new insight and understanding of this enigmatic personality:

"This important, long biography presents a coherent picture of this many sided man. Kenneth Young has examined several thousands of documents and letters not previously seen by any historian; and much new light is thrown on the politics and political figures in the period from 1880-1930" (62).

The claim that documents and new archival material is the most appropriate basis for the study of an individual sometimes misses the point. The accumulated papers of an individual do not necessarily move biographical understanding on; political interpretation of a political figure is liable to interpretation which justifies a biographer's self perception even of his own politics. Interestingly, Young's previous historical study, again a biography, had been on yet another great English Conservative, John Dryden (63). Although limited by the fifty year Cabinet rule and access to the later Balfour Papers deposited in the British Museum, Young's work is an attempt to elevate his subject and perhaps 'Conservatism' above the sordid political

machinations of the then Conservative Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan. At the time of writing his book, the Conservative government's popularity was falling as unemployment was rising, and Macmillan's purge of his own Cabinet, often referred to as the 'Night of the Long Knives', left many within the Party despairing at the prospect of a Labour government which at the end of 1962 had its biggest lead in the opinion polls for seventeen years. It could be argued, that Young's natural interest in Conservatism was given added momentum as what appeared to be its golden age (64) reached its nadir.

Balfour's dislike of politics is emphasized throughout Young's biography. His failure to join the Cambridge Union is seen as a 'striking omission' (65) for a future Prime Minister. Importantly, Young makes the point that Balfour's dislike of politics was 'inherent' rather than 'acquired': "He felt that the world contained more serious matters than politics knew of, not least the contemporary problems of philosophy and the development of the physical sciences" (66). It was an important feature of his personality and it fits in well with the view that Balfour held a patrician's view of politics and that the rule of the aristocracy, a rule above politics, was essential for the preservation of the Conservative state. Perhaps this explains why Balfour, having been elected Member for Hertford in January 1874, rarely attended the Commons and did not make his maiden speech until some two and a half years had passed!

Balfour's biographers have tended to dismiss the charge of agnosticism although the basis of their arguments vary and are somewhat contradictory. Young, while suggesting that Balfour's commitment to Christianity appeared to be doubtful and that his belief in Christ

rested upon some serious questioning (67), implies that his philosophical tract 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt' was written with a view to find some common ground between religion and science, rather than "to argue to win" (68). The polemical nature of the book places it, as Young suggests, in the mid-stream of Victorian thought (69), but its variable quality meant that it would be read because of who the author was rather than what he had to say. Following Blanche Dugdale's view, Young concurs with her analysis by suggesting that Balfour's primary aim was to,

"...show that science has no more claim to a rational foundation than have other beliefs which, nevertheless, most people hold no less firmly, not least religious beliefs... This is a somewhat dangerous line of argument, and it led him into deep and self revealing difficulties" (70).

Although Young makes a brave defence of Balfour's philosophical position as laid out in 'Defence' he cannot avoid the conclusion that he had "neither faith in the future nor hope in the consolations of religion" (71). Such a position inevitably left Young's analysis contradictory as he searched for ways to avoid the non-Christian aspects of the supposed stalwart of the Church of Scotland. While Young is willing to accept that 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt' is "intellectually clear and precise" (72), John Morley, the Liberal politician and journalist (73), told Balfour that "...he could not understand a word of it" (74).

Young associates defence and education as the key issues for Balfour if Britain was to remain 'a leading power in the world' (75). There is an assumption right at the beginning of Young's six hundred word account of educational matters 1896-97 that his subject was always interested in education. However, there is no indication of Balfour's involvement in or commitment to education prior to 1896 beyond the short reference to his one or two proposed amendments to the

Universities Bill of 1877 (76). Having read several thousand documents, as the publisher of Young's biography claims he did, it is curious that there is no reference to his genuine interest in Irish education which first became public in 1887 (77). There is a clear attempt on Young's part to use the technique or methodology of starting with an achievement, in this case the Education Act of 1902, and working backwards to the most celebrated first encounter with the topic, namely the fiasco surrounding the 1896 Education Bill. This can be seen in Young's suggestion that: "The Education Bill of 1896, which had been promised in the Queen's speech, was not in the first instance Balfour's affair" (78). That it was not Balfour's affair implies that the subsequent events need to be understood against a background of the failings of other people, in particular Sir John Gorst and the Duke of Devonshire. It is, in short, the same analytical approach to the events of 1896 as that used by Dugdale who like Young has worked backwards to arrive at a conclusion which suggests that everything ultimately led to the 1902 Education Act:

"...it is because this failure (the defeat of the 1896 Bill) was the prelude to the Education Act of 1902 - associated always with Balfour's name, the Act that laid the foundation on which the system of National Education in this country has since been built" (79).

What is also apparent in Young's analysis is his own dislike for the topic of education. To suggest that the 1896 Bill was essentially a 'commonsense' (80) proposal misses the point (81). The Bill, which had derived its inspiration from the 1895 Bryce Commission would in effect have left the school board structure untouched while the financial proposals (82) would not have alleviated the strain on the voluntary schools. There is an assumption made here by the biographer that such details are not required - perhaps an assumption that biographies are meant only for the general reader. As a result, Young's suggestion that Balfour's attempt to match politics with

policy is ultimately based upon a false premise, for the policy which included Clause 27 (83) was always going to disturb the delicate balance of coalition government. Failing to explain the real nature of the 1896 proposals, Young appears quite happy to condense the killing of Gorst's Bill into one paragraph without even mentioning his acceptance of the Rollit amendment! Consequently, Balfour's stature is not, according to Young, so severely dented as other biographers implied and while Salisbury and the Queen "...were angered at so ignominious an ending to the Bill" (84), the Leader of the House simply set about "preparing a substitute" (85). It is only when he deals with the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897, very briefly and not by name, that the reader is given some indication that the events surrounding the 1896 Bill had caused some political questioning of Balfour's leadership qualities: "...the Government's confidence in Balfour's leadership was restored. But only because he had a strong Cabinet behind him was it possible" (86). Having eased his way round the Education Bill of 1896, Young moves smoothly on to what he suggests is a major Balfourian achievement, namely the Act of 1902. As a vehicle for demonstrating his subject's commitment to the issue, Young is able to emphasize Balfour's administrative skills. It is also however, an opportunity for the biographer to demonstrate his own political leanings, at times in an almost uncontrolled manner. While acknowledging Balfour's 'tenacity' (87) in seeing the Bill through, there is a tendency to assume, as with the 1896 Bill, that his subject's commitment to education was complete and that his chief objectives were to, "...unify and improve secondary and elementary education, to level up the schools which lagged behind, and to do so by providing more money from the rates" (88). What is apparent from Young's initial statements relating to education, as with the events surrounding 1896, is the biographer's satisfaction to provide generalised phrases which are both inaccurate and which to a certain

extent, reflect his own 1960's Conservative philosophy. Firstly, the phrase to 'level up the schools', implies an educational raising of standards. For Balfour, that ultimately became the outcome, but the priority for him had always been, particularly since 1897, financial parity between the two systems. That this financial equality should be derived from the rates had never been an early objective and had only really happened because of the expense of the Boer War. This is the same conclusion arrived at by Dugdale, but given Young's greater access to documents, it is a surprising one.

It is however, Young's own Conservatism which tends to get the better of his attempted analysis of the Education Act of 1902. The fact that the Act is referred to as a piece of socialist legislation (89) allows Young to vent his frustration at the relationship between Conservatism and social reform:

"This is dogma run mad. The essence of Toryism, one might add, is anti-dogmatism. Balfour was the truer Tory for acting out of character. Why should the devil always have the best tunes? Why should Conservatives not carry through reforms that are evidently essential and, in this case of education, much too long delayed" (90).

The relevance of this passage has perhaps more to do, as already suggested, with the parlous state of the Macmillan government in 1963 and the rise in the opinion polls of the Labour Party under Harold Wilson than to the *raison d'être* of the 1902 Education Act. It is in essence an attack on socialism and an attempt to point to Balfour's courage in the face of non-conformist hostility. It could also be argued that Young is adamantly opposed to the perceived dilution of Conservatism which coalition politics implied. As a result, Balfour's Act of 1902 was a Conservative and not a coalition achievement. That is why throughout his three thousand word account of the events surrounding the 1902 Act Young is determined to emphasize the

principle that, "...surely... Conservatives are not to be barred altogether from legislating on important matters; and the matter of education was of the greatest importance to the future of Britain" (91). It is with that principle in mind, that Young's attitude to Balfour's actions during the events surrounding the Liberal Education Bill of 1906, is set. Reflecting Dugdale's interpretation, he is quite adamant that the Liberal Bill was motivated by sectional interest, namely the non-conformists, and that Balfour's decision to "fight" (92) was correct. His conclusion that this action had been correct, is based upon two assumptions; first, that Balfour's Education Act had been constructive, establishing a national system of education for the first time, and second, that Liberal objectives were driven by non-conformist interests (93). What Young has confused is the democratic right of governments to legislate as they wish; an undemocratic strategy adopted by the subject of his study; and the failure to acknowledge that the Education Act of 1902 was a victory for the sectional interests of the Church of England and its pressure group the Church Party. It is an attitude which Dugdale arrived at probably for family as well as political reasons: for Young, it is the product of his own Conservatism.

In 1973, there appeared the fifth biography of Balfour, this time however, claimed the publishers, it was the first to be written by a professional historian. The author was Sydney H. Zebel and the title of the book was 'Balfour: A Political Biography' (94). It was above all else, to be an analysis of the "...long political career of Arthur James Balfour" (95), a deliberate attempt to avoid the personal aspects of his subject's life. In other words, an attempt not to walk over the same ground as Dugdale and Young, although Zebel had more documentary material available to him than Young. Perhaps Zebel's decision to limit his analysis to Balfour's political career was made

on the same basis as Isaac Deutscher's claim in the preface to his study on Stalin (96) when he stated that,

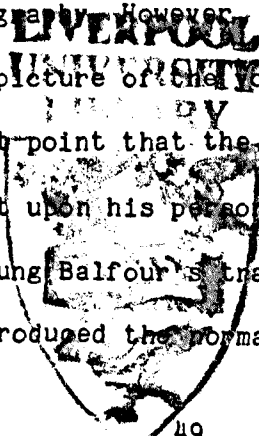
"I make no apology for calling this work a political biography. I admit that I am inclined to study the politics rather than the private affairs of public men" (97).

It is the claim of a professional historian over that of the amateur which first needs to be examined. It is clear that the motivating interest for the writing of a biography, rather than just a 'political biography', provides the amateur, whether as a relative or as an interested journalist with a series of problems. These problems range from the analysis of particular issues to the control of personal feelings, whether of a family or political affiliation. As suggested with both Dugdale and Young, affection and personal prejudices produce a picture of Balfour which is closest to their own perception. It is ultimately a perception which can only foster the myth making school of biography because of the breadth of the subject matter and their own rationale for having attempted to write the biography. As shown earlier, Dugdale's two volume account is an affectionate tribute to her uncle, while Young's analysis is affected by his own political leanings ultimately detracting from what is a very well written biography. The claim of the amateur to write a biography is therefore one which inevitably raises questions relating to bias and motivation. For the professional historian, however, the distancing of the subject and author should overcome many of the shortcomings of the amateur. The claim to be a professional historian would appear to provide an author, in this case Zebel, with a status not bestowed upon Alderson, Raymond, Dugdale or Young. As a result, readers of biography produced by 'professional historians' are closely encouraged to believe that a cleansing process has taken place and that bias has been replaced by objectivity, and affection by commonsense.

The problem with such a view is that not only is it inaccurate, it is also patronising. In reality, Zebel's decision not to write about the personal aspects of Balfour's life immediately produces a weakness in the overall quality of his study. What is clear right at the beginning of his work is that Zebel is more interested in what Balfour did rather than who he was. As a result, there is a chronological spine which concentrates upon events but which fails to allow the individual of the study to shine through. While Zebel's analysis, therefore, provides a very generalised if positive interpretation of Balfour, there is evidence that the author is not entirely happy with the subject of his study:

"Balfour belonged to the large landowning oligarchy which had virtually monopolized power in Britain until the Reform Act of 1832 and which continued to enjoy, thereafter in alliance with the plutocratic bourgeoisie, political, economic and social pre-eminence until the First World War" (98).

Given the more generalised approach to Balfour's personal life, there are inevitably a series of contradictions between Zebel's interpretation and those of previous biographers. While Zebel agrees with the view that Lady Blanche Balfour's influence on the family was pervasive he does briefly suggest that the family household was much more content than Young implies. It is a view which runs parallel with that of Dugdale. The reason for brevity when dealing with personal relationships may be that Zebel regarded analysis of the intricacies of the Balfour household of no real value to his overall objective - namely a political biography. However, the failure to do so tends to produce a lightweight picture of the young Balfour and fails to draw from it the significant point that the instability of the household had an important impact upon his personality. Similarly, Zebel's suggestion that the young Balfour's transfer to the Grange school in Hertfordshire simply produced the normal anxieties of a ten year old



boy separated from his family lacks the precision one might expect from a professional historian. In reality, as Young pointed out, it removed the young boy from the stresses and strains of life at Whittinghame. It seems clear, almost from the beginning of Zebel's book that he is determined to demonstrate that Young's work will play no part in his analysis. As a result, Zebel's interpretation of the early Balfour years have more in common with Dugdale's analysis than with the more recent research of the 1970's. At the petty level, while Young is willing to make the simple statement that Balfour's entry into the Grange took place on 13th May 1859, Zebel appears satisfied with the suggestion that it happened "...two months before his eleventh birthday" (99). In fact, it is almost the exact phrasing as that used by Dugdale.

Zebel's methodology as the professional historian, appears to gloss over key issues which influenced his subject's enigmatic personality. His biography is essentially a trot through Balfour's life (not just political life) with the occasional stopping off points well signposted but providing little in the way of additional elucidation of his subject. By ignoring the individual, Zebel has produced no more than a narrative of events many of which not only coincide with Balfour's life span but also with many other distinguished politicians. The fact that Balfour barely kept his seat in the 1880 general election (100) and the subsequent Conservative defeat does not automatically lead on to his activities in the so-called 'Fourth Party' consisting of Lord Randolph Churchill, J.E. Gorst, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and himself. Yet for Zebel, this was a natural development, even though Balfour's involvement stemmed from the fact that being some six feet two inches tall, he sat below the gangway on the Conservative side of the House and next to his three colleagues only so that he could stretch his long legs. Zebel does acknowledge the point but unlike Dugdale he does not regard it as a

'fortuitous' (101) development. It is the political activities of this group in undermining Sir Stafford Northcote (102) and Balfour's role which concerns Zebel. As a result:

"In the course of the 1880-5 Parliament, Balfour emerged as a serious and competent politician and established his claim to a ministerial post when his party returned to power. He had acquired a taste for politics in the previous Parliament" (103).

His interpretation of Balfour and the issue of education is also inconsistent and generally sketchy. Unlike Young and Dugdale however, Zebel does attempt to expand his subject's involvement in the University Bill proposals of 1877. He also explains Balfour's contribution in the same year to a Select Committee's work, on a privately sponsored Education Bill which sought to incorporate the schools of several small hamlets into the new state controlled system of the borough of Derby (104). However, by dealing with the Education Bill of 1896 and the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897 in one hundred and sixty lines he totally ignores the place of education as an issue in the political development of Balfour. Like Young, Zebel refers to the Voluntary Schools Act without naming it. For the lay reader, Balfour's early involvement in educational legislation is therefore glossed over. The only impact of the events of 1896-97 for Zebel were to note that,

"Balfour was widely blamed for the Bill's failure. The editors of Punch, in a cartoon published on 4th July, hinted that Chamberlain might well prove a more effective leader" (105).

The details of the passage of the 1902 Education Act are dealt with in a matter of fact way with little difference from that presented by Young except to suggest that the measure, in making inexpensive or free secondary schooling available to children of the lower middle classes, led to "a social revolution of the first magnitude" (106).

Other than to make a passing reference to the 1906 Education Bill and Balfour's part in its failure, Zebel is content to dismiss the place of education in Balfour's political life largely because administratively it was a success and when set against the tariff reform issue pales into insignificance. His concern with Balfour's racism and his disapproval of Campbell-Bannerman's decision to grant the Transvaal and the Orange Free State full responsible government (107) is given a much greater prominence in the book. Zebel may well have produced a book outlining Arthur Balfour's career, but its treatment of education causes it to fall short of the requirements needed to establish it as an objective and balanced biography.

It was in 1980 that the seventh Baron Leconfield and second Baron Egremont (108), known for writing purposes as Max Egremont published his 'Balfour: A Life of Arthur James Balfour' (109). He was born in 1948, the son of John Wyndham (110), the former Private Secretary to Harold Macmillan (111), and was later educated at Eton and Christ Church Oxford. His decision to write the book was motivated by two factors: fascination with the individual and the availability of new material (112):

"Arthur Balfour fascinated and eluded his contemporaries. His tall, etiolated, elegant figure was a familiar political landmark for some forty years, yet he defied analysis or easy intimacy. Few people could resist his charm and urbanity: few felt that they really understood him" (113).

His rationale for the writing of the book is however much broader than the two reasons indicated. Egremont cites clearly and precisely the inadequacies of the previous attempts. In the case of Dugdale, he suggests that her work smacks of family piety and reticence, while Young's work was written without full access to all the family papers and the fifty year rule regarding access to public documents. Zebel's book is dismissed because it failed to deal with Balfour's personal

life. As a result of these inadequacies, Egremont suggests that his effort will, "...combine concisely the personal and the political, and provide new insight into both" (114). It is perhaps a claim or an objective to which all biographers aspire, yet Egremont's decision to make the statement while at the same time pointing to the deficiencies of other works is unusual. There might however, also be a third and perhaps unspoken reason for the writing of the book. It was researched and written at a time when the Conservatives had at their helm its first female leader. The disillusionment with the Labour Government of James Callaghan and the subsequent 'Winter of Discontent' had led to the election of a Conservative Government in 1979 under Margaret Thatcher. For Egremont, the son of a Private Secretary to a Conservative Prime Minister, the book is as much a celebration of Conservatism in the light of contemporary events as it is about a former leading figure. There is a similarity of purpose with that suggested in the writing of Young's book. Perhaps, for Young, there was a sense of despair with the contemporary events surrounding the Macmillan government of 1963 while for Egremont the opposite was the case. In both however, Arthur Balfour provides a focal point around which Conservatism evolved and ultimately survived. The subject of both biographies is as much about the survival of the individual during difficult and desparate moments in his political career, as it is about the development and emergence of Conservatism following the first World War.

Although Egremont claims to have used new sources, particularly the Balfour Papers held at the British Museum, his coverage of Balfour's formative years differs little in content or analysis from that of Young or even Dugdale. It remains a chronology with the odd anecdote woven into the text: there is little formal analysis. Beyond suggesting that Balfour's childhood was not all luxury, suggesting that the cotton depression forced Lady Blanche Balfour to reduce the

number of servants at Whittinghame (115), there is little new material developed. All Balfour's biographers highlight this story, but its significance has more to do with trying to portray their subject in a more ordinary and humane light. That Arthur Balfour experienced 'hard times' during particular bouts of economic depression cannot be sustained, but all his biographers make the point nonetheless.

It is in the character building of his subject that Max Egremont perhaps illustrates his own Conservative sympathies. The events surrounding the 1896 Education Bill are not only dealt with briefly, they also contain factual inaccuracies. The whole event was a series of blunders on Balfour's part, yet Egremont dismisses the whole fiasco in fifty one words:

"On 11th June Balfour, in Gorst's absence, accepted an amendment to extend local education authorities to non-county boroughs of over 20,000 people. Gorst had already rejected this proposal which made any coherent formulation of a central education policy impossible. On 22nd June the bill was withdrawn and the government humiliated" (116).

There are two points to be made about this approach: first, the events surrounding the 1896 Education Bill very much reflect his political acumen and his attitude to education at that time. On both counts, the response of the Leader of the House fell short of what might be deemed to be seen as an adequate response. His position within the House of Commons and in the Unionist Party immediately led to questioning, yet for Egremont this was never a serious enough incident to warrant analysis. Second, it probably reflects as much the biographer's attitude to education as an issue as it does his failure to provide an adequate explanation of the incident. Proof for such a suggestion can be found a few sentences before Egremont's glossing over of the 1896 Bill. The fact that he refers to Sir John Gorst as 'Vice President of the Board of Education' (117) suggests uncertainty. That the Bill of

1896 revealed the delicate nature of coalition politics which would ultimately require Balfour's attention is not discussed. As a result the significance of the 1896 proposals are ignored leading to the conclusion that: "In 1897 a measure granting further aid to Voluntary Schools was passed, but no attempt was made to tamper with religious instruction" (118). The biographer's attitude to education can also be seen when dealing with the events surrounding the 1902 Education Act. To suggest, as Egremont does that education as an issue was "...complicated but important" (119) is an understatement. In terms of his methodology, he is at least consistent with previous biographers, for it is the achievement which is of significance rather than the events or measured analysis. In short, by working backwards from the 1902 Act, Egremont avoids the task of detailed analysis offering instead generalised comment and the identification of high points in the sequence events. He is keen to emphasize Balfour's dislike of the topic:

"At first Balfour was not sanguine about the possibilities of success. He told Lady Rayleigh in January 1902 that the Cabinet had insisted that he should conduct the measure through the House for 'they would not have Gorst at any price and the worst of it was he (Balfour) did not believe in education, and whatever line he took the Bill would be torn to pieces' " (120).

What is significant about this section is the highlighting of Balfour's distaste for the topic. To the lay reader, it is inconsistent with the ultimate achievement of 1902 yet provides the biographer with a useful tool of illustrating 'character determination' in the face of self perception and external opposition. This is inevitably misleading, but not necessarily inconsistent with the Balfour personality. Egremont never mentions Balfour's earlier forays into education beyond the standard reference to the 1877 Universities Bill (121) and the establishment of a Board of Education

in 1899 (122). His interest in Irish education and his pursuit of the Irish University issue is totally ignored. Although Egremont suggests that his attitude to education was not one of indifference, the evidence to support such a view is not provided. Influenced by Morant, Egremont suggests that Balfour decided to press ahead with the complexities of the topic: "Eventually, as with his Irish policy, Balfour came to tolerate no deviation from his objective" (123). The biographer's determination not to become embroiled in the complexities of the education topic can be further seen by his failure to acknowledge Balfour's activities in relation to the Liberal Bill of 1906. His only reference to the events post 1906 is to point out that: "The education problem was to follow Balfour into Opposition but the courage of his 1902 legislation can hardly be doubted now" (124). The significance of Balfour's manipulation of the House of Lords when in Opposition is generally ignored. This inevitably reflects one or two important aspects of the biographer's methodology. In the first instance, Egremont is clearly uncomfortable when dealing with the education topic. As a result, his account of the events surrounding the key dates of 1896, 1897, 1899, 1902 and 1906 are gelled into a lightweight story which ignores not only the complexities of the issue, but the potentially damaging impact upon his subject during his handling of the events of 1896 and his undemocratic activities in 1906. If the claim to provide 'insight' based upon fresh material was to be substantiated then it is only through the issue of education that a more fuller understanding of the Balfour character can be made. The link between undemocratic activity through the manipulation of the House of Lords and a Conservative prime minister is clearly one which Egremont does not wish to discuss through the vehicle of education. However, the origins of the constitutional crisis do not necessarily lie with the Lloyd George budget of 1909 but with the emerging conflict between a frustrated Conservative Opposition led by

Balfour and a legitimately elected government.

The most recent attempt to analyse the Balfour life was attempted by Ruddock F. MacKay in 1985: 'Balfour - Intellectual Statesman' (125). While Egremont sought to provide new insight for the reader of political biography, MacKay suggests that he is seeking to provide, "...a surer understanding of Balfour by concentrating on documentary materials which, despite their probable importance, seemed not to have been exhaustively investigated" (127). While acknowledging the biographies of Dugdale and Young, MacKay suggests that the size of his book was largely determined by the fact that Egremont had published his biography on Balfour before he had started to write his account (127). What is important, however, from the methodological point of view is MacKay's rationale for writing; there would appear to be two important factors one of which is based upon a more prescriptive motivational objective, namely 'a surer understanding' of his subject. For Egremont, his decision to provide a brief critique of previous biographies was a useful methodological approach to provide both himself and the reader with the need to justify a further account. MacKay suggests that this approach to biographical study cannot enhance understanding and even points out to the reader the need to avoid a lengthy rehearsal of what has already been published on Balfour's life and work. However, there is implicit in his statement to provide a 'surer understanding' of his subject, an oblique criticism of what has been produced prior to 1985. It may not be as obvious as Egremont's critique of Dugdale, Young and Zebel, but it is inherent in MacKay's justification and motivation for writing the book.

It is upon the phrase 'a surer understanding' that the historian must dwell. The claim is in itself a suggestion that historical understanding of Balfour has been built upon shaky foundations. There

is ultimately a judgemental aspect in MacKay's statement which implies a degree of amateurishness in the previous biographies. It is in essence a criticism or judgement based upon technique. This is a pity, for technique can never be the only category when analysing history simply because of the unique nature of the subject. While it is possible to offer analytical criticism of biographical studies of Balfour in order to provide a framework for further study and for comparative purposes, it is the scrupulous weighing of evidence, the accurate recording and the objective assessment of the subject which underlies any analysis. That voluminous documents were never available to Raymond or that Young's work was restricted by the fifty year rule, has not reduced the value of their contribution to a fuller understanding of Balfour. Perhaps it is here that MacKay's assertion is misplaced: it can only be as a contribution to assist further understanding that his biographical account has value rather than the implied claims to infallibility.

The second factor motivating MacKay is the examination of documentary materials previously not fully utilised. The discovery of new information or the uncovering of a letter which sheds light on an area of Balfour's life previously unclear is one thing - but to suggest a re-working of material used by Egremont is another. The justification for writing the biography has ultimately led the biographer to make claims which have perhaps got more to do with the selling of the work than with historical advancement. As E.J. Hobsbawn has suggested:

"The general public... simply asks for history, the wider and more ambitious the better. It is happily free from the handcuffs of the syllabus period. But it also asks for retrospective reportage, for anecdote and gossip..." (128).

The problem with this approach is that as a result of an over examination of sources in an attempt to find for the publisher a startling disclosure, a debasement in terms of analysis and a glossing

over of detail to fit the restricted page target (129) can only be the end result. In fact, despite his access to a full range of documentary materials, there are aspects of MacKay's biography which are strangely muddled. This state of affairs is largely the result of his determination to analyse Balfour's activities in terms of his intellectual prowess. There is much to be said for a purely analytical appreciation of Balfour's philosophy but given the inconsistency of its structure and its slightly ambiguous tenor, using the philosophical vehicle to explain his actions can only lead to confusion. Evidence to support this view can be seen through MacKay's analysis of the collapse of the 1896 Education Bill. To be fair to the biographer, there is a much more determined effort to come to terms with the topic but his conclusions are not always consistent. To suggest that Balfour was only interested in scientific and technical education rather than state elementary schools (130) tends to miss the point. Education was not and never had been a topic of interest for any of his Cabinet colleagues and Balfour was no different. If he was interested in state elementary schools it was because he had to be given the financial divide between school board and voluntary schools. Education had become a sensitive political issue given the nature of coalition politics which the 1896 Bill had threatened. The organisation of education and its effective delivery did concern him if only to highlight what appeared to be an intractable problem. If there was a genuine interest in education then it was evident during the 1880's over Irish elementary education, when the Conservative Party had barely considered coalition politics. Given his background and his general attitude to life, the question as to why he should become interested in education needs to be asked. The answer, if MacKay had used the philosophical vehicle correctly, would have been that the preservation of the Church of England voluntary schools in the face of the godless school board system formed the basis of his attitude to

the issue of education. In the event MacKay suggests that,

"Although he (Balfour) inevitably made some use of the arguments developed by a generation of 'educationists', he showed little explicit concern for the failure to develop the potential of four fifths of the population" (131).

It is perhaps an unfair judgement on Balfour given his philosophical conclusion that to maintain stability in society, the need to preserve the voluntary (church) schools were essential in the face of the naturalist school boards. It is a conclusion which MacKay almost arrives at by accident when dealing with the 1902 Education Act. His involvement in that Act, he suggests, while constructive, was largely motivated by Party political considerations and the influence of the Church Party. Therefore, he suggests that,

"In so far as the Education Bill was the most important piece of constructive legislation with which Balfour was ever directly concerned from the drafting stage to its enactment, the inference must be that he was a constructive statesman only in a limited sense. In this cardinal instance, his motivation was primarily partisan. It was his sense of duty towards his party, with its denominational commitments, that fuelled his sustained parliamentary effort" (132).

What MacKay fails to note is the place of Liberal Unionists within the coalition government. While Balfour may well have been motivated by party political interests, in particular the Conservative Party, his decision to do so could hardly have been made in such a laissez faire fashion without taking into account its likely impact on coalition politics and his own position as leader. As Lord George Hamilton (133) was to suggest when in Opposition: "If we had had no Education Bill of 1902, we should have had no Tariff Reform in 1903" (134).

Here perhaps is an aspect of MacKay's assumptions about Balfour's actions in relation to education which is missing. The political repercussions following the Education Act was immense and set in train

those forces centered upon Joseph Chamberlain which initiated the process of ousting Balfour from the Party leadership. Education was fundamental to the survival of Unionist politics and the future development of Conservatism. Balfour knew this, but his decision to press ahead with the Education Bill was not only dictated by the imperative of Church Party pressure but by his own experience of having to deal with the Voluntary Schools Act of 1897; the logic of that experience was that a financial settlement of the education system had to be more than piecemeal, as it had been in 1897. For Balfour, a permanent settlement of the education system had to be made on Conservative terms otherwise a future Liberal government would be forced to implement its vision of educational reform. If Balfour's commitment to educational change originated in the need to preserve the voluntary school sector and hence the theological position of the Church of England, then it was also part of an acknowledgement of his responsibility to deal with an issue which would permanently threaten the cohesion of coalition politics. His first and last instinct may well have been Party political, that after all is very much part of a political leaders job description; what Ruddock MacKay tends to underplay is that this 'partisanship' was the inevitable product of a leader not necessarily interested in education, but one who recognised the chance of implementing a Conservative rather than a Unionist version of reform while at the same time ridding his party of a burden which had generally been sidestepped. That the end product was a Conservative rather than a Unionist version of educational reform had more to do with his own political instincts and the potential threat of a Liberal Unionist leadership challenge from Joseph Chamberlain. Inevitably the structure bore the political stamp of Balfour, while its educational *raison d'etre* was imprinted with that of Gorst, Morant and others.

Although biographical accounts of Balfour's attitude to education are

varied, they effectively centre upon three aspects; first, that he was manipulated by the Church Party; second, that he had always been interested in education; and finally, that he disliked the issue but was determined to push through legislation for political considerations. Research since these biographical accounts has not moved from these parameters and has largely built upon or expanded a particular aspect (135). Tony Taylor (136) for example has emphasized the manipulative characteristics of Lord Salisbury's family, particularly Lord Cranborne, with the help of Robert, Hugh and Evelyn Cecil (137). This group, according to his analysis, worked with Lord Salisbury and his nephew Arthur Balfour, encouraging the decay and muddle in English education during the 1890's in order to instigate the legislation of 1902 and the subsequent abolition of the School Boards:

"By allowing the chaos and internecine conflict that was such a feature of national education in the 1890's to develop, Salisbury had left the Conservative party in a strong position to demolish the secular board schools, as they did in 1902 with Balfour's Act. Not that it was a deliberate plan to arrive at this conclusion, but Salisbury's attitude was important in bringing about the inevitably tough legislation" (138).

The problem with this interpretation, as with some biographies already noted, is that there is a tendency to read history backwards and to see schemes and plans where none existed. Although Taylor qualifies his statement by suggesting that there was no plan, he does nonetheless imply that the educational muddle which prevailed during the 1890's was designed to encourage progressive legislation by "...gradually wearing down opposition..." (139). This development was, he suggests, the product of the Salisbury-Balfour approach to politics which emphasized that; "Delay was life" (140).

If Salisbury or Balfour had deliberately pursued such a policy, no

evidence for it exists. In reality both sought to rectify the financial disadvantage under which voluntary schools operated when compared with that of board schools. That they deliberately fostered the existing chaos or muddle of English education perhaps over states their role and confers upon them prescient attributes which even Balfour's biographer's omit. While the 1902 Act became the watershed of administrative change including the abolition of school boards, prior to the Cockerton judgement in 1900, reform in education as advocated by Balfour and Salisbury, centered upon the need to redress the balance between the two systems. That a judicial decision forced their hand is hardly evidence to explain their activities prior to the event. If they had sought to encourage additional chaos and muddle then they could have fared no better than to have stayed with Gorst's 1896 Education Bill which would have left school boards untouched and a variety of other bodies with an interest in education outside a reorganised structure (141).

What this analysis has largely ignored is the opportunistic aspect of the Salisbury-Balfour approach to education. While both generally disliked the issue, they recognised the political repercussions the topic could generate if tampered with or totally ignored.

Consequently, adjustments to the education machine as it existed through the use of small bills was deemed to be the most appropriate and politically consistent approach. The alternative to such a policy would not have been Gorst's generally flawed Bill, but a complete repeal of the 1870 Education Act. Given that the underlying philosophy of the Salisbury government was to reduce state interference this was never in the realms of practical politics. What did change, however, was the social, economic and political climate within which Unionism operated. The laissez faire approach to government produced a dilemma for Salisbury and Balfour especially over the financing of social reform. This was a particular problem for the Conservatives because

they found themselves in office more than the Liberals from 1886. Consequently, as a means of countering what were viewed as radical even socialist Liberal proposals for future government, Salisbury and Balfour, also concerned about organized labour and the social investigations of the 1890's, pursued a policy of retrenchment and the passing of limited legislation. Importantly therefore, to suggest, as Taylor does, that Salisbury and Balfour were party to a conspiracy to overthrow the school boards, ignores this point. The policy of retrenchment had but a short time to continue and while a full scale reorganization of education in the wake of the Bryce Commission (142) was inappropriate and unacceptable to the Unionist leadership, by the turn of the century, the policy of financial subvention and small bills was no longer appropriate. Balfour was therefore not party to any conspiracy or master plan to overthrow the school boards, rather he was a pragmatic politician able to take advantage of a judicial decision which provided the opportunity to reorganise but on Conservative terms.

For M.J. Wilkinson (143), Balfour's involvement in education was largely the product of legal, economic and political necessity (144), rather than part of a grand plan to overthrow the school boards. This view is generally reflected in other works (145) although Taylor emphasizes the manipulative role of Lord Cranborne and the Church Party in guiding Balfour to the 1902 Act. The manipulation of Balfour according to this analysis, corresponds with that produced by Raymond and MacKay, although he does emphasize, as does J.R. Fairhurst (146) and Wilkinson, Dugdale's suggestion that her uncle was determined to avoid the debacle of 1896.

Throughout the biographical accounts and the more recent analytical attempts, little attention has been paid to Balfour's evolving and developing experience in Ireland. While policy to that country was

always different and largely experimental (147), his introduction to educational issues was not a new or startling complex to him as writers of educational history imply. Above all, his apprenticeship in educational matters, learnt in the political cauldron of Ireland, reinforced in his mind the need to maintain effective institutional control over all matters, not just education. Ireland was effectively an issue on the British political scene, and while the depth of its problems were far greater than those of England, those same issues of poverty, unemployment, violence, alienation and education were prevalent in both countries and required dealing with. It is here that the transfer of knowledge and experience provided Balfour with the ability to manipulate rather than be manipulated by those same forces he had experienced in Ireland. In essence Balfour's educational achievements both in Ireland and England emanated from the defence of a political rather than an educational position; in true Conservative style, he was more concerned about dealing with political crises which education generated rather than the issue.

II. CONCLUSION

What all seven biographies have in common is a genuine admiration and respect for their subject. While their own political and personal bias may show through there is without doubt an eagerness on the part of all biographers to share with the reader, 'insights', 'sureness of understanding', 'family reminiscences' and new discoveries about a man whose claim to fame lies, at least on the plus side, with such successes as the Education Act of 1902 and the Balfour Declaration of 1917; while on the negative side, three successive electoral defeats (148) and a once great political Party left in ruins prior to being sucked into a further coalition in 1915.

However, what biographer's and educational historians have tended to omit from their analysis is the rationale for Balfour's actions in

relation to education. Changes in the British economy throughout the 1890's inevitably forced the pace of interventionism and raised the flag of national efficiency as a means of arresting decline. The consequences of neglecting technical education and physical education had been highlighted during the 1860's (149). Importantly, as a result of the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, technical instruction in England became associated with industrial efficiency, while the Paris Exhibition of 1867, renewed public interest in the relationship between industry and education. Nevertheless, technical instruction in England after 1851 remained sporadic. Businessmen and industrialists who might have been expected to give support to technical educational development, seemed unwilling to invest. Some reasons for this apathy, and even active hostility to the technical education of workers in industry, can be gained from the minutes of the 'Technical Instruction Commission' of 1884, otherwise known as the Samuelson Report (150). One of the Commission members refers to the, "...miserable sort of jealous feeling about the elevation of their workmen" (151). This open hostility was a prime cause of the failure for any strong lead over technical education provision. To this problem must be added the low status of science. As Stephen Cotgrove has suggested, "...classical education diversified from science became a sign of social privilege" (152). This lowly status was reinforced in England by the class structure of educational provision. Although it soon became accepted that society should provide for the broader educational needs of the poor labouring classes, the 'class' factor continued to influence the nature of educational provision. In the early English industrial schools instruction in practical trades was stressed, and emphasis was placed on forming those habits of obedience and industry which the factory system demanded of its labouring classes. Fears were constantly expressed in case education should raise the worker above his station (153). By the 1890's the depth of the problem in England

was highlighted by the work of Booth and Rowntree (154). Both Sidney Webb and Henry Asquith argued that a "...national minimum standard of life was essential to national efficiency and imperial strength" (155). These ideas effectively cut across party lines and made the principle of social reform 'respectable' (156).

Balfour was certainly influenced by the principles which underpinned the objectives of national efficiency. However, his desire to support social reform was not just part of a desire to enhance national efficiency through improvements in technical education. His support for social reform was intrinsically linked to his philosophical and political view of wanting to protect and preserve existing institutions from the pervading menace of socialism. The work of Booth and Rowntree (157) by identifying divisions within the working class (158), provided him with the opportunity to target reform as a means of building up a bulwark against socialism. Reform he believed, had to be directed at the respectable and responsible working class, for as he suggested, "social legislation... is not merely to be distinguished from socialist legislation but it is its most direct opposite and its most effective antidote" (159). Interventionism therefore was not only to be selective for Balfour, it had to support the function of strengthening institutional control. This selectivity to social reform can be seen in his reluctance to countenance additional expenditure on social welfare other than education up to 1905 (160). However, Balfour's attitude was not unusual in late Victorian, early Edwardian England. He was part of that mainstream political view, held by Campbell-Bannerman, Henry Asquith and Lloyd George, which acknowledged and accepted the principle of collective activity as a means of strengthening the respectable working class against the more revolutionary dispossessed. Evidence for the influence of socialist ideas amongst this group of the working class appeared to be the events surrounding the 1886 and 1887 riots in London (161).

The philosophical basis for collective activity as a means of safeguarding institutional control against the socialist menace, had been laid by T.H. Green (162). However, while Balfour was willing to accept interventionist philosophy as a means of strengthening identified strata within the working class, these principles were of little value if the mechanism for implementation did not exist. Since the 1850's, local authorities had expanded their role in everyday life (163), but for a more widespread and consistent policy of collectivism to take place there had to be an overhaul of the administrative structure. This effectively took place in 1882 when the Municipal Boroughs were reformed and in 1888 when County Council and County borough structures were established. Throughout the 1890's the power of the local authorities increased, enabling administrative reform on a scale proposed by the 1902 Education Act, to be implemented effectively. It is against this background that Balfour's activities in relation to education need to be understood.

Robert Blake, suggested that the aim of the biographer must be to,

"...bear in mind that he is not only producing the first reasonably authoritative account of his subject's personality and impact upon events, but also that he is making available in the form of letters, memoranda, speeches etc., the raw material upon which future historians of the period will have to rely" (164).

For the biographers of A.J. Balfour this goal has been paramount (165), and if their achievements in combination have assisted in explaining the character of their subject then justification for embarking upon their task has been warranted. But a careful analysis of the education issue could have unlocked many of the intricacies of the Balfour personality which is generally glossed over or ignored. It appears that these biographers never viewed education as a topic of sufficient importance to influence political events. It is this aspect of their biographical accounts which needs to be rectified.

CHAPTER ONE FOOTNOTES

1. Cited in Lyttlelton, Alfred 'Mr Balfour as Leader' in Nineteenth Century and After, No. 418, December 1911, page 994. Balfour had also expressed his concern about the growing liberalisation of the press as early as 1887. In a letter to Sir Redvers Buller, he had stated that he was "...afraid of the freedom of the press". See B.L., Add Ms 49826, Folio 27-29, Balfour to Buller, 13 March 1887.
2. Ms Bryce 13, Folio 124, Ilbert to Bryce, 22 July 1907.
3. Chesterton, Cecil, Party and People, London 1910 page 11.
4. See Alderson, Bernard Arthur James Balfour, London 1903.
Raymond, E.T. A Life of Arthur James Balfour, Little, Brown and Company 1920.
Dugdale, Blanche E Arthur James Balfour, 2 vols. London 1936.
Young, Kenneth Arthur James Balfour, London 1963.
Zebel, Sydney Balfour: A Political Biography, Cambridge University Press 1973.
Egremont, Max Balfour: A Life of Arthur James Balfour, Collins 1980.
Mackay, Ruddock F Balfour: Intellectual Statesman, Oxford University Press 1985.
5. Alderson, op., cit.,.
6. Alderson, op., cit., page V.
7. Georgina Alderson, daughter of Sir Edward Alderson, married Robert, third Marquess of Salisbury in 1857. They had five sons and three daughters, one of whom died in infancy: James (1861-1947) who bore the courtesy title of Viscount Cranborne until succeeding his father as fourth Marquess of Salisbury in 1903 and was known as Jim or Jem; William (1863-1936), known as Fish; Robert (1864-1958), created Viscount Cecil of Chelwood 1923 and known as Bob; Edward (1867-1918), known as Nigs; Hugh (1869-1956), created Baron Quickswood 1941 and known as Linky or Linkey; Maud (1858-1950), married to second Earl of Selborne; Gwendolen (1860-1943), known as Tim or TT or Titi; and Fanny (1866-7). Georgina died on 20 November 1899.
8. Alderson, op., cit., page V.
9. See Ensor, R.C.K. England 1870-1914, Oxford University Press 1975, pages 147-149.
10. Alderson, op., cit., page 27.
11. Young, op., cit., page 42.
12. See Alderson, op., cit., page 27.
13. A total of 300 words is devoted to the Education Bill of 1902.
14. Alderson, op., cit., pages 169-170.

15. Raymond, E.T., A Life of Arthur James Balfour, Little, Brown and Company 1920.
16. His real name was Edward Raymond Thompson, born in 1872 and later to become the editor of the Evening Standard (from 1923). He died in 1928.
17. Cited in Ensor, R.C.K., op., cit., page 533.
18. It was sold to C. Arthur Pearson for £400,000 then regarded as a vast sum. The St. James Gazette amalgamated with the Evening Standard in 1910.
19. Raymond, op., cit., page 115.
20. Ibid., page 3.
21. His majority over Professor Hopkinson was 824.
22. See Raymond, E.T., op., cit., page 39. Within the context of the speech it must be remembered that Lord Salisbury had courted J.S. Parnell with a view to possible Irish reform. As a result, Parnell advised Irish voters in British constituencies to vote for Conservative candidates.
23. Raymond, op., cit., page 95.
24. Ibid., page 3.
25. Ibid., page 9.
26. Ibid., page 92.
27. Ibid., page 103.
28. Raymond, op., cit., page 13.
29. Asquith, Margot, The Autobiography of Margot Asquith, Vol. I, Penguin 1937, page 132.
30. Ibid., page 13.
31. Ibid., page 109.
32. Raymond, op., cit., page 109.
33. Ibid., page 110: Sir Henry James to the Duke of Devonshire.
34. Cited in Raymond, page 270.
35. Blanche Elizabeth Campbell Dugdale. Employed from 1915-1919 in Naval Intelligence Department 32; from 1920 to 1928 head of intelligence department of League of Nations Union; Member of Executive Committee of League of Nations Union; Member of British Government delegation to League of Nations Assembly 1932.
36. See Dugdale, Mrs Edgar Arthur James Balfour: A Political and Personal Sketch, Blackwoods, vol. CCXXVIII, October 1930, No. MCCCLXXX.

37. See Dugdale, Blanche E. Arthur James Balfour and Robert Morant, Quarterly Review 260, No. 515, January 1933.
38. Dugdale, Blanche E. Arthur James Balfour, Vol. I, Hutchinson and Co. 1936, page 18.
39. Young implies an oedipus fixation resulting in effeminacy and therefore latent homosexuality, see Young, op., cit., page 13, although he does qualify his charge by suggesting that Balfour's "...heterosexual proclivities" were generally low powered.
40. Myers was a poet, an essayist and founder of the Society of Psychical Research.
41. Henry Sidgwick married Balfour's sister Eleanor in 1876.
42. Later Lord Rayleigh.
43. See Chesterton, Cecil Gladstonian Ghosts, page 1, London 1906.
44. Dugdale, op., cit., Vol. I, pages 240-1.
45. Ibid., page 240.
46. Ibid., page 245.
47. The credibility of Sir John Gorst within the House of Commons went into a steep decline, while his relationship with Balfour considerably worsened.
48. Dugdale, op., cit., Vol., I. page 245.
49. Ibid., page 245.
50. See footnote 17.
51. See Dugdale, op., cit., Vol., I, pages 40-42. Eleanor Balfour eventually became Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge.
52. Dugdale makes no reference to Balfour's activities on Irish university education.
53. Dugdale, op., cit., Vol. I, page 319.
54. Ibid., page 320.
55. See Chapter Four.
56. Dugdale, op., cit., Vol. I, page 323.
57. Dugdale, op., cit., Vol. II, page 35.
58. Ibid., page 37.
59. Ibid.,.
60. Kenneth Young was limited by the 50 year Cabinet rule and was unable to use the later Balfour Papers deposited in the British Museum.

61. Published by Bell and Sons 1963.
62. See fly cover of the book.
63. Ibid,.
64. 1951-1964.
65. Young, op., cit., page 24.
66. Ibid., page 24.
67. See Young, op., cit., page 16.
68. Ibid., page 51.
69. Ibid,.
70. Ibid., page 52.
71. Ibid., page 57.
72. Ibid., page 48.
73. In 1879 he was the editor of 'The Fortnightly Journal'.
74. Cited in Young, op., cit., page 48.
75. Ibid., page 177.
76. Ibid., page 42.
77. See Chapter Two pages 77-124.
78. Young, op., cit., page 177.
79. Dugdale, op., cit., Vol. I, page 240.
80. Young, op., cit., page 178.
81. See Chapter Three pages 125-165.
82. The proposed 4s 0d. grant would not have closed the gap between school board and voluntary school.
83. Clause 27 effectively wiped out the Cowper-Temple compromise.
84. Young, page 179.
85. Ibid,.
86. Ibid., page 179.
87. Ibid., page 203.
88. Ibid., page 204.
89. See Young, op., cit., page 208.
90. Ibid., page 208.

91. Ibid., page 207.
92. Ibid., page 265.
93. "The Education Bill (1906) was a different matter. This was clearly an attempt to overthrow his constructive legislation and upon quite specious grounds". Cited in, Young, op., cit., page 265.
94. Cambridge University Press 1973.
95. See fly cover of book.
96. See Deutscher, Isaac, Stalin: A Political Biography, Oxford University Press 1972, page 18.
97. Ibid.,.
98. Zebel, op., cit., page 1.
99. Ibid., page 5.
100. He won by 164 votes.
101. See Zebel, op., cit., page 29.
102. Sir Stafford Northcote was born in 1818. Educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford. M.P., 1855-85; Financial Secretary, Treasury 1859; president of Board of Trade, 1866; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1874-80; Leader of Conservative Party in House of Commons, 1876-85; created Earl of Iddesleigh and appointed First Lord of the Treasury, 1885; Foreign Secretary, 1886. He died in 1887.
103. Zebel, op., cit., page 27.
104. See Zebel, op., cit., page 18 and P.D. 3rd Series Vol. CCXXXV, 144-5 and 986.
105. Ibid., page 86.
106. Ibid., page 119.
107. 1906-07: See also, Balfour's attack on the Morley-Minto reforms and the India Councils Bill, op., cit., page 155.
108. Title assumed in 1972.
109. Collins Press 1980.
110. Later First Baron Egremont.
111. From 1940: See Lord Egremont 'Wyndham and Children First', Macmillan 1968,
112. Egremont, op., cit., See introduction.
113. Ibid., page 11.
114. See fly cover.

115. Ibid., page 19.
116. Ibid., page 134.
117. Ibid., page 133. Sir John Gorst was 'Vice President of the Council'.
118. Ibid., page 134.
119. Ibid., page 149.
120. Ibid., page 150.
121. Ibid., page 44.
122. Ibid., page 150.
123. Ibid.,.
124. Ibid., page 152.
125. Oxford University Press 1985.
126. MacKay, Ruddock, F. op., cit., page V.
127. Ibid., page V.
128. Hobsbawm, E.J., 'Growth of an Audience', Times Literary Supplement, 7 April 1966.
129. MacKay states that his publisher insisted that his book had to be 350 pages - and no more!
130. MacKay, Ruddock, F. op., cit., page 75.
131. Ibid., page 75.
132. Ibid., page 98.
133. Lord George Hamilton was Secretary of State for India in Balfour's Cabinet. In September 1903 he resigned along with Joseph Chamberlain over the tariff reform issue.
134. Cited in Taylor, A.J.P., Essays in English History, Penguin 1976, page 190.
135. Taylor, A.I., The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902, unpublished Ph.D. Cambridge University, 1981.

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Daglish, N.D., The Educational Work of Sir John Gorst, unpublished Ph.D. University of Durham 1974.

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136. See Taylor, Tony, Lord Salisbury and the Politics of Education op., cit.,.
137. op., cit.,.
138. Taylor, Tony, Lord Salisbury and the Politics of Education op., cit., page 9.
139. Ibid.,.
140. Ibid., page 1.
141. See Chapter 2.
142. James Bryce (1838-1922) was a distinguished historian, jurist, and writer on political science, who from 1880 to 1893 was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford. He became a Liberal M.P. in 1880; under-secretary for foreign affairs, 1886; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster (with seat in Cabinet), 1892-4; president of the board of trade, 1894-5; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1905-7; British ambassador to the United States, 1907-13; created viscount, 1914. The 'Bryce Commission' was set up at the end of 1894 to investigate secondary education. In 1895 it reported on the existing provision of education between the elementary and higher levels. It recommended the establishment of a Central Authority to formulate policy and the constitution of local authorities to administer secondary education on a county or country borough basis.
143. See Wilkinson, M.J. op., cit.,.
144. Ibid., page 285.
145. See Daghish, N.D. and Taylor, A.I. op., cit.,.
146. See Fairhurst, J.R., op., cit.,.
147. See Chapter 2.
148. Elections in 1906 and two in 1910.
149. See Hay, J.R., The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms 1906-1914, MacMillan Press 1974.
150. Samuelson Report (Technical Instruction), H.M.S.O. 1884; also see: Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, H.M.S.O. 1882.
151. Samuelson Report, op cit, Vol. I, page 525.
152. Cited in, Cotgrove, Stephen F., Technical Education and Social Change, Allen and Unwin, 1958, page 16.

153. Ibid,.
154. Booth, Charles, monumental 'Life and Labour of the People in London' in seventeen volumes, was published between 1889 and 1903. His original intention was to disprove what he considered to be the exaggerated estimates of the extent of London poverty, yet early on he admitted that, if anything, the amount of poverty had been underestimated.
- Seebohm Rowntree produced his study of York in 1899 which he called 'A Study of Town Life'. In this work he calculated a poverty line of seven shillings a week for a single male, or 37s. 4d. for a family of eight. In York 43.4% of wage earners fell below this line - 27% of the city population.
- See also the 'Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration', H.M.S.O. 1904.
155. Hay, J.R., op., cit.,, page 31.
156. Ibid,.
157. Op., cit.,.
158. Ibid,.
159. Cited in Hay, J.R., op., cit.,, page 35.
160. In 1905 the Balfour government instigated three initiatives. It recommended the appointment of a Royal Commission on the Poor Law and the Relief of Distress. It promoted the Unemployed Workmen Act, a final attempt to deal with unemployment by relief work. And under pressure from some of its own back benchers it issued an Order permitting the Poor Law Guardians to give relief in the form of meals to underfed school children.
161. See, James, Robert Rhodes, The British Revolution: British Politics 1880-1939, Methuen, 1978.
162. See, Sabine, George, H., A History of Political Theory, Harrap 1971 pages 727-34.
163. Since 1850 the local authorities had increased their activities in areas such as municipal trading and enterprise, tramways, markets, baths, libraries, gas, electricity and entertainments. See, Midwinter, E.C. Victorian Social Reform, Longmans 1968.
164. See Blake, Robert, The Unknown Prime Minister, op., cit.,, page 13.
165. For Alderson and Raymond, access to letters, memoranda etc. would never have been a serious objective.

CHAPTER TWO

I. BALFOUR AND THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION

Balfour's commitment to educational reform began long before 1902. Its origins lie in the Irish University Question. His interest in the issue stemmed not simply from his appointment as Chief Secretary for Ireland in March 1887, but from a general belief in its moral rectitude. He was convinced that alongside economic and agrarian reforms, the removal of longstanding educational grievances would diminish Land League and Home Rule activity. Reform was to be pursued only if there was a real need and only if reform augmented institutional control. It was the application of this principle which formed the basis of his approach to educational reform from 1889 (1) and which marked the beginning of a process which was to serve him well over a twenty year period.

II. BACKGROUND

The Irish University Question is a complicated and intricate episode dominated by the contentious definition of 'What is a University?' Since the sixteenth century, Trinity College Dublin and the University of Dublin had been almost indistinguishable. The College which is the older foundation (2) was seen by the Crown as the first step in a process which would lead to the creation of a University similar to that of Oxford or Cambridge. It was not until 1613 when James I conferred the right of Parliamentary representation on both College and University that the University is referred to as a separate institution, although the Charter emphasized the point that the organization of an Irish University was incomplete. This immediately caused confusion, and attempts to obtain new Charters to define

institutional differences failed in 1616 (3). Following the Restoration in 1660 attempts were made to establish a second college within the University of Dublin but this failed to materialize. What is clear however, is that the University of Dublin was originally identified as the Irish University with Trinity College as a collegiate member.

Prior to 1793, Catholics although not excluded by law from entering the College as students, were excluded from it by the fact that if they entered, they would, in common with other students, become subject, under the College Statutes, to duties which as Catholics they could not conscientiously be party to. Over and above this, special religious tests, in the form of oaths inconsistent with Catholic doctrine were imposed. The Catholic Relief Act of 1793 enabled Catholics to enter Trinity College as students and take degrees without religious tests. However, the only College of the University was Trinity College which was essentially Protestant in its constitution and so the reality was that Professorships and Fellowships remained out of the reach of Catholics. There was an attempt in 1834 to overcome the loophole in the 1793 Act, but the Bill was opposed by representatives from Trinity College and was not even read for a first time. The refusal to grant a College Scholarship to Denis Caulfield Heron in 1843 on religious grounds (4) fuelled Catholic frustration.

It was Sir Robert Peel's government, determined to dispose of the problem, which introduced a scheme which involved the establishment of three provincial non-sectarian (5) Colleges, the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork and Galway. The Act establishing the Queen's Colleges received the Royal Assent on 31 July 1845. The new Colleges were not established in the special interest, or for the special

benefit of any religious body. Admission was for all and no religious instruction could be given in them. For Catholics this remained a contentious point given that in Trinity College and the University of Dublin the Protestantism of the established Church was to reign supreme. On 20 September 1845, a Declaration was signed by the Irish bishops condemning the situation of the three Colleges in relation to Trinity College and the University of Dublin:

"Lest our faithful flocks should be apprehensive of any change being wrought in our minds relative to the recent legislative measures of Academic Education, We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops, feel it is a duty we owe to them and to ourselves to reiterate our solemn conviction of its being dangerous to faith and morals, as declared in the Resolutions unanimously adopted in May last, by the assembled Bishops of Ireland" (6).

In October 1847, Pope Pius IX confirmed the decision of the Irish Episcopal body that the new Colleges involved "a grave danger to the faith" (7). The organization of the new Colleges and the subsequent Catholic condemnation of them as a means of solving the University Question rendered them useless. Augustine Birrell, speaking in the Commons in 1908 about the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway stated that, "...no pains whatever seem to have been taken to find out what Irishmen want. You may in Ireland sometimes succeed in sending a man to prison against his will, but never to college" (8). Nevertheless, condemning Government initiative is one thing, defining clearly higher education demands is another. The Catholic condemnation of the Queen's Colleges arrangement reflected a common feature of the Irish Episcopate as a body; their main weakness lay in their inability to define objectives which allowed successive Governments to ignore demands. The Bishops of Ireland formalised their condemnation in a Pastoral Address to the Clergy and Laity of Ireland from the Synod of Thurles in September 1850. The Catholic bishops were particularly alarmed about Queen's College, Belfast which they argued was suited to

the needs of the establishment of the 'Non Foundation Scholarships' (9) in Trinity College, but the position of Fellowships and other higher posts remained untouched.

A direct result of the Synod of Thurles was the establishment of the 'Catholic University of Ireland'. The idea for such a venture had emanated from Pope Pius IX and the model was the Catholic University of Louvain. Funds were quickly built up following subscriptions and in November 1854 the University commenced its work. However, Government recognition of it as a University never materialized and remained a key Catholic grievance. An attempt was made in 1866 by the Russell Government to grant a Charter of incorporation but only as a College, not a University. Within the 'Supplemental Charter' no provisions existed for endowment of the College, at least for teaching purposes and degrees were to be conferred by the Queen's University. This scheme failed to satisfy Catholic demands given that public endowments and grants were given exclusively to Colleges either Protestant or non-sectarian. The 'Supplemental Charter' was issued in June 1866 and was accepted by the Senate of Queen's University. Its acceptance was carried by a narrow majority but this was overruled by the Court of Chancery. The following year Henry Fawcett (10) introduced a Bill designed to abolish religious testing in Trinity College, Dublin. The Bill was lost in the Commons, but only on the casting vote of the Speaker. Interestingly, Fawcett's Bill did not receive Catholic support largely because religious testing at Trinity College was no longer the central issue - a Catholic University was!

At the beginning of 1868, Lord Mayo, the Chief Secretary for Ireland announced that it was intended to establish a Catholic University which "should stand in the same position to Roman Catholics as Trinity College does to Protestants" (11). However, the scheme postponed the

question of endowment and the subsequent conflict between Mayo and the Irish bishops led to the ending of the scheme. In 1873, Gladstone introduced an Irish University Bill to create a University to which Catholics could go. At first the Bill was well received but it soon fell "...between two stools" (12), for the Catholic hierarchy persisted in their demands for a separate Catholic University while Protestant opposition to the reorganization of the Queen's Colleges and the University of Dublin became intense. The Bill was defeated during its second reading by 287 to 284, with 43 Liberals (including 35 Irish MP's) voting against the Government.

Following the rejection of Gladstone's Bill, Henry Fawcett introduced, in April 1873, another Bill to abolish religious tests in Trinity College and the University of Dublin. The Bill was strongly opposed by the representatives of Irish Catholic opinion within the House of Commons. Mitchell Henry, the member of Galway moved an amendment hostile to the second reading describing the Bill as, "...a measure which, whether it was in itself a right or a wrong one, could have no perceptible effect on Catholic grievances, and was calculated only to blind and deceive the public" (13). Despite the opposition, Fawcett's Bill was carried and Trinity College, Dublin became secularized.

In 1879, the Disraeli government attempted to solve the Irish University Question by introducing an Act for the dissolution of the Queen's University and its replacement by the Royal University of Ireland, a purely examining body, empowered to grant degrees to all who passed the necessary examinations. The Queen's University was formally dissolved in 1882. As a result of the Act the Catholic University was reconstituted comprising of all Catholic Colleges identified as institutions of higher learning. The list of institutions identified included Newman's foundation (later renamed

University College in 1882); the Cecilia Street Medical School; Maynooth; the French College, Blackrock; St Patrick's College, Carlow; Holy Cross College, Conliffe; and later, St Kieran's College, Kilkenny, the Carmelite College, Terenure, and St Ignatius's Temple Street Dublin (14). The main object of the Act was to meet the claims of the Catholic University: its students were now given an opportunity to graduate and the fellowships attached to the new Royal University were to be distributed in such a way that the Catholic University itself received an indirect government endowment of some £6,000 a year (15). Although viewed by many as a step in the right direction, the Act failed to remove Catholic grievances. Although the new structure remained denominational it did at least provide Catholics and Protestants with a common meeting ground, while the standards imposed by the Royal University certainly improved higher education.

In reality the Act was designed to assuage Catholic public opinion rather than to satisfy a sense of injustice. Writing in December 1877, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Sir Michael Hicks Beach (16) stated that,

"...there can be no question that the real desire of the Roman Catholic hierarchy is for a University Bill; and I think at the present juncture there are special reasons why we should endeavour to meet it. In any proposals on this subject, I do not think it would be wise to interfere with the University of Dublin or Trinity College... I should not establish a separate Catholic University, for I think this would necessarily involve the direct endowment of a Denominational University, a proposal which could scarcely be entertained after the passing of the Irish Church Act and the entire abolition of tests in Trinity College. Nor should I attempt to found a teaching University: bearing in mind not only the peculiar difficulties of such a proposal, but the fact that the functions of the Queen's University are at present really confined to examinations" (17).

The reforms in higher education coincided with changes to the system of secondary schooling. This was the result of introducing an

Intermediate Education Act (1878). This provided grants for secondary schools although the amount of grant paid to any school was dependent upon the success of its pupils at examinations conducted by the Board of Intermediate Education. The problem of 'intermediate education' and the ability to acquire a regular rate of grant for schools ran parallel to the struggle for higher education. Neither Act satisfied Catholic demands, and the educational controversy, although overshadowed by agrarian crisis, remained. Nevertheless, the combination of reforms in higher and secondary education led to an increase in the numbers presenting themselves for the Royal University's examinations rising from 748 in 1800 to 2,658 in 1900 (18).

III. BALFOUR AND IRISH HIGHER EDUCATION

The return of Lord Salisbury to power in August 1886 following the defeat of Gladstone's Home Rule Bill meant that the government's immediate problem would be dealing with Irish reaction. Prior to the 1886 election, Salisbury had even questioned the 'fitness' of the Irish to govern themselves and so by appointing Michael Hicks Beach as Chief Secretary, the Prime Minister was placing a strong man in a post to restore morale in the administration, the police and the magistracy. The failure of Parnell's Tenants' Relief Bill in September 1886 led to increased evictions and in October 1886 a 'Plan of Campaign' was inaugurated under the auspices of the Irish National League. The 'Campaign' provided for tenants to withhold rents and give the money instead to trustees organized by the League, thus forming a fund from which evicted tenants could be subsidized. This was an effective form of moral insurrection yet kept within the bounds necessary to retain Liberal support. On 18 December 1886, the Plan of Campaign was declared illegal, but by the March of 1887 Sir Michael

Hicks Beach, collapsing under the strain and suffering with eye trouble, resigned. It was to his nephew A.J. Balfour that Lord Salisbury turned to take up the onerous post, a position he was to hold until October 1891 (19).

In the first few months of his Secretaryship, Balfour dealt with Irish events with a firm hand. In July 1887 he pushed through the Criminal Law Amendment Act which gave the Lord Lieutenant power to declare illegal 'Irish Leagues' and allowed the trials of persons accused of crime to be conducted in England if necessary. Against the background of the Pigott forgeries accusing Parnell of involvement in the Phoenix Park murders of 1882, Balfour faced his most difficult task with the Michelstown riot (20). Subsequently he was labelled "Bloody Balfour".

While nationalist grievances dominated the headlines and Balfour's time, the question of Irish education remained. He began to suspect that a link existed between political violence and the sense of injustice experienced by the Irish resulting from their education system. Balfour concluded that Irish higher education presented an issue that needed to be settled and which offered the opportunity to secure the cooperation of bishops and the Vatican in his battle against rural disorder and Home Rule. While 1887 was not, in his view, an appropriate time to deal with Irish demands for educational reform, he was already beginning to see the important role education could play in the settling of the Irish question:

"I had [a conversation] with Sir Patrick Keenan (21) on this subject of Irish Education. He came to me to press me to carry out certain schemes which Beach initiated... I told Sir Patrick that in my opinion, these questions had entered into a new phase since Sir Michael first took them up; and that now they must be considered not merely from an educational, but also from a political point of view; and that speaking for myself, I was not disposed to take any action which would be other than agreeable to the Protestant feeling in England and Ireland... for the

present... though I express no disagreement with the educational views of Sir Michael Hicks Beach, I was of the opinion that it would be inexpedient to take further action" (22).

By the autumn of 1887 Balfour began the process of considering the value of three plans for promoting Catholic higher education. The plans were not new and centered upon the ideas of; (1) establishing a Catholic University; (2) establishing a Catholic College coordinate with Trinity College and forming (with it) a simple University; and finally, endowing a Catholic College in connection with the Royal University.

The first plan, was rejected by Balfour because such an institution he believed, would not produce the necessary educational competition. The second plan he believed was a non-starter for "...it would be violently opposed by Trinity College" (23). The final proposal, sought the establishment of an endowed Catholic College, with the endowment based upon the interest on one million pounds in any financial year of £33,000 a year. The administration of the college would be placed in the hands of fifteen people, one of whom would be the Archbishop of the diocese with the other fourteen being nominated by the government. Balfour favoured this plan but saw it as a lever to co-opt the help of the Catholic Church in controlling the rural disorder:

"...it is impossible to ask Parliament or the country to make any sacrifice in favour of the Catholic Church in Ireland while all the resources of that Church are being exhausted in the cause of socialism and revolution. But as soon as this unhappy state of things is brought to an end, the matter will be taken seriously in hand" (24).

In March 1889, the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops drew up a series of resolutions on the University Question (25). The resolutions also drew the attention of William Gladstone (26) who, in response to a letter from Archbishop Walsh (27) reaffirmed his concern over the

inequitable provision of elementary education in Ireland when compared to England and Wales (28). He also noted his determination when returned to power, to rectify the problems associated with Irish higher education (29). Importantly, it was Sir Patrick Keenan, head of the Education Department in Ireland who brought this letter to Balfour's attention, and with it his own analysis in the form of a memorandum. It is from this memorandum that Balfour began for the first time to learn the language of education and its associated political complexities. It provided the Chief Secretary with his first lesson in the religious, financial and structural problems of education in Ireland and England and how improvement in national efficiency was largely at the mercy of tradition and vested interests. The need for reform was quickly accepted by him, for the logic of Keenan's memorandum coincided with his own Conservative principles, namely to press forward with change if deemed to be politically or economically necessary and thereby strengthening institutional control. It was therefore to be Keenan not Morant who was to alert Balfour to the need to understand the importance of education but not in isolation from events in England, for as he suggested to the Chief Secretary, "Ireland has been the precursor of England in many educational developments" (30). In effect, the memorandum provided Balfour with key debating points later to be used in England; these points centered upon board and voluntary school competition, finance and denominational grievances. Keenan was determined that Balfour should understand the comparative nature of the education problem, for that was how Gladstone had first raised the issue in his letter to Archbishop Walsh. The development of board and voluntary schools in Ireland had similarities. In 1831 a National Board of Education was established, designed to overcome the inconsistent allocation of funds. It also sought to establish 'mixed' or integrated education but

this very quickly ran up against the various religious bodies. The Anglican Church objected to the principle of 'mixed' education because it threatened the ascendancy of the established church. Consequently the Anglicans withdrew for a short time from the National Board, functioning under the framework of the Church Education Society, but by 1861, lacking funds from voluntary contributions, it returned to the Board. Presbyterians also determined to preserve their denominational identity withdrew, but by 1838, a compromise with the Board was reached. Catholics at first favoured the mixed education experiment but by 1834, the Archbishop of Tuam, John MacHale demanded a full Catholic education for Catholic children. However, only the Christian Brothers left the board system and expanded the number of their schools. Nevertheless, suspicion about the Board system remained for Catholics even though by 1860 the number of Commissioners on the National Board was balanced between ten Catholics and ten Protestants. The Commissioners were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and their function was to administer the funds granted by Parliament annually. By the turn of the century, the hope of mixed education had largely vanished with almost all national schools under denominational control. The reality of this situation had been anticipated by Keenan in his memorandum to Balfour (31). The significance of this was the impact it would have upon the training of teachers. At first the Board established what were termed Model Schools, designed to promote the integrated approach in which training could take place, but the scheme was opposed by the Catholic hierarchy. The refusal of the Catholic Church and later the Protestant Church to sanction the appointment of teachers trained in these mixed schools was to have dire consequences for the quality of Irish education in the 1880's and 1890's (32). In his memorandum Keenan provided Balfour with his first comparative detail of funding arrangements (33) for schools in Ireland and England

and also the relative costs of employing teachers:

"In the board schools of England 63% of the pay of the teachers is derived from local or non-imperial sources; 58% in Scotland; 53.2% in Wales - whereas in Ireland it is only 20%" (34).

Importantly, the comparative issue of finance formed only a part of what was a very long and detailed analysis. The general principles which form the basis of the document centre upon the inefficient use of resources caused by religious diversity and general distrust of the Irish Board system by the denominations. It is for this reason that Keenan suggested that schools should be handed over to three trustees "...of the prevailing religion of the place" (35). Given that a 'conscience clause' operated in Ireland as in England, it was a compromise which satisfied the prevailing religious traditions rather than furthered the cause of education. Although not a satisfactory solution for Keenan it was, as he suggested to Balfour the only alternative as previous Chief Secretaries for Ireland had consistently ignored his appeals for a reform of the model school system (36). Balfour was certainly not prepared to instigate full scale reform of the model school system but the important lesson learnt from Keenan was the need to pursue an education policy which would at best preserve institutional control and at worst amend the administrative framework. The objective of educational policy was not in the first instance to improve national efficiency, for that in itself was a vague and somewhat ephemeral ideal; on the contrary, the priority for Balfour was administrative amendment which would leave institutional control in place. It was to be the policy of pragmatism which was to dictate the direction of his educational thoughts and one which was to be tested within the Irish laboratory. Importantly, having accepted the need for amendment within the existing educational structure

Balfour was to pursue his pragmatic approach with what appeared to be little consideration for the political consequences. It is from this point in 1889 and influenced by Keenan, that his apparent lack of political tact and consideration for Party unity can be traced. There is as a result, no inconsistency in his behaviour to education from this point onwards, because what he sought through his own deeply held Conservatism, was the preservation and strengthening of institutional control. Keenan's memorandum not only shed light on the intricacies of education both in England and Ireland but also provided him with his first comprehensive analysis of how pragmatism might be applied to what appeared to be an insoluble problem. It was to be a lesson he would not forget and would eventually apply to the events surrounding the passage of the 1902 Education Act. Importantly, the intricate matrix of legal, economic, religious, financial and political factors peculiar to Ireland prepared him well for the educational confrontations in England and Wales after 1895. It is this aspect of Balfour's apprenticeship in high politics as Chief Secretary which recent research has ignored (37). To suggest as A.I. Taylor does that he was essentially a "novice in the thicket of educational conflict" (38) and as a result forced to seek the help of his first cousin Lord Cranborne (39), leader of the Church Party, merely reinforces biographical interpretations (40) that Balfour had 'no feel' for the issue. By 1895, he had come to recognise the political significance of the issue which would require careful handling and a wide degree of consultation. That he turned to Lord Salisbury's eldest son was, given the nature of the Cecil family, a natural development, for Cranborne was "...adept in untangling the intricacies of, what was to many, an incomprehensible and tedious topic" (41). As Leader of the Commons and First Lord of the Treasury (42), Balfour's commitments by 1895 were already substantial and to imply that consultation with his

cousin over educational matters reflected a lack of understanding is perhaps unfair on an individual who regarded the politics of education rather than the substance of education as being more important. It was Ireland which prepared him for the politics surrounding the issue of education in England and Wales, while it was to be Cranborne, Morant, Macnamara, the Webbs and Yoxall who were to paint in the detail of reform.

However, it was during the debate on the Appropriation Bill on 28 August 1889, that Balfour as Chief Secretary for Ireland formally involved himself publicly and for the first time in the Irish University Question. To a question put by the member for Belfast West (43) who wanted to know if the Government had reached a decision about the resolutions put by the Standing Committee of Irish Bishops, Balfour replied,

"...in my opinion something ought to be done to give higher education to the Roman Catholics in Ireland... The experiment of undenominational higher education in Ireland has now been tried sufficiently long to make it, I am afraid, perfectly clear that nothing Parliament has hitherto done to promote that object will really meet the wants and wishes of the Catholic population of the country. That being so, we have no alternative but to try and devise some new scheme by which the wants of the Catholic population shall be met. This would not be the proper time for me to suggest, even in outline, the main lines of what the scheme should be, but we ought to make some attempt, if possible, to carry out a scheme of the kind I have indicated" (44).

In dealing with higher education, Balfour astonished the Commons. He then moved on to the longstanding complaints associated with intermediate education which, since 1878 had been a constant source of annoyance. As Parnell was to point out to Balfour,

"...the disproportion between local contributions and State aid is very great when Ireland is compared with Great Britain. The reason is that in Ireland the system of primary education, though largely

denominational, is not so entirely denominational as the people desire, and there will be no difficulty in increasing the local contributions so as to do away with this disproportion if more encouragement is given to denominational schools" (45).

Balfour's grasp of the details of primary education during this debate was most impressive, and in many ways mirrored those problems he was to face during the debates on the 1896, 1897 and 1902 Bills:

"...in a primary system of education which is supported by the State, you must necessarily take into account the unhappy religious differences which divide society in Ireland, and have so long divided it. The religious question is difficult enough to deal with in England... (46).

He outlined the primary education structure in his reply, arguing that the income of four-fifths of teachers was paid by the State and yet these teachers were not the 'servants' of the public, but the servants of the school managers (47). These managers who were largely clerical held 'absolute power' (48):

"I find that of the 2,800 managers of schools in Ireland, no less than 2,000 are clergymen of various denominations. Recollect that not only does the State pay four-fifths of the income of the teacher... but it pays for every child in Ireland 30s against 17s 6d in England and Scotland. Here you have contributions out of the Exchequer, which is in the main a Protestant Exchequer, to the managers of schools in Ireland, who are largely composed of Catholic priests..." (49).

Balfour concluded by admitting that some educational reforms were needed and that he would hope to undertake some of them (50). Upon this conclusion, it would appear that he left the Chamber for a short time and so failed to hear Parnell's opening statement. While Parnell was still speaking, Balfour returned and Parnell repeated his original question:

"I should like to say I wish well to the Chief Secretary in his attempt to settle the much vexed question of University education in Ireland. But I should be glad to know whether there is any prospect that the Government will deal with this important question early next Session, or what arrangements are in contemplation for bringing the matter before the House" (51).

Balfour answered that there could be no possibility of dealing with the University question without a Bill but pointed out that, "...I cannot give any pledge at the moment as to the exact order in which the questions will be brought before the House..." (52). What was clear, was that he was willing to examine schemes according to Irish ideas.

This reflected the current intellectual attitude to Ireland and its affairs in the 19th Century, as reform could be encouraged, even developed in the belief that it would not have repercussions in England. The principles which formed the basis of collectivism were utilised in Ireland, albeit on an ad hoc basis, but which effectively illustrated in macrocosm those forces which would have to be dealt with in England at the turn of the century (53). In Ireland, it was only the depth of social and economic issues which differed from that in Britain. Poverty, educational inadequacy and squalor all existed in Britain, differing from Ireland only in terms of its intensity. As a result, state interference was actively encouraged to deal with a variety of pressing problems. It was this aspect of British governmental control which led to a series of experimental legislative initiatives, mostly mis-timed but nonetheless progressing from Gladstone's second Land Act in 1881 and culminating in Wyndham's revolutionary Land Act of 1903. Importantly what these initiatives illustrated was a break with the principles which lay behind the Victorian concept of laissez faire. State intervention was actively developed in Ireland by Conservative and Unionist governments and

could, in the case of the Land Act of 1903 be justified as an attempt to "...set the social organisation upon a new basis" (54), even though it was to be the existing ruling class of Ireland who were to be dispossessed, despite the favourable terms (55).

It was this development which underpinned the evolving Conservative doctrine of using social reform as a means of controlling the growing forces of democracy (56). Balfour certainly recognised the value of social reform in exchange for political concession and his record in Ireland and England very much reflects, over a twenty year period up to 1908, a politician willing to implement collectivist principles of intervention in order to sustain institutional control. From his commitment to the cause of establishing an Irish University, there are a number of important points in his career when the gradual move to intervention can be discerned. He was never afraid to by-pass Parliament in pursuit of implementing radical reform if needed, for it was to be Balfour who was to make the principle of land purchase in Ireland a distinctly Conservative policy. Although extending the principle of the Ashbourne Land Act (57), he detested the Irish land system and sought to make land purchase compulsory in 1889. He knew Parliament would never accept such a scheme and so he was forced to wait until 1891 before implementing a voluntary scheme by which the government guaranteed an advance of £33 million (58). The Act was not immediately effective, but it did mark a watershed in government policy towards Ireland, for it ultimately placed land purchase at the heart of future policy making, culminating in the radical Wyndham Land Act of 1903, when Balfour was Prime Minister.

Radical then, even revolutionary, Balfour demonstrated in Ireland his willingness not just to flirt with an unpopular, even politically damaging measure, but to pursue it to the end. It was, nonetheless,

an interventionist approach designed to ameliorate an identified problem. That it was a radical approach should not be underestimated for the logical conclusion lay in the Balfourian interpretation of Home Rule, of which the fateful MacDonnell (59) proposal for administrative devolution formed a part.

The Wyndham Act had effectively rounded off a series of constructive measures introduced by Conservative and Unionist governments. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, formerly Balfour's private secretary in Ireland, had hoped to build upon the achievement of the Land Act use the Land Conference framework, which had formulated the major principles of the Act, to move forward and deal with other pressing problems, the University question being but one. Although this idea was quickly abandoned, the Land Conference framework appeared to offer an alternative route to settling Irish problems by consent and reaching agreement on a number of issues short of Home Rule. By 1905, this process was to be undermined by the controversy surrounding the MacDonnell devolution proposals. Importantly, his plans appear to have had a degree of consent from both Wyndham and Balfour, although not publicly. The collapse of the proposals and the subsequent resignation of the Chief Secretary for Ireland on 6th March 1905, brought to an end Balfour's flirtation with a Unionist hybrid of Home Rule. It had been a policy which fell far short of Home Rule, but significantly what this period of constructive Unionism had shown was the limit to which Irish political reform could be taken. MacDonnell's proposals, like those of Sir John Gorst's in his 1896 Education Bill went beyond the pale of acceptable change for Balfour and Unionism at large. From land purchase schemes through to University education and the ideals which found expression in the failed plans for devolution, the Ireland which the Free State was to encompass in 1921 was, as Balfour suggested, "...the Ireland that we made" (60).

His biographers and some of the more recent studies (61) of Balfour have generally failed to acknowledge both the radicalism and the nature of evolving Conservative collectivism his actions in Ireland implied. Victorian principles of laissez faire were clearly ignored when it came to Ireland, but the significance of interventionist policies provided him with the opportunity to put into practice some of the basic principles of his own philosophy and prepare the ground for facing similar tasks in England, of which education was but one.

His commitment to the cause of educational reform also had an important political dimension, for he was now convinced that it could be used as a means of defusing the Home Rule debate:

"I gather from your letter that Gladstonian writers and speakers are criticising the Government for the desire to which I gave utterance that something should be done [for] higher education for Roman Catholics in Ireland; allegedly this would be equivalent to establishing "Rome Rule" in Ireland. Let me call your attention to the fact that if Home Rule was granted every Protestant in Ireland might be taxed not merely for the purpose of giving a better education to those who are already Roman Catholics, but for deliberately propagating Roman Catholic doctrines among those who do not belong to that Communion" (62).

For the Liberals, Balfour's support for the establishment of a Roman Catholic College to be built and maintained by the State was not only puzzling it was also potentially damaging to the Conservative Government. As Lord Spencer the former Irish viceroy noted:

"I think that Balfour's Irish University policy will give him a good deal of trouble. I don't know what note we shall sound, but as far as I can see we shall not go hammer and tongs for Catholic University Endowment. We cannot do that. We may admit that with Home Rule the Irish would do it, but that is different to it being done by us and out of Imperial funds. But if you are to govern Ireland according to Irish views from London, it is difficult to refuse them this. We burnt our fingers in 1871 or 1872 over Irish University Education. I dare say they will do the same and sincerely hope they will" (63).

It was the Conservative member for Oxford University, J.G. Talbot, who tried to place the significance of Balfour's contribution within the context of English educational reform and the warning that the Government should listen to its own backbenchers:

"We, too, have our convictions; but there is a habit among English Members, and especially Conservative Members, to so subordinate our own views to the support of the Government in whom we trust that we sometimes fail to give public expression to our convictions in language adequate to the occasion. I am not quite certain that some of the failures of the Session, to which this seems the proper opportunity to refer, have not been due to this silence or reticence on our part. One of the failures of the Session was the withdrawal of the Education Code, not that I think the withdrawal of the Code was in itself a misfortune, but the circumstances attending its withdrawal cannot have been satisfactory to anyone. The necessity for its withdrawal arose from the fact that Her Majesty's Government did not pay sufficient attention to the feelings of English Conservative Members and especially to those animated by the deepest convictions in regard to education, and particularly religious education" (64).

The most formidable opposition to Balfour's proposal to examine schemes to solve the Irish University question came from Scotland where Presbyterian feeling ran high. On 2 December 1889, at a meeting of Unionists in Partick, he was able to make a fuller statement on the issue, emphasizing the point that he was "not prepared, for the sake of doing justice to Ireland, to fall out with his Scottish friends" (65). He argued that nothing would be attempted until several conditions were fulfilled:

"The first condition, is that what we propose to those desiring higher education in Ireland should be cordially accepted by them as a solution of their difficulties. The second condition is, that the proposal of measures of that description in Parliament should not be used by any party in Parliament as a means of inflicting a political blow upon their adversaries. And the third condition is, that the general opinion of Englishmen, of Scotchmen, and of Irishmen, should all concur in desiring that this particular boon should be granted to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. And unless these conditions are

fulfilled, I, for one, would never counsel my colleagues to embark in so difficult and so arduous an enterprise as that of dealing with the education question" (66).

Although calming Presbyterian fears, Balfour continued to probe at the sense of injustice felt by Catholics and pointed out that despite Henry Fawcett's Bill of 1873 which had secularized Trinity College, the College remained a Protestant institution "...by its religious flavour and complexion" (67). He pointed out to his audience the fact that only seven per cent of the students at Trinity College were Catholics and theological Chairs were dominated by members of the Church of Ireland. Such a situation he argued "...must be antagonistic to the current of thought which would be acceptable to the large majority of the Irish people" (68). He then attacked his critics for suggesting that his involvement in the Irish University question was simply a tactic to buy peace in Ireland and distract attention from the Parnell 'Special Commission'. This he rejected arguing that his sole aim was the legitimate goal of providing higher education for Catholics:

"The Roman Catholic population of Ireland, I suppose, is about four-fifths of the whole population. They are the poorest, as well as the most numerous, part of the Irish population. Yet I find that only one in seven of the existing students of these endowed Colleges belong to the Roman Catholic religion; and I find, as I have already said, that the number at Trinity College is only about 6 percent of the whole, and that actually at this moment in Ireland there are enjoying the advantages of a higher education in endowed Colleges less than 250 individuals, in all, who are of the Roman Catholic religion... at all events it is not a creditable state of things, and I, who am one of those who are desirous of seeing higher education promoted in every part of Her Majesty's dominions, cannot look at that with equanimity" (69).

Balfour concluded with his own plan having dealt with three important aspects first. He argued that the establishment of a Roman Catholic University was out of the question because it would not provide the

necessary competition for degrees between students. With this in mind, he suggested, as his second point, that Parliament would not agree to the endowment of theological teaching. Finally, he argued for the need of a conscience clause "...by which any man attending the College, who did not share the religious tenets of the governing body should not be compelled to attend either theological lectures or theological services" (70). Subject to the three conditions which he outlined, Balfour suggested that a College (not a University) should be provided for Roman Catholics:

"I would further ask whether we are not acting a most unwise part if we give any colour to the belief that a large part of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland may claim from our hands the greatest of all boons - the boon of increased knowledge - and that this boon shall be refused to them by our prejudices acting upon the Houses of Parliament" (71).

IV. PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS 1890-1898

In July 1889, Balfour stated in the Commons that the issue of higher education in Ireland was being considered by the Government and that proposals would shortly be laid in front of the House (72). Questioned further by John Morley about the inequitable distribution of State aid to the Irish teacher training colleges compared with the National Education Board Training College, Balfour replied, "They (the Government) had been long considering the question of Training Colleges, and he thought something should be done in regard to them, but he did not put them on the same level of interest as higher education" (73). The question of Irish higher education also led to a clash between Balfour and Sir John Gorst. This prepared the ground for Gorst's humiliation in 1896 and later events. The clash developed when Gorst visited Cork in September 1891. During a visit to a Christian Brother school, he implied that the Government had withheld money from the institution because "...religious emblems were displayed" (74).

The Dublin Evening Mail suggested that his visit would probably result in an "anomaly being rectified" (75). Sir Patrick Keenan suggested to Balfour that Gorst knew exactly what he was doing by visiting the Christian Brothers school and that he had no authority to speak on the subject. He believed that the visit would produce a "...white heat of expectation" (76) and informed the Chief Secretary to expect the worst (77). Balfour was furious and wrote to Sir Patrick Keenan suggesting that Gorst's actions were designed to upset the government because he believed they would be turned out at the next general election:

"...he wishes us to expel him, calculating that with Randolph to help him, and with all the advantages of opposition and with his labour policy he will be able to play the old fourth party game... He means to rat and run Home Ruler" (78).

It was Lord Salisbury who eventually calmed Balfour down. Although replying to his uncle and agreeing that nothing would be gained by censuring Gorst, it is clear that the incident had touched a raw nerve. The letter is even headed Gorst!! (79). Nevertheless, he indicated that he would be prepared to "...publicly throw him over..." (80) if he persisted in meddling in Irish affairs. The opportunity to do this quickly disappeared but there seems no doubt that the public humiliation of Gorst at some time in the future was a distinct possibility. The events surrounding the Education Bill of 1896 provided such an opportunity.

Nevertheless, by the end of his tenure of office as Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1891, Balfour had devised a plan of reform which was based upon the principle of absolute equality between the various colleges. However, his departure from the Irish Office appeared to remove the most important player in the Irish University game. By

October 1895 the Irish Bishops at a general meeting of their body (81) issued a series of resolutions designed to regenerate English interest but by the following year, they were forced to repeat their statement: "It must be plain to everyone now that Irish Catholics, as a body, will not accept a university education which is either Protestant or godless" (82). In January 1896 the Catholic laity of Ireland re-issued for signature a declaration which had originally been presented to Gladstone in 1870. The Declaration was circulated for signature and at the end of December 1896 was forwarded to Salisbury and Balfour for consideration (83).

During the debate on the Queen's Speech on 22 January 1897, Balfour declared that the case for establishing an Irish University to satisfy Irish demands was now imperative:

"It appears to me that nobody who can contemplate the existing system of education in Ireland can object to the establishment of higher education of a kind more acceptable to the Roman Catholic people on grounds of principle" (84).

He argued that his previous position as stated in 1889 that a Catholic College rather than a University was the way forward, had now altered. However, his concern about a Catholic University remained; the separation of education according to religion could not, in his view, provide the necessary competition required for the acquisition of degrees. However, he accepted the sincerity of Catholic demands and with the Episcopal Declaration clearly in his mind suggested that,

"...we have therefore to meet a double condition. We have got to so contrive a University that it shall meet with the general approval of, or be largely used by... those classes of the Roman Catholic population who now refuse to take advantage of the existing institution..." (85).

The second condition Balfour outlined was to find a means of making

Catholics attend lectures and take advantage of a reformed higher education structure. He concluded by promising to examine schemes, working within the criteria he had outlined, as a means of settling this longstanding Irish grievance:

"...I am sincerely anxious that in this matter we should put all sectarian prejudices aside... and attempt to meet the wishes of Ireland in this respect, and I am certain that those who sit on the other side of the House, and who are most opposed to me in general politics, will agree with me... that we should be doing Ireland no service whatever if in our attempt to give them a form of higher education acceptable to the majority of the people we were to set up either a College or a University which would not compare on equal terms with other educational institutions on both sides of St. George's Channel" (86).

This statement immediately changed the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy who quickly abandoned their demands of 1889 and at their June meeting showed that they were prepared to accept a compromise. In essence they now argued that "...the new institution be as Catholic as Trinity College was Protestant" (87). Balfour was clearly pleased with this response (88), although by the end of the year, with little visible action, the Catholic hierarchy planned a further protest. Nevertheless, Balfour had understood Catholic demands. As he noted on 22 March 1898:

"The speech on Irish University Education was, as you know, rather in the nature of an obiterdictum, since no specific proposal was before the Government or the House at the time it was made. What I had in mind was this: Catholics object to Trinity College, not because there is any reason to complain of its statutes, but because, as a matter of fact, for historical and other reasons it is practically, though not theoretically, a Protestant institution. I gathered from Mr Dillon's speech and the general course of the debate that they would be content with an adequately equipped University or College which should be Catholic in the same sense as Trinity is Protestant..." (89).

Consequently, a direct line can be drawn from this perception of the

problem of Irish higher education, the Robertson Commission Report (1903), the Fry Commission Report (1907) and the subsequent Irish Universities Act of 1908. At no time did Balfour contemplate mixed higher education provisions; a lesson learnt from the failure of integrated education in Ireland since 1831. Effectively the 1908 Act was a defeat for that concept. However, the logic of the situation as determined by Balfour in 1889 was the need to redress not necessarily the balance of educational provision but a clear cut anomaly. It was upon this principle that his actions need to be understood for it was a situation which he realized would have to be dealt with, and reason determined that a Unionist solution offered the best prospect of settlement with potential political dividends. It was the passage of the London University Bill in the summer of 1898 which finally triggered Balfour to practical action. During the passage of the Bill, largely the work of Richard Haldane and Sidney Webb, the prospect of Irish opposition caused alarm. Balfour had asked Haldane, even though he was a Liberal, to take charge of the clauses in the University Bill during committee, but T.M. Healy one of the Irish Nationalist members threatened to obstruct the Bill. Haldane had asked Healy why opposition to the London University might be forthcoming from the Irish members:

"His (Healy's) answer was that he had no hostile feeling at all to our London Bill, but that there was a country that had a University question more pressing and scandalous than even that of London. I asked him whether there were any terms on which he would withdraw his opposition to us. He replied that if I would promise to come over to Ireland in the autumn and undertake the reform of the Irish University system in such a way as to do justice to the catholics..." (90).

Haldane approached Balfour about the University question and found him "...not only sympathetic but anxious that I should try my hand at a problem that had baffled Government after Government" (91). The

prospect of a solution to the University question would provide Balfour with two important elements: Irish gratitude and a reduction in Irish nationalist obstructionism in the Commons. Haldane was convinced that a quid pro quo with regard to the London University Bill was essential. In a letter to Balfour on 16 October 1897, Haldane noted,

"...The grounds on which substantial opposition can be made are few. Dillon says his Irish will not oppose and I think I can do something with Healy... As for Redmond he hates the Irish priests and is probably unconcerned - but I have not sounded him" (92).

Haldane visited Ireland in early October 1898 to sound out opinion and to see if Balfour's plans would find general acceptance. It would appear that Haldane encountered a favourable response from both the Catholic hierarchy and the Presbyterian Assembly. On his return, Haldane produced a memorandum for Balfour (93) in which he stated that the problem could only be solved by the establishment of two "...open universities... the one having its seat in the south, the other in the north; the first to be designed to attract, in the main Catholics, and the second Protestants" (94). The logic of the solution was simple given, as Haldane pointed out, the impossibility of a non-sectarian university: "...what seems desirable is to father the Catholics under the wing of one university and the Protestants under the wing of another" (95). Optimism in Ireland increased following Haldane's visit (96), and Balfour sent him to consult with Courtney Ilbert, Chief Parliamentary draftsman with a view to drawing up a Bill.

At the Cabinet meeting on 12 November 1898, Balfour presented his Irish University Education Paper (97). During the meeting, Balfour argued on two levels; first, the emotive gesture that the existing situation was "...injurious to Ireland and discreditable to a Unionist Parliament" (98); and second, at the level of practical politics for

"...so long as the Irish grievance remains unredressed, it will be impossible to contribute anything from public sources towards university requirements in Great Britain..." (99). He suggested five points which Cabinet members needed to accept:

- "(i) That the question is an open one, and that all members of the Party, including of course, Members of the Government, should vote as they please upon it.
- (ii) That important members of the Front Opposition Bench should commit themselves to the policy so that the temptation to make party capital out of the controversy should, as far as possible, be avoided.
- (iii) That what is done for the Roman Catholics in Dublin should, in the same Bill, be done for the Presbyterians in Belfast.
- (iv) That the principle of the English University Test Act should be strictly applied, and that no public money should be devoted to any sectarian purpose or the endowment of any Chair of Philosophy, Theology or Modern History.
- (v) That the Roman Catholic hierarchy give conclusive pledges that they are prepared to accept the scheme as a settlement of the question" (100).

Balfour stated that he felt 'strongly' (101) about the question of higher education in Ireland and urged his Cabinet colleagues to support him. Tactically, Balfour was walking a tightrope, for not only was the Irish University question a sensitive issue within the Unionist coalition, but his decision to seek a free vote could have produced a similar fiasco to that surrounding the 1896 Education Bill. His wish to pursue the tactic of a free or open vote on such a controversial topic is significant. Balfour recognised that Ireland appeared to offer the prospect of interventionism, unlike in England. This form of interventionist experimentation had already produced a series of initiatives from him, such as the application of state funds for salaries for those involved in relief work in the most distressed counties and for the development of light railways (102). Also his

Congested Districts Bill of 1890 established boards in the poorest areas of the west of Ireland to resource the purchase of land. It could be argued that these developments, including Ashbourne's Land Act of 1885 (103) and Wyndham's Land Act of 1903 (104) were not only designed to undermine the Liberal or Gladstonian vision of Home Rule, but provide the Conservatives with the opportunity to develop their own, but staged version, of administrative reform short of Home Rule. The financial cost of such a policy would always be high, but as Salisbury suggested in 1887; "It is the price we have to pay for the union, and it is a heavy one" (105).

It is against this background that Balfour's request for a free vote on his Irish University Education Paper needs to be seen. He believed that the principles outlined in his paper were essentially cross-party ones rather than simply Unionist. As principles they had emanated from his own deeply held convictions which sought to preserve and strengthen existing institutions. As a principle, Balfour opposed interventionism, but its application as a means of reinforcing institutional control was very much part of his pragmatic approach to politics. What he sought through his pursuit of the Irish University issue and with education generally, was reform within the existing institutional framework. It was this principle which lay at the heart of his decision to seek a free vote, for while Ireland would always be a touchstone of controversy, Balfour believed that administrative amendment of a recognised grievance could only benefit government control. At a time when he was responsible for introducing revised Standing Orders to reform procedure in the House of Commons as a means of controlling back benches (106), the move to seek a free vote on the issue had more to do with his view that the University question revolved round a moral principle. Nevertheless, his objective was to be quickly shattered; by 20 November, he became aware that the

Liberals would oppose his outline on denominational grounds. The Liberal position on this matter is difficult to understand; the establishment of an Irish University would have been part of the Home Rule Bill if it had been passed in 1886, yet radicals objected to Balfour's scheme because it offended their non-conformist outlook. From his own backbenchers, Balfour also began to hear the rumblings of opposition. During the Conservative Party Conference at Bristol in November 1898, T.L. Corbet stated:

"That in the opinion of this Conference, the introduction by the Government of a Bill to establish a Roman Catholic University in Ireland would be disastrous to the prospects of the Unionist Party" (107).

During the conference, attempts to introduce compromise amendments were consistently shouted down: "That this Conference is content to leave the question (of a Roman Catholic University) in the hands of Her Majesty's Government" - (No! No!)" (108).

V. BALFOUR AND THE STRUGGLE FOR EDUCATIONAL JUSTICE 1899-1908

Haldane continued to work with Ilbert on the Irish University Bill, and by 23 December was able to inform Balfour that a draft copy was ready for his inspection (109). By mid January 1899, Haldane was becoming concerned about the survival of the scheme and wrote to Balfour pointing out that,

"...I have not heard from you since you returned the draft Bill... I have conjectured that you want to say something in Manchester about the policy of the Bill, and to know whether it has been adopted in Dublin" (110).

In Cabinet, opposition to the Irish scheme increased and Balfour attempted to appeal for compromise by stating that the establishment of two new teaching Universities, one for Catholics in Dublin, and one for Protestants in Belfast was a just solution (111), but by

6 February, despite Haldane's continuing work (112), the scheme was dropped:

"Next to my desire to improve Higher Education in Ireland, my strongest motive in taking, at some personal inconvenience, the course I have done in this long drawn out controversy is to save Trinity College, and if Trinity College regards itself so seriously menaced by my proposal, any reasonable prospect of settling the question is seriously imperilled" (113).

Throughout 1899, Balfour persisted in pressing home the view that a reform of the Irish higher education system was essential (114). He never regarded the issue as a party political matter and felt that the cause had become entangled in sectarian bigotry on both sides of the House. His despair can be seen in a letter written in June 1899:

"...the Irish University Question... is a subject which for many years I have desired to see settled, but the settlement of which I frankly admit seems further off than ever... This is in no case a 'party' question - some leading members of the Opposition e.g. Morley and Edward Grey supporting this view ...there are some of my colleagues who are doubtful about its immediate advantages and there is a very large number probably a majority who think that whatever the merits of the scheme, it is hopeless and therefore inopportune to press it at the present time..." (115).

Following the Unionist Government's election victory in 1900, a Commission of Inquiry was established in March 1901 (116) to examine higher education. The Commission, headed by Lord Robertson, who was vehemently anti-Catholic, spent from September 1901 to June 1902 hearing witnesses (117). Immediately following the composition of the Commission, Balfour reiterated his views:

"...my view is that however regrettable it may be, you will not see the needs of Irish education satisfied unless you follow in the case of the higher and University education of Ireland the course which you have been driven whether you like it or not, to take in the case of primary and of secondary education... I earnestly press upon the House, irrespective of those religious prejudices which stand like a wall

in the way of progress, to consider whether it is desirable that we should continue to starve the education, not only of the Roman Catholics, but of the Protestants in the north of Ireland..." (118).

The Robertson Commission Report appeared on 23 February 1903, and was signed by all except one member (119), although nearly all the participants added reservations. The Commission argued that a Catholic university was impracticable. It suggested that a clearly defined religious university would simply produce a demand from other religious groups for similar treatment (120). As a result, it proposed the establishment of one Catholic College within a collegiate arrangement under the umbrella of the Royal University (which would include the Queen's Colleges) as the best possible solution. However, the Colleges of Maynooth and Magee were not to be allowed affiliation although Queen's College, Belfast (but not Galway and Cork) would receive a much greater financial package (121). Catholic opinion about the proposals was muted and an air of despondency prevailed following publication. Reservations about the proposals were clearly aired in the report. Dr William Walsh, (122) Archbishop of Dublin had made his opposition known in the pamphlet 'Trinity College and the University of Dublin', written in March 1902 (123). As the Robertson Commission Report was to note, "...the proposal now under consideration has received no support from any Roman Catholic witness except as something which might be taken in the meantime, in default of better things" (124). However, by October 1903, the work of George Wyndham and Sir Anthony MacDonnell set the scene for a new initiative. Ilbert wrote to Bryce:

"I hear MacDonnell, whom I saw the other day, was very full of his Irish University scheme and [?] very hopeful about Wyndham bringing in a Bill... I told him that I thought it would take a much [greater?] effort to carry such a Bill" (125).

Wyndham now suggested that a Collegiate University composed of three institutions all of equal status (126) would be the best way forward. An appeal by Lord Dunraven to his fellow protestants to support Wyndham's proposals failed (127). Balfour's dilemma was clear: to agree to additional funding for Queen's College, Belfast which was demanded following Wyndham's statement, would have meant implementing part of the Robertson Commission proposals without establishing a Catholic College. As a result, Wyndham responding to a question from John Redmond, withdrew the scheme on 3 February 1904:

"The Government do not propose to bring in any measure dealing with the University Question now, and I think the Government are right... My views are that Ireland needs greater opportunities for higher education, but that they cannot be obtained until there is a substantial agreement between all parties interested in Ireland" (128).

Haldane in despair responded to Wyndham's statement by suggesting that he had been told by Balfour in 1899 that,

"...unless this question of university education was settled, Unionism was a failure. Years had passed, and now they had the stock answer - that the Government could not carry out what some of its members thought was an act of justice to Ireland" (129).

Throughout 1904, the Government reiterated that nothing would be done with regard to the Irish University Question (130).

After 1905, the issue was no longer Balfour's direct concern but his support for reform remained. In March 1906, following the general election defeat of the Unionist Party a second Royal Commission to investigate the University Question was announced. This was the Fry Commission, its members being appointed from 1 June under Sir Edward Fry. The Commission sat until 2 January 1907 and its Report was issued on 12 January. The Report reflected the divided attitude of its members. Some favoured a federation of the five colleges under Dublin

University while the others, including the Chairman, declared for the Robertson scheme (131). Sir Edward Fry and two of his colleagues concluded that the creation of a new college, acceptable to Roman Catholics within the Royal University, as suggested in the Robertson Report was,

"...intrinsically a better scheme than either of those we have been considering. It's adoption will satisfy the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and University College, Dublin, as well as the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork and Galway and Trinity College itself. It thus proceeds along the line of least resistance" (132).

This division could not assist the implementation of a solution. Nevertheless, Sir Anthony MacDonnell, ignoring the Commissions division, had a Bill drafted which would give effect to the proposals which Chief Baron Palles had appended to the report. Catholics became alarmed at this proposal as it appeared that the Palles proposals for a federal solution would enhance Protestant control. However, on 25 January 1907, just two days before Augustine Birrell was sworn in as Chief Secretary for Ireland, Bryce announced that the Government intended to introduce an Irish University Bill. Balfour declared: "He shouts "No surrender" at the top of his voice and he nails his flag to someone else's mast - a most felicitous picture of courage and discretion" (133). Bryce's scheme envisaged an enlarged Dublin University to the status of a National University with Trinity College, the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast and a new College in Dublin incorporated into the framework. Under the scheme, affiliation of Galway and the Arts Faculty at Maynooth could take place, although there would be no representation on the Senate. For Catholics, the scheme fell far short of the Robertson proposals and in any case, doubt was expressed about Bryce's authority to make such a statement (134). Opposition to Bryce's proposals quickly emerged with Protestant

defence committees being formed (135), and reference to an Irish University Bill in the King's speech only inflamed matters. Alongside Irish Nationalist anger over the Irish Council's Bill (136), the issue of university education only exacerbated a difficult situation for the Government: "Balfour is losing control of his Party" (137). By June 1907, both Bills had been withdrawn and Birrell who had disliked Bryce's proposals announced on 3 July 1907 that he would re-examine the University question with a view to publishing a new Bill. By the end of the year Birrell was experiencing difficulty in formulating a sound measure, as Courtney Ilbert suggested, "I am afraid he (Birrell) is making a bad mess of his University Bill" (138). On 31 March 1908, Birrell who had used Haldane's proposals of 1898 as the basis for his scheme, introduced his Irish Universities Bill. The scheme which sought to abolish the Royal University of Ireland, proposed to establish a new college in Dublin (or on equal footing with Trinity), incorporating the new college and the colleges of Galway and Cork into a single University. Queen's College, Belfast would then become a separate university in its own right. Both universities had to be undenominational to receive state aid.

Balfour welcomed Birrell's Bill suggesting that 'a better plan could not be devised' (139), and criticised Bryce for his original scheme which would not have gained widespread support. Although casting doubt over the total exclusion of the Government from all appointments to professorships (140), he concluded that,

"...I do not believe that any of his (Birrell's) predecessors in office could have proposed so good a plan with a chance of its being accepted - by which I mean that I think the opinion, both Roman Catholic and Protestant in Ireland has greatly modified, matured and developed since the question first came to the front about twenty years ago" (141).

VI. CONCLUSION

The Act of 1908 may have been Birrell's achievement but it was the product of the Balfour-Haldane scheme of 1898, for as Courtney Ilbert suggested to James Bryce:

"...about Birrell's University Bill we are both in agreement. It was well received and of course involved Balfour [?], being the scheme which he and Haldane concocted" (142).

The legislation ended the nationwide university framework prevalent for over sixty years. Birrell's Act ultimately recognised the polarization of Ireland's religious and political groups at a time when the Home Rule issue was once more a matter for debate. It was an Act which reflected the growing division between the north and south and thereby pre-empted the political controversies surrounding the introduction of the third Home Rule Bill in 1912. His commitment to the cause of Irish education was to have far reaching effects and would eventually explain his decision to press ahead with the comprehensive education reform of 1902.

It was upon the Home Rule issue that the Unionist alliance of 1895-1905 was forged but it was to be on the issue of education that its frailty was to be highlighted, first in Ireland and then during the passage of the Education Act in 1902. His cause was the promotion and preservation of Conservatism and while promises of educational reform offered the potential for a deal with Irish Nationalists, he remained committed to unavoidable reform in true Peelite fashion. Unionism effectively clouded the political scene for him, bringing with it the religious complexities which invariably forced him to clarify initial statements to satisfy non-conformist sentiment. His statement in the House of Commons in August 1889 (143) and his subsequent actions during the passage of the Education Act of 1902 was

that of a Conservative rather than a Unionist politician. The act of 1902 was essentially a victory for the Church of England and while the politics of Ireland greatly concerned him, the direct link for that educational success emanated from his own practical concern to settle the issue. Importantly however, the Irish Universities Act of 1908 was not for Balfour a Unionist solution to higher education. Although hailed as a success at the time, the settlement pre-empted the subsequent division of Ireland in 1921. In reality, Balfour had never contemplated a mixed university concept. He believed that a redress of Catholic grievances could only be solved within the context of a religious framework, but logic determined that a remedy would only be forthcoming upon the basis of identified need. It was upon the basis of this principle that his remarks (144) during the debate on the Appropriation Bill in August 1889 have to be seen. The subsequent 1908 Act has its origins in his original statement to the House of Commons some nineteen-years earlier and illustrates an impressive degree of consistency. The concept of a mixed Irish University was never in the realms of practical politics for him and for two reasons; first, it would have been too closely associated with Gladstone's Home Rule Bills although for Balfour that was not a prior consideration. While acknowledging the importance of higher education in Ireland and the resulting Catholic grievance, he saw education as a useful framework within which a clear moral complaint could be dealt with, and also regarded it but also as a means of controlling nationalist hostility following the collapse of the home rule bill. Second, the Catholic hierarchy in seeking to establish a higher education institution based upon Catholic principles exacerbated the religious divide ensuring that reform would "proceed along the line of least resistance" (145).

The implementation of Birrell's scheme brought to a successful conclusion an issue with which Balfour had persisted. His involvement

in Irish affairs is significant, for it highlighted a part of his character and political mastery over details and events. His vision of educational reform had been motivated by political considerations. While accepting Catholic education demands he believed that reform would halt the impetus of the Home Rule movement and at the same time preserve British institutional control. He believed that educational reform in Ireland provided the opportunity to remove or reduce those forces which threatened to undermine the foundations upon which control rested.

What events in Ireland illustrated over a twenty year period was Balfour's genuine interest in educational matters once the political need for it had been established. It provided him with the opportunity to show his willingness to master the details of a complicated question in which most of his colleagues were not interested; it allowed him to demonstrate his clear diplomatic skills when dealing with people whose religious enthusiasm was greater than his own; it provided clear evidence of his willingness to see an issue through to the end (when he is often depicted as inert); and it reflected his willingness to associate others in his task, irrespective of their political background, when they showed evidence of expert knowledge. Ireland enabled Balfour to deal with the politics of education and subsequently to transfer his expertise to the intricacy of the English system.

CHAPTER TWO FOOTNOTES

1. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 187, Col. 758, 28 August 1889.
2. Trinity College, Dublin received its charter of incorporation in 1592.
3. Sir William Temple, Fourth Provost of Trinity College.
4. Denis Caulfield Heron passed the scholarship examination for Trinity College but was refused entry because he had failed to receive communion in a Church of England service prior to the examination. Heron was a Catholic!
5. Non-sectarian: no religious topic was to be referred to in teaching.
6. Cited in: Walsh, William J. The Irish University Question: The Catholic Case, Dublin 1897, page 404.
7. Ibid., page 405.
8. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 187, Col. 338, 30 March 1908.
9. This allowed for students to obtain ordinary scholarships with a religious test. This scheme did not apply for the holding of Fellowships where the religious test remained in tact.
10. Henry Fawcett, b.1833; educated at Trinity Hall Cambridge; blinded by a shooting accident, 1858. Professor of political economy at Cambridge, 1863-84; M.P. 1865-84; post-master general, 1880-4; d.1884.
11. Walsh, op. cit., page 38.
12. Ensor, R.C.K. England 1870-1914, Oxford University Press 1974, page 24.
13. Walsh, op., cit., page 145.
14. See Lyons F.S.L. Ireland since the Famine, Fontana Press 1985, page 96.
15. In total there were twenty-nine fellowships, which were distributed among the teaching staffs of certain 'approved colleges'. Of these fellowships, fifteen (each worth £400 a year) were regularly allotted to the Catholic University, which from 1882 onwards, was known as University College, Dublin.
16. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, entered the Disraeli Cabinet in August 1877 as Chief Secretary for Ireland. In February 1878, he succeeded Lord Carnarvon as Colonial Secretary (James Lowther succeeded Hicks Beach as Irish Secretary, but without a seat in the Cabinet). In Lord Salisbury's second Cabinet, formed in August 1886, Hicks Beach became Chief Secretary for Ireland a second time, being replaced by Balfour in March 1887.

17. Earl St. Aldwyn (Hicks Beach) D2455, PCC/52 'Memorandum on Intermediate and University Education in Ireland' 24 December 1877, Gloucestershire Public Record Office. There is a handwritten memorandum attached to this document in which Hicks Beach emphasized the need for the Conservative Party to grasp the University Question nettle in order to win over Catholic public opinion: "There is no legislative measure which would have the same effect in calling this feeling (i.e. Catholic support for the Conservative Party) into action as a measure which would, even to a moderate extent meet the wishes of the Irish people on the subject of University Education". See also a series of eight letters from Archbishop Walsh to Hicks-Beach between 1886-7, D2455, PCC/53 and William Delany's 'Memorandum regarding the Catholic University College, Dublin and its claims to Public Endowment' (July 1885), D2455 PCC/53.
18. Lyons F.S.L. op., cit., page 97.
19. Balfour became First Lord of the Treasury in October 1891, relinquishing the post of Chief Secretary for Ireland to W.L. Jackson.
20. On 9 September 1887 at the opening of the prosecution of William O'Brien, one of the leaders of the Plan of Campaign, a crowd of some 8000 gathered at Michelstown, County Cork. In the riot which followed three people were killed. A verdict of wilful murder was returned by a jury against an inspector and three constables, but the Government refused to prosecute.
21. Sir Patrick Keenan was head of the Education Department in Ireland.
22. B.L. Add. Ms., 49826, Folio 65-67, Balfour to Sir Redvers Buller, 11 August 1887. Sir Redvers Buller (1839-1908) became Commander in Chief of British Forces in South Africa during the Boer War.
23. Memorandum on Catholic University Education October 1887 in Williams R.H. ed page 221 Salisbury-Balfour Correspondance 1869-1892, Hertfordshire Record Society 1988.
24. Ibid., page 221.
25. The resolutions stated:
 - (a) By the establishment, in an exclusively Catholic, or in a common University, of one or more Colleges, conducted on purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in all the privileges and emoluments enjoyed by other Colleges of whatsoever denomination or character;
 - (b) By admitting the students of such Catholic Colleges, equally with the students of non-Catholic Colleges, to University honours, prizes and other adavnatages; and,
 - (c) By securing to Catholics in the Senate, or other supreme University Council, in a common University, an adequate number of representatives enjoying the confidence of the Catholic body.

26. Gladstone, William Ewart (1809-98). Born in Liverpool, educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. Entered Commons in 1832 as Tory M.P. for Newark, represented Oxford University as a 'Peelite', 1847-65, and, as a Liberal, South Lancashire 1865-8, Greenwich 1868-80, Midlothian 1880-95. He became leader of the Liberal Party in 1866 and Prime Minister, 1868-74, 1880-85, 1886 and 1892-4.
27. Walsh, William, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin 1885-1921.
28. B.L. Add. Ms., 49818, folio 96, Gladstone to Walsh, 15 May 1889.

"Dear Lord Archbishop,
The resolutions reached me safely... I was desirous to write at greater length than I have been able to write... I will simply say that in point of Primary Education I think there is a gross inequality in the comparative treatment of Great Britain and Ireland; that higher education also requires further legislation; and finally, that I fear in substance not much may be done until... the day of Home Rule".
29. Ibid.,.
30. B.L. Add. Ms., 49818, folio 161, Sir Patrick Keenan to Balfour, 22 July 1889.
31. Ibid., folio 152-153.
32. See Lyons, op cit, page 86.
33. Balfour Papers, op cit, Folio 100.
34. Ibid., folio 101.
35. Ibid., folio 153.
36. Ibid., folio 152: "For many a long year, I have represented to Chief Secretary after Chief Secretary, the necessity of some fundamental reform in our system of Model Schools. It is an undoubted scandal, for instance, in a Catholic town like Athy, not to have one solitary Catholic pupil in attendance at its model schools..."
37. See Chapter One.
38. See Taylor, A.I., The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902, unpublished Ph.D., Cambridge University, 1981, page 89.
39. Cranborne, Viscount, later 4th Marquess of Salisbury (1861-1947). Eldest son of Lord Salisbury and first cousin of Arthur Balfour.
40. See Chapter One.
41. Taylor, op., cit., page 89.
42. Balfour was Leader of the Commons and First Lord of the Treasury, 1891-2 and between 1895-1902.

43. P.D. 3rd Series, Vol. 340, Col. 743, Mr Sexton (Belfast, W), 28 August 1889.
44. Balfour, Ibid., A.J. Balfour, Col. 746.
45. Ibid., Parnell C.S. (Cork City), Col. 762-3.
46. Ibid., A.J. Balfour, Col. 759.
47. Ibid.,.
48. Ibid.,.
49. Ibid.,.
50. Ibid., Col. 762.
51. Ibid., Parnell, Col. 762.
52. Ibid., Balfour, Col. 762.
53. See MacDonagh, Oliver, Ireland: The Union and its Aftermath, Allen and Unwin 1977, page 43.
54. Ibid, page 51.
55. The Land Act of 1903 was truly revolutionary in carrying forward the principle of land purchase. It encouraged landlords to sell entire estates and that sales should take place if three-quarters of the tenants on any given estate agreed. See Lyons op cit, p.219.
56. See Assessment, page 308.
57. Under the terms of the Ashbourne Act of 1885 the government agreed to provide £5 million to enable tenants to borrow the whole of the purchase price, with repayment over 49 years.
58. See Beckett, J.C., The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923, Faber 1966, page 406.
59. Sir Anthony MacDonnell under-secretary at Dublin Castle (i.e. head of the Irish Administration). The Land Act of 1903 had been the work of Wyndham-MacDonnell and Balfour and following its success MacDonnell produced in 1904 a scheme which looked forward to the creation of financial and legislative councils for Ireland, each with considerable powers of local government and the ability to raise and spend identified revenue. MacDonnell believed he had the tacit agreement of Wyndham and Balfour (see Ensor, op cit, page 359). However, Wyndham publicly repudiated MacDonnell, but his explanation that he had always kept his superiors informed led to the Chief Secretary's resignation on 6th March 1905.
60. Cited in Beckett, op cit, page 408.
61. See Chapter One.

62. B.L. Add. Ms. 49709, folio 305, Balfour to C.H. Firth, 9 September 1889.
Balfour's commitment to educational justice is also important:

"I should never think of doing something for Catholic Education without doing something for the Presbyterians as well. The Church of Ireland have all they want in Trinity College. But I fear they will not keep it unless something be done to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the R.C.'s. "Balfour to [?] 24 September 1889, B.L. Add Ms 49828, Folio 355-6.

63. Lord Spencer to C.R. Spencer, 10 September 1889, see Gordon, Peter ed., 'The Red Earl: The Papers of the Fifth Earl Spencer 1835-1910' Vol II, Northants Record Society 1986, page 158. Lord Spencer was Irish Viceroy from 1880-2 and again in 1886. Between 1892-5 he was *First Lord of the Admiralty*. He became known as the 'Red Earl' from the colour of his beard.

64. P.D. 3rd Series, Vol. 340, Col. 768, Talbot, J.G., 28 August 1889; my underlining.

65. Walsh, op. cit., page 193.
Balfour had also stated that, "The Government have never suggested establishing a Roman Catholic University. The method that I have always had in view for carrying out our object is a Catholic College under the Queen's University. The difference is very influential as regards Irish public opinion, but I do not know that it would have much affection in England", Balfour to Mr Fisher, 19 September 1889. B.L. Add Ms 49828, Folio 343-4.

Also see Balfour to [?] 23 September 1889: "...My own view is that there ought not to be a Catholic University with powers of giving Degrees, but there ought to be a Catholic College in connexion with the Queen's University". B.L. Add. Ms 49829, Folio 353.

66. Ibid., page 197.

Writing to Redvers Buller on April 26 1887, Balfour expressed his irritation with the Presbyterians: "Another matter of importance that deserves our consideration, is how, we are to fill up the vacancy, caused by the Duke of Leinster's death on the Board of Education. The Presbyterians are always grumbling at the inadequate manner in which they are represented in the various official functions in Ireland. I have very little sympathy with this truly Irish practice of confusing questions of Creed with every question of Administration and Politics".
B.L. Add. Ms 49826, Folio 51-55.

67. Ibid., page 197.

68. Ibid., pages 199-200.

69. Ibid., page 203.

70. Ibid., page 203.

71. Ibid., see page 501.

72. Ibid., page 501.
73. Ibid., page 501.
74. Balfour to Salisbury, 21 September 1891 in Williams, R.H., op. cit., page 350.
75. The Dublin Evening Mail, 22 September 1891.
76. B.L. Add. Ms., 49826, folio 208-209, op., cit.,.
77. Ibid.,.
78. Balfour to Salisbury, 23 September 1891 in Williams, R.H., op. cit. page 355.
79. Balfour to Salisbury, 28 September 1891, *ibid.*, page 357.
80. Ibid., page 357.
81. 16 October 1895.
82. Episcopal Declaration on the Irish University Question, 14 October 1896: Within the Declaration, there is a clear sense of loss with regard to Balfour: "...Catholics of Ireland have a grievance... no-where has it been stated with greater force, nor the intellectual and material impoverishment resulting from it set forth with greater clearness, than by the preent First Lord of the Treasury...".
83. This was a four point Declaration:
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 all education advantages afforded by the State.
 3. That a large number of Irishmen are at present precluded from the enjoyment of 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 examination, Government, and representation.'
84. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 45, Col. 240, A.J. Balfour, 22 January 1897.

85. Ibid,. Balfour's point here, was one he also made during his Partick Speech. The point is that Catholics were not attending 'existing institutions' because their bishops had instructed them not to attend since the Synod of Thurles in 1847 which had been backed by the Pope. Apparently Balfour was unaware of this situation.
86. Ibid,.
87. Morrissey, Thomas, J. Towards a National University: William Delany, S.J. (1835-1924), Wolfhound Press 1968, page 155.
88. Ibid, see page 155.
89. B.L. Add. Ms. 49852, folio 80, Balfour to Lord Bishop, 22 March 1898.
90. Haldane, Richard Burdon An Autobiography, Hodder and Stoughton, 1929, pages 128-129.
91. Ibid., page 129.
- During this conversation with Balfour, Sir Michael Hicks Beach was sent for. He suggested that, "...if a proper scheme could be agreed on there was £50,000 a year left out of the Irish Church Surplus which could be drawn on for it".
92. Haldane, Ms 5904, Folio 127, Haldane to Balfour 16 October 1897, National Library of Scotland.
93. Sandars, -Ms eng. hist. c730. Marked Confidential: The Irish University Question: Memorandum written by Mr Haldane at the request of Mr Arthur Balfour.
94. Ibid,.
95. Ibid,.
96. Ibid., page 168.
97. CAB 37/48, Vol. 48, November 12 1898. Irish University Education, 4 pages, A.J. Balfour.
98. Ibid,.
99. Ibid,.
100. Ibid,.
101. Ibid,.
102. see Beckett op., cit,.
103. Ashbourne's Land Act, op., cit,.
104. Land Act of 1903, op., cit,.

105. Cited in, Pugh, Martin, The Making of Modern British Politics 1867-1939, Blackwell 1982, page 62.
106. See Mackintosh, John P, The Government and Politics of Great Britain, Hutchinson, 1977.
107. See The Times, 30 November 1898.
108. Ibid,.
109. Haldane, Ms 5904, Folio 176. Haldane to Balfour, 23 December 1898.
110. Haldane, Ms 5904, Folio 179. Haldane to Balfour, 3 January 1899.
111. See Morrissey, op. cit., page 169.
112. Haldane, Ms 5904, Folio 187, Ibid,.
113. B.L. Add. Ms. 49709, folio 90-2, Balfour to Edward Carson, 22 February 2899.
114. "...I want to get the Roman Catholic population of Ireland educated": B.L. Add. Ms 49853, folio 60-64, Balfour to Professor Park.
115. Balfour letter dated 8 June 1899. Difficult to determine to whom the letter is written, B.L. Add. Ms 49853, folio 126. Balfour continued to define his aim: "The essence of my plan was to create a University which, so far as its constitution was concerned, would be as unsectarian as Oxford or Cambridge or Trinity College, Dublin, but which should have a governing body as distinctly Roman in its general complexion as the governing body of those other Universities is Protestant.
116. The Robertson Commission Report: See Appendix I.
117. The information supplied by the Robertson Commission was to be much used by Birrell in 1908.
118. See The Times, 28 April 1901.
119. Professor Dickie did not sign. He believed the conclusion to be denominational and not in line with previous attempts at legislation. See Appendix I.
120. See Morrissey, op., cit., page 194.
121. Queen's College, Belfast was to receive more buildings, staff and finance.
122. Dr William Walsh op., cit,.
123. Walsh, William Trinity College and the University of Dublin, Dublin 31 March 1902.
124. Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland 1902, page 37. See Appendix I.

125. Ms. Bryce 13, folio 103-6, Ilbert to Bryce, 4 November 1903.
126. Trinity College, Queen's College, Belfast and a third College acceptable to Catholics. See Appendix II.
127. The Times, 1 January 1904. Queen's College, Belfast wanted an increase in funding, in line with the Robertson proposals before a national solution was dealt with. See Appendix III.
128. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 129, Col. 233-235, 3 February 1904 (Wyndham).
129. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 129, Col. 235, 3 February (Haldane).
130. See Grant in Aid debate, Queen's College, Belfast, 3 August 1904.
131. For Federation: Sir Thomas Raleigh, Dr Douglas Hyde, Dr Dennis Coffey, Professor Henry Jackson: Against Federation and for the Robertson scheme: Sir Edward Fry, Professor Butcher, Sir Arthur Rucker. Mr S.B. Kellcher of Trinity College was opposed to both: See Appendix IV and V.
132. Royal Commission on Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin 1907, page 36. See Notes Appended to the Report.
133. Cited in Morrissey, op., cit., page 232.
134. Ibid., Many Catholics believed that Bryce did not have Cabinet approval.
- James Bryce was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1892-94, President of the Board of Trade, 1894-5, Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1905-07 and Ambassador to the USA 1907-1913.
135. See Morrissey, op., cit., pages 233-4.
136. Seen by Irish Nationalists as an irrelevance to the issue of Home Rule.
137. Ms Bryce 13, folio 124-127, Ilbert to Bryce, 8 May 1907.
138. Ibid., folio 132-6, Ilbert to Bryce, 30 January 1908.
- Augustine Birrell was born in 1860. He was President of the Board of Education from December 1905 to February 1907, when he was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland.
139. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 187, Col. 354, 31 March 1908 (Balfour).
140. Ibid.,.
141. Ibid.,.
142. Ms Bryce 13, Folio 144-149, Ilbert to Bryce, 9 April 1908.
143. P.D. 3rd Series op.,. cit.,.
144. Ibid.,.

145. See Royal Commission on Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin 1907. Notes Appended to the Report, page 36. Appendix V.

CHAPTER THREE

I. THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM 1896-1897

Balfour's commitment to the cause of educational reform was clear within the Irish context, but what was his attitude to English educational issues by the end of 1895?

The issue of education during the period under discussion, became entangled in what appeared to be three differing objectives. First the need as Balfour saw it, to aid voluntary schools; second, the wish on the part of Sir John Gorst to restructure the administration of education in response to the Bryce Commission (1); and finally, persistent attempts by the Church Party to undermine Cowper-Temple arrangements (2). Importantly, it was this confusion over aims which inevitably made education a political issue and which brought Balfour into the fray. Publicly at least, these three issues reflected the general strands of thought about education prevalent at the time. They were to remain both at the time and to researchers of educational history (3), the most visible influences affecting the fate of Gorst's Bill. However, these issues at least for Balfour, became fused with more threatening and pertinent forces at the time in particular socialism and the increasing complexities of state finance (4). Both threatened institutional control in different ways and both found common cause within the issue of education.

Balfour's attitude to the issue of education emanated from two aspects of his concern over the reappearance of socialism. First, as identified in the 'The Foundations of Belief', the school boards with their secular base were he believed, potential breeding grounds for anti-state activity. Second, the rising level of popular discontent as

seen on the streets of London with increased trade union activity. Unemployment remained a serious problem following the slump of 1894 (5), while after 1896 price rises meant increased difficulties for the working class. While trade unionism offered no answer to the fluctuations of the economy from slump to boom, socialism it seemed became attractive because its teachings offered the prospect of a planned economy. For socialists then, slumps were symptoms of an unsound economic system and as a result, within the ranks of the trade union movement, there appeared an increased demand for nationalisation and a planned economy. Consequently, within the trade union movement during the 1880's and early 1890's, a struggle for the direction between the traditional union view of amendments to the system to aid the working class and the socialists who sought to use the state to encourage further central planning and control over all aspects of peoples lives took place.

Balfour always regarded socialism as a foreign inspired doctrine which should not be allowed to, "...terrorise us into any such absolutely fatal admission as that it is the duty of the state to find remunerative work for everyone desiring it" (6).

In other words, just as in Ireland, the link between education and social disturbance had been made in Balfour's mind (7). In Ireland, the threat to institutional control had been the product of the Home Rule movement and the implied promises of Gladstonian policy; it was education which was to provide him with the opportunity to offer concession for control and stability. In England, the prominent anti-statist force for Balfour was socialism; it was again to be education which he was to recognise as a useful mechanism for attacking what he believed to be breeding grounds of secular-socialist

cells, in the form of the school boards. Here, as in Ireland, a sequence of events unconnected with education, provided the framework for understanding his attitude, both to Gorst's Bill and to later educational events.

Following the economic slump of 1886 (8), socialists began to organise unskilled workers and as a result, open air meetings in London continued to grow. On 13 November 1887 in Trafalgar Square ('Bloody Sunday') a pitched battle between police and the crowd took place. Two years later, in the London Dock Strike, the first successful attempt to mobilise unskilled labour took place. This was followed by the miner's strike and lock out of 1893, which included a riot at Featherstone (9), and the engineers strike of 1897 lasting seven months.

It is against this background that Balfour's actions in relation to Gorst's Bill might be more easily understood. Beatrice Webb was to note in her diary for July 1906 a conversation she had with him, in which he had stated that "...I am a conservative... I wish to maintain existing institutions" (10). It is this 'pure conservatism' plus his opportunism which lay at the heart of his attitude to Gorst's educational proposal. What he was about to embark upon was support for administrative in the educational structure not revolutionary overhaul. His first indication of support for the Bill as will be seen, stemmed from a desire to tackle the secular-socialist breeding grounds as identified in the form of the school boards. However, his more active involvement in finally taking over control of the education topic was largely the product of Gorst's inability to stay within Cabinet guidelines and this turned, what should have been an administrative reorganisation, into a political conflict of

extraordinary proportions. The political arguments after all were similar and revolved around issues of financial support and religious control. In particular, the Church of England and its schools, suffering financial hardship under the 17s 6d restriction (11) and the abolition of school fees under the 1891 Education Act, were unable to compete with the school boards. The Act of 1891 stemmed from Salisbury's (12) desire to outflank Liberal plans for government support through taxation for all elementary schools, including denominational ones although subject to the supervision of locally elected representatives. The legislation probably went beyond what Balfour had wanted and could only be a short term palliative. In order to survive, the Church of England schools had become dependent on voluntary contributions, unlike the board schools some of which almost seemed to have unlimited access to the rates. It was an issue which was not simply about finance (although that dominated debates); it was an issue which had its origins in the traditional rivalry between the established Church and nonconformity, dating from the seventeenth century. For the Irish, the arguments about education centred upon religious (Catholic) control with financial considerations a secondary issue; in England, the system of education which prevailed, a product of Forster's 1870 Act, was essentially a compromise between two religious groups, but it was a structure which resisted likely amendments.

The established Church was an institution which formed an important part of Balfour's Conservative philosophy (13), for as a member of the Church of Scotland he saw it as a stabilizing force in society. He was always prepared to rally to the point at which Conservatism might be threatened or undermined, and education was an issue which, although not exciting for the politician of the day was nonetheless a topic

which inflamed passions in a way that Irish questions did. Nevertheless, education was an issue which by 1895, with or without the Bryce Commission, was in serious need of re-examination (14).

Educational historians have tended to emphasize Balfour's boredom with education (15) and with the details associated with it. The issues raised by the Bryce Commission and their likely repercussions required careful consideration on the part of all politicians, not just Balfour, to fully appreciate the likely consequences. Even then, the political impact of educational reform were not fully understood until June 1896 when Balfour withdrew Gorst's Bill. In reality both politics and policy had to match otherwise he knew that the delivery of the policy would break down. Given the nature of the Unionist coalition Balfour's attitude to education had to take account of its likely impact upon the balance of forces within the government.

Philosophically, Balfour did establish a rationale for what appeared to be his dislike of the school board system. He had always been interested in the debate between science and religion. In his book 'The Foundations of Belief', Balfour rejected the materialist or naturalist explanation of the universe with its scientific assumptions. In its place, Balfour argued that,

"...when once we have realised the scientific truth that at the root of every rational process lies an irrational one; that reason, from a scientific point of view, is itself a natural product; and that the whole material on which it works is due to causes, physical, physiological, and social, which it neither creates nor controls, we shall be driven in mere self defence to hold that, behind these non-rational forces, and above them, guiding them by slow degrees, and, as it were, with difficulty, to a rational issue, stands that Supreme Reason in whom we must believe, if we are to believe in anything" (16).

Within this argument lies the distinction between the church schools

of a God, and the board schools of the naturalist. Balfour never viewed the, "...ordinary man's capacity to think systematically about religion or anything else" (17), educational reform in favour of the church schools, would at least underpin the established theological basis to counter, "...the spread of dangerous half truths among ordinary people by the school boards" (18). Education therefore had a moral role to play in the stabilizing of society, but educational reform, on a scale implied by the Bryce Commission would, in the short term be impracticable. As Raymond suggested: "...Nature is herself a desperate Tory; she works by evolution, not revolution; her innovations are few, her imitations innumerable" (19).

Speaking in Manchester in January 1895, Balfour outlined his thoughts on religious education:

"Education according to some people consists merely in such amounts of secular learning as can be instilled into the average child between the ages, let us say, of five to twelve. That is not the view I take of education. If it is to be used in its wide sense it includes and ought to include everyone of those forces, be they forces of scholastic education, be they forces of religious education, which mould the future citizen and the future man" (20).

The voluntary schools were the only institutions capable of delivering 'the future citizen'. He concluded by linking his dislike for the naturalist or materialist approach of the board schools, to the need to support the voluntary schools:

"...I entirely deny that the Board School is the normal and the proper system of managing education. I consider that it is and ought to be merely the supplement to Voluntary Schools, where Voluntary Schools fail to do their duty" (21).

Balfour's defence of the church schools was not activated from his own philosophical position but from Arthur Acland's hostility to them.

Acland had been appointed Vice President of the Council in 1892 with a seat in Gladstone's Cabinet. It was a position he retained in Lord Rosebery's government until June 1895. Throughout his brief but productive reign, the financial disparity between board and voluntary sector became even more apparent. While Acland and his Permanent Secretary, George Kekewich privately welcomed the development, Balfour and the Unionist Party saw it as a significant challenge to the voluntary sector. The infiltration of the Department of Education with Liberal ideas was just another example of the pervasiveness of socialism. When Balfour looked at the department and its key figures such as Acland and Kekewich, he saw red. They were in his mind examples of that breed of individual which he associated with in Ireland, namely nationalists. However, as Chief Secretary he had been able to legislate through coercion as a means of controlling and undermining anti-statist forces but in different guises. It was an attitude to Liberalism which was to remain with him and effectively colour much of his dealings with Campbell-Bannerman and Henry Asquith when in Opposition. When Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister, Balfour believed that he and his government would be swept away by the tide of socialist revolution:

"CB is a mere cork dancing on a torrent which he cannot control, and what is going on here is a faint echo of the same movement which has produced massacres in St Petersburg, riots in Vienna and Socialist processions in Berlin" (22).

This was an absurd view, nonetheless it became a key element in his thinking and provides an important insight into understanding his attachment to education. By 1895 the battle against the pervading forces of socialism and anarchy were well entrenched in his mind. His subsequent attack on the school board system was not essentially the

product of a defence of the qualities of the voluntary sector, he was all too aware of their deficiencies, rather it was part of what he saw as a process of continuing forays against the enemies of the state. Financial amendments to relieve the voluntary school system were certainly required, but largely as a means of creating an educational structure underpinned by a curriculum which countered the naturalist or scientific approach of the board schools. Balfour's dislike of the board schools stemmed not simply from the clear financial advantages they had over the voluntary schools, but from a belief that the voluntary schools provided a curriculum which safeguarded institutional control.

The plight of the vountary schools was certainly one which, Balfour considered "...earnestly deserves our attention" (23), so much so that by September 1895 he was writing to his cousin Lord Cranborne that he must "...try and think out some plan for myself" (24). His concern and the concern of many Unionists had been raised by the Department of Education's Circular 321 which had been issued in January 1893 and required Inspectors to report on the 'facilities and buildings of every school they inspected' (25). This Circular caused a storm of protest being seen as an attack upon the voluntary sector, while building regulations for new schools produced in 1894 were tightened up in 1895 (26). To Lord Cranborne and the Church Party, Acland and his Department "was a regular bully" (27).

The return of the Conservatives to power in June 1895 led the archbishops of Canterbury and York to draft a memorial requesting that any new education bill should preserve the religious character of voluntary schools. It also demanded that parents should have the right to determine the religious instruction given to their children and

that no school should be sanctioned as a consequence of the religious views held by teachers or pupils. Following the Archbishops' Memorial in November 1895, which was essentially a compromise between the supporters of increased state funding and those of rate aid, it became clear that a more thorough going reform of the education system would be required.

However, within the Memorial, a new argument emerged for state subvention to overcome the damaging competition between the school boards and the voluntary schools (28). Balfour was already well versed in the prevailing suggestions for checking school board expenditure, both from Lord Cranborne and Sir Henry Craik, the permanent secretary at the Scottish Education Department. During the first Cabinet Committee meeting on 19th November, Balfour argued for a subvention for voluntary schools and a checking clause on school board expenditure (29). However, subvention for the voluntary schools was not the key issue for the Vice President of the Committee of Council Sir John Gorst who, unlike Balfour, sought a thorough overhaul of the educational structure through a single bill dealing with both secondary and elementary education. Indications that such a proposal might be forthcoming had been leaked to Michael Sadler, Director of the Department of Special Inquiries and Reports on Education, via Sir George Kekewich who stated that,

"We have been in the thick of the Voluntary School discussions during the last two days. The plan of the Government is still in embryo and I do not know whether it will amount to... tinkering or will involve a big measure. But it is just on the cards, and only just, that we may attempt to deal with Secondary Education and Primary Education in a single Bill, and next session" (30).

This hint played no part in the meeting between the Anglican

deputation led by the Archbishop of Canterbury with Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire. While Devonshire was able to offer some comfort to the deputation that changes to the 17s 6d limit on parliamentary grants and the rating of schools could be made, the basis of the 1870 Act would not be fundamentally altered. Consequently, subscriptions to voluntary schools would have to remain the primary source of income. However, Gorst and Devonshire, influenced by the Bryce Commission Report of November 1895, sought to develop a draft bill proposal which included a decentralized educational structure based upon the establishment of local education authorities. It is clear that Gorst had wanted to use the expertise of Michael Sadler, a member of the Bryce Commission, to assist in the production of his draft bill, but the Director of the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports was in Germany and unable to assist. Sadler's absence caused a sense of frustration for Gorst, for as he complained to Robert Morant, assistant to Michael Sadler:

"What a bother it is that Sadler is away. Why isn't Sadler here? We have none but him who know the ins and outs of the Secondary Commission, and the facts that will help to guide policy; and now the very moment we want him, he is away. His Secondary Education knowledge is just what we want him for" (31).

Lord Salisbury also expressed his own frustration to the Archbishop's deputation:

"We are in a position of very great difficulty... from the principles and structure of that Act (1870) we cannot now depart. But that does not prevent us from seeing that, in consequence of oversight at the time that Act was passed much of our present difficulty has arisen" (32).

By the end of 1895, Balfour was brought into the education reform debate at two levels. As First Lord of the Treasury, he held

responsibility for the direction of subvention policy and as Chairman of the Cabinet Committee. The Cabinet Committee consisted of the Duke of Devonshire (Chairman), Gorst, Balfour, Salisbury and Cross (33), with the first meeting scheduled for 19th November. Sir John Gorst, presented a 'rough sketch' of a proposed Educational Bill to Balfour on 6 December 1895 (34), which went beyond the agreed terms of reference laid down by the Cabinet Committee (35). He sought the use of the County Authority which had only been in existence since 1888, to supervise education and the devolution of financial responsibility. The proposals not only went outside the constraints which the Cabinet Committee had set, but they also appeared to ignore basic political practicalities. As Balfour noted to Salisbury:

"I enclose a memorandum just received from him (Gorst) which seems to embody the whole result of his labours up to the present time. Personally I think it is quite unsatisfactory, and it is not framed on the lines laid down by the Committee" (36).

Included with Gorst's memorandum to Balfour was a more detailed interpretation of the draft bill by Kekewich. As Gorst was to suggest to Salisbury, there was no difference between his draft proposal and Kekewich's memorandum (37), although Balfour attempted to have two draft Bills produced. Gorst, unwilling to accept the production of two draft bills arranged for the Parliamentary draftsman (38) to draw up one bill (39).

Writing to his Parliamentary Private Secretary, J.S. Sandars, on 13 December 1895, Balfour suggested that,

"I have nothing to correct as regards the order of the Government Bills with which the Government Draftsmen have got to deal... (Employers' Liability Bill) ...and the Education Bill, are probably the two most important measures of the session: it is to be regretted they are also the most backward" (40).

While Balfour disliked what he regarded as school board extravagance, and insisted that a clause which provided additional rating for school boards should be balanced or checked by an equal sum for the voluntary schools but from school board finances (41), he remained aware of the likely impact upon coalition politics the issue would bring. He had already begun the process of trying to allay Unionist fears, particularly those of Joseph Chamberlain, by suggesting that he, not Gorst would be the guarantor of the Bill's ultimate outcome; an outcome which he tended to suggest would be satisfactory to all: "...I can assure you that I had rather do business with you.. even.. when there may be some difference of opinion between us, than with some of my colleagues..." (42). Chamberlain however, despite Balfour's personal guarantees, believed that the very existence of the Unionist coalition was under threat by what he deemed to be unnecessary meddling in education. Writing to the Duke of Devonshire on 16 December 1895, Chamberlain expressed his fears by suggesting that,

"...it may be stated that the mere introduction of such a Bill as proposed would do more to reunite a solid Liberal opposition, and to shatter the Unionist majority than could possibly be accomplished by any other means whatsoever" (43).

When the draft bill emerged on 20 December, it reflected the divergence of opinion within the Cabinet Committee. The Bill comprised some 26 clauses, the first 14 reflecting Gorst and Devonshire's preoccupation with restructuring education upon newly established local education authorities. The remaining 12 clauses emanated from Balfour, Salisbury and Cross, whose primary concern was financial support for the voluntary schools. These clauses therefore reflected the need to check school board extravagance, a direct product of Cranborne and Craik's influence upon Balfour, a subvention to

necessitous schools, repeal of the Cowper-Temple clause and an ending of both school rating and the 17s 6d limit. In a letter to Bernard Mallet, his former private secretary, Balfour made clear his attitude to the draft bill:

"I shall be content if we succeed in saving the voluntary schools: I shall not be content if we fail in this object; and, in my opinion, the whole question should be looked at from this point of view, no extraneous provisions should be introduced into it except with the object of smoothing the passage of an effective measure through the House. Let me add that I am disposed to think that the very large suggestions made by Kekewich and others (with the spirit of which I heartily agree) may, in spite of their magnitude, help, rather than hinder, the progress of the Bill..."(44).

Joseph Chamberlain's opposition both to the Bryce proposals and the draft memoranda of Gorst and Kekewich threatened the Unionist alliance. While Chamberlain had indicated that he would support a scheme for the relief of voluntary schools, the memoranda went beyond his willingness to compromise (45). The potential breakdown of the consensus within the coalition alarmed Balfour (46). He understood clearly the risk the memoranda posed and was willing to seek compromise and concession with Chamberlain in order to provide a financial solution to the plight of the voluntary schools and preserve the coalition. For Balfour, an administrative readjustment to provide the necessary subvention to the voluntary schools remained the priority. As a result, the arguments which emerged at the end of 1895 were dominated by political rather than educational considerations. Both Balfour and Devonshire were therefore willing to drop the more difficult elements of the draft proposal in order to preserve the coalition. However, for Gorst educational considerations were

paramount and while he was also willing to make concessions to Chamberlain on the Cowper-Temple principle and the checking clause (47), he remained adamant that the establishment of local educational authorities were fundamental to educational progress.

Educational reform on a scale proposed by Gorst threatened not only to destabilize the Unionist consensus but also provide cross-party opposition against the Bill. Joseph Chamberlain believed that the Bill would rouse the Liberal's to action. As Asquith stated to a group of non-conformists:

"...for five and twenty years, with the single exception of the legislation of 1876, we have had substantial continuity in our educational administration. If that continuity is to be broken - if this subject, which has hitherto had a happier fortune is to be cast into the cauldron of party controversy - if advantage is going to be taken of a special and possibly a transient, Parliamentary situation to readjust the arrangement in favour of a particular class of schools, without any compensating equivalent in favour of the public - then, gentlemen, I warn those who are responsible that they will be challenged, and that as time goes on they will suffer - reprisals" (48).

The potential schism within the Cabinet Committee and the Cabinet at large did not materialize at the end of 1895 owing to the concessions introduced in order to placate Chamberlain. While it was agreed by the Cabinet in January 1896 (49) to offer financial assistance to the voluntary schools, Balfour remained determined that any financial provision would be sufficient to satisfy the Church Party and his backbenchers.

Balfour believed that aid for the voluntary schools had become imperative but he had yet to be convinced, given the possible political repercussions, that a large all embracing bill would be

practicable. The fact that the collapse of the voluntary school system would probably have been an even greater burden on ratepayers, he was convinced that the disproportionate funding between the voluntary schools and the school boards threatened the entire educational structure and, as he pointed out at Bristol in February 1896:

"...it will be a cruel hardship upon the ratepayers of this country to throw upon them the burden that would be thrown upon them if the Voluntary Schools were destroyed (cheers). In the second place, it is a cruel hardship upon the parents to deprive them of the chance of carrying out elementary education under a system - which I venture to think is the right one (cheers) - a system which does not make this sharp distinction between secular and religious learning, which does not confine religion to the seventh day in the week... And in the third place, they must surely grant that the position of the ratepayer... who has got to pay a school board rate on a scale of extravagance which surpasses anything I know in this country... is a hard one and deserves consideration" (50).

The following day, R.W. Hanbury, Financial Secretary to the Treasury, argued that financial relief of the voluntary schools was essential and that the "...strain for voluntary schools was nearly over" (51). What is clear from the various statements and speeches made at the end of 1895 and the beginning of 1896 is the emphasis on the financial needs of the voluntary school not a whole scale reform of the education system.

Financial relief of the voluntary schools was a simple and understandable attitude for the Unionist Party, but what was to be unveiled took many by surprise. As Henry Lucy the veteran parliamentary observer commentated, "...I don't believe the Tories will have it and the Bill will be cut down to a few concessions to voluntary schools..." (52). Gorst's measure, although agreed to in principle by

the Cabinet Committee, remained a major cause for concern for Cabinet members. On 12 February Gorst prepared a memorandum (53) to clarify and ease concerns. The point at issue, at least for Cabinet members, was not the extent of financial support for the voluntary schools, but the means by which it was to be achieved.

The financial implications for the voluntary schools remained at the heart of Balfour's attitude to the education debate. Subventions which only provided a short term palliative were of little value to him, and Gorst's memorandum failed to satisfy his particular wishes. He had received some backing for his views from Sir Henry Craik who favoured a centrally distributed (Education Department) grant, rather than Gorst's local education authority structure providing subvention through local needs (54). Balfour, although dissatisfied with both Gorst and Craik's suggestions, tended to favour the latter's views. However, his attempt throughout March 1896 to secure a grant of 4s per child for all voluntary schools (55) and an addition to the grant for poor school boards failed owing to the Chancellor's decision to block the proposal owing to the cost (56). This was a major setback for Balfour given that his scheme would have provided the Bill with an appearance of equanimity between voluntary and poor school boards. His attempt to circumvent Sir Michael Hicks Beach's objections by providing for voluntary schools only, failed (57), and he was forced to succumb to Devonshire's wishes to stop meddling in the Bill's proposals (58).

On 31 March, the last day before the Easter recess, Gorst introduced his Education Bill. Gorst had an important advantage in the House as the Bill had not been printed and so Parliamentary responses tended to err on the side of caution. The Bill sought to make the county and

county borough councils the controlling education authorities with 4s 0d per head being granted to poor board schools and voluntary schools; the 17s 6d limit was to be abolished with all schools being exempted from paying rates and financial support for the new educational authorities being provided from the Whisky money and the grants from the Education and Science and Art Departments. The inclusion of the 4s 0d grant was very much Balfour's idea for as Michael Sadler told his father, "It was Balfour who insisted that the 4s 0d grant should be only given to denominational schools and needy school boards" (59).

By 27 April however, Balfour, who had decided to give over the remainder of the session to the Education Bill, began to express concern over the Bill's qualities:

"The Education Bill... I gather from statements made on the other side, is also a controversial Bill (60), and I cannot deny that it is complex. As the Rates Bill is not complex, but it is controversial, so the Education Bill is both... As regards the Rating Bill and the Education Bill, the House will not receive with surprise the statement that these are the Bills, which, in any and all circumstances the Government mean to pass into law" (61).

His attempt to persuade the Commons to accept a second reading and early closure simply increased the anger of the Opposition benches. Sir William Harcourt, responding to Balfour's tactics argued that financial assistance to alleviate the financial strain of voluntary schools would not have produced Liberal opposition on such a scale. The Liberal benches had after all anticipated a bill which would provide some additional financial assistance to the voluntary schools, this had been promised in the Queen's speech but this Bill was,

"...a wholly unexpected educational measure to overthrow the whole of the existing system and substitute a new system of education in its place ("Oh, oh! and cheers). It may be a good system or it may be a bad system, but nobody can deny that it is a complete change" (62).

Balfour's tactic of early closure was designed to avoid numerous amendments, and given his belief that the Education Bill was controversial would provide the opportunity to force the measure through the House. There is, however, another view of Balfour's tactic which needs to be considered. Since December 1895, he had expressed doubts about the viability of Gorst's proposals. The administrative aspects of the Bill when ultimately in place had not really concerned him, so long as the voluntary schools were relieved. Yet the Bill's qualities, as a means of relieving the voluntary schools and satisfying backbench opinion was brought sharply into focus by Unionist concerns and the clear lobbying by the Church Party led by Lord Cranborne (63). Any attempt at compromise or concession was by May 1896 out of the question given the polarisation of views between the non-conformists and the Church of England. As Walter Long suggested to Joseph Chamberlain, "...I must say I think Cranborne has gone out of his way to make the position more difficult" (64).

As an experienced politician, Balfour knew that the tactic of early closure would not prevent the emergence of numerous amendments during the Committee stage and while he was publicly willing to espouse the features of Gorst's Bill his doubts about its future were beginning to set in. Unionist agents in the country at large were also beginning to express concern about the political repercussions should the Bill become law (65). During the second reading of the Bill on 5 May, procedure quickly became bogged down on Clause 27, which provided parents with the opportunity to press for separate religious

instruction if it could be arranged. At the end of five nights of debating, Balfour indicated that the division of educational control had been the cause of inefficiency and that the way forward lay in placing educational control in the hands of county and county borough councils (and where possible, replacing school boards with town councils). He concluded by pointing out that the Bill would,

"...put both primary and secondary education under one municipal authority, which shall prevent overlapping and waste, and be able to superintend, from the highest to the lowest stage of primary and secondary education, the whole curriculum which the children maybe expected to pass through" (66).

Balfour's concluding remarks at the end of the second reading in many ways pre-empted the Rollit amendment. It was Sir Albert Rollit's (67) amendment in Committee on 11 June, which sought to make town councils education authorities which cast the die on the Bill's future (68). Gorst rejected the amendment as it would have produced an additional 241 education authorities (plus a further 49 urban district councils) to the Bill's proposed 128 authorities (69). In short, a total of 418 educational authorities would have been created. However, Balfour who was out of the Chamber during Gorst's response to the Rollit amendment, returned and, in response to Mark Oldroyd's (the backbencher) request to apply the principle of municipalisation to education and stand by his declaration in favour of it made at the end of the second reading, accepted the amendment and thereby destroyed the Bill.

Gorst's intention to establish an education authority in every county and county borough would, if Balfour's remarks had been accepted, undermine Clause One as a result of his municipalisation proposal. When the Bill moved to the Committee stage, Balfour's position over

municipalisation was seemingly in tune with that of Rollit. In the division, the Bill passed its second reading with a majority of 267, but outside controversy raged. Balfour was forced on May 27, publicly to reply to a Nottingham nonconformist's claim that he sought the destruction of the school board system. While denying the claim, Balfour indicated that the system of education established under the 1870 Act had outlived its usefulness:

"This dual system, though it may at times have had its uses, cannot, in my judgement, be conducive in the long run either to efficiency or economy of administration, nor to the securing of the best men for the work of local government" (70).

However, between the passage of the second reading and the Committee stage on 11 June, the Bill attracted 1,335 amendments.

By 18 June, Balfour was indicating to Unionist MP's that the complexities of the Bill might require an adjournment of Parliament in mid August with work on the Bill recommencing in January 1897 (71). But the Bill was attracting too many amendments and Joseph Chamberlain was forced to admit that,

"The Education Bill is undoubtedly a complicated measure. The only thing to which any member of the Government is pledged is to do something to prevent the Voluntary Schools from being extinguished...

...I admit we have made a miscalculation of the opposition which was likely to be given to such a Bill. A miscalculation is not a catastrophe and the best way, I think, to meet a miscalculation is frankly to admit it... (72).

Balfour had attempted to illustrate to Unionist members at the meeting in the Foreign Office on 18 June, three possible tactics, one of which had been to hold the Bill over till January (73). However, the complexity of the Bill and the continued opposition to it, forced the

Government to drop the Bill on 22 June, and as Lord Salisbury explained to the Queen,

"...the members of the House of Commons remained unshaken in the view that it was impossible to pass the Bill and on this they were unanimous... The result is partly due to unexplained obstruction by the opposition: partly to the character of the subject which was exceptionally complicated. The Cabinet under these circumstances was compelled to drop the Bill" (74).

The formal abandonment of the Bill was announced by Balfour in the Commons on 22 June. Against a background of opposition laughter and cries of "Where is Gorst?" (75), Balfour stated that,

"We are content to sacrifice the 11 days we have occupied on this Bill, to begin the subject fresh early next January - ("hear, hear!") - to carry through the remainder of the sessions business that we think necessary, and to meet at that very early date in order to fulfil our pledges to the voluntary schools" (76).

Historians of education have made much of Balfour's acceptance of the Rollit amendment and the subsequent destruction of Gorst's Bill. For many at the time, it simply reflected Balfour's inability to understand or care for the educational issues at stake. He had even admitted in the Commons on 18 June that he did not, "...profess to know anything about education. I am the last person to pose as an authority on the subject" (77). Given the political climate and the contentious nature of the Bill, its withdrawal was a logical step although the manner by which it was destroyed was more by accident than design. Sir Courtney Ilbert, Parliamentary Draftsman noted in his diary:

"The Bill was doomed to failure from the beginning. It was wanting in unity of composition and unity of purpose. Its proposals were crude and sketchy. Their effect had never been examined from the administrative point of view" (78).

Balfour's responsibility for the collapse of the Bill brought its own personal anxiety (79). The large majority of 1895 seemed to provide a sense of invulnerability, but the Liberal opposition tore into the Salisbury administration in a united and quite unexpected manner. Statistics and clearly defined arguments against Gorst's Bill were numerous with opposition groups ranging from the 'National Education Emergency Committee', 'The Birmingham and Midland Education League', to the 'National Education League of the Free Churches'. Unionist MP's became alarmed by the frenzy of opposition and the attitude of the Leader of the House (Balfour) to the events (80). In the eyes of a number of Conservative MP's, Balfour was a failure. As Henry Lucy noted in his diary:

"...in dealing with the Education Bill, Mr Balfour, as mouthpiece of the Ministry in the House of Commons seemed deliberately to go out of his way to do crass things. Every avenue he selected proved a cul-de-sac, and after walking briskly up with the Bill in his arms he, after a brief interview, forlornly returned and went off in another direction with similar result" (81).

However, Balfour's decision to drop the Bill needs to be seen not only against a background of political uncertainty but also in terms of its viability. Sir Courtney Ilbert's analysis (82) provides an important insight into Balfour's behaviour between April and June 1896, for the proposals hardly satisfied the long term financial needs of the voluntary schools and the reality was that Balfour had not understood the nature of the Bill. Gorst's Bill was in fact an attempt to revolutionise educational administration on the lines advocated by the Bryce Commission, without taking into account the likely impact of leaving school boards untouched and a variety of other bodies with an interest in education outside a reorganised structure.

The Bill of 1896, if it had been passed would not have produced the administrative panacea Gorst sought, while the 4s 0d grant would hardly have closed the gap between school board and voluntary school and the inclusion of Clause 27, virtually wiping out the Cowper-Temple compromise was bound to infuriate non-conformists (83). As Michael Sadler pointed out on 11 June 1896:

"The Education Bill... so far as it was designed to meet the financial needs of Voluntary Schools, reflected (the) confused state of public opinion. It set out to create a new education authority in each district, but it did not give it power to aid denominational schools out of rates. It did not repeal the Cowper-Temple clause but it asserted a contradictory principle in Clause 27 without making it clear whether the dogmatic religious teaching, when demanded by a reasonable number of parents, was to be given by the regular teachers or not. It proposed to abolish the 17s 6d limit, but at the same time it fixed a new point beyond which the Parliamentary grant should not increase" (84).

Although Balfour had given initial support to Gorst's Bill prior to the Committee Stage, he had clearly changed his mind by 11 June. He realized that not only was the Bill unworkable and unlikely to be delivered, it was also politically damaging to the Coalition. His acceptance of Rollit's amendment may well have therefore been a deliberate ploy and not the act of an individual unaware of the likely impact of such a development (85). It was in short, a pragmatic decision, designed to stem political upheaval and to deal with the specific question at issue, namely, financial aid for voluntary schools.

The abandonment of Gorst's Bill is sometimes viewed as the loss of a great opportunity to rectify the muddle of English education; but that tends to be a view dictated by hindsight, for rather than alleviate the financial strain upon voluntary schools and reorganize the

administrative structure, it would have had precisely the opposite effect.

For Salisbury and Balfour, the lesson of the events of June 1896 were that future attempts at educational reform had to be dealt with in stages. The advantage of this, as Balfour was to tell the Conservative Party Conference in Rochdale in November 1896, would be two-fold; first, it would avoid attracting to it the range of amendments which the first Bill had overlooked; and second, it would avoid the issue of financial aid to voluntary schools being submerged with other "...alien subjects" (86). Although the decision that Balfour would take personal control over education in the new political session was not formalised until the Cabinet meeting of 5 November 1896, Balfour was already drawing up proposals which would limit the nature of any educational reform strictly to the issue of aid for voluntary schools (87).

In his paper 'Education Bill: Voluntary Schools', presented to the Cabinet on 3 November 1896 (though written on 10 October), Balfour, accepted that the Bill would probably arouse opposition from the, "...poor School Board districts like West Ham, Gateshead and the Forest of Dean" (88), nevertheless, by 7 November 1896, details of a new Education Bill being prepared. The Duke of Devonshire in particular believed that the presentation of the Bill was, "...as important, if not more important, than the proposals which it may contain" (89). For the Lord President, the new Bill should emphasize two elements: first, the improvement and efficiency of voluntary schools and second, the need,

"...to give relief to certain districts where the proportion of population to rateable value impose an exceptionally heavy burden for education and the ratepayers" (90).

In his paper on the method of presentation, Devonshire was careful to emphasize that the Bill should not be seen as a 'final solution' (91). Balfour clearly concerned to keep the Bill simple and to avoid the fiasco of the summer, suggested in a paper presented to the Cabinet on the same day as Devonshire's (10 November) that three options were open to the Government: first, grants for all schools (Balfour dismissed this option as unworkable in his paper); second, grants to all voluntary schools and poor school boards (again Balfour rejected this, arguing it would "...complicate and extend the field of Parliamentary discussion"), (92) and finally, grants to voluntary schools alone. This Balfour believed to be the only sensible approach and to this principle (the rallying point of Conservatism), he argued that the "...new Bill should be confined" (93).

Balfour believed that the practicalities of limiting the scope of the Bill were clear. The need to aid necessitous schools were constantly being channelled through to him with an array of statistics (94). Nevertheless, the need to find a suitable agency through which grants could be distributed (which Michael Sadler was to argue for in his paper of 13 November 1896) (95), appears to have had some impact during the Cabinet meeting of 10 November, for in his Cabinet Paper, 'Education Bill: Memo on grants-in-aid to Voluntary Schools and draft Bill' (96), Balfour accepted the need for the Education Department to be made responsible, although, "...the Department should only be responsible for distributing the grant within the limits of each Association to the same denomination..." (97). Balfour now informed the Cabinet that a new scheme (based on his Memorandum of 10 November,

with suggestions made by Joseph Chamberlain) had been devised. The scheme contained eight elements and reflected both the need to produce a practical solution and keep abreast of the religious opposition, especially from non-conformist elements. The suggested scheme was therefore to be based around the following criteria: a responsibility upon the Education Department to divide the counties for administrative purposes; within each division the voluntary schools were to form themselves into an Association "...which will doubtless be denominational" (98); a grant would be allocated to each Association determined by the number of schools in average attendance. On this point, he expressed doubt, arguing that an alternative procedure of allocating a grant "... partly by the number of it scholars in average attendance, partly by the density of the population of which they form a part" (99), remained a problem. Also, schools which opted out of an Association (except for special reasons) would not receive a grant; it was the Education Department which would be made responsible for allocating the money amongst the schools of the Association "...for certain fixed purposes" (100); each Association was required to establish an organizational body which would allow school representations. The function of this organization was to establish,

"...a useful machinery for improving the management of Voluntary Schools, which will select a number of delegates, equal to the number of School Inspectors of the district, and the joint body thus composed shall advise the Department as to the distribution of the grants between the schools of the Association" (101);

Finally, those Associations which refused to organize in such a way would be, "...deprived of all voice in the districts of the grant" (102).

The need to provide financial assistance to the voluntary schools

and provide it quickly therefore formed the key to Balfour's approach (103). The scheme outlined to the Cabinet fell very much in line with what the 'Conference of the House of Convocation' had called for during their meeting between 5 and 6 November 1896 at Westminster (104). Nevertheless, it was believed that the plan would still arouse opposition particularly from those opposed to the principle of rate aid for educational purposes. Gorst, however, remained adamant about the need for a complete overhaul, while Devonshire (who sided with Gorst on this matter) recognized the difficulty of opposing piecemeal bills (particularly as Salisbury was insistent that all bills had to be kept 'small'). Attempts to avoid the controversy over rate aid was impossible, and the Roman Catholic argument that, "...no national system of Elementary Education can flourish which is based on financial inequalities, or on penalties exacted and for conscience sake", (105) reflected the immediate problem. At the political level, reports from Unionist Party agents as to the nature of grass roots Liberal Unionist opinion also worried Balfour (106). Even Sir John Gorst found himself being encouraged to put pressure on Balfour to make any change in the assistance to voluntary schools temporary until a "...Commission of three persons" (107) could be established to distribute the grants to necessitous schools (both voluntary and school board).

The civil servants were also concerned that rate aid could produce another vast array of amendments in the Commons (108), while Sir William Hart Dyke (the former Vice President of the Committee of Council), not only suggested that the Education Department could not be trusted with the distribution of grants (109), but also argued that, "...any minor authority... appears to be in opposition to or to compete with school boards will arouse determined opposition and fail

in the execution of its work" (110).

Such a view may appear extreme, but political expediency was the key to understanding Balfour's attitude to the Education Department's role in the production of a new Education Bill which was to be limited, and as Michael Sadler noted in his diary "...the present Education Bill was... the work of Balfour and Salisbury. The Education Department had no part in it" (111). The influence of Lord Cranborne and the Church Party throughout the period 1895 to 1897 has been examined by A.I. Taylor (112), and there is no doubt that Balfour's cousin played an important role in at least providing him with options. The need to balance Church Party considerations with those of the Cabinet, and in particular Joseph Chamberlain and Lord Salisbury, ultimately affected the outcome of the Bill. His Cabinet paper in December 1896, reflected these considerations (113). The distribution of the Aid grant was the issue at stake, and so Balfour produced two draft clauses, one framed according to the Chamberlain and Salisbury view, with the Education Department distributing the grant among the voluntary schools in proportion to their poverty (114); and one, which Balfour argued for, namely the use of denominational Associations as the vehicles to advise the Education Department on the distribution of the grant (115), dependent upon the number of children in average attendance. Balfour argued that the Chamberlain and Salisbury suggestion would make Association unworkable, simply because it would be the Education Department which would determine the grant in advance (116), he therefore advocated his proposal because,

"We have openly avowed that in this Bill we can only deal with a fragment of the Education Question. Surely no fragment is more clearly and definitely marked off from other parts of the same subject than that which relates to the relief of the Voluntary Schools. Directly you include the needs

of other Elementary Schools, you open wide the door to discussions and amendments on all sorts of miscellaneous subjects...." (117).

Balfour's Voluntary Schools Bill was therefore designed to settle what appeared to be a longstanding grievance and to calm the Unionist anxieties:

"...What really stops a Bill is the field it offers for amendments; what really helps it, is to narrow as far as possible the field of discussion. Once introduced any questions connected with Board Schools open the way for an indefinite prolongation of debate" (118).

Balfour had much to gain by the production of a new Education Bill which would deal adequately with Unionist Party demands to aid voluntary schools. At the end of 1896, he remained the butt of all Party criticism and a clear target for the Liberals. In a speech at Bangor in December 1896, Lloyd George in one memorable sentence caught not only the Opposition's dislike of Balfour, but also the concern of numerous Unionist backbenchers when he suggested that, "...Candour compels me to admit that the unbusinesslike habits of Mr Balfour are not a sufficient explanation for so complete a failure" (119). Such a view of Balfour was echoed by Winston Churchill in his diary describing Balfour's political actions as "...pusillanimous vacillations..." (120), and seeing him as a "...languid, lazy lackadaisical cynic" (121).

By the end of December 1896, Balfour had produced a draft bill based upon Clause B, the Association plan. He remained wary of the political repercussions, even though he now had full Cabinet support and so in February 1897 he introduced a 'resolution' into the Commons, which contained the principles of his Bill, as a means of testing opinion:

"The Bill we bring in today is a Bill not in any sense covering, or attempting to cover, the field of educational reform. Last year we brought in a measure designed not merely to give some relief to voluntary schools, but also to give relief to necessitous board schools, to decentralize the work of the Education Department, to deal with the special questions of secondary education, and to set up such an educational machinery in the country as would unify the system of primary education with the system which exists or ought to be set up with regard to secondary education. That was a comprehensive scheme: I think it was a good scheme. But it is manifest, if it is to be accomplished - and I think it is - it must be accomplished piecemeal, and not in the shape of one Bill embracing these large and critical subjects, and lending itself, by the very fact that it does embrace them, as a helpless mark to the arrows of destruction" (122).

On 4 February, after lengthy debate, Balfour formally introduced his Voluntary Schools Bill. Following a majority of 205 during the Second Reading, Balfour applied the closure during the Committee Stage which was completed on 18 March. At the end of the Third Reading Balfour stated,

"If my prophecies, perhaps my optimistic prophecies are fulfilled, and if the managers of these Voluntary Schools, to whatever denomination they may belong, set themselves to work in this broad and liberal spirit to deal with the advantages we are now conferring upon them, I am convinced not merely that a great deal, perhaps enough, will have been done permanently to preserve as an element in our great educational system the Voluntary Schools of this country, but that we shall have performed not an inconsiderable work in improving the education in our elementary schools, both county and in urban districts, that education on which such high hopes are built on both sides of the House, and which, whether they are destined to be realised or not, everyone must admit are calculated to produce immense benefit to the children, not merely of Churchmen, of Roman Catholics, of Wesleyans, or other sectarian bodies, but of the whole body of children to whatever communion their parents may belong" (123).

The essence of the Bill, which became law on 8 April was to free schools from the payment of rates; abolish the 17s 6d limit; and make

available an additional aid grant of 5s 0d per head to be paid through the association of voluntary schools. The long standing grievance of the voluntary schools appeared to have been settled, at least in the short term, and Balfour had calmed Coalition nerves.

II. CONCLUSION

The education debate, instigated by Gorst's 1896 Bill and culminating in Balfour's Voluntary Schools Act, was largely the product of a confusion over aims. Throughout the period, three aims at least, had become entangled with one another. First, Balfour's wish to provide financial aid for voluntary schools; second Gorst's objective of full scale administrative reform; and finally, attempts by the Church Party (124) to undermine Cowper-Temple. Recent research (125) seems to indicate that following the collapse of the Liberal government in 1895, the Church Party led by Lord Cranborne greatly influenced both Salisbury and Balfour the result of which was the Voluntary Schools Act culminating eventually in the Cockerton judgement (126). That this was so perhaps underestimates Balfour's appreciation of the link between the issue of education and the political repercussions of the topic. He was effectively only interested in education when it became a political issue. While the Church Party certainly played an important role in providing him with sectional educational views, there was taking place at the same time, a convergence of influences which were to play an even greater role in moulding his attitude to education.

There were two basic influences affecting his attitude to education at this time. First, he remained genuinely concerned that the spread of socialism amongst the working class was eating away at the fabric of institutional control. It was here that politics and education

converged, for he perceived the school boards and their secularism as breeding grounds for this threat. He therefore recognised that financial aid in the form of the Voluntary Schools Act had to be the start of a process designed to counter the evolving radicalism. However, he recognised the need to pursue a gradualist policy through selective intervention until an opportunity for full scale reform could take place. Such a policy was not new, the Salisbury administration had effectively developed the policy of small bills as a means of fine tuning institutional control. What was new however, was the acceptance by Balfour of the notion that only through collective intervention on a much larger scale, could the merging threat to institutional control be dealt with.

Second, the Voluntary Schools Act was not only a piece of selective intervention, it also marked a turning point in Balfour's attitude to the issue. Taylor (127) has suggested that it was the activities of the Church Party which kept the plight of the voluntary schools at the forefront of his mind. While the Act of 1897 may well have been a response to Church Party pressure, it was effectively an ad hoc arrangement resulting from the chaos surrounding Gorst's Bill and the political turmoil it had caused. More significant however, was Balfour's attitude to the issue by 1896; this was the product of his Irish experience which centered upon the need to ensure that state intervention in education was for the sake of the state and not necessarily for the benefit of education. It had been a lesson learnt in Ireland, and those fears of violence, poverty and alienation, merely reinforced in his mind that if the state was to maintain control, political expediency within the education framework was essential. But it was to be a gradualist rather than a revolutionary development with adjustments being made to move the administrative

structure into a more advantageous phase of development for the Church schools in particular. Consequently, the advisers upon whom he was eventually to rely, such as Morant, had to ensure that the technicalities of the issue were made clear to him not the rationale for reform. It is for that reason that he was willing to support the original principles of Gorst's Bill because it seemed to offer the restructuring he sought. The problem with the 1896 Bill as far as he was concerned was that the technicalities were not fully understood until much later on, hence the consuming chaos. If 1896 illustrates anything about Balfour's attitude to the issue it is that of continuity from his days in Ireland. The Voluntary Schools Act was effectively a sop to the political realities and Salisbury's influence. He agreed with it because it provided the short term financial palliative which he wanted. However, it did not and could not remedy the malaise of English society and its visible problems of poverty, unemployment and alienation. A restructuring of the education system for political reasons was a conclusion arrived at by him as early as 1896 and had more to do with his experience in Ireland than the activities of the Church Party. What the events of 1896-7 showed was that however clear Balfour was in his aims for elementary education, it was fatal to leave planning and parliamentary diplomacy to other people unless they were expert.

CHAPTER THREE FOOTNOTES

1. See Daglish, N.D. 'The Education Work of Sir John Gorst', unpublished Ph.D, University of Durham 1974.
2. See Taylor, A.I. 'The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902', unpublished Ph.D, University of Cambridge 1981.
3. See Daglish, N.D. 'The Educational Work of Sir John Gorst', op. cit, Fairhurst, J.R., 'Some Aspects of the Relationships between Education, Politics and Religion from 1895-1906', unpublished D.Phil, University of Oxford 1974.
Taylor, A.I., 'The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902', op. cit.
Wilkinson, M.J., 'Educational Controversies in British Politics 1893-1914', unpublished Ph.D Newcastle University 1974.
4. See Offer, Anver, 'Property and Politics 1870-1914', Cambridge University Press, 1981.
5. See Hobsbawn, E.J., 'Industry and Empire', Pelican 1986.
6. Cited in, Brendon, Piers, 'Eminent Edwardians', London 1979, page 100.
7. See Chapter Two, pages 77-124.
8. Hobsbawn, E.J., 'Industry and Empire', op., cit.,.
9. See Wood, Anthony, 'Nineteenth Century Britain', Longman 1980, pages 334-337.
10. Cited in, MacKenzie, Norman and Jeanne, 'The Power to Alter Things', Vol. 3, Virago 1984, page 40.
11. The Education (Sandon's) Act 1876, provided some relief to managers of Church schools by raising the grant from 15s. per child to 17s. 6d., and allowing a still larger grant if local subscriptions equalled the sum that could be obtained.
12. See, Sutherland, Gillian, 'Policy-Making in Elementary Education 1870-1895', Oxford University Press, 1973.
13. See B.L. Add. Ms 49851 Folio 18-20, Balfour letter to The Rosendale Express, no date but April 1896, in response to an article which accused him of being an agnostic. He stated that,

"I am aware from other correspondants that the Socialists have thought it worthwhile to allege that I am an Agnostic. I do not propose to enter into any public controversy, or to make any public statement, on the subject of my religious beliefs: but I may permit myself to say that the charge seems to be peculiarly impudent, in view of the fact that I have devoted an elaborate volume to the defence of Christian Theism....".

Also see Taylor, A.I., 'The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902', op. cit. and Dugdale, Blanche, E., 'Arthur James Balfour', 2 vols. London 1936.

14. See, Offer, Anver, Property and Politics 1870-1914, op., cit.,.
15. Op., cit., Chapter One.
16. Balfour, A.J., The Foundations of Belief, Longmans 1895, pages 322-323.
17. Eaglesham, Eric, 'Planning the Education Bill of 1902', British Journal of Education Studies, Vol. IX, No.1, November 1960, page 23.
18. Ibid., page 24.
19. Raymond, E.T., A Life of Arthur James Balfour, Little, Brown and Company 1920, page 275.
20. National Union Gleanings, Vol. IV, page 93.
21. Ibid.,.
22. Cited in Hoskins, Eric, A Social History of the English Working Classes 1815-1945, Edward Arnold 1979, page 174.
23. National Union Gleanings, 8 July, 1895, page 62, Vol. V, op. cit.
24. Hatfield, Salisbury Papers 3M/E/19/172, A.J.B. to Cranborne, September 12 1895; also cited in Darglish, N.D., 'The Educational Work of Sir John Gorst', unpublished Ph.D, op. cit. and Taylor, A.I., 'The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902, op., cit.,.
25. Sutherland, Gillian op. cit., page 333.
26. Ibid., page 334.
27. Ibid., page 334.
28. The Times, 16 November 1895.
29. See Darglish, N.D., 'Planning the Education Bill of 1896', History of Education, 1987, Vol. 16, No.2, page 97.
30. Sadler Ms. Eng. misc. c550, Folio 16-20, Sir George Kekewich to M.E. Sadler, 20 November 1895.
31. Ibid., Folio 30-34, Robert Morant to M.E. Sadler, 29 November 1895.
32. National Union Gleanings, op. cit., Vol. V, page 306, 20 November 1895. The day before this meeting Salisbury speaking in Brighton stated:

"...I do not think this generation is sufficiently familiar with the fact that when Mr Forster proposed his measure in 1870 he stated that in his belief the rate would not exceed 3d. in the pound. I should like that statement of his to be written in letters two foot long over every School Board in the Country".
The Times, 20 November 1895.

33. Richard Assheton Cross was born in 1823. He was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge. M.P. 1857-1886; viscount, 1886. Home Secretary, 1874-1880 and 1885-1886; Secretary for India, 1886-1892; Lord Privy Seal, 1895-1900. He died in 1914.
34. B.L. Add. Ms 49791, Folio 23, Gorst to Balfour, 6 December 1895.
35. See Daglish, The Educational Work of Sir John Gorst, op. cit. page 152.
36. B.L. Add. Ms 49690, Folio 123-4, Balfour to Salisbury, 6 December 1895.
37. Ibid, Folio 130, Sir John Gorst to Salisbury, 10 December 1895,

"There are not two schemes but one only, which Sir George Kekewich intended to describe by a memorandum and I by a sketch of the clauses of a Bill. If there are divergences they are unintended".

This point is also made by Daglish, The Education Work of Sir John Gorst, op., cit.,.
38. Sir Hugh Jenkyns.
39. See Daglish, Planning the Education Bill of 1896, op., cit., page 98.
40. Sandars, Ms Eng. hist. c727, Balfour to Sandars, 13 December 1895.
41. See Daglish, The Educational Work of Sir John Gorst, op., cit., page 161.
42. Joseph Chamberlain Papers, JC5/5/25, Balfour to Chamberlain, 2 December 1895.
43. Ibid, JC6/3/38, 'Memorandum on Draft Scheme for an Education Bill', sent to the Duke of Devonshire, 16 December 1895.
44. B.L. Add. Ms 49781, Folio 57-8, Balfour to Bernard Mallet, 21 December 1895.
45. See Daglish, Planning the Education Bill 1896, op. cit., page 99.
46. See Feuchtwanger, E.J., Democracy and Empire: Britain 1865-1914, Edward Arnold 1985, page 241.
47. B.L. Add. Ms 49791, Folio 10, Cabinet Memorandum by Sir John Gorst, 22 December 1895.
48. Daily News, 31 January 1896.
49. Cab 41/23/43 Lord Salisbury to Queen Victoria, 18 January 1896.
50. The Times, 4 February 1896.
51. R.W. Hanbury's speech at Leek as reported in The Times, 4 February 1896.

52. Cited in, Daglish, The Educational Work of Sir John Gorst, op. cit., page 164.
53. B.L. Add Ms 49791, Folio 11-13, Gorst Memorandum, 12 February 1896.
54. Ibid., Folio 105, 'Criticism of the general principle of the Bill', 12 February 1896.
55. On average attendance figures.
56. See Daglish, Planning the Education Bill of 1896, page 100, op. cit. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer objected to the scheme because of the cost incurred by abolishing the 17s. 6e. limit (£54,000) and the 4s. Od. grant (£55,000). The most Hicks Beach would agree to was 3s. 6d. for voluntary and 1s. 6d. for poor school boards.
57. See Daglish, Planning the Education Bill of 1896, page 100, op. cit.,.
58. Ibid., page 100.
59. Sadler, Thomas Michael, Diaries 1893-1911 (unpublished) Ms Eng. misc. c204-210, 20 April 1896. Four shillings was Craik's original figure.
60. Balfour's expression of surprise that the Bill would be controversial could hardly have been genuine given Cabinet concern in December 1895 that the Bill had strayed beyond its original intention (see B.L. Add Ms49791, Folio 23, Gorst to Balfour, December 1895), and his belief that Gorst's proposal's would generate hostility (see Sandar's Papers, Ms Eng. Hist. c727, Balfour to Sandars, 13 December 1895 and Joseph Chamberlain Papers, JC 5/5/25, Balfour to Chamberlain, 2 December 1895).
61. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 39, Col. 1739, 27 April 1896
62. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 39, Col. 1743, 27 April 1896. Sir William Harcourt was particularly anxious to avoid Balfour's tactic of early closure:
- "What he (Balfour) says to us is this.
Either you must confine yourselves to two days for the Rates Bill or you shall not have Wednesday. That is not a decent way of dealing with the time of the House (Cheers). The Government are, by this means, practically introducing a new form of closure, for they in effect say: We will introduce a Bill, however controversial, and unless you confine it to two days we will take Wednesday".
- See P.D. 4th Series, op. cit., Col. 1745.
63. See Taylor, The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902, op., cit., page vii.
64. JC 6/3/2/40, Walter Long to Joseph Chamberlain, 17 April 1896.

65. B.L. Add Ms 49769, Folio 95. See Arthur Lee, Secretary of the Bristol Liberal Unionist Association:

"The defections from our ranks here are, up to the present, only two in number, but both are representative men connected with the Wesleyan body..."

Also see G.W. Smith, Secretary of Torquay Liberal Unionist Association:

"As a nonconformist I am disgusted at the Liberal Unionist leaders allowing such a retrograde measure as the Education Bill to be introduced. It is a shameful attempt to throw the education of the country into the hands of the Church of England by capturing the Board Schools".

No dates are provided for the letters but May 1896 seems probable.

66. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 40, Col. 1247, 5 May 1896.
67. Sir Albert Rollit was the Member for Islington South.
68. See P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 41, Col. 896, 11 June 1896, Rollit moved that, "...after the word "council" to insert the words "and every council of a municipal borough".
69. Ibid.,.
70. As reported in The Times, 27 May 1896.
71. See The Times, 19 June 1896. Meeting of Unionist M.P's held at the Foreign Office at 12.30p.m. with Balfour in the Chair.
72. Joseph Chamberlain's speech at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, 19 June 1896, as reported in The Times, 20 June 1896.
73. The Times, 19 June 1896, op. cit. Balfour also suggested closure by compartments, but this was rejected by members as it would have stifled debate. He also suggested the emasculation of the Bill by reducing it to the clauses necessary for granting additional financial aid to voluntary schools.
74. PRO CAB 41/23/59, Salisbury to Queen Victoria, 22 June 1896.
75. This was shouted by Swift MacNeill. See P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 41, Col. 1576, 22 June 1896.
76. Ibid., Col. 1576.
77. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 41, Col. 1369, 18 June 1896.
78. H.C. Ms66, Diaries of Courtney Ilbert; no date but certainly 1896.

79. See Haldane Papers, Ms 5904, Folio 94, Haldane to Balfour, 29 June 1896:
- "These have been days of trouble. But I know you have a faith within you that makes that trouble of small account. And besides I have seen too much of politics and yourself not to know that it is but of a moment".
80. See Griffith-Boscawen, Arthur, Memories, London 1925, page 44.
81. Lucy, Henry W. A Diary of a Unionist Parliament 1895-1900, Arrowsmith 1901. See entry for 13 July 1896.
82. See H.C. Ms 66., op., cit.,.
83. Michael Sadler had suggested on 6 June that the Bill would: "...only postpone for a short time the ruin of these (the voluntary) schools and may accelerate their fall". Ms Eng. misc, c550, Folio 40-6.
84. Sadler Ms Eng. hist., c551, Folio 13-54 'Notes on the possible consequences of the acceptance of the principle of Sir Arthur Rollit's amendment to the Education Bill', 11 June 1896, page 16.
85. "...thanks to his profound ignorance and rooted unconcern for the subject (Gorst's Bill), Mr Arthur Balfour, in the most charming way possible, spoiled the whole design", Macnamara, T.J., The Education Bill, 19th Century and After XIX-XX, No.292, June 1901, (Vol. 49), page 998.
86. The Times, 18 November 1896, Balfour's speech at Rochdale.
87. Balfour was unhappy about taking on a Bill which had to avoid the pitfalls of the Gorst Bill. Writing to Lady Elcho on 28 November 1896, Balfour stated that he was finding it almost impossible to find a compromise solution to the education issue.
- See Young, Kenneth, Arthur James Balfour, London 1963, page 179.
88. PRO CAB 37/43, 'Education Bill: Voluntary Schools', A.J. Balfour (3 pages). Dated 19 October 1896, for use in the Cabinet on 3 November 1896.
89. PRO CAB 37/43, 7 November 1896, Duke of Devonshire on the 'Method of Presentation' for use in the Cabinet on 10 November, page 1.
90. Ibid., page 2.
91. Ibid.,.
92. PRO CAB 37/43, 'Education Bill: Grants in aid to Voluntary Schools', A.J. Balfour (6 pages) dated 8 November, for use in Cabinet on 10 November, page 1.
93. Ibid.,.

94. Sadler, Ms Eng. hist., c551, Folio 13-54 'Outline of a scheme for distributing special aid to Necessitous schools through the agency of Commissioners in connection with Education Department', 13 November 1896.
95. Ibid,.
96. PRO CAB 37/43 'Education Bill: Memorandum on grants - in aid to Voluntary Schools; and draft bill', A.J. Balfour, dated 16 November, for use in Cabinet on 19 November 1896.
97. Ibid., page 2.
98. Ibid., page 3.
99. Ibid,.
100. Ibid,.
101. Ibid,.
102. Ibid., page 4.
103. See The Times, 18 November 1896.
104. See The Times, 7 November 1896; Text of resolutions adapted at the 'Conference of the House of Convocation', 5-6 November 1896.
105. B.L. Add Ms 49851, Folio 45, Cardinal Vaughan to Balfour, 10 November 1896: 'The Appeal on the Education Question by the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops of the Province of Westminster'.
106. See B.L. Add Ms 49769, Folio 18, 'The Education Bill 1896: John Bowstum to Balfour, no date but probably early 1897.
107. See B.L. Add Ms 49769, Folio 117-18. Sir John Hibbert to Sir John Gorst, 13 November 1896.
108. See B.L. Add Ms 49769, Folio 139, Sir W.H. Dyke to Balfour, no date but November 1896, 'The Authority for Distribution of Special Grant to Poor Schools'.
109. Ibid., page 1.
110. Ibid,.
111. Ms Eng. misc. c204-210, Michael Thomas Sadler Diaries 1893-1911, 7 February 1897.
112. See Taylor A.I., 'The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902', op., cit,.
113. See JC 6/3/2/41, Cabinet Paper for use on 8 December 1896.
114. Ibid., page 1.
115. Ibid,.

116. Ibid., page 4.
117. Ibid., page 5.
118. Ibid., page 6: Balfour concluded by suggesting that,
"...The whole raison d'etre of any Bill is assistance to Voluntary Schools, and to leave out what has always been regarded as an essential element in that assistance in order to introduce controversial provisions which have nothing to do with Voluntary Schools at all would, I think, expose us to ridicule".
119. Lloyd George Papers, A/8/2/24 (House of Lords): speech in Bangor, 18 December 1896.
120. Churchill, Randolph, S., Winston S. Churchill, see diary entry for 2 March 1897, Heinemann 1966. Vol. 1, page 313.
121. Ibid, page 315.
122. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 45, Col. 928, 1 February 1897.
123. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 47, Col. 1419-1420, 25 March 1897.
124. See Taylor, A.I., 'The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902' op. cit.
125. Ibid,.
126. Ibid., see page viii.
127. Ibid,.

CHAPTER FOUR

BALFOUR, THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

By 1898, the response of the Salisbury administration to the demands for educational reform had moved forward. The Voluntary Schools Act seemed to provide many within the Unionist Party with what they had wanted; but it was a victory for the Church - essentially a reform of 'interest'. The Act of 1897 was no more than a selective subsidy, designed to pacify urban Tories in a manner similar to that of the Agricultural Rating Act (1896), which had benefited large landowners. As Beatrice Webb noted, a revolt amongst Tory backbenchers seemed inevitable prior to 1897 for: "They can't go on watching their seats being taken from under them" (1). In reality the use of financial props for party political advantage had only a short time to run given the financial implications of the South African war, but it was, nevertheless, an important tactical element in Balfour's control of the Commons and therefore underpinned his attitude to a whole range of issues, of which education was but one. If there was to be a new direction in education in England and Wales, forces outside Balfour's control were largely responsible for its evolution, in what Richard Shannon has described as a 'persistent sub plot of the era', "escaping from orthodox party limitations altogether by creating a new axis about which politics could revolve and serve the country more efficaciously" (2). This 'sub plot', a product of the changing forces within British society and characterised by financial and social implications of urban growth, had already produced a series of Local Government Acts (1888 and 1894) upon which a wholesale reorganization of national education could take place. The administrative restructuring of local government was as much a force for change in education at a national level as individual contributions throughout

the period.

Balfour's statement in Manchester on the 10 January 1898, reflected upon the apparent success of having relieved the financial strain upon the voluntary schools. The experiment of establishing voluntary school associations was, for the Leader of the House, the answer to the problem of educational finance and its overall structure. While Balfour described the Act of 1897 as one of "...bold character" (3), he also intimated that the structure had been laid for the future settlement of educational problems. He had suggested during the passage of the Voluntary Schools Act in March 1897 that financial relief was but one part of the education debate (4). Balfour had, after all, supported Gorst's proposals (with reservations) up to April 1896 and publicly declared his support for the principle behind the 1896 Bill during the Third Reading of his own Bill (5). It is clear that he anticipated further educational reform but through a piecemeal process allowing the Unionist coalition to move forward as a united government.

I. THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Within the Education Department at this time, no unity of policy can be discerned. The Lord President, the Duke of Devonshire began to interest himself in the establishment of a Central Authority,

"...to which might be transferred by order in Council all the duties and powers of the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and such of the powers of the Charity Commission as relate to education..." (6)

This view of centralised control, a product of the proposals suggested by the Bryce Commission, although accepted by Devonshire as a necessity by January 1898, was not formally circulated to the Cabinet until 14 July (7). The principle had surfaced in the 1896 Bill and had

been developed by Michael Sadler who, in his Education Department Minutes 'Notes on the present difficulties in English Education' (8), suggested part centralization with "... the lower clerical staff of the Education Department... at South Kensington" (9), with the Chief Offices of a new Central Authority in the Education Buildings. This view had been rejected by the Permanent Secretary, Sir George Kekewich who believed that "...half centralization" (10), would be ineffectual.

A centralized approach to education was very much in keeping with Unionist sentiment, but it also reflected the late nineteenth century process of fusing large departments to enhance co-ordination (11). Laissez faire dominated government attitudes and remained an important aspect of British politics up to 1914 with departments operating in isolation from others. The range and variety of bodies under which 'education' operated was an important element working against a cohesive policy. This was a basic criticism and many within the Unionist party believed that the fragmented nature of educational organization had been responsible for the inconsistent financial policy which had developed since 1870; it had allowed, through the various bodies, the development of an education structure which had not only produced administrative division but also, as Morant suggested to Sadler, an organization dominated by religious prejudice:

"...real organization is as impossible in Secondary as in Primary, by reason of the religious matter - that English parents care more about the Headmaster and the School life which they will give to their boys, than to Curriculum.. and so we shall be unsystematised" (12).

By July 1898, Devonshire was ready to put to the Cabinet a new Education Bill (originally outlined in January), which sought both the amalgamation of the Science and Art Department with the Education Department (and one permanent head) and the transfer,

"...to a Board of Education of some of the powers now exercised by the Charity Commissioners in regard to education, and the exercise by the latter of such powers as they retain, in co-operation with, or as agents of the Board of Education..." (13).

By 26 July 1898, Devonshire had produced an amendment which meant that the draft Bill would include:

"President of the Council, prima facie President of the Board. If he is in the House of Lords a Vice President would be appointed who would represent the Department in the House of Commons" (14).

Devonshire's plan sought the establishment in the long term of a local education authority, but as he argued in the House of Lords, the reorganization of the central education authority was an almost "...indispensable preliminary to the constitution of any satisfactory local authority" (15). The plan laid before the Lords would be dealt with after the summer recess, but he pointed out that its objective was to bring the Education Department and the Department of Science and Art together and place them practically under the control of one Permanent Secretary:

"The Committee of the Council would be abolished, and a Board of Education would be created on the model of the Board of Trade, the Local Government Board and the Board of Agriculture. The one central department would be charged with the supervision of secondary as well as elementary education..." (16).

The primary aim of the Board of Education Act which had caused such a stir was to place power and responsibility in a single body with the objective of simplifying and making more effective the organization of national education. As The Daily Chronicle noted:

"It represents the first successful attempt ever made in this country to incorporate and knit together in one harmonious whole the disconnected parts that go to make up the sum total of English education" (17).

A primary function was to "superintend matters relating to education in England and Wales" (18), replacing the Education Department, the Science and Art Department and the Charity Commission. The head of the Board was to be a President appointed by the Crown. The President of the Board was to be assisted by a Consultative Committee of 18 members, including women (19). It had a six year term of office, and its functions were to advise the Board on matters referred to it by the President and prepare a register of teachers. It came into effect on 1st April 1900.

Balfour believed the Education Department to be tainted with the Liberal views of Arthur Acland, the former Vice President (1892-95). Sir George Kekewich the Permanent Secretary was viewed with particular suspicion. It is plain from Kekewich's memoirs entitled The Education Department and After, published in 1920, that his last years as Permanent Secretary were far from happy. His comments on the establishment of the Board of Education through Devonshire's Act were waspish (20). He also had to suffer an attempt by Gorst, the Vice President, who had retained his position while technically superfluous, to remove him so as to gain for himself the practical leadership of the Education Department (21).

The Permanent Secretary's hold on the Education Department was ironically, made less secure by an innovation of Acland's. In 1895 Acland had set up the Office of Special Inquiries and Reports to gather ideas about desirable education practice abroad, under Michael Sadler and his associate, Robert Morant. Morant especially was highly critical of the conservative attitude of both the Education Department and Government which in his view had failed to learn the European lesson regarding central control. In his view, "...the English won't learn, when they don't travel" (22).

Having attended an education conference in Amsterdam in April 1898 he concluded that he had experienced:

"...one of the most fearful exposes of English ignorance... At all events, one learnt the nakedness of our land. They (the delegates) had no conception of any commercial education other than for clerks of 15 or 16 years of age" (23).

At the turn of the century, advice from abroad was still not merely resented, it was regarded as 'inferior' to what already existed. During the Amsterdam conference, the German delegate had given a,

"...brilliant exposition... of the whole scheme of German Secondary Education with its broad principles and their application" (24), yet the English delegation (many of whom gave their lectures in English), were "...unintelligible to half the Congress" (25), and demonstrated their arrogance and their "...complacent ignorance of the whole problem under discussion as well as of the language and feelings of the Congress in as much as they disobeyed ruling after ruling of the President and went on after being shouted down..." (26).

To both Sadler and Morant, the Government's short term political objectives blurred the numerous issues which needed dealing with. Michael Sadler in particular remained pessimistic about the government's ability not only to understand the nature of the topic but also the vision and commitment to act. In Sadler's view, the only Unionist minister who appeared to offer any understanding of particular aspects related to education was Joseph Chamberlain, who was now occupied with colonial affairs. Sadler believed that, "...the present government (should not) meddle with Secondary Education at all" (27). Consequently, the relationship between the Lord President of the Council and his civil servants, remained distant, and critical. As Morant wrote to Sadler in March 1899, "I do want to talk with you today after the Duke's speech (some of it makes me feel furious, and none of it is satisfactory)..." (28). This indifferent attitude to Government

ministers as being unsound or incompetent, is a constant feature of the period. In addition there is clear evidence that many of the Education Department civil servants resented the lack of recognition for the work they did. Michael Sadler's father was to note in his diary: "...the Duke's Education Bill was practically drawn up in his (M.E. Sadler) offices" (29).

The controversy surrounding the appointment of a Principal Assistant Secretary for Secondary Education in 1899 illustrated the sensitive and petty atmosphere within the department. By November 1899 for example, numerous testimonials had been sent to the Duke of Devonshire on behalf of Michael Sadler. This caused indignation and provoked the fury of Kekewich (30), which resulted in Sadler writing to Kekewich pointing out that; "This concerted action on my behalf has been unsolicited by me" (31). Kekewich's reply remained distant and angry:

"...It is a recognised principle in the Civil Service that, for promotion, an official must depend on his own merits, as known to his chiefs, and not upon outside influence" (32).

To Kekewich, Sadler's argument that he had not asked for outside assistance in his application for the post of Principal Assistant Secretary was unbelievable:

"You say that you were not solicitous of the memorials you mention... but if you knew that such memorials were in contemplation, I am somewhat surprised that you did not take all steps in your power to prevent them from being sent to the Lord President..." (33).

As a result, Kekewich refused to support or oppose Sadler's application for the position (34).

The greatest cause of malfunction within the Education Department was, however, the Vice President, Sir John Gorst. Determined to make his mark in what he knew would be his last government post, he worked now

with the government, now against it; now in cooperation with his Departmental colleagues, now against them.

In June 1898, Gorst delivered a speech in the Commons in which he suggested that in the towns,

"...voluntary schools are hopelessly inferior to board schools; ...they underpaid and undervalued their teachers; ...they were satisfied with what was left when Board Schools had taken their pick of teachers..." (35).

Gorst's view reflected a basic frustration that the safeguarding of voluntary schools as a priority with a sum in excess of £11½ million in England and Wales for elementary education (an increase of £1,773,000) (36), meant that the education structure had only been tinkered with. He considered that the Act of 1897 had not redressed the 'education imbalance' between school board and voluntary schools. Financial considerations had prevailed in the production of the Act; what was needed, Gorst argued, was a reorganization of the education structure. As Henry Lucy noted in his diary for 17 June 1898:

"...Like every other sentence of this supremely clever speech, it rubbed salt on the riven wound. It was because it was all incontestably true that it was fatally damaging" (37).

Balfour viewed Gorst's speech with a great deal of irritation, for it seemed to imply a division not only between the government and the Education Department, but also between Gorst and the activities of the voluntary schools in the towns (and therefore could not be construed as "... a criticism upon the voluntary schools in rural districts") (38). Nevertheless Balfour who always referred to Gorst as a subordinate (39) recognised that his attitude was bound to be interpreted as an attack upon voluntary schools (40) in general. Balfour believed that the Voluntary Schools Act had been the first

instalment in a financial (rather than educational) process which would gradually consolidate and safeguard the existing structure; what Gorst seemed to imply by his attack on the "...edifice of Church schools with insinuations or assumption" (41), was the need to break through the limited (Treasury) attitude to the issue of education.

Without the Cabinet or Balfour being aware of the fact, Gorst began to devise his own policy as a means of achieving the aims of his 1896 Bill by administrative means. Given the personal animosity between both he and the Leader of the House following the events in Ireland in 1891, it was only natural that such a course would be pursued. In 1897, through the Science and Art Directory, he introduced a scheme by which county councils could assume responsibility for secondary education at the expense of the boards. It was an attempt to outflank the school boards following his failure to demolish them in 1896. Under the scheme county councils and county borough councils were to register via Clause VII as the local administrative bodies for non-elementary education (42). By May 1899 the right of the school boards to use rates for non-elementary education was brought seriously into question when in a case mounted through the intervention of Gorst the auditor of the local Government Board (Cockerton) found against the London School Board's assumed right to finance post-elementary type education out of the rates. As a result school board ability to apply for and receive grants or use rates for the maintenance of schools "...not in the strictest sense elementary" (43), was challenged. What had begun as an exercise in financial management was to end with the unequivocal need to move national education in a new direction. Hence by the end of the year, the issue of education re-emerged as a prime topic of concern for the Government, and as Balfour was to suggest, "...we cannot quite look at education at the end of the nineteenth century with the same eyes with which our

forefathers looked at it..." (44).

Importantly, Gorst's activities had made education a political issue again and, as a result, brought the Leader of the House back into the topic.

II. BALFOUR AND THE COCKERTON JUDGEMENT

The Boer War ensured that the arrival of a new century offered little comfort for the British nation. News of 'Black Week' (10-15 December 1899) during which Gatacre had been defeated at Stormberg, Methuen repulsed at Magersfontein by Cronje and Buller outfought by Louis Botha at Colenso, had shaken British assumptions of invincibility. In the first month of the new century, despite Boer casualties at Ladysmith, the news of Buller's activities at Spion Kop, and in February at Vaal Krantz, dominated Government concern. Only with the arrival of General Roberts and the clear rejection of piecemeal strategic objectives did British prospects in South Africa improve. The entry of Roberts into Pretoria on June 4 1900, left the Boers under the control of De Wet who resorted to guerilla tactics. For many in Britain the war had ended and domestic interests, such as education, could now be dealt with. This sense of 'victory' was however, premature for throughout November and December 1900, the Boers under De Wet inflicted serious reverses on British forces. At home, mounting criticism of Salisbury and the Unionist government's failure to deal once and for all with the Boers, increased. Balfour's primary interest now lay with the conduct of the war and its political impact at home. The education initiative was resumed through the efforts of the Duke of Devonshire and Sir John Gorst. The issue of secondary education and the reorganization of educational finances became a priority and Gorst became particularly keen to find a means of re-introducing reform to the local administration of education.

Discussion regarding the role of the school boards brought intense discussion within the Education Department. Courtney Ilbert as Parliamentary Counsel was constantly being called in by Devonshire to discuss the state of play given the Cockerton hearings; as he notes in his diary "...long talk with Duke of Devonshire and Gorst about Secondary Education" (45). Interestingly, while the politicians most closely associated with education discussed finance, Michael Sadler regarded the nature and proposed direction of non-elementary education as of more fundamental importance. He had always held a poor opinion of public administrators and politicians in particular (46), and in the first month of the new century he held out little hope for a reorganization of non-elementary education. In a letter to his father, he argued that the deficiencies of educational standards within the country were the result of,

"...deficiencies in systematic co-ordination of Secondary Education, and saw (...no prospect of an improvement at present and no support for such views amongst those who have power to mould things" (47).

This view of Sadler's is important given that within eighteen months, a comprehensive Education Act would have been passed. What it does indicate is that educational direction from above (especially politically) was lacking and was largely dictated to by events and the concerns of the Treasury.

Devonshire and Gorst shared the view that the allocation of grants remained the key to future educational development. Properly financed local education authorities based on the counties could then aid and establish more formally, non-elementary education. Ilbert was made aware by February 1900 that the decision to reorganize secondary education and provide a block grant formula had already been taken within the Education Department. The need to rush through a bill to

take account of the likely legal outcome of the Cockerton battle was also apparent; on 13 February 1900, Ilbert reflected in his diary this sense of urgency: "...saw Gorst about Orders in Council over an Education Bill" (48). Again the political approach was one of expediency in the light of the London School Board's struggle with the local government auditor. This is why Sadler remained pessimistic about the real issue, namely a reorganization of non-elementary education, being swamped by financial expediency and as a result believed that "...nothing effective can be done for secondary education" (49).

This pessimism seemed to be justified given the nature of the 'New Code of Regulations for Day Schools', which was issued as a Parliamentary paper (Cd 7f, 1900) and was dominated by the relationship between grant assistance for acceptable subjects of study as identified by the Board of Education (50). When the provisions of the Elementary Education Bill were introduced by Gorst in the Commons on 26 March 1900, the Vice President emphasized that the Bill was largely a series of amendments necessary to take account of the various education acts up to that point. There were essentially four amendments embodied in the proposals outlined by Gorst; first, an amendment as to the free grant providing that the average attendance should be calculated according to the Code at the time of being in force; second, a suggestion that powers should be given to guardians to contribute to the expenses of public elementary schools in those cases where the poorer children were to any extent sent to the schools. Third, a provision to relieve the parishes in the jurisdiction of the school board from contributing twice over towards blind and deaf children in their districts, and in the matter of compulsory attendance, the maximum penalty was raised from 5s to 20s. Finally, there was an amendment raising the number of attendances for

obtaining what was known as the 'dunce's' certificate from 250 to 330 (51). Both the Code and the proposed Bill received a favourable response from Unionist backbenchers who believed that,

"...elementary education will be delivered from the operation of a motive which has hitherto been widely disastrous to it - viz. the desire to turn the School into a machine for "earning" the largest possible aggregate grant... The second broad merit of the new code is that it provides for elasticity of curriculum" (52).

Devonshire's desire to establish local education authorities based on the County structure for the provision of non-elementary education led to the production of his 'Secondary Education Bill' proposal, put before the Cabinet on 3 May 1900. The proposal concerned itself with financial reorganization, but also sought to establish a more formal centralised structure for non-elementary provision. There were essentially four proposals (53): first, 'to make the application of local taxation to education compulsory instead of permissive'; second, to allow 'this money' to be used 'in aiding other forms of non-elementary education besides technical and manual'; third, to provide 'for the more formal constitution of Education Committees under the sanction of the Board of Education'; and finally, to allow 'rates as well as local taxation to aid non-elementary education generally, and in the case of counties and county boroughs, it alternatively removed the limit of 1d altogether, or raised the limit of 1d to 2d'. The Cabinet agreed to this proposal and Devonshire introduced the Bill into the Lords on 26 June 1900. Importantly the Unionist government's education proposals must be seen in financial rather than in educational terms, a view confirmed by Michael Sadler who believed that the Duke of Devonshire and the rest of the Government had lost the: "opportunity to reorganize... secondary education..." (54) and further suggested that "...only a small part of

the country is yet prepared for needful change.. (it will) involve much unpopularity..." (55). Within the Commons however, Gorst faced the wrath of the Liberals over his Elementary Education Bill, many of whom objected to the principle of government interference in the organization of education in general, but also saw the Bill as the thin end of the Education Department's plan to abolish school boards (56). Devonshire's Bill did receive a second reading on 23 July 1900, although the Cabinet was more concerned with events in South Africa. Nevertheless, despite the failure to push the Bill into law, the Board of Education laid down its views that it would be obligatory to devote Whiskey Money (not optional) to the maintenance of schools; that county councils were to be empowered to levy for education purposes a maximum rate of 2d (instead of the 1d prescribed by the Act of 1889); that both grants and rates might be applied by the councils to the support, not of technical, but of non-elementary education generally. The proposals were significant for by it, the Board of Education, "...proclaimed its intention to make use of the county councils, not the school boards, to organize secondary education" (57). In fact, in the official publications from July 1900 issued by the Board of Education, the technical education given by county councils is termed secondary education, while a departmental decision forbade the school boards to admit to their evening classes, pupils above 16.

The attack on the position of school boards in providing non-elementary education was now in full swing; the legal wrangle between Cockerton the auditor for London and the London School Board had yet to be resolved, but a decision was expected by the end of the year. In September 1900 however, Salisbury, determined to capitalize on General Roberts' progress in South Africa, dissolved Parliament and the so-called Khaki election was held. Salisbury's manifesto was largely dominated by the nature of the Opposition which remained divided and

therefore, he argued, incapable of governing effectively. The result was a victory for the Unionists who obtained over 50% of the U.K. vote more than in 1895 even though their overall majority in the Commons fell by 18 seats.

There was much evidence of apathy, with the total vote down on 1895. This was partly accounted for by the larger number of uncontested seats, for the Liberals were at this time, unable to contest 143 Unionist seats, excluding Ireland and the Universities, as against 110 in 1895, a measure of the Opposition's disorganization following the election. Salisbury was determined to hold together the traditional Cabinet he had always believed in. J.S. Sandars, in a letter to Balfour, even suggested using the Board of Education as a means of keeping prominent politicians happy (58), but even such manipulation held no sway with Salisbury, who believed that certain individuals had to go (Henry Chaplin being the most prominent) (59). The reconstructed Cabinet with Salisbury's son-in-law Selborne succeeding Goschen as First Lord of the Admiralty and his son Lord Cranborne becoming Under Secretary at the Foreign Office, brought additional press criticism of government by the 'Hotel Cecil'.

Although South African news dominated political discussion throughout October 1900 and particularly in the last two months of the year with a reorganized and revitalised Boer Army, the impending legal decision over the London School Board continued to stir Liberal antagonism.

There seems to be some evidence that members of the Cecil family, particularly Lord Cranborne, Lord Hugh Cecil and Evelyn Cecil were instrumental in instigating the Cockerton case (60). Lord Cranborne was certainly the most influential given his desire to promote the position of the Church of England voluntary schools. Evelyn Cecil (61), was a member of the London School Board and was therefore

in a strong position to provide information about its expansionist activities:

"...all three Cecils were united, together with close relations Lord Salisbury and Arthur Balfour, in a shared dislike for the activities of the School Board for London. This mammoth educational enterprise represented, to the Cecils at least, the apotheosis of all that was irreligious, financially extravagant and politically unsound" (62).

Balfour had been a persistent critic of school board extravagance and in particular, he argued that the London School Board placed an unacceptable burden on the ratepayer who had,

"...first got to pay a School Board rate on a scale of extravagance which surpasses anything I know of in this country, and so far as I am aware anything in Europe, to require him to pay that rate... the position of that man is a hard one" (63).

Nevertheless as A.I. Taylor has shown the initiative in activating the Cockerton case finally lay with William Garnett, and through him, Gorst (64).

The so called 'Cockerton' judgement on 8 June 1899 which went against the London School Board had resulted in an appeal, but on Thursday 20 December 1900 in the High Court of Justice (Queen's Bench Division), Mr Justice Kennedy stated that, "I feel compelled to hold that the payment by the school board out of rates for the provision and maintenance of Science and Art Schools and Classes in day schools is ultra vires" (65). In other words, as The Times put it the next day "The Court does not limit the right of a School Board to give education as high as it pleases so long as it is not paid for out of the rates" (66). This judgement meant that the role of non-elementary education under school board jurisdiction was at an end: it meant as

Evelyn Cecil M.P. suggested in a letter to The Times that the decision, "...may bring about the speedy introduction of an adequate Secondary Education Bill..." (67). The London school board appealed again to the Court of Appeal, but the Queen's Bench division decision was confirmed on 1 May 1901. The school board did not carry the matter to the final Court of Appeal, the House of Lords.

The Cockerton judgement meant that there had to be a reorganization of non-elementary education; events up to the Queen's Bench decision had really reflected the indecisive nature of the government's education policy, in essence a policy of response to need, rather than a coherent and comprehensive plan for national education. In short, Balfour and the Unionist government had been drifting. In January 1901, Sidney Webb published a Fabian tract (68) which Gorst was to use to convince Cabinet members of the need to overhaul the educational structure, not simply to tinker with it. What Webb argued for was the establishment,

"...in each district of convenient size, one public education authority... providing and controlling all the education maintained in the district out of public funds..." (69).

School boards, Webb argued, should not be the authority, rather they should be abolished and county councils should, via a committee, take control. This new education authority should exercise control not only over the former board schools but also over voluntary schools, which should in future be assisted out of the rates. What Gorst sought was, "...a bold measure of administrative socialism, which would satisfy, at the same time, both the education reformers and the Anglican clergy" (70). It was the nature of a proposed Bill, which now dominated political discussion. Courtney Ilbert noted in his diary for February 1901 that he had a "long conference with the Duke of

Devonshire and Gorst on the Education Bill" (71). Even Michael Sadler was unsure about the direction the government might take. Sadler's view was that any measure must have national support and not be dictated to by party political considerations, and even argued that secondary education should be placed under county borough committees, leaving school boards with their powers limited to deal with elementary education (72). Sadler's main fear was that the: "Municipalization of Education would be disastrous and lead to the development of inefficient secondary education on school board lines" (73). Nevertheless, the Bill introduced by Sir John Gorst on 7 May 1901 was essentially a re-run of the 1896 Bill, paving the way at some future date for the transference to the education committees of the county councils the powers exercised by the school boards. Although, eventually, an Act derived from Bill No. 2 was passed which enabled local authorities to empower school boards temporarily to continue with certain schools and allow for the sanctioning of certain school board expense, Gorst's hopes for the enactment of his own larger Bill antagonised many within the Commons. Balfour was already indicating by 15 May that Gorst's Bill was not, "...a complete scheme in the sense of covering the whole ground occupied by primary as well as secondary education" (74). In the same letter, echoes of Salisbury reverberated, for Balfour insisted that: "Legislation which attempts too much is too often apt to effect nothing, and in this as in other matters the more cautious methods are often the quickest" (75). The principle of small bills was to be maintained as far as Balfour was concerned, despite the impact of the Cockerton judgement. This attitude is clearly seen in his letter to Lord Salisbury on 5 January 1901 when stated that,

"I go to Chatsworth on Monday, and Devonshire is sure to talk to me at length upon his educational schemes. I confess they alarm me:

not because they are defective but because they are too complete. I fear a repetition of our parliamentary experience in '96!" (76).

In April 1901, the abandonment by the London School Board of their appeal against the Cockerton judgement made it clear that there would have to be a more wide ranging bill beyond the Salisbury principle. It was now clear to Balfour that action on education was becoming politically unavoidable. Since March, an all party group of MPs had been urging Balfour to take a much wider perspective of educational reorganization (77). This group, led by Evelyn Cecil argued for the organization of secondary education on the following lines:

- "1. ...wherever practicable, Elementary, Secondary and Technical Education should be under one Local Authority.
2. It may be expedient to establish such an Authority in the first instance for the administration of Secondary and Technical Education only.
3. As to area, it was agreed that schemes should be formulated, to meet local needs, by Local Authorities representing either (i) the County or (ii) the County Borough, or (iii) such other area as may be specially approved by the Board of Education (e.g. in Lancashire where many semi-urban districts have grown up)" (78).

At their second meeting on 2 April 1901, the group proposed the following additional resolutions:

- "1. That the composition of the new Authority be determined by means of a scheme submitted by the County Council or County Borough Council to the Board of Education.
2. The new Education Authority shall be composed of Members of the County Council together with outside Members who are either:
 - (a) nominated by the County Council or
 - (b) Co-opted by the Members of the Education Committee chosen by the County Council or

(c) Chosen by Education bodies within or near the area, and nominated by the County Council" (79).

By June 1901, when with Gorst's Bill still being discussed, Balfour found himself faced with the prospect of having to become involved in an area of great administrative complexity, there was at least some comfort in knowing that there were Liberals such as Yoxall and Macnamara who were prepared to play a constructive part in the education debate (80).

His main problem by the summer of 1901 was that of time (81). His attitude to education can be clearly seen during these summer months: the Salisbury tactic of using small bills, which had, since 1896 been the principle method for dealing with education, was no longer viable. Not only did he suggest to the Bishop of Coventry in June 1901 that he, "...never anticipated dealing with the education question this session"-(82) but more importantly that he would not, "...have permitted the Bill even to be introduced had it not been for the Cockerton judgement" (83). Ultimately the impetus for educational reorganization came not from Balfour but from forces outside his control. In his letter to the Bishop of Coventry, Balfour also indicated that Gorst's Bill might well have to be withdrawn with only those elements dealing with the "...immediately pressing problem of Continuation Schools as laid down in Clause 8 of the Bill" (84) being dealt with. Balfour now found himself having to play a major role again in the delivery of educational reconstruction.

With Balfour's involvement in education the eclipse of Sir John Gorst began. On 27 June 1901, Balfour withdrew Gorst's Bill. Replying to a deputation of Unionist Members of Parliament in the No 10 Committee Room of the House of Commons, he suggested that the issue of education had not played a major part in government thinking given the

"...important financial and military proposals which were bound to lay before them in the course of the session" (85). Again Balfour emphasised that the Cockerton judgement had been the key factor in bringing matters to a head and but for that decision "...we should have deferred to a more convenient session" (86). Balfour was simply reiterating the Salisbury view that the government's approach to education had been fundamentally correct and, but for the Cockerton decision, the piecemeal approach would have continued. For Balfour, therefore, the new educational initiative, of which the details were to be left to Devonshire (87), would be introduced "...at the beginning of next year..." (88), with a "...short Bill, which should deal with the immediate difficulties caused by Mr Cockerton's judgement..." (89).

Balfour hoped that any major Bill would be agreed with the co-operation of the Opposition, mainly because of the legal anomaly which the Cockerton judgement had produced. In a letter to the Liberal M.P. Mather on 12 July 1901, Balfour suggested that, "...we should in these education discussions as far as possible keep out political and sectarian elements of difference..." (90). However, the Liberal Opposition very quickly began to see the impending danger to the school boards and opposition to the government's education proposals forced Balfour to conclude that, "...whenever religion or irreligion are in question clarity and sweet reasonableness go off on holiday" (91). Yet it was the administrative aspects of educational legislation which dominated Balfour's mind, not education as an issue. In effect, he was obliged to throw off his philosopher guise and come to terms with the administrative demands of new legislation. This was perhaps only natural, for as Leader of the House and First Lord of the Treasury, with financial and party considerations, he could not but become involved - not out of desire but because of his position within

the Cabinet. Fortunately help was at hand. On Palm Sunday 31 March 1901 Balfour's close friend Edward Talbot, Bishop of Rochester introduced him to Robert Morant, then a junior official of the Board of Education. The meeting took place at the Bishop's Palace, Kennington, (92) the day before the Master of the Rolls delivered his final judgement on the Cockerton Case. Talbot had strong links with Cranborne and the Church Party but was determined to move Balfour to a more comprehensive approach to educational reform. During the meeting, Morant outlined his belief for the need of centralized educational administration, exactly the opposite view of Sir John Gorst, his political master. Balfour's dislike of Gorst could only have helped Morant's case. Both Talbot and Morant believed in the principle of a large single bill encompassing elementary and secondary education. By July 1901 Morant had become Balfour's adviser.

Nevertheless, it is his attitude to the issue which has become blurred with time, for on 25 July 1901, Balfour in a letter to the Duke of Devonshire noted:

"I have as you know been dragged (much against my will) into questions connected with Education, which though partly legislative, have a very important administrative side; and we have been much pressed in the course of recent debates by question and argument all directed to showing that in fact, our Bill will not work..."(93).

Interestingly, Balfour was conscious of potential embarrassment and conflict within the Party, for as he suggested,

"...unless we avoid the kind of friction which gave us such trouble in the House of Commons, and out of it, over the Higher Elementary School Minute last year, we may know from gossip... that your Permanent Secretary neither loves your policy nor is anxious to further it" (94).

For Gorst, Ilbert and Kekewich, the Cabinet Committee was to prove an uncomfortable experience given their clear hostility to Morant and

Balfour. Sir Courtney Ilbert, whose political sympathies were strongly Liberal, had nothing but contempt for Balfour and appeared impatient to see the Unionists out of office; "Long discussion... He (Balfour) has prepared a Cabinet memorandum of his own... containing many wild and unworkable suggestions" (95). Sir George Kekewich, like Ilbert had strong Liberal leanings. However, Morant eager to advance his own position, informed Balfour that Kekewich was unreliable. Writing to the Duke of Devonshire in July 1901, Balfour indicated his mistrust of the Permanent Secretary:

"I vent: to trouble you upon a matter wh. I quite admit does not immediately concern you... I know from gossip. And tho' it be gossip is I am sure well informed that yr. Permanent Sec. nevr loves govt policy nor in anywise supports it" (96)

Kekewich had expressed to Morant in September 1901 his dislike of a single bill encompassing elementary and secondary education, unaware of his junior officer's deviousness. Morant, determined to break away from piecemeal legislation, informed Balfour of the Permanent Secretary's views:

"I believe that the only person whom the Duke saw in town after receiving your letter of the 28th (suggesting 3 draft Bills) was Kekewich... ..the upshot of which was that Kekewich has since been happy "consulting Ilbert "on all important points of the situation... no doubt, there is as usual a happy "collaboration" going on, of which the poor old Duke is blissfully unconscious but unhappily the victim... As to the question of including Elementary in next sessions Bill - Kekewich is, I find, most anxious that only Secondary should be touched and that Elementary should be postponed till a session or two later - as he still hopes that ere long some turn of the Parliamentary wheel of fortune may bring to the top some authoritative voices more favourable to his friends the School Boards and N.U.T. than he finds at present!! The Duke however does not realise this, but only wonders how all the difficulties can ever be met" (97).

The outcome of Robert Morant's machinations was the total exclusion of Kekewich, Ilbert and the undermining of the Duke of Devonshire, by implying that he was being manipulated by the Permanent Secretary. However extraordinarily bizarre these developments were, they do not seem to have worried Balfour, so long as they advanced the Bill.

Kekewich never forgave Balfour for his treatment or lack of consideration and was to return to public life as a Liberal M.P. In reality Morant sought to further incriminate Kekewich (and thereby Ilbert) in a 'conspiracy' against the single bill approach. Ilbert's exclusion, although more challenging, was no less difficult for Morant. The process really began in September 1901 when he told Balfour about Kekewich and Ilbert "collaborating". By December 1901, Ilbert's position had become untenable.

On 8 August 1902, prior to a Cabinet Committee meeting, Balfour chaired a meeting of Gorst, Kekewich, Ilbert, Sanders and Morant. Both Devonshire and Long were absent from this private meeting in his room at the House of Commons. Writing to the Duke of Devonshire on 20 August Balfour stated that he had met with Salisbury and had discussed the education issue (98):

"...He is very anxious to have some sort of bill actually in print by the time the Cabinet meet...
...I promised him that he should have, in the rough, two alternative proposals (a) one dealing with secondary education, (b) one dealing with secondary plus primary education. It might be worthwhile I think, to prepare a third, which should deal with secondary education completely, but, so far as primary education is concerned, should do no more than (i) abolish the cumulative vote for School Boards, and (ii) introduce the clause (25 was it not?) of the Bill of '96 permitting children to be taught the religious opinions of their parents, whether in board or Voluntary Schools" (99).

By 20 August, Gorst had prepared a draft Bill which was forwarded by

Devonshire to Balfour on the 25th. However, pressure for Balfour to take full and complete control of any new education measure was already being made. Writing in September 1901, Morant, Gorst's Private Secretary, began the process which was to lead Balfour to assume control:

"I feel very strongly that we ought before getting much "ferrarder" to see some of the more prominent and experienced County Council and Urban District Chairman Clerks... I should like myself to see a few such men... ..Would such a step, I wonder, meet your sanction and approval...? It seems highly unfair that you should be troubled with these matters in the holidays. But unless your are going to take the helm in Education next session, and before the session, nothing will be done successfully" (100).

It is here that most educational historians (101) have identified the point at which Balfour was pulled into the Morant orbit. There is no doubt that he apparently allowed himself to be taken over by Morant, content in the belief that the political crisis would thus be settled. However, by 1901 action on education had become inevitable. Importantly, the educational, economic and administrative framework which had held the system together had been crumbling away, the process accelerated by the financial problems caused through continuous subvention and the impact of the Boer War. The Cockerton judgement merely sealed its fate, and while Morant was clear in his own mind about educational reform, Balfour always the pragmatist, was willing to accede to his influence only because his view coincided with his own thoughts. He accepted that educational change had to take place and once convinced, Morant's ferreting, as opposed to the unreliable work of Gorst and Kekewich (102), came into its own. Morant was fortunate that circumstances provided not only the climate for change but also the pressure for reform. It was however, to be reform of an administrative rather than an institutional nature, a policy which found ready compliance with Balfour's fundamental philosophical

beliefs.

Morant's objective by September 1901 was clear: an all encompassing Education Bill was required, not a piecemeal package influenced by Kekewich (103). He was already sounding out opinion and was generally receiving favourable responses:

"Personally I have no hesitation in strongly advocating a large constructive measure dealing with both elementary and secondary education in preference to a more partial Bill, and I believe I may truly say that same view would be taken by all Parliamentary friends" (104).

Morant was always quick to emphasise the potential collusion between Kekewich and Ilbert almost hinting at conspiracy and the incompetence of Devonshire. With both Gorst and Devonshire on holiday in September 1901, Morant suggested that this allowed Kekewich to:

"... apparently "confer" with Ilbert as to your Bills! but intending to see Ilbert himself at the end of this month; when his unfortunate Grace will again, I suppose be overwhelmed with all the difficulties and none of the possible solutions" (105)

Certainly, the nature of the bill had left the Board of Education in a state of disarray, and as a consequence, "...confused by a want of unity of purpose and co-operation in counsel" (106). The apparent confusion, emphasised by Morant, had led the First Lord of the Treasury to conclude that, "Gorst sees no difficulties, and the Duke sees nothing else" (107). The growing conflict between Gorst and Devonshire, rising and falling since the events of June 1896, did not help matters within the Board of Education. Gorst, always one to speak his mind, even had Morant, dropping hints to Devonshire (via Fitzroy) "...to minimise the mischief of his utterances" (108). Again it is perhaps a reflection on the character of Morant who as Gorst's private secretary "...should be in the medium of such communicating" (109),

that he was willing to use others as a means of controlling his political master. Nevertheless, Morant's influence over Balfour had become pervasive.

On 29 October 1901, Devonshire, Gorst, Ilbert and Morant met to discuss the nature of the Bill. Walter Long (President of the Board of Agriculture) should have been present but was unable to attend "...to the great relief of the rest" (110). At the meeting, Devonshire told Ilbert to prepare two Bills "...one drastic, the other on his lines of local option" (111). Devonshire was still doubtful about,

"...any idea of requiring the local authority to find all the cost maintenance of Denominational Schools and he still wanted to throw on the Local Authorities the decision as to supressing the School Boards (except perhaps the smaller ones)" (112).

Information of this nature, written by Morant to Balfour, was tantamount to a breach of confidence, given that Gorst was his political master. Morant had always attempted to fix himself firmly to any rising or established star to further his own career. It could be argued that Morant recognised that many within the Unionist ranks had by 1901 become anxious as to who might succeed Salisbury. Many believed that Balfour would eventually succeed, but that, "...it would be no advantage to Mr Balfour to assume the direction of the Party immediately on Lord Salisbury's withdrawal" (113), with Balfour assuming control eventually after a short interval. The problem with this prospect for Morant was that it could potentially lead to a Liberal Unionist ascendancy under Joseph Chamberlain who was, however, unacceptable to the majority of the Conservative Party. Morant not only realised this but he knew that any Education Bill which involved rate aid within a reorganized national structure, would inevitably lead to a clash within the Liberal Unionist Party in general and with Joseph Chamberlain in particular. Morant perceived that Devonshire had

short term political prospects: Balfour on the other hand, had his roots firmly entrenched within the Conservative Party and was the more likely successor. Morant's correspondence with Balfour reflects a determination to maintain an important link with an individual likely to reach the highest political office.

Morant continued to undermine the position of Devonshire in the eyes of Balfour:

"...I do earnestly hope... that you will not let any definite decision be taken by the Tuesday Cabinet that elementary education shall be left out of the bill... It is in this respect that the Duke of Devonshire is so much in the dark" (114).

On the day Morant wrote this letter to Balfour, 2 November 1901, Devonshire circulated three draft Bills on Education (two of which dealt with secondary and elementary together and the third with secondary alone) (115). The previous day, Balfour had written to Morant proclaiming his confusion over the Education issue:

"There are two fundamental difficulties ahead of us in connection with the new Education Bill, through which I utterly fail to see my way. The first is the opposition of the non-County Boroughs. I confess I think Rollit's arguments are, in a Parliamentary sense unanswerable... if non-County Boroughs unite against us, our position will be hopeless...

The second difficulty is, of course, the future position of Voluntary Schools. As I understand the present situation, those interested in the maintenance of the schools desire to have all their current expenses connected with secular education paid out of the rates, they in exchange to hand over their existing buildings, and to engage for the future to keep them up, and, where necessary to add to them... But I take it that in a very large number of cases the buildings are inferior to the board schools, and that if the voluntary school managers were required to bring them up to that standard, their financial position would hardly be improved by the change. This points to making any arrangement between the Managers and the Local Authority a voluntary one and a variable

one, as was originally proposed. But it is undesirable that such a plan is open to the criticism that it would please nobody very much, and that it will bring the denominational question into local elections. You will see by this that I am in the lowest possible spirits about the whole question....." (116).

In the opening draft, Devonshire put the case for an Education Bill which placated backbench sentiment as much as educational advancement:

"I have reason to think that there will be a great disappointment among the supporters of the Government, if another bill is introduced which does nothing for elementary education and especially for the Voluntary Schools, the existence of which is becoming more and more precarious" (117).

Devonshire reiterated the political point that the withdrawal of Gorst's Bill had not produced a backbench revolt only because of the impression and expectation that, "...a more comprehensive measure would be introduced next session" (118). In the draft, the Cowper-Temple clause was to be abolished and replaced by a more open ended version of the 1896 Bill's Clause 27. These proposals did reflect however a sense of unease, for Devonshire was keen to opt for the least contentious approach and in many ways, the Devonshire line reflected the "...embryonic" (119) nature of education policy. Devonshire was however, keen to restate the Board of Education's position regarding the powers of local education authorities, arguing that, "...County and County Borough Technical Instruction Committees... should receive a more definite legislation as the authorities for Secondary as well as Technical Education within their areas" (120). The Cabinet meeting of 5 November 1901 was the first time discussion of a comprehensive education bill had been "...seriously" (121) examined. Discussion lasted two hours (122) and produced a split within the Cabinet. Throughout the meeting, Balfour insisted that legislation should not be limited to non-elementary

education (123), while the issue of rate aid to voluntary schools was also put to one side largely because it was felt that Chamberlain would have resigned over the matter and brought the Unionist coalition down with him (124). The sensitivity of rate support and religious opposition "...which is mainly conducted in discussions round the Cowper-Temple clause" (125), was an issue Balfour had to be careful about given the nature of coalition government. In a letter to Lord Selborne on 7 November, Joseph Chamberlain expressed his concern over the rates issue and the likely impact upon Unionist politics:

"...The question of education is a very delicate one in the case of the Radical Unionists. If you were to promote a bill giving rate aid to denominational schools, I think you would lose Birmingham and the Birmingham influence, whatever that may be worth, to the Unionist Party.

You are perfectly consistent in your views, but you may on that very account be unaware of the strong feeling of the other section of the Party with whom I am constantly brought into contact..." (126).

The Bill had therefore to cut a careful path. As a result, the establishment of a second Cabinet Committee excluding Gorst was set up; its members were Balfour, Lord Selborne, the Duke of Devonshire, Walter Long, R.W. Hanbury and Lord James of Hereford. Devonshire believed that the Committee should accept his view that Councils should be free to make their own decision about establishing themselves as LEA's for elementary education. If they wished to do so, he believed that they should then be empowered to give rate aid to voluntary schools. This was essentially a compromise formula it had overtones of Salisbury's attitude, for what Devonshire sought was not a national reorganization of education based on new LEA's, but pockets of new authorities willing to accept the new approach and unlikely therefore to stir up the religious controversy. Such a policy, although not educationally advantageous, would at least be politically

acceptable, and given the nature of the Unionist coalition (and in particular the role of Joseph Chamberlain) a sensible option from a pragmatic politician.

It was clear however, that rate aid was really the only option given the Treasury attitude to additional Parliamentary grants (127). This view was echoed by Balfour who pointed out that, "it seems to me absolutely essential that a real check should be imposed on the continued increase of ordinary expenditure" (128). The issue of rate aid had major political connotations which Balfour accepted could be damaging given that it would bring the Government into conflict with non-conformity and hence the Liberal Unionists. However, pressure outside Parliament for rate aid, which would place "...all public elementary schools on a footing of financial equality" (129) and that the "local authority should be empowered to levy a rate over the whole area towards the maintenance of all schools under its care" (130), was becoming a necessity. The religious aspects of rate aid and non-conformity continued to concern Balfour, who was still recuperating from illness at the end of November. Nevertheless, he suggested to Sandars, in a letter from Maidenhead, the need to omit in clause one,

"...any reference to the wishes of the parents in the matter of religious education, and to substitute for it a definite instruction that the Committee should contain representatives of among other educational bodies, the Association of Voluntary Schools" (131).

Balfour was receiving advice not only from Morant but also from his cousin, Lord Hugh Cecil. In a memorandum sent to Balfour in November 1901, Lord Hugh Cecil argued that:

"1. Every voluntary school (should) receive the whole cost of maintenance from public funds; and provide and repair buildings out of subscriptions (for this is the alternative I prefer).

2. The new education authority to have full control of the secular education; the existing managers to have unimpaired control of the religious education.

3. The teachers to be appointed by the managers subject to the veto of the education authority. If after three attempts they cannot agree appointment to be made in associated school by the Visitatorial Committee in an associated department..." (132).

By December 1901, the evolving nature of the Bill remained a cause for concern, for Corst believed that so long as voluntary schools remained voluntary, "...The Bill does little to improve their financial position or to enable the new Authority to make them efficient" (132). Devonshire remained concerned about the relationship within the coalition and in particular with Joseph Chamberlain. He was convinced that rate aid was essential, otherwise "...the Bill cannot be defended..." (134). On 8 December 1901, Devonshire discussed with Chamberlain the principle of rate aid to denominational schools and questioned him as to his position should a Cabinet majority be in favour. It seems clear that Chamberlain hinted that he might accept a Cabinet majority vote (135), but felt that, "...to give such a permissive power to local authorities would be unworkable and would... ..not be acted upon" (136) in many of the towns. Chamberlain refused to give Devonshire a clear answer which led the Lord President to conclude that if rate aid were not forthcoming it was likely that there would be an "...amendment making it compulsory on the LEA to finance all voluntary schools" (137). His pessimistic conclusion was that such an amendment would mean either the dropping of the Bill or, if resisted, the break up of the government (138). Rate aid for Devonshire was leading him down the path of piecemeal legislation for if, "...we cannot do something in the direction of rate aid we had better revert to the Secondary Bill and leave Elementary Education alone" (139). Devonshire's concern appeared to Balfour as panic and

this view of the Lord President was fuelled by Morant who informed Balfour that at his meeting with the Duke on 5 December (the day before Devonshire's meeting with Chamberlain), the Lord President, "...really did not seem to have thought out any one of the various plans. And this must mean a collapse in Parliament might it not?" (140). However, the apprehension as far as Balfour was concerned was not simply over personalities. It seemed clear to him that the issue of rate aid had meant that it had become impossible to, "work within the limits laid down by the Cabinet, and some revision of their instructions upon the limit of rate aid had become necessary" (141). Talk of breaking up the coalition if rate aid was persisted with greatly concerned him (142) and as a result, at the Cabinet meeting on 12 December, Balfour presented a three page memorandum (143) summarising the opinion of the Cabinet Committee on the issue. In the paper, he pointed out that attempts to establish a balanced view in relation to rate aid had failed and suggested that the Cabinet Committee were therefore, "...driven to the conclusion that the Cabinet's Bill would certainly fail and would probably be rejected on a second reading" (144). Balfour therefore backed Devonshire's conclusion of the week before regarding the necessity of rate aid, arguing that, "if there is no power of setting, once and for all, the question of granting rate aid, it will be a perpetual irritant at every County and Municipal election throughout England" (145). Devonshire's paper 'Instructions for the preparation of a draft Bill on Education' (146) also suggested that the Bill was not, "...a complete measure or as one which will give satisfaction to the large majority of the supporters of the Government" (147) and also raised the point, initially made to Balfour in a letter of 6 December, that, "...a Bill this limited would have no prospect of being passed, and that, if this restriction is maintained, it would be preferable to

introduce a Bill limited to Secondary Education" (148). On the same day as the Cabinet meeting, Chamberlain discussed the Education proposals with Morant. Chamberlain's view was that the draft proposals would mean "...Rate War in every town as in 1870" (149). As far as he was concerned, rate aid was 'secretarian' and "...if I were the Opposition I would get a rate martyr in every town in England and Wales, and so smash you" (150). Morant's reply indicated the extent to which he was committed to universal (rather than permissive) rate aid, for he suggested that: "The law would crush" (151) any martyrs. Nevertheless, the lines for conflict within the Unionist coalition had been drawn; although Morant believed he had put the government case to Chamberlain clearly, he was realistic enough to realise that Chamberlain had not been converted (152).

At the Cabinet meeting held in the Foreign Office on 13 December, Devonshire's initial success in convincing the Cabinet of the necessity of rate aid was short lived, for the Cabinet voted 10 to 8 to "...divide the Education Bill into two" (153) and deal only with non-elementary education (a proposal initially made by Devonshire the week before). As far as elementary education was concerned, that would have to wait, and given that the first half of the Cabinet meeting was taken up by matters not related to education (Japanese affairs dominated) (154), it did appear that a formal policy (if only on non-elementary education) would at least be forthcoming. The reality of this decision was a victory for Salisbury, Chamberlain and Hicks Beach, and as a result, Morant was ordered on 14 December to prepare two draft Bills. Nevertheless, as Almeric Fitzroy suggested:

"A crisis in the Cabinet may have been averted, but a crisis in the Party is rendered imminent, though with a view to being ready for emergencies, a second Bill dealing with Elementary Education is to be prepared, but not mentioned in the King's speech" (155).

The chaos in devising a government policy on education was reflected in the disorder of Cabinet government for as Fitzroy pointed out,

"it is fear of the unknown that has paralysed the majority, but it seems to reduce the system of Cabinet Committee to a farce, if the unanimous resolution of the men who have been charged with the special investigation of a particular subject is to be set aside, and its handling determined by their less well informed colleagues" (156).

Despite Lord Salisbury's opposition, Balfour was determined to press ahead with a comprehensive measure. By 14 December, Chamberlain had decided to pull back from the divisive Cabinet victory of the day before and offer major concessions. His decision to do so stemmed largely from his own position within the Unionist coalition. As an issue education inflamed passions, but it was not a topic likely to lead to schism on a scale that had affected the Liberal Party in 1886. In short, he had made his point, but the time to work with Balfour as a means of influencing the outcome had now arrived. Writing to the Duke of Devonshire on 14 December, Chamberlain stated that,

"I sympathise with you and with the Education Committee in your almost hopeless task... I ought to say, in the first place, that I am convinced that the right policy for the Government was to say from the outset in plain and unmistakable language that they did not intend to deal with Primary Education in the next session.

Unfortunately the idea has been allowed to gain consistence that we contemplate a large and comprehensive measure and it is possible that our friends are now so possessed with this notion that they will refuse to consider any Bill which is limited to Secondary Education only.

If this is your opinion and if you think that we must have a Bill dealing with Primary Education then I suggest the following as the lines on which it might be drawn.

1. Abolish Schools Boards.
2. Set up a Municipal authority for Education on the lines of your draft.

3. Give powers to this Authority... to make such grants to such schools for such times and under such conditions as may be agreed upon between the new Authority and the Managers of any voluntary school in its district.
4. Meet the case of London by making the Local Councils the Authority and providing that when and if they make grants to Voluntary Schools the sum so granted shall be paid out of the local rate aid not out of the Metropolitan Consolidated fund.
5. If it is necessary to carry out this scheme to abolish the Cowper-Temple Clause, let it go - although I would rather not raise this thorny subject if it could be avoided..." (157).

At the Cabinet meeting of 17 December Salisbury presented a paper (158) emphasizing the traditional Tory concern over the position of voluntary schools, arguing that if the financial distress could be alleviated "...other questions would lose their practical importance" (159). The problem for Salisbury by the end of 1901 was that individual suggestions on the education issue were no longer valid: education had progressed beyond piecemeal proposals, although Salisbury continued to ply the political line that, "...money must be found for voluntary schools on pain of a serious quarrel with our supporters" (160). Salisbury also emphasised a view, supported by Hicks Beach, that finance for education from the,

"Exchequer or rates (on the principle proposed the the Committee) are out in the cases where the schools must fall as an exception, having recourse to them only in the cases where they must fall if not aided, and entirely within the discretion of the local authority..." (161).

At the Cabinet meeting the next day, Balfour suggested that the decision to introduce two Bills might, "...have to be reconsidered" (162), although he bowed in the direction of Salisbury by commenting that he did not like the prospect of becoming entrenched in a complicated measure (163). Nevertheless, Balfour had reached the

conclusion that to leave elementary education out of the main Bill would be to leave the education issue incomplete.

Balfour had already provided the Cabinet with a detailed analysis of Lord Salisbury's Minute of the 17 December. In his response, Balfour showed his conviction to the issue of educational reform on a comprehensive scale:

"We, or at least the bulk of the party, are very deeply pledged to the policy of as far as possible co-ordinating Secondary and Primary Education under a single authority. Every educationalist and every supporter of Voluntary Schools, even when agreed on nothing else, are agreed upon this. It would be scarcely possible completely and openly to abandon this policy without provoking a hostile vote in the very first week of the session" (164).

His determination to incorporate both non-elementary and elementary aspects into one Bill was clarified (165) during the Cabinet meeting on 19 December, although "...the division of opinion was still considerable and a definite agreement had not been reached when the Cabinet adjourned" (166).

Although the division within the Cabinet remained considerable, Balfour admitted that he would not be "...personally responsible for any bill that deals with the problem on narrow and half hearted lines" (167). It was therefore to Morant, not Ilbert that Balfour turned to draft a new bill to take into account the Cabinet's new view. Courtney Ilbert noted in his diary for 20 December that, "he (Balfour) thought the drafting of the Education Bill had better pass into other hands" (168). The instructions to Morant are illuminating in that they reflect a committed administrator, determined to press ahead to finish and thereby defuse the issue (169). He was conscious that two bills might have to be produced, and given the volatility of the Cabinet, suggested to Morant that he "...work the matter as one

Bill" (170), and that he should work the Bill as discussed at Cabinet on 16 December (171).

Nevertheless, Cabinet division remained (172) and the political repercussions of rate aid to voluntary schools continued to be a particular worry. The Secretary of State for Scotland, Lord Balfour of Burleigh, put the concern of many government ministers when he suggested that,

"...without rate aid in some form, no definite or lasting solution can be devised, but... the political difficulties in the way of making rate aid compulsory are so serious as to be almost insuperable" (173).

Interestingly, Lord Balfour's suggestion as to the way out of this dilemma was that the shortfall between the parliamentary grant and the cost of the school,

"...should be divided and half paid by the Voluntary School managers and half by the new school authority out of the rates... and so save the whole cost being thrown on the rates" (174).

Although Ilbert noted that he had received a "satisfactory letter from Balfour over the Education Bill..." (175), the First Lord of the Treasury sent an additional letter on Christmas day 1901, suggesting that handing over the Bill to Morant was, "...due to no shortcomings on your part, but the very peculiar circumstances which necessarily surround the preparation of that measure" (176). The Morant intrigue had certainly proved to be a notable victory, for even in explanation, Balfour was forced to suggest to Ilbert that the proposed Bill, "...is an attempt to reorganize our education system on lines which you heartily dislike, and which you think unlikely to pass the House of Commons" (177). By the end of the year, Cabinet division and dissension remained with some ministers claiming that the financial

difficulty of the voluntary schools was the product of a Board of Education conspiracy. Devonshire was forced to deal with that accusation with a statement written on 30 December (for use in Cabinet on 6 January 1902) in which he rejected the, "...general impression among members of the Cabinet that the difficulty of voluntary schools are mainly caused by the pedantic and unreasonable demands of the Board of Education..." (178). Nevertheless, for Balfour the lesson of the years 1898 to 1901 had been clear: while the deficiencies of the Education Department had become manifest educational idealism had to be translated into practical measures with the House of Commons as the testing ground. By the end of 1901, the testing was over and the strain placed on the coalition by the education issue could no longer be dealt with in a piecemeal fashion. Now, when education reform on a large scale was unavoidable, Balfour took control. His ultimate victory for education was to be hard won (179),

"By ditching Gorst from the planning committee, effectively subduing Chamberlain, and employing Robert Morant in place of Kekewich and Craik, Balfour ensured that the 1902 Education Bill would have greater unanimity of purpose than its predecessor, and a better chance of success. The placing of the bill on the Statute Book on 18 December 1902 confirmed that the planning of the 1896 Education Bill had not been in vain" (180).

III. CONCLUSION

In his book 'A Defence of Philosophic Doubt' (181), Balfour suggested that from an essentially sceptical philosophy, he had "...little or no tendency to alter the internal structure of any actual or possible creed" (182). Such a view has provided educational historians (183) with tentative evidence that his attitude to education was the product of accident rather than design. It is upon this analysis that his ignorance of the topic is based (184), with the Act of 1897 normally being used to illustrate the limited extent of his knowledge (185).

The problem with this interpretation is that it assumes that Balfour should have had a much more complete appreciation of the topic than his apparent actions implied. However, as Leader of the House and First Lord of the Treasury, his interest in the topic of education emanated not from an educationalist but from a political perspective. The intricacy of the topic manifested itself at both the micro and macro level; it was at the macro level, of political considerations which immediately affected him. In reality, this was the least that could be expected from an individual whose primary aim was to co-ordinate coalition and House business, given that Salisbury had appointed two individuals, one with cabinet rank (186), with specific responsibility for education.

Although circumstances were to force Balfour to learn the complexities of the topic, this was largely the product of having to deal with the political consequences generated by the issue. Above all he believed, education to be sensitive to the erratic and radical machinations of Gorst and Kekewich. Both men he regarded as being untrustworthy (187), while the Duke of Devonshire appeared unable to grasp the nature of the topic. Importantly however, he believed that the Liberalism of the Education Department and the radical attitude of Gorst, threatened the equilibrium of the coalition. Since Gorst's unofficial visit to Ireland in 1891 (188), relations between the two had deteriorated (189) and following the collapse of the 1896 Bill, contact between the two had been greatly reduced. This lack of faith in the leading politician with responsibility for education, had major repercussions, while his dislike of Kekewich, an Acland acolyte merely increased the divide between himself and the Education Department.

In isolation therefore, Balfour was forced to take on more responsibility for matters which he did not believe were necessarily areas of

his immediate concern. His apparent dislike of the topic was therefore the natural development of having an additional administrative burden added to what he believed was an already extensive role. In effect, education policy from 1898 can therefore be seen operating at two levels; first, within the Education Department, and second from Balfour's pragmatic approach to the issue, especially when it generated political forces likely to upset the coalition. There is no doubt that Lord Cranborne, Edward Talbot and Robert Morant provided him with a useful kitchen cabinet of unofficial advisers, but as in Ireland, educational progress had to have a political dimension, offering clear and unequivocal dividends both for the government and the security of institutional control. While Cranborne, Talbot and Morant may well have influenced him, education policy for Balfour had to be linked to political considerations with which he could rationalise.

It is here therefore, that an important distinction needs to be made between the impact of the Church Party and his own attitude to the topic. While it may be significant that the end result of Balfour's activities in English education was to produce legislation which was clearly sectional, it does not follow that this development was the result of Church Party activity. For example, the Voluntary Schools Act 1897, although a piece of sectional legislation, did not represent what Cranborne and the Church Party had wanted. Their primary objective had been access to the educational rate in order to provide equity with the school boards while at the same time checking their extravagance (190). However, the Act of 1897 was a political response to the immediate financial plight of the voluntary schools and not the various efforts of Cranborne or his interest group because the end product was such a disappointment to them (191). This was at least consistent with Balfour's approach to educational issues in Ireland;

the issues then had been clear cut and once having made up his mind he pursued its cause (192). In England too, the issue presented itself in similar terms; financial difficulties in the voluntary sector required the implementation of the much needed Salisbury technique of small bills and subvention. This is in effect what took place, and despite the Church Party's protestations (193), it was Balfour's policy which was to rule the day.

Therefore, from 1897 it was Balfour not Cranborne or the Church Party who legitimised the policy of response to need in education as a means of reducing the potential political friction generated by the topic. This policy, subject to ever changing economic and judicial circumstances was to effectively result in the 1902 Act, a product of Balfourian pragmatism.

CHAPTER FOUR FOOTNOTES

1. Webb, Beatrice, The Diary of Beatrice Webb 1892-1905: Our Partnership, Vol. 2, Virago Press 1983, page 107.
2. Shannon, Richard, The Crisis of Imperialism, Paladin 1984, page 299.
3. The Times, 10 January 1898.
4. See Chapter Three pages 125-165.
5. Ibid.,.
6. PRO CAB 37/46 'Proposed Legislation to deal with Technical and Secondary Education', Devonshire (6 pages) for use in Cabinet on 14 July 1898 (page 5).
7. Ibid.,.
8. Ms. Eng. misc. C550, Folio 14-26, 8 February 1898.
9. Ibid., page 8.
10. Ibid., page 9, see note made by Kekewich in the margin.
11. See Feuchtwanger, E.J., Democracy and Empire 1865-1914, Edward Arnold 1985 and James, Robert, Rhodes, The British Revolution: British Politics 1880-1939, Methuen 1977.
12. Ms. Eng. misc. C550, Folio 14, Morant to Sadler, no date but March 1898.
13. PRO CAB 37/46, 'Proposed Education Bill', Devonshire, 3 pages, 15 July 1898.
14. PRO CAB 37/46, Board of Education Bill, 1 page, Devonshire, 26 July 1898.
15. The Times, 2 August 1898.
16. Ibid.,.
17. The Daily Chronicle, 9 August 1899.
18. See Curtis, S.J. and Boulwood, M.E.A. An Introductory History of English Education Since 1800, University Press 1966, pages 101-102.
19. Ibid.,.
20. Kekewich, G. The Education Department and After, Constable 1920. pages 108-109.
21. Ms. Eng. misc., C204-210, Sadler M.T., 28 September 1899.
22. Sadler, op. cit., Folio 30-32, Morant to Sadler, 21 March 1898.
23. Ibid., Folio 51-3, Morant to Sadler, 17 April 1898.

24. Ibid,.
25. Ibid,.
26. Ibid,.
27. Sadler, M.T., op. cit., 12 June 1898.
28. Sadler, op. cit., Folio 74, 15 March 1899.
29. Sadler, M.T., op. cit., 17 May 1899.
30. Sadler, op. cit., Folio 92, Morant to Sadler, 21 November 1899.
31. Ibid., Folio 94, Sadler to Kekewich, 22 November 1899.
32. Ibid., Folio 97, Kekewich to Sadler, 27 November 1899.
33. Ibid,.
34. Ibid,.
35. See Lucy, Henry, A Diary of the Unionist Parliament 1895-1900, J.W. Arrowsmith 1901.
36. See Conservative Party Archives (National Union), leaflet No. 53, May 1898.
37. Lucy, Henry, op. cit., page 242.
38. B.L. Add. Ms 49853, Folio 10, Balfour to (?), 29 June 1898.
39. Ibid,.
40. Ibid,.
41. Lucy, op. cit., 17 June 1898, page 241.
42. Clause VII read:

"In counties and county boroughs in England possessing an organisation for the promotion of Secondary Education, the authority so constituted may notify its willingness to be responsible for the science and art instruction within its areas. In such case, while the rights of the managers of existing schools and classes will be preserved, no managers of a new school or class will except under special circumstances, be recognised unless they are responsible to such authority. In Wales the Intermediate Education Authority is for this purpose regarded as the authority for the promotion of Secondary Education".

See Science and Art Directory 189, page 421).

Also see: The Schoolmaster, 14 May 1897, page 911 for Yoxall's attempt to pick this point up in the Commons (H.C.49, C502).

53. Ibid,.

44. Balfour's speech at Leys School, Cambridge, 16 June 1899, cited in Short, W.M., Arthur Balfour as Philosopher and Thinker, New York 1913, page 54.
45. Ilbert, Courtney, 6 January 1900, H.C. Lib., Ms46.
46. Sadler, M.T. op. cit., 7 January 1900.
47. Ibid.,.
48. Ilbert, op. cit., 13 February 1900.
49. Sadler, M.T. op. cit., 19 February 1900.
50. See The Times, 16 March 1900.
51. The Times, 27 March 1900.
52. Ibid., 29 March 1900.
53. PRO CAB 37/52, 'Education (or Secondary Education) Bill 1900', Devonshire (3 pages), for use in Cabinet on 3 May.
54. Sadler, M.T., op. cit., 25 May 1900.
55. Ibid.,.
56. See The Times, 22 June 1900. Also see Jebb, Caroline, Life and Letters of Sir Richard Claverhouse Jebb, Cambridge 1907, pages 362-4.
57. See Halevy, Elie, History of the English People, Vol. V, Ernest Benn 1961, page 198.
58. Sandars, Ms. eng. hist., 732, Folio 62, Sandar's to Balfour, 22 October 1900.
59. Ibid., Folio 66, Balfour to Salisbury, 23 October 1900.
60. See Taylor, Tony, The Cecils and the Cockerton Case: High Politics and Low Intentions, History of Education Society Bulletin 37, Spring 1986.
61. Evelyn Cecil (1865-1941), M.P. for East Hertfordshire 1898-1899 and later for Aston Manor. He was the cousin of Lord Cranborne and Lord Hugh Cecil. Before entering the Commons in 1898, he was a London School Board member for the Marylebone division.
62. Taylor, Tony, op. cit., page 37.
63. Ibid., page 35. Taylor also cites The National Review for February 1899 which suggested that:

"To the Cecils the School Boards were, an evil, a necessary evil (sic) but nonetheless an evil"
64. See Taylor, A.I., The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1908, unpublished Ph.D., Cambridge 1981.

65. Ms. Eeng. hist., C551, Folio 13-54, 20 December 1900.
66. The Times, 21 December 1900.
67. Ibid, 24 December 1900.
68. Fabian Tract No. 106, The Education Muddle and the Way Out. A Constructive Criticism of English Educational Machinery, January 1901.
Also see Brennan, E.J.T., 'The Influence of Sidney and Beatrice Webb on English Education 1892-1903', unpublished M.Litt., Sheffield University 1959.
69. See Halevy, Elie, op. cit., page 199.
70. Ibid., page 200.
71. Ilbert, op. cit., 13 February 1901. Ilbert also indicates a meeting with Balfour on 9 February while on 27 February he notes:

"Saw Gorst about Education Bill. Part II relating to elementary education in the drafted resolutions are to be moved removing the question... that there be a simple local education authority for all purposes in each area. If his motion is adapted I expect there will be no legislation this year".
72. Sadler, M.T., op. cit., 19 April 1901.
73. Ibid.,.
74. Balfour to Ernest Gray M.P., letter dated 15 May 1901, as reported in The Times, 18 May.
75. Ibid.
76. Cited in MacKay, Ruddock F., Balfour, Intellectual Statesman, Oxford 1985, page 87.
77. The members were: Evelyn Cecil, Sir Richard Jebb, Sir William Anson, Mr E. Bond, Mr Fowler, Sir Michael Foster, Mr E. Gray, Mr Hobhouse, Mr J.F. Hope, Mr Middlemore, Mr Peel, Mr Warr and the Liberal M.P's Sir John Brunner, Mr Harwood, Dr Macnamara, Mr Trevelyan. See PRO.Ed., 24/15 No.3, 27 March 1901.
78. Ibid., The resolution was concluded by suggesting,

"The importance of an elastic bill (sic) and the opinion was expressed that want of elasticity was the cause that a great part of the Education Bill of 1896 was wrecked".
79. PRO Ed., 24/15 No.3, 2 April 1901. A third meeting was held on 30 April 1901.
80. Ibid.,.
81. B.L. Add. Ms 49854, Folio 119-20, Balfour to Bishop of Coventry 25 June 1901.

82. Ibid,.
83. Ibid,.
84. Ibid,.
85. Conservative Party Archives (National Union) op. cit., Vol. XVI, January-June 1901, page 322.
86. Ibid,.
87. Ibid,.
88. PRO CAB 41/25/15, 28 June 1901.
89. Ibid,.
90. B.L. Add. Ms 49854, Balfour to Mr Mather, 12 July 1901.
91. Ibid., Balfour to Mr Mather 20 July 1901.
92. See Taylor, Tony 'An Early Arrival of the Fascist Mentality': Robert Morant's Rise to Power, Educational Administration and History, XVII (2), 1985. Taylor places the meeting on Palm Sunday. Also see Betts, R.S. Robert Morant and the Purging of H.M. Inspectorate, 1903, Journal of Educational Administration and History XX,1,1/88.
93. B.L. Add. Ms 49769, Folio 191, Balfour to Devonshire, 25 July 1901.
94. Ibid,.
95. Ilbert, 15 December 1899, H.C. Lib. Ms46.
96. Ms. Eng. hist., C737, Balfour to Devonshire 25 July 1901.
97. B.L. Add. Ms 49787, Folio 20-1, Morant to Balfour, 14 September 1901.
98. Hatfield 3M/E, Folio 229, Balfour to Devonshire, 20 August 1901.
99. Ibid,.
100. See Quarterly Review 260, No.515, pages 153-154, January 1933.
101. See Chapter One, pages 26-76.
102. See Daghish, N.D. The Educational Work of Sir John Gorst, unpublished Ph.D. University of Durham 1974.
103. PRO Ed 24/16, Evelyn Cecil to Robert Morant, 19 September 1901.
104. Morant to Balfour, 14 September 1901 op. cit.
105. Fitzroy, Almeric Memoirs Vol. I, London 1925, page 62. The entry is dated for 30 September 1901.

106. Ibid,.
107. Ibid,.
108. Ibid,.
109. Ibid,.
110. B.L. Add Ms 49787, Folio 140-2, Morant to Balfour, 30 October 1901.
111. Ibid,.
112. Ibid,.
113. Fitzroy, op cit., 9 April 1901.
114. B.L. Add. Ms 49787, Folio 35-36, Morant to Balfour, 2 November 1901.
115. PRO CAB 37/59 Education Bills (Devonshire, 4 pages), for use in Cabinet 2 November 1901.
116. PRO Ed. 24/14/26, 'Memorandum to RLM from A.J.B.' There is no date but it is either 31 October or 1 November 1901.
117. PRO CAB 37/59 Education Bills op. cit., page 1.
118. Ibid,.
119. Ms. Eng. hist., C733, Salisbury to Balfour, 2 November 1901.
120. PRO CAB 37/59 4 November 1901, 'Further Notes on Education Drafts: (Powers of Local Education Authority), Devonshire (6 pages) page 1.
121. Fitzroy, op. cit., 5 November 1901, page 63.
122. PRO CAB 41/26/23, 5 November 1901.
123. Fitzroy, op. cit., 5 November 1901.
124. Ibid,.
125. PRO CAB 41/26/23, 5 November 1901.
126. See Amery, Julian, The Life of Joseph Chamberlain, Vol. IV, MacMillan 1951, page 482.
127. Sandars, Ms.Eng.hist. 734, Folio 74-5. See Edward Hamilton's Financial Forecast 1901 (18 July 1901). Hamilton's forecasts for 1900-1901 reflected the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Michael Hicks Beach. In the previous forecast, Hicks Beach writing to Salisbury had expressed his alarm at the rate of expenditure vis-a-vis revenue:

"I am only just able to make any forecast of the financial position for 1899-1900... But I am sorry to tell you that the prospect is very disagreeable.

There is a large increase of expenditure: mainly of course, due to the Army and Navy. Goschen asks for nearly three millions

more than last year: Lansdowne for 1¼ millions more... I have gone into details... The increase is mainly due to "programmes adopted", or responsibilities incurred: and I do not see how either can be materially reduced. But the result is, that with the most sanguine estimate of next year's revenue that I can make, I anticipate a deficit of about 4 millions".

Beach to Salisbury, 22 January 1899, Hicks Beach Papers (Aldwyn) D2455 PCC/34.

128. Cited in Munson, J.E.B. 'The Unionist Coalition and Education 1895-1902', The Historical Journal 20, 3 (1977) page 627.
129. The Times, 29 November 1901, Executive Committee of the National Association of Voluntary Teachers.
130. Ibid.,.
131. Ms. Eng. hist., 733, Balfour to Sandars, 29 November 1901.
132. Hatfield (Quickwood Papers); QUI, Folio 1/35 (Box 1), 'Memorandum on the Preservation of Voluntary Schools' (no date but almost certainly November 1901).
133. B.L. Add. Ms49769, Folio 199-200, Gorst to Devonshire, 5 December 1901.
134. Ibid., Folio 201-202, Devonshire to Balfour, 6 December 1901.
135. Ibid.,.
136. Ibid.,.
137. Ibid.,.
138. Ibid.,.
139. Ibid.,.
140. B.L. Add. Ms 49787, Folio 39-42, Morant to Balfour, 7 December 1901.
141. Fitzroy, op. cit., 11 December 1901, page 66.
142. Ibid.,.
143. PRO CAB 37/59, 11 December 1901 (for Cabinet on 12 December), 'Memorandum by the Cabinet Committee on the Education Bill', 3 pages, by Arthur Balfour.
144. Ibid., page 1.
145. Ibid., page 2.
146. PRO CAB 37/59, 12 December 1901, 'Instructions for the preparation of a draft Bill in Education', Devonshire, 4 pages.
147. Ibid., page 1.

148. Ibid., page 4.
149. B.L. Add. Ms 49787, Folio 43-50, 'Notes on a Conversation between Mr Chamberlain and Mr Morant on the Education Bill', 12 December 1901.
150. Ibid.,.
151. Ibid.,.
152. See Fitzroy, op. cit., 12 December 1901, Vol. I, page 67.
153. Ilbert, 13 December 1901, H.C. Lib. Ms46.
154. See PRO CAB 41/26/27, 13 December 1901.
155. Fitzroy, op. cit., 14 December 1901, Vol. I, page 67.
156. Ibid.,.
157. Chamberlain Papers: JC 11/11/7, Chamberlain to Devonshire, 14 December 1901.
158. PRO CAB 37/59 'Education Bill (The position of Voluntary Schools)', 4 pages, Salisbury 17 December 1901.
159. Ibid., page 1.
160. Ibid., page 3.
161. Ibid., page 3.
162. PRO CAB 37/59 'Memorandum on the proposal to introduce two Bills of Education with a note on the PM's Memo of December 17'. 4 pages, AJB, for use in Cabinet 18 December, page 3.
163. Ibid., page 3.
164. Balfour Memorandum, 17 December 1901. See Dugdale, Blanche E. 'Arthur James Balfour and Robert Morant', 14/4/18. Quarterly Review, 260, No.515, January 1933. For the Salisbury Memorandum see JC 14/4/1/18.
165. PRO CAB 41/26/28, 19 December 1901.
166. Ibid.,.
167. Fitzroy, op. cit., 19 December 1901, page 69.
168. Ilbert, 20 December 1901, H.C. Lib. Ms46. Sir Francis Mowatt was the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury.
169. B.L. Add. Ms49787, Folio 51, Balfour instructions to Morant, 20 December 1901.
170. Ibid., point 1.
171. Ibid., point 2.

172. See MacKay, Ruddock, F. op. cit., and Feuchtwanger, E.J., op. cit.,.
173. PRO CAB 37/59 'Education Bill: The Voluntary Schools', Lord Balfour of Burleigh, 1901, page 1.
174. Ibid.,.
175. Ilbert, 20 December 1901, H.C. Lib. Ms 46, op. cit.
176. B.L. Add. Ms49854, Folio 220-1, Balfour to Ilbert, 15 December 1901.
177. Ibid.,.
178. PRO CAB 37/50 'Voluntary Schools', Devonshire (4 pages), page 1, 30 December 1901, for use in Cabinet, 6 January 1902.
179. See Hughes K.M. 'Political Party and Education: Reflections on the Liberal Party's Educational Policy, 1867-1902, British Journal of Educational Studies, Vol. 8, No. 2, 5/60.
180. Darglish, N.D. Planning the Education Bill of 1896, History of Education, 1987, Vol. 16, No. 2, page 104.
181. Balfour, A.J., A Defence of Philosophic Doubt, London 1879.
182. Ibid., page 315.
183. See Chapter One, pages 26-76.
184. See Taylor, A.I., op. cit.
185. See Taylor, A.I., op. cit.,.
Darglish, N.D., op. cit.
Fairhurst, J.R., Some Aspects of the Relationships between Education, Politics and Religion from 1895-1906, unpublished D.Phil., University of Oxford 1974.
Wilkinson, M.J., Educational Controversies in British Politics 1895-1914, unpublished Ph.D., Newcastle University 1974.
186. The Duke of Devonshire held Cabinet rank as Lord President, while Gorst remained outside as President of the Council.
187. See Darglish, N.D., op. cit.
188. See Chapter Two, pages 77-124.
189. See Darglish, N.D., op. cit.
190. See Taylor, A.I. op. cit., page 197.
191. Ibid.,.
192. See Chapter Two pages 77-124.
193. See Taylor, A.I., op. cit., page 214.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE UNIONIST COALITION AND THE 1902 ACT

As 1902 began the education issue threatened the break-up of the Unionist coalition. The problem for Unionist politicians was the need to deal with a legal anomaly (Cockerton) which had effectively thrown the school board sector into chaos and which at the same time touched a sensitive political nerve within the government. The Unionist coalition was essentially a balance between Anglican and non-conformist elements within the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties. Education threatened to destroy this balance because it affected each element in a particular doctrinal form. In 1902 it was to produce a loosening of the ties between the factions. It provided Joseph Chamberlain with an issue which would allow him to break free from the gentleman's agreement which bound the Liberal Unionists to the Conservative Party. That Unionist politics faced disarray was not surprising: the threat to the coalition's equilibrium which had been a constant feature of Parliamentary politics since Gorst's Bill of 1896 had been damped down by the piecemeal tactics of Salisbury. What Balfour, with Morant's encouragement now proposed was a re-run of these events (1) from the onset it was a risky undertaking.

Within the Cabinet concern over the nature and extent of the Bill remained the primary topic in the correspondence with Balfour. Sir Michael Hicks Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remained doubtful about the ability of local authorities to administer the Bill's provisions. However, Balfour persistently argued that,

"...the local authority is to be trusted. If we abandon this principle to Voluntary Schools, by inserting one qualification, we shall certainly be required by our own friends to insert other qualifications in

order to give protection to Voluntary Schools against partisan County Councils. However the Bill may emerge from Committee, I am disposed to think that it shall be introduced at all events in its simple and logical form" (2).

Dissension within the Cabinet and the potential political repercussions remained a source of concern for Morant. As he suggested on 4 January, "...up till now the Cabinet had come to various decisions on separate points, without any comprehensive outlook upon the state of things as a whole..." (3). He was also keen to point out that out of the chaos, a positive policy had to be agreed otherwise the issue would continue to, "...drift aimlessly and end in no definite scheme at all (4). For Morant, Balfour was the only politician in the Government who could provide the direction (5). At the start of the year, the Balfour-Morant objective of comprehensive reform faced immediate problems given the diversity of views within the Cabinet:

"...I really feel myself, that our task is hopeless unless we can get more members of the Cabinet to understand the situation and the problem and to withdraw their obstruction even if they won't give us their support. The views on education held by Hicks Beach and the Prime Minister are fundamentally incompatible with any scheme that A.J.B. could defend" (6).

There had been attempts during the Christmas holidays to find a compromise formula to be used in the Cabinet. Alfred Cripps, as Beatrice Webb was to note (7), had attempted to find a solution to the Salisbury, Chamberlain, Morant and Balfour position but had failed.

By 22 January, Balfour had become concerned over the "...many dangers which beset our education schemes..." (8). He was now involving himself thoroughly in the on-going education plans and believed that the most formidable challenge was the, "...possibility that our new education authorities will come forward and say that they have no desire to

undertake the responsibility which our Bill thrusts upon them" (9). This is an interesting view, for given the political upheaval and dissension within Unionists ranks, Balfour's primary concern appears to have been the likely reaction of LEA's. Nevertheless, he was quick to suggest that a clause should be added to the end of the Bill, "...providing that the Bill should not come into operation in any area until it was accepted by the County or Borough Council of the area..." (10). The concern of Balfour (and Morant) was reflected in a paper presented to the Cabinet on 4 February 1902 (11). The intricacies of local political rivalry might, it was felt, produce a confused and chaotic system:

"...no County or Borough authority will willingly accept the Elementary Education duties which the Bill will place upon them, so long as they may have to "opt" after every municipal election for aiding or not aiding the denominational schools" (12).

This situation it was believed, would also mean that the local authority might have to decide, "...every year whether some denominational schools are or are not more "necessitous" than others" (13). The issue of education nevertheless continued to divide the Cabinet, and at a meeting on 31 January, discussion on the Education Bill lasted for more than one and a half hours:

"The difficulty of arranging the terms of the Bill... ..and the difference of opinion upon the disputed points were very marked. The demands of the Church Party are very high..." (14).

The pressure upon individual ministers was also beginning to have an effect: "On hearing of a death by suicide, the Lord President remarked, 'Had [?] anything to do with the Education Bill?' (15). In Balfour's absence it seems clear that the Cabinet meeting of 4 February at which the Board of Education Paper, 'Education Bill: Free Optional Rate Aid versus

Complete Rate Maintenance' (16) had been discussed was a difficult and strained affair. The Lord President, the Duke of Devonshire appears to have provided some understanding of the main issues (17), but his line of argument appears to have taken most members of the Cabinet by surprise (18). It would seem that Salisbury was willing to let Devonshire deliver his argument (although interrupted by Joseph Chamberlain (19)), and then close the meeting without further discussion. The reason for this reflected the brittle nature of Unionist politics, for had Salisbury allowed discussion following Devonshire's speech, it might, "...have forced the Duke into an attitude from which resignation would have been the only exit" (20). The survival of the Unionist coalition was brought to the forefront of every minister's mind following this Cabinet meeting, for it seems clear that while many realised there was no real alternative to comprehensive educational reform, the longer dissension remained, the more, "...damaging Parliamentary criticism... and more imminent party disaster" (21).

In reality, the Cabinet meeting brought home to Ministers the fact that full scale educational reform would have to take place. Damage limitation therefore became the primary concern, for the issue was no longer about whether reform should take place but about its nature. The Cockerton decision of 1900 had made traditional Salisburian tactics of small bills redundant. It is possible to speculate that such a tactic could have been maintained largely as a means of forestalling settlement of the issue. However, the real-politik of British politics, particularly since the 'Khaki' election of 1900 had changed. The Unionist victory in that election had been the product of low employment, a sense of prosperity and a persistent waving of the flag to reap the benefits of national sentiment following the events in South Africa (22). However, it was a victory which lacked substance or depth for dealing with a series of issues remaining

from the previous administration, such as tariff reform which was to expose the governments structural weakness. The electoral victory of 1900 had been a victory for patriotism, not an endorsement of Unionist rule.

It was this factor which affected the ability of the government to deal in a politically advantageous way with a variety of issues. Education was but one of these issues, but the rationale for the introduction of full scale reform centered upon Balfour's attitude rather than a general acceptance of reform from within the Unionist party. This aspect of his involvement in the topic throughout 1902 has largely been ignored by recent educational research (23), for in reality, while acknowledging the division within the Cabinet, his decision to press ahead had as much to do with saving the consensus by forcing the issue, than allowing the strength of the government to haemorrhage away to a slow death through prevarication. It was an attitude consistent with his own philosophical stance, for while dithering remained a characteristic of the Cabinet, the authority to govern he believed, might be substantially weakened if the issue was left to develop without direction.

This development was the product of the changed political circumstances evident at the turn of the century. This is not to suggest that Balfour changed his mind to implement social reform for altruistic reasons; in reality it was the circumstances in which Unionism operated, particularly against a general background of disillusionment following the Boer War, which forced him to adopt a much more pragmatic approach to the issue of education. As in Ireland, the pragmatic approach despite the potential for turmoil had, at least in the short term produced dividends, including cross-party co-operation with Haldane (24). However, Ireland had illustrated to him the disastrous consequences of allowing religious domination of a social issue. His objective despite the difficulties remained to avoid the hijacking of the politics of education by religious

factions determined to squeeze concessions and thus leaving the issue in a continuous state of flux. This remained a clear objective for him, and while Morant provided a good deal of the educational input, it was to be Balfour who recognised that the removal of the educational issue from the political agenda was essential to the long term prospects of Conservatism.

According to Fitzroy, while Cabinet Ministers worried about the future, the ever active Morant, "...flies from one Cabinet Minister to another and receives the frankest confessions from them all" (25). On the 6 February 1902, the Cabinet met again, but it appears that entrenched views were, "...brought more strongly into the light as the debate went on" (26). The admission of "...great difficulty" (27) over the Education Bill, reflected the potential crisis within the Cabinet. Balfour immediately identified four issues which seemed to be exercising the Cabinet: first compelling LEA's to support denominational schools; second, the wish to protect these schools and prevent them "...being squeezed out of existence" (28); third, the political repercussions of increased rate burdens; and finally, the fear that county and borough councils could become involved in the denominational controversy and as a result attack the Bill: "This would render our Parliamentary position untenable" (29). Balfour therefore suggested a four point plan designed to "...extricate us from all our difficulties" (30). First, he argued that the salaries of teachers employed in elementary schools in a county be charged on the county rate. By this means, local authorities would be in a position to determine teacher numbers and salary levels; second, allow the LEA's to lay down the general lines on which secular education should proceed; third, establish the principle that one third of the managers be nominated by the LEA (two-thirds by those who provide the school); finally, that the power of employing teachers (whether in board or voluntary school) be by the managers, with a veto and "...a power of

dismissal on education grounds, exercisable by the local authority..."

(31). Throughout the meeting however, both Chamberlain and Ritchie failed to convince the Cabinet of alternative plans (32). To many within the Unionist Party, it seemed that this crucial Cabinet meeting had produced the first signs of acceptance on the part of Ritchie and Chamberlain for the inevitable use of rate aid "...under some adoptive form" (33).

Balfour believed that the political risks of allowing the Cabinet to drift too long were considerable. The Cabinet meeting of 5 February had brought to the fore the major divisions and dissensions. At that meeting Devonshire had suggested via a memorandum that those councils who worked with the scheme would continue to control all schools, irrespective of religious teaching. The logic of this for Devonshire was clear, for it would not only establish the justification for abolishing the school boards, it was also, "...the only way in which they could insist on a countrywide rate which all should pay" (34). It appeared to Balfour that the Cabinet was leaning towards this scheme, but he indicated at the Cabinet meeting of 1 February that while it might provide "...the easiest escape from our difficulties" (35), there were also three basic objections to the Duke's scheme; first in LEA's which did not accept the scheme; "...voluntary schools will get no assistance" (36); second, failure to adopt or accept the plan would mean that localities would be "...torn by educational controversies at election time" (37); and finally, and perhaps the most sensitive politically, an immediate and "...considerable increase in the rates... over the country will take place" (38). Balfour's warning was one of political rather than educational considerations, for at face value, the Devonshire memorandum of 5 February seemed to offer a reasonable answer to the many problems posed at the time.

It was this aspect which led Balfour to conclude that the Duke's

memorandum had touched on this point, but had not been, "...quite sufficiently taken account of by the Cabinet...(39). Balfour's suggestion, as outlined earlier, differed from Devonshire's plan only in terms of maintenance. Again, the issue at stake for Balfour was to find a compromise solution which would pacify Cabinet ministers, in particular Salisbury, Chamberlain and Hicks Beach (40). In essence, the Balfour proposal sought to maintain salary levels (and the maintenance of schools) by subscriptions with LEA's paying for improvements which they deemed necessary. This would control rate levels, and hopefully keep them static while maintaining subscription levels. There seems to be some ground for thinking that the Balfour proposals may not have originated with him. Hicks Beach, for example, was later to suggest to Devonshire that the paper presented before the Cabinet on 11 February had been inspired by him (41). In reality, the only difference between Balfour and Devonshire was that the Duke sought religious instruction from the rates, Balfour from subscribers. It was Morant who was to later convince Balfour of the necessity of rate support.

Since November 1901, Balfour had been suffering from influenza, and, from the middle of February 1902, was largely absent, as a result of illness, from Cabinet meetings. The ascendancy of Devonshire's proposals, in the light of Balfour's absence, reflected the lack or even understanding of comprehensive educational reform. By the 24 February, Balfour's illness appeared worse (42), although he was keen to return to the House (43). As a result his doctor confined him to bed for the four days beginning 24 February (44); on 28 February, Balfour's Doctor (Dr Squire), informed J.S. Sandars, that: "Mr Balfour improving: going out this afternoon" (45).

Division and open hostility to the Devonshire proposals, particularly from Salisbury, Hicks Beach and Chamberlain, together with the Balfour

illness, was producing by 14 February a state of indolence within the Cabinet. Plans and suggestions made at Cabinet meetings merely emphasized the divergence of opinion. C.T. Ritchie, for example, expressed concern about LEA's attacking voluntary schools and leaving them to "starve to death" (46). By 14 February, the Cabinet appeared to be supporting the Duke of Devonshire's proposals (47) albeit reluctantly and had agreed to abolish the school boards in those areas where "the County Authority co-operated" (48), and as a result, "Instructions were given to re-draft a Bill in accordance with the views expressed at the meeting" (49). However, hopes that a re-drafted Bill might provide a sense of agreement or consensus was short lived. Sir Edward Hamilton, Assistant Secretary to the Treasury, noted in his diary that,

"I hear the Cabinet are still in disagreement about the Education Bill. The plan is that County Councils are to take over all schools - Board Schools and Voluntary Schools and to be responsible for keeping both of them going. Chamberlain is naturally against assisting with public money denominational schools: and so the latest idea is to make the change optional, with the result that you will have one system in one County and another system in another County (this?) ...arrangement...does not seem likely to attract much support" (50).

Chamberlain appears to have been actively seeking support within the Cabinet and amongst Party whips to wreck the proposals (51). The Cabinet Committee had unanimously decided to drop the Bill (52). While Balfour, although still ill, remained uneasy about aspects of the Bill, he had already concluded that dropping the Bill was impossible, for, "...if we do, what measure...are we to take...in its place?" (53). By March 1902, the crisis of coalition politics had been reached with Joseph Chamberlain taking, "...advantage of the lukewarmness of some members of the Cabinet and the ignorance of others" (55). Chamberlain's behaviour seems to be that of an individual released from his coalition obligations, determined

to prevent the passage of measure which harmed sectional interests within his own party base.

The major problem for the Cabinet by March 1902 was that no-one was clear which set of proposals would form the basis of a bill. The Duke's scheme seemed to be the only clear policy line; in order to avoid a complete breakdown in Cabinet government, Salisbury and Balfour knew they would have to introduce a Bill (either comprehensive or piecemeal) or face the political repercussions of backbench revolt for backing away from a basic commitment. The adoption of the Devonshire proposal was the result not simply of wanting to end the disastrous indolence of Unionist education policy, but even as a means of preserving the government. Initiative had to be seen in action - the government had to be seen pursuing a policy. As a result, 15 March, the decision was finally taken to press ahead with an Education Bill under the control of Balfour (55). As Almeric Fitzroy was to note, "The die is cast and the Education Bill is to be introduced on Monday 24. Both the Duke and Arthur Balfour think the question will wreck the Government..." (56). The confusion over the nature of the Bill and its likely impact remained, for none of the Cabinet really appreciated or understood the nature of the question at hand (57), and the problem for the Cabinet was that the majority of them were, as Almeric Fitzroy put it,

"...ill informed with fluctuating opinion that is encountered on almost every subject of importance: on the Education Question no-one is entitled to speak as an expert, and the difficulty is aggravated by the indifference of some and the covert hostility of others" (58).

By the 22 March, the Cabinet agreed to adopt the Devonshire plan with Balfour introducing it on the following Monday (24 March) (59). Although the decision to press ahead with the Duke's scheme had been made, many of

the divisions within the Cabinet remained with much detail still undetermined (60). If Balfour hoped to head off further division within the ranks of the Unionist government he was quickly shown to be incorrect. The issue of religious teaching on the rates had not been effectively dealt with by either Balfour or Devonshire. Up to 22 March 1902, Treasury grants to voluntary schools were only for those subjects examined, and religious instruction was not one of them. Rate aid would cover the salaries of teachers who would be giving religious instruction as well as the cost of books. The simple fact remained that all rate payers would now be contributing money for religious instruction which they might not agree with.

Morant was particularly anxious about the delivery of the Bill and the religious impact. Writing to Balfour two days before its introduction he stated that,

"The key note of the Bill is, not the bolstering up of clerically managed schools, but the improvement of Education, specially as regards -

(i) considering all the different grades and types necessary to every system of National Education, and considering them in their relations to one another, not sectionally or in watertight compartments as hitherto.

(ii) providing for the recognition of the need of sound general education, development of the mind and faculties (not of manual dexterities or particular aptitudes) before (and as a basis of) technical or professional education - in good Secondary Schools of a modern type.

(iii) One suzerain authority over all the grades and types of schools so as to ensure proper proportion in the support and provision of each.

(iv) Similarly one authority over all the various elementary schools.

I have no time to write more, before post goes. I am sure you will give the Bill a splendid launch" (61).

I. PASSAGE OF THE BILL

The Bill introduced by Balfour on 24 March established the basis for creating a comprehensive system of education while at the same time seeking to placate Salisbury, Chamberlain and Hicks Beach. Initially, Balfour had little choice but to adopt the Devonshire line given the lack of clear policy formulation and the need to strike a balance within the Cabinet (62), although it soon became clear that gaps in the Bill would be opposed (63). There were those however, who saw the Bill as a means of saving England, "...from following in the pagan track of France and the USA during the coming centuries" (64). Nevertheless, support for and against the Bill divided very much as expected with,

"...the teachers...for it, which from an electioneering point of view, is a decided score; and it is clear the opposition is to be conducted on the time-worn platform of non-conformist fanaticism, for which the Government could ask for nothing better" (65).

Confusion in the public perception of what the Bill would mean particularly in incidental localities increased. As the 'Spectator' noted in a leading article,

"There is no more properly elected body than a County Council, but the proposal to entrust it with the education of the Country has filled with horror many who would be greatly offended if they were told that they were not true Democrats" (66).

Balfour believed that the Bill as it stood, offered the only solution to establishing a unified education system, for the, "...existing state of things is intolerable, that it makes our education a by word among all civilised nations" (66). It seems clear that even by May 1902 dissension both within the Cabinet and the Board of Education remained a problem. Gorst in particular seems to have been humiliated by the events of March and April, and when asked by Morant if his name should be put at the back

of the Bill (prior to its introduction in March), Gorst replied, "I have sold my name to the Government, put it where they instruct you to put it" (68). The Cabinet was not totally concerned with educational issues at this time, with negotiations with the Boers still taking place (to be resolved in the Peace of Vereeniging, May 31, 1902); this meant that the Cabinet had little time for the Education Bill, with most ministers having become "...bored with the whole question" (69), resulting in Cabinet meetings producing confusion rather than clarity. As Morant was to suggest, "...Salisbury does not seem to know or care and the various Ministers, who do care, give me contradictory versions" (70). As a result, Cabinet meetings remained chaotic with no clear consensus following their outcome (71). This general state of confusion within the Cabinet merely reflected the ambiguous and difficult position of administering the Bill, and as Sir John Gorst suggested in the House of Commons "...the present state of things is absolutely intolerable" (72). However, squabbling within the ranks of the Unionist government was matched by division within the Liberal Opposition. The Liberal Imperialists who had formed themselves under Rosebery's leadership into the Liberal League in 1902, regarded the prospect of a Campbell-Bannerman premiership with some alarm (73). Nevertheless, in a united attack on the Education Bill, as Haldane was to point out to Fitzroy, Campbell-Bannerman had finally come down off his fence and sided with the nonconformist view (as had Lord Rosebery) (74). It was the religious and financial aspects of the Bill which proved to be divisive within the Unionist ranks and a rallying point for the Liberals. As Sir Edward Hamilton noted in his diary:

"The Education Bill has been read a second time by a large majority, but I suspect it will give an infinity of trouble in Committee. It raises two almost insoluble problems - the religious question about which people are so extraordinarily narrow minded, and the question how to meet the cost" (75).

This reflected an attitude central to the Unionist party position of preserving and protecting the Anglican link, despite Balfour's arguments in public to the contrary. It was also a view which appeared to have ignored the basic tenets of Unionist politics, namely the sense of partnership with those Liberal Unionists who formed part of the coalition. Interestingly, there had been some nonconformist approval of the Bill but it was patchy and limited (76), and mainly reflected the nonconformist press seeking to demonstrate an 'image of balance' in the coverage of the Education debate. However, the Education Bill as Hamilton further noted, threatened the Coalition's survival:

"Arthur Balfour is in great difficulties over his Education Bill. Now that the war is over, his party will never stand the addition to the County rates which the Bill involves" (77).

As the Committee stage advanced financial considerations began to emerge as an important issue. As First Lord of the Treasury Balfour had a direct concern in the oversight of direct grant growth. The grant made to voluntary schools in 1901 had amounted to £640,000 with the necessitous school boards receiving £220,000 (78). In the House of Commons on 23 June 1902, he pointed out that "...these grants cannot remain as they are.." (79). His proposal was to replace these grants by a simple grant, which would have to be at least £860,000 but recognised that this would be an inadequate sum given the proposed reorganization, and so announced that the Exchequer would add a further £900,000 a year. Based on approximate calculations, the sum of £1,760,000 would provide each child in average attendance with 7s 6d. However, the logic of that approach had led him to reconsider such a formula, given that it would lead to a "...considerable anomaly" (80). He therefore proposed to distribute the £1,760,000 first at a rate of 4s 0d per child with the remainder being allocated to the "...relative poverty or the relative want

of capacity to bear the burden thrown upon them by our elementary education system" (81).

Nonconformist criticism, as far as Balfour was concerned, had to be dealt with carefully, mainly because of its impact within the Coalition. On 1 July 1902, 'The Globe' printed a letter from Balfour in which he outlined his reasons for the Bill, but also took time to explain why the nonconformists had nothing to fear. The nonconformist belief that the proposed Education Bill was designed to 'crush nonconformity' (82), was a constant irritant to Balfour. His argument against their fear, centred on four points; first, that under Clause 6 and 8 (1) (a), each education authority has the "control of all secular education" (83) in all schools; second, that each authority would have the power when necessary to supplement them by undenominational schools; third, the education authority would have to appoint a proportion of their managers, and finally:

"...provide a remedy for the pupil teacher grievance by giving power to the authority to supply persons desirous of entering the teaching profession with opportunities of obtaining the necessary training altogether irrespective of Church or creed" (84).

On 9 July 1902, the House of Commons rejected Clause 5 of the Education Bill, thus obliging every local education authority established by the Act to assume responsibility for elementary education. In short, the option not to provide was removed. The amendment to reject the clause had been moved by the Liberal Unionist Henry Hobhouse, meeting with support from both sides of the House. To the numerous journalists reporting the debates, the equivocation of many members, particularly to the events of 9 July was surprising, "...these members are actuated by anything but a sincere desire to see a thoroughly efficient undenominational system of

education set up in this country...(85). The number of MP's in the House on 9 July had been 670 (401 Unionists, 186 Liberals 83 Nationalists); those voting for compulsion (in other words a rejection of clause 5), had been 220 Unionists, 17 Liberals and 36 Nationalists (a total of 104). The Westminster Gazette described these statistics as the, "...division ...which decided that Board Schools are compulsorily to be destroyed and replaced by the County Councils" (86). It was not just the School Boards that were destroyed by this open vote during the Committee Stage. Chamberlain had been absent from the Commons due to a cab accident and the anticipated deletion of Clause 5 was largely successful because of his absence. It seems clear that Chamberlain would have made the division in the lobby much more uncomfortable for Balfour, and would almost certainly have fought to keep the optional clause for rate aid to denominational schools.

The Hobhouse amendment of 9 July, also had a careerist aspect to it. Backbench rumour (87) of a Government shake up had been fuelled by Lord Salisbury's determination to leave politics. He had planned to retire following the coronation of Edward VII, but the postponement of the coronation because of the king's appendicitis meant that his departure had to be delayed. On 10 July, 1902, Lord Salisbury finally resigned and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Balfour. It was against the background of these anticipated events that Hobhouse's activities following the optional clause amendment of 9 July needs to be examined. Writing to the Earl of Selborne, who had replaced Goschen as First Lord of the Admiralty about likely changes ("...and especially in the Education office...") (88), Hobhouse wondered if it might be possible to,

"...take an opportunity (if you have one) of mentioning my name to Balfour or the Duke as one who would be ready and willing to the hard work of a subordinate office with no desire but to make myself useful to my country..." (89).

While Balfour planned his new Cabinet, Selborne consented to Hobhouse's request, and suggested his name for the position of second in the Local Government Board (90). Selborne's advice was ignored by Balfour, especially when it came to reorganizing the Education Office. Selborne had suggested to Balfour that Sir William Anson, one of the two members for Oxford University would be unable to "...cope... in piloting Education questions through the House" (91). He also suggested that Lord Londonderry would attract scorn and 'abuse', much of it being thrown in Balfour's direction; he argued that he did not believe that the "...combination is strong enough of Londonderry and Anson" (92). Selborne's suggestion for the President of the Board of Education was Gerald Balfour (at that time President of the Board of Trade), suggesting that: "Gerald and Anson would make a strong combination at the Education Office" (93). For Londonderry, Selborne suggested the Local Government Board with "...a really good House of Commons man (such as Hobhouse) under him..." (94).

Balfour ignored Selborne and appointed Lord Londonderry Lord Privy Seal and President of the Board of Education with Sir William Anson replacing Gorst, who had tendered his resignation to Balfour on 5 August 1902 (95). Replying to Gorst, Balfour stated that he was "...not all surprised at the tenor..." (96), of his note, but added that, "The severance of old relationships must always be painful" (97).

Although the combination of Londonderry and Anson might be accepted by civil servants such as Morant (98), the unusual and perhaps narrow basis of support upon which Unionist politics survived, still provided a sense

of instability amongst the government supporters over the Education Bill (99). Backbench opinion by the end of August 1902, tended to centre around two views; first, that Balfour should have "...made a much bigger clearout..." (100), with many "...growling about A.J.B's want of strength" (101), and second, that, "...the hatred of the Education Bill grows... I can't find that only among my own constituents though their attitude is one of indifference so far as the Bill is concerned" (102).

Joseph Chamberlain's position, following his cab accident, was one of despair. Writing to Balfour on 4 August he stated that,

"...From what I hear and read I fear that things are not going well and I confess that I am exceedingly anxious as to the future. The predictions of evil which I pressed so earnestly upon the Cabinet before the Bill was introduced appear to me to be in course of realisation, and even the passage of the Bill is not at all likely to be an end of our difficulty... When you first introduced the Bill its reception was on the whole a good deal better than I had expected. ...To my mind it is clear that the Bill has brought all the fighting nonconformists into the field and made them active instead of merely passive opponents" (103).

By September 1902 Balfour, too, was on the brink of despair (104), and proclaimed that he was 'perplexed' (105) about the whole issue. He was particularly alarmed at the extra-parliamentary opposition campaign which in his view ignored the educational advantages of the Bill for sectional interests (106):

"I am further provoked by the extraordinary campaign of lies which has been set on foot against it, and by the total indifference to the interests of education which seems to be shown by the contending parties. But I have to admit that these considerations are irrelevant, if it be true that we cannot pass the Bill in its present shape, or if it be true that, when passed, it would be made to work with such an amount of local friction as to render it a curse instead of a blessing" (107).

For the Leader of the Opposition, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the nature of the attacks made upon the Bill were also a cause for concern. While the nonconformists attacked the Bill's denominational character, he believed that the Liberals should be prepared to offer an alternative plan or proposal rather than the negative destruction of a government Bill. Writing to James Bryce in September 1902 Bannerman expressed this concern:

"...What has been pressing on me for some time is that we shall have to meet Parliament with a definite view. There is the usual and proper demand that on this great issue the Opposition should do more than oppose: that it should indicate its own policy. Up to a certain degree I agree with this. But short of that there is the fact that we must be ready with a line on any compromise that must be offered. I agree with you: I am against any compromise; but if we refuse it, it must be on some tenable and explained ground" (108).

The line of opposition as devised by Campbell-Bannerman was underpinned by his general dislike of relieving Church Funds while leaving the Church supreme (109). Church interests he believed were incompatible with popular control and therefore denominational schools by their very nature could not be national schools. His alternative plan therefore envisaged primary education being managed by directly elected representatives and a scheme to overcome the religious difficulty, namely:

"Recognise the fact that the people generally desire that in public schools there should be the means of religious instruction, and then adopt one of three plans:

(a) An inoffensive dose of Christian doctrine in all State schools; supplemented by peculiar teaching of tenets by the sects at separate hours.

(b) Purely secular teaching in State schools supplemented as above.

(c) Option to each locality which of these should be applied" (110).

By the end of September however, Campbell-Bannerman had changed his mind and was suggesting to Herbert Gladstone that the Liberal Party would have no truck with a compromise and that an all out attack on the Bill was the only tactic (111), arguing that,

"...at present I am rather inclined to leave it (the Bill) alone and let A.J.B. clear up his own mess, and not give him any general scheme of ours (vague of cause) to exercise his dialectics upon and so divert attention from his own fiasco..." (112).

By-election results make clear that opposition to the Education Bill had increased throughout the summer of 1902. Selborne was quick to point out to Balfour's Private Secretary, J.S. Sandars that, "...the County Council of Norfolk, a strong Unionist body, is I hear going to send a memorial to the chief (i.e. Balfour) asking for more popular control..." (113).

Unionist Party agents all reported back the level of discontent, particularly in the eastern counties (114), and Selborne, ever quick to offer a suggestion, believed that there ought to be "...a concession as regards control..." (115) Support amongst nonconformists remained minimal, although a few did speak in favour (116). However, as Herbert Gladstone suggested to Lord Spencer, the Government appeared to be in great difficulty:

"In one way or the other it seems to me that the Government are most uneasy. Balfour is being strongly pressed by Church leaders to stiffen the Bill in their direction. They think they have made a mistake in supporting the Bill as it is. On the other hand there is great discontent among the rank and file because of the unpopularity of the Bill, and PM is between two fires. But I hear the clerical side are giving him most trouble now. I believe he is much harassed - he looks it - and he thinks the Government may be beaten in the Autumn Session" (117).

Gladstone's analysis of the situation appears to have been accurate, for

Balfour feeling the pressure which the Bill had brought, wrote to his cousin in a perplexed state of mind suggesting that,

"...there will be a good deal of panic in the air when we meet in October.. To create in the face of immense opposition a body of managers with a denominational majority, can then to leave the Anglican parson or the R.C. Bishop in uncontrolled supremacy over all that pertains to denominational teaching appears to me to be a very clumsy contrivance" (118).

Nevertheless, at the Liberal Unionist Conference, held in Birmingham on 9 October 1902, Joseph Chamberlain rallied the forces of Unionist opposition to the day's session. His first question to the assembly,

"Are you or are you not in favour of popular control of secular instruction whilst safeguarding the religious instruction in accordance with the views of the founders? (119).

The assembly answered yes to this question by a large majority "...the noes numbering ten" (120). His second question concerned the appointment of Head Teachers; should it, he asked, be left "...in the hands of the Managers" (121). Again the assembly answered yes by a large majority, "...the noes numbering 16" (122). Third, he asked, "Are you in favour of the abolition of the Cowper-Temple clause?" (123). Only four of the assembly said yes. Fourth, he asked: "Should the Council appoint a majority of the Education Committee from its own body?" (124). All except one said yes to this question. Finally, Chamberlain asked,

"Are you in favour of the proposal that the majority of the management committee of each of the Voluntary Schools, so far as secular instruction is concerned, should be properly elected? (125).

To this final question, the assembly voted yes, with "...the number of noes being two" (126).

To this development, the response of the Conservative Party was swift. At the Conservative Party Conference in Manchester on 14 October 1902, Dr Rutherford Harris moved a motion condemning the "...insincere campaign of misrepresentation" (127), which the Education Bill had attracted. In his speech to the Conference, Balfour both confident and forceful opened with perhaps the most quoted phrase associated with the conduct of the Bill. He argued that the Bill was essential because,

"...the existing education system of this country is chaotic, is ineffectual, is utterly behind the age, makes us the laughing stock of every advanced nation in Europe and America, puts us behind not only our American cousins but the German and the Frenchman and the Italian, and that it is not consistent with the duty of an English Government, of a British Government, to allow that state of things longer to continue without an adequate remedy" (128).

Balfour was quick to emphasise the central theme of the Bill, namely that the control and supervision of education would be left to the County Councils and Borough Councils, "...on that everything else hangs" (129). The only difficulty, as Balfour pointed out, was the religious uproar which followed the Bill's introduction. Nevertheless, support for the Bill came from a variety of sources. Sidney Webb writing in the Daily Mail on 17 October 1902 identified three reasons why the Bill should be supported (130). First, he argued that the Bill would put an end to the dual control of School Board and Town or County Council, and that it would hand over all education in each town "...to one spending body, and only one" (131). Second, it provided for the freedom of Town Councils to spend and allocate money to schools "...as it chooses" (132). Finally, the Bill identified education,

"...as a public function - not primary education only, or technical education only, but anything and everything that is education as an organic unity, from the kindergarten to the University" (133).

To his mind, the Bill of 1902 was as "epoch making in the history of English education as that of 1870..." (134). This support from the widely respected Fabian, had come as cold comfort to Balfour whose confidence had clearly been shaken by the outcry against the Bill (135). Importantly, Balfour's confidence in the decision to press ahead with the Bill remained steadfast. His concern centered upon the need to keep, as Richard Shannon has suggested, "...a united Conservatism as the heart of a united Unionism keeping a firm grip on the levers of the power of the British State..." (136). Conservative Central Office, worried about the Bill's effect on the Municipal Elections, was quick to produce leaflets explaining and defending the proposal (137). Throughout September and October 1902, he had been receiving reports from local agents and Cabinet colleagues regarding the perilous state of party affairs. Writing to Balfour on 9 September, Joseph Chamberlain added his voice to the concern over the future of the Coalition:

"Within the last few days I have been told by a local agent that we should lose at least two seats in Birmingham if there were a general election now and the reports from other districts are not more satisfactory" (138).

While public discontent increased, the Liberal Party also became concerned about its ability to mount an effective opposition to the Bill. Its main problem was its inability to whip sufficient members into the lobby during Divisions on the Bill (139). In a petition designed to put pressure on their own benches and their whips, they argued that,

"We respectfully submit that it would be both politic and possible for the Whips to take very special steps to get regular attendance of Liberal members during the continuance of the discussions. Considering the immense advantage the Party might reap from the popular dislike of the Bill, it is hardly too much to expect that the Division lists might show the regular presence of 150 Liberals" (140).

By 1 November 1902, (although not officially till 1903) Morant had assumed Kekewich's functions as Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education. It appeared to many that his promotion was the final move in a strategy to scotch any departmental opposition to Balfour's plans. It caused indignation, particularly amongst senior officials at the Board of Education. For example as the Westminster Gazette noted,

"This sudden advancement of men who have been private secretaries and have been brought into personal relations with Ministers are naturally at all times resented in the Civil Service..." (141).

Progress of the Bill in the Commons, particularly during the Committee Stage, was slow. By November 1902, it had occupied 40 sittings (35 in Committee) while the Great Reform Bill of 1832 had been disposed of in 50 sittings. The precedent for a closure motion by Balfour, given the length of time in Committee, was Gladstone's closure motion on 30 June 1893 over the Home Rule Bill, which had been 33 days in Committee (142). On 11 November, Balfour introduced a closure motion, which was carried by 222 - 103 votes. He moved that,

"...the proceeding in Committee and on report of the Education (England and Wales) Bill (including proceeding's on the financial resolution relating there to), shall, unless previously disposed of, be brought to a conclusion at the times and in the manner here in after mentioned..." (143).

The idea of introducing a closure motion appears to have been discussed early in November (144). The decision to move to closure was inevitable given the slow passage of the Bill during the Committee Stage (145). Nevertheless, it was Balfour's determined, confident and forceful approach to the introduction of the closure tactic which was to push the Bill to a swift conclusion. The attack on the procedure was fierce; speaking at Bristol on 13 November, Asquith argued that; "Legislation without

deliberation in a democratic country was a contradiction in terms" (146), while frantic calculations on how the Bill would affect the local rate were constantly debated in the local and national press (147).

Nevertheless, when Balfour returned at midnight from the division lobby, following the final division on the Education Bill, he did so to cheers (148). It seemed at last, that Balfour's "...personal supremacy..." (149) had been established and had "...seated him firmly in the saddle as Prime Minister (150).

As the minutes of both the National Union Executive Committee of the Conservative and Unionist Party, and the Central Council Meetings demonstrate, resolutions congratulating Balfour are numerous (151). On 18 December 1902, the Education Act was passed, and while a sense of relief was clear (152), the impending backbench hostility was immediate. Balfour was made aware of this through a series of letters sent to him by Sir Herbert Maxwell (153). Maxwell described the potential revolt as a 'fronde' (154). This prospect of civil war within Conservative and Unionist ranks was all too clear for Balfour to see. Maxwell had suggested that Henry Cust M.P., the former editor of the Conservative Pall Mall Gazette, had tried to entice him into a movement designed to overthrow the Government and allow in Lord Rosebery and the Liberals (155). It seems clear that Balfour took these threats seriously and even suggested in a reply to Maxwell that his position as Party Leader and Prime Minister was a fragile one (156). It seems that MPs Cust, Poynder, Goulding, Hay and Vincent were the main instigators of backbench resentment towards him (157).

Attitude to the Act had now polarized around the religious rather than the educational issues. While the National Federation of Head Teachers Association, meeting in Liverpool on January 2 1903, passed a resolution

that, "...this conference approves the Education Act (1902) so far as it established one local authority, for all grades of education" (158).

A meeting of the three standing Committees of the Wesleyan Conference (the Committee of Privileges, the Education Committee and the Secondary Education Committee), convened at the City Road Chapel London and moved that the Education Act, "...directly contravenes the main principles of the education policy of the Wesleyan Methodist Church..." (159). In Wales, Lloyd George led the attack on the Act claiming that it would mean a charge on the rate of £5½ million of money to put the cost of maintenance of voluntary schools on the rates (160).

Under the terms of the 1902 Act, London was to be dealt with separately. But once the principles incorporated in the 1902 Act began to be applied the needs of London could not be ignored. Consequently in April 1903, Anson introduced an Education (London) Bill designed to extend the operation of the 1902 Act to the metropolis. The Bill immediately attracted Opposition criticism, largely because of the manner in which it was introduced. Anson in his speech seemed to imply that the Bill's major function was to abolish the London School Board (161). It was in Beatrice Webb's view an 'inept' speech (162), and simply inflamed the Opposition. The government did not appear worried however, for as Sandars told Fitzroy,

"...criticism has only touched the machinery; indeed the whole Bill is nothing but machinery, and it can therefore be turned inside out to meet pressure from whatever side it may come" (163).

Balfour was clearly surprised and annoyed at the extent of opposition to the Bill (164) and Liberal attempts to divert the second reading into a trial about the effectiveness and efficiency of the London School Board. As he pointed out to T.J. Macnamara:

"The question is not really now whether the London School Board has or has not been an efficient body for the administration of education in London, but how best we are to administer education as the problem now presents itself in London, after the Act of last year, and how we are to adapt it to the special needs of the metropolitan area" (165).

By 1903, his interest in education had reached saturation point and his attention was more clearly focused on other domestic issues (166). The point of compromise reached was largely a victory for the Liberals, for the London schools were placed under the control of the County Council not the Conservative Borough Councils. By the Education (London) Act, the London School Board disappeared and the denominational schools of London were given a share of the rates.

Throughout the summer and autumn of 1903, Balfour's attention was not fixed upon education, but in keeping his Cabinet together. Joseph Chamberlain's declaration in favour of tariff reform threw the coalition into a state of disarray. Concern over the need to end what seemed a major divergence of views was expressed (167), and questions over Balfour's ability to lead were once again raised:

"After a year in office as Prime Minister he is left suspended between heaven and earth with a policy which he could never even have dreamt of three months ago" (168).

Chamberlain's speeches on Imperial Preference concerned Balfour, for the constant, "...collision of opposing will give the impression of general disunion, and may even produce it" (168). It was at this point that Balfour began to suspect that the Unionists might have been in office too long,

"...the Party is threatened with serious disruption upon the fiscal question may be due to Chamberlain's fault, or it may be, somewhat aggravated, difficulties which were irretrievable" (170).

Signs of factionalism also began to emerge within the Cabinet, with a small cabal centred round Ritchie, Hamilton and Balfour of Burleigh (171). Even by mid August 1903, signs that the Coalition was breaking up were being expressed by his closest aides.

Including the Cabinet crisis, opposition in the form of 'passive resistance' appeared to be gaining in strength in Wales, with the refusal to comply with rating requirements made by the Education Act (173). A new Education Bill was therefore discussed in the Cabinet of 20 November 1903 in order to, "...prevent County Councils from illegally defeating the intention of the 1902 Act" (174). Nevertheless, as the year approached its end, Balfour was determined to pursue his legislative programme for the new year. As Sir Courtney Ilbert noted, "...Balfour... still calculates on being able to keep his would be government policy through next session..." (175). The two year period had left Balfour exhausted. The Education Act had been his crowning glory - yet he had not anticipated its impact on national education. The Act had only been intended to deal with two aspects, the grant of financial aid to denominational schools of the Anglican Church and the abolition of the school boards, whose alleged extravagance had long been the object of Tory denunciation. "I did not realize", Balfour declared, "that the Act would mean more expense and more bureaucracy" (176). Or, as Elie Halevy has suggested, the Conservatives had introduced a piece of educational socialism, without realising it (177).

II. EDUCATION AND DISSOLUTION 1904-1905

By 1904, the Unionist coalition's position within Parliament had become

increasingly difficult. Its majority position became questionable, particularly when it came to voting on fiscal matters. In February, twenty five Unionists voted with the Liberals during a division, while in March over 100 of Chamberlain's supporters rebelled against Balfour's policy of fiscal retaliation.

Apart from the tariff reform issue, opposition to the Education Act throughout 1904-1905 remained a source of controversy. For the nonconformists, the Act was the product of clerical manipulation of Balfour. In a booklet published in 1904, Alexander Somerton emphasized this point by suggesting that,

"Mr Balfour and his clerical masters had contrived their plot. The time was well chosen. The Bishops had prepared their Bill. Mr Balfour introduced it. The Roman Catholic Cardinal Vaughan gave it his adhesion. The complicity of these persons is well understood" (178).

Dr Clifford of the Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel became the focal point of opposition to the Act. However, Balfour, for whom the education issue was now over, continued to answer nonconformist criticism in his usual logical manner, but began to show signs of increasing irritation at what he described as a "...great confusion of ideas (which) underlies the expression rate aid and denominational teaching" (179). During the London County Council election of 1904, Clifford issued his 'Passive Resisters Manifesto' (180), in which he argued that resistance to the Act meant fighting "...the tyranny of the Priests" (181). He further argued that,

"If the priests rule, liberty will suffer; the teaching profession will suffer; education will suffer; justice will suffer... fight for a free conscience, efficient education and popular rights. The hour is critical, let every citizen play the man" (182).

The issue of rate aid for education remained a particular concern. The

activities of Lloyd George and Dr Clifford encouraging non-payment of rates in Wales led Balfour push through the Education (Local Authorities Default) Act which reflected his determination to end the education controversy. In a note produced in October 1904 (183), he stated that,

- (i) The Defaulting Authority Act should not be permitted to remain a dead letter...
- (ii) I think the Department should at once take steps, privately and confidentially, to survey the ground and to form some preliminary estimate of the cases with which it would be desirable to begin, if unhappily the Defaulting Authorities has to be applied (184).

The creation of local education authorities now meant that feeding became an administrative possibility. The suggestion of feeding needy children, as well as establishing medical inspection and special schools, financed from the rates, had been raised at the end of November 1904, in the aftermath of the Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, published in July 1904. Anson was put under pressure by Gorst, now working in co-operation with Macnamara. The proposal would have meant giving LEA's power to raise a rate for this purpose (185). Balfour, while sympathetic to Anson's position insisted that "...on no account... should there be any call on the rates for the feeding of children" (186). Political expediency necessitated a calming down of the educational issue, not an additional palliative to the forces of opposition (187). By the spring of 1905, the Cabinet had resolved that Anson should introduce a resolution on the feeding of school children, but that it "...should not be made a Government division" (188), and that in his speech he should indicate "...the dangers which may easily follow on any plan for relieving parents of their plain duty at the expense of the rates" (189). This concern to provide a balanced approach to the use of the rates was particularly appropriate given the increased refusal by

certain boroughs to pay their rate precept for purposes of education (190), with some suggesting that they would decline to administer the Education Act from 1 June 1905 (191).

The possibility of some boroughs refusing to administer the Education Act reached crisis point in May 1905 with East Ham Borough Council suggesting that,

"...in view of the heavy rates for national purposes raised locally, this Council is of the opinion that the rate is unjust, as the Borough of East Ham is under present conditions paying more than a double share towards these national purposes, more particularly in respect to education" (192)

As far as Balfour was concerned, the action of the East Ham Borough Council had, "...no more to do with education than it has with the Poor Law, and no more to do with the Poor Law than it has with education or with any other obligation..." (193). Following a conference of educational authorities at the Westminster Palace Hotel on 17 May, and the clear indication from Balfour that he would be willing to receive a deputation to discuss the matter (194), and also that legislation might be forthcoming "...to give additional grants to necessitous districts..." (195), the East Ham Borough Council withdrew its resolution.

Government defeat in the House of Commons on 20 July 1905, immediately raised the question of resignation. Members of the Cecil family became alarmed at Balfour's beleaguered position. Writing to her sister, Lady Selborne, Lady Gwendolen Cecil noted that she was "...considerably puzzled at the government's ways just now" (196). Hicks Beach suggested to J.S. Sandars on the night of the government defeat that "...The Prime Minister must accept the defeat and resign" (197). Yet Balfour was adamant that resignation was out of the question. When Sir Michael Hicks Beach repeated his belief that Balfour should resign (in the presence of

the Prime Minister, Gerald Balfour, Alfred Lyttelton, Walter Long and Arnold-Forster) (198), the response, as Sandars noted, was that, "The P.M...never moved from his opinion that the division was one which should not be treated as decisive tenure of the Government..." (199). The next day (200), J.S. Sandars discussed with Balfour three possible options: (i) resignation, (ii) hold on, (iii) holding on with the prospect of resigning or dissolving in the autumn (201). At this meeting, it seems clear that Balfour favoured that last course, although pressure from the Palace also appears to have been placed upon Balfour not to resign (202).

Nevertheless, the possibility of a dissolution of Parliament led 102 Unionist MP's to sign a petition to Balfour demanding that he continue into the new year and that the Government "...carry out the programme ...laid down..." (203). This concern over the prevailing political climate was reiterated in a confidential paper sent by Acland-Hood to Balfour on 10 August 1905. Hood's particular concern was the likely impact of the Education Act upon the electorate, but as he pointed out, "...though it cannot be contended that the Education Act is popular, the opposition to it in many parts of the country is undoubtedly much less acute than it was" (204). By November 1905, Joseph Chamberlain made it unmistakably clear that Balfour's appeals for unity between Unionist forces no longer carried any weight or authority. In reality, Balfour had already decided by November 1905 to resign (205), although he did hope to exploit the divisions within the Opposition amongst the Gladstonian Liberals, led by Campbell-Bannerman and the Liberal Imperialists led by Rosebery (particularly over defence, foreign policy and Home Rule). There is also evidence to suggest that Balfour sought a quick end to what had become an unmanageable situation. Writing in December 1905, Lady Gwendolen Cecil suggested that, "...A.J.B's longing for escape has been growing to desperation" (204). His position by December had in any case

become untenable and on 4 December 1905, his resignation was announced. For Balfour, it was a resignation which was the product of "...leading a party whose efficiency in the House of Commons had no relation to its numerical strength" (207). In reality the Unionist coalition and Balfour in particular, never recovered from the divisive impact of the educational controversy between 1902 and 1903. Following the passage of the Education Act, the consensus which had fused the coalition collapsed and reduced Balfour to adopt a siege approach to Cabinet government. Unionist domination of British politics reached its nadir in 1902, for what followed was an attempt to preserve the Cecilian version of government. For J.S. Sandars, Balfour's private secretary, the collapse of the Unionist coalition was largely the product of inherited personnel and a variety of problems associated with Lord Salisbury's administration. As he noted,

"...Mr Balfour succeeded to the first place in administration for which he was not originally responsible. It is true that in the crisis of 1903 he had appointments to arrange out of material much limited in quantity and quality; ...Nevertheless, the Government which expired in December 1905 was, in the main, his uncle's selection" (208).

III. CONCLUSION

When opening the Manchester School of Technology in October 1902, Balfour pointed to the new edifice and stated that it was, "...a visible sign of that awakening which had come over our people in view of the ever changing condition of intellectual industry" (209). However, as The Times pointed out, "he was speaking on a subject which he only knew at second hand" (210). It is this catch all phrasing which has dominated historical analysis of Balfour's handling of the Education Bill. For some educational historians the 1902 Act was essentially the product of a plan

devised by Lord Salisbury and carried out by his nephew which allowed,

"...the chaos and internecine conflict that was such a feature of national education in the 1890's to develop... (leaving)... the Conservative party in a strong position to demolish the secular board schools..." (211).

Such a view seems inadequate to explain the events and policies of the period up to and including 1902. There was no master plan, despite Salisbury's distaste for the topic of education. Education was in a state of chaos because the national structure which had emerged, particularly since 1870, had resulted in encouraging different interest groups to retain control of their own part of the system. There is no evidence that Salisbury actively sought the collapse of the existing structure. His priority throughout the 1890's had been to find a more permanent financial settlement to the voluntary school sector. If in the process the 'godless' board schools suffered then that was a bonus, but Salisbury was prime minister of a political alliance. Private thoughts and rhetoric if translated in action would have destroyed the Unionist coalition. His belief in using small bills to maintain control provided him with the opportunity to appear antagonistic to board schools, safe in the knowledge that it would take more substantial legislation to truly threaten their existence. It was the Cockerton judgement of 1900 which effectively changed the situation and although Salisbury remained Prime Minister until the summer of 1902, the political repercussions of its enactment may well have made the decision to resign more imperative.

That Balfour is often viewed as his uncle's alter ego is perhaps unfortunate when examining the events up to and including 1902. Salisbury's view of education was narrow and the boundaries of his understanding were strictly limited by his denominational outlook. There is no doubt that Balfour too saw educational reform pre-Cockerton in

terms of improving the lot of the voluntary schools. However, what the Cockerton decision made clear to Balfour was the need to deal once and for all with an issue which while somewhat confusing, could not be dealt with any longer by piecemeal legislation. In effect he adopted a Peelite attitude to the question of education resulting in the same outcome. Beatrice Webb was right in her analysis of him when she suggested that he "...tends to work on the side which at the moment he thinks right, not merely on the side that will appear right to other people" (212). In effect, Peel's obituary provides a useful epitaph for understanding Balfour's work and why it is inaccurate to judge him in the shadow of his great uncle,

"...under Providence, Peel has been our chief guide from the confusions and darkness that hung around the beginning of this century to the comparatively quiet haven in which we are now embayed" (213).

It was from the 'confusion' surrounding education that Balfour was determined to save the Unionist Party. While chaos may have been apparent in education so too was the state of the Unionist government. As a coalition its viability and credibility had for so long depended on the diplomatic abilities of Lord Salisbury; but these abilities were largely ephemeral. The simple but effective tactic of using small bills to avoid complicated parliamentary manoeuvres could only provide a short term palliative to the shaky coalition. From 1895 to 1905 it effectively creaked and groaned under the pressure of issues or personalities. As Conservatism underwent a transformation under Peel in 1834, with the Tamworth Manifesto as the vehicle for change, so under Balfour was the issue of education and coalition politics fused enabling the metamorphosis to take place which, while not immediately apparent by 1905, had nevertheless begun. It was into this state of flux that the

controversial free trade tariff reform issue fell. By itself it was not and could never have been an issue to split the Unionist coalition; however, the impact of the Education Act and the apparent victory for Anglican sentiment pushed the issue to the fore and split the party. The tariff reform crisis was essentially a symptom of the shallow basis upon which Unionism rested. It was the Education Act of 1902 which made the tariff reform issue a crisis leaving Balfour the victim of his uncle's shortsightedness.

Although the evidence seems to suggest that Morant had placed his faith in Balfour to get the Bill through, it is questionable whether both were aiming at the same goal. For Morant the Bill provided the first real opportunity to reorganize national educational and thereby begin a process leading to further advances. It was an educational objective which required political manipulation. The issue had not really altered since 1896, which had largely been an affair of the heart for all Unionists, namely the preservation and protection of the voluntary schools. Even as late as June 1902 Balfour still spoke in terms of the voluntary schools and their survival first, with vague references to comprehensive reform overlapping. The preservation of the voluntary schools, the keystone of Unionist education policy could be hidden behind a facade of generalized statements which implied national reorganization. Writing to the Duke of Northumberland on June 16 1902, Balfour reiterated this central theme,

"...if this Bill is not passed, the voluntary school system is doomed...unless we do something - and something soon - the only voluntary schools that will be left will be those blessed with ample endowments, those in parishes with rich squires, and those in districts where the inhabitants levy a voluntary rate to keep the School Board" (214).

Balfour disliked being drawn continually into the religious conflict

resulting from the Act. What Balfour could never appreciate was that for many Liberals, as John Vincent has pointed out "...politics was not an autonomous activity, but one deriving from a religious centre" (215). While remaining candid about the impact of the education issue upon the Coalition, he knew that to have left education alone would not have been "consistent with courageous statesmanship" (216).

What the Education Act represented was not just an administrative tactic on Balfour's part to save the voluntary schools. For many Unionists (Balfour included), the preservation of the voluntary schools had been the priority, but Cockerton had rendered a piecemeal bill impracticable. It was Balfour who grasped the need for wholesale reorganization not only as a result of Cockerton but largely from fiscal changes which meant that the use of selective subsidies to support Anglican education was no longer viable. Selective subsidies had provided short term comfort in 1897 for the voluntary schools, but they did not solve the problem which for Balfour was inherent in Unionist education policy. The resourcing of education had to become comprehensive in order to improve, not simply reorganize education. He accepted the logic of such a position, for educational reorganization could not take place without establishing a sound financial base. This was the lesson he had learnt during his involvement with Irish education. Morant's pleading to base reform upon the rates had always been an acceptable arrangement for him; his delay in accepting such a formula stemmed from the potential repercussions within the coalition. In short, his role throughout the passage of the 1902 Act reflects the commitment of an individual to translate educational idealism into a workable and lasting scheme in the face of open hostility. His achievement from March 1902 was to seek the active involvement of the House of Commons in what appeared to be fierce debates but which in reality provided not only much needed guidance in the form

of amendments, but also the establishment of a consensus for the end product. He had in effect risen to the challenge of a political crisis, marshalled his forces, and emerged victorious with what was to be a long-lasting piece of legislation. In so doing, however, he had opened up other issues which were first to lead to the fall of his own government then to the constitutional crisis.

CHAPTER FIVE FOOTNOTES

1. See Munson, J.E.B. The Unionist Coalition and Education, 1895-1902, The Historical Journal 20, 3, 1977.
2. JC 11/5/2, Balfour to Chamberlain, 1 January 1902. The letter refers to Michael Hicks Beach's suggestion to "...compel Voluntary Schools, in any arrangement that may be come to with the local authoirty to pay a certain proportion of the annual charge." This was the suggestion that Balfour was rejecting.

See also JC 11/5/3, Chamberlain to Balfour, 3 January 1902: "...I entirely agree with what you say in regard to the Education Bill. It will be much easier to fight if it is based on some principle which we can hold up as against amendments from either side".
3. B.L. Add. Ms., 49787, Folio 190-2, Morant to Sandars, 4 January 1902.
4. Ibid,.
5. Ibid,.
6. B.L. Add. Ms., 49787, Folio 198, Morant to Short (no date), January 1902.
7. See Webb, Beatrice, The Diary of Beatrice Webb: All The Good Things of Life 1892-1905, Volume 2, Virago Press 1983, page 233. Charles Alfred Cripps (1852-1941), married Theresa Potter, sister of Beatrice Webb; he was the father of Stafford Cripps. Barrister, M.P., 1895-1900 and 1910-1914. Created Baron Parmoor, 1914. Lord President of the Council, 1924, 1929-31/
8. B.L. Add. Ms., 49769, Folio 213-15, Balfour to Devonshire, 22 January 1902.
9. Ibid,.
10. Ibid,.
11. PRO CAB 37/60, Education Bill: Optional rate aid versus complete rate maintenance, for use in Cabinet on 4 February 1902. The document was written 28 January at the Board of Education.
12. Ibid., page 7.
13. Ibid,.
14. PRO CAB 41/2/3 (Cabinet letter), 31 January 1902. See also Taylor, A.I., The Church Party and Popular Education 1893-1902, unpublished Ph.D., Cambridge University, 1981.
15. Cited in Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, Vol. 2, London 1925, page 73.
16. PRO CAB 37/60, 28 January 1902.
17. Fitzroy, Almeric, op., cit., 5 February 1902, page 73.

18. Ibid,.
19. Ibid,.
20. Ibid,.
21. Ibid,.
22. See Aikin, K.W.W., The Last Years of Liberal England 1900-1914, Collins 1972.
23. See Wilkinson, M.J., Educational Controversies in British Politics 1895-1914, unpublished Ph.D. Newcastle University 1974. Also see Fairhurst, J.R., Some Aspects of the Relationships between Education, Politics and Religion from 1895-1906, unpublished D.Phil, University of Oxford 1974.
24. See Chapter Two pages 77 - 124.
25. Fitzroy, Almeric, op., cit., 5 February 1902, page 73.
26. PRO CAB 41/27/4 (Cabinet letter), 7 February 1902.
27. PRO CAB 37/60, 6 February 1902, Education Bill: Denominational Schools and Voluntary Schools, Arthur Balfour (five pages).
28. Ibid., page 1.
29. Ibid,.
30. Ibid,.
31. Ibid,.
32. Fitzroy, Almeric, op., cit., 8 February 1902, page 74.
33. Ibid,.
34. Munson, J.E.B., op., cit., page 631.
35. PRO CAB 37/60, Education Bill: Voluntary Schools, Arthur Balfour (three pages).
36. Ibid., page 1.
37. Ibid,.
38. Ibid,.
39. Ibid,.
40. See Munson, J.E.B., op., cit., page 632.
41. Ibid,.
42. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist., 735, Folio 12, Alice Balfour to Sandars, 25 February 1902.
43. Ibid., (see second telegram).

44. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 735, Folio 16, 25 February 1902.
45. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 735, Folio 20, Dr Squire to Sandars, 20 February 1902.
46. PRO CAB 37/60, Education Bill (a note), C.T. Ritchie, 13 February 1902.
47. PRO CAB 41/27/5, (Cabinet letter), 14 February 1902.
48. See Munson, J.E.B., op., cit.
49. PRO CAB 41/27/5, (Cabinet letter) op., cit.
50. B.L. Add. Ms., 48679, Folio 39 (Sir Edward Hamilton's Diary), 25 February 1902.
51. See Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., 10 March 1902, page 80.
52. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 735, Folio 35, Balfour to Sandars, 7 March 1902.
53. Ibid,.
54. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., 10 March 1902, page 80.
55. Ibid., page 81.
56. Ibid,.
57. Ibid,.
58. Ibid,.
59. PRO CAB 41/27/11 (Cabinet letter), 22 March 1902.
60. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., 21 March, page 82.
61. PRO ED 24/15/20, Morant to Balfour, 28 March 1902. Sir Edward Hamilton noted in his diary the following week that:

"Before the Easter recess, the Government introduced their Education Bill which has been a matter of much travail for the Duke of Devonshire and Arthur Balfour who introduced the Bill himself... the principle character of the Bill is that to which most exception is taken... Nonconformists are pretty certain to fight this to the death".

See, B.L. Add. Ms., 48679, Folio 58.
62. See The Times, 1 April 1902: Balfour letter to Mr W.R. Plummer M.P. The letter is dated 26 March 1902.
63. The Times, 3 April 1902: N.U.T. Conference (Bristol) resolution on Education Bill. While approving the general thrust of the Bill, the Conference noted that,

"...the measure cannot become educationally effective unless the permissive clauses of the Bill relating to elementary education be struck out, and it be made compulsory upon the local authority

to take over the control of elementary as well as of higher education; and that in view of the unjust and unequal incidence of local rates, it is essential that additional grants should be made to the local authority from the Imperial Exchequer..."

64. B.L. Add. Ms., 49854, Folio 120, Cardinal Vaughan to Balfour, 3 April 1902.
65. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., 10 April 1902, page 82.
66. The Spectator, 12 April 1902.
67. B.L. Add. Ms., 49854, Folio 127-9, Balfour to Rev. H. Arnold (no date).
68. See Webb, Beatrice, op., cit., pages 246-292.
69. Ibid,.
70. Ibid,.
71. Ibid,.
72. See Gorst speech in the House of Commons, 5 May 1902. Sir Edward Hamilton noted in his diary for the following day that,

"The Education Bill is being debated on its second reading. The feature of the debate thus far has been a very brilliant performance of young Hugh Cecil, who is even more of a strong churchman than his father".

See B.L. Add. Ms., 48679, Folio 79, 6 May 1902.
73. See Shannon, Richard, The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915, Paladin 1984, page 354.
74. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., 28 May 1902, page 88.
75. B.L. Add. Ms., 48679, Folio 83, 9 May 1902.
76. See, The Methodist Recorder, 19 June 1902. Two letters supporting the Bill from Rev. T.E. Westerdale and Rev. Dr. Thomas Allen. See also The Presbyterian, 4 September 1902 and the letter from Rev. Archibald Lamont.
77. B.L. Add. Ms., 48679, Folio 104, 12 June 1902.
78. National Union Archives (N.U.A.), Vol. XIX, July-December 1902. Balfour in the House of Commons, 23 June 1902.
79. Ibid., page 14.
80. Ibid,.
81. Ibid., page 15.
82. The Globe, 1 July 1902.
83. Ibid,.

84. Ibid.,.
85. Daily Chronicle, 11 July 1902.
86. Westminster Gazette, 10 July 1902.
87. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 736, Folio 176-177, Henry Hobhouse to Lord Selborne, 16 July 1902.
88. Ibid.,. George Joachim Goschen, b.1831, son of German merchant in London. Educated at Rugby and Oriel College, Oxford. As a liberal he was vice-president, Board of Trade, 1865; chancellor, duchy of Lancaster, 1866; president, Poor Law Board, 1868; First Lord, Admiralty, 1871-4. As a unionist he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1887-92; First Lord, Admiralty, 1895-1900. Viscount in 1902; d.1907.
Lord Selborne, b.1859; educated at Winchester and University College, Oxford; under-secretary for the colonies, 1895-1900; First Lord, Admiralty 1900-5; high commissioner for South Africa, 1905-1910. He was Lord Salisbury's son-in-law.
89. Ibid.,.
90. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 736, Folio 161-3, Selborne to Balfour, 30 July 1902.
91. Ibid.,.
92. Ibid.,.
93. Ibid.,.
94. Ibid.,.
95. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 737, Folio 16-20, Gorst to Balfour, 5 August 1902.
96. Ibid., Folio 22-26, Balfour to Gorst, 5 August 1902.
97. Ibid.,.
98. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., 6 August 1902, page 97.
99. Sadler, M.T., Ms.eng.misc., c204-210, 17 August 1902.
100. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 737, Folio 101-102, 28 August 1902.
101. Ibid.,.
102. Ibid.,.
103. JC 11/5/5, Chamberlain to Balfour, 4 August 1902, pages 1-2.
104. See JC 11/5/7, Balfour to Chamberlain, 28 August 1902

"...I certainly think we are going to have an ugly time over the Education Bill..."

105. Ibid., Balfour to Chamberlain, 3 September 1902,
- "I confess to being in great perplexity about the whole subject. On the merits I think the Bill is a very reasonable one, not unduly favourable to the Church, and certainly not unduly favourable to the Clergy, whom in its present form it in fact disposes".
106. Ibid.,
107. Ibid., Also see Quickswood, QUI, Folio 1/62: Balfour to Linky
- "My wish has always been to secure the denominational character of the schools by insisting on the denominational majority; but having got that majority to leave it unfettered... To create in the face of immense opposition a body of managers with a denominational majority...".
108. B.L. Add. Ms., 41,211, Vol. VI (Campbell-Bannerman Papers), Folio 209-215, Campbell-Bannerman to Bryce, 23 September 1902.
109. Ibid.,
110. Ibid., Campbell-Bannerman also noted, when concluding the letter that
- "Any such line as this would, of course, alienate our County Council philosophers, and the Haldane-Webb set...".
111. See B.L. Add., Ms., 41,214 (Campbell-Bannerman Papers), Vol. XI, Folio 231-233, Campbell-Bannerman to Herbert Gladstone, 28 September 1902.
112. Ibid.,
113. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 737, Folio 33-4, Selborne to Sandars, 1 September 1902.
114. Ibid.,
115. Ibid.,
116. The Presbyterian, 4 September 1902. See the letter from Rev. Archibald Lamont of St. Paul's Presbyterian Chapel, South Shields.
117. Herbert Gladstone to Lord Spencer, 23 September 1902. See Gordon, Peter ed., The Red Earl: The Papers of the Fifth Earl Spencer 1835-1910, Vol. II, Northants Record Society 1986, page 304.
118. Balfour to Lord Hugh Cecil, 15 September 1902, cited in Gordon, Peter ed., op., cit., page 304.
119. Liberal Unionist Conference, Birmingham, 9 October 1902.
120. Ibid.,
121. Ibid.,
122. Ibid.,

123. Ibid.,.
124. Ibid.,.
125. Ibid.,.
126. Ibid.,.
127. Conservative Party Conference, Manchester, 14 October 1902
(see NUA 2/1).
128. Ibid. See also The Schoolmaster, 18 October 1902. Balfour declared that,
- "It is on no party or political ground that I appeal to this vast assembly. I tell you there are at stake issues more important than the fortunes of any political party, be it what it may. There is at stake the education of your children for a generation, and if for that time we - I mean the majority of the members in the House of Commons - consent either through a desire to avoid a little extra trouble or the fear of a few loud mouthed speeches or mendacious pamphleteers, if we hesitate to do our duty and carry through this great reform, then I say we shall receive the contempt of the parents of the children living and to be born for the next generation, and the contempt which we shall receive we shall most justly and richly earn".
129. Ibid.,.
130. Webb, Sidney, The Education Bill 1902, 17 October 1902 in, The Daily Mail.
131. Ibid.,.
132. Ibid.,.
133. Ibid.,.
134. Ibid.,.
135. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., page 106.
136. Shannon, Richard, op., cit., page 354.
137. See Municipal Elections and the Education Bill, Conservative Central Office, October 1902, No., 189 and What the Education Bill Really Is, C.C.O., October 1902, No. 187.
138. JC 11/5/10, Chamberlain to Balfour, 9 September 1902.
139. B.L. Add.Ms., 41237, Folio 54-56, 31 October 1902. This concern is expressed in a petition signed by most of the Liberal M.P's.
140. Ibid.,.
141. Westminster Gazette, 4 November 1902.
142. The Times, 6 November 1902.

143. N.U.A., Vol. XX, January-June 1903. See Text of Closure Resolution moved in House of Commons, 11 November 1902.
144. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit., 4 November 1902, page 109.
145. The Times, 12 November 1902.
146. The Times, 14 November 1902.
147. See The Birmingham Gazette, 19 November 1902.
148. Lucy, Henry, The Balfourian Parliament 1900-1905, Hodder and Stoughton 1906, page 210.
149. Ibid.,.
150. Ibid.,.
151. See N.U.A., Minutes of the National Union Executive Committee, 5 December 1902. See also Minutes of the Central Council Meetings, 5 December 1902: Resolution by F.W. Love M.P.:
- "That the members of the Council of the National Union of Conservative Associations desire to convey to the Prime Minister their highest appreciation of the able and courteous manner in which he has conducted the Education Bill through the House of Commons and to express an earnest hope that it may soon be passed into law".
152. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 737, Folio 56-7, Acland-Hood to Sandars, 22 December 1902 "...will thank God the Education Bill is over and done with".
153. Ibid., Folio 165, Sir Herbert Maxwell to Balfour, 27 December 1902.
154. Ibid.,.
155. Ibid., Henry Cust had been editor of the Pall Mall Gazette a Conservative paper between 1892 and 1896.
156. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 737, Folio 167, Sir Herbert Maxwell to Balfour, 3 January 1903 "...I do not agree that you sit so loosely in the saddle as you seem to suppose".
157. Ibid., Folio 56-7, see Acland-Hood to Sandars, 6 January 1903.
158. The Times, 31 January 1903.
159. Ibid.,.
160. See The Pall Mall Gazette, 13 February 1903, Relief to the rates in Wales: £30,000 saved.
161. See P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 121, Col. 689, 28 April 1903.
162. Webb, Beatrice, The Diary of Beatrice Webb, Vol. 2, page 276.
163. Fitzroy, Almeric, op., cit., 22 April 1903, page 128.

164. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 121, Col. 691, 28 April 1903. Balfour also angrily pointed out that,
- "The only point on which we are concerned on the Second Reading of the Bill is whether we do or do not accept these... fundamental principles". Col.693.
165. See P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 121, Col. 690, 28 April 1903. The opposition centred upon Dr. T.J. Macnamara, a leading member of the London School Board.
166. See Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, op., cit.
167. N.U.A., 4/1, Minutes of the Central Council Meetings, 3 July 1903:
- "That the Council of the National Union of Conservative Associations welcomes the declarations of the Prime Minister and Mr Chamberlain that an inquiry is about to be instituted into our existing commercial and tariff relations with other countries and with the Colonies and trust that the outcome of such inquiry may prove the practability of a still closer union between the Colonies and the mother country, so desirable in the interests of the Empire as a whole".
168. Spender, J.A., Diary of Greville Minor for the year of agitation 1903-1904, 8 July 1903, Methuen 1904, page 47.
169. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 739, Folio 102-4, Balfour to Devonshire, 4 June 1903.
170. Ibid,.
171. B.L. Add. Ms., 49770, Folio 90-4, Balfour to Devonshire, 29 August 1903.
172. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist., 740, Folio 70-1. See Ritchie to Balfour, 13 August 1903:
- "I wonder whether it is too late to prevent the inevitable break up of the Party which will ensue if Chamberlain's policy is persisted in...".
173. Lloyd George Papers A/1/12/12. Letter to Balfour from the Liverpool Welsh Free Church Council, 12 October 1903.
174. Sandars, Ms., eng.hist, C773, Copy of Cabinet letter, Balfour to the King, 20 November 1903.
175. Ms. Bryce 13, Folio 103-6, Courtney Ilbert to Bryce, 4 November 1903.
176. Cited in Halevy, Elie, Imperialism and the Rise of Labour 1895-1905, Vol. 5, Ernest Benn 1934, page 207.
177. Ibid,.
178. Somerton, Alexander, Is Passive Resistance Right for the Citizen? page 21, published by Stockwell 1904.

179. N.U.A., Vol. XXII, See Balfour letter to G. Younger on Scottish Education, dated 13 January 1904.
180. See The Westminster Gazette, 18 February 1904.
181. Ibid.,.
182. Ibid.,.
183. PRO ED 24/15, Course to be pursued in connection with Welsh Education and the application of the Defaulting Authority Act, 9 October 1904.
184. Ibid., Point 11 is very difficult to read:
 "11, It should be only applied in cases (a) where the default of the Authority is substantiated, and (b) where there is no probability that the Voluntary School which it is proposed to defend is likely...?"
185. See B.L. Add. Ms. 49787, Folio 123-24, Morant to Balfour, 3 December 1904.
186. Ibid., "Londonderry is in doubt on this point because his recollection of the last time this matter came up before you and the Cabinet is that you said very strongly that Anson could make a speech as sympathetic as he liked but on no account... should there be any call on the rates for the feeding of children..."
187. See the continuing religious controversy, PRO ED 24/15/20, Morant to the Bishop of Manchester, 8 August 1904 and PRO ED 24/21/19, Morant to Sandars, 19 January 1905.
188. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist., C773, Balfour to the King (Cabinet letter copy) 18 April 1905.
189. Ibid.,.
190. See resolution of East Ham Borough Council, 18 April 1902, N.U.A., Vol. VIII.
191. Ibid.,.
192. Ibid.,.
193. The Times, 5 May 1905.
194. The Times, 24 May 1905.
195. Ibid.,.
196. Hatfield G.W., Lady Gwendolen Cecil to Lady Selborne, 13 July 1905.
197. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. 749, Folio 42-6, Sandar's note on government defeat in the Commons, 25 July 1905.
198. Ibid.,.

199. Ibid,.
200. 21 July 1905
201. Sandars Ms.eng.hist. C749, Folio 42-6, op., cit.
202. Ibid,.
203. B.L. Add. Ms, 49857, Folio 60-66, see Petition of Unionist M.P's to Balfour, August 1905.
204. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. C750, Acland-Hood to Balfour, 10 October 1905.
205. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. C750, see paper marked Confidential for Cabinet Use, from Balfour and dated 27 November 1905.
206. Hatfield G.W., Lady Gwendolen Cecil to Lady Selborne, 1 December 1905.
207. Sandars, Ms.eng.hist. C773, Balfour to the King, 2 December 1905, Cabinet letter.
208. Sandars, J.S. Studies of Yesterday by a Privy Councillor, London 1928, page 49.
209. The Times, 16 October 1902.
210. Ibid,.
211. See Taylor, Tony, Lord Salisbury and the Politics of Education, Journal of Education Administration, Vol., VXI, No. 2, July 1984, page 9.
212. Webb, Beatrice op., cit., page 261.
213. See Blake, Robert The Conservative Party from Peel to Churchill, Chapter 2, Fontana 1972.
214. B.L. Add. Ms., 49854, Balfour to the Duke of Northumberland, 16 June 1902.
215. Vincent, John, The Formation of the British Liberal Party 1857-1868, Pelican 1972, page 17.
216. B.L. Add. Ms., 49856, Folio 82-132, Balfour to Canon Cremner, 13 June 1904.

CHAPTER SIX

I. BALFOUR AND THE DEFENCE OF THE EDUCATION ACT

To Balfour's surprise Campbell-Bannerman had little difficulty in forming a Cabinet in December 1905 (1), and it soon became clear that through Lloyd George's campaign (2), the Liberals would make public control of education one of the election issues (3). During the January 1906 election campaign both Campbell-Bannerman and Augustine Birrell (4) argued that there could be no settlement of the education issue until schools were placed under popular control. The Conservative Party throughout the election campaign attempted to parry Liberal criticism of the 1902 Education Act and maintained the political line that, "Radical nonconformists are fighting for their own selfish ends, caring nought for the children's good" (5). The key issue in the education debate remained the religious settlement:

"Mr Balfour's Act, though in many respects a considerable measure marking important educational progress, had failed to discover a working settlement of the denominational conflict. It had even embittered the problem which it failed to solve, because it proceeded on a mistaken view of the actual situation" (6).

Balfour accepted this view (7) but he had consistently argued that the settlement of the denominational conflict in 1902 had been the best that could be achieved at the time (8). Nevertheless, the Conservative defeat and Balfour's loss of his East Manchester seat, left him open to a level of criticism not seen since the fiasco over the 1896 Education Bill. Some argued that Balfour deserved to be 'smashed' (9), because he had lost the confidence of the country. Many of the doubts about Balfour's leadership qualities were again resurrected; Leo Maxse, writing to Bonar Law in January 1906 suggested that,

"...all the members of the late Government apparently regard themselves, through a mistaken sense of loyalty, as inextricably bound up with the fortunes of Balfour. Until this superstition is broken down, Unionism must be a permanently negligible factor" (10).

Such sentiments continued to be reiterated by many former Cabinet colleagues (11). The issues of education and tariff reform remained a powerful focus of political debate, although during the election, as Balfour's cousin Lady Gwendolen Cecil noted, "...Balfourites and Free Fooders have all gone down like nine pins apparently quite irrespective of their fiscal views" (12). Nevertheless, amendment, if not repeal of the 1902 Education Act was anticipated following the general election. For the Liberals and their nonconformist supporters, Balfour's 1902 Act not only represented 'Rome on the Rates' (13), but also the monopolization of the rural areas by the Anglican Church for the delivery of elementary education. As Pattison has suggested: "Having made the educational issue one of the main planks of the election campaign, the new Government could fairly claim to have received a popular mandate to amend the 1902 Act" (14). While the nonconformist community sought repeal, the Liberal government through its President of the Board of Education Augustine Birrell wanted amendment (15). For Birrell and the Liberal Cabinet a redressing of the religious balance was required. In January 1906, a Cabinet sub-committee consisting of Lord Crewe (Chairman), R.L. Morant (Secretary), Balfour's former partner but kept on by the Liberals, Sir Henry Fowler, R.B. Haldane, Sydney Buxton, Lloyd George and Augustine Birrell, met with a view to drawing up an Education Bill which would seek to satisfy their own supporters without alienating the denominationalists. Lord Crewe argued that any new Bill should be presented in such a manner as to indicate an improvement within the existing structure and not a measure designed to resurrect the denominational issue. The sub-committee concluded that,

"...a system should be established comprising only one kind of elementary school, abolishing the existing distinction between provided and non-provided schools, and that freedom should not be given to stand out from this system" (16).

It was R.B. Haldane who suggested that Roman Catholics would never allow their independence to be subsumed by such a scheme. Although the sub-committee appears to have accepted the view that LEA's should take into account denominational wishes, it was a scheme fraught with danger. Birrell believed that concessions should be made to particular denominational feelings ('special facilities') with religious instruction being given on two mornings a week but that the financing of such a policy would have to be paid for by the denominational schools. For Haldane, Birrell's plan needed to include additional concessions given the likely Catholic response and he therefore argued that,

"...in any school of which four-fifths of the children do not want Cowper-Temple teaching it need not be given even on the three mornings, and that denominational instruction might be given on the three mornings, as well as on the two mornings, at the cost of the denomination. But this must never be allowed in any school in a parish in a rural district, as undue pressure was so easily exercised under such circumstances" (17).

Although Balfour was out of the Commons in January 1906, J.S. Sandars suggested to him that the Opposition via the House of Lords should pre-empt a Liberal Education Bill. When Parliament reassembled in February 1906 he argued that five clauses should be tabled as a means of taking the wind out of the nonconformists' sail. The clauses Sandars advocated were first, that facilities be made available (at least in all single school districts) for 'Cowper-Temple' teaching in all Church of England and Roman Catholic schools; second, corresponding facilities for denominational teaching, at least in all single school districts in Council schools; third, parent committees to be formed for the purposes of weak facilities and for providing i.e. the religious instruction the parents desired for their

children both in denominational and undenominational schools; fourth, teachers to be relieved from the necessity of giving religious instruction; and finally, both denominational teaching and undenominational teaching to be paid for by those who desired such teaching in all schools (18). This, argued Sandars, would leave secular instruction in the hands of the local authority and, "...give freedom to the teachers, and if introduced by the Duke of Devonshire... would have a good chance of passing the House of Commons in view of the difficulties the Government are in on the subject" (19). In March 1906, Balfour returned to the Commons following a by-election victory (20). If he ever contemplated regaining his pre-eminence within the Commons, he was quickly disappointed. In his opening speech in the Commons on Free Trade tariff reform, he was quickly brought down to earth by Campbell-Bannerman's caustic remark that,

"They (Balfour's questions) are utterly futile, nonsensical and misleading. They were invented by the right hon. Gentleman for the purpose of occupying time in this debate. I say, enough of this foolery! It might have answered very well in the last Parliament, but it is altogether out of place in this Parliament... Move your amendment and let us get to business" (21).

Balfour's inability to accept the rights of a democratically elected Liberal Government to dictate business led to frustration and anti-constitutional activity (22). He now concluded that the prospect of using the Lords to wreck Liberal Bills as in 1892-5, might in the long run 'strengthen rather than weaken' the Lords. The problem with Balfour's analysis however was that during the period 1892-1895, the Liberals only had a small Commons majority and Bill wrecking was practicable; the 1906 election result made such a policy extremely risky.

II. BALFOUR AND THE LIBERAL EDUCATION BILL OF 1906

It was the introduction of a new Education Bill by Birrell on 9th April 1906 (23) to a packed and excited House which provided the Unionist

Opposition with a much needed rallying point.

Under the terms of the Education Bill, all sectarian schools in receipt of state aid were to be rented by local authorities during school hours. Twice a week the sects would be allowed to provide denominational instruction. This instruction however had to be given at the expense of the sect, and it could not be given by the regular teachers. Both denominational and Bible teaching were to be given outside school hours. The council schools continued to offer only non-denominational instruction which was given at the expense of the state by regular teachers. Thus Bible teaching continued to receive preferential treatment.

He addressed the House in a very tentative manner (24), a hesitancy which largely reflected the unsatisfactory outcome of Cabinet sub-committee deliberations. As a consequence, the Bill appeared to be at odds with grass root Liberal wishes for the total destruction of Balfour's Act. The Bill was designed to liberate education from the perceived injustices of 1902. The problem, however, was that what appeared to be a mandate for radical change had come too late. The national system of education operating since 1902 appeared to work and Birrell's unease about the need to tamper with its operation reflected this position. However, while in 1902 administrative amendments to the education system could be made including compromise clauses which safeguarded religious preference, Liberal proposals sought the dismantling of what was perceived to be an Anglican inspired educational edifice. The Bill espoused two important points; first, in an effort to placate nonconformist agitation, it sought to establish the principle that no school should be recognized as a public elementary school unless it was a school provided by the local educational authority (25). Second, and under Clause 2 of the Bill, LEA's would have total control over the schools, which would mean in reality (particularly in the rural districts), that a nonconformist child would no longer be

obliged to receive Anglican instruction (26).

The Bill was effectively a very narrow proposal, concentrating upon religious redress, and by its very nature, not designed to improve the educational system but rather to complicate its delivery. Rather than build upon the foundations of the 1902 Act, it appeared that the Liberal government was determined to redress a long standing grievance without due consideration to the educational consequences.

Birrell punctuated his opening remarks with constant references to his deeply felt inadequacy for dealing with such a sensitive topic (27). In effect, he knew that religious rather than educational arguments were bound to surface (28). The pessimism of his speech set the tone for a somewhat shaky introduction of the Bill and his suggestion that he, "... must not be too gloomy too soon" (29) merely reinforced his lack of confidence in what he was about to undertake. Launching into a brief history of the achievements of the school board system (30) he concluded that all that was best about the system was "indiscriminately" (31) destroyed by the 1902 Act. Using Balfour's concluding remark when winding up the third reading of the 1902 Bill (32), Birrell suggested that in reality his proposal was merely a missing part of that legislation which would provide a greater sense of equity and balance. The problem was that the sense of injustice felt in 1902 had become confused with the desire for revenge. The educational system appeared to function and while leading nonconformists such as Dr. Clifford or Lloyd George had attempted to keep the issue alive, the prospect of wholesale educational reconstruction in 1906 was not realistic. Reformist demands tended to reflect the insularity of nonconformity rather than the real needs of the school population. The election of 1906 had been fought around the issue of free trade, an agenda mainly set by the Unionists rather than the Liberals, and as a consequence, issues such as education or trade union reform did not

dominate the Party manifesto. The massive Liberal majority, the result of a 9% swing (33), was effectively the product of an active working class vote. Although the new Parliament was to comprise of 157 nonconformist members (34) the nature of politics had changed. No longer could Liberalism merely seek to rectify grievances and act as the conscience of the nation, for what now existed was a,

"heterogeneous collection of outmoded and misty attitudes left over from the Victorian era: Cobdenite Little Englandism, Gladstonian economy, Nonconformist provinciality" (35).

It is against this background that Birrell's uncertainty needs to be placed. His hope that the Bill would be generally welcomed was quickly extinguished. Backbencher's such as C.F.G. Masterman the member of East Ham North, making his maiden speech suggested that the proposals were impractical. The scope of the Bill also tended to cause confusion. T.J. Macnamara pointed out that the proposals would effectively leave the 1902 Act more or less intact, while George Wyndham for the Unionists suggested that Birrell's proposals did not amount to an Education Bill. He believed that as far as secular education was concerned there was no need for an amendment to the 1902 Act arguing that,

"The Bill is simply a measure for regulating and modifying the extent to which, and the conditions under which, religious education is to be given in our public elementary schools" (36).

When winding up the day's session later that evening, Birrell was to partly agree with Wyndham's analysis which merely added to the confusion of purpose (37). It was to be the Unionist member for Birmingham North, John Throgmorton Middlemore who encapsulated the ill conceived nature of the Bill. Middlemore had opposed Balfour's Bill in 1902 on the basis that it bore heavily upon nonconformity. He now suggested that he would likewise oppose Birrell's Bill because he believed it to be a greater attack upon

conformity (38). The Bill did however, appear to provide the answer to 'passive resistance' demands, but it lay upon principles which could not be applied to the non-provided schools especially the Catholic ones. The Liberal Party was particularly sensitive to both the Irish and Labour parties and therefore established concessions within the Bill of 'special' or ordinary 'facilities', which would allow denominational teaching for no more than two hours a week (39). This concession failed to satisfy any of the parties; the nonconformists disliked what they regarded as favouritism to Catholics; Catholics were not satisfied with the so-called 'extended facilities', especially as Clause 4 of the Bill (40) left the local authority free to grant or refuse them (41):

"Anglicans, Catholics, and many nonconformists found much to displease them in the measure. Denominationalists condemned as outright confiscation the plan to take over their schools, Anglicans were further upset at the refusal to allow the ordinary teacher to give denominational instruction... and Anglicans and Catholics alike denounced the new 'Birreligion' which alone was to be paid for out of the rates. Catholics were sceptical about Clause 4, pointing out that its implementation in any area was at the whims of the particular local authority" (42).

Unionist Opposition to Birrell's Bill was vociferous, both inside and outside the House of Commons. Lady Gwendolen Cecil writing to Lady Selborne on the 20th April 1906 suggested that,

"The prospects of the (Education) Bill... seem quite extraordinarily bad - almost incredibly so when one considers the strength of the Government. The "Tablet" has announced what I had already heard was to be the policy of the RC's - a strike of their children. If the Bill passes no RC children will be allowed to attend the schools at all" (43).

For Balfour, the regeneration of Unionist activity throughout the Spring of 1906 was vital; not only did he have to recapture the confidence of his party for his leadership qualities remained an open question, but the

issue of education provided him with a platform from which he could feel safe in his attacks upon Campbell-Bannerman who was not interested in the subject.

The nature of Balfour's actions in relation to the Liberal Education Bill were not simply a product of the position he found himself in following the January 1906 general election. The origin of his tactics can be traced back to his first experience of Opposition in 1880 and the subsequent emergence of the so-called Fourth Party. It was this experience which initially provided him with the opportunity to behave in an almost reckless manner with his fellow colleagues, Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff and John Eldon Gorst. Released from party discipline and disregarding Sir Stafford Northcote's inadequate leadership, he learnt the art of tactical Opposition. As he was to note in his autobiography, "...the art of attack offers the ingenious Parliamentarian a greater scope and variety of method than the counter-art of defence" (44).

The Gladstone Government of 1880 with its majority of 137 excluding Irish support of 65 seats had been sufficiently substantial for him to regard it as a danger to the effective deliberations of Parliament. The Liberal majority was to be as threatening to his vision of the Conservative state as that of 1906. In 1880, Balfour made it his business to "...convince the Government that large majorities did not cover a multitude of sins" (45), and so it was in 1906 that a substantial Liberal majority had to be restrained by whatever means. While in 1880 he, in cooperation with the members of the Fourth Party had been able to work on an ad hoc basis when attacking the Liberal Government and its perceived radicalisation through Joseph Chamberlain, so it was that in 1906 the art of opposing almost without responsibility came naturally to him.

Balfour's leadership of the Unionist Party between 1906 and 1911 was never constructive; in general, it lacked the substance of credible

alternatives to an initial government majority which had taken him by surprise. In 1880, he had believed, as he suggested in his autobiography, that once the shackles of party discipline were removed so the individual can enjoy a much greater purpose of action. As a result, in co-operation with his kindred spirits in the Fourth Party, he was able to enjoy a degree of independent action not seen amongst politicians since the early nineteenth century. It was however, a destructive approach to party politics inappropriate to the whip system. Opposition for Balfour was essential only because it offered the opportunity to muster forces which could stop a government in its tracks irrespective of what the legislation proposed. It was to become a nihilistic approach to Opposition, with little thought for constructive amendments, only prevention.

But by 1906 a cavalier, nihilistic approach to politics was totally inappropriate to both his Party and democracy. While in 1880 he had revelled in unrestrained freedom to attack the Liberals, the constraints of Party leadership in 1906 determined that the whip should be firm, given the size of the government majority. Balfour could never fully appreciate this aspect of Party leadership in Opposition and effectively began to lay the foundations for his eventual downfall as a consequence of his strategy by failing to carry his Party with him. The political situation in 1906 was totally different from that he had experienced in 1880 and yet he either ignored or had failed to understand the change in circumstances. In 1880, his activities despite its recklessness, did appear to have some purpose; either attacking his own inadequate front bench or the radicalisation of the Liberal Government. In 1906 his own inadequacies as Party leader particularly in relation to the tariff reform issue left him with only a Liberal Government to attack. However, the adoption of a hostile Opposition enabled him to obscure not only his leadership failings but also the bankruptcy of his parties policies. It was to be the issue of education which offered the most appropriate opportunity to oppose in a manner

reminiscent of his old Fourth Party days. What education offered Balfour in 1906 was more than a rallying point for the Unionist Party: it provided him with a potential lifeline to regain the respect of his Party and above all the political initiative.

The sense of incredulity at Liberal attempts to tamper with his recognised achievement was perhaps at the heart of his behaviour pattern over the next few years. Above all else, Balfour was a manipulator, and while he was by 'birth and tradition' a Conservative (and by conviction a Whig) (46), he believed Birrell's Bill provided him with the opportunity to re-group the forces of Unionism behind him. Unlike Campbell-Bannerman he had become a master of educational detail and saw the opportunity of points scoring against a Liberal front bench as confused over the issue as its leader (47).

It was during the second reading of the Bill, begun on the 7th May that religious and political considerations clashed with educational issues. Balfour appreciated the fact that the divisive nature of the Bill could not threaten his 1902 achievement and as a consequence was quick to pursue the attack on what he regarded as muddled thinking (48). However, his eagerness to attack exposed his own understanding of the 1902 Act. During the debate, Macnamara responding to Wyndham's move to reject the Bill (49), effectively caught Balfour out. When describing what the Act of 1902 had done by placing denominational schools upon the rate, he pointed out that Wyndham had not correctly explained the managerial structure locally, indicating that the 1902 Act gave a non-provided school six managers, of whom the public had two and the trustees four (50). Balfour interrupted and stated that this was incorrect (51) to which Macnamara replied, "...the right honourable gentleman seems to have forgotten his Act... under the Act of 1902 the trustees have four and the public two" (52). There was no response from Balfour to Macnamara's interjection. Soon the Bill became quickly

entangled in the debate about the mandate. As suggested earlier, the issue of tariff reform had been the key issue during the election campaign but it had linked to it other aspects of popular concern such as imperialism, Chinese slavery and social reform. The Liberals had been the beneficiaries of Unionist tactical errors capturing nearly 50% of the United Kingdom vote plus an additional 5% from their Labour Representation Committee allies. The Unionist vote had dropped from over 50% in 1900 to 43.4% in 1906 (53). Nevertheless, the global figures were deceptive for many Irish Catholics in England voted consistently Liberal because Home Rule mattered more to them than the future of denominational schools (54). It was the Chief Secretary for Ireland, James Bryce who, arguing that the Bill was a logical development of the 1902 Act (55), pointed out that the government was effectively mandated to amend it. Balfour rejected this argument emphasizing that the Liberal victory could not be seen as a mandate for the implementation of a radical programme (56), suggesting instead that religious considerations dominated their intentions. The refusal by Balfour to accept the principle of the mandate in relation to Liberal actions merely reflected unwillingness to accept government other than that directed by Unionists.

During the Committee Stage, Balfour argued that proposed amendments to Birrell's Bill were meaningless as they tended to obscure the principal reason for its introduction and that the government was losing control of the rationale of debate (57). He emphasized what he believed to be the fairness of the 1902 Act by suggesting that his measure had preserved the best aspects of both voluntary and board school sectors (58). He argued that Birrell's Bill proposed,

"to abolish, almost entirely, the voluntary system, and to leave wholly untouched the Cowper-Temple system; and it was because they had failed to see that this way of treating this historic problem could not

but be considered, rightly or wrongly, as grossly unjust by a large portion of the population that he could find no satisfactory solution on the lines which they had developed" (59).

Campbell-Bannerman intervened in the debate for the first time on 26th June 1906. Balfour sarcastically suggested that Unionists fully understood why he had not been involved prior to the Committee Stage (60). Nevertheless, Campbell-Bannerman insisted that the grievances felt by nonconformists had to be remedied under the provisions of Birrell's Bill:

"I therefore appeal to those who have strong prejudices and high ideals not to run after their ideals and prejudices too far, but to give their support to a scheme which we think will benefit education and remove grievances, and while giving preferences and exceptions which cannot be avoided, will do justice to the desires and interests of the people at large" (61).

Throughout the Committee stage of the Bill Balfour was not only able to lead the attack on Birrell's Bill (62) but also to counter leading educationalists. T.J. Macnamara the Liberal member for Camberwell North disliked Balfour's over confident dismissal of Birrell's proposals, although Balfour perceived that Macnamara sympathised with the 1902 Act rather than Birrell's Bill. This dislike emanated from Balfour's failure to acknowledge that the Act of 1902 had been a response to denominational pressure through the Church Party. When Balfour suggested that the government were effectively seeking to push through a Bill to satisfy the particular demands of nonconformists, Macnamara reminded him that the Act of 1902 was a measure designed to save voluntary schools, and bluntly interrupted stating that, "You did it in 1902" (63). It is perhaps to Balfour's credit that he was able to respond to Macnamara's quip by pointing out that the Act of 1902 had kept the principle of Cowper-Templism as a means of relieving nonconformists under the new structure. Now, under Birrell's Bill he argued, denominationalism was to be scrapped and in its place the introduction of universal Cowper-Templism (64).

Under Balfour's attacks the government began to realise that Birrell's Bill smacked of desperation and contradiction. As Augustine Birrell was to point out,

"...the late Prime Minister, who is not only, as all admit, a master of dialectics as practised in this House, handling with light grace a weapon which constant use for twenty years has kept bright and keen, but who is also, as all will admit, an expert in the gentle art of how to get an Education Bill through the House, whilst he is a living example of some of the ill-consequences that follow from an ill-considered measure" (65).

Lady Gwendolen Cecil, following a conversation with the Bishop of Southwark suggested that Unionist forces opposed to the Bill were building up to a far greater extent than had been anticipated:

"...Southwark was furious - I've never seen him like it or so full of fight. The House of Lords would he supposed reject the Bill on the Second Reading - and when I demurred as to the possibility of doing that the first year of a new Parliament, he argued that to emasculate it entirely in Committee might perhaps be wiser. He told me that this was not the Government's original intention - certainly not Birrell's wish - but the result of pressure from without - "a monstrous Bill with a disgraceful history" was I think the episcopal way of describing it and he's evidently not alone" (66).

Nevertheless, for Balfour, the likely passage of the Bill to the Lords was taking up much of his time. Through his correspondence with the Duke of Devonshire his determination to either amend or block the Bill can be seen (67). Throughout the summer of 1906, Balfour began to lay plans for the manipulation of the House of Lords once the measure passed its third reading. Sir Michael Hicks Beach provided Balfour with some tactical ideas for their lordships to consider:

"...I think there are two things on which the House of Lords could and should insist - (i) That whatever kind of religious teaching is allowed should be given in school hours; (ii) that the teachers, if

willing to do so, and paid by the denomination for giving it, should be allowed to give the denominational teaching under Clause 3 as well as under Clause 4.

Perhaps it might be possible to add to these two requirements the excision of the limitation of Clause 4 to Urban districts - but I rather doubt whether this would be of much practical importance, as I doubt if it would be practically possible to provide Cowper-Temple teaching for nonconformist children in many rural single school areas. If it could be provided, I should have no objection to its being paid for out of the rates - as it always has been.

I do not think the House of Lords can, or ought to, insist on facilities for denominational teaching in provided schools. It is a reactionary proposal, for anything of the kind was excluded from the Act of 1870 - and I do not think the House of Lords would have the support of the country in throwing out the Bill by insisting on it. Of course this, and several more amendments might be tried - but I question whether any of importance could be insisted on, except the two or three I have named" (68).

Balfour's suggestions were largely creative, designed to amend Birrell's Bill positively but at the same time seeking to preserve the greater part of his Act of 1902 (69). The Act had been after all the product of a variety of influences, from the Church Party to Liberal amendments. The Birrell Bill however sought sectional adjustments as a consequence of political pressure in a manner reminiscent of nineteenth century bills. The problem for Birrell and his supporters was that the educational environment had been altered by the Balfour Act to such an extent as to make his Bill politically divisive and educationally irrelevant. In reality, the Loyd-George and Dr Clifford campaign between 1903 and 1905 forced the Liberal government to amend the 1902 Act rather than build upon it particularly in relation to secondary and continuation schools. On 30 July 1906. the Education Bill passed its third reading by a majority of only 169, a reflection of the division.

The Education Bill reached the House of Lords at the beginning of August 1906, but Campbell-Bannerman became alarmed at the likely conflict it

would produce with the Peers (70). Writing to Birrell on the 27 October 1906 he expressed his concern:

"The King is most anxious, not to say alarmed about our... Bill; and he writes to me that he wishes me to see the Archbishop with a view to an arrangement. I am accordingly writing to Lambeth offering myself for tomorrow in the late afternoon..." (71).

The Prime Minister was worried about the potential division of the government's stance on the Education Bill and possible collusion with leading civil servants and the leader of the Liberals in the Lords, Lord Crewe. As Campbell-Bannerman suggested to Birrell, "What is it I hear of Thring (72) having been at a nice little party - A.J.B., Hartington... and telling them exactly what we would and what we would not?" (73). Nevertheless, it was to be the Church of England which was to play the decisive role in the future of the Bill. In the Lords, the Anglican Church reigned supreme, although the Bishop of Hereford, a persistent opponent of the Church Party (74) since 1896, disliked the more volatile attacks made upon the Bill. From the it's introduction in April, Bishop Percival sought to find a compromise solution between the government and the Anglican position (75). The position of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Randall Davidson was more determined. The week after Birrell introduced the Bill, Davidson wrote to Balfour seeking his help to speak about the twin issues of education and disestablishment (76). However, his position remained ambiguous when compared with that of Balfour. While the Bill was discussed in Committee in the House of Commons during May 1906, it also occupied the Upper House of Canterbury Convocation for three days, mostly in committee. Davidson indicated his wish to be conciliatory but suggested that the Bill as it stood should be opposed. However, by the use of such a tactic Davidson deliberately evaded the issue of total rejection or amendment (77). The preservation of the Church of England schools and a means of

finding an acceptable retreat for the government was of paramount importance to him. Writing to the influential Church Peer Lord Halifax, on the 25 June, he stated that,

"...I am relieved to find that you are of opinion that it is our duty in the whole to place ourselves in such a position as to be able to propose amendments. I had feared that you thought we ought to reject the Bill absolutely on the second reading. I do not think it is our business at present to say publicly what we will or will not do, but I am certain that we should give wide opportunity of misunderstanding were we simply to reject the Bill without having even revealed what our amendments would be or given the government a chance of accepting them...
...if the government declines to listen to our proposals we can then act with perfect freedom if necessary in rejecting the Bill... (78).

Davidson also sought the advice of the Liberal educationalist T.J. Macnamara for whom he had a great admiration. In conversation with the Archbishop in the lobby of the Commons (79), Macnamara bluntly stated that he would hand over £1 million to the local education authorities to keep the rates down in order to defuse the passive resisters and allow the 1902 Act to remain (80). Macnamara disliked the idea of reducing rates which would leave education severely disadvantaged. Robert Morant, the Permanent Secretary at the Board of Education reiterated Macnamara's view to Davidson following a garden party at Buckingham Palace in June 1906 (81). He believed that the Government had badly mishandled the Bill. It was into this situation that Balfour on 4th July sent his instructions to Lord Lansdowne on how to handle the Bill in Committee. He made three points, all designed to ensure the safety of his own achievement of 1902. First, he suggested that denominational schools must be permitted to remain denominational, "...wherever children whose parents object to its religious teaching can be conveniently accommodated elsewhere" (82). This was a demand to ensure that the principle of Clause IV should be applied to all

cases where there was alternative accommodation. Second, he insisted that "...the absurd prohibition directed against the teaching of denominational religion by school teachers should be excised from the Bill" (83); and finally, although not a satisfactory solution, that denominational teaching should be paid for by the denomination with, "... Cowper Temple teaching to be paid for out of the rates" (84).

The points outlined by Balfour in his memorandum of 4th July 1906 appear to have caused some confusion or at least a certain degree of misunderstanding (85). A second memorandum was sent reiterating the points he had made. However, by 21 July, he was clearly disturbed by the less than unanimous position of the House of Lords to the Bill (86). The Bishop of Hereford for example, continued to speak out in favour of compromise (72). Despite Balfour's efforts, confusion continued and Randall Davidson wrote to him suggesting that while he had read his two memoranda, the position he was asking the Lords to take up remained perplexing:

"I have today re-read your own two printed memoranda... The position is not altogether clear to me...

I wholly agree with you in thinking that we cannot look for a settlement however conciliatory or malleable the government may prove to be - if we accept Cowper-Temple as final, complete and immune from attack, even in places where no alternative accommodation exists, and this, as I gather, is what you believed... (88)

On 1st August the Education Bill came up for a second reading in the House of Lords, being introduced by Lord Crewe. He was followed by Randall Davidson's long and critical speech. Listening to the Archbishop of Canterbury were Birrell and Asquith both standing on the steps of the throne (89). The Archbishop's main criticism centered upon the impact of the Bill:

"What does the Bill do? It takes 14,000 existing schools, with their trusts, and demolishes, not the mere wording of the trusts, but the very essence and pith of them. The characteristics that make a denominational school different from others are abolished, and the school is handed over to a local authority, which may, if it likes, refuse to take it; or, if it does take it, may practically secularise it save for some two hours in the week, and may appoint teachers who are unwilling to give, or untrained to give, religious teaching; and if religious teaching is given, and the teachers are willing to give it, no child need go to school until the religious lesson is over (90).

Davidson made it clear that he did not wish to throw out the Bill but to amend it. This was largely irrelevant to the proceedings: a compromise was not needed given that the Bill was misconceived from the start. However, he insisted on a number of far reaching amendments if the Bill was to retain his support (91). Nevertheless, on 3 August the second reading of the Bill was carried. It was to be in the Committee when the House of Lords reassembled in October that the influence of Balfour's memoranda was to take effect, transforming the Bill.

Balfour, during the summer recess no longer regarded the Bill as a threat to his Act of 1902. He was already anticipating the wrecking tactics likely to be employed during the Committee stage when the House reassembled. Evidence for his attitude to the education debate during the summer recess appears to have been difficult to discern for historians of education, although during discussion on an amendment on medical inspection he concluded by suggesting that certain Liberal MP's preferred the 1902 Act (92). Randall Davidson's conversation with Balfour while staying at Whittinghame during the weekend of 29 September - 1 October, provides further insight into his state of mind. The Archbishop of Canterbury suggested that,

"He (Balfour) did not seem to me to be so keenly interested as before in the details of this Education Question, but was quick as usual to grasp special points of controversy. (93)

What is clear is that Balfour knew the Lords would do as they were told and that his Act was safe. His victory over the Birrell Bill was secured at the end of the second reading in August; the forthcoming Committee stage would, as far as he was concerned, simply acknowledge his manipulation of the House. Effectively in Committee, the extent of the amendments would "not merely destroy but... reverse" (94) the Bill's original purpose, and as Pattison has suggested,

"In the committee stage the Lords eliminated from the Bill the two days a week limitation for ordinary facilities under Clause 3, permitted denominational instruction in all schools if asked for, and authorized the compulsory taking over of all but inefficient schools" (95).

By 5 November their Lordships had made Clause 4, 'mandatory on all local authorities' and replaced its four-fifths provision by a simple majority of parents'. The 5,000 population limit for Clause 4 was also removed with parents' committees to be consulted over teacher appointments (96). The Liberal Peers Ripon and Crewe approached Lansdowne on 21 November 1906, complaining at the extent and nature of the amendments laid down in Committee. They argued that such amendments would lead to the House of Commons refusing even to discuss them (97), Lansdowne in a memorandum to Balfour the next day stated that his reply to their Lordships was clear: "...that such conduct on the part of the House of Commons must lead to the loss of the Bill. The House of Lords could not be expected to submit to such an affront" (98). Nevertheless, the Unionist dominated second chamber continued throughout November and December 1906 to follow the Balfour-Lansdowne line and transformed Birrell's Bill in Committee into a

measure of a totally different character. They extended the 'extended' facilities to rural as well as urban areas; they authorized the teachers to give denominational instruction (99), and not only in the non-provided schools under the 1902 Act, but also in the provided. The Bill had also called for free meals (a separate Act in December would be passed about this) but under certain conditions: the Lords compelled the LEA's to provide. Their Lordships also went one stage further and repealed a provision of the 1870 Act depriving LEA's of the right, of which a small minority had taken advantage, to give no religious instruction in schools. In future, no school would be supported by public money which did not find a place in its timetable for religious instruction.

The government, rather than re-work the Bill, asked the Commons on the 12 December to reject the amendments; this was voted accordingly by 416 to 107. Balfour wanted no compromise settlement which would amend his achievement of 1902. The means available to Campbell-Bannerman of saving Birrell's Bill was through private negotiation. An attempt to find a compromise solution to the plight of the Bill was made on 18 December in Balfour's room in the House of Commons (100). Present at the evening meeting were Lord Crewe, Asquith, Birrell, Balfour, Lansdowne, Cawdor and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The meeting merely highlighted the differences between the participants and Campbell-Bannerman was forced to admit defeat. For the Prime Minister, the decision had been inevitable and largely the result of Balfour's manipulation of both Houses:

"The 1902 Act seems to have been in accord with the mood of the moment, the public in general were tired of the disparity between Church and Board Schools, and, as roughly half the nations children went to each type of school, it seemed reasonable that both should receive equal financial support from the same sources. In consequence, despite their popular electoral success, Liberals were equally at odds with a large part of public feeling, when they attempted to put back the educational clock to pre-1902 conditions" (101).

What the issue had shown however, was Balfour's willingness to use an un-elected Chamber to block the democratic wishes of the government. Even attempts by Lambeth Palace two days after the dropping of the Bill to resurrect it failed (102). Lord Crewe, to whom the Lambeth Palace advances had been made suggested that any compromise would fail because of the, "...stiff line taken by Balfour and others. They had... rather repelled advances towards compromise and peace" (103). Balfour's victory appeared complete. Above all it represented a vindication of his belief that whether in power or in opposition, "...the great Unionist Party should still control" (104). By February 1907, Reginald McKenna who had succeeded Birrell at the Board of Education (105), was forced to introduce a Bill (of one clause), designed to relieve the local authority of the cost of the religious education given in non-provided schools (estimated at 1/15 of the education rate) (106). His Bill immediately alarmed the Church of England, irritated the nonconformists and as a result was quickly dropped. In the face of Unionist manipulation, McKenna resorted to using Board of Education administrative regulations as a means of circumventing opposition to Liberal versions of educational reform. He intended that no financial assistance should be given to the training colleges, often private foundations of an Anglican complexion, unless they undertook not to impose any denominational test upon their pupils. It extended the application of this rule to institutions for secondary education and also established the principle that no financial aid should be given to them unless the majority of the Board of managers were nominees of the public authority and if any denominational test was imposed on managers or teachers. Balfour now began to realise that the financial costs of the educational machinery he set in motion 1902 were increasing and suggested that,

"...the government Bill would show that the enormous burden already thrown by primary education upon the ratepayers' of the county would not be augmented by a measure whose general provisions they all desired to see carried" (107).

III. BALFOUR AND THE FINAL PHASE

Throughout the Spring and Summer of 1907, Balfour mused over the possibility of a general election and the return of a minority Unionist government. It seems clear that he believed the Liberals would call an election because of the mauling the Lords had given their bills. However, Balfour began to question his own place in the changing political scene:

"The future... is highly interesting, but exceedingly obscure; and it may be that I have not foreseen even the main issue which will occupy for the next two or three years those of us who are still in active politics. Whether I shall consent to be one of this devoted band is another question" (108).

His self doubt merely reflected the general attitude about his leadership qualities. Courtney Ilbert, in a letter to James Bryce in the summer of 1907 suggested that Balfour had not only lost control of the Party machine but also the confidence of rank and file members (109).

At the end of 1907, the Board of Education regulations affecting the financial status of training colleges dominated the educational debate. For the Unionist Party, the new regulations were "...a very serious attack on the essential character of the denominational training colleges" (110). Balfour, speaking at Devonport in December 1907, argued that McKenna's action over the training colleges was nothing short of a misuse of power:

"We are not bigoted advocates of this or that denomination, but we thought then and we think now, that the very basis of the education of the community, of a great community like ours,

should be that, if parents desire it, their children shall enjoy the greatest of all education blessings, the blessing of religious education..." (111).

Nevertheless, the new year began with the continued attempt to solve the question of religious teaching in primary schools. This had remained a contentious issue since Birrell's efforts in 1906. At the end of 1907, Reginald McKenna promised a short and simple Bill as a means of overcoming the persistent problem. However, when McKenna introduced the Bill in February 1908, it soon became apparent that it was as complicated as that of 1906. The Bill sought to establish the principle of one category of public elementary school, in which teachers should not be subject to any religious test, and the only type of religious instruction permitted would be the simple Bible teaching given in all or almost all board schools since 1870. As Elie Halevy has suggested, "...this provision marked a greater departure from secularism than the Act of 1870, for the elementary schools lost the right, which they had hitherto possessed, to give no religious instruction" (112). Also free schools were to be further supported by grants from the Central Government, "...but only if they did not possess the monopoly of teaching in a particular locality..." (113). The nature of this Bill angered the Anglican Church and on 30 March 1908, the Bishop of St Asaph introduced an alternative Bill into the Lords.

This Bill was a compromise 'based on mutual concession' (114). Anglicans, while accepting that nonconformists had a legitimate grievance in rural areas, sought to point out to them that they too had a legitimate claim in the towns where the former board schools (the provided schools of 1902) were in a majority. Under the compromise, there would only be need for one category of school in which teachers would be free to give or not to give religious instruction, and the normal religious instruction would be undenominational, but on three days a week those children whose parents

desired it might receive denominational instruction provided it was not at public expense. The effect of such proposals were still contentious, for as Elie Halevy has suggested,

"Whereas the Bill of 1906 might be regarded as an attempt to unite nonconformists and Catholics against Anglicanism, a compromise was now proposed between nonconformists and Anglicans from whose benefit the Catholics would be excluded" (115).

It was the new President of the Board of Education, Walter Runciman (appointed in April 1908) who now began the process of drafting a Bill acceptable to both the Liberal majority in the Commons and to the Lords. This process of negotiation went on throughout the spring and summer of 1908.

The issue of religious instruction was not the only thorny problem Runciman had to deal with. The level of central government block grants continued to cause concern; in Liverpool, the Catholic School Managers Association complained that the,

"...Cowper-Temple Schools receive 47/- and Rate Aid. Voluntary Schools ...receive 47/- but no Rate Aid... Rome is not and never was on the rates in Liverpool, not ever since the passing of the 1902 Act. A careful estimate shows that whilst the Catholic ratepayers pay £75,000 of the Education Rate, they receive back £50,000, so that they pay in one year alone, £25,000 more than they receive from the rates" (116).

Balfour's response to such complaints was that raising the general level of the grant to meet such shortfalls would only mean increased cost to the exchequer (117). His attitude to the issue of religious instruction and block grants centred on the need to find a compromise or balance, given as he suggested to the Central Meeting of the Parent's League in 1908 that the,

"...Education Act of 1902 was, in so far as the religious question is concerned, based upon the historic foundations, it presents some peculiarities which no architects, if he had to choose a site and was free to select his own plans, would really have brought into existence" (118).

This provided little comfort for the Roman Catholic cause over the block grant, although he suggested that he would be willing to fight for the Roman Catholic parent, just as he would for the Anglican, but he argued that he would never consent to any arrangement which gave special privileges to one particular communion,

"...if the people of the country are indeed discontented with the historic foundations on which the Act of 1902 was founded, let them by all means sweep it away, but do not let them attempt to substitute for one anomaly another anomaly, or for one cause of scandal and offence, a different and yet greater one..." (119).

Balfour was triumphant. His speech reflected his belief that the 1902 Act was out of danger, despite Liberal machinations. On 20 November, Balfour addressed the Conservative Party Conference in Cardiff:

"I hear the Government have withdrawn their Education Bill (loud cheers) - but they are going to introduce a new one (laughter)... They have been in office since the end of 1905... I make out that they have had six different Ministers of Education - three at the head of the office and three subordinates and these six gentlemen have had in charge no less than three Bills, all of which have either been dropped or withdrawn, and that these three Bills are now to be succeeded by a fourth" (120).

Runciman, anxious for success, established a settlement committee (121), formed at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, which was immediately joined by seven bishops and several leading nonconformists. While Runciman's idea for a Representative Church Council made sense, the opposition of their own laity made its working impossible. The Rector of Bugbrooke, the Reverend James Harrison wrote to Balfour in desperation:

"Oh Sir, in this hour of their bitter grief and shame don't let the country clergy, your most devoted followers, cry in vain to you to help them save their schools from base surrender" (122).

The great fear of the Church Council was the possible secularization of the provided schools. The grouping of Randall Davidson, the Bishop of London, the Wesleyan Scott Lidgett and the Congregationalist Sylvester Horne, reflected this concern to reach a compromise. The stalwarts of the Anglican Church, the followers of Lord Halifax and the Cecils, viewed the situation differently. They perceived that in exchange for the right of admission given to Anglican clergymen in the provided schools, they would sacrifice the monopoly hitherto possessed by the parsons in the rural areas. When a motion opposing the Bill was submitted to the Council, only three bishops out of twenty supported it, but it was carried nevertheless by 189 to 99 votes. The Bill was therefore dropped by the Government.

By 1909 Balfour's policy over Birrell's Bill finally began to reap some reward. At the end of January 1909, Balfour spent three weeks in Biarritz, recovering from illness. Education as an issue had subsided. The cost of Liberal social reforms and how they were to be paid for now dominated the political scene. This was largely the product of the Lords activities since 1906 over a variety of Liberal Bills; the Lords had killed the Education Bill of 1906; rejected the 1906 Bill to abolish plural voting; rejected the 1908 Licensing Bill (the main bill of the session); and amended the 1908 Mines '8 hours' Bill to the detriment of the miners. Also their activities over education and the mutilation of the Irish Land Bill in particular, which sought to extend the provisions of Wyndham's Act of 1903, laid the basis for a Liberal challenge to the power of the Lords. Unionist Party counter-claims about the mauling of Bills led to a spate of Central Office statements through pamphlets and posters about the role of the Lords. In January 1909 for example, the Unionists claimed that

the Education Bill of 1906 was not lost because the Lords wrecked it,

"but almost entirely because the Government never mustered up their courage to face their extremist supporters and to agree with the Lords in putting into the Bill the concessions Mr Birrell had originally alleged it contained" (123).

Hence, in 1909, education gave way to the budget crisis and the ensuing constitutional issues. Compared with the election of 1906, education was a dead issue and the controversies surrounding the first general election in January 1910 centred upon the fiscal matters. Secure in the knowledge that his Act of 1902 was safe, Balfour was now prepared to go. The disastrous events surrounding the budget and the Constitutional crisis which ensued left him isolated. By March 1911, discontent with Balfour and the failure of his tactics was apparent. As Ilbert wrote to Bryce, "...Balfour...has lost prestige (and) is unable to control his angry and discontented followers" (124). In March 1911 however, a scandal over an educational circular ('The Holmes Circular') provided Balfour with an opportunity to regroup his forces. The Circular (written in June 1908) called on inspectors to use their influence in persuading local education authorities to restrict entry into their profession to graduates from Oxford and Cambridge. What was particularly objectionable however, was the assertion that ex-elementary teachers were uncultured. The Chief Inspector of Elementary Schools, E.G.A. Holmes had asserted that:

"Of the 123 inspectors 109 are men, and only 14 are women. No fewer than 104 out of the 123 are ex-elementary teachers, and the remaining 19 not more than two or three have had antecedents which we usually look for in our candidates for junior inspectorships i.e. have been educated first at a public school and then at Oxford or Cambridge" (125).

Balfour debating with Runciman on 21 March emphasized his puzzlement that such a circular should have been issued (126). Two days later Runciman

announced that he had, "...directed that all copies of the circular which may be in existence shall be called in" (127).

The Holmes Circular diverted attention from the fact that his party's revolt against Balfour was about to begin (128). From August 1911, a 'Balfour must go' campaign began. Constituency Associations of the Unionist Party began to demand, "...some definite constructive and fighting policy... and calls upon Mr A.J. Balfour to declare such a policy..." (129). The frustration not only in Balfour's leadership but also in the shallow policy offered by the Party lay at the heart of their complaint:

"...the present Unionist Policy - (is) entirely negative except as to Tariff Reform - will never create and sustain any enthusiasm in the Party or prove successful at the next or any future general election" (130).

By November 1911, Balfour had decided to give way and the speculation as to who should follow him began. Courtney Ilbert suggested that Balfour's resignation had been a well kept secret and speculated on the succession, "...Walter Long...Austen Chamberlain...Alfred Lyttleton and Bonar Law! are all possibilities. I would prefer Long" (131). Balfour announced his resignation publicly at a meeting of the executive committee of the City of London Conservative Associations on 8 November 1911. The reason he gave was one of work load:

"The work of a leader has always been strenuous... It is an increasing work because under the peculiar arrangements which comment themselves to His Majesty's present advisers the House of Commons is expected to sit for ten or eleven months in every year, and that throws a tremendous additional strain..." (132).

Despite their antagonism over the Parliament Bill, Asquith's description of Balfour upon hearing of his resignation as "the most distinguished

member of the greatest deliberative assembly in the world" (133), was perhaps a genuine recognition that the Commons would be at a loss without his presence on the opposition front bench. It was still, nonetheless, a difficult decision for Balfour to have made, for as Courtney Ilbert suggested to James Bryce, "...Balfour resigned because his position had been made intolerable. He must have felt very keenly the defection of personal friends such as Wyndham" (134). What he could not have realised was that he had over a decade of high office still before him.

IV. CONCLUSION

Biographers and educational historians have largely ignored the issue of education after 1906 except as a means of linking Balfour's activities to the constitutional conflict with the Liberal government (135). By doing so, they have omitted from their studies the link between education and his actions during the period. The issue of education only raised Balfour's interest when it became political. His involvement with the topic from his Irish days, had largely been the product of recognising the value of such an important social vehicle for providing political dividends. The possibility of social peace in exchange for educational promises offered a useful mechanism for controlling the province. In England too his involvement stemmed from dealing effectively with the political crises which education engendered. Consequently, the Education Act of 1902 should be seen in the first instance as a political rather than an educational achievement. Young however, suggests that the Birrell Education Bill of 1906 was simply an attempt to, "...overthrow his constructive legislation and upon quite specious grounds" (136). A similar view was also held by Dugdale who argued that her uncle's attitude to the issue and subsequent opposition to the Bill of 1906 was because it was an attempt to, "...upset the principles of freedom for religious teaching on which his own Act was founded" (138).

Underlying such interpretations, is the myth making of biographical study. The defence of an Act of Parliament for which an individual is responsible is one thing, the manner in which that defence is undertaken is another. It is here that some fundamental principles relating to Balfour's actions in Opposition need to be seen. First, his opposition to Birrell's Bill was the product of political pragmatism. The heavy defeat at the polls in the January 1906 general election meant that upon his return to the Commons an issue of sufficient merit which would allow him to regain the confidence of the Unionist Party would have to be quickly identified. It was to be the issue of education which was again to play a central role in his political future. However, with or without an issue he felt the need to retain control of the legislative process through non democratic means, for as he asserted, "...the great Unionist Party should still control, whether in power or opposition, the destinies of this great Empire" (139). Second, as an issue, education held within it all the ingredients affecting most aspects of social, economic and political life. Education was thus a key factor politically in its own right. Amendments or reform to the educational system normally set in train political crises triggered by the peculiar make up of the topic. The issue was therefore not about curriculum, standards or management control; it was about the safeguarding of religious traditions and the infiltration of what was deemed to be radical nonconformity. It is here that appreciation of Balfour's activities need to be understood, for the political development of both the Conservative and Liberal parties had emerged from either the established or the varied Churches which comprised nonconformity. It is against this background that Balfour's opposition to the Labour Party and its continental socialist and atheistic characteristics appeared to be no more than a hard edged version of Liberal ambitions. Therefore, his opposition to Birrell's Education Bill of 1906 had as much to do with his desire to

reinforce the Conservative link with the Established Church as it did with defending the achievement of 1902.

Third, education had been a key issue in undermining the Unionist government and effectively fusing Liberal factions prior to the 1906 general election. It was upon this issue that Balfour believed his own credibility could be restored and with it the fortunes of the Unionist Party. Also, there is another aspect of this development which needs to be emphasized. He disliked the role of leader of the Opposition. The prospect of radical liberalism dismantling the institutions of the state and in particular amending his 1902 Act brought out his anti-democratic tendencies. But his strategy of Opposition without responsibility went too far and ultimately sowed the seeds of his own downfall. His refusal to compromise over Birrell's Bill reflected his determination to hold on to power while out of government and without a mandate from the electorate (140).

Fourth, education ultimately became a side issue in what was to be a personal struggle for survival matched by his determination to preserve Church and Lords. It was a task he was to fail in but the intensity of the struggle inevitably irritated the governments of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith. Reform of the Education Act of 1902 had been well publicised prior to the January 1906 general election. As an issue it remained at the political rather than the educational level which immediately concerned Balfour. It was a topic which appeared suited for a defeated party leader eager to re-establish control. Theoretically at least, it was an opportunity to demonstrate his leadership qualities in area which many believed he could claim to be an expert.

However, as in 1902 it was not to be educational considerations which were to dominate his arguments in the House of Commons but the preservation of

an administrative structure which safeguarded Church control. It had after all been the administrative structure which had been amended in 1902, leaving institutional control intact. By its very nature, Balfour believed that Liberalism and its doctrine led approach threatened the equilibrium of political control. Writing to Lord Knollys, the king's private secretary, he wrote, "We are face to face, no doubt in a milder form, with the Socialist difficulties which loom so large on the Continent. Unless I am greatly mistaken, the election of 1906 inaugurates a new era" (141). Nevertheless, it was to be education which was to provide Balfour with the vehicle for devising a strategy to safeguard both Church and Lords. By the summer of 1906, Birrell's Bill dominated the political scene, and while many radical M.Ps, for example Arthur Ponsonby, believed that with a few concessions the Bill would pass its third reading, the Cabinet's determination to fight to preserve it remained open to question. There seems no doubt that many of them did not want a full scale alteration to the 1902 Act, and this seems to have been supported by a number of Liberal MPs (142). Balfour was certainly aware of government division over Birrell's Bill, for as he suggested to Lord Lansdowne,

"The (Government) will bring in Bills in a much more extreme form than the moderate members of their Cabinet probably approve: the moderate members will trust to the House of Lords cutting out or modifying the most outrageous provisions..." (143).

Birrell acknowledged that opposition to his Bill was as much the result of resentment at the prospect of further educational reform as it was to "considerations more strictly theological" (144). Nevertheless, there was a certain irony associated with Balfour's opposition to the Bill of 1906. From the very beginning it had been an ill-conceived and largely irrelevant legislative proposal. However, it was to be the nature of his opposition and his manipulation of the House of Lords which was to provide the

necessary impetus for Liberal plans to reform the upper chamber. He was not to know this, but the heterogeneous composition of Liberalism provided it with a degree of irrationality in pursuit of some of its objectives. The Birrell Education Bill was a product of this irrationality given its inappropriateness to the real requirements of the education system such as the development of continuation and secondary schools. What was generally perceived as a poor Bill quickly became the focus of party political fighting particularly in relation to the rights of a mandated government and the role of the Opposition. It was effectively this ill-conceived legislative proposal which ultimately triggered Liberal plans for constitutional reform in 1911. It had been education which had, in legislative terms raised Balfour's status. Ironically it was this issue which became the catalyst for bringing him down.

CHAPTER SIX FOOTNOTES

1. See Shannon, Richard The Crisis of Imperialism 1865-1915, Paladin 1984, page 375.
2. See Lloyd-George's speech at Carnarvon, 2 January 1906, as reported in The Times, 3 January 1906:

"He was able to give assurances that an amendment of the Education Act would be one of the first legislative measures undertaken by the new Government, and that it would embody the two essential principles for which Wales fought - namely, complete and absolute popular control and the complete abolition of religious tests. He had also received assurances that a Welsh National Council of Education would be established giving Wales control of her own education system."
3. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's speech was at the Albert Hall, 22 December 1905. He asserted that,

"This is the foundation of our educational policy - that the people of the district should control and manage the schools....."
4. Augustine Birrell's speech at Bristol, 2 January 1906. He pointed out to his audience that,

"...there could be no settlement of the education question unless and until every public elementary school in this country, every school which was recognised by the Board of Education as a public elementary school, should be placed under complete popular control, including, of course, the appointment of teachers".
5. The Constitutional Almanack 1906, page 17.
6. Henson, Herbert Hensley Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. I, Oxford University Press, 1942, page 144.
7. See Balfour's speech at the Queen's Hall, 29 December 1905.
8. Ibid, "...I have never pretended in the House of Commons... that the Bill perfectly solved, or could solve, the religious problem, I have never pretended that it reached the ideal".
9. Bonar Law Papers, Box 18/3/28, House of Lords, Leo Maxse to Bonar Law, 2 January 1906.
10. Ibid,.
11. Bonar Law Papers, Box 18/12/16, op. cit., Forster to Law, 24 April 1906: "...somehow he (Balfour) does not inspire".
12. Hatfield G.W., Lady Gwendolen Cecil to Lady Selborne (Maude), 17 January 1906.
13. Lloyd George's phrase.

14. Pattison, R. The Birrell Education Bill of 1906, Journal of Education Administration and History, V, 1, 1973, page 34.
15. See Halevy, Elie, The Rule of Democracy 1905-1914, Vol. 6, Ernest Benn 1961.
16. Pattison R., op. cit., page 35.
17. Ibid., page 36. The Liberal government believed that the four fifths ruling would pacify Catholic concern.
18. Sandars, Ms. eng., hist., 751, folio 80-6, no date but certainly late January 1906.
19. Ibid.,.
20. Returned as the Member for the City of London.
21. P.D., 4th Series, Vol. 153, Col. 992, 14 March 1906.
22. See Balfour's letters to Lord Lansdowne, 13 April 1906 in Newton, Lord, Lord Lansdowne, A Biography, MacMillan 1929, page 354.
23. See Ensor, R.C.K. England 1870-1914, Oxford University Press 1975, page 392.
24. See Bell, G.K.A., Randall Davidson, Oxford University Press 1938, page 517.
25. See Halevy, Elie, cit., page 65.
26. Ibid., Nonconformists described the Bill as "...the Magna Carta of the village nonconformist", page 66.
27. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 155, Col., 1017-1018, 9th April 1906.
28. Ibid., Col., 1018.
29. Ibid., Col., 1017.
30. Ibid., Col., 1019.
31. Ibid., Col., 1019.
32. Ibid., Col., 1021.
33. See, Shannon, Richard, op. cit., page 378.
34. Ibid., page 379.
35. Ibid., page 384.
36. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 155, Col., 1066, 9th April 1906.
37. Ibid., Cols., 1109-1110.
38. Ibid., Col. 1074.
39. Outside school hours.

40. Clause 4 defined the facilities.
41. Catholics wanted these facilities by right.
42. Pattison, R., op. cit., page 37.
43. Hatfield G.W., op., cit., Lady Gwendolen Cecil to Lady Selborne, 20 April 1906. Also see the resolution carried by the Central (Unionist) Council Meeting of 11 May 1906, on the motion of Sir Howard Vincent M.P.:
- "This Council urges all its affiliated Associations to spare no pains throughout the counties, cities, towns and villages of their several districts to expose the unjust provisions of the Government's so called - Education Bill, its policy of confiscation and its attempts to deprive parents of the right to have their children taught their own religion."
44. Cited in Zebel, Sydney H. Balfour: A Political Biography, Cambridge 1973, page 24.
45. Ibid., page 28.
46. See Webb, Beatrice, 'The Power to Alter Things', Vol. 3, Virago 1984, page 40.
47. See Davidson Papers, Vol. V, folio 154, 30 June 1906, refering to a meeting he had with Robert Morant following a royal garden party. Davidson notes,
- "He (Morant) is vehement about the clumsy and harmful mismanagement of the Bill... There has been serious friction between Birrell and the Cabinet, or, at least, between Birrell's policy and the Cabinet - for the line they take is 'These concessions are all wrong and we are in a great mess, if it was anybody but Birrell we would not stand it'".
48. P.D. 4th Series Vol. 156, Col. 1030, 7th May 1906.
49. Ibid., Col. 1028.
50. Ibid., Col. 1087.
51. Ibid., Col. 1087.
52. Ibid., Col. 1087.
53. See Feuchtwanger E.J., Democracy and Empire: Britain 1865-1914, Edward Arnold 1979, page 274.
54. Ibid.,.
55. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 156, Col. 1317, 9th May 1906.
56. Ibid., Cols. 1594-1596, 10th May 1906.
57. Ibid., Cols. 1309-1314, 21st May 1906.
58. Ibid., Col. 1316.

59. Ibid., Col. 1316.
60. P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 159, Col. 840, 26th June 1906.
61. Ibid., Col. 839.
62. See P.D., 4th Series, Vol. 158, 28 May - 18 June 1906.
63. Ibid., Vol. 137.
64. Ibid., Vol. 138.
65. Ibid., Vol. 156, Col. 1602, 10 May 1906. This statement was made by Augustine Birrell during the second reading of the Education Bill. It had been made in response to Balfour's statement accusing the Liberals of producing a Bill to satisfy nonconformity rather than improve education:
- "This Bill is to cost £1,000,000 a year at a time when, I understand, we are under the happy rule of a Government pledged to economy, and when we have a Resolution half of which, at any rate, is in favour of economy, however much the other half may be in favour of additional taxation. What are you going to get for this £1,000,000? We gave in the Act of 1902 more than £1,000,000 - I think it was £1,400,000 a year. It went either to lighten the burden or to improve the education of the children of the country. Your million - what is that going to? ('To the Church') It is not going to secular education, anyway - not one shilling of it."
- P.D. 4th Series, Vol. 156, Col. 1597-1598, 10 May 1906.
66. Hatfield G.W., Lady Gwendolen Cecil to Lady Selborne, no date but almost certainly late April 1906.
67. See B.L., Ad., Ms., 49770, folio 106, Devonshire to Balfour, 20 July 1906.
68. Earl St. Aldwyn Papers, D2455, PCC/12, Hicks Beach to Balfour, 11 July 1906.
69. See B.L. Ad., Ms. 49770, Devonshire to Balfour op. cit.,.
70. Birrell Ms., 10.2.8(1), Campbell-Bannerman to Birrell, 27 October 1906; "The Education Bill may be twenty things but it is not quiet."
71. Birrell Ms., 10.2.8(2), Campbell-Bannerman to Birrell, 25 October 1906.
72. Sir Henry Thring, parliamentary draftsman.
73. Birrell Ms., 10.2.8(2), op., cit.,.
74. See Temple, William, Life of Bishop Percival, Macmillan 1921.
75. Ibid., pages 188-190.
76. Davidson Papers, Vol. V, No.69, folio 32, Davidson to Balfour, 16 April 1906.

77. Davidson Papers, Vol. V, No.310, folio 22. This is a memorandum, there is no date but it is probably early May 1906.
78. Ibid., folio 142, Davidson to Halifax, 25 June 1906.
79. Ibid., see folio 146.
80. Ibid.
81. Davidson Papers, Vol. V, folio 154, op. cit.
82. Ibid., folio 165-168, Balfour memorandum, 4 July 1906.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid., folio 270-270, 14 July 1906. Balfour had complained that,
"I do not think my previous Memorandum has been fully understood by some of those to whom I sent it...".
86. Ibid., folio 296-297, Balfour to Davidson, 21 July 1906:
"I am afraid there is no hope of the majority of the House of Lords showing a united front. I am a good deal disquieted about the situation".
87. See Temple, William, op. cit.
88. Davidson Papers, Vol. V, No. 310, folio 301-302, Davidson to Balfour.
89. See Bell, G.K.A., op. cit., page 520.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid., page 521.
92. See discussion which followed Tennant's amendment on medical inspection in Hay, J.R., The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms 1906-1914, Macmillan 1975.
93. Davidson Papers, No. 311, folio 98. See Davidson's notes of a conversation he had with Balfour during the weekend of 29 September - 1 October 1906.
94. Jenkins, Roy, Asquith, Collins 1978, page 169.
95. Pattison, R. op. cit., page 38.
96. Ibid., Pattison notes that,
"Under Clause 4 extended facilities, given by the ordinary teacher but only in urban areas of 5,000 and above where there were alternative schools available for those parents who did not want denominational instruction for their children, and where also four fifths of the parents had asked for special instruction, and where the local

authority had agreed to permit this. In brief, the purpose behind this section of the Bill was clearly to ensure that Catholic schools in the larger urban areas would be left largely undisturbed, whilst the Anglican rural schools would be taken over in most instances."

97. Sandars, Ms., eng., hist. 752, folio 80-1, Lansdowne to Balfour, 22 November 1906.
98. Ibid.,.
99. See Sandars, Ms., eng., hist. 752 folio 71, Balfour to Lansdowne, 20 August 1906. The letter indicates Balfour's amusement over the Court of Appeal decision regarding the West Riding Council decision not to pay the teachers of four non-provided schools that portion of their salary which in the Council's opinion was the remuneration for their denominational instruction.
100. See Newton, Lord, op., cit., pages 356-357.
101. Pattison, R., op., cit., page 40.
102. Sandars Ms., eng., hist., 752, folio 88, Lambeth Palace to Sandars, December 1906.
103. Ibid., see folio 90-1, Lansdowne to Sandars, 23 December 1906.
104. Cited in Churchill, Randolph S., Winston S. Churchill, Vol. II, Heineman 1966, page 316.
105. See Birrell Ms., 10.2.8(7), Campbell-Bannerman to Birrell, 14 January 1907. Also see Campbell-Bannerman's interesting observations on leading personalities within the Cabinet in the search for the 'Super Morant', Ms., 10.2.8(6).
106. Introduced on 26 February 1907.
107. P.D., 4th Series, Vol. 170, Col. 420, 26 February 1907.
108. Sandars Ms., eng., hist., C.753, folio 101, Balfour to Sandars, 6 April 1907.
109. Ms. Bryce 13, folio 124, Ilbert to Bryce, 22 July 1907.
110. The Attack on Denominational Training Colleges, September 1907 (pamphlet), Spottiswoode 1907. See also Sandars Ms., eng., hist., 754, folio 132, R.P. Hills to Sandars, 1 December 1907.
111. Balfour speech in Devonport as reported in The Times, 10 December 1907.
112. Halevy, Elie, op. cit., pages 71-72.
113. Ibid.,.
114. Ibid.,.
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116. Sandars, Ms., eng., hist. C.756, folio 40-6, 2 June 1908.

117. See The Times, 13 July 1908.
118. Ibid.,.
119. Ibid.,.
120. Ibid., 20 November 1908.
121. See Halevy, Elie, op., cit., page 73.
122. Sandars Ms., eng., hist., C.474, folio 63, see telegram from the Rector of Bugbrooke (Harrison), 24 November 1908.
123. See, The Unionist Position in Education Politics, N.U.A., No. 78, 28 January 1909.
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133. Fitzroy, Almeric, Memories, London 1925, page 468.
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CHAPTER SEVEN

ASSESSMENT

I. BALFOURIAN CONSERVATISM AND EDUCATION

The structure of British politics was effectively altered by the third Reform Act in 1884 and the Liberal Party's split with Joseph Chamberlain and fellow Unionists in 1886. Both developments were to have a profound affect on the nature of Conservatism not only in the late 19th century but also during the first decade of the 20th century. These developments, the first of which ensured that the electorate would be dominated by the labouring classes and the second, effectively polarising attitudes between the radicalism of the Liberal party and the perceived restraint of Conservatism, immediately set both parties the task of finding suitable mechanisms to obtain the working class vote. There is no doubt that the Liberal party lost many of its property owning supporters following the 1886 split (1), while the Conservatives had to come to terms with the prospect of attracting working class support from the propertyless. In order to cater for this new electorate, Conservatism had to address a whole new range of social issues which implied a reassessment of political strategy. Inevitably, the new framework upon which Conservatism would have to function, had to incorporate the concept of state intervention into its tactics, otherwise the propertyless labouring class would not be attracted to the party of property (2).

This was essentially the Conservative dilemma in the early 1890's but their answer to this paradox produced three strands of thought. Importantly, that Conservatism acknowledged the need for state intervention, but this was expressed in varying forms and to varying degrees. On the extreme right of the Conservative Party, supporters of Lord Wemyss demanded complete resistance to any form of social or political reform as a result of popular

pressure. Intervention it was argued was state socialism and therefore a betrayal of Conservative principles. For Lord Salisbury, who deeply distrusted the masses and disliked the prospect of having to win working class support the prospect was distasteful. Nevertheless, he acknowledged the need to adopt a carrot and stick approach to social reform, rejecting social legislation at one point while making concessions at another.

This approach remained distinctly antipathetic to any form of constructive social policy judging piecemeal legislation to be a more effective tactic controlling radical demands. At the other end of the Conservative spectrum stood Randolph Churchill and Joseph Chamberlain who believed that it was vital for Conservatism to adopt a more interventionist approach to social reform in order to attract the working classes to the party of property and away from the socialist and radical policies of the Liberal and later Labour party.

It was to be the Salisbury interpretation of Conservatism in the new age of an enfranchised labouring class which was to dominate the 1890s. Reform became tinged with 'liberalism' and began to take on the image of 'collectivism'. This is certainly the case with the Education Act of 1891 which established the principle of free education in elementary schools, while the Local Government Act of 1888 provided the basis upon which the Technical Instruction Act of the following year could be established. To this must be added the Factory Act of 1891 which raised the minimum age for employing children in factories to 11 and the well meaning Small Holdings Act of 1892, which attempted to define the nature of small holdings giving protection to all occupiers, but which was largely a dead letter. What is clear, is the acknowledgement within the ranks of the Conservative Party of the link between social reform and electoral support (3). This assumption was not the product of Liberal Unionist pressure within the alliance for this would assume that the issue of intervention, rather than of laissez

faire, reflected party division: it did not. The movement of Conservatism towards a more collective if piecemeal social policy was the product of individual initiative within the ranks of the party (4). Nevertheless, the link between those who sought a greater degree of intervention and those who advocated a piecemeal approach was the belief that social reform in Conservative hands was essential to confront the growing forces of democracy.

It was upon this belief that Conservative social policy in the 1890s can best be understood, because technically, it effectively became a response to radical incursions rather than a planned or systematic policy approach. The fate of the 1896 Education Bill was determined by the application of this principle, for ultimately, Sir John Gorst's Bill was not only unnecessary in Unionist terms, it was by its very nature, a radical proposal which ran counter to the Salisbury view of governing by piecemeal or small bills. It was, in effect, a Bill which appeared to be a radical Trojan horse placed within the Conservative citadel and sponsored by one of their own members. The death of the Bill had as much to do with the breaking of basic Unionist rules at that time, such as the use of small bills, as it did with Gorst's failure to stay within Cabinet guidelines.

Including this development must be added the difficult financial situation the Unionist government found itself in at the turn of the century. Budgetary problems invariably meant that any large scale increase in the state's social legislation programme would result in the need to find additional sources of revenue. The prospect of additional taxation whether national or in the form of local rating increases was unacceptable to many within the Unionist Party and particularly to Salisbury and Balfour. It was this aspect of Unionist economic philosophy which worked against the 1896 Gorst Bill and played a significant role in the process of placing the Balfour Act on a rating basis. Inevitably, the existing political and

economic circumstances conspired to hold back the more interventionist or radical social legislation proposals.

However, the electoral position of the Unionist Party by the turn of the century gradually changed. From the dominant position following the 1895 general election the Unionist Party had from the Khaki election experienced a major deterioration. An alliance of the Liberal and Labour parties undermined the Unionist position while a series of by-election losses following the end of the Boer War merely confirmed this trend. This development was to culminate in the major Liberal victory in 1906 and was to be re-inforced despite a reduction in the size of the majorities during the two general elections of 1910. What this illustrated perhaps more than anything else was the stability of the anti-Unionist alliance and the failure of Unionism to break it down.

Unionism's adjustment to a changing political and economic environment characterised the period. Fundamental to the party were the acknowledged principles of limited governmental interference in favour of local decision making and economy. These were principles which Lord Salisbury readily accepted although he did not shy away from support if it was financially judicious to do so. Nevertheless, it was to be the funding of social reform under a laissez faire structure which was to inevitably cause so many problems. Intervention for both Salisbury and Balfour had to be selective and only as a means of countering creeping socialism (5). Nevertheless, Lord Salisbury's Conservatism was based upon a genuine scepticism about the economic and political developments of late 19th century Britain. As Robert Blake has suggested, he was,

"pessimistic about the prospect ahead, dubious about the stock panaceas of intellectual fashion - and yet by no means ready to opt out, by no means convinced that the effort to delay what others call 'progress' is not worth making" (6).

While it is possible to see a link between Lord Salisbury and Benjamin Disraeli who, despite the achievements of his second ministry had generally opposed the social reforms of the 1840s and 1850s, Arthur Balfour's Conservative lineage is sometimes too easily spoken about in the same breath as that of his uncle. Balfour's Conservatism held within it features acknowledged to be inherent amongst the Cecil household. However, his philosophical position, as expressed in his two books A Defence of Philosophic Doubt and The Foundations of Belief identified his fundamental belief in defending, in the first instance, the Church against the positivistic tendency then prevalent, and an apparant faith in the laws of reason and science. This aspect of his Conservatism found expression in his dislike for doctrine led politics. As a result, he became hostile to interventionism which, as he saw it, challenged the established institutions of the state. His dislike of state intervention stemmed from his genuine dislike of politics, a natural progression from his philosophical stance of being more interested in the actions and beliefs of society than those of individuals. The willingness of man to trust reason unnecessarily gave value and credence to his achievements. Such achievements were to Balfour of little value within the overall context of society, and given that this identified progress had been arrived at through decision making, politics, the framework for providing the mechanism for the process, offered him little. Hence, his Conservatism held within it a profound distrust of politics given that it was motivated and directed by political theory and doctrine. It was inevitably his concern over mans willingness to place its faith in rationalism which, when translated led individuals to place their unabiding loyalty in the implementation of political creed. The use of this doctrine as a means of directing society could never be an acceptable principle because by its very nature it would be based upon rational applications of theory and doctrine.

Nevertheless, the very nature of his Conservatism did not discount reform or change, so long as it could take place within the context of the existing institutional framework. His belief as Julian Amery pointed out in his biography of Joseph Chamberlain that, "Delay is as important as progress" (7) was fundamental to his Conservatism. His opposition to the Liberal governments of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith was deep rooted in his distrust of active state participation in the life of society. Whereas, his actions over social reform and more particularly over education, strengthened existing institutions, in particular the Church, Liberal views of domestic reform threatened the very fabric and cohesion of what he recognised and acknowledged as the norm.

It is the Education Act of 1902 which best illustrates the operation of Balfour's Conservative principles. Reform he believed would always be essential if it was recognised to be politically or economically necessary. Necessity was a driving force in his Conservatism and if the condition of English education was 'chaotic and ineffective' then action would have to be taken. The logic of this suggestion is that even Robert Morant's machinations would have made little difference to a man who had recognised the need for reform. In any case, the reform itself, although hailed as a 'progressive' measure did not and could never run counter to his Conservatism because what was affected by the reform was not the institutional structure but the administrative framework enabling Church schools to remain virtually intact. What was in essence a major educational achievement was in the first instance a piece of pragmatic Conservatism designed to protect sectional interests.

Such an analysis needs to be seen in the context of his 'interest' in the subject of education. When Balfour suggested in June 1896 that he did not "...profess to know anything about education" (8), there is little doubt that he meant knowledge of the curriculum and the intricacies of

organisational provision. His attitude to education was therefore dictated by what he saw as a threat to the Church of England voluntary schools and secondly, by what appeared to be the 'godless', and therefore socialist traits of the school board system. His response to the Gorst Education Bill of 1896 illustrates the application of his deep seated Conservative attitude to education at the time. While the 1896 Bill offered wholesale reconstruction, Balfour had great difficulty in accepting, not the Salisburian concern over its size, but over its necessity. While the Bryce Commission had suggested far reaching changes to the education system, for the sake of education, Balfour could not accept the implications of state intervention inherent in the proposals. Inevitably, Gorst's Bill did not fall because of Balfour's carelessness during the Committee stage, but primarily because he could not accept a piece of legislation which ran counter to the fundamental principles of his own Conservatism.

Balfour's educational activities in Ireland, particularly over the University issue differed little from those in England. Fundamental to his appreciation of the problems of Irish education was the driving force of 'necessity'. His commitment to the cause of improving Irish higher education was reached during his days as Chief Secretary. While there existed the potential for political capital as a means of reducing Home Rule activity, there also lurked the danger of Liberal Unionist anger. What is sometimes overlooked when analysing Balfour's actions in Ireland is that the Home Rule Bill of the late 19th century contained provision for the creation of a reformed University structure. Within this fact, there existed a political balance of advantage and disadvantage for him. His own deeply held Conservative principles came into play because not only was he convinced over twenty years, of the need for reform of Irish higher education also because of his profound belief that reform of the Irish higher education structure would strengthen the institutions and thereby preserve the link with the United Kingdom. Again it was administrative

reconstruction which lay at the heart of his suggestions embracing radical change within the structure and preserving its existing features. While it was Keenan who was to be his Morant in Ireland, his belief and conviction in the reform of Irish higher education maintained his commitment to change with or without support. The fact that he continued to support the reform of Irish higher education while in Opposition illustrates more clearly the nature of his deeply held Conservative principles and his willingness to apply them even in the face of opposition and party political hostility.

Balfour's attitude to education in Ireland certainly illustrates his wish to pronounce on education in more global terms. The very principles which operated prior to the 1902 Act can be seen at work although from a different position during his involvement in the Irish University issue. While it was to take the Cockerton decision to spark him into action in England, it was his own experience as Chief Secretary for Ireland between 1887 and 1891 which was to spur him on.

His actions were largely motivated by a combination of political necessity and identified need. This development provided him with the ideal opportunity to instigate political compromise over Home Rule by using the educational issue to keep all aspects of reform or amendment within the existing institutional framework. His consideration of three plans for higher education during the autumn of 1887 illustrates his underlying philosophy in action (9). By supporting the principle of an endorsed Catholic College with administration in the hands of the Archbishop of the diocese plus fourteen others nominated by the government, Balfour sought to use the Church to control rural disorder (10). In short, educational reform was to be the means by which the preservation and even strengthening of existing institutions was to be made. The underlying process was the same as in England, the only difference was that violent social disorder, rather than the threat to Anglican educational supremacy was the issue at stake.

It was because social disorder threatened the fabric of institutional control that he turned to education as a means of pacifying rather than solving Home Rule demands. He remained suspicious of governmental interference but recognised the manipulative value education could afford to the application of his Conservative philosophy. Political necessity, in the form of Irish Home Rule disorder required application; at the same time however, there existed a clearly articulated demand for educational reform, and one which had found expression in Gladstone's Home Rule Bills. Inherent in these Liberal bills for Balfour lay the detested spectre of government action and the power of the state to achieve social and economic change. Evolution, not revolution lay at the core of his Conservatism and while he accepted that the Home Rule issue was unlikely to go away, and under the Liberals would be further exacerbated, he showed himself determined to prevent reform if it threatened existing institutional structures. By acknowledging the need to reform Irish intermediate and higher education Balfour was not falling prey to the radical zeal of the Opposition but rather accepting the need for change which had to be on his terms. Both Irish and English educational reforms reflected this basic core of Balfourian Conservatism, namely reform of the administrative rather than the institutional structure. Radicalism within the administrative structure was well within the bounds of acceptability for him; it preserved what was known and understood and it allowed a much greater sense of reform to take place which did not necessarily match the reality. Educational reform stamped with Balfourian characteristics in the long term, meant more to people and educationalists, symbolising a greater degree of change than perhaps the reality indicated.

Balfour's enthusiasm for educational reform in Ireland stemmed from a genuine belief in the need for change. Throughout his twenty year commitment to the cause of Irish education, Balfour demonstrated a clear depth of knowledge about all aspects of the issue. He was recognised by the

Catholic hierarchy as the only English politician willing to listen and seek action on their grievances.

This aspect of his work is particularly apparent during the passage of the 1902 Act, for as he suggested,

"When I was Prime Minister I took a great deal more trouble with the actual work of drafting Bills than is common nowadays. I did it in great part myself all through my life from my Irish Bill onwards. I remember particularly the Education Bill.

I went to stay at North Berwick for my golfing holiday, I took the original draft of the Bill with me as it was when it left the office. Well, I worked over it, clause by clause, and when I had finished I sent it back to the draftsman and asked him what he thought of it now. He wrote back, I remember, that it was a very good popular account of the Bill! But a good deal more of that popular account appeared in the Bill when it went before the House than the Drafting Office may have approved of" (11).

Balfour's Conservatism can be directly linked with that of Sir Robert Peel. Like Peel, Balfour when he became Prime Minister was also 'prone to accidents', but more importantly both acknowledged the need to introduce reform where it proved to be necessary, otherwise they willingly left things alone. Norman Gash's fitting epitaph for Peel could be applied to Balfour, "When he had made up his mind, nothing could shift him. Retreat did not enter his vocabulary; compromise seldom" (12). And like Peel, Balfour split his party. While the Peelite division of 1840s was to lead to the emergence of a new Toryism, the conflict over Tariff Reform with Joseph Chamberlain merely marked the end of coalition party politics and ushered in, once and for all a party of recognisable cohesion.

For Balfour, the problem of political leadership was personal; in essence he lacked a sense of urgency when dealing with internal party problems. There was at all times, as most of his colleagues noted, a failure to appreciate the problems or points of views of others. He lacked the

necessary flexibility to control the Unionist Party during a period of political change. He remained the 19th century aristocrat largely unappreciative of the effect which electoral reform had induced. To a large extent he lacked the necessary imagination necessary to lead. Here perhaps is an interesting point of comparison with Peel; while it is clear that both men demonstrated administrative ability and a sense of duty, both possessed clear and powerful minds, although in Balfour's case it was directed at philosophical pursuits. Such a view of Balfour is not in doubt, although controversy over Peel remains with both Robert Blake and Norman Gash analysing his activities differently. Above all else, there remains in Balfour's Conservatism strong elements of Peelism; for good or bad, the effect was essentially the same in 1846 as it was to be following the introduction of the Education Bill in 1902 and the subsequent Tariff Reform crisis of 1903.

II. BALFOUR, EDUCATION AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

It is as a consequence of these developments, that the historical interpretation of the 1902 Education Act in particular has aroused such confused, and at times, misleading interpretations. Within the historiography of educational history there exists at one end of the spectrum the socialist - pseudo marxist interpretation and at the other, the traditional Conservative analysis. On the left, Brian Simon's observations may be placed. In essence the socialist view is based upon the 'plot' theory of class domination and manipulation. According to Simon, the passage of the 1902 Act is directly related to the proportion of British investment in empire which 'affected' the development of British industry "... and so of education" (13). To this must be added his suggestion that the motivational reasons for its introduction, particularly inspired by the widespread fear of democracy and the "...need for directing elite groups to keep things under control" (14), lay at its heart.

Consequently, the logic of this argument suggests that it is essential for a Lord Chamberlain to be pulling the strings behind the scenes in order to safeguard bourgeois ideals. The villain of the piece for Simon is Robert Morant, his objectives being,

"...to get rid of the school boards, the second, strictly to confine elementary education to specific limits, but cut off the outgrowth that was taking place and to develop a separate system of secondary education for the middle classes" (15).

The danger of such an interpretation is the tendency to produce an analysis with little or no evidence to substantiate the argument.

At the other extreme is Marjorie Cruickshank's (16) traditional interpretation of the Act. It is a Conservative analysis, peppered with generalisations culminating in the view that it was effectively the best that could be achieved. While Simon appears content to link educational regression to a Marxist framework, Cruickshank's generalist view has more to do with populist hindsight than interpretation of why the Act emerged. The Act was effectively the product of the immediate situation in which Balfour and his ministers found themselves. As M.J. Wilkinson (17) has argued, the objectives were closely linked to the "...legal, economic and political necessities of their immediate situation than to any great education or social philosophy for the future" (18).

While Wilkinson is correct in this assumption it is important to emphasize that the holistic interpretation of the events surrounding the 1902 Act tends to neglect the nature of basic Balfourian Conservatism, an important ingredient and eventual driving force. Legal, economic or political necessities for change would have been insufficient to move Balfour to assist reform: if change was to take place then it had to take place within the framework of existing institutions. The fundamental principle was the need to strengthen existing institutions through reform, not to challenge

or undermine the structure through amendment.

It is this aspect of Balfour's activity which recent research appears to have omitted. In his examination of Sir John Gorst, N.D. Daghish has tended to paint Balfour as the principal villain to Gorst's reforming thrust. There is no doubt that Sir John Gorst held an enthusiast's trait for seeking change but Balfour's actions in relation to him needs to be put more fully within the context of Balfourian Conservatism. As early as September 1895, Balfour had suggested to his cousin Lord Cranborne requesting, "...a small collection of the really effective literature upon the subject - I mean from a Church point of view..." (19).

It is against this background that Balfour's actions need to be seen, for it was from an institutional perspective, that reform was to be undertaken. Daghish's suggestion that it is difficult to understand Balfour's actions during the events surrounding the 1896 Bill is the product, perhaps, of an under appreciation of the deeply held Conservative principles of the man. While it is true that Balfour supported the principle of the Bill until just after the Second Reading it is important to note that the very nature of the Gorst proposals would have been difficult to implement. It was not merely the potentially unworkable aspects of the Bill which dismayed Balfour prior to the Committee stage but the fact that the Bill threatened to change the educational structure outside the immediate recognisable and acceptable institutional framework essential for maintaining control. His acceptance of the Rollitt amendment while in Parliamentary terms disastrous was not inconsistent with his basic Conservatism. Both Daghish and Fairhurst (20) tend to gloss over this important aspect. If the basic tenets of Balfour's Conservatism are to be understood then his actions in relation to the 1896 Education Bill and education in general need to be clearly appreciated. What is generally assumed by recent interpretation, including A.I. Taylor's work (21), is that Balfour's involvement in

education really only began prior to the Gorst proposals. From this position two important points tend to follow: first, that Balfour was a 'novice' when it came to educational matters and second, that he was not interested in education because he either found it boring or too intricate a matter to fully understand. To suggest that he was a 'novice' implies that any involvement on his part would inevitably lead to chaos and confusion given the intricacy of the matter. In Balfour's case the charge does not necessarily hold up. In the first instance, he had involved himself in educational matters both in Ireland and England (Education Act 1891) prior to Gorst's Bill without the directing influence of the Church Party or particular individuals. He became interested in educational issues not because he wanted to, at least in England, but because he had to immerse himself in areas which were likely to have an impact on institutional control. Consequently, the charge of boredom with education, which appears to be the logical corollary for recent researchers, is directed at an individual for whom interest in politics never really ignited full attention. What needs to be emphasized is that Balfour's attitude to education stemmed from his Conservatism which held within it a genuine dislike and distrust of change unless it benefited or strengthened institutional control. It is because Balfour recognised that one of the pillars of institutional control, the Church of England, found itself challenged and potentially threatened by a financial crisis in the later half of the 19th century that he became actively interested in the education topic. The Voluntary Schools Act of 1897 illustrated perfectly his attitude to education namely, that financial subvention to protect the Church schools was the most appropriate way of dealing with the problem, rather than full scale reform. That this attitude prevailed should not be seen as a criticism of Balfour for he was, above all else a pragmatic politician and recognised, unlike Gorst, what was possible in the political arena. Circumstance forced Balfour into the education debate especially

when it became clear that the policy of subvention in other areas than education would have to be revised. His involvement in education therefore stemmed from the recognition that administrative changes would be essential if the Church schools were to be protected. Such a position is understandable from a Conservative politician; that he failed to understand or appreciate the more ephemeral educational aspects of debate fails to take into account of the individual, his beliefs and his party allegiance.

There is a certain logic to such an interpretation particularly when placed against the background of events following the passage of the 1902 Act. That the Act was a defence of the Anglican Church is not in doubt; but his vigorous stand to protect it illustrated the inherent Balfourian principles upon which it had been founded, for by safeguarding one of the twin pillars of the institutional framework, he immediately threatened that other pillar of Conservatism the Lords when trying to prevent Liberal amendments. It is this aspect of Balfour's activities post 1902 which perhaps helps explain his attitude to education pre-1902. Social reform had to take place within the framework of existing institutions and above all ensure their safety. To this effect, the 1902 Act was first and foremost an administrative not an educational achievement. Consequently, Liberal government attempts to amend what they deemed to be a sectional reform, came into conflict with the Balfourian perception of social control. Birrell's proposals for educational reform in 1906 threatened his achievement which for Balfour posed a danger to the institutional or Church establishment. His defence of his 1902 reform was therefore the result of his determination to preserve the status quo rather than against educational advancement. It was this approach which immediately brought Balfour into conflict with the constitutional niceties of being in Opposition. By attempting to use the House of Commons to undermine the government's attempts to reform, he immediately placed the House of Lords, that very pillar of Conservatism, under threat. Inevitably the constitutional crisis was directly related to

Balfour's defence of his own 1902 Act. This was perhaps just another aberration, for the impact of the Education Act not only set in train the events which were to engage the Liberal government in the constitutional crisis but also, it effectively released the forces of female suffrage in 1903 following this abolition of voting rights within the school board structure.

It is here, above all that the Balfour personality can perhaps be unlocked. What his biographers have tended to ignore is the application of his fundamental Conservatism. Education proved to be instrumental in highlighting his enigmatic personality. All of his biographers posed the question why someone who had always held a deep contempt for the subject should suddenly take a poisoned political chalice. Raymond (22) in his analysis suggested that Balfour was interested in the topic of education only as a means of placating the Church Party, under the influence of his cousins Lord Cranborne, Robert and Evelyn Cecil. But in the first instance, if the need for reform was absent then the ability of the Church party or Robert Morant to direct Balfour to instigate and lead would have been to no avail. The Church Party was, as Taylor has shown, a pressure group designed, in the first instance, to counter Arthur Acland's activities between 1892 and 1895 and then to link itself directly with the Unionist government of Lord Salisbury (23). However, despite its overtly political evolution under the guidance of Lord Cranborne and the support of approximately 60 members, it remained a pressure group like any other, seeking to influence and lobby for support. It is this aspect of its activities which can, given the subsequent passage of an essentially sectional piece of legislation, lead biographers to read history backwards in order to provide plaudits for what remained nothing more than a pressure group. It must after all be remembered that the Church Party was effectively wound up following Cranborne's promotion to Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1900. While it possessed a clear set of objectives

including the sponsorship of legislation 'favourable' to the Church, it benefited from a range of opportunities to achieve the goals it set itself. In reality, this group played a peripheral role in the developments surrounding the Cockerton Case. As Taylor has argued, pressure against the London School Board was largely the product of plans instigated by the Principal of Camden School for Art, Francis Black and William Garnett, Secretary to the London County Council's Technical Education Board (23). It was their plans to press for the audit of the London School Board which allowed Cranborne and the Church Party to drop its own audit. Nevertheless, it was the successful pursuit of the audit which enabled the Cockerton judgement to set in train a series of events leading to the Act of 1902. Without that decision it is still doubtful if educational reform on a scale initiated in 1902 would have taken place. It was the prompting of a legal decision not the influence of a pressure group which stirred Balfour to action. The Cockerton decision illustrated the need for administrative reorganization not wholesale educational reform. It thus provided the rationale and the legality for action. Here lay the rationale of his actions following the decision; it was not the manoeuvrings of the Church Party which inspired Balfour to action but the summing up a judge.

What the Cockerton decision illustrated above all else, was the need to take action to rectify what remained an administrative rather than an educational muddle. As Wilkinson has suggested, Balfour's line of attack when introducing the Bill was to emphasize the relationship between 'national efficiency' and the education structure, thus appealing more broadly to popular sentiment (25). It was an approach designed to circumvent religious controversy for the sake of the national interest.

III. BALFOUR, KEENAN AND MORANT

Interpretations of the 1902 Act are normally based upon the view that Balfour, pushed by both the Church Party and Robert Morant produced a piece

of educational legislation which without their driving force would not have emerged. There is however another view which this thesis has been concerned to develop; that the complexities of educational reform and the very important political dimension of the issue were first brought home to Balfour during his days as Chief Secretary for Ireland. It was to be Sir Patrick Keenan, head of the Education Department in Ireland who drew Balfour's attention to the intricacies of dealing with education.

It was Keenan who was to provide Balfour with the first detailed analysis of the religious, financial and political implications of dealing with education (27). The Keenan memorandum of July 1889 held within it aspects which were to appear with annoying regularity for Balfour while leader of the House from 1892. He was alerted in the first instance to the inefficient use of resources within the Irish educational system caused in the main by the religious diversity of the country. Morant was to argue the same points with Balfour about the English education system, but the arguments about inefficiency in England were well known (28) as the pressure for reform quickened from 1895 (29). Education in England was first and foremost a political issue which affected the government party most acutely. In Ireland, it too was a political issue but only in the sense that it provided the English government with the opportunity to offer reform for peace. Balfour was quick to appreciate this potential political dividend and took full advantage, but at the same time it offered him an important lesson in the politics of education.

Evidence for this lesson can be seen as early as February 1896 during the initial stages of Gorst's Education Bill when Balfour made reference to the denominational nature of the Irish education system and the level of financial support from the Imperial grant (30). That this comparison should be made has largely been overlooked or even dismissed in the light of his general attempts to counter Asquith's attack on the implied Church

proposals of Gorst's Bill (31). This educational comparison should not be seen as part of a general overview provided by nameless civil servants seeking to help a leading figure deliver a speech. On the contrary, it reflected an important stage in the evolution of Balfour's development to place the intricacies of the English educational system within a much wider social, economic and political framework derived from his Irish experience. Drawing upon his Irish experience to defend the 1896 proposals which pre-dates Morant's influence by some five years, additional evidence is therefore supplied to support the suggested view (32) that the dropping of Gorst's Bill was a pragmatic decision based upon the assumption that the political repercussions far outweighed any educational advantages. His rejection of the Education Bill of 1896 was therefore not just the product of Gorst's unacceptable behaviour, but the operation of the Keenan-Balfour maxim of the need to strengthen institutional control through reform. This the Bill of 1896 would clearly have never achieved.

Morant's actions have to be seen against a background of tremendous good fortune, of which the Cockerton judgement of 1900 was simply a part. His biographer, Sir Bernard Allen, details an individual with almost prescient powers. However, what Allen ignores is that the opportunities afforded to Morant as a consequence of judicial decisions enabled him to maximise both his own and his educational plans; nothing would have been achieved without the agreement of Balfour. The question therefore of who was the prime mover of educational reform, Morant or Balfour, in the light both of Allen's study and biographical accounts of Balfour has continued to form the basis of academic debate. The traditional interpretation would suggest that Morant initially supported by Church Party activities up to 1901, became the leading figure pushing a reluctant Balfour towards major educational reform. Such a view however, ignores the linear development of Balfour's own educational activity and involvement, a product of his own Conservatism and the clear and logical arguments first put to him by Keenan. If

prescience is to be attributed, then it should be ascribed to Keenan and his suggestion to Balfour in 1889 that educational developments in Ireland always find their way across St George's Channel (33).

It is this linear development in Balfour's educational activities which has been omitted both in biographical and educational studies. From the Keenan memorandum to that first meeting with Morant on Palm Sunday 1901 educational reform for political rather than educational advancement became a cornerstone to his actions. Higher and secondary education reform in Ireland could be supported because the political advantages of securing social quiescence was clear; in England, Gorst's 1896 Bill could also be supported because initially it seemed to offer a much needed prop for the voluntary sector. When this ceased to be the case, Balfour quickly withdrew his support for the Bill and pressed ahead with the identified remedy of financial subvention in the form of the Voluntary Schools Act. The Act of 1902 was largely a product of this logic but the pace had been forced by the Cockerton decision.

Within this linear development from 1889 there also exists an important element of social control. As suggested, Balfour recognised the political, economic and social dividends education could offer if handled skilfully. In Ireland it offered peace; in England it offered Church gratitude and party peace. Above all, it offered a form of social control designed to reinforce his own deeply held Conservative view of the need to be concerned about the growing nationalist and industrial discontent evident in both Ireland and on the streets of England (34). He believed that the godlessness of the board schools had been instrumental in fostering the development of socialism, while nationalist discontent had always been linked to the inadequacies of the Irish education system. This was an interpretation of British society and its relationship with education which was not peculiar to Balfour. It was a view inherited from his uncle Lord

Salisbury, who it has been argued appeared to be quite prepared to allow the problems in English national education develop in order to leave the Conservative party, "...in a strong position to demolish the secular board schools..." (35). Nevertheless, the political value of using the mechanism of education to safeguard institutional control had been recognised by Balfour since his days as Chief Secretary.

Balfour's opposition to the Education Bill of 1906 reflected a deeply held concern that the Liberal government's radical programme was in tune with socialist ideology (36). He could never see the anti-democratic nature of his activities because the apparent radicalism of the Liberal government threatened the very fabric not simply of democratic control but of institutional control. The threat to the Church and Lords were simply the most visible points at which the threat appeared. A return to an educational system which he believed would restore secularism he believed, was tantamount to additional foreign infiltration which did not espouse the values of the Church. His opposition to Birrell in the first instance and Asquith and Lloyd George later, was merely symptomatic of this deeply held concern.

Fundamental to Balfour's hostility to Liberal education policy lay the basic assumption that doctrine led politics threatened the institutions of the state. This view had been expressed in both A Defence of Philosophic Doubt (37) and The Foundations of Belief (38), yet his actions in Opposition have tended to be viewed as those of an individual frustrated at being out of power. While this was almost certainly an important factor, Balfour's opposition to Liberal Education Bills was as much the product of a long held philosophic position prevalent since his days as Irish Secretary (39). Axiomatic to such a position was his distrust of Liberalism, and its potential to act as a vehicle for socialism. It was in essence a reflection of his original attitude to board schools and the long

held belief that within these lay breeding grounds for radical tendencies with which he associated and linked to the godlessness of socialism. This attitude stemmed from his belief that the radical nature of board schools had been impregnated with the ideas of Mill, Locke and Bentham, while in the case of socialism those of Marx.

The period between 1906 and 1914 witnessed the more visible radical development with increasing violence in the streets of Britain (40), and the emerging influence of European syndicalism and the rise of organised labour. There also existed the fear of foreign infiltration into the fabric of British life which underlay his attitude to opposition from 1906 as much as a wish to preserve his Education Act. Liberalism was by its very nature, he believed, an alien philosophy attempting to undermine aristocratic and patriarchal means of control. What Liberalism threatened was not simply the fabric of the Conservative state and its institutions, but the opportunity for doctrine led government and the emergence of individuals who sought to direct the state through amending the pivotal pillars of the Church through disestablishment, and the State, through reform of the House of Lords.

It was this doctrine which he believed threatened the equilibrium of paternalist-Conservative control (41). That balance could only be maintained through amendments, largely of an administrative rather than structural nature. His brand of Conservatism he believed, offered the only opportunity of reform while preserving at the same time, the institutions of the state; what the Liberalism of Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith implied was radical reform without an appreciation or understanding of the likely consequences (42). Above all Balfour remained committed to preserving not just the Education Act of 1902 but the principles which had brought that act into being. They were the principles which had operated while he had been Chief Secretary in Ireland and which to his credit remained part of

his political make up till 1911. They revolved around the belief that the need for reform had to be justified and dealt with within the existing administrative framework before action could be guaranteed. The legislation had to reflect both medium and long term benefits for the party not simply the adherence to a philosophy which might reform but at the same time undermine the fabric of the Conservative state. The problem with this approach was that opposition to a democratically elected government on philosophic grounds and the eventual manipulation of the House of Lords as a means of controlling or stemming Liberal legislative activity failed to prevent the Lords being reformed. Nevertheless, his actions need to be appreciated in the light of determined Conservative philosophy rather than biographical accounts which have struggled to understand his motives.

Balfour, Keenan and Morant therefore, all shared one common objective. That objective was reform of the education system. However, the means by which that objective was to be achieved differed, and while it is Morant who traditionally receives the plaudits, it was the Keenan-Balfour axis which effectively prepared the way and drew the route map for the events surrounding the passage of the 1902 Act. Morant, as with most things in his life, exploited the good fortune which circumstance had provided. His achievement was to assist Balfour, not to direct him. Importantly, the key factor of Balfour's active involvement enabled the passage of educational legislation, without it Morant would have been helpless.

IV. CONCLUSION

Education reform in England for Balfour quickly became fused with the perceived threat to one of the twin pillars of the Conservative framework namely the Church of England. He believed the plight of the established Church and its schools required positive action; nevertheless his involvement in education was taken with great reluctance. Reform was not and could never be a moral issue for him. Education per se merely became

the facade behind which the established Church could be safeguarded, which for Balfour was an acceptable means to an end. This attitude quickly became apparent during the fight over the Liberal Education Bills of 1906-8.

With the defeat of the Conservatives in 1906 a further element emerged. Balfour's activities during the education debates between 1906 and 1908 emanated from his own need to re-establish himself in the eyes of the Conservative party as a worthy leader.

Nevertheless the name of A.J. Balfour and education remain linked and provides an image of an educator as well as an administrator. Balfour was not an educationalist and his motives for educational reform were not all admirable. Nevertheless, mixed motives do not detract from remarkable educational achievements, long lasting both in Ireland and in England. Speaking to the Conservative party conference in Manchester in October 1902, Balfour emphasized his deeply held responsibility to future generations when he suggested that educational reform and the Act of 1902 in particular that,

"...the nation should see that the children of the nation are brought up to carry on and if possible improve the traditions of their forefathers..." (43).

CHAPTER SEVEN

FOOTNOTES

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29. This was particularly the case following the collapse of Sir John Gorst's Bill in 1896.
30. See The Times, 4 February 1896.
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APPENDIX I

THE ROBERTSON COMMISSION 1903

ABRIDGED

SECTION I, IV, V, VI, VIII, VIII, XIII

Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland.

FINAL REPORT

OF

THE COMMISSIONERS.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.



DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE,
BY ALEXANDER THOM & CO. (LIMITED), ABBEY-STREET.

And to be purchased, either directly or through any Bookseller, from
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2 ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

INTRODUCTION.

First sittings.

Our first sittings for evidence were held in Dublin in September, 1901. The evidence taken at these sittings deals mainly with the question of the requirements of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland as regards University education. The witnesses who gave evidence on this subject include two Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the Presidents of the three Queen's Colleges, of University College, Dublin, and of the Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry, and a number of other important witnesses, mostly laymen, who are members of the Senate of the Royal University of Ireland. The Secretaries of the Royal University gave evidence with reference to that institution, and some witnesses were examined on the subject of the higher education of women. The evidence taken during these sittings was published in November, 1901, as an Appendix to our First Report.

First Report.

Evidence on technical education.

In November, 1901 we held meetings in Dublin for the purpose of taking evidence on the subject of higher technical education in relation to University education. At these meetings we examined the Secretary and two Assistant Secretaries of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, and a number of other witnesses, who gave us information regarding the needs of Ireland in the matter of higher technical education and the means of co-ordinating technical education and University education. We also heard the evidence of witnesses who were qualified to give us information as to the relations existing between University institutions and schools of technology in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Durham, and Leeds. At our meetings held in the following month this evidence was supplemented by witnesses from London and Bristol.

Our third series of sittings took place in London in December of the same year. On this occasion we examined members of the University of Wales, of the new University of Birmingham, and of the reorganised University of London; and we also received evidence from two representatives of the Roman Catholic University of Louvain in Belgium. At these sittings an important addition to the evidence already laid before us on the general question of University education in Ireland was contributed by witnesses who hold, or who have held, high positions in connection with education in Ireland, and who have had wide experience of Irish educational needs. The evidence taken at our second and third series of sittings was published in February, 1902, as an Appendix to our Second Report.

Second Report.

Visit to the Queen's Colleges.

We devoted the first fortnight of April, 1902, to visiting the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Galway, and Cork, and the Magee Presbyterian College at Londonderry. At each of these Colleges we inspected the buildings and general equipment, and took the evidence of the President, Registrar, and several of the Professors. Among the witnesses examined at Belfast and Cork were some persons not connected with the Colleges, who found it convenient to give their evidence at these centres. We also received at Belfast, Galway, and Cork, memorials and resolutions from deputations representing various public bodies and societies.

Evidence at Belfast.

The evidence taken at Belfast is of special interest. In addition to the President and a large number of the Professors of the Queen's College, who furnished us with full statements as to the needs and possibilities of that institution, we examined witnesses representing the views of all the more important classes in the North of Ireland. The Committee on Higher Education of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was officially represented before us. We also heard the evidence of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, of the Technical Education Committee of the Borough, of the Royal University Graduates' Association, and of the larger Colleges for Women in Ulster. The Principals of some secondary schools and other educational institutions in Belfast were also examined, as well as some Roman Catholic witnesses, who appeared before us in a representative capacity. Moreover, several prominent citizens of Belfast gave us valuable evidence.

Final sittings for evidence.

In May and June of the same year we held some further sittings for evidence in London and in Dublin. At these sittings a large amount of

evidence, mainly concerned with the general question of University education in Ireland, was obtained, and several witnesses, who were unable to appear at an earlier stage, were then examined. The Bishops of the disestablished Church of Ireland were represented before us by two of their number; and an additional statement was submitted on behalf of the Higher Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. We examined two witnesses from the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical College of Maynooth, which was subsequently visited by some members of the Commission on the invitation of the President of the College. We also examined at these meetings some of the Professors of the Royal College of Science for Ireland; of University College, Dublin, and of the Catholic University School of Medicine; and representatives of the heads of secondary schools, and of women's Colleges. The evidence taken in April, May, and June, 1902, was published in September of that year, as an Appendix to our Third Report.

INTRODUCTION.

Third Report.

Besides the oral evidence contained in the Appendices to our Reports we received from witnesses and others a considerable body of documentary evidence, in the shape of memoranda, letters, and returns. All these documents have received our careful consideration, and the more important of them will be found in the Appendices to our Reports. We have also had supplied to us many books, pamphlets, and other publications containing useful information on every aspect of the question with which our work was concerned.

Documentary evidence.

The order that has been adopted in the preparation of our Report is as follows:—

Scheme of Report.

- I. The existing institutions engaged in the work of higher education in Ireland.
- II. The defects of the Royal University system.
- III. The religious difficulty.
- IV. Results of educational defects and the religious difficulty.
- V. Analysis of the proposed remedies.
- VI. The scheme recommended by the Commission.
- VII. Extern students.
- VIII. The requirements of the Queen's Colleges as regards equipment and endowment.
- IX. The Higher Education of Women.
- X. Higher Technical Education.
- XI. Co-ordination of Primary, Secondary, and Technical Education.
- XII. A Department of Irish studies.
- XIII. General conclusions and recommendations.

I.—EXISTING INSTITUTIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION.

The first duty imposed on us by the terms of reference to the Commission was "to inquire into the present condition of the higher, general and technical education available in Ireland outside Trinity College, Dublin." It therefore seems desirable to give, at the outset of our Report, a brief description of the institutions with which this portion of our inquiry was concerned.

SECTION I.
EXISTING INSTITUTIONS

UNIVERSITIES.

There are two Universities in Ireland, viz., the University of Dublin, of which Trinity College, Dublin, is the only College, and the Royal University of Ireland. To these might be added the "Catholic University of Ireland," but this institution, since the establishment of the Royal University, has been practically inoperative, although nominally it continues in existence as an association of certain Colleges which prepare students for the Royal

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SECTION I. EXISTING INSTI- TUTIONS.

University examinations. As will be explained later on, we decided that the terms of our reference, in excluding Trinity College, did not permit us to regard the University of Dublin as being within the scope of our inquiry. We accordingly do not propose to make any further reference here to that University.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

Constitution.

The Royal University of Ireland was founded under the University Education (Ireland) Act, 1879,¹ by Royal Charter, enrolled in the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice in Ireland in the year 1850. Under this Charter, the "body politic and corporate" of the University consists of a Chancellor, a Senate, and Graduates. In addition to those persons on whom the University has conferred Degrees, the graduates comprise all persons who were graduates of the Queen's University in Ireland, which had been in existence from 1850, and which was dissolved by the University Education (Ireland) Act, 1879. Convocation of the University consists of the Senate of the University and of male graduates of at least two years standing, who have complied with the regulations regarding membership. The University has power to examine for and to confer Degrees in all the usual Faculties with the exception of Theology; but it cannot require candidates for its Degrees, except in the case of Medicine, to reside in or to attend lectures at any College or other place of education. Accordingly, as regards its main function, the University is an examining body empowered to confer Degrees on all who successfully pass its prescribed examinations, irrespective of their place of education.

An Examining University.

SENATE

The government of the University is vested in the Senate, which consists of the Chancellor and thirty-six members. All the members of the first Senate of the University were nominated in the Charter. The Senate thus nominated (exclusive of the Chancellor, who was a Protestant) consisted of Roman Catholics and Protestants in equal numbers, and included some Archbishops and Bishops of Sees in Ireland, and other distinguished dignitaries. As regards subsequent appointments to the Senate, it was provided in the Charter that the graduates of the University assembled in Convocation should fill the first and every alternate vacancy (other than a vacancy in the office of Chancellor) by electing a Senator until the number of Senators elected by Convocation should amount to six. All other vacancies arising on the Senate were to be filled by the Crown, save in the case of vacancies arising among the members elected by Convocation, which were to continue to be filled by that body. Accordingly the Crown now appoints the Chancellor and thirty members of the Senate, who practically hold office for life. On the other hand the six members elected by Convocation hold office only for periods of three years, but they are eligible for re-election. In making appointments to the Senate the Crown has invariably acted on the principle that the Roman Catholic and Protestant members should be equal in number. This system of equalising the representation of Roman Catholics and Protestants, though not provided for in the written constitution of the University, is a prominent feature in its actual administration. In the evidence submitted to us it has been pointed out that the same "even balance" principle has been extended so as to apply to appointments of Fellows, Examiners, and other officers.

With the exception of the Chancellor and the Secretaries of the University, who are appointed by the Crown, all office-bearers are appointed by the Senate. The chief of these is the Vice-Chancellor, who is elected triennially by the Senate from among their number, and who exercises all the functions of the Chancellor in his absence. The Vice-Chancellor has always been a Roman Catholic. The Senate annually appoints a Standing Committee of sixteen members, exclusive of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, who are ex-officio members. This Committee may be considered to be the Executive of the Senate, inasmuch as the administration of the University is largely left to it.

¹ 43 and 43 Vict., ch. 65.

² Charter, sec. 2.

The functions of the Senate are defined in the Charter of the University. The Senate is given full power to make and alter Statutes, Rules, and Ordinances, "so as the same shall not be repugnant to the laws of Our Realm or to the general objects and provisions of this Our Charter." All such Statutes, Rules, and Ordinances, however, require the approval of the Sovereign and must be laid before Parliament. The Senate is expressly precluded from adopting or imposing on any person any religious examination or test. The Statutes of the University as at present in force, together with the Acts of Parliament and Charter, are printed in the Appendix to our First Report.²

SECTION I.
EXAMINING INSTITUTIONS.
—
FUNCTIONS OF
SENATE.

The Charter of the University empowered the Senate "to found and endow Exhibitions, Scholarships, Fellowships, or other Prizes" in subjects of secular learning, and the Act of Parliament³ required that it should prepare for submission to the Lord Lieutenant and to Parliament a scheme for the organization of the University, including regulations for the establishment of these exhibitions, fellowships, and prizes. In connection with these regulations, the Act laid down certain important conditions to be observed by the Senate. First, the exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships and other prizes were to be awarded for proficiency only in subjects of secular education, and not in respect of any subject of religious instruction. Secondly, they were to be open to all matriculating and matriculated students of the University, and were to be awarded in respect of either relative or absolute proficiency, and subject to any conditions as to the age and standing of the candidates, their liability to perform duty and otherwise, as the Senate might deem expedient. Furthermore in fixing the number and value of these prizes, the Senate was directed to have regard to advantages of a similar kind offered by the University of Dublin and Trinity College to students matriculated in that University, so as to avoid, as far as possible, any injury to the advancement of learning in that University or College. Finally, provision had to be made that no student holding any exhibition, scholarship, fellowship, or other similar prize in any other University or in any College attached to a University or in any College endowed with public money, should hold any of the prizes, &c., in the Royal University without taking the value of such previous exhibition or prize into account.

Scheme of
organization.

A scheme was accordingly prepared by the Senate and presented to Parliament on 6th April, 1881,⁴ and on this scheme the original Statutes⁵ of the University, which received the Royal approval, and came into force early in the following year, were based. These Statutes contain what is known as the "Fellowship Scheme." In formulating this scheme the Senate took into account the existence of certain teaching institutions not endowed by the State, for which it desired to provide an indirect endowment, while providing at the same time for the requirements of the University as regards examiners. As the scheme forms an important part of the system of the University, it is necessary to refer to it here in some detail.

Fellowship
scheme.

The original fellowship scheme as presented to Parliament and embodied in the original Statutes of the University, was as follows:—

"The Senate may elect thirty-two Fellows of the University. In case it shall at any time appear advisable to reduce the number, it shall be in their power, with the consent of the Lord-Lieutenant, to do so.

"The salary of a Fellow, if he be not also a Fellow or Professor of some other University or College attached to an University, or College endowed with public money, shall be £400 per annum. If he be a Fellow or Professor of such other University or College, and in receipt of a salary in respect of such other Fellowship or Professorship, he shall receive, in respect of his Fellowship in this University, such annual sum as, with the salary of his other Professorship, shall amount to £400 a year.

"A Fellow shall hold office for seven years.

"The Senate shall appoint to the office by open voting. The first set of Fellows shall be appointed by selection, without competitive examination; but, afterwards, vacancies in the office shall be filled in manner following. If occurring by reason of the expiration of

² Charter, sec. 11.

³ Appendix to First Report, pp. 231-235, 257, 264-270.

⁴ Charter, sec. 14.

⁵ 43 & 45 Vict., ch. 65, sec. 9.

⁶ Appendix to First Report, p. 236.

⁷ Appendix to First Report, p. 257.

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SECTION I. EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.

the term for which the Fellowship was held, it shall be competent for the Senate to elect the same person again to the office. But when this shall not be done, and also in the case of vacancies arising from any other cause, the vacancy, if to be filled, shall be filled by competitive examination of Graduates of the University, unless, in any instance occurring within seven years after the appointment of the first set of Fellows, it shall appear to the Senate more expedient to elect without examination.

"Every Fellow shall hold his Fellowship on condition that, if required by the Senate, he shall give his services in teaching students of the University in some educational institution approved by the Senate, wherein matriculated students of the University are being taught. The Fellows shall constitute a Board of Examiners; they shall be bound to conduct by themselves, or with such other persons as the Senate may add, the University Examinations without further payment, except for expenses. They shall report, for the consideration of the Senate, the standard to be required from students for Pass and Honours, and the relative proportion of marks to be allowed for the different subjects. If they think it expedient so to do, they shall have power to suggest, for the approval of the Senate, editions or text-books to be used by students in connection with the prescribed subjects. They shall, from time to time, report to the Senate the result of the Examinations they have held, and submit for its consideration whatever rules they propose should be made in respect of the Examinations."

"Approved"
Institutions.

It will be noted that although the scheme states that the Fellows may be required to teach matriculated students of the University in educational institutions approved by the Senate, no mention was made of the institutions that should be so approved. This matter was decided by the Senate at a meeting held in November, 1882, when the following institutions were selected as Colleges to which fellowships should be assigned:—Queen's College, Belfast; Queen's College, Cork; Queen's College, Galway; the Catholic University College, Dublin (now known as University College Dublin), and the Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry. In assigning fellowships, one-half of the number available was assigned to University College, Dublin; one fellowship to the Magee College, Londonderry, and the remainder to the three Queen's Colleges. The actual number of Fellows appointed was at first twenty-eight. It has since been increased to twenty-nine, and the present distribution of fellowships is as follows:—

University College, Dublin,	15
Queen's College, Belfast,	7
Queen's College, Cork,	3
Queen's College, Galway,	3
The Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry,	1

Indirect endowment of certain institutions.

By the allocation of fellowships in the manner set forth above, the two Colleges (University College, Dublin, and Magee College, Londonderry), which had previously been in receipt of no endowment from the State, were afforded a certain indirect endowment by means of the salaries attached to the fellowships assigned to them. These salaries, it should be observed, are paid in full, and accordingly each Professor in these two Colleges, who holds a fellowship, receives £400 a year from the Royal University. On the other hand, in the case of the Fellows who hold professorships in the State-endowed Queen's Colleges, a sum equivalent to the remuneration paid to them by the Colleges in respect of their professorships is deducted from their salaries as Fellows, and they receive only the difference from the Royal University. Thus, the amount actually paid by the University to the thirteen Professors in the Queen's Colleges who hold fellowships averages only about £100 a year each.

Appointments to fellowships.

It is the custom of the Senate to select for fellowships only such persons as are Professors in some one of the five Colleges. In fact, the President of each College has practically the appointment of the Fellows assigned to his College, as from the evidence before us it would appear that the person nominated by him is in every case elected by the Senate. It may also be mentioned that a Fellow holds his fellowship only so long as he retains his professorship in the College with which he was connected at the time of his appointment as Fellow.

Inasmuch as the regulations embodied in the original Statutes, which provided that in course of time the fellowships of the University should be thrown open to competition among the graduates, would, if carried into effect, have made the system of indirect endowment impracticable, the

Statutes were amended in 1888, and this regulation was omitted. The Senate has, accordingly, continued to the present time to appoint Fellows by open voting without competitive examination.

SECTION I
EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.
FELLOWS.

Fellowships are not confined to graduates or even to matriculated students of the University, and many of the existing Fellows had no connection with the University prior to their appointments as Fellows. Some witnesses have urged that fellowships should, at least, be limited to matriculated students of the University, and that such limitation is implied by Section 9 of the Act of Parliament,¹ which provides that fellowships and other prizes are to be open to all students matriculating or who have matriculated in the University.

The Senate also appoints eight "Medical Fellows," who, according to the Statutes, "shall be selected in connection with studies relating to the Medical, Surgical, and Obstetrical departments, including Anatomy and Physiology." The mode of appointment and the tenure of office (i.e., for such periods not exceeding seven years, as the Senate may determine) are similar to those of the Fellows of the University, but the salary paid is only £150 a year. The Medical Fellows are required by the Statutes to take part in conducting the Medical examinations of the University, but, unlike the Fellows, they are not required to teach in any institution. It is usual, however, for these fellowships to be held by Professors connected with the Queen's Colleges or with the Catholic University School of Medicine (which may be regarded as forming the Medical Faculty of University College, Dublin); and from the lists that have been supplied to us it would appear that of the eight medical fellowships, one is held by a Professor in Queen's College, Belfast, one by a Professor in Queen's College, Cork; two by Professors in Queen's College, Galway; and three by Professors in the Catholic University School of Medicine. The remuneration of a Medical Fellow is paid in full, even though the holder be in receipt of a salary as a Professor in a "College endowed with public money."

Medical Fellows.

Since the year 1894 the Senate has offered each year for competition among the graduates in Arts of the University three "Junior Fellowships" of the annual value of £200 tenable for four consecutive years. Junior Fellows are required to assist in the conduct of the University examinations; they have no other duties in the University, and the amount payable to a Junior Fellow is intended to be in the nature of a reward rather than of remuneration for services.

Junior Fellows.

In addition to the Fellows, Junior Fellows, and Medical Fellows of the University, a number of "Examiners" are appointed annually by the Senate, at varying rates of remuneration, to co-operate with the Fellows in conducting the examinations of the University. These Examiners hold office for only one year, but they are eligible for re-appointment. In the year 1901 the number of Examiners employed was forty. Of these eight were connected, as Professors, with Queen's College, Belfast; five with Queen's College, Cork; two with Queen's College, Galway; two with Magee College, Londonderry; and eight with University College, Dublin, and the Catholic University School of Medicine. The Fellows, Junior Fellows, Medical Fellows, and Examiners constitute the "Boards of Examiners," whose duties are to conduct the University examinations and to report the results to the Standing Committee of the Senate, which deals finally with the passes and rejections. All honours, exhibitions, and prizes are awarded by the Senate on the recommendation of the Standing Committee, which is based on the reports of the Boards of Examiners.

Examiners.

It will be observed that the examinations of the University are almost entirely conducted by Professors connected with the five Colleges, but the system of indirect endowment has resulted in giving some of the Colleges a much larger representation than others on the Boards of Examiners. This unequal representation of the Colleges, coupled with the absence of Extern Examiners, has been commented on by a number of witnesses as tending to lessen confidence in the impartiality of the examinations.

¹ 42 & 43 Vict., ch. 65, sec. 9.

² Statutes of the Royal University of Ireland, Chapter III.

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SECTION I. EXISTING INSTITUTIONS

Mode of conducting Examinations.

The methods of conducting the various examinations of the University are fully explained in a memorandum furnished by the Secretaries, which has been printed in the Appendix to our First Report.¹ It is sufficient to state here that a high standard is required both for Pass and Honours, especially at professional examinations, and that the Senate has adopted an elaborate system of precautions as regards the preparation and distribution of the examination papers, the actual conduct of the examinations, and the subsequent marking of the candidates' answers. The examination papers in each subject are prepared by the Board of Examiners in that subject, and each member of the Board must have approved of every question set in his department. So far as the written examinations are concerned, candidates are known to the examiners only by examination numbers, and not by names. The written answers of all Honour candidates are examined by at least two examiners, who must not be connected with the same College; and oral examinations are conducted on a similar principle.

Courses.

The Course for the B.A. Degree of the University is of three years' duration, and candidates have to pass the Matriculation and two intermediate examinations as well as the Degree examination. Candidates who have obtained the B.A. Degree may present themselves after the lapse of an academical year, for the M.A. or B.Sc. examinations. The higher Degrees of D.Lit., D.Ph., and D.Sc. are also conferred by the University on candidates who fulfil certain prescribed conditions. Candidates for Degrees in Medicine, in Engineering, and in Music, must matriculate and pass the first examination in Arts before presenting themselves for the professional examinations. In Medicine there are three professional examinations before the Degree examination; in Engineering, two, and in Music, one. Higher Degrees are also conferred in these Faculties on certain conditions. The University confers two Degrees in Law, viz., LL.B. and LL.D. Candidates for these Degrees must be graduates in Arts of the University, and before presenting themselves for the LL.B. Degree examination must have passed the first examination in Law. Candidates who have obtained the LL.B. Degree may present themselves after an interval of three years for the LL.D. Degree examination. The University also grants certain Diplomas, of which the most important are the Diplomas in Teaching, in Agriculture, and in Engineering. The examination fees charged to candidates are set forth in the University Statutes. The fees payable by a candidate for the B.A. Degree amount to £6 in all; and for a Medical Degree, to £17.

Prizes

A sum of about £6,000 is annually distributed in the form of rewards to students. Next in importance to the junior fellowships, which have been already described, are the "Studentships," which are offered for competition among the graduates in the Faculties of Arts and Medicine. A medical studentship corresponds in annual value to a junior fellowship, but is tenable only for two consecutive years. A studentship in Arts is worth £100 a year, and is tenable for three years. Exhibitions are money prizes, varying from £10 to £42, of which a certain number are awarded at all the ordinary examinations. Scholarships in Ancient Classics, Mathematics, and Modern Literature are awarded annually on the result of a special scholarship examination. These scholarships are tenable for three years, a First Class scholarship being worth £40 a year, and a Second Class, £20 a year. Gold and silver medals, and other special prizes, are also awarded by the Senate.

Position of women.

All degrees, honours, exhibitions, prizes, scholarships and junior fellowships in the University, are open to women on the same terms as to men. Women cannot, however, become members of Convocation, which is confined by the Act² and Charter³ to the male graduates of the University. No fellowship of the University other than a junior fellowship, has ever

¹ Appendix to First Report, pp. 271-275.

² 42 & 43 Vict., ch. 65, sec. 4.

³ Charter, sec. 9.

been held by a woman; the question of the eligibility of women for such posts has indeed arisen, but does not seem to have been determined. Three junior fellowships have, however, been gained by women graduates of the University. As will be seen later, the number of women students who enter for the examinations of the University has reached a remarkably high total.

SECTION I
EXISTING INSTITUTIONS

The Act of Parliament of 1870 contained no provision for the endowment of the Royal University, but in the year 1881, when the scheme of organisation prepared by the Senate had been presented to Parliament, an Act was passed by which an annual endowment of £20,000, payable out of the Irish Church Surplus, was provided to defray the expenses of the University.¹ This endowment is supplemented by the fees received from students, and by the interest on certain investments mainly made in the early years of the University, when the receipts were considerably in excess of the expenditure. In the year 1900-1 these investments, which then represented £46,122 19s., yielded an interest of £1,884 14s. 7d.; and the fees of students amounted to £3,860 18s. 6d., so that the total income of the University in that year was, roughly, £25,765. In the same year the expenditure of the University amounted to £24,397. Of this sum £4,918 were expended on administration, i.e., on office salaries and allowances, travelling expenses of members of the Senate, stationery, printing, and office incidental expenses. A sum of £5,713 was distributed as rewards to students in the form of exhibitions, special money prizes and medals, scholarships, studentships, and junior fellowships; while a large sum as £13,766 represented the cost of examinations. As regards the latter sum it is important to note that it includes £8,499 paid as salaries to Fellows, and £2,765 paid as remuneration to Examiners. A summary table showing the annual receipts and expenditure of the University to March 31st, 1901, will be found in the Appendix to our First Report.²

Endowment

The seat of the University is in Dublin, where buildings suitable for offices and examination halls have been provided by the State. The buildings of the University also contain a Library, a Museum, and excellent Laboratories; but these are used solely for examination purposes. The buildings are vested in the Board of Public Works, which is responsible for their maintenance, and the cost involved is included in the annual Parliamentary Vote for that Department. From the return which is printed in the Appendix to our First Report,³ it will be seen that the total expenditure by the Board of Public Works in connection with the purchase, alteration, extension, and maintenance of the buildings of the University since its foundation, has amounted to £91,779. The equipment of the University Laboratories, Museums, and Library has been mainly provided for out of a separate fund known as the "Equipment Fund," consisting of £5,000 provided by the State in 1886, and an equivalent sum set aside by the Senate out of its accumulated savings.

Buildings

The total number of candidates who entered for examinations in the Royal University in the year 1901 was 2,781, and of these 1,779 (1,350 men and 399 women) were adjudged to have passed. In the same year the following Degrees were conferred:—

Candidates

Honorary,	.	.	.	.	.	3
Master of Arts,	.	.	.	.	.	14
Bachelor of Arts,	.	.	.	.	.	154
LL.B. and LL.D.,	.	.	.	.	.	10
M.B., B.Ch., B.A.O.,	.	.	.	.	.	47
M.D., M.Ch., M.A.O.,	.	.	.	.	.	6
D.Sc.,	.	.	.	.	.	1
Bachelor of Science,	.	.	.	.	.	2
Bachelor of Engineering,	.	.	.	.	.	7

It is noticeable that of the candidates who annually pass the examinations of the University those who are prepared in the five principal Colleges (the three Queen's Colleges, University College, Dublin, and Magee College, Londonderry), form only a minority of the whole number. The great

¹ 44 & 45 Vict., ch. 82.

² Appendix to First Report, p. 285.

³ Appendix to First Report, p. 285.

SECTION I
 EXAMINATIONS
 TUITION

majority of the candidates are prepared in a variety of other institutions or by "private study" and "private tuition." In the year 1901, the latest year for which the figures are available, the number of successful candidates from the five Colleges referred to was 500. Of the remaining 1,279 successful candidates 953 were distributed among 181 other institutions; 281 are returned as having been prepared solely by "private study" or by "private tuition;" and the remaining 45 furnished no information as to the mode in which they were prepared for the examinations. Candidates for examinations in Medicine are required to furnish certificates of having attended the several classes of Medical instruction prescribed for the different years of the curriculum in certain approved institutions

COLLEGES.

Having dealt with the Royal University of Ireland, we now propose to give a brief account of the five Colleges from which the Fellows of the University are appointed, and in which they are required to teach, namely, the three Queen's Colleges, University College, Dublin (which, for our purpose, may be taken to include the Catholic University School of Medicine), and the Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry.

STATE ENDOWED COLLEGES.

Queen's Colleges.

The Queen's Colleges are three in number, and are situated in Belfast, Cork, and Galway. The Colleges were established in 1845, under an Act of Parliament entitled "An Act to enable Her Majesty to endow new Colleges for the advancement of learning in Ireland." Under this Act a sum of £100,000 was provided for the purchase of sites and for the erection and equipment of buildings for the Colleges, and an annual grant not exceeding £7,000 for each College, was placed on the Consolidated Fund. The sum of £100,000 allocated to buildings and equipment under the Act of 1845, was supplemented before the Colleges were opened by a grant of £12,000 for the outfit of Museums, Libraries, and other departments. In addition to this endowment each College has received since the year 1854 an annual Parliamentary Grant of about £1,600 in aid of expenses of maintenance.* At present each of the Colleges contains, besides an Examination Hall and ordinary lecture rooms, a Library, Museums, Laboratories, and residences for the President and for the Registrar.

Constitution

The Colleges are identical in their constitution; they are undenominational, and the Professors are forbidden, by the Statutes of the Colleges, to teach any doctrine, or make any statement derogatory to the truths of revealed religion, or injurious or disrespectful to the religious convictions of any portion of their classes or audience, or to introduce or discuss political or polemical subjects. The President and Professors in each case are appointed by the Crown, and constitute the "body politic and corporate" of the College. The Council of each College, in which are vested powers of general government and administration, consists of the President and six Professors elected by the Corporate Body. The powers and duties of the Corporate Body, of the Council, and of the Bursar, Registrar, and other office-bearers of the College, are defined by the College Statutes, which were constituted under Letters Patent granting Charters for the Colleges. The salaries of the President and of the Professors, are in accordance with the scales laid down in these Statutes. The emoluments of the office of President are fixed at £800 a year, and a residence in the College, but the salaries of the Professors vary according to the importance of their Chairs, and are supplemented by class fees payable by the students. The College Statutes ordain that a sum of £1,500 shall be annually set aside from the Endowment of each of the Colleges for the purpose of Scholarships and Prizes.

* 8 & 9 Vict., ch. 86.

^o Report of the Queen's Colleges Commission of 1858, p. 29.

^o Statutes of the Queen's Colleges, Chapter I.

No Halls of Residence for students have been provided in connection with the Colleges, but, in accordance with the Statutes, boarding houses are licensed by the Presidents for the reception of students. The Statutes also provide for the appointment of Deans of Residences, whose functions are to "have the moral care and spiritual charge of the students of their respective creeds residing in the licensed Boarding-houses."¹ These officers receive no remuneration from public funds; they are appointed by the Crown, but before they can assume or hold office they must be approved by the constituted authorities of their Church or Denomination. Owing to the objections of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland to the constitution of the Colleges, no Deans of Residences for Roman Catholic students exist in any of these institutions.

SECTION I.
EXISTING INSTITUTIONS

Deans of Residences.

The Boards of Visitors of the Colleges are appointed by the Crown, and are empowered to inquire into the general state of discipline therein, to hear appeals of such Professors, office-bearers, or students, as may consider themselves aggrieved by any sentence of the College authorities, and to decide upon them according to the Statutes.

Boards of Visitors.

In the three Colleges there are classes in Arts, Law, Medicine, and Engineering, and these classes (as well as all Collegiate Scholarships and Prizes) are at present open to women on the same terms as to men.

Faculties.

Queen's College, Belfast.

Queen's College, Belfast, occupies a site of about eleven acres. Out of the sum of £100,000 provided by the Act of 1845, £34,357 were expended on the purchase of the site and on the erection and equipment of the original buildings of this College.² Additions have been made to the buildings from time to time, the cost of such additions having been defrayed partly by Government grants and partly by money provided locally. The general maintenance of the College buildings is in charge of the Board of Public Works, and from the returns supplied to us it would appear that the total amount expended by that department in this connection for the five years 1896-1901 was £4,659 18s.³ Besides the income of the College derived from the State, a considerable number of private donations and subscriptions have been contributed to its support. A fund for its better equipment has recently been opened, and a large amount has already been subscribed.

Cost.

The teaching staff of the College consists of nineteen Professors—eleven in the Faculties of Arts and Law, seven in Medicine, and one in Engineering. There are five Lecturers (including two of the Professors who also act as Lecturers), and one Demonstrator.⁴ There is no Roman Catholic on the Professorial staff. From the return, which is printed in the Appendix to our Third Report,⁵ it will be observed that no Professor receives as salary from the College a larger sum than £312, but the salaries are considerably supplemented by class fees. Seven Professors in the Faculty of Arts are Fellows of the Royal University, but as the College is endowed with public money, their salaries as Fellows are liable to deductions in the manner already explained. Owing to these deductions, the total amount by which they benefit by the Fellowship scheme of the Royal University is at present only £676, and this sum must be regarded as including remuneration for their services as University Examiners. In addition, eight Examinerships (including five in Medical subjects), as well as one Medical Fellowship in the Royal University, are held by Professors in Queen's College, Belfast. The remuneration attached to these examinerships by the Royal University amounts to £765, which is paid in full.

Teaching Staff.

In the year 1901-2, the total number of students attending the College was 349, of whom 302 came from the Province of Ulster. The distribution of the students according to religious denominations was as follows:—217 Presbyterians, 69 Episcopalians, 17 Roman Catholics, 20 Methodists, and 26 of all other denominations. The numbers of students attending in each Faculty were as follows:—Arts, 115; Medicine, 215; Engineering, 18; and Law, 11. Five students attended lectures in more than one Faculty. The

Students.

¹ *Statute of the Queen's Colleges, Chapter I § 11.*

² *Report of the Queen's College Commission of 1838, p. 29.*

³ *Appendix to First Report, p. 286.*

⁴ *Report of the President of Queen's College, Belfast, for 1901-1902.*

⁵ *Appendix to Third Report, p. 616.*

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<p>SECTION I. EXISTING INSTI- TUTIONS.</p> <p>Courses of study.</p> <p>Collegiate prizes.</p> <p>Deans of Residences.</p> <p>Visitors.</p> <p>Students' Societies.</p>	<p>number of women students attending during the same year was 41, being almost twice the number who attended in the previous year.</p> <p>Almost all the students of the College present themselves for the examinations of the Royal University, and the courses of study are arranged to suit the requirements of that University. The numbers who passed the examinations in the principal faculties of the University during the period 1891-1900, and the numbers who passed with Honours and gained Exhibitions, are set forth in a return printed in the Appendix to our Second Report.¹ The College grants a Diploma of Associate in Arts.</p> <p>The amount expended on Collegiate Scholarships and Prizes during the year 1901-2 amounted to £1,229, payable out of the sum of £1,500 which is annually set aside from the College Endowment in respect of such prizes. During the same year the sum of £294 was paid in respect of Scholarships founded by private benefactions.</p> <p>There are four Deans of Residences holding office in the College, who represent, respectively, the disestablished Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Association of Non-Subscribing Presbyterians. The Board of Visitors of the College consists of eleven members. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland is represented on the Board by the Moderator, and the Association of Non-Subscribing Presbyterians by their President, both for the time being. A Bishop of the disestablished Church of Ireland, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Down, is also a member of the Board, having been appointed by the Government. Among the other members are the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Presidents of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons.</p> <p>A number of Literary and other Students' Societies are in existence in the College. The meetings of these Societies are held in the College Union, a building in the College grounds, recently erected by private subscriptions, for the use of the students.</p>
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Queen's College, Galway.

<p>Cost.</p> <p>Teaching Staff.</p> <p>Students.</p>	<p>Queen's College, Galway, is erected on a site of about fourteen acres. The original sum expended by the Government on the purchase of the site, and on the erection and equipment of the buildings, was £32,743.² The expenditure on the College by the Board of Public Works, which is charged with the general maintenance of the buildings, amounted to £4,029 for the five years 1896-1901.</p> <p>There are sixteen Professors attached to the College, of whom ten are assigned to the Faculties of Arts and Law; five to the Faculty of Medicine, and one to the School of Engineering.³ There are five Lecturers (including three of the Professors who also act as Lecturers), and four Demonstrators and Assistants, one of whom is also a Lecturer. Three of the Professors are Roman Catholics. The salaries (exclusive of class fees) of the Professors payable by the College, range from £150 to £340, but the majority of the salaries do not exceed £300 each. Three of the Professors in the Arts Faculty are Fellows of the Royal University, but in accordance with the principle by which salaries of Fellows are liable to deductions, the total amount payable by that University to these Professors in respect of their Fellowships is only £320. In addition, two Examinerships and two Medical Fellowships in the Royal University are held by Professors in the College. The four Professors holding these posts receive from the University in all a sum of £410.</p> <p>In the Session 1901-2 ninety-three students attended the College. Of these, 40 were Presbyterians, of whom 28 came from the Province of Ulster; 35 Roman Catholics; 14 Episcopalians; and 4 Wesleyan Methodists. The students were distributed among the Faculties as follows:—Arts, 44; Medicine, 32; Engineering, 19; Law, 3; and Music, 3. Eight students attended lectures in two Faculties. The number of women students attending the College during the same year was ten.</p>
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¹ Appendix to Second Report, pp. 330-332.

² Report of the Queen's Colleges Commission of 1888, p. 29.

³ Report of the Presidents of Queen's College, Galway, for 1901-1902.

The courses of the College are arranged to suit the curriculum prescribed for the examinations of the Royal University, and the teaching in the College is mainly directed towards the preparation of students for these examinations.

SECTION I
EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.

Of the sum of £1,500 provided annually for College Scholarships and other Prizes, the amount expended in the year 1901-2 was £1,423.

Collegiate Prizes

The Deans of Residences who hold office in the College represent the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Methodists. The Visitors of the College are the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Tuam, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, the Moderator of the General Assembly, and the Presidents of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons.

Deans of Residences

Queen's College, Cork.

The general character and equipment of Queen's College, Cork, is not dissimilar from that of the Galway College. The purchase of the site, which occupies about seven acres, and the erection and equipment of the original buildings, involved an expenditure of £32,899.¹ The amount expended on their general maintenance by the Board of Public Works during the five years 1896-1901 was £4,677.

Cost

The number of Professors in the College is the same as that at Galway—viz., sixteen, consisting of ten in the Faculties of Arts and Law, five in the Faculty of Medicine, and one in the School of Engineering.² There are six Lecturers, including one of the Professors, and there are two Demonstrators. The President and five of the Professors are Roman Catholics. The salaries of the Professors (exclusive of class fees) range from £130 to £322. Three Professors in the Faculty of Arts hold Fellowships in the Royal University, and as such receive between them £344 from the funds of that institution. Professors in the College also hold two Examinerships in Arts, one in Engineering, two in Medicine, and one Medical Fellowship in the Royal University, and receive in respect of these posts remuneration amounting in all to £513.

Teaching Staff

The number of students on the College books for the Session 1901-2, was 190. Of these 118 were Roman Catholics, 59 Episcopalians, 4 Presbyterians, 6 Wesleyan Methodists, and 3 of other denominations. The number of students in the Faculty of Arts in the same year was 34; in Medicine, 147; in Law, 7; and in the School of Engineering, 16. Fourteen students attended lectures in two Faculties. As in the other Queen's Colleges, women students are admitted to the College, and are eligible for the Scholarships and Prizes. The number of women students has, however, been small, and in the year 1901-2 was only twelve.

Students

The amount actually paid from the Endowment in respect of Collegiate Scholarships and Prizes in the year 1901-2 was £1,301. There is one Scholarship of the value of about £33, derived from a private endowment, offered annually in the Faculty of Medicine.

Collegiate Prizes

There are four Deans of Residences in connection with the College representing, respectively, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Association of Non-Subscribing Presbyterians. The Board of Visitors of the College at present consists of five members, viz., the Chief Secretary for Ireland, one of the Lord Justices of Appeal in Ireland, the Moderator of the General Assembly, and the Presidents of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons.

Deans of Residences

COLLEGES NOT DIRECTLY ENDOWED BY THE STATE.

We have now dealt briefly with three of the five Colleges in which Fellows of the Royal University are required to teach. It has been shown that these three Colleges have been erected and equipped by the State, and are in receipt of a direct annual endowment from public funds, and that the appointments of their Presidents and Professors are made by the Crown. The two remaining Colleges, viz., the Roman Catholic College, known as University College,

¹ Report of Queen's Colleges Commission of 1858, p. 29.

² Report of the President of Queen's College, Cork, for 1901-1902.

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SECTION I.
EXISTING INSTITUTIONS.

Dublin (including the Catholic University School of Medicine), and the Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry, have never received any direct endowment from the State, either for buildings, equipment, or maintenance. We have explained, however, that the salaries paid by the Royal University to the Professors in these Colleges who hold Fellowships in the University constitute an indirect endowment from public funds; but the State has no voice in the appointment of Presidents or Professors, nor in the general administration and government of the Colleges, which are entirely in the hands of the College authorities.

The Catholic University of Ireland.

In order to understand clearly the position of University College, Dublin, and the Catholic University School of Medicine, it is necessary to state that these two institutions form parts of what is known as the Catholic University of Ireland. The Catholic University of Ireland, which has no State recognition or endowment, was founded by the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops in 1854, and up to 1862 consisted of the Catholic University College and School of Medicine, in Dublin, and St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. The establishment of the Royal University of Ireland created a new situation and greatly diminished its importance. Its constitution was remodelled, and at present it consists merely of an association of Colleges which while retaining their own independent collegiate organisations, are intended to work together for the advancement of the higher education of Roman Catholics. These Colleges are:—University College, Dublin (formerly known as the Catholic University College); the Catholic University School of Medicine, Cecilia-street, Dublin; St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; University College, Blackrock; Holy Cross College, Clonliffe; and St. Patrick's College, Carlow.

University College, Dublin.

Constitution

University College, Dublin, is a Roman Catholic College under the management of the Jesuit Order. The premises consist of two or three houses in St. Stephen's-green, which were formerly used as private residences. These houses were acquired by the Roman Catholic Bishops for the purposes of the Catholic University, which was founded in 1854, and up to the year 1882 were known as the Catholic University College. The premises are still vested in the Roman Catholic Bishops; but in 1883 the work of carrying on the College was entrusted by them to the Jesuits, who have since been responsible for its administration and maintenance.

Government

The government of the College is entirely in the hands of the President, who is a member of the Jesuit Order. Appointments to the teaching staff of the College are made by him, and the tenure of office of the Professors and other officers is governed by whatever rules he may think it desirable to make. The President is assisted in the work of administration by a Dean, who is also Vice-President, and by a College Council which has recently been formed from among the Professors. Religious instruction is given by the Lecturer in Religion, and religious services are held in the College Chapel.

Teaching Staff.

The teaching staff of the College consists of fifteen Professors and five Tutors. Of the fifteen Professors ten are laymen (including one Protestant), and the remaining five are members of the Jesuit Order. All the Professors in the College are Fellows of the Royal University, and in that capacity each receives in full a salary of £400 from the funds of that institution. The total sum thus paid by the Royal University to Professors in University College amounts to £6,000 annually. It is clear that an indirect endowment from public funds is thus provided for the College; but it has been urged that in estimating the amount of this endowment regard should be had to the fact that each Fellow, in addition to teaching matriculated students in the College, must also act as an University Examiner, and that a portion of his salary should be regarded as remuneration for this work. The five Tutors in the College are laymen. Two of them act as Examiners in the Royal University, and as such receive between them £150 from the University.

Indirect endowment

The Courses in the College, which are framed to suit the requirements of the Royal University, are, with the exception of the First Year's Course in Medicine, only in the Faculty of Arts. Students in Medicine who take the First Year's Course at University College, usually complete their curriculum at the Catholic University School of Medicine.

SECTION I.
EXISTING INSTITUTIONS
Courses of study.

In the year 1901-2 the number of students attending the College courses was 181. Of these, 164 were attending classes in Arts subjects, 28 were taking the First Year's Course in Medicine, and 11 were attending classes both in Arts and Medicine. The distribution of students according to religious denominations, was as follows:—Roman Catholics, 163; Episcopalians, 12; all other denominations, 6. Women students are admitted to some of the lectures, and the number attending in the year 1901-2 was eighteen.

Students

The College has no private endowments. It is maintained by the fees of the students, which bring in about £800 a year, and by the salaries of the five Professors holding Fellowships in the Royal University, who are members of the Jesuit Order. For the first five years during which the College was administered by the Jesuits, the expenditure incurred in furnishing and working the College was considerable, and a debt of £6,000 was incurred, of which a sum of £2,000 still remains unpaid. The College has hardly any equipment for advanced work in practical science. As it is not provided with an adequate library, the students are obliged to use the National Library of Ireland and other public libraries in Dublin.

Financial Resources

Equipment

Catholic University School of Medicine.

The Catholic University School of Medicine, which may be regarded as forming the Medical Faculty of University College, is situated in Cecilia-street, Dublin, and was founded by the Roman Catholic Bishops in 1855. The buildings were purchased and equipped out of the funds collected for the Catholic University; and up to 1891 the salaries of the Professors and the cost of maintaining the buildings and equipment were paid partly by means of an annual collection, and partly out of the Capital Fund of that University, which had been subscribed. The present financial position of the School is clearly explained in the following extract from the evidence of the Right Rev. Monsignor Molloy:—

Financial Resources.

"In the year 1891 the Bishops gave their consent that the School and its endowments should be dealt with by the Educational Endowments Commission, constituted under the Act of 1885. A scheme was accordingly prepared by the Commissioners for the future administration and government of the School, and this scheme, after passing through the various stages provided by the Act, was finally approved by the Lord Lieutenant in Council, on the 26th May, 1892. The endowments transferred to the new governing body were—(1) The buildings and equipment of the School; (2) a sum of £1,000, part of a bequest at the time in the hands of the Bishops for the purpose of the Catholic University; and (3) £500, Bank of Ireland Stock, another bequest, yielding about £55 a year. This was the sum total of the endowments with which the School was launched on its new career. The sum of £1,000 just mentioned, together with £3,000 more which was soon after acquired from another source, was spent by the new Governors in improving the buildings and equipment of the School; and the income of the Bank of Ireland Stock was allocated to Prizes for the Students. Accordingly, the buildings and equipment, as they now stand, and the small income of £55 a year, constitute the sole endowment of the School."

The Board of Governors, which was constituted by the scheme framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, consists of four *ex-officio* Governors and seven representative Governors. The *ex-officio* Governors are:—The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who is Chairman; the Rector of the Catholic University, who is Vice-Chairman; the Dean of Faculty and the Dean of Residence, all for the time being. One representative Governor is appointed by the Roman Catholic Bishops, and is known as the representative of the Bishops. Three representative Governors are elected from their own body by the Faculty, and the remaining three are appointed by the Bishops from persons of distinction in the Medical profession not members of the Faculty, and are known as the representatives of Medical Science. The functions and powers of the Board of

Board of Governors.

† Evidence of the Right Rev. Monsignor Molloy, *Appendix to Second Report*, p. 182, q. 8633.

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SECTION I.
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Governors are defined in the scheme. They sanction the courses of study, make rules for the maintenance of order and discipline, appoint the Professors, Lecturers, Teachers, and other officers, and determine their number, salaries, duties, and tenure of office. In short, they have full powers as regards the general administration of the School.

Board of Visitors.

A Board of Visitors has also been constituted under the scheme, and is formed of four *ex-officio* members and three co-opted members. The *ex-officio* members are the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland for the time being. Of the three co-opted Visitors two must be Benchers of the King's Inns, and one a person of distinction in the Medical profession. The Visitors have power to investigate and determine all questions of abuse or complaint, and to hear all appeals against the action of the Governors or of the Faculty, with power to remove or punish as the occasion may require.

Teaching Staff.

The teaching staff of the school consists of fourteen Professors, seven Assistants, and two Demonstrators. Four of the Professors are also members of the teaching staff of University College, three of these being Fellows, and one an Examiner, in the Royal University. Of the remaining ten Professors, three hold Medical Fellowships in the Royal University, and as such receive a salary of £150 each. Five hold Examinerships—two at a salary of £100 each, two at a salary of £75, and one at a salary of £60. These eight Professors thus receive between them from the funds of the Royal University a sum of £860, and this has been regarded as forming an indirect endowment of the School. It has, however, been urged by witnesses that the Professors receive this sum as remuneration for their services as Examiners in the University, and that consequently it would be inaccurate to regard it—at least in its entirety—as an indirect endowment.

Students.

In the year 1900-1 the number of students attending the Catholic University School of Medicine was 260, and the average attendance for the three years 1898-1901 was 224. The College courses are open to women students, and there were fourteen women students in attendance during the year 1901-2. Students of the School are free to present themselves either for the conjoint examinations of the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons (which grant licences), or for the examinations of the Royal University. About forty per cent. of the students seek the Medical Degrees of the Royal University. The School is open to students of all religious denominations, but the great majority are Roman Catholics: there is usually a small number of Protestants (from fifteen to twenty) attending the classes.

The Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry.

Constitution.

The Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry, which is entirely under the control of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, was opened in the year 1865. The College occupies a site of six acres, and has a Museum and a Library, with residences for Professors. It was built and equipped from private endowments consisting of a bequest of £20,000, which was subsequently augmented by subscriptions and private benefactions. The primary object of the College is to afford "a sound literary as well as theological education" to young men intended for the Ministry of the Presbyterian Church. The constitution of the College is contained in a scheme which was framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, at the request of the Trustees of the College. Under this scheme the government and administration of the College are carried on through four bodies, named respectively, "The Trustees," "The Faculty," "The College Committee," and "The Board of Visitors." These are best described in the following extract from the evidence of Professor Leebody, the President of the College:—

"The Trustees are a body of nine, consisting of six clergymen and three laymen. They are appointed by the Assembly, and are defined in the scheme as 'A body corporate, with perpetual succession, and a common seal, and power to acquire and hold property, real and personal.' The entire management of the financial concerns of the College is entrusted to them. Each year they are obliged to furnish to the Assembly an audited account of income and expenditure. This audit must be done by an Auditor of the Local Government Board, or by some competent person approved of by the Local Government Board. The audited accounts are published annually in the minutes of the Assembly.

"The Professors of the College, who are all appointed by the Assembly, constitute the Faculty. It is provided in the scheme that the Faculty shall 'be entrusted with the internal government of the College, and shall have charge of all matters relating to the internal discipline to be maintained therein, and the morals and conduct of the students thereof.' At each annual meeting of the Assembly the Faculty have to present to them a very full report of the work done in the College during the preceding academic year. In this report they have to set forth the number of students in attendance on each class, the number of lectures delivered and examinations held by each Professor in each of his classes, and any changes introduced or proposed in the internal arrangement of the College. The Faculty are also obliged to keep minutes of all their proceedings, which are submitted annually to the Assembly.

"The College Committee is a Committee of clergymen and laymen appointed by the Assembly. Their special function is to inquire closely into the education of those students who are candidates for the ministry. This they do by scrutinising the class-rolls at the close of each session, and noting whether, in the case of each student, there is evidence of his punctuality in attendance, good conduct, and diligence in study. They are also empowered to 'inquire from time to time into the efficiency of the system of education in the College, the discipline maintained therein, and the management thereof.' This they do in various ways, one of which is by appointing sub-committees of two of their number, who pay what might be called 'surprise visits' to the various classes, take their seats on the benches with the students, and listen to the lecture delivered, or the examination held, by the Professor.

"The functions of the Board of Visitors, who also are appointed by the Assembly, are extraordinary and occasional. Their duties are thus defined in the scheme: 'The Visitors shall have full power and authority to examine into and rectify all abuses which shall be shown to exist in the management and internal discipline of the College, and to settle all matters of difference arising between any of the bodies or persons belonging to, or in any way connected with, the College or its management.'"

The College has two Faculties, viz., Arts and Theology. The classes in the Arts Faculty are open "to all persons who desire to obtain a literary or scientific education," and to women on the same terms as to men. The number of students attending courses at the College in the year 1901-2, was 59 (46 men and 13 women). Of the 46 male students, 39 were candidates for the ministry. The latter candidates have the option of concluding their course in Arts by taking either the B.A. Degree of the Royal University, or the College certificate in Arts, which is accepted by the General Assembly as equivalent to a Degree from a University. In the year mentioned, of the total number of students attending the College, 47 passed examinations in the Royal University. The College is open to students of all religious denominations, but naturally the great majority of the students are Presbyterians. Students.

The seven Professors who constitute the teaching staff of the College, are appointed by the General Assembly, and are required, before taking office, to sign the Westminster Confession of Faith. In addition to the Professors the teaching staff includes two Tutors and two Lecturers in the Faculty of Arts. The salaries of the Professors are paid from the Endowment of the College. Five receive salaries at the rate of £250 a year, and two at the rate of £292; and one of the Professors, who is a Fellow of the Royal University, receives in full from the University the salary of £400 attached to the post. Two of the Professors act as Examiners in the Royal University, at a remuneration of £75 and £25 respectively. In this way the College receives a small indirect endowment from the funds of the Royal University. Teaching Staff.

The total income of the College from investments amounts to about £2,518 annually. In addition to this the Irish Society gives £250 annually to endow a Chair, and a further sum of £200 a year for the general purposes of the College, including £50 for prizes. Out of the total income of the College about £360 annually is allocated to Scholarships and Prizes. Financial Resources.

It may be added that the three Theological Professors in Magee College, together with the six Theological Professors in the General Assembly's Theological College at Belfast, have been incorporated by Royal Charter, dated 19th September, 1881, and constituted thereby "The Presbyterian Theological Faculty of Ireland." The Faculty is empowered "to examine, and after examination, to grant to the students of the said two Colleges all such distinctions in Theology as may now be granted by any University in any part of the United Kingdom." The Faculty is also empowered to grant *ad eundem* and Honorary Degrees in Theology. Degrees in Theology.

¹ Evidence of Professor Leabody, Appendix to Third Report, p. 118, e. 7794.

² Scheme framed under the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Act, 1885, Appendix to Third Report, p. 47b.

IV.—RESULTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEFECTS AND THE RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY.

From the religious difficulty it has, as matter of fact, resulted that a comparatively small number of the Irish population go to College at all; from the defective system of the Royal University it has resulted that the education supplied to those who go is not what it should be. It should be noted that there is no parallel between the position occupied by the Royal University in Ireland and that occupied by the University of London (even before its reorganisation) in the educational system of the two countries. In England those who were dissatisfied with a purely examining University could choose between a number of residential Universities of various types. In Ireland, for the mass of the people, it has been the Royal University or nothing. This University, though created to meet the religious difficulty, has neither solved the difficulty, nor satisfied educational needs. The evils arising from the want of a higher education, truly academic, and at the same time acceptable to the majority of the Irish people, are far-reaching, and penetrate the whole social and administrative system. The Roman Catholic clergy are cut off from University training. School teachers, too, have no sufficient motive to graduate. No University provision is made for the training either of primary or of secondary teachers. Again, the one College—University College, Dublin—which meets with the entire approval of the Roman Catholic Church, is crippled on the side of the practical sciences. It has no funds for the equipment of laboratories, and of all that the prosecution of these studies demands. This is the more to be regretted as this College, in spite of very limited resources, has maintained its teaching up to a high academical standard in the department of Arts. On the whole it would seem that the Roman Catholics, even more than the members of other denominations, have failed to obtain through the Royal University and the Colleges connected with it, that combination of general education with technical knowledge which is required by the social conditions now prevailing in Ireland. Young men who might find useful careers in industrial and practical pursuits are drawn away by the cheap attractions of an Arts Degree that can be obtained simply by examination results. There appears to be a dearth of the trained capacity necessary for professional posts in the several departments of applied Science. Of the successful candidates in Arts some of the abler men go to the Bar; many, we are told, find their way into the lower grades of the Civil Service; others, whose natural fluency has been aided by practice in examinations, become journalists; but this profession, by common agreement, is overstocked. The kind of literary education which the Royal University promotes has been pushed beyond due limits, and has become a source of weakness rather than of strength to the country. The Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, in speaking of the boys in Roman Catholic schools who win most of the prizes in the Intermediate Examinations, says:—"Nine-tenths of them are lost; they are going now to swell the ranks of the *déclassés*, they have got half an education; they are not farmers, nor are they artisans, nor are they shopkeepers, but they have a smattering of Classics, they have a smattering of Mathematics, they have a smattering of Modern Languages, and they are half-educated." "They are," he adds, "led up to the door of the University . . . and then left absolutely helpless in the world." The facts placed before us in evidence lead us to fear that much the same thing might be said of many who enter the door of the Royal University and pass into the world as graduates.

More than one Chief Secretary for Ireland has confessed that in making appointments he has found it difficult to find among the candidates well qualified Roman Catholics. The chief cause of this failure lies in the religious difficulty or scruple which cuts off the people at large from free

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RESULTS OF
EDUCATIONAL
DEFECTS AND
RELIGIOUS
DIFFICULTY.

Evils arising from
the want of higher
education.

University
College, Dublin,
unable to meet
requirements of
science education.

Dearth of properly
qualified Roman
Catholics for
responsible
appointments.

† Evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, *Appendix to First Report*, p. 24. col. 2.

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access to University education. Hence a double evil—on the one hand, a want of training in special branches of knowledge, and on the other, a low standard of general culture. We are, indeed, told by competent observers that there are signs of an awakening intellectual life throughout Ireland, manifesting itself in various movements, among others in the study of the Celtic language and literature, on the part of the younger generation, who, though they lack the facilities for organised study, are aware of the dignity that learning adds to national existence. If such forces are at work even within a limited circle of able young men, the fact is of good augury for the growth of a new academical ideal. But in any case it cannot be disputed that there are very many Roman Catholics who, though they may not share these higher aspirations, are keenly conscious of the disabilities, due to backward education, which impede their material advancement in the world.

Evils from the
economic point
of view.

The evils arising from the want of higher education adapted to the Roman Catholics have also been pressed on us both from the economic and from the social point of view. Mr. Horace Plunkett¹ has urged that in the administration of his own Department (the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction), whatever be his starting point, he is brought back to educational requirements. He needs highly trained inspectors of agriculture and teachers of practical science; but the demand cannot be satisfied in Ireland. Again, it rests with his Department to combine in a working system the two principles of local self-help and State-aid, which the legislature has recognised. Schemes have to be drawn in conjunction with local bodies all over the country. In particular, there are two bodies, of a representative character, which act as advisory Boards to the Department, one for Agriculture, the other for Technical Instruction. The ultimate financial control rests with these Boards, which can veto all the schemes of the Department. It has, therefore, become of paramount importance that not only the leaders of commerce, but also the better class of farmers and traders on whom such responsible duties may devolve, should have a knowledge of sound economic principles. Every form of economic heresy is, we are told, rife in Ireland, and the teaching of political economy has not yet been brought within reach of the people.

Evils from the
social point of
view.

The Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer,² taking a comprehensive survey of the situation created by social changes and by recent legislation, argues in a similar sense. The educated classes, who might be regarded as the natural leaders of the people, have, as he says, lost their old position; immense political and social power has been transferred to municipal bodies, whose members belong largely to the working classes; and both in town and country the new leaders of the democracy must be educated, if danger to the community is to be averted.

SECTION V.
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REMEDIES.

V.—ANALYSIS OF THE PROPOSED REMEDIES.

On a review then of the existing state of University instruction in Ireland outside Trinity College, Dublin, what is required to be done is to render that instruction more educative in its quality,³ and to remove the barriers which religious scruples at present find in the way of such education reaching all persons who are likely to profit by it.

University of
Dublin outside
scope of inquiry.

In our consideration of this problem we were invited to deal with one proposal which we considered to be outside the scope of our reference. We mention it not to suggest any regret that we could not entertain it, but in order to clear the ground. At an early stage of our proceedings⁴ the question arose as to the effect of the terms of reference by which our inquiry was limited to "higher" general

¹ Evidence of Mr. Horace Plunkett. *Appendix to Third Report*, p. 234, and *passim*.

² Evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer. *Appendix to First Report*, p. 20.

³ *Appendix to First Report*, p. 20.

and technical education available in Ireland outside Trinity College, Dublin." We were of opinion that the educational institution variously described by the witnesses whom we have examined, and also in legal documents, as "the University of Dublin," "the University of Trinity College, Dublin," or "Trinity College, Dublin," was by these terms expressly excluded from the sphere of our inquiry. That this was the intention of the framers of the reference, is evident from the terms of the reference, having regard to the constitution of the University of Dublin.

But although we were not at liberty to entertain any proposal by which the status of Trinity College as an educational institution could be affected, various matters relating to that institution were necessarily brought before us in the course of our inquiries. The system of education which is there adopted was suggested by some witnesses as an example, which ought to be followed in any University or College to be established in Ireland; while others pointed out dangers which, from their point of view, it involved. The mode of election to the governing body, by competition as distinguished from nomination, was explained. We acceded to the request of certain of the witnesses who desired to express their individual opinions with regard to the University of Dublin, not for the purpose of recommending any particular scheme for our adoption, but in order to illustrate the character of the University which they proposed, or to make their individual positions clear. For example, some of the witnesses who recommended the establishment of a Roman Catholic University did not regard it as the best possible solution; and the weight of their recommendations could not be estimated in the absence of a general statement of their views. Meanwhile, an interesting discussion took place in the public press as to the relations between the University of Dublin and Trinity College, to which His Grace the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin contributed the pamphlet which we have printed in our Appendix.¹ And, lastly, a statement was submitted to us, which will be found in our Appendix, on behalf of "Catholic laymen who support a solution of the University question on the lines of collegiate education within the University of Dublin."² The signatories were aware from the report of our decision³ that we had no power to recommend the particular mode of carrying out their desire which is advocated in this statement. We therefore accept their communication as an expression of the views which they desire to lay before the public, and also as an explanation of the circumstance that the signatories have not come forward, collectively, or individually, with a single exception, to aid us in our endeavour to find a solution of the questions submitted to us, within the limits of our inquiry.

We do not propose to consider the constitution of Trinity College, or its relations to the University of Dublin, further than is necessary for the purpose of defining the limits of our inquiry, in view of the suggestions that have been laid before us. The subject has been fully dealt with in the judgment of the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, referred to in the pamphlet which we have mentioned, and in two learned introductions prefixed to Catalogues of Graduates, published in 1869 and 1896, the latter of which was written by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Napier, formerly Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Vice-Chancellor of the University.

When Trinity College was founded by Royal Charter in the year 1591 as *Collegium mater Universitatis*, it is probable that the kind of University present to the minds of the founders was that with which they were familiar at Oxford and Cambridge, rather than the University, or corporation, of a single College, better known on the continent. The Charter of James I., which conferred on the College the status of a University (*dictum collegium sit et habeatur Universitas*) contemplated the establishment of other Colleges or halls within the University, and evidence of a similar intention is to be found so

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Object of Commission in admitting certain evidence relating to Trinity College, Dublin

Relation of Trinity College to the University of Dublin.

¹ Appendix to Final Report, p. 28.

² Appendix to Third Report, p. 881.

³ Appendix to First Report, p. 30.

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and the University
of Dublin.

recently as the year 1793. This intention, however, was never carried into effect. The University of Dublin, as such, never received formal incorporation. The Charter of James I., already quoted, vested the power of electing Parliamentary representatives in the members of the corporation of the College (*præfatis præposito, sociis, et scholaribus, dicti collegii*) by whom the franchise was exercised until the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. This statute, while it used the phrase "University of Dublin," overlooked the distinction between a University and a College, inasmuch as it included in the constituency persons obtaining "a scholarship or fellowship in the said University." There are professors who are styled as of the University, but their salaries are provided out of the funds of the College, by the governing body of which they were, until recently, appointed. The University as such, is possessed of no property. The Senate of the University is presided over by the University Caput, consisting of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Provost of Trinity College, and a University officer called the Senior Master non-regent. The Chancellor is a University officer, but he was elected by the governing body of the College until the year 1857, when the Senate was incorporated by Letters Patent. And although Degrees are conferred in the name of the University, the effective power of granting them remains in the College, under the words of the Letters Patent of 13 Charles I., *graduumque collationes definiant et concludant*, and the provisions of the Letters Patent of 1857. The Senate, even since its incorporation, possesses no power of initiative. It can only deal with a "grace" coming before it from the Board of Trinity College, by either rejecting it, or accepting it without amendment.

The union between the College and the University was rendered more close by the establishment of an Academic Council in the year 1874. This body, which is representative of graduates and professors of the University, as well as of Fellows of Trinity College, shares certain duties of the Board in regard to the regulation of studies and appointment of professors, in a manner which is possible only so long as the present relations between the College and the University continue to exist.

The relative positions of the College and the University appear to have been stated with accuracy by Sir Joseph Napier in the paper already referred to, when he described the latter as "distinct from, though dependent on, its *mater*, the College." Regarded from the point of view of form, the distinction is apparent; but if we look at the reality of things the dependence of the University upon the College becomes a matter of substance. This practical view was present in the mind of the Master of the Rolls when he spoke of "Trinity College and its University of Dublin, inseparably and indistinguishably blended with it."

The various schemes which have been suggested for establishing a College or Colleges within "the University of Dublin" differ widely in detail, but they possess one feature in common with the Irish University Bill introduced in the year 1873. They all involve the abolition of the University as it has existed for more than three centuries, in connection with and dependent upon, Trinity College, and the establishment in its place of a new University of a different type. The use of the same name cannot disguise the fact that the old University and the new must necessarily be different in constitution, in government, and in the relation of College to University. Whether the change would be in the interests of education, and whether the Degrees of the new University would attain the prestige which attaches to those familiarly known as of T.C.D., are questions in regard to which opinions will differ. It is enough for us to say that the status of Trinity College, and its relation to the University, must be profoundly affected by any such change, and that Trinity College has been expressly excluded from the sphere of our inquiry. It is obvious from the foregoing statement of their existing relations, that it would be impossible to deal separately with University or College. No solid argument could be founded on the use of either expression, where the two things are so intimately united, and a glance at the evidence which we have printed will show how frequently the form of speech employed in the terms of reference is used by witnesses who have no thought of distinguishing between College and

University. It is hardly necessary to add that we should not have been justified in spelling out from words of exclusion, even if we regarded them as ambiguous in themselves, the extension of our jurisdiction to a question of such magnitude as the continuance of the existing University of Dublin in its relation to Trinity College; and that this question, if it had been intended to submit it to us, would certainly have been directly and expressly included in the terms of reference.

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We proceed to examine those proposals which we have deemed to fall within the scope of our reference. On educational grounds we think that every University ought to be a teaching, and not merely an examining body. From this point of view, the Queen's University was preferable to the Royal University in its theory of University work. On the other hand, the Queen's University *de facto* did not educate Roman Catholics generally, because they did not go to it; while, as already explained, the Royal University does, in its way, minister to the educational requirements of Roman Catholics. Accordingly, the revival of the Queen's University could only be regarded as solving the existing difficulty, if the constitution of the Queen's Colleges be found, or could be made, to meet the scruples of Roman Catholics.

Proposals with which Commission are concerned.

If the problem could be dealt with now as it presented itself in the early days of the Queen's Colleges, and if the history of the intervening fifty years could be ignored, it is conceivable that a solution might have been found, without organic change, by making the administration of the Cork and Galway Queen's Colleges more sympathetic with Roman Catholic difficulties. It might have been hoped that, given a certain number of Roman Catholic holders of College offices, the institution, perhaps, of dual Chairs in Philosophy, the endowment of Deans of Residences, and similar conciliatory measures, the system of the Queen's Colleges might in practical working have proved tolerable enough to Roman Catholics. In the same view, it might have been hoped that the institution of a fourth Queen's College in Dublin, to be administered in a similar spirit, would in conjunction with the existing Queen's Colleges have completely fulfilled the requirements of the country.

A solution on the lines of the Queen's Colleges no longer practicable.

But, be this as it may, the situation in 1903 is widely different; and the intervening events have opposed the most formidable barriers to such a solution. For fifty years the Roman Catholic prelates have banned the Queen's Colleges; successive British Ministers have negotiated with them regarding the establishment of a Roman Catholic College or University; for twenty years the existing Roman Catholic University College has been in receipt of a substantial endowment from money assigned by Parliament to University education; and recent utterances of Ministers have inevitably kept up the expectations and the demands of the Roman Catholics.

In these circumstances we do not conceive it to be useful to enter upon a speculative examination of measures which might in other conditions have availed.

In turning to the specific proposals which have been submitted to us, it is right to point out that the last official statement of the Bishops, issued in 1887,¹ does not insist on the strict denominationalism formerly demanded. The Bishops therein declare their readiness to accept the Test Acts and open the emoluments of the projected institution to all comers. They also accept the principle that laymen shall preponderate on the governing body. We must, however, note that the various proposals which we proceed to discuss have all a common basis and common characteristic. Whether College or University be the form of the new institution, that institution, if it is to serve its purpose at all, must be a Roman Catholic institution. This does not imply that, in the daily tenor of its secular teaching, there would necessarily or of purpose be any inculcation of distinctive Roman Catholic dogmas. But, setting on one side all logomachy about whether the proposed institution would be denominational, or denominational as compared with other Colleges in Ireland, its *raison d'être* is that its teaching shall be effectively guaranteed to be safe to the faith and morals of Roman Catholics. The

The denominational element essential in subsequent proposals.

¹ Appendix to First Report, pp. 387-388.

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practical expression of this fundamental condition is the dominant influence of the Roman Catholic Bishops, in safeguarding faith and morals within the proposed institution. The machinery by which this object would be accomplished with the least interference with academic ideas will be explained in a later Section.¹ At present it is only necessary to note that this feature is of the essence of these proposals; and that such circumstances as the absence of tests, the openness of the classes, and a lay majority on the governing body are entirely consistent with its existence.

Such being an essential condition of the proposals, whether for a Roman Catholic University or a Roman Catholic College and in whatever University, it will be noted with regret that they run counter to the hope that the Irish youth of all creeds might meet and mingle in College life. Yet the importance of this consideration is largely diminished by the fact that unhappily this meeting and mingling does not at present exist to any substantial extent, and that what has to be abandoned is a lingering hope rather than a reality.

Large expenditure common to all proposals.

Another condition common to all the proposals, whether for College or University, is that they involve a large expenditure of public money. On all grounds, we are strongly of opinion that unless what is done is done on an adequate and impressive scale, it need not be done at all. It is necessary that in the dignity of the buildings, the emoluments of the teachers, and the equipment of the establishment, the institution should command respect and inspire enthusiasm. We regret to say that even from the most sanguine witnesses we have not received any prognostications of private benevolence aiding this great object. The circumstances and history of the country are rather looked to as basing a claim for the public endowment of an institution necessary for the intellectual development and social stability of Ireland.

Estimate of the number of students to be provided for.

In considering the proposals for a distinctive academic institution for Roman Catholics, it is natural to inquire for what number of such students provision should be made. This is a subject on which opinions widely differ. On the whole, we are satisfied that the religious difficulty has kept back from University training considerable numbers of persons who might have been so trained with advantage to themselves and to the community. From the nature of the question, it is impossible to estimate otherwise than very generally the number of suitable persons of the Roman Catholic faith who might be expected to study in a University if this religious difficulty were got over. Some of the estimates made by witnesses are manifestly excessive, and it is highly undesirable to force persons in influential positions to back their estimates by driving into a collegiate life all the more or less promising products of the primary and secondary schools, for whom different careers might be much more appropriate. But, in the most sober view, it seems to us that there is material for a collegiate institution of importance, if it enjoy the confidence of the Roman Catholic prelates.

The position of ecclesiastical students.

In estimating the probable number of undergraduates at such a College or University a question of great interest and importance arises. Would the young men studying for the priesthood attend it? When regard is had to the great influence exercised in Ireland by the Roman Catholic Clergy, their large control of primary education as managers of schools, and, as things are, their own inadequate culture, the attainment for them of real University training and University life must bulk largely in any comprehensive view of the question with which we have to deal. Yet we are unable to say that it is probable that more than a small proportion of this class would attend even such a Roman Catholic College or University as we are presently to describe. It is true that the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer and Chief Baron Palles have shown in their evidence a very complete consciousness of the importance of this matter. But as the result of the whole evidence it would appear that while some picked men would probably attend the course of study in the new College or University, the bulk would not. We have no occasion or right to examine or question the reasons which are deemed to make undesirable a more general resort to such a school of learning by the candidates

¹ Section VI., pp. 41-43.

for the priesthood. Nor do we report as finally resolved on by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, the result which we regard as probable; for it has been suggested, with fairness, that those authorities might desire first of all to see the College or University before deciding whether their future priests are to attend it. But what does appear is that in estimating the probable number of undergraduates in any Roman Catholic College or University, and in marshalling the arguments in favour of such an institution, it is not to be assumed that the bulk of the Irish priesthood of the future will go through a University training. We say this with full regard to the suggestion that some of the Professors in the new institution might also lecture or teach at Maynooth, and thus impart to the Maynooth students some of the benefits of the new training. This is good so far as it goes, but it leaves untouched the attainment by the class referred to of the liberalising training which is essential to the idea of University education, as that has been explained in a previous Section of this Report.¹ And in the treatment of this important subject of the Maynooth students, it will be found that the two ideas—that of bringing the Maynooth men into University life, and that of bringing some benefits of the University into Maynooth—are competing cures for an evil admitted by both. The educational principles which animate this Report lead us to a definite preference for bringing the Maynooth men into University life.

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Another class that has to be considered in this connection is that of Teachers. teachers. The training of teachers for primary and secondary schools, under the liberalising influences of a University, has hitherto been lost sight of in Ireland, but is of special importance, if the condition of the schools is to be improved. In Wales there is a training college for primary teachers in connection with each University College, and teachers are encouraged to attend lectures, and to take Degrees; in Scotland a large proportion of the teachers are graduates; in England provision for the training of teachers has recently been made in day training colleges in connection with the Universities; but in Ireland there is no provision, in connection with the Universities, for the training of primary teachers, and no provision at all for the training of teachers for secondary schools. The loss to education thereby incurred is difficult to gauge. In the Roman Catholic secondary schools, the teachers, in the words of an authoritative witness, "have never received a true education,"² and, indeed, less than ten per cent. of them have University Degrees, while in the primary schools less than one per cent. of the teachers have graduated even by examination.

Every year more than 300 primary school teachers are sent out by the training colleges in Dublin and Belfast; and we think that, if facilities for obtaining University Degrees were offered, such as are provided in Wales, at least 100 of these might obtain the advantages of a University training.

Further, we consider that a large part of the teaching in literary and scientific subjects, at present given in the training colleges, might be undertaken much more fruitfully, and with a more liberalising effect, by a University College.

In like manner, the Universities should provide facilities for the training of teachers for secondary schools in the subjects of their profession, and we hope that if such are forthcoming, before many years no teacher will be recognised in a secondary school who has not a University Degree, and a certificate of competency in the subjects which he is engaged to teach. Such qualifications are required in the secondary schools in France and Germany, and, until they are considered indispensable in Ireland, it is an almost fruitless task to endeavour to raise the standard of higher education.

The two proposals which we are now to consider and compare are, the one for the establishment of a Roman Catholic University, and the other for the establishment of a Roman Catholic College as a constituent College in the Royal University, that University being made a teaching University with

Two proposals to
be considered.

¹ Section II., pp. 22-25.

² Evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, *Appendix to First Report*, p. 20, q. 224.

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REMEDIES.(1)
A Roman
Catholic
University.

the Queen's Colleges as the other constituent Colleges. In what is now to be said it is assumed, but not affirmed, that either alternative is permissible as matter of general policy.

The institution of a Roman Catholic University has in its favour one consideration which is not in its nature academic at all, but has not the less its own importance—it would do what is called producing equality between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. The Roman Catholics assert (such is their argument) that the equality which they claim, implies two things, equality in the matter of endowment and equipment, and also equality in academical status; and that as Trinity College is not only a great College well endowed and well equipped, but also a self-contained University, they are entitled to a similar institution. In this light the educational wants of Roman Catholics and their adequate supply become irrelevant to the inquiry, so long as an identical standard of educational machinery is established. This argument is adverted to, not in order to canvass its merits, but because, as matter of fact, it enters largely into the movement for Roman Catholic University education, if it be not its strongest driving power. As a practical matter, therefore, it is certain that the institution of a Roman Catholic University would more completely meet the grievance, taken with all its ingredient elements, than the alternative remedy of a College.

Related to this, but resting on less questionable ground, is the consideration that in a University of their own the Roman Catholics would have the whole responsibility of the enterprise, and would throw into it their whole energies. They have at their command great educational ability, and in some quarters genuine love of learning, and they would have, both in Ireland and on the Continent, high standards of emulation.

Again, it is not to be overlooked that in a University it is more probable that there would grow up a strong academic class, the tendency of which would be to exercise a liberalising influence and to compete in influence with clerics.

Against these considerations there arises on the threshold the intrinsic objection to giving to an institution intended for one religious denomination, and largely controlled by ecclesiastics, the right to confer Degrees.

Even from the point of view of the religious denomination intended to be benefited, it is obvious that Degrees conferred by such a body would not pass current in the market of life, as compared with Degrees conferred by institutions resting on a broader basis. The practical importance of this objection would most plainly appear in Medicine, but the objection is not limited to the Degrees of that Faculty.

A new University in Belfast associated with this proposal.

When we turn from the position of the Roman Catholics themselves to the country generally, the proposal which we are now considering gives rise to another difficulty which is at present insoluble. The proposal for a Roman Catholic University has always been associated with the establishment of a University for Belfast. Yet it is sufficiently clear that Belfast does not desire, and would not in present conditions accept, a University. Now, whether the reasons for this attitude be good or bad, it has never hitherto been attempted to thrust a University on an unwilling community. It seems sufficiently certain that the dislike of a Roman Catholic University, which is widely prevalent in Belfast, would deprive any University now to be founded in Belfast as the complement or consequence of a Roman Catholic University, of that rising sympathy with collegiate studies which in less sinister circumstances would swell the sails of a new academic enterprise in the capital of Ulster. Moreover, the aversion of Belfast to a University is backed by, if not largely composed of, a not unreasonable doubt whether at present, at least, a Belfast University would rest on a sufficiently wide basis and would not be deemed too provincial to give her Degrees the value which now belongs to those of the Royal University.

Cork and Galway

There is this further practical difficulty in the way of the proposal now being considered, that it leaves Cork and Galway outside either University and virtually derelict, except indeed they were to be affiliated to a new Roman Catholic University.

The alternative proposal which we now proceed to discuss is to reconstruct the Royal University as a teaching University, with the three Queen's Colleges and a new College for Roman Catholics as its constituent Colleges, each enjoying a large measure of autonomy. The details of this system will be afterwards explained, and only the general advantages and drawbacks are now to be stated.

For this proposal, assuming it to be workable, it may fairly be claimed, that it comprehensively meets educational requirements all round. While doing away with the evils of the examination system, it leaves standing the Royal University and preserves the continuity of its Degrees while adding to their value. It involves no difficulty with Belfast, and it affords an opportunity for putting its Queen's College on a better and more independent footing. It provides University education for Roman Catholic students in accordance with their religious views, and at the same time on a standard of secular education common to all the Colleges. It affords better means of recognising and advancing the education of women than are to be found under any other scheme.

Passing to the specific proposal, that there shall be, as part of the Royal University, a Roman Catholic residential College, it is claimed that this is not truly open to the objection that it introduces denominational endowment into the University system of Ireland, for that has been done already. This is a salient point, and in any impartial presentation of the subject it must receive high prominence. The College in Dublin which bears the name of University College and is conducted with much ability by Dr. Delany and other Jesuits, receives and has received for more than twenty years £6,000 a year out of moneys provided by Act of Parliament for University purposes. Questions were at one time raised as to the legality of those Fellowships being conferred on persons not members of the Royal University, but these have been overruled, and it is to be observed that those objections were purely academic and might have been met if Dr. Delany's colleagues had taken (as they easily might) Royal University Degrees. But the point is that, *de facto* and as matter of system, this Jesuit College has been and is to this considerable extent supported by public money; and the students of this College form an important part of the Royal University. The significance of this fact has led one of the ablest opponents of denominational education to say that the battle was fought by the undenominationalists and lost in 1879.¹ It is extremely difficult, so long as this system stands, to oppose on the principle of undenominationalism a grant to render efficient a purely Roman Catholic College. If, indeed, the course of least resistance were followed and the Roman Catholic claim were limited to a further subsidy of Dr. Delany's College, and its recognition as a constituent College, it is hard to see upon what ground of principle it could be resisted. Yet the fact that not this but a new College is proposed arises primarily from the meagre scale of the existing College making it unsuitable for expansion.

For the Scheme now under consideration it may, therefore, fairly be argued that it only proposes to do directly and sufficiently what is at present done circuitously in method and meanly in amount.

Against these considerations there comes first an objection which is not to the educational merits of the scheme, but is at the same time of the highest relevancy. It is obvious to remark, and has often been remarked, that one of the essential conditions of the entertainment of any proposal for a Roman Catholic College or University is that it shall be acceptable to and accepted by the Roman Catholics. But, while its sufficiency to meet the purely educational requirements of the Roman Catholic population has been admitted by some, yet the proposal now under consideration has received no support from any Roman Catholic witness except as something which might be taken in the meantime, in default of better things. And the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh in the introduction to his pamphlet "Trinity College and the

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(2)
Reconstruction of
Royal University
as a teaching
University.

A new College
for Roman
Catholics.

Objections.

¹ See Dr. Whitley's Pamphlet, *Appendix to First Report*, p. 370.

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University of Dublin,¹ dated 31st March, 1902, has, with direct reference to the work of this Commission, denounced and protested in advance against any scheme such as we are now considering.

Autonomy of the Colleges.

Even assuming for it a different reception, the scheme does contain some inherent dangers owing to the relation of institutions so heterogeneous in material as would be a new Roman Catholic College and Queen's College, Belfast. It may be said that the difficulties in the way of any system of federated Colleges are here intensified by religious differences; and the governing body of the University might be the scene of quarrel or deadlock. To this the answer must be found in the concession to the Colleges of so large a measure of autonomy as will enable each academic community to follow out its own methods and aspirations, while at the same time all conform to the common standard of culture prescribed by the University. The occasions of friction between the Colleges and the University will be reduced to a minimum; in particular (as will be apparent from the more detailed explanation which follows), there will no longer be any question of any single College or denomination being over-represented on a Board of Examiners. Other defects commonly associated with a Federal University, will, we believe, be less obtrusive in the working of the constitution which we contemplate. The inconvenience arising from the distance between the federated Colleges, will be mitigated by the fact that the meetings required for the transaction of University business at a common centre, will be comparatively few in number. Above all, the freedom of teaching that will be secured to the Colleges under a constitution which permits each College to prescribe its own courses for Degrees, subject to University sanction, and to have a large share in conducting University examinations, will go far to meet the chief difficulty that has elsewhere been experienced in maintaining the federal bond. While the University, therefore, which we propose, deviates in a measure from any existing type of Federal University, the deviation occurs precisely at the point where the federal system has been found deficient in freedom and flexibility.

The tie between the autonomous Colleges will, in our opinion, still be sufficiently strong to give organic unity to the University. Nor does the autonomy accorded to the Colleges in its nature involve the ultimate development of each College into a University. On the other hand, neither a large measure of autonomy nor its absence can furnish any guarantee for the perpetuity, or even the permanence, of an institution which must depend on the co-operation of its constituent members. All that can be said is that the sphere of necessary co-operation is limited to regions purely academic, and its observance imposes no strain on even the most scrupulous conscience.

The scheme as a whole meets educational needs.

On a review of these conflicting considerations, we have come to be of opinion that the proposal for a reconstructed Royal University, with a new Roman Catholic College as one of its constituent Colleges, is that which would most completely meet the educational requirements of Ireland, taken as a whole. In so saying we assume, but do not assert, that the proposal would be accepted by the Roman Catholic Church, and that in consequence the Roman Catholic youth would be permitted to resort to it. We also shall discuss the scheme without pronouncing on the political questions which may be deemed to be involved.

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VI.—THE SCHEME RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMISSION.

The Scheme, then, is one of a teaching University—the Royal University—with four constituent Colleges, the three existing Queen's Colleges, and a new Roman Catholic College. We shall speak first of the Royal University—its functions and reconstruction.

¹ *Appendix to Final Report*, p. 88.

While we deem it necessary and desirable that each of the constituent Colleges should have a large measure of autonomy, this implies no surrender by the University of her duty in fact, as well as in name, to teach through the Colleges, and for this end to order and maintain the standard of learning according to which alone she will confer her Degrees. We suggest that the graduation courses of studies in each College, while proposed by the College itself, shall require the approval of the governing body—which for shortness we shall call the Senate—of the University. But in this matter the Senate of the University would be aided by another University body—the General Board of Studies—composed of all the Professors in all the constituent Colleges, and of those Professors in the Dublin College of Science, whose subjects shall be recognised for graduation. This Board would be divided into groups, or Departmental Boards, representing the different Faculties. All the College schemes of study would thus come before a committee of experts, and much advantage might be expected from the various Professors of various religious views meeting and criticising the schemes. The Board of Studies would report to the Senate of the University, with whom the ultimate settlement of the studies should be. Should a scheme submitted by a College not be approved, it would go back to the College for reconsideration and new proposals. The University should, moreover, out of the funds at its disposal, be empowered to found scholarships and other higher prizes for the encouragement of learning and research, which should be open for competition to members of all the constituent Colleges of the University.

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—
Powers of the
University.

As regards the University examinations counting towards the Degree, it is proposed that they should be held in the Colleges and conducted by at least two Examiners in each subject—one being the College Professor, and the other or others being appointed by the Senate of the University as Extern Examiner or Examiners unconnected with any of the constituent Colleges of the University, or with any College whose teaching is recognised by the University; and no candidate should be passed without the consent of the University Examiner or Examiners. In order to ensure uniformity of standard it is desirable that the same Extern Examiners should act in the several Colleges. The Matriculation examination should be a University examination common to all the Colleges, and conducted by Examiners appointed by the Senate of the University.

Examinations

These being the principal functions of the University, the present constitution of the Senate of the Royal University (however well adapted to existing circumstances), cannot be regarded as suitable for their execution. We think that the new Senate might be composed of the following:—

Governing Body
of the University

Chancellor.
Vice-Chancellor.
Heads of Colleges.
Representatives of Professors.
Representatives of Graduates from each College.
Persons nominated by the Crown.

The total number should be sufficiently small to ensure a responsible and working administrative body. The number of representatives to be assigned to the several Colleges is a matter requiring careful and equitable handling, and, at the outset at all events, it may be necessary to provide by appointment by the Crown for a fair representation of the weaker Colleges.

The Senate of the University would have the management of the affairs of the University generally.

The question has been raised whether a power should be given to the Senate of the University to affiliate to the University collegiate institutions other than the four constituent Colleges, or to grant recognition of outside institutions or teachers external to the University. We have carefully considered this; and we think it safer that such power should not be given either

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tion.

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to the Colleges or to the Senate of the University. In the case of affiliation the reasons against allowing to the governing bodies so great a power of organic change are obvious, and we think that Parliament ought not in the present case to devolve this power. As regards recognition, it is extremely desirable that the standard of University training should be kept high; and, if it were within the competency of the Senate of the University to affiliate other Colleges or to grant recognition to the teaching of any of the numerous Colleges of various kinds which exist in Ireland, we fear that steady pressure would be brought to bear on that body in the interests of such institutions. It seems to us that attendance in such establishments cannot be said to have the liberalising influence of a proper collegiate training, would largely defeat the great objects which we have in view, and would bring back the evils of mere examination. We think that in the meantime at least it is undesirable to leave unsettled the question what are to be the teaching organs of the University. In the single case of the Royal College of Science for Ireland, for reasons which are subsequently given, we think it should be left to the University to determine what classes should be recognised for purposes of graduation.

The Roman
Catholic College.

In proceeding to sketch some of the leading features of the constitution of the proposed Roman Catholic College, we desire to make clear the conditions under which we have proceeded. Some of the provisions of the scheme are not such as would be proposed by us from a purely academic point of view. But if a separate College for Roman Catholics be necessary at all, provisions for the protection of the Roman Catholic religion within its walls are the direct consequence. It has seemed to us necessary and right that those provisions should be explicitly stated; and the object of this scheme is to harmonise this essential condition, as best may be done, with the system of a modern College.

It is also to be understood that we do not propose to set out, even in sketch, the whole constitution of the College, but those features only which are the result of the peculiar conditions with which we have to deal.

The College then would be situated in Dublin, would not be a local institution, but would be expected to draw students from all parts of Ireland. Our views as to the liberal scale necessary for its adequate establishment have already been indicated. We contemplate that it should have Chairs in Arts and Science, and that all the Chairs should be open to persons of all denominations. The existing Catholic University School of Medicine should be made to form the Medical Faculty of the new College. Should this be done it is obvious that the present constitution of this School, which stands upon a scheme framed by the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission of 1885, will require to be altered so as to meet the new position of the School as part of the new College. The reconstitution of the School would afford an opportunity for supplying the defects in the existing buildings and equipment, to which our attention was directed in the course of our inquiry.

Governing Body
of the College.

We think that the governing body of the College might be constituted as follows:—

The President, who would be head of the Teaching Staff,	1
Representatives of Professors,	8
Representatives of Graduates,	4
Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church	2
Representatives of the Corporation of Dublin,	2
Persons nominated by the Crown,	2

—
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The Governing Body would manage the property and business of the College. It would see to the carrying out of examinations for Degrees in accordance with the requirements of the University. Its sanction would be required to the graduation courses of study to be proposed by the Professors for submission to the Senate of the University.

The President and Professors would be appointed by the governing body subject to the approval of the Crown, and each of these officers would hold under King's letter. They would hold office for life (or a term of years), or until grave moral misconduct proved to the satisfaction of the Visitors. It would also be a condition of their tenure of office that they should not teach or publish anything contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. No Professor should be deprived of office except with the concurrence of all the Visitors. The duty of choosing books for use in the College, so far as not prescribed in the course of studies settled by the authorities already specified, should be with each Professor in regard to his own class, subject only to the disciplinary powers of the Visitors.

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Appointment of
Office Bearers.

We think that the Visitors might be four in number—two of His Majesty's Judges and two Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church. The Judges need not necessarily be members of that Church. In cases in which it is alleged that a Professor has taught or published something contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the question of fact—what was said or published—would be for all the Visitors. The question—what is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church in the matter in question—would be for the Bishops alone. The question whether what had been taught was against that doctrine as interpreted by the two Bishops, would be for all the Visitors; and so would be the question of punishment.

Board of Visitors
of the College.

It has been remarked that the importance of this part of the constitution is apt to be exaggerated, and that the Visitors would rarely be put in motion. This last proposition is highly probable. All laws operate less through the enforcement of penalties than through their existence and sanction. The condition upon which *ex hypothesi* the Professors would hold their chairs, taken along with the provision that the dogma protected is to be defined by the Bishops, makes it improbable that teachers would often incur prosecution, especially as they would be themselves selected by a Roman Catholic governing body with two Bishops on it.

In order to perceive precisely the points of similarity and the difference between the position, in regard to religious matters, of a Professor in such a Roman Catholic College and a Professor in one of the Queen's Colleges, it is convenient to remember that the words of the Statute of the Queen's Colleges are as follows:—

Religious
safeguards

Every Professor shall, upon entering into office, sign the following declaration:—"I, A. B., do hereby promise to the President and Council of Queen's College, _____ that I will faithfully, and to the best of my ability, discharge the duties of Professor of _____ in said College; and I further promise and engage that in lecturing and examining, and in the performance of all other duties connected with my Chair, I will carefully abstain from teaching or advancing any doctrine, or making any statement derogatory to the truths of revealed religion, or injurious or disrespectful to the religious convictions of any portion of my class or audience. And I moreover promise to the President and Council that I will not introduce or discuss in my place or capacity of Professor, any subject of controversy, political or religious, tending to produce contention or excitement; nor will I engage in any avocation which the Council shall judge inconsistent with my office; but will, as far as in me lies, promote on all occasions the interests of education and the welfare of the College."¹

It thus appears that while in the Queen's Colleges what is protected from attack is described as the truths of revealed religion, and the tribunal to define those truths (for the purposes of any prosecution), must be the College Council, and ultimately the Crown—in the other case what is protected is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and the tribunal to define it consists of Roman Catholic Bishops. The expression of the formula in the statute of the Queen's Colleges is, of course, in itself unobjectionable to Roman Catholics; it is obvious that, given the authorities of their own Church as the judges of what are the truths of revealed religion, their security is complete. But it is better that what is meant should be definitely stated as the condition of holding office.

¹ Statute of the Queen's Colleges, Chapter V.

SECTION VI.
THE SCHEMES
RECOMMENDED.Position of
Queen's Colleges
under the scheme.Queen's College,
Belfast.

We turn now to the Queen's Colleges, as constituent Colleges of the reconstituted Royal University, and shall state the organic changes which we would propose in each. Our recommendations as to the better equipment of each institution are to be stated in a subsequent and separate Section¹; at present we are to speak solely of constitution and governance.

In speaking of Belfast, we desire to express our high estimate of the value and importance of its Queen's College. It has unquestionably done admirable work, and is capable of large development.

We observe with great satisfaction that the community of Belfast, with growing wealth and intelligence, is manifesting an increased interest in higher education. While this disposition has in the meantime shown most overt activity in regard to those branches of education which relate to commerce and manufacture, there are signs of friendliness to and interest in culture generally. We think that Queen's College, Belfast, would receive more help and support from the community which she primarily serves, and that her influence would be correspondingly increased, if the College were less dependent in matters of administration on the Crown, and if means were devised for giving some of the leading men in Belfast some share in the administration of the College. There are in Belfast men possessing these important qualifications for such work—that they are accustomed to deal with large affairs, and would act with a single eye to the interests of the College. In proposing then that in the case of Belfast there should be new governing body, and that two or three representatives of the public bodies of Belfast should have seats on it, we do not affirm any general principle about local municipal bodies being represented on College governing bodies. We find at Belfast that there are at the doors of the College those administrative abilities available for its governance which, in less strenuous communities, have to be sought for farther afield.

Governing Body
of Queen's
College, Belfast.

We suggest then that the administration of the property, finance and general business of the College should be placed in the hands of a governing body to be composed of—

The President,
Representatives of Professors,
Representatives of Graduates,
Representatives of Local Bodies,
Persons nominated by the Crown.

This body (which should be sufficiently small in number to ensure responsibility) would have the responsibility of sanctioning the graduation courses of studies to be submitted to the University, and of providing for University examinations, although in these educational matters the initiative would be with the Professors, who would submit what they proposed for the approval of the governing body.

Appointment of
Office Bearers.

We think that the governing body might be entrusted with the appointment, subject to the approval of the Crown, of the President and Professors, who should hold office under King's letter.

The professorial body would have the conduct of all purely educational matters.

Position of Cork
and Galway under
the scheme.

The position of the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway has given us much anxiety. The religious difficulty has hitherto confined the operations of both within very narrow limits, and if a new Roman Catholic College be established this will necessarily be a new cause, continuing to a certain extent the scarcity of students. At the same time good work has been done by both institutions, and the case of each must be separately considered.

Cork.

Cork is the natural seat of an important collegiate institution. The intellect of the people of Munster in a remarkable degree qualifies them for instruction. The city is important and flourishing, and is the centre of a

¹ Section VIII, page 64.

wide district outside the natural orbit of Dublin. The hospitals are large enough for the purposes of a Medical School. The existing buildings of the College are important and appropriate.

As a matter of fact, the success of Cork Queen's College has been chiefly in Medicine; the Medical School is at present a useful and substantial institution. We do not think that the Law School can be so regarded. The future of the Arts School, as well as of the College generally, seems to us to depend upon certain contingencies not much dwelt upon in evidence, but not the less important.

What is really necessary to the prosperity of Cork Queen's College is the removal of the barrier set up by the hostility of the Roman Catholic Church. We have already expressed the opinion that nowadays it is too late to think it probable that the Roman Catholic prelates would be content with the mere modification of the government of the Queen's Colleges as a complete solution of the Irish University question. But it is a different matter if (as we at present assume) a Roman Catholic College has been established in Dublin. Then it seems not impossible that to meet the cases of persons not going to that College, the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church might adopt a more benevolent attitude, if a reasonable share of influence in the College were given to representatives of Roman Catholic opinion. The condition of the College would still be not, it is true, in accordance with the Roman Catholic ideal of what it should be, but we hope that it might be made such as to secure the sympathy and support of the Roman Catholic population.

Having these considerations in view, we think that the Cork College might have for its governing body one similar to that which we have suggested for Belfast; and we should think it a fair and appropriate exercise of the Crown's power of nomination, if the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese were one of those selected. Even apart altogether from the conciliatory effect which may be produced in the circumstances which we conjecture, the introduction of representatives of the prevalent religion seems to us fair and convenient; and ecclesiastical and civic persons would not be introduced to such an extent as to be disproportionate to the proper academic element. It appears to us also that some other minor concessions might reasonably be made in view of all the circumstances. The governing body might have power to duplicate certain Chairs, such as those of Mental Philosophy and Modern History, if it were found desirable, on the principle recognised by several foreign Universities. Also, if private endowments were forthcoming, Theological or Catechetical Chairs might be instituted. Deans of Residences in this, and in the other Queen's Colleges, should be officers paid by the Colleges.

The position of Galway differs from that of Cork, in having a weaker base of operations. If the question were now where to place a College, probably no one would propose Galway. But the College does exist, it has admirable buildings, and it has done and is doing a certain amount of useful work.

The same general considerations as have been stated in relation to Cork apply to Galway, and, while the case is slender, we are disposed to think that no final decision can wisely be come to about Galway until a similar experiment has been made. We think that the Law School should be given up, and the School of Medicine limited to the two first years of the curriculum. The governing body should be as at Cork, but with a difference. There is no civic life at Galway, and the social and economic conditions do not yield the men of affairs who are to be found at Belfast, and to some extent at Cork. We therefore think that the Crown should be looked to to select suitable persons and should have five nominees. The governing body would be composed as follows:—

The President,
Representatives of Professors,
Representatives of Graduates,
Persons nominated by the Crown.

SECTION VI.
THE BOWERS
RECOMMENDED.

Necessity of
removing the
religious difficulty.

Governing Body
of Queen's
College, Cork.

Galway.

Changes in
Queen's College,
Galway.

Governing Body
of Queen's
College, Galway.

44 ROYAL COMMISSION ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

SECTION VI. THE SCHOOLS RECOMMENDED.

Position of the
College of
Maynooth and of
Magee College.

We cannot see our way to proposing any method of bringing the College of Maynooth and Magee College into the new University, even though no endowment be in question. They are ecclesiastical seminaries, and though in their own degree each is doing good work in the Arts classes especially, and the latter in the higher education of women, it does not seem to us possible, at present at all events, to find a place for them in such a scheme as we have suggested. We assume that in the case of Magee College, which would be deprived of the indirect endowment of £400 per annum that it at present receives, as well as in other cases where vested interests might be affected, the State would have due regard to the claims for compensation which would necessarily arise.

SECTION VII. EXTERN STUDENTS.

VII.—EXTERN STUDENTS.

The foregoing scheme implies that the system by which Degrees are obtained by examination only, without collegiate training, shall be abolished. We consider, however, that a reasonable time should be given, within which existing students may complete their course under the regulations now in force, and intending students may adjust themselves to the proposed change. A period of three years ought to suffice for this purpose. When that time has elapsed, the Degree of the University of London will, probably, serve the purposes of the small number of extern students who cannot attend collegiate courses.

SECTION VIII. ENDOWMENT OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

Insufficiency of
present resources.

VIII.—REQUIREMENTS OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES, AS REGARDS EQUIPMENT AND ENDOWMENT.

Evidence was laid before us by the Presidents and Professors of the Queen's Colleges to the effect that the work of the Colleges is seriously impeded on account of insufficient equipment and endowment. The recommendations that we now put forward with regard to this question are based on the supposition that the present constitution of the Colleges is altered in the manner we suggest, and that the general scheme for the reorganisation of University education which we propose, shall be carried into effect.

Special claim of
Queen's College,
Belfast, to
increased endow-
ment.

In dealing with Queen's College, Belfast, we are concerned with an institution which has been admittedly successful even under rather adverse conditions, and which has elicited no small amount of local support. These circumstances, and the fact that under a favourable constitution the College gives promise of considerable development and expansion, entitle it in a special manner to generous treatment as regards endowment and equipment. The measure of its present resources, as well as the extent to which it has hitherto been aided by the State, is declared by the President to be far from adequate, and in his evidence, and in that of the Professors, the material wants of the College have been fully described. We recommend that a liberal addition be made to the general endowment of the College. We think that the allocation of the increased endowment should, as far as possible, be left to the new governing body, who will be in the best position to determine the manner in which the needs of the various departments should be dealt with. The exact amount of the increased endowment is a matter upon which we are not prepared to make a recommendation, but we think it useful to draw attention to some of the more serious deficiencies under which the College labours at present.

XIII.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

The following is a Summary of our principal conclusions and recommendations:—

1. That the present arrangement by which the Degrees of the Royal University are obtainable by examination alone has lowered the ideal of University life and education in Ireland, and should be abolished.

2. That the system by which, in making appointments to the Senate and all the offices of the Royal University, account must be taken of the religious profession of the persons to be appointed with a view to maintain the even balance between the Churches is educationally indefensible.

3. That the system by which an indirect State endowment for certain Colleges is provided by means of Fellowships in the Royal University held by Professors in these Colleges, who act as University Examiners, must be condemned.

4. That the Royal University should be converted into a teaching University.

5. That the present Senate of the Royal University should be superseded by a governing body constituted on an academic basis in the manner explained in Section VI. of this Report.

6. That the reconstituted Royal University should be a Federal University with constituent Colleges.

7. That the constituent Colleges should be Queen's College, Belfast, Queen's College, Cork, Queen's College, Galway, and a new College for Roman Catholics to be established in Dublin, and constituted on the lines suggested in Section VI. of this Report.

8. That the endowment and equipment of the new College in Dublin should be on a scale required by a University College of the first rank, which is intended to draw its students from all parts of Ireland.

9. That the Catholic University School of Medicine should be absorbed into the new College in Dublin.

10. That the present government and constitution of the Queen's Colleges should be remodelled on the lines suggested in Section VI. of this Report.

11. That the Colleges should be accorded a large measure of autonomy, so that each may be enabled to develop freely on its own lines while at the same time conforming to the common standard of culture prescribed by the University.

12. That a liberal increase should be made in the endowment and equipment of Queen's College, Belfast, so as to remove the deficiencies which at present hamper its work and hinder its expansion.

13. That, while we are aware of existing deficiencies in the equipment of the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway, we are unable to recommend that any addition should be made to the present endowments of these Colleges, until in altered circumstances they give evidence of increased utility.

14. That the Law Schools in the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway should be abolished, and that the School of Medicine in Queen's College, Galway, should be limited to the first two years of the medical curriculum.

15. That the Degrees of the reconstituted University should be open to women on the same terms as to men.

16. That attendance at lectures in one of the four constituent Colleges of the reconstituted University should be required from all candidates—without distinction of sex—who seek the advantages of University training, due exception being made in the case of matriculated students at present engaged in a course of extern study.

17. That Halls of Residence, for men and for women students, should be provided, in connection with the two Colleges, in Dublin and in Belfast.

18. That the duplication of expensive equipment for the teaching of applied science should, as far as possible, be avoided. With this view, courses at the Royal College of Science for Ireland should be recognized as qualifying, in whole or part, for certain Degrees of the University.

19. That provision for higher technical instruction should be made in Belfast, and that the co-operation of the authorities of the Queen's College and of the Municipal Technical Institute for this purpose, is desirable.

We desire, in conclusion, to place on record our high appreciation of the services of our Secretary, Mr. J. D. Daly. His knowledge, judiciousness, and business capacity have been of the greatest value.

All of which we most humbly submit for Your Majesty's most gracious consideration.

ROBERTSON, *Chairman.* (L.S.)
(Subject to Note I. appended hereto).

RIDLEY. (L.S.)
(Subject to Note II. appended hereto).

† JOHN HEALY, D.D. (L.S.)
(Subject to Note IV. appended hereto).

D. H. MADDEN. (L.S.)

RICHARD C. JEBB. (L.S.)

S. H. BUTCHER. (L.S.)

J. A. EWING. (L.S.)

JOHN RHÏS. (L.S.)

J. LORRAIN SMITH. (L.S.)
(Subject to Note V. appended hereto).

W. J. M. STARKIE. (L.S.)
(Subject to Note VI. appended hereto).

WILFRID WARD. (L.S.)
(Subject to Note VII. appended hereto).

JAMES DERMOT DALY,
Secretary.

DUBLIN. .Dated this twenty-eighth day of February, 1903.

APPENDIX II

SIR ANTHONY MACDONNELL'S SCHEME TO ESTABLISH A COLLEGIATE UNIVERSITY

"CORRECTED COPY"

The problem of University Education for Irish Roman Catholics has long engaged the attention of English statesmen and baffled their ingenuity. There are reasons for thinking that the present time is propitious for solving it.

A solution to be satisfactory must possess the attribute of Finality; it must be acceptable to Lay and Clerical opinion; and it must create a University, the component Colleges of which shall be -

- (a) Financially independent and sufficient;
- (b) Self-governing or autonomous;
- (c) Academic and Residential;
- (d) Exempt from Tests;
- (e) Duly regardful of Religious Observances.

The solutions before the public are:

- (a) A Catholic University pure and simple;
- (b) An extension of Dublin University;
- (c) The scheme of the late Royal Commission or some variant of it.

The first solution complies with the postulates mentioned above; but it is vehemently rejected by non-Catholic opinion; by an influential body of Catholic Lay opinion; and by an important section of Catholic Lay and some Clerical opinion is regarded as only a second best.

The third solution is rejected not only by the general public but even by several important members of the Commission.

The second or (b) solution complies with all the postulates and is unquestionably the best and indeed the only true solution. If it cannot

be attained it will be better to allow the whole business to stand over till opinion is ripe for its attainment.

I present the following rough sketch of how this (b) solution might be worked out in practice. It proceeds on the principle of non-interference with Trinity College, and of bringing the government of the other two Colleges as nearly as practicable into harmony with its government.

The University would be composed of three Colleges: (1) Trinity College; (2) Queen's College, (Belfast); (3) a new College which I would call University College.

The Senate will consist of:

- (a) The Chancellor,
- (b) The Vice Chancellor,
- (c) The Provost of Trinity and the Presidents of Queen's and University Colleges,
- (d) The Masters and Doctors of the University.

The government or Caput of the University would be distinct from the government of the Colleges, and would be vested in:

- (a) Chancellor,
- (b) Vice Chancellor,
- (c) The Provost of Trinity College and the Presidents of the other two Colleges,
- (d) Three representatives selected by the Council of the three Colleges; (in the case of University College one of the three must be a Bishop).

The government of Trinity College would remain precisely what it is now, unless the present governing body suggested some change.

The government of the Belfast College would consist of a Council composed of:

- (a) The President,
- (b) The Vice President.
- (c) Six Professors selected by the Fellows and Professors.
- (d) Four representatives selected by the Graduates.
- (e) One representative selected by the Corporation of Belfast.
- (f) One representative elected by the General Assembly.
- (g) One representative elected by the Synod of the Bishops of the Irish Church.

(Opinion in Belfast is in favour of giving representation to the Corporation. The College will become a great school of mechanical science, and it is thought desirable to bring the governing body into touch with the great industries of the place).

The government of the "University" College would consist of a Council, composed of:

- (a) The President or Rector,
- (b) The Vice President or Vice Rector,
- (c) Six Professors co-opted by the Fellows and Professors.
- (d) Four representatives selected by the Graduates.
- (e) One representative elected by the Corporation of Dublin.
- (f) Two representatives selected by the Roman Catholic Hierarchy.

(There is a feeling against giving any representatation to the Dublin Corporation, but, on the whole, I feel that it would create a great outcry to ostracise the Coroporation in this way).

The first Councils of the Queen's and University Colleges would be nominated by the Crown, except the Clerical and Corporation members.

The laws, rules, and bye-laws, and the powers exercised by Trinity

College would remain as at present. The emoluments would remain untouched.

The laws, rules, and bye-laws of the Queen's and University Colleges would be at first prescribed by the Crown, but the Council of each College would be empowered to make new laws, rules, and bye-laws, and to alter, amend, and repeal old laws, rules, and bye-laws; to control the finances of the College; prescribe courses of studies; and enforce discipline.

In regard to the appointment to Professorships, the rules in force in Trinity College would remain. In the Queen's and University Colleges the Council would appoint (or submit three names to the Crown which should appoint).

The functions of the University Caput would be to prescribe and maintain the standard for degrees, to direct examinations for degrees, to award University prizes, and to control the University Chairs if any are established.

There should be Boards of Visitors for the Colleges.

The Board of Trinity College to be as at present, unless the College wishes otherwise.

The Board for Queen's College to consist of the Lord Chancellor for the time being, and two of His Majesty's Judges.

The Board for University College to be the Lord Chancellor; two of His Majesty's Judges, (one to be a Catholic); and a Bishop, to be chosen by the Irish Roman Catholic Hierarchy.

Each College should have its own Faculties, except where a reduplication

of Faculties would be undesirable. Clearly this would, in Dublin, be the case with Higher Science, Engineering, and Law. And for these subjects there would be University Schools or Chairs. I do not recommend a similar concentration for Medicine. In this respect we should follow existing facts attaching the Cecilia Street School of Medicine to the new University College.

It may be practicable to work in the College of Science into this scheme making it a University department.

The fees of Trinity College are too high for poor people. They should be lowered, but the finances of Trinity College should receive adequate compensation.

The endowment of the Queen's College and the University College should be about £30,000 a year, and a substantial increase to the present endowment of Trinity College should be given both as a safeguard against loss and to win its adhesion to the scheme.

(This includes what the Queen's College now has. There would be a saving on the Galway College).

There should be University Prizes, restricted in number, and intended to encourage post graduate students.

There remain over some important questions:

- (a) What is to become of the Royal University?
- (b) Are the graduates of the late Queen's University and of the Royal University to become graduates of the reconstructed Dublin University?
- (c) What is to become of the Queen's Colleges at Cork and Galway, and the Magee College?
- (d) Is Maynooth to be connected with the Dublin University?

The answer to (a) is that the Royal University should disappear. It has not benefited the cause of true education in Ireland. provision in the new University should be made for the granting of Diplomas, not degrees, to persons (women included) for proficiency as tested by examination only. Degrees (to women as well as men) should only be granted after attendance at courses of lectures. It has been suggested that teachers who cannot attend lectures but pass an Honour examination might be granted degrees; if so, such degrees should bear some distinction mark.

The answer to (b) is hard to give. Belfast, which turns out excellent men, would press for registering all its graduates as graduates of the Dublin University. We can hardly allow this to Belfast and withhold it from Cork and Galway. If all graduates educated at the Queen's Colleges must be admitted I hardly see how we can exclude graduates from the Magee College or the "Catholic University College". These graduates attended lectures. If exclusion of any graduates be desirable, two plans might be followed: (a) exclude all who have graduated without attending lectures; (b) exclude all except Masters and Doctors. If the opposition of Trinity is not great I would prefer the former. If it is great I would fall back on the latter.

A period should be fixed within which admitted graduates from the Queen's or Royal University should register themselves. They should register themselves in one or other of the Colleges, and, as the Roman Catholic Hierarchy would certainly object to having the "University" College swamped by non-Catholic graduate-voters, the rule might be laid down that Presbyterian graduates, from whatever place coming, should be registered under Queen's; Episcopalians under Trinity College; and Catholics under the "University" College.

The answer to (c) is that Galway should become a Technical School under

the Agricultural Department. Cork and the Magee College should remain as Schools of the University; but attendance for a year in a College of the University should be required to entitle students of these Colleges to graduate.

(d) The only solution which will secure our aim on this head (the culture of ecclesiastical students) is that Maynooth students should attend a certain number of term of the Arts course in the University College, and that a Hall of Residence should be provided for them. Practically they would thus be treated as Cork and Magee College students.

A central building should be erected in the grounds of Trinity College which would contain the University of Dublin; Examination Halls; Halls for University Chairs; and the Convocation Hall.

Finally, adequate and suitable College buildings and Residential quarters should be provided and equipped for the "University" and the Queen's College Belfast. I have reason to think that the Corporation of Belfast would, in the altered circumstances now outlined, be prepared to yield to the College the part or whole of the Victoria Park adjoining the College grounds.

A.P.M.
10.10.1903

APPENDIX III

DRAFT LETTER BY SIR ANTHONY MACDONNELL ON THE
IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION PRINTED IN "FREEMAN" ON
4 JANUARY 1904 OVER THE SIGNATURE OF THE 4TH EARL OF DUNRAVEN

To the Editor:

Sir,

The attention of all thoughtful Irishmen has been recently concentrated on two great questions which intimately concern the future prosperity of Ireland and the well-being of her people. These are (1) the Land Question, (2) the Education Question. Our Nationalist friends would, no doubt, insist on adding a third, the question of Home Rule, but I wish now to refer only to questions which Irishmen, without regard to differences of political opinion, would wish to see satisfactorily solved. As regards the land question, a great step has been made towards its solution and whatever temporary obstacles may for a brief space impede the working of the recent Land Purchase Act, the final settlement of this question is well within sight, since it rests now with a people in whose common sense and spirit of fairness I, for one, have the utmost confidence.

The Education question therefore is at the moment the only question of pressing interest. The report of the recent Royal Commission has made it perfectly clear that so far as the vast majority of the Irish people are concerned the existing condition of University Education in Ireland is bad. The Royal University, created by the Act of 1879, is declared by that Commission of educational experts "to suffer from incurable defects", "to have lowered the ideal of University life and education in Ireland", and "to have introduced a system of appointment to the Senate and all offices of the University which is educationally indispensible".

In view of these conclusions it is not to be wondered at that the Commission was constrained to recommend the abolition of existing arrangements admitted on all hands to be unsatisfactory.

These arrangements have long been the subject of complaint on the part not only of Roman Catholics who have always objected to the system of education represented by the Queen's University and its constituent colleges, but also by those people, who, apart from denominational views and claims, have taken an interest in the improvement of higher education in Ireland. Such people have long noticed with regret the denial of adequate means to the Queen's Colleges, sufficient to meet the educational necessities of the time. So long ago as 1890, this feeling of dissatisfaction was expressed in the House of Commons, and drew from the then Chief Secretary - Mr Arthur Balfour - the explanation that, while the needs of the Queen's College Belfast, for example, were admitted, nothing could be done for it until the question of University Education in Ireland as a whole could be dealt with. This lamentable state of things has continued till the present time. These needs are naturally now more clamant than ever, as the very important resolutions recently made public by the Governing Body of Belfast Queen's College abundantly prove. Meanwhile it is an undoubted fact that the inadequacy and insufficiency of existing university arrangements in Ireland which depreciate the value of Irish professional degrees, and the uncertainty attaching to these arrangements, are driving the youth of Ireland to seek in other countries the educational facilities which are denied to them at home. There is therefore abundant reason for the conclusion that, apart from all questions of a denominational character, there is an Irish University question which has for years clamoured for solution and which, being left unsolved, is year by year affecting more and more seriously the prosperity and contentment of the Country.

The solution proposed by the late Royal Commission has not proved acceptable to any considerable section of Irish public opinion while its

force is greatly weakened by the differences of opinion in regard to it which emerged in the Commission itself.

From a careful perusal of the Report and the appended notes as well as from my observation of the trend of public opinion in Ireland, I have come to the conclusion that the only real solution of this vexed question will be found in an arrangement which will combine perfect equality of treatment for all sections of the community with the highest attainable measure of academical efficiency.

These conditions can, I think, be best fulfilled by such an extension of the University of Dublin as seems to have been originally contemplated by its founders, and was subsequently recognised by the Act of Settlement and by a further act passed in the reign of George III. It is admitted that Trinity College, with which the University of Dublin has been hitherto identified, has fulfilled, in a high degree, the anticipations of its founders, and conferred large intellectual benefits upon the country. I should be the last to make any proposal which, in my judgement, would impair in the smallest degree the efficiency of that great institution. But surely it is not beyond the capacity of Irish statesmanship to devise a plan which, without any interference with its internal management or its educational efficiency and possibly with a decided bettering of its financial resource, would make the University of Dublin the potent instrument for the elevation of the intellectual life of the country, for the instigation of racial or sectarian differences, and for the diffusion to every section of the community of those benefits now unhappily restricted to comparatively few.

This ideal might be realised by the establishment, within the University of Dublin, of two additional Colleges - the Queen's College, Belfast,

and a King's College, to be established in Dublin, which like Trinity College, would be well equipped financially, autonomous, residential, with governing bodies selected exclusively on academical grounds and free from tests in all respects. Within these broad outlines room would be found for a working arrangement with colleges established in other parts of the country. To the Senate of the University or some academic controlling body, would naturally be entrusted the all-important duty of maintaining the standard of graduation framed with the object of securing the greatest possible freedom of intellectual acquirement and pursuit of knowledge; and to a Visiting Body would be entrusted the duty of seeing that the objects of the foundation were fulfilled, and that no teaching or practice contrary to morals or hurtful to the religious belief of the students was practised.

It is my hope that in providing such a scheme, fraught with incalculable benefits to future generations, we should have the sympathy, support, and active help of all patriotic Irishmen. But if this hope is to be realised we must concentrate our attention upon the larger aspects of the question. We must not dissipate our strength in lesser disputes upon the relative claims of rival denominations. My information is that in this matter the Roman Catholic claims will not on examination be found to be the bugbear they seem to some ill-informed people. There is no question of a Catholic University or of the prescription of any kind of learning or of a college exclusively for Roman Catholics or of a college to every post and emolument of which a Protestant may not aspire just as a Roman Catholic may aspire to posts and emoluments in Trinity College or the Queen's College, Belfast. But it seems to me only fair, subject to these safeguards, that Roman Catholics should be given the educational facilities they want. Each section of the community will,

naturally, select the College it prefers, but that selection, inevitable as it may be at the outset, will it may be hoped not be stereotyped, but, with the progress of education and the growth of a wider culture, should become more free.

Between the schemes now outlined and a denominational University there seems to be no alternative, for a University based on the Report of the Royal Commission would from the beginning, bear in its bosom the seed of disruption. In less than a generation the creation of a Presbyterian University in Belfast and of a Catholic University in Dublin would be inevitable. This result intensifying and perpetuating the lamentable enmities of the past, now happily beginning to abate and disappear, I for one should heartily deprecate.

APPENDIX IV

THE FRY COMMISSION FINAL REPORT 1907

ABRIDGED

SECTIONS I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI

ROYAL COMMISSION ON TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

FINAL - REPORT

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

1. We, the undersigned, were, by Your Majesty's Warrant bearing date the 5th day of June, 1906, appointed Commissioners to inquire into and report upon the present state of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the University of Dublin, including the revenues of the College and of any of its officers and their application; the method of government of the University and of the College; the system of instruction in the College and the teachers by whom it is conducted; the system of University examinations, and the provision made for post-graduate study and the encouragement of research; and also to inquire and report upon the place which Trinity College, Dublin, and the University of Dublin now hold as organs of the higher education in Ireland, and the steps proper to be taken to increase their usefulness to the country :

INTRODUCTION.

And we now humbly beg to report to Your Majesty as follows :—

I.—PROCEEDINGS.

SECTION I.

2. On the 8th day of June, 1906, Mr. James Dermot Daly, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, was appointed Secretary of our Commission.

3. We held our first meeting on the 21st June, 1906, and then directed the issue of letters to the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University, and to the Provost of Trinity College; of circulars to the Provost, Fellows, and Professors of the College, requesting observations and information on all the subjects referred to us for report; of letters to the Council and Senate of the University, and to various individuals and bodies from whom we thought that we might receive assistance; and we further directed the publication of an advertisement stating our willingness to receive and consider written statements from any persons or bodies who might desire to lay them before us.

Meetings of the Commission.

4. In reply to those letters, circulars, and advertisement, numerous statements and memoranda have been received, the principal of which will be found in the appendices to our first and this present Report.

Documentary evidence.

5. On the 31st day of August, 1906, we presented our first Report to Your Majesty, which, together with an Appendix containing the statements and returns furnished to us during the months of July and August, 1906, was by Your Majesty's Command presented to both Houses of Parliament.

First Report.

6. On the 10th October, 1906, a meeting was held of the Roman Catholic Bishops and Archbishops of Ireland, at which they resolved that they did not see the utility as things then stood of offering evidence before us beyond the statement which we had received from them, and which appears in the Appendix.

Resolution of Hierarchy.

* Appendix to Final Report, Document No. XLVI.
* Appendix to First Report, p. 80.

SECTION I
 Further documentary evidence.

7. At our meeting on the 16th day of October, 1906, we directed the issue of an advertisement inviting objections to or criticisms on the schemes for change in the government of the College and University suggested by documents contained in the Appendix to our first Report in reply to which we have received certain papers which appear in the Appendix to this Report.

Oral evidence.

8. On the 10th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, and 23rd days of October we sat in the Provost's House in Trinity College, Dublin, and heard witnesses; and on the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 13th, and 14th days of November we heard witnesses, in London, and we continued our sittings on the 15th and 16th November, and again on the 20th and 21st December, 1906, and on the 2nd January, 1907.

9. We have sat in all on 21 days, and heard 44 oral witnesses.

Examination of accounts.

10. We thought it desirable that the accounts rendered to us by the Provost should be investigated by an independent professional accountant: and we therefore, on the 14th November, with the approval of the Treasury, instructed Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., Chartered Accountants, of London, to act on our behalf. The instructions given to them by us as well as their report will be found in the Appendix.¹

Commission of 1901.

* 11. Furthermore we have in pursuance of the liberty granted to us by Your Majesty considered the Report of the Commission² issued under Your Majesty's Warrant of the 1st day of July, 1901, and the notes appended thereto, and the evidence taken before the said Commission so far as appeared to us to be proper for the purposes of our Inquiry.

SECTION II

II.—ARRANGEMENT OF REPORT.

Scheme of Report.

12. We propose first to make a general statement of the present condition of Trinity College and of the University of Dublin; then to deal with the place which Trinity College and the University hold as organs of the higher education in Ireland, and to inquire whether there are any steps proper to be taken to increase their usefulness to the country with reference to the claims of Your Majesty's subjects of the Roman Catholic Faith; and subsequently to inquire into the other matters mentioned in the terms of reference, including the propriety of recommending changes in the institution for reasons disconnected with the religious question.

SECTION III.

III.—THE PRESENT STATE OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN, AND THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

Students.

13. The Corporation of Trinity College at the present time includes the Provost, the seven Senior Fellows, and twenty-four Junior Fellows. It appears from the returns printed in the Appendix,³ that the total number of students on the books of the College, on the 1st of January, 1906, was 1,114, of whom 261 male students resided within the College and 853 male and female students outside the College. Amongst the 1,114 students, six males held studentships, seventy held scholarships, and thirty-four held sizarships; ninety-seven were female students, of whom thirty-one were students from Oxford or Cambridge on whom the University of Dublin had conferred degrees in December, 1905; or was about to confer degrees. Further particulars as to the years 1900 to 1906 inclusive, as to the number, the religious professions, and the places of origin of the students, will be found in the Appendix.⁴

¹ Appendix to Final Report, Document No. XCIV.

² Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland; First, Second, Third, and Final Reports, with Appendices thereto, 1901-3.

³ Appendix to First Report, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*; also Appendix to Final Report, Document No. VIII., p. 337.

REPORT.

14. There are in the University and College forty-four professorships and one office of anatomist and thirteen lectureships the particulars of which appear in the Appendix,¹ twenty assistants to professors, two assistants to lecturers, and two demonstrators. Two Presbyterian clergymen act as catechists for Presbyterian students. A summary of the scholarships, exhibitions, and prizes awarded by examination in the University or College, will be found in the Appendix.²

Section III.
Teaching Staff
Prizes

15. In establishing the College Queen Elizabeth undoubtedly set before her as models the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, and apparently beyond all others Trinity College, Cambridge, which had been incorporated by her father King Henry VIII. in the last year of his reign: and the Irish institution like the older Universities of England has down to the present day retained its character as a University of the ancient type. Classics and Mathematics have continued to be the leading subjects of instruction and the branches of learning to which the chief honours and rewards have been assigned.

College modelled on Oxford and Cambridge

16. Nevertheless the University and College have not been unmindful of the advancement of learning and the widening of science; and the Board of the College has been enabled within the last fifty years from funds partly of the College and partly contributed by friends of the College to make important additions to the teaching staff and to the equipment of the institution. From the statement in the Appendix³ it will be seen that within that period there have been established within the College twelve new professorships, and ten new lectureships, and that the following buildings have been either constructed and equipped or greatly enlarged and improved—viz., the Museum Building, the Medical School Buildings, the Laboratories for Mechanical and for Electrical Engineering and the new Buildings of the School of Experimental Physics. The foundations of a new building for the Botanical School are at present being laid.

Modern developments.

17. The University possesses Faculties of Medicine, Engineering, Law, and Divinity in addition to the Faculties of Arts and Science; and in recent years diplomas in Education and in Commerce and degrees in Dental Science have been instituted. The College maintains an army school; and post-graduate medical courses and courses in agriculture have recently been established.

Faculties

18. The following institutions are connected with the College and the University. The *Library*, under the Copyright Act, is entitled to receive copies of published books. The foundation of the building was laid in May, 1712, a State Grant of £5,000 having been obtained, on the address of the Irish House of Commons, for the purpose of building a Library. The *University Press* owes its foundation to Dr. Stearne, Bishop of Clogher and Vice-Chancellor of the University. The present Printing House was built between 1758 and 1761. The *University Museum* was founded in 1777. The present Museum building was erected by the Provost and Senior Fellows in 1857. The *University Herbarium* was established apart from the Museum in 1844. The *College Botanical Garden* was established in 1807. Particulars concerning its present position are contained in the evidence of Professor H. H. Dixon.⁴ The *Observatory* at Dunsink, to which we shall have occasion to refer in a subsequent section of this Report, was founded in 1744.

Institutions connected with College and University.

19. We believe that Trinity College is capable of improvement as we shall indicate in the course of this Report; and that it will in the future increase in strength and usefulness: but as it stands to-day it is a noble

¹ Appendix to Final Report, Document No. LXXXI.

² *Ibid.*, Document No. LXXX.

³ *Ibid.*, Document No. XI, p. 342.

⁴ Appendix to Final Report, p. 69.

institution for the maintenance of sound learning not unworthy of its great traditions and of the affection and veneration with which it is regarded by its children.

SECTION IV.

IV.—THE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY

AS ORGANS OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

The College and Protestant Episcopalians

20. Trinity College was, as is well known, founded in the reign of Elizabeth, and has ever since its foundation been in the hands of Protestants, and at least since the Restoration in the hands of Episcopalian Protestants. It has undoubtedly during all that period commanded the confidence of the Episcopalian Protestants of Ireland, and may be held to have been and still to be, upon the whole, a satisfactory organ for the higher education of the Episcopalian Protestants of Ireland.

The College and Presbyterians

21. Since the year 1888 two catechetical teachers, appointed by the Board on the nomination of the Presbytery of Dublin, have exercised their functions for the benefit of students who are members of the Presbyterian Church.

Resolutions of Board

22. In November, 1903, the Provost and Senior Fellows came to the following very important resolutions¹ :—

" That the Registrar be directed to write to Cardinal Logue and inform him that the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, are willing to provide religious teaching for the Roman Catholic students by members of their own Church on terms precisely similar to those on which religious teaching is now given to Church of Ireland and Presbyterian students, and to ask for His Eminence's sanction for this arrangement, the teachers to be nominated either by himself or by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin from persons whose names, as in the case of the Presbyterian Church, have been submitted to and approved of by the Board.

" The Provost and Senior Fellows are willing to consent to the erection of a Roman Catholic Chapel within the precincts of the College, if sufficient funds for its erection are supplied.

" The Provost and Senior Fellows are further willing to grant professional privileges to Divinity students of the Roman Catholic Church (who are students in Arts in Trinity College) on conditions similar to those granted to Divinity students of the Church of Ireland.

" That the Registrar be directed to write to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church informing him that the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College are willing to grant to Presbyterian students all the privileges at present enjoyed by members of the Church of Ireland—that is to say, not only religious instruction by clergy of their own Church, but also a Divinity School, and a Chapel inside Trinity College—if the members of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland desire to establish such institutions and be willing to supply the necessary funds.

" That pending the introduction at any time of a Divinity School for the Presbyterian Church into the University of Trinity College, the Board will extend to Divinity students of the Presbyterian Church the same professional privileges in Arts as are at present enjoyed by Divinity students of the Church of Ireland."

Attitude of Hierarchy.

23. On November 17th, 1903, Cardinal Logue acknowledged the receipt of the Registrar's letter, and added that he could be "no party to the arrangement proposed therein."

Attitude of Presbyterian Church.

24. The communication made in pursuance of the above resolutions to the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was not more successful than that made to Cardinal Logue, for when the matter came before the Committee of the General Assembly on Higher Education that body declined to recommend the acceptance by the General Assembly of the offer, and the offer has accordingly remained unaccepted.

Statement of Hierarchy.

25. In reply to an application from ourselves, the Standing Committee of the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, at a meeting held on the 25th July, 1906, drew up a statement² which they have furnished to us and which concludes with the following passage :—" To sum

¹ Appendix to First Report, p. 101.

² Appendix to First Report, p. 80.

up then, the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops feel that they are safe in stating that the Catholics of Ireland would be prepared to accept any of the following solutions—(1) a University for Catholics, (2) a new College in the University of Dublin, (3) a new College in the Royal University; but that on no account would they accept any scheme of mixed education in Trinity College, Dublin.”

SECTION IV.

26. The result of the predominant Protestant and Episcopalian atmosphere of Trinity College on the one hand, and of the views entertained by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland upon the other hand, has been that Trinity College has never been, and is not now to an extent adequate to the reasonable requirements of the country, an organ for the higher education of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. Out of 266 students who, in the year 1905-6, entered the College, 35 only were known to belong to the Roman Catholic Church.¹

The Religious Difficulty.

27. The policy of Strafford, Laud, and Bramhall in reference to the Church of Ireland was highly distasteful to Protestants with Puritanical or Presbyterian proclivities²; and one result of their action has been the persistent want of sympathy for Trinity College entertained by the great body of Presbyterians in the North of Ireland. In consequence Trinity College cannot be considered as a satisfactory organ for the higher education of the Presbyterian population of Ireland. Of the 266 students who entered the College in the academic year 1905-6, 18 only were known to belong to the Presbyterian Churches.³

College unsatisfactory for Presbyterians.

28. How far the College can be considered as a satisfactory organ for the higher education of the Methodists and other persons not belonging to either of the two principal bodies of Protestants in Ireland we have no very distinct evidence. During the academic year 1905-6, out of 266 students who entered the College 49 were either of the smaller bodies of Protestants or of no ascertained religious faith.⁴

College and Methodists.

29. The effect of the state of things to which we have referred was forcibly described in the Report of the Commission of 1901 in the following terms:—

Effect of Religious Difficulty.

“ IV.—RESULTS OF EDUCATIONAL DEFECTS AND THE RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY.

“ From the religious difficulty it has, as matter of fact, resulted that a comparatively small number of the Irish population go to College at all; from the defective system of the Royal University it has resulted that the education supplied to those who go is not what it should be. It should be noted that there is no parallel between the position occupied by the Royal University in Ireland and that occupied by the University of London (even before its reorganisation) in the educational system of the two countries. In England those who were dissatisfied with a purely examining University could choose between a number of residential Universities of various types. In Ireland, for the mass of the people, it has been the Royal University or nothing. This University, though created to meet the religious difficulty, has neither solved the difficulty, nor satisfied educational needs. The evils arising from the want of a higher education, truly academic, and at the same time acceptable to the majority of the Irish people, are far-reaching, and penetrate the whole social and administrative system. The Roman Catholic clergy are cut off from University training. School teachers, too, have no sufficient motive to graduate. No University provision is made for the training either of primary or of secondary teachers. Again, the one College—University College, Dublin—which meets with the entire approval of the Roman Catholic Church, is crippled on the side of the practical sciences. It has no funds for the equipment of laboratories, and of all that the prosecution of these studies demands. This is the more to be regretted as this College, in spite of very limited resources, has maintained its teaching up to a high academical standard in the department of Arts. On the whole it would seem that the Roman Catholics, even more than the members of other denominations, have failed to obtain through the Royal University and the Colleges connected with it, that combination of general education with technical knowledge which is required by the social conditions now prevailing in Ireland. Young men who might find useful careers in industrial

¹ Appendix to First Report, p. 20.

² An Epoch in Irish History: Trinity College, Dublin, its Foundation and Early Fortunes by John Pentland Mahaffy, D.D. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), p. 230.

³ Appendix to First Report, p. 20.

⁴ Final Report of the Commission of 1901, p. 29.

SECTION IV.

and practical pursuits are drawn away by the cheap attractions of an Arts degree that can be obtained simply by examination results. There appears to be a dearth of the trained capacity necessary for professional posts in the several departments of applied Science. Of the successful candidates in Arts some of the abler men go to the Bar; many, we are told, find their way into the lower grades of the Civil Service; others, whose natural suavity has been aided by practice in examinations, become journalists; but this profession, by common agreement, is overstocked. The kind of literary education which the Royal University promotes has been pushed beyond due limits, and has become a source of weakness rather than of strength to the country. The Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, in speaking of the boys in Roman Catholic schools who win most of the prizes in the Intermediate examinations, says:—"Nineteenths of them are lost; they are going now to swell the ranks of the *déclassés*, they have got half an education; they are not farmers, nor are they artisans, nor are they shopkeepers, but they have a smattering of Classics, they have a smattering of Mathematics, they have a smattering of Modern Languages, and they are half-educated." "They are," he adds, "led up to the door of the University . . . and then left absolutely helpless in the world."¹ The facts placed before us in evidence leads us to fear that much the same thing might be said of many who enter the door of the Royal University and pass into the world as graduates.

More than one Chief Secretary for Ireland has confessed that in making appointments he has found it difficult to find among the candidates well qualified Roman Catholics. The chief cause of this failure lies in the religious difficulty or scruple which cuts off the people at large from free access to University education. Hence a double evil—on the one hand, a want of training in special branches of knowledge, and on the other, a low standard of general culture. We are, indeed, told by competent observers that there are signs of an awakening intellectual life throughout Ireland, manifesting itself in various movements, among others in the study of the Celtic language and literature, on the part of the younger generation, who, though they lack the facilities for organised study, are aware of the dignity that learning adds to national existence. If such forces are at work even within a limited circle of able young men, the fact is of good augury for the growth of a new academical ideal. But in any case it cannot be disputed that there are very many Roman Catholics who, though they may not share these higher aspirations, are keenly conscious of the disabilities, due to backward education, which impede their material advancement in the world.

The evils arising from the want of higher education adapted to the Roman Catholics have also been pressed on us both from the economic and from the social point of view. Mr. Horace Plunkett² has urged that in the administration of his own Department (the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction), whatever be his starting point, he is brought back to educational requirements. He needs highly-trained inspectors of agriculture and teachers of practical science; but the demand cannot be satisfied in Ireland. Again, it rests with his Department to combine in a working system the two principles of local self-help and State-aid, which the legislature has recognised. Schemes have to be drawn in conjunction with local bodies all over the country. In particular, there are two bodies, of a representative character, which act as Advisory Boards to the Department, one for Agriculture, the other for Technical Instruction. The ultimate financial control rests with these Boards, which can veto all the schemes of the Department. It has, therefore, become of paramount importance that not only the leaders of commerce, but also the better class of farmers and traders on whom such responsible duties may devolve, should have a knowledge of sound economic principles. Every form of economic heresy is, we are told, rife in Ireland, and the teaching of political economy has not yet been brought within reach of the people.

The Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer,³ taking a comprehensive survey of the situation created by social changes and by recent legislation, argues in a similar sense. The educated classes, who might be regarded as the natural leaders of the people, have, as he says, lost their old position; immense political and social power has been transferred to municipal bodies whose members belong largely to the working classes; and both in town and country the new leaders of the democracy must be educated, if danger to the community is to be averted."

SECTION V. ' V.—STEPS TO INCREASE THE USEFULNESS OF THE COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY WITH REFERENCE TO THE RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY.

Questions to be considered.

30. The consideration of what steps are proper to be taken to increase the usefulness to the country of the College and the University divides itself into two groups of questions: the one relating to the government and internal affairs of the institution: the other relating to the religious difficulty, the nature of which we have already indicated.

¹ Evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, *Appendix to First Report of the Commission of 1901*, p. 24, col. 2.

² Evidence of Mr. Horace Plunkett, *Appendix to Third Report of the Commission of 1901*, p. 234, *and passim*.

³ Evidence of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Dwyer, *Appendix to First Report of the Commission of 1901*, p. 25.

31. We will take the last-mentioned matters first, and inquire whether it is desirable to introduce into the constitution of Trinity College, Dublin, such modifications as shall make it acceptable to the Roman Catholic subjects of Your Majesty; or, again, whether it is desirable to create a new College within the University of Dublin so constituted and governed as to make it acceptable to Roman Catholics.

SECTION V.

Suggestions for removal of Religious Difficulty.

32. It will be convenient to state at once the principal schemes which have been suggested to us for the solution of the religious difficulty. They are:—

Proposed solutions.

- i. Such a modification of the constitution of Trinity College as shall make it satisfy the claims of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy.
- ii. The establishment in the University of Dublin of a College which, whilst imposing no tests on the students or professors, shall yet be so constituted as to satisfy the Roman Catholic Episcopate that it created no danger to the faith or morals of the Roman Catholic students.
- iii. The establishment within the University of Dublin of three or perhaps four additional residential Colleges, namely, the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and perhaps that at Galway, and a new College suitably equipped in Dublin without tests but intended to give adequate security against danger to the faith and morals of the Roman Catholic students.
- iv. The establishment of a new University acceptable to Roman Catholics and with a similar constitution as to tests and the security of faith and morals, with or without the establishment of another University in Belfast.
- v. The establishment in the Royal University reformed on the lines indicated in the report of the Commission of 1901, of a duly equipped College with the absence of all tests, but with the needful security as to faith and morals.

33. It is clear that the first three schemes directly affect Trinity College and the University of Dublin, and are within the obvious scope of our Inquiry; and that as regards the last two schemes we are bound to consider their general features, though not their details, because if it should appear that either of them is, under existing circumstances, the most reasonable and expedient solution of the religious difficulty, it will be impossible to recommend as proper some less beneficial scheme affecting the College or the University.

Schemes within scope of present Inquiry.

34. We are unanimously of opinion that it is impossible to recommend any such changes in the constitution of the College as would render it acceptable to the Roman Catholic Episcopate. Inasmuch as the Standing Committee of the Roman Catholic Bishops in the document¹ sent by them to us have assured us that the Catholics of Ireland "would on no account accept any scheme of mixed education in Trinity College, Dublin," we cannot hope to render the College acceptable to the Roman Catholic Episcopate by reasonable changes in its constitution. In the above conclusion the Commission are unanimous. The Bishops, in the document¹ before mentioned have in fact disclaimed any desire on the part of the Roman Catholic people to have changes made in the constitution of the College for their sakes.

(1) Solution by alteration in constitution of College, impracticable.

35. Meanwhile there is a considerable body of Roman Catholic laymen in Ireland who would gladly send their sons to Trinity College if they could do so with the approbation of their Church; and their views have been presented to us in evidence.²

¹ Appendix to First Report, p. 80.

² Appendix to First Report, p. 110. Also Appendix to Final Report, Evidence of Mr. N. J. Bynott (p. 83), and Mr. G. Fottrell (p. 98). Also Document No. LII.

SECTION V.

36. In particular we have very carefully considered certain proposals made by a group of Fellows and Professors in the hope of rendering the College more acceptable to Roman Catholics,¹ but whilst we recognize the liberal and generous spirit which prompted the attempt, we are bound to say that at the present moment we cannot hope for a solution on these lines.

Recommendation

1.

Offer of special arrangements for Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, and others, to be expressed in Statute.

37. We nevertheless think that it would be desirable that the College should continue to hold out the welcome which it extended by the resolutions of the Board of November, 1903, and that it should do so even more emphatically than it has already done; and for that purpose we *recommend* that there shall be included in the Statute or Charter regulating the future constitution of the College, express powers at any time to carry into effect the proposals made by the resolutions referred to, and to extend these or similar offers to the Methodists and other religious bodies in Ireland in addition to the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians; and also to make any arrangements which may render the College more acceptable to members of the Roman Catholic Faith who desire to enter within its walls.

38. Many, or perhaps all, of these things may be within the powers of the College without further authorization; but our suggestion is that the powers should be expressed in the constituent Charter or Statute by way of a permanent offer, of which, in the future, advantage may possibly be taken.

(2)
Solution by separate University hardly feasible.

39. On another point we are in practical agreement. Whatever may be said for or against the creation of a new University in Dublin acceptable to Roman Catholics, yet looking at the question as a practical one, we have the greatest doubts whether the creation of such a University would at present be feasible.

(3)
Solution by new College.

40. If we thus lay aside the schemes for the entire modification of Trinity College and for the erection of a new University, we come to consider the creation of a new College and the three schemes which have that feature in common, and here we are not in agreement. Of the Commissioners, four (the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Thomas Raleigh, Dr. Douglas Hyde, and Dr. Coffey) are of opinion that the University of Dublin should be remodelled so as to contain five Colleges within it, viz., Trinity College, a College acceptable to Roman Catholic students in Dublin, and the three Queen's Colleges; one of the Commissioners (Professor Jackson) thinks that such a reconstruction of the University of Dublin would be the only satisfactory solution, but in view of the hostility of the Colleges concerned, is not prepared to recommend an immediate attempt to realize the scheme; three (Sir Edward Fry, Sir Arthur W. Rücker, and Mr. Butcher) think that in the circumstances the reconstruction of the Royal University so as to become a teaching University comprising four constituent Colleges, viz.: a new College in Dublin acceptable to Roman Catholics and the three Queen's Colleges, would be the best solution of the difficulty, and that therefore no additional College should be introduced into the University of Dublin; and one (Mr. Kelleher) is of opinion that no new College should be created. Four Commissioners are therefore in favour of remodelling the University by the admission of additional Colleges and four are against it, and one though in favour of it does not recommend immediate action.

41. Appended to our Report will be found statements of the several views of the Commissioners.

Suggestions for improvement of institution apart from religious difficulty.

42. The various suggestions with a view to increase the usefulness of the College and the University which we shall make in the subsequent part of our Report, will be stated with a view to the College and University in their present relation towards one another. But if that relation should be altered by the introduction into the University of one or more additional Colleges, it will be probably necessary but not difficult to recast our

¹ See "Joint Statement III." in Appendix to First Report, page 23; also the evidence of Professor Culverwell, Appendix to Final Report, pages 43, 149, 169.

suggestions with regard to the Governing Body of the College, the Boards of Studies, and the Academic Council in such a manner as to bring the reconstituted University and Trinity College into harmonious working.

SECTION V.

43. In the recommendations, which will be found in the subsequent part of our Report, we have aimed at stating our opinion as to what should be in the future the ultimate constitution of the University and College; but the changes which we propose will evidently require time to effect, and must be made with due regard to all vested interests, whether financial or titular, and there must consequently be a period of transition between the old and the new state of things. Until the final form of constitution has been settled, it is obviously useless to consider in detail how the transition is to be effected, and we have, therefore, abstained from going into any detail relating to it.

Period of transition.

VI.—INTERCOLLEGIATE CO-OPERATION.

SECTION VI.

44. In contemplating the formation of a new College, whether in the University of Dublin or in the Royal University, we regard it as very desirable that Trinity College should be authorized and encouraged to hold out a friendly hand to the new College, and for this purpose we recommend that Trinity College shall be empowered—

Recommendation II.

Establishment of relations between the Colleges

- (a) to recognise teachers appointed by the other body;
- (b) to recognise courses of study and examinations prescribed and carried on by the other body as equivalent to its own;
- (c) to join in the appointment of teachers and of Boards or Committees common to both bodies;
- (d) to apply funds for any of the above objects.

45. If the new College is empowered in like manner, these provisions will enable much good work to be done in common, if the desire for such friendly co-operation should arise in both Colleges.

VII.—THE REVENUES OF THE COLLEGE AND OF THE PROVOST, AND THEIR APPLICATION.

SECTION VII.

46. Information with regard to these matters will be found in the statements and returns in the Appendix to our First Report,¹ and in the supplementary statements and returns in the Appendix to the present Report.² From these it appears that for the year ending 31st October, 1905, the receipts of the College on general account amounted to the sum of £76,360 18s. 5d., that the receipts in respect of special Trust Funds held by the College amounted to the sum of £5,077 7s. 10d., and to these must be added the sum of £9,760 5s. 9d. received during the same year by the Junior Bursar of the College from the students and not appearing in the general account, but paid by him as shown in Return IV., Table II.³ in the Appendix to our First Report.

Receipts of College

47. It further appears that the only officer of the College who has any separate revenue is the Provost, and that his income for his separate estate during the said year amounted to the nett sum of £1,787 5s. 0d.⁴

Provost's separate Estate.

¹ Appendix to First Report, p. 5, *et seq.*

² Appendix to Final Report, Document No. VII, p. 331.

³ Appendix to First Report, p. 12, *et seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

SECTION VII.
Application of
Revenues.

48. The application of the income of the College on general account to the extent of £70,027 6s. 8d. is shown in the Appendix to our First Report, Return I., Table V., leaving an excess of income over expenditure of £6,333 11s. 9d.¹

Trusts Funds.

49. Of the sum of £5,077 7s. 10d. received by the College in respect of Trust Funds, there remained on the 31st October, 1905, in the hands of the College Authorities the sum of £2,339 4s. 7d. as yet unapplied.²

Provost's Estate.

50. The income of the Provost's separate estate has been retained by him as part of the remuneration of his office.

Accountants' Report.

51. The report of Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co., Chartered Accountants, of London, acting under the instructions before referred to, will be found in the Appendix to this Report.³ It justifies us in the conclusion that the income of the College has been faithfully administered, but at the same time it makes suggestions for the centralisation of the financial work of the College and for the simplification of its accounts which we deem to be highly important, and we *recommend* that these suggestions shall receive the attentive consideration of the authorities of the College.

Recommendation
III.
Accounts.

SECTION VIII.

VIII.—THE METHOD OF GOVERNMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY AND OF THE COLLEGE.

Existing relation
of College and
University.

52. The relation of the University and College is a matter of some speculative difficulty; the principal facts which throw light upon this question will be found in the Notes appended to this Report.

53. Whatever be the answer to the inquiry—whether the College and University be two bodies, or one body under two aspects—the government of University and College have been so far conducted as that of one institution, that it will be convenient so to deal with it in the following part of our Report.

Officers of
University and
College.

54. The Report of the Commission appointed by Her late Majesty's Warrant of the 14th day of April, 1851, to inquire into the state, discipline, studies, and revenues, of the University and the College contains a full account of the functions of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, Visitors, Provost, of the Senior and Junior Fellows, and other officers. It may, however, be useful here to indicate briefly the nature of these offices and the more important duties assigned to them.

Chancellor.

55. *The Chancellor.*—The office of Chancellor was created by the Charter of Elizabeth,⁴ and Lord Burleigh was nominated in the Charter as the first Chancellor. The election to the office under the Charter of Charles I.⁵ was vested in the Provost and Senior Fellows, but by the Letters Patent of 1657 (21st Vic.)⁶ it was provided that thenceforth the Board should propose the names of three persons from amongst whom the Chancellor should be elected by the Senate. In the event of the Senate declining or omitting to elect a Chancellor within a specified period, the nomination and appointment on that occasion passes to the Crown.

Functions.

56. The Senate is convened only by the Chancellor (or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor, or pro-Vice-Chancellor). When presiding at the Senate the Chancellor has the power to adjourn or dissolve its meetings, and has a casting vote. He is bound to convene the Senate on a requisition presented to him by the Provost and Senior Fellows. He can prohibit

¹ Appendix to First Report, p. 9.

² Appendix to Final Report, Document No. XCIV.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Charter of Statute, Vol. I., p. 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 141.

any law, rule, bye-law, or grace from being proposed by the Board to the Senate. He forms one of the *Caput* of the Senate, and as such has the right of veto on all graces. He is also one of the Visitors of the College.¹

SECTION VIII

57. *The Vice-Chancellor.*—The Vice-Chancellor is nominated by the Chancellor and has all the powers of the Chancellor in his absence. When the office of Chancellor is vacant, the Vice-Chancellor convenes the Senate and presides at its meetings. He is empowered to nominate the pro-Vice-Chancellor.²

58. *The Visitors.*—In the Charter of Elizabeth provision was made for seven Visitors, who were named therein.³ Under the Charter of Charles I.⁴ it was enacted that the Visitors should be the Chancellor (or in his absence the Vice-Chancellor) and the Archbishop of Dublin for the time being. By Letters Patent (43 Vic.), 1680,⁵ the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland for the time being was substituted for the Archbishop of Dublin as one of the Visitors. The Visitors have all the powers possessed by visitors at Common Law and certain powers defined by the Charter of the 13th of Charles I.⁶ They are also associated with the Provost and Senior Fellows in the exercise of certain legislative powers, such as the making of decrees in certain cases.

59. *The Provost.*—Under the Elizabethan Charter⁷ the appointment to the office of Provost was vested in the Fellows of the College. This was changed by the Charter of Charles I.⁸ in 1637, when the appointment was vested in the Crown. The qualifications for the office are fully set forth in the second chapter of the Caroline Statutes, and it is provided that, in the election to the office, "*cæteris paribus*" preference should be given to a person educated at the College.⁹ The Provost is the head of the Corporation (*caput societatis*), and is the principal officer engaged in the active government of the College.¹⁰ He is also Ordinary of the College Chapel.¹¹

60. The powers¹² of the Provost at the meetings of the Board are extensive. His presence, or that of the Vice-Provost, is necessary to the validity of all acts of the Board.

61. In the Caroline Statutes¹³ it was provided that the Provost should be in holy orders and a doctor or bachelor of Divinity. It was also provided that he should be celibate and that he should relinquish his office on marriage. The rule as to celibacy was repealed in 1811 by Letters Patent (52 Geo. III.)¹⁴ The rule regarding holy orders was abrogated by the third section of the University of Dublin Tests Act in 1873.¹⁵

62. The emoluments of the Provost are derived from two sources:— (1) From the College Funds; (2) from the income of estates attached to the provostship by Grant from the Crown (Provost's Private Estate). Particulars regarding the Provost's income will be found in the Appendix.¹⁶

63. *The Senior Fellows.*—Associated with the Provost in the government of the College are the seven Senior Fellows "*ut . . . ei sint tanquam assessores, et ut eorum consilio et auxilio omnia majora Collegii negotia*

¹ *Chartae et Statuta* Vol. II., p. 139, et seq.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 141-142

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol., II., p. 391.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 26-27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35

¹¹ Dr. Traill's Evidence, Appendix to Final Report, p. 147.

¹² *Chartae et Statuta*, Vol. I., pp. 35, 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 31, 33.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 305.

¹⁶ Appendix to First Report, p. 19.

SECTION VIII. tractet, sive ad mores, sive ad doctrinam, sive œconomiam spectantia."¹ The distinction between Senior and Junior Fellows was first made in the time of Provost Temple (1609-1626). He divided the Fellows into seven Senior and nine Junior (four of whom were probationers), and he placed the government of the College in the hands of the former.²

Co-opted from Junior Fellows

64. The Senior Fellows are co-opted without examination from the Junior Fellows, when vacancies occur—the senior of the Junior Fellows being almost invariably selected. If the co-option does not take place within three days, the selection devolves on the Chancellor, except when the vacancy arises during the vacation, when the time for election is extended.³

Duties

65. The duties of the Senior Fellows mainly arise from their association with the Provost on the College Board, and also from certain offices which they hold, and for which they alone are eligible. The offices held by Senior Fellows are those of Vice-Provost, Senior Dean, Catechist, Registrar, Senior Lecturer, Senior Proctor, and Bursar. The emoluments of the present Senior Fellows are set forth in the Appendix.⁴

Offices held by Senior Fellows

66. The *Vice-Provost*⁵ is annually elected by the Board, the consent of the Provost being necessary to the appointment. The Vice-Provost takes the place of the Provost when he is absent. The *Senior Dean*⁶ is also elected annually by the Board. The Senior Dean and *Junior Dean* (the latter being appointed annually by the Board from among the Junior Fellows) have charge of discipline within the College, and superintend the performance of religious duties. They also are concerned with the control of the College servants. The *Senior Lecturer*⁷ regulates and controls the examinations. The *Bursar*⁸ manages the property and funds of the College. He is assisted in these duties by the *Junior Bursar* (appointed by the Tutors, subject to the approval of the Board), who is responsible for the receipt and allocation of fees paid by students, other than scholars, and the payment of a moiety to the Tutors and other College Officers entitled to them. The *Catechist*⁹ has certain duties connected with the religious instruction of the students. The *Registrar*¹⁰ acts as Secretary to the Board. He keeps the Minutes and has custody of all papers and documents. The *Senior Proctor*¹¹ and the *Junior Proctor* are responsible for seeing that the candidates for degrees perform the exercises of their respective classes, they take the votes in the University Senate, and they collect and distribute to the University officers the fees payable on degrees.

Junior Fellows

67. *Junior Fellows*.—The number of the Junior Fellows fixed in the Charter of Charles I. was nine: one was added to this number by a Royal Letter of William III. in 1698. Three additional Fellowships were founded in 1723 by Act of Parliament (10 Geo. I.), out of the Erasmus Smith endowments, and two new Fellowships were established by Letters Patent (1 Geo. III.) in 1761.¹² In 1880, by Letters Patent (43 Vic.)¹³ it was enacted that an election for one Fellowship, and one only, should be held every year, irrespective of vacancies. The present number of Junior Fellows is twenty-four. The mode of appointment to a Fellowship is election by the Board on the result of a competitive examination. The emoluments of the present Junior Fellows are set forth in the Appendix.¹⁴ In addition to the offices of Junior Dean and Junior Proctor, the offices of *Registrar of Chambers* and of *Registrar of University Electors* are tenable by Junior Fellows.

¹ *Chartae et Statuta*, Vol. I., p. 35.

² *The History of the University of Dublin, 1591-1800*, by J. W. Stubbs, D.D., S.F.T.C.D., (Dublin, 1889), p. 29.

³ *Chartae et Statuta*, Vol. I., p. 97, Vol. II., p. 247.

⁴ Appendix to First Report, p. 11.

⁵ *Chartae et Statuta*, Vol. I., p. 58.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

¹² *The History of the University of Dublin*, by J. W. Stubbs, D.D., F.T.C.D. (Dublin, 1889),

p. 209.

¹³ *Chartae et Statuta*, Vol. II., p. 390.

¹⁴ Appendix to First Report, p. 12.

68. The Board consists of the Provost and the seven Senior Fellows. It has the sole management and control of the estates and revenues of the Corporation, and, subject to the powers of the Council and of the Senate to be hereafter mentioned, it has the government of all the affairs of the institution, whether as a University or as a College.

Section VIII.
Board.

69. The Council was constituted under the Queen's Letter of the 4th November, 1674,¹ to "co-operate and have a share in the regulation of the studies, lectures, and examinations in the College, and in the appointment and election of Professors, and the regulation of the tenure of office and of the duties of the Professors." It consists of the Provost, or, in his absence, the Vice-Provost, and sixteen members elected out of the members of the Senate, as to four by the Senior Fellows, four by the Junior Fellows, four by the Professors who are not Fellows, and four by those members of the Senate not entitled to vote as Fellows or Professors.

Council.

70. The Council is empowered to nominate to all professorships, except those the nomination to which is vested in some other body, and except certain professorships in the School of Divinity; but the nomination by the Council is subject to the approval of the Provost and Senior Fellows. Furthermore, the rules for regulating the studies and the duties of Professors, and the creation of new professorships require the approval of the Council as well as of the Board.

Functions

71. The Senate or Congregation of the University, consisting of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor and the Doctors and Masters of the University, was a body which for upwards of two hundred years had been governed by certain "Regulæ seu Consuetudines Universitatis Dublinensis pro solenniori graduum collatione."² These having become, by lapse of time, obsolete or unsuitable to existing conditions, Her late Majesty Queen Victoria, by Her Letters Patent of the 24th July, 1857,³ gave or confirmed to the Board the power of amending and making rules for the conferring of degrees, subject to ratification by the Senate, but provided that no law or rule could be proposed except by the Board. Her Majesty directed that the Senate should continue to consist of the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, or pro-Vice-Chancellor, and such Doctors and Masters as should have their names on the books of the College: She empowered the Senate to elect the Chancellor from one of three names to be proposed by the Board: and She incorporated the Senate under the style of the Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin.

Senate.

72. The Caput of the Senate consists of the Chancellor (or, in his absence, the Vice-Chancellor or pro-Vice-Chancellor), the Provost (or, in his absence, the Vice-Provost), and the Senior Master Non-Regent, who is elected by the Senate. Each member of the Caput has a veto on the proposal of a grace for a degree.

Caput of Senate.

73. We desire to express very strongly the high opinion which we have formed of the work done by the Board as the supreme power in the College, and of the liberality with which, during the last half century, it has striven to extend the area of instruction within its walls. But, nevertheless, we are of opinion that certain changes in the government of the University and College would increase their usefulness to the country.

Work of Board.

74. Owing to various circumstances, but especially in consequence of the abolition of celibacy as a condition of a fellowship and the extinction of the advowsons belonging to the College, under the Irish Church Act of 1869, the Board has become a body of elderly men: we learn that the present average age of its members is over seventy and the average time which has elapsed since they graduated is between fifty and fifty-one years.

Age of members.

¹ *Chartæ et Statuta*, Vol. II., p. 249.

² *Chartæ et Statuta*, Vol. I., 162; also Appendix to Final Report, Document No. III., p. 320.

³ *Chartæ et Statuta*, Vol. II., p. 136; also Appendix to Final Report, Document No. IV., p. 323.

164. We cannot but express our hope that, if such a power be given, it may, if possible, be exercised.

SECTION XXIV

XXIV.—MODE OF CARRYING RECOMMENDATIONS INTO EFFECT.

Recommendation
XXVIII.
Executive
Commission.

165. In preparing this Report we have not thought it necessary or desirable to enter into such details as would be required in actual legislation for the reform of the College, but we venture to *recommend* that if our proposals be adopted, they shall be carried into effect by an Executive Commission invested with power to make statutes and orders after consultation with the Fellows and Professors of the University and College, and that the same, when made, shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament, and shall not be valid until approved by Your Majesty in Council.

166. It is obvious that if the recommendations contained in this Report be carried into effect, it will become necessary to reconsider the whole financial position of the College, and to frame a new scheme for the application of its income, when an opportunity would be afforded to consider the claim of the Scholars of the College to some increase of their stipends,—a subject upon which we have not thought it necessary to form an opinion.

SECTION XXV.

XXV.—CODIFICATION.

Recommendation
XXIX.
Statutes revised
Code.

167. If the changes suggested in this Report be adopted, we further *recommend* that the occasion shall be used for a codification in the English language of the very numerous and complicated Statutes, King's Letters, and Decrees which now govern the College.

SECTION XXVI.

XXVI.—GENERAL CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

Summary of
conclusions.

168. The following is a summary of our principal conclusions and recommendations:—

(1.) That Trinity College has been and is a satisfactory organ for the higher education of the Protestant Episcopalian population of Ireland, but that it has never been, and is not now, to an extent adequate to the reasonable requirements of the country, an organ for the higher education of the Roman Catholic population. (*Paragraphs 20 and 26.*)

(2.) That while the Commissioners are divided in opinion in regard to the merits of the various schemes proposed to them involving the creation of a new College in Dublin acceptable to Roman Catholics, they, with one exception, recommend the establishment of such a College in Dublin. (*Paragraph 40.*)

(3.) That it is impossible to recommend any such changes in the constitution of Trinity College as would render it acceptable to the Roman Catholic Episcopate. (*Paragraph 34.*)

(4.) That there shall be included in the Statute or Charter regulating the future constitution of Trinity College, express powers to make certain special arrangements for Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other religious bodies. (*Paragraph 37.*)

(5.) That in the event of a new College being founded in the University of Dublin or in the Royal University, there shall be power to establish a system of intercollegiate co-operation between that College and Trinity College. (*Paragraph 44.*)

(6.) That the Board or Governing Body of Trinity College shall ultimately consist of not more than fifteen nor less than nine members, who shall be approximately divided as follows:—One-fourth to be the Provost and other *ex-officio* members; one-half to be elected by Fellows and Professors voting together, from among the Fellows; and the remaining fourth to be elected in the same way from among the Professors who are not Fellows; and that various standing and other committees shall be appointed for conducting the business of the College. (*Paragraph 79.*)

SECTION XXVI.

(7.) That the existing Council shall be abolished, and that in its place there shall be substituted an Academic Council and Boards of Studies; that the professors and lecturers in each Faculty shall constitute a Board of Studies for that Faculty; and that the chairmen and vice-chairmen of the several Boards of Studies, together with the Provost, shall constitute the Academic Council; that it shall be the duty of the Boards of Studies to report to the Academic Council on all matters pertaining to the Faculties; and that it shall be the duty of the Academic Council to report on these matters to the Governing Body. (*Paragraph 80.*)

(8.) That the income of the College has been faithfully administered; that at the same time, certain suggestions (made by the firm of Chartered Accountants employed by the Commission) for the centralisation of the financial work of the College and for the simplification of its accounts are highly important and should receive the attentive consideration of the authorities of the College. (*Paragraph 51.*)

(9.) That a chartered accountant shall be employed as external auditor of the accounts; and that a summary of the accounts shall be published annually. (*Paragraph 79, v.*)

(10.) That no change shall be made as to the constitution or powers of the Senate. (*Paragraph 81.*)

(11.) That ultimately the present distinction between Junior and Senior Fellows shall cease, and that the total incomes of the Fellows shall be arranged on a more equitably graduated system. (*Paragraph 101.*)

(12.) That it shall be permissible for a candidate at the ordinary annual fellowship examination to present for consideration any dissertation or published or unpublished work; that the Governing Body shall elect the candidate who in their judgment is best fitted for a fellowship in the College, but it shall not be incumbent on them to make any election; that election shall be for three years, during which period the Fellow shall remain a Probationary Fellow, and that at the end of that period he shall be eligible for a full fellowship without examination. That the tenure of a full fellowship shall be until death, retirement, incapacity, or grave fault. (*Paragraph 103.*)

(13.) That a fixed number of fellowships, terminable with the office, shall be assigned to Professors. (*Paragraph 104.*)

(14.) That the Governing Body shall have the power of electing, without examination, to an occasional fellowship, any person whom they desire to employ in the educational service of the College. (*Paragraph 105.*)

(15.) That the whole body of Fellows shall have a power to make formal representations to the Governing Body about important questions of policy or administration. (*Paragraph 106.*)

(16.) That the scope of studies in Trinity College might with advantage be widened in many directions. (*Paragraph 91.*)

(17.) That the public examinations in Trinity College are too numerous. (*Paragraph 92.*)

SECTION XXVI.

(18.) That the appointment to each of the more important professorships shall be made by an electoral Board selected from without as well as from within the College, the minor chairs to be filled by election by the Governing Body after receiving the recommendations of the respective Boards of Studies; that the tenure of professorships shall be until death, retirement, incapacity, or grave fault. (*Paragraph 109.*)

(19.) That certain limits of age for optional and compulsory retirement shall be fixed for Fellows (in respect of offices held by them), Professors, lecturers and other officers. (*Paragraph 110.*)

(20.) That a system of retiring pensions shall be instituted. (*Paragraph 111.*)

(21.) That a revised scheme of government for the Divinity School shall be adopted. (*Paragraph 118.*)

(22.) That the Chapel shall remain as at present; that the ordinary shall be the Provost, except when the latter is not a member of the Church of Ireland, in which case the ordinary shall be the Regius Professor of Divinity. (*Paragraph 122.*)

(23.) That the co-operation between the King's Inns and Trinity College in regard to the Law School has been of advantage. (*Paragraph 125.*)

(24.) That, as regards the Medical School, effect shall be given to the agreement embodied in the Joint Statement of the Board of Trinity College and the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians, as submitted to the Commission. (*Paragraph 132.*)

(25.) That further encouragement shall be given to the study of the Irish language and cognate subjects, and that for this purpose a scholarship, a moderatorship, and two full-time professorships shall be established. (*Paragraphs 145 and 146.*)

(26.) That the question of a grant-in-aid of the Observatory is worthy of the consideration of His Majesty's Government. (*Paragraph 149.*)

(27.) That encouragement shall be afforded for research, and that special courses for degrees for research shall be established. (*Paragraphs 152 and 153.*)

(28.) That the Governing Body, with the assent of a majority of the Fellows, shall have the power to make ordinances for the government of the College, subject to certain conditions. (*Paragraph 157.*)

(29.) That no candidate shall be admitted to graduation unless after study for some specified period within the College, or an equivalent attendance at lectures given by teachers recognised by the University. (*Paragraph 159.*)

(30.) That the office of Lady Registrar of Women Students in Trinity College shall be made permanent, and that no woman student shall commence residence under the age of seventeen, nor unless she satisfies the Lady Registrar as to her suitability for admission. (*Paragraph 162.*)

(31.) That the Governing Body shall be empowered to recognise teachers in any Colleges for women in Dublin or within thirty miles of Trinity College. (*Paragraph 163.*)

(32.) That the recommendations of this Commission shall be carried into effect by an Executive Commission. (*Paragraph 165*).

(33.) That the Statutes, King's Letters, and Decrees of the College shall be codified in the English language. (*Paragraph 167*).^o

XXVII.—CONCLUSION.

Section XXVII.

169. We desire to place on record our high appreciation of the courtesy with which we were received by the Provost of Trinity College, and the sense of obligation which we feel to all the persons who have appeared before us or who have furnished us with statements, for the fulness of the information they have afforded us, and for the evident desire of all to assist us in our inquiries to the utmost of their abilities. It is largely to this cause, and especially to the speed with which the Provost and other authorities of Trinity College furnished replies to the various inquiries we made of them, that we are now able to present this Report to Your Majesty.

Assistance
rendered to the
Commission.

170. Mr. J. D. DALY has discharged the duties of Secretary with great ability and industry, and we desire publicly to tender to him our hearty thanks for his admirable services.

171. All of which we most humbly submit to Your Majesty's gracious consideration.

EDW. FRY, <i>Chairman.</i>	(L.S.)
C. PALLES.	(L.S.)
T. RALEIGH.	(L.S.)
ARTHUR W. RÜCKER.	(L.S.)
HENRY JACKSON.	(L.S.)
S. H. BUTCHER.	(L.S.)
DOUGLAS HYDE.	(L.S.)
DENIS J. COFFEY.	(L.S.)
S. B. KELLEHER.	(L.S.)

JAMES DERMOT DALY,
Secretary.

DUBLIN. Dated this twelfth day of January, 1907.

APPENDIX V

NOTE APPENDED TO FRY COMMISSION BY SIR EDWARD FRY,

SIR ARTHUR W. RUCKER AND MR S.H. BUTCHER

NOTES APPENDED TO THE REPORT.

No. I.

NOTE BY SIR EDWARD FRY, SIR ARTHUR W. RÜCKER, AND MR. S. H. BUTCHER.

We have considered to the best of our ability the claims of the three schemes—the addition of a single new College acceptable to Roman Catholics to the University of Dublin (which we will call the two College Scheme), the conversion of the University of Dublin into a federal University with four or five affiliated or constituent Colleges—viz., Trinity College, a College acceptable to Roman Catholics to be established in Dublin and the Queen's Colleges of Belfast and Cork and perhaps also of Galway (or the four College Scheme), and lastly the erection of a new College acceptable to Roman Catholics in the Royal University reconstituted on the lines indicated in the Final Report of the Commission of 1901, and containing as other constituent Colleges, Belfast, Cork and Galway (or the Royal University Scheme).

The formation of a second College within the University of Dublin has been proposed from time to time from a very early date in its history, but none of these proposals has ever been realised, and Trinity College and the University have existed practically as one body—whatever may be the exact legal relation of the two bodies or the proper description of the one body.

Trinity College, Dublin, has thus ever since its foundation by Elizabeth existed as a self governing body; it has never been controlled by the decrees of any higher power except the Crown; it has determined its own curricula, and it has granted its degrees upon its own terms. The success of the College has been achieved under this autonomous system; and however successful other Universities founded on other principles may be, we feel that it would be a dangerous expedient to deprive the College of its ancient character of independence, and to convert it into a mere College of a University of a different character.

If a second College were created in the University of Dublin, 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 that 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; and we do not think that the danger would be removed by giving a large voice to the Crown in the appointment of the Governing Body; for it is probable that the Ministers of the Crown would act in the future as they have so often done in the past and select their nominees with a view to equate the one religion with the other. In a word we can find no means by which to secure a Governing Body in which academic merit and fitness are to be the sole conditions for appointment.

The Irish Roman Catholic Bishops appear in the statement which they sent to us to contemplate without fear the intercourse of students of the same University but of different Colleges. If that intercourse were confined to the Examination Halls it would amount to little or nothing; if it were frequent in the lecture rooms and laboratories and in the social meetings of students, it would, no doubt, be held to be perilous to faith and morals. The evidence of the Rev. Dr. Delany, the President of Uni-

versity College, Dublin, upon this point does not encourage the notion that the laboratories and the lecture rooms of the professor could be used in common by Trinity College and the new College for Roman Catholics.

If the existing professors should cease to be professors in the College, and should become professors in the University, whose lectures would be open to students from whatever College,—their appointment must rest with the Governing Body of the University; and, here again, we are convinced that choice would not be made on merits, alone without regard to religious profession. Nor can we see that the College has so far failed to perform its duties, as regards its professorships, as to make it just to take these away from the College and give them to a new institution.

Another very important consideration is the state of feeling on the part of the two bodies whom it is proposed to unite, not for the performance of a single act, but for daily work together. In Trinity College we find an all but unanimous feeling of hostility on the part of the Fellows both Senior and Junior to the proposed creation of a new College side by side with their foundation. To compel an ancient and proud Corporation into a close and continuing union, repugnant to the strong feeling of its members, must, at the best, be a dangerous experiment. It is an experiment which cannot succeed if the union be opposed not only by one but by both parties to it.

The Rev. Dr. Delany is the most important witness whom we have had before us as representing the higher Roman Catholic Education in Ireland. He was first appointed President of University College, Dublin, twenty-three years ago, and after an interval of nine years still holds that office, and he has for twenty-one years been a member of the Senate of the Royal University; he has stated his opinion that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, as a whole, would very much prefer affiliation to the Royal University to connection with the University of Dublin. In that view he entirely concurred, and in answer to questions as to his reasons for his preference, he said:—

"My reasons are partly religious, but still more educational. Partly religious in that in connection with the University of Dublin we come into contact with a University, all of whose traditions and whose whole existence has been an act—well, I was going to say of war, but certainly of hostility to the Catholic Church; it was founded to subvert the Catholic Church in Ireland expressly. . . . I do not think it is desirable that we should be, as Catholics, connected with an institution to which the feelings of the people at large are hostile, where there are strong feelings amongst the people at large against the institution itself as being identified with things they dislike. On the contrary, with regard to the Royal University, they have no such feelings, because it is of recent origin, started for the express purpose of doing something for Catholics—to lead to something more. . . . I have been a member for twenty-one years [of the Senate of the Royal University], I am a member of the Standing Committee also, which has practically the government of it. That is the first point. The scheme of education, then, is more suited to the wants of the country. In Trinity College the education is mainly classical or mathematical; it began as a mathematical College, an offshoot from Cambridge, and mathematics have predominated always in its studies. It is chiefly by mathematics more than anything else that its eminent men have attained distinction; the men known through Europe were chiefly the mathematical men of Trinity College. We want in Ireland not merely the ancient learning. Mathematics and classics will, I hope, always hold an honoured place in the cultivation of the intellect—but we want also an education suited to the economic needs of the people. We want for our young men—the country is full of talent—education, for instance, in modern languages, which is very much neglected in Trinity College. We want education in the applied sciences—education in agriculture, education in commerce—not the technical education which is given in a technical school, but the higher training in technics and in applied science which would be given in teaching the principles in a University. We are freer in the Royal University to do that; we are not tied by traditions. The persons governing have not grown old in the ways of one institution; we are open to suggestions, hence we have made our course very elastic."

To force a union not for a single action, but for continuous life between two Colleges of which one would be supported and the other viewed with disfavour by the highest educational authorities of the Roman Catholic Church; which would be in possession of equal powers in the government of their common University, though one had for three centuries

¹ Appendix to Final Report, page 271.

enjoyed sole control while the other would be a new foundation;—Colleges too which would probably have, and might legitimately have, different aims and objects, appears to us most unwise. Even an Act of Parliament cannot compel persons to live and work harmoniously together.

If the youth of the two great religious bodies in Ireland could be educated in one College or spread indifferently over several Colleges in one University we should have the greatest hope of the result; but to form a University of two Colleges—one of the one denomination and the other of the other—seems to us to be the establishment of two armed and hostile camps in immediate neighbourhood to one another, and to make not for peace, but for discord.

Many of the Roman Catholic laity would, we believe, welcome admission to Trinity College as a place of mixed education. But the Hierarchy of the Church have shewn no sign of yielding on this point; and any scheme for present union seems out of the question, and we therefore turn to consider what provision can be made for possible co-operation in the future. If Trinity College and the University of Dublin be invested, as we think they ought expressly to be, with extensive and liberal powers for the recognition of teachers and courses of studies in the new College in the Royal University and for entering into various arrangements for work in common, and if similar powers be conferred on the new College,—it is possible that hereafter these powers may be exercised, perhaps at first tentatively and to a small extent, but afterwards upon a larger scale. We think that a friendly working arrangement is much more likely to arise in the future from the exercise of these powers than from a present compulsory union of two mutually repellent bodies.

On the score of expense, we believe that there will be little or nothing to choose; for the chief item would, no doubt, be the equipment of adequate experimental laboratories, and unless Trinity College is to be despoiled of her possessions, we do not see how expense can be saved by the one scheme rather than the other. The Roman Catholic students will probably not learn under Protestant teachers in the laboratories, and the notion that one set of apparatus can be used by two sets of teachers appears to us entirely impossible. We cannot but hope that some arrangement might be come to by which the laboratories of the Royal College of Science could be made available for the students of the new College, and this could be done as well from the Royal University as from the University of Dublin.

Whilst the University of Dublin appears to us to offer a very unfavourable soil in which to establish a new College for Roman Catholics, the Royal University seems to offer a better hope for success. It has a governing body comprising representatives of the chief religious denominations in Ireland, which we are assured has worked and is working smoothly and well: there are Professorships with an endowment from the State in the form of Fellowships, held almost exclusively by Roman Catholics, and there already exists a Roman Catholic College (University College, Dublin), in which these Professors teach, and which might perhaps admit of enlargement and transformation into the required institution for Roman Catholic students.

Moreover, in the report of the Commission of 1901, we have a carefully elaborated scheme for the conversion of the Royal University into a teaching University, of which the Commission propose that one of the constituent Colleges should be a new College for Roman Catholics, to be established in Dublin, and to be constituted on the lines suggested in their final Report (p. 58).

Shortly before his death, the late Monsignor Molloy addressed to the *Irish Independent* newspaper a remarkable letter in which he dealt with the four schemes of a University for Catholics, a new Constitution

for Trinity College, which would make it acceptable to Catholics, a new College for Catholics under the University of Dublin, and a new College for Catholics under the Royal University, and having disposed of the first as too good to be hoped for, and of the second as not good enough, he proceeded to discuss the two remaining alternatives under two aspects—the practical and the educational—in a passage which appears to us worthy of all consideration, not only from the high position of the writer in Roman Catholic educational affairs, but also from its reasonableness and vigour.

He says:—

"From the practical point of view, it seems clear that the Royal University scheme proceeds on the lines of least resistance. In the first place, it has been recommended, as I have said, by the Royal Commission of 1901; whereas, the Dublin University scheme has not been recommended by any Commission, nor by any person authorised to speak on the part of the University. Certain reforms of Trinity College, as a College, have indeed been suggested. But no proposition has been made to give to Catholics an equal voice in the government of the University of Dublin, such as they practically possess in the government of the Royal University.

"Again, the Royal University scheme would involve no serious disturbance of existing institutions. It would mean only the enlargement of the powers of the Royal University Senate, a body that already controls the education of three fourths of the University students of Ireland. This body has existed now for just a quarter of a century as a mixed examining board, having Colleges associated with it, some of which are denominational, others undenominational. It has a large number of Fellows, whose function it is to conduct the examinations of the University and to teach in the Colleges. The change of such an institution into a teaching University, with constituent Colleges, as recommended by the Royal Commission, would be a simple natural process of growth and development.

"Far otherwise is the case with the University of Dublin. For three centuries it has been a University with a single College; University and College alike being Protestant in their foundation, Protestant in their history, Protestant in their spirit and their traditions. In these circumstances, to create a new Governing Board for the University of Dublin, on which Catholics and Protestants would sit in equal numbers, as they do on the Senate of the Royal University, would involve a serious wrench in its character and constitution, which, I feel assured, would be strongly opposed both by the authorities of the University, and by the Protestant community generally. Add to this, that the University of Dublin and Trinity College, however they may be distinguished theoretically, one from the other, have been so woven together into a common web in the course of their history, that it would now be a very difficult task to pick out the threads that constitute the University, and leave intact the threads that constitute the College.

"The educational aspect of the question is more open to difference of opinion. There is a great attraction, an inexpressible charm, about an ancient seat of learning. It has its roll of illustrious men, whose names are held in veneration, and whose praises resound from generation to generation of students. It has its public halls, its libraries, its museums, standing monuments of the generosity of past benefactors. It has its festivals and anniversaries, its games and sports, its literary and philosophical debates, its academic stories, grave and gay, which never seem to grow stale. It is the great treasure-house of knowledge to which the young look forward with eager expectation, and the old return to revive the memories of youth.

"Such an institution is the ancient University of Dublin with its one College of the holy and undivided Trinity. I honour the sentiments of those amongst us who would gladly see the new College for Catholics associated with the glories of one or the other, or of both. But I must frankly say that I do not share these sentiments. The charm and the attraction of an ancient seat of learning are a possession peculiar to itself; they can not be imparted to other institutions. For my part, I do not desire to see the new Catholic College as a foreign graft on an ancient tree, but rather as a healthy sapling, growing up from its own roots, racy of the soil, and full of the vigour and promise of youth. If it wants prestige, let it make a prestige for itself by the genius of its sons. If it wants the traditions of learning and fame, let it enter into its own rightful inheritance, and cherish the traditions that have come down from the distant past, when the ancient schools of Celtic Ireland shone out as bright beacons of light to Western Europe."

We now turn to the four College scheme, which has been put before us especially in the statement and oral evidence of Lord Dunraven. This scheme appears to us to present almost all the same difficulties as the two College scheme, with the additional difficulties which attach to the federation of Colleges. But if the plan had greater merits than it appears to us to possess, the unanimous opposition to it of every one of the existing bodies, and of those who would be interested in the new College, appears to create a fatal objection. Trinity College rejects it. Lord Justice

FitzGibbon, in refusing to accept it, speaks probably the general voice of his Protestant brethren. Mr. O'Reilly expressing, as he believes, the opinion of the great mass of the Roman Catholic laymen of Ireland, considers it the worst of all proposals and intrinsically impracticable. The Rev. Dr. Delany, who may be taken to represent the higher Roman Catholic teachers in Dublin, reprobates it. The Rev. Dr. Hamilton speaking for Belfast, Dr. Windle for Cork, and Dr. Anderson for Galway, are unanimous in their disapproval; and if possible still more important is the condemnation unanimously passed upon the scheme by the Senate of the Royal University at a large meeting of that body, which probably more thoroughly represents the higher education in Ireland outside Trinity College than any other body in Ireland.

At a meeting of the Senate held on the 25th October, 1900, the following resolution, moved by the Rev. Dr. Delany, and seconded by the Most Reverend Dr. Healy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, was passed unanimously:—

"That in the judgment of the Senate of the Royal University, it would be disastrous to the interests of education in Ireland, and gravely injurious to the welfare of the country, to concentrate the control of higher education in one University."¹

In seconding this resolution the Archbishop of Tuam said that he might tell the Senate that he represented in these views the views of the whole of the Episcopate of Ireland with one possible exception. Again the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops in their communication to us were silent as to the Dunraven Scheme as distinguished from the two College Scheme, but expressed a doubt how far a Country is better educationally for being reduced to one University, which would be the result of the four College Scheme. It thus appears probable that whatever may have been the opinion of the Irish Roman Catholic Hierarchy at an earlier date, the full consideration of Lord Dunraven's scheme has led them rather to condemn than to approve of it: and we know from past history the power of such a condemnation.

It is not improbable that the centrifugal force which has operated on Universities in England and in France may hereafter continue to operate in Ireland, and that at some future time Cork may obtain the University which it now so anxiously aspires to, and that the Queen's College at Belfast may receive that University rank for which it does not yet feel ready. If these separations should occur, they could take place with as much ease from the Royal as from the Dublin University.

In considering this subject we have not been influenced by any legal or technical difficulties arising from the peculiar relations of College and University, for if there be but one body we recognize that the separation of their functions could be effected by Statute, if the object were desirable.

On the whole, then, we are strongly of opinion that the scheme for the creation of a new College acceptable to Roman Catholics in the Royal University, reconstructed on the general lines traced out by the Royal Commission of 1901, is intrinsically a better scheme than either of those which we have been considering. Its adoption will satisfy the Roman Catholic Hierarchy and University College, Dublin, as well as the Queen's Colleges at Belfast, Cork, and Galway, and Trinity College itself. It thus proceeds along the line of least resistance. It has the negative advantage that if the process of disintegration should set in, Trinity College will not have been subjected to the cruel experience of having been first autonomous, next one of several co-equal Colleges in a single University, and lastly either again autonomous or united with a single College in an uncongenial alliance.

EDW. FRY. (L.S.)
 ARTHUR W. RÜCKER. (L.S.)
 S. H. BUTCHER. (L.S.)

¹ Appendix to Final Report. Document No. LXVI.

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