

Jesuit Education and the Irish Catholic Elite

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Abstract: Since their re-establishment in the early decades of the nineteenth century the Jesuits have successfully maintained a position at the pinnacle of Catholic elite education. In this article I propose to discuss Irish education in the context of global trends in cosmopolitan and elite forms of education. All across Europe we find the Jesuits competing for regional elites and sub elites in this period, and the Irish Jesuits are part of this transnational pattern. I will then focus on the two most important nineteenth century foundations –Tullabeg (1818-86) and Clongowes (1814-)– as the exemplary «elite» Jesuit boarding schools in Ireland. I will then briefly discuss two less socially ascendant but nevertheless important day schools, Belvedere College (1841-) and Gonzaga (1899-), both in Dublin. The educational product was intentionally politically muted, informed by a desire for Catholic advancement in all aspects of life, including imperial service, religious leadership, gaining a foothold in the prestigious professions, and –where possible– advocating for general Catholic advancement. As with Jesuit education elsewhere in this period it was an explicitly elitist project at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with greater market segmentation evident later in the century with the advent of the prestigious urban day-schools.

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1. Introduction

Irish Jesuit education has enjoyed a socially dominant position in Ireland either side of its re-incarnation in the early nineteenth century (Hand, 2015; Ó Hannracháin, 2015). This dominant position remained consistent through the ideological and political turbulence of the revolutionary years of 1911-23, and beyond. Indeed recent systematic work by Aline Courtois confirms that this elite reputation continues right up to the present (Courtois, 2015; Courtois, 2017, 2013). And yet, for much of the nineteenth century this domestic dominance did not mean that, for Irish Catholics at least, Jesuit schools were the most prestigious choices for the richest or most influential Irish Catholic families. Paradoxically, the most attractive educational

product for Irish elite Catholics was to be found outside of Ireland, and usually in England, or sometimes France, at a series of elite boarding schools catering for global or regional Catholic elite groups (O'Neill, 2014; 2012; 2013). The history of Irish Jesuit education, then, is that of an order catering to an expanding rival domestic elite at the heart of the British empire, and then successfully pivoting to accommodate a new orthodoxy upon independence from the United Kingdom in 1922. The educational product – as I hope to demonstrate – was intentionally politically muted, informed by a desire for Catholic advancement in all aspects of life, including imperial service, religious leadership, gaining a foothold in the prestigious professions, and – where possible – advocating for general Catholic advancement. As with Jesuit education elsewhere in this period it was an explicitly elitist project at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with greater market segmentation evident later in the century with the advent of the prestigious urban day-schools. By the early to mid-twentieth century the Jesuits were even involving themselves in educational projects that aimed at the working classes, though this was never a consistent aim of the society.

In this short article I propose to discuss Irish Jesuit education in the context of global trends in cosmopolitan and elite forms of education. I will then focus on two schools – Tullabeg (1818-86) and Clongowes (1814-) as the exemplary 'elite' Jesuit boarding schools in Ireland. I will then briefly discuss two less socially ascendant but nevertheless important urban day schools, Belvedere College (1841-) and Gonzaga (1899-).

2. Irish Jesuit education in transnational context

Historians, along with theorists of nationalism, have long identified a link between the rise of the nation state in Europe, widening access to education, and the systemization of elite recruitment (Anderson, 2004; Charle, 2008; Ringer, 1979). The nation-state model poses problems for the study of the Irish Catholic elite, who were legally excluded from many of the roles associated with elite belonging either side of the political union with Great Britain in 1801. For much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Irish Catholics were systematically discriminated against by a Protestant and sectarian state. This changed gradually throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, and that discrimination was never total, or evenly applied (McGrath, 1996; Bartlett, 2013). As in Britain, those Catholics with significant resources, or those willing and able to protect their assets through tactical conversion and apostasy, retained significant, albeit localised power. Sons and daughters of elite Catholic families were sent to a network of elite schools across the continent, in France, in Spain, in the Spanish Netherlands, and Irish priests were educated across an important network of «Irish Colleges» across Europe which have been the subject of much research in the last two decades (O'Connor and Lyons, 2001; Fenning, 2001; Nilis, 2006). By the late eighteenth century a domestic education opened up as a possibility for these families, at schools such as Carlow College. Following the French Terror, and the subsequent flight of the English Jesuit and Benedictine foundations on the continent back to Britain, it became obvious that a market for Catholic elite education was going to open up in Ireland to cater for

the expanding middle class, professional class, and minor gentry classes. The new English foundations at Stonyhurst, Downside, and Oscott all began to see Irish numbers rise (O'Connor and Chambers, 2017; O'Neill, 2014). This re-ordering of the Catholic educational landscape, then, is what led to the (re)establishment of Irish Jesuit education by a group of Sicilian trained Irish Jesuits (Morrissette, 1999). The English Benedictines did not contest this early grab for territory, and in fact nobody did for several decades. The Jesuits began this era at the pinnacle of elite Catholic education in Ireland and arguably have yet to ascend, but until the second half of the twentieth century they were always regarded as a second tier option for the richer families, the bulk of whom continued to send their sons and daughters to schools in England such as Stonyhurst, or across the continent, to schools that served a transnational Catholic elite, or at the very least a regional Catholic elite. These regional elite schools were of a type that the Jesuits had perfected in previous centuries, such as their cosmopolitan college at La Flèche, or the many colleges created in its wake at Brive, Rouen, Poitiers, and Vienne (Nelson, 2017; Marx, 2009). There were many reasons for the enduring appeal of these faraway options, even beyond the point at which the Irish options were available. The likeliest explanation was that the increased cultural and social capital associated with a schooling abroad, added to the wider networking opportunities provided by the schools, and the prestige associated with their tradition of learning. These factors all combined to make a more attractive package to the richest Catholic families in Ireland, interested as they were in the acquisition of a kind of cosmopolitan cultural capital (Weenink, 2008).

In the nineteenth century about 1-2% of the Irish population were educated to the age of 18, with the large majority of Irish children dropping out of a bottom-heavy system between the ages of twelve and fourteen. The so-called «superior» education was very much a minority preoccupation right up until the middle of the twentieth century. In the mid nineteenth century the number of children in intermediate or secondary education was about 22,000, with that figure rising to 35,000 in 1901, an increase in line with similar European populations. By the late 1960s, just before the provision of free education in Ireland, the figure stood at about 170,000, and in 2017 it stood at about 352,000¹. Despite the provision of free education from the late sixties, a «fee-paying» segment of second level schooling survived and persists to the present, accounting for between 6% and 7% of the total school-going population. What marks the Irish elite or «fee-paying» sector out as somewhat exceptional worldwide is that the state continues to pay the salaries of the teaching staff at fee-charging schools, meaning that the taxpayer foots the majority of the bill for an exclusive, often highly religious and socially exclusive network of privileged schools that serve a mostly domestic elite. It also means that the product is notably cheaper than in Britain, or in Swiss boarding schools, where fees can be double, triple, or even quadruple the Irish average².

¹ An Roinn Oideachas, Tuarascáil 1967/8 (Dublin, 1968), 4; An Roinn Oideachas, *Key Statistics 2015/16 and 2016/17* (30 June 2017).

² In 2018 the two most expensive Irish secondary schools were Clongowes Wood (€19,500 boarding), St Columba's College (€22,797), both early nineteenth century foundations. An equivalent

In nineteenth-century Ireland the ability to mimic the appearance and customs of the English upper-classes became a priority for those Catholic Irish who wished to exploit the opportunities afforded them through Union in the expanding British Empire. It involved a systematic and deliberate reduction of obvious difference between the English elite, inextricably linked with the English public schools, and the Irish Catholic elite, a sub-elite group that faced fluctuating levels of systemic discrimination before and after the Act of Union with Great Britain. The project of elite Catholic education in Ireland was therefore one of gradual integration into a society that inhibited Catholic upward mobility. This was further complicated by the global reputation enjoyed by British public schools throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century as – together with Swiss boarding schools – the most admired and socially exclusive schools in the world (Sandgren, 2017). This led, in the Irish case, to a mimetic, or imitative educational product being offered at Irish schools. This was in part simply the influence of a larger nearby market, but also a means to attract socially aspirant parents to send their sons to their school.

This reduction of difference depended mostly upon superficial factors, such as the acquisition of a particular accent, expressions, sense of fashion, and an ability to compete in certain field games. Education in an isolated boarding school provided a neat and relatively natural method of reducing difference. Such an education not only reduced difference, but produced it also. Pupils of such schools stood out prominently in Irish society as intrinsically different to the majority of Irish Catholics. The need for delineation was, again, a basic one. The tenfold expansion of clerkships in the Irish Civil Service from just 990 to 9,821 between 1861 and 1911 accurately reflects the enormous growth of the middle classes in the second half of the nineteenth century (McDowell 1964). Furthermore, the Indian Civil Service was opened to competition in 1855, the Home Service following suit in 1870. Opportunities for upward social mobility were opening up for wealthy and middle class Irish Catholics, and thus the educational market needed to react and accommodate this desire for a marketable education.

Vivian Ogilvie has identified a number of criteria that must be met by any school claiming to provide «public school education». It must be principally a boarding-school, cater to a well-to-do clientele, and be expensive, non-local, and financially independent of the State (Ogilvie, 1957). In Clongowes Wood and Tullabeg, the Society of Jesus constructed two schools admirably suited to that definition. Twenty miles from Dublin, just outside Clane in North Kildare, Clongowes Wood was originally one of the Castles that formed the ramparts of the English centre of power in Ireland, known generally as the Pale. It was remote, but not nearly as remote as Tullabeg, sited as it was in Rahan, Co. Offaly, some thirty miles further west. As shall be discussed below, both fixed prohibitive fees, and both were boarding schools of independent means. These Jesuit boarding schools were the leading schools in what can be regarded as an informal Catholic public school system in late nineteenth-century Ireland. In addition to Clongowes and Tullabeg, the Holy Ghost

cost for boarding at Eton College is £40,668. See «The rise of private schools: There's a lot more money around», *Irish Times*, 28 December 2018. For English fees see *The Good Schools Guide* (2018)

Fathers founded Blackrock College (Dublin, 1860), along with Rockwell College (Tipperary, 1864). These schools, together with the flagship Vincentian school, Castleknock College (Dublin, 1835) controlled the education of much of the Irish Catholic elite being educated domestically. The four that remain have retained their status as superior institutions in modern Ireland. The legacy of Tullabeg, the only one no longer extant, may yet still be traced in the impact of its incorporation into Clongowes Wood.

3. Elite Jesuit boarding schools for boys

Established within four years of each other in the early nineteenth century Clongowes Wood College (1814) and St Stanislaus College, Tullabeg (1818) were the first two colleges of the newly restored Society of Jesus in Ireland. The relatively late appearance of rival schools such as the Vincentian College at Castleknock (1835) and the Holy Ghost Fathers at Blackrock (1860) meant that the Jesuits had something of an advantage in the field, and until the appearance of Glenstal Abbey (1927) their flagship college remained peerless at the pinnacle.

Clongowes Wood is internationally famous as one of two Jesuit schools associated with the author James Joyce, who has left us a brief, largely negative, depiction of the school in the opening pages of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. By 1914, Clongowes had acquired many of the external trappings and customs of the English public schools. Rugby and cricket flourished, students donned caps and blazers, and 'old boys' wrote articles in the College magazine about their illustrious careers in the British Army or Indian Civil Service. Clongowes was far from alone in such imitation; the drift towards an Anglocentric educational ethos in elite Irish schools began much earlier. To explain the existence of a public school philosophy in North Kildare, we first explore the motives behind this imitation, the development of its sister school at Tullabeg as a public school and finally, the creation of an Irish public school at Clongowes Wood.

3.1. From Prep to Public

Tullabeg was originally intended to serve as a novitiate for the order. Its first Rector, Robert St Leger, had other ideas and instead opened a preparatory college there in 1818 (McRedmond 1991, 158). It provided no competition or threat to Clongowes Wood; its intended function was instead to furnish it with a steady flow of suitable students. An undated prospectus, signed by Fr John Ffrench (Rector at Tullabeg, 1850-1855), proclaimed that the system of instruction at his school was 'intended more particularly for children of tender years' and that the school would teach surveying, book-keeping, and French, Latin and Greek – the latter three all elite signifiers³. All for 25 guineas a year. It is indicative of the changing needs of the Catholic elite that Fr Ffrench explicitly advertised the fact that Tullabeg provided an «English mercantile education». What was made available to Irish Catholics at Tullabeg was a model of education that was tailored to promote advancement in

³ Irish Jesuit Archives [hereafter IJA], Tullabeg Papers (Box 31)

the context of a minority Catholic population in a United Kingdom that gradually became more accommodating of Catholic ambition while remaining wary of it. The advertisement of Surveying in the prospectus is a clear indication of the needs of the Imperial system in the mid-nineteenth century, while adequate book-keeping was of increasing importance to an expanding Irish middle class. At 25 guineas, it was not as expensive as Clongowes Wood in this period, but remained beyond the financial reach of all but the leading Catholic families. In 1832 the Jesuits opened a day-school in Hardwicke Street in Dublin⁴. Here they provided an education for as little as two guineas per term (McRedmond, 1991, pp. 158-60)⁵. Tullabeg may then, in light of this prospectus, be fairly defined an elite preparatory college, an exclusive «primer» school for wealthy Catholics that were expected to progress to either Stonyhurst in Lancashire, or else up the road to Clongowes Wood in their early adolescence.

Tullabeg largely fulfilled its role as a prep or feeder college until a dramatic change in its fortunes under a new rector in the 1860s, William Delany SJ. The change in Tullabeg was analogous to the impact of entrepreneurial and charismatic headmasters at the British Public Schools. Delany changed both the physical appearance of Tullabeg, and also its educational ambitions, though the former are certainly easier to trace. The physical expansion of Tullabeg accelerated in the 1860s with the addition of a north wing and improvements stepped up another gear in the 1870s, while Fr William Delany was Rector. Delany, perhaps the most dynamic Jesuit involved in education in the nineteenth century, arrived as a master from Clongowes in 1860. He was to remain an integral part of the college for all but three of the next twenty years. It is worth noting that the development of Tullabeg occurred alongside a massive overhaul of the public school system in England. In the 1860s two separate education commissions (Clarendon, 1864; Taunton, 1867) had found fault with the standards and practices of the seven major English public schools⁶. The criticism acted as an impetus for reform at those schools, depending as they did on the custom, and hence the approval, of the upper classes. The reaction to the Clarendon Report and the widespread publicity it gave to the public schools had an impact on education in general. The number of «public schools» in England mushroomed from the original seven identified in the Clarendon Report of 1864 to almost a hundred in the last two decades of the century, with a core group of roughly fifty (Whyte, 2003). By the 1870s «the ideas of Arnold and Hughes had spread... Every variety of school imitated public school institutions down to the smallest details, introducing flogging, fagging, and cricket, and even turning dorms into houses and making masters wear gowns all day» (Mack, 1941, p. 119). The

⁴ It transferred to Great Denmark St in 1841, and is now Belvedere College – the other Jesuit school associated with James Joyce, Belvedere College Archives, College Reg/1, Roll Book 1832-37

⁵ The founder of the Society of Jesus, St Ignatius, had strictly forbidden that fees should be charged for anything but the cost of boarding. Both Clongowes and Tullabeg openly flouted this direction in the nineteenth century. The prohibition was only technically lifted in 1923.

⁶ Regarded by the Clarendon committee (somewhat controversially) to have been Winchester, Rugby, Charterhouse, Eton, Shrewsbury, Harrow, Westminster (Merchant Taylor's & St Paul's were also examined, but were day-schools)

process of remodelling Tullabeg into a school of national importance must, therefore, be seen in the context of the wider change in education throughout Great Britain.

In addition to modernising and updating the Jesuit educational product through his work at Tullabeg, Delany's made two really important contributions to intermediate or secondary education in Ireland. The first was to provide university-level education at his own school in the midlands in order to demonstrate the necessity for a degree-awarding Catholic University of high standing in Ireland. The second, and perhaps even more significant contribution, was that he was centrally involved in the campaign to increase funding and visibility for Catholic schools in Ireland through lobbying for the Intermediate Education Act (Ireland) passed in 1878. His past pupil, Judge Mathias McDonnell Bodkin, even alleged that Delany was one of the co-authors of that act, one which funded Catholic education through a rather uncomplicated payment by results scheme which effectively rewarded the school for bringing through large numbers of competent examinees (Bodkin, 1915; Bodkin, 1924). The resulting flood of money into Catholic education benefitted schools further down the social scale than the elite Jesuits schools, who were content in time to simply dominate the annually published results list for most prizes in any given discipline. Thus, Delaney had effectively designed a system that would benefit Catholic education more generally, and allow his order to take home the bragging rights in an annual national competition, while providing his order with valuable and largely free publicity.

Until the establishment of the Royal University in 1879, Catholics had been held back by a lack of third level opportunities. The distinctly Protestant Trinity College Dublin and the non-denominational Queens Colleges (set up in 1845) were both declared unsuitable for Catholics by the clergy (Pašeta, 1999, pp. 5-27). A Catholic University was founded in 1854, with John Henry Newman as Rector, but it was ultimately considered a failure as the degrees conferred by it were not recognised by the State. In the 1840s several Irish colleges had taken advantage of the external programme offered by London University, as it provided a recognised degree. One of the earliest to do so was Carlow College – a diocesan college Delany had himself attended in the 1850s. Since Newman's College had been set up, the practice had declined. Seeing an opportunity to publicise the education provided at his school, Delany advanced carefully selected students to the London University exam in 1875. All of the candidates advanced for examination were successful and two even obtained high honours. Over the next five years Tullabeg helped 25 boys pass the matriculation exam for the London University, nine passed the First B.A. exams and two boys earned a full B.A. (Morrissey, 1975, II, p. 341). The success raised the profile of Tullabeg considerably. The Tullabeg yearbook for 1875-1876 notes that 'many of the leading Catholics wrote to Fr Rector to convey their delight at the college's success, and a certain noble lady [Lady Londonderry] donated an annual prize for literature'. (Morrissey, 1983, p. 25).

3.2. Networking an Emerging Elite School

Lady Londonderry had visited Tullabeg prior to this, as had her husband (later Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 1886-89), but were only two in a long list of notables to

have done so⁷. Despite the fact that it caused considerable disharmony within his order, Delany had always proved an ostentatious host. A glance through his papers reveals a man in close contact with Lord Portarlington, Lord Londonderry (then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) and the Duke of Marlborough. It seems that the Rector had quite a gift for entertainment and was prepared to go to any length to impress. Describing this striking «public relations» policy, Delany's first biographer concludes that of the visits:

Those of Lord Portarlington were the more welcome to the boys as they meant the possibility of a half-day. Lord Randolph Churchill who came 17th October 1878 accompanied by Lady Londonderry, to the College just after the starting of the Intermediate... and were received with tremendous éclat. Their reception was, however, nothing compared to what was prepared for the Lord Lieutenant and the Duchess of Marlborough⁸.

The effect of all this lavish entertainment on the boys must have been significant. After all, «to any boy, the headmaster is a great man, for he wields immense power and is the ultimate authority of his little world» (Bamford, 1967, p. 162). For Delany's pupils, at an impressionable age, to see their Rector entertain visitors such as the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on a relatively regular basis must surely have blurred the lines between Protestant and Catholic, English and Irish. Delany invited these members of high society with a view to exposing the boys to those men that had it in their power to make their path in life a little more straightforward. It was a common tactic of the English Catholic colleges to court influential socialites, and to accentuate points of comparison with the established public schools. For example, at the Oratory School in Birmingham, Cardinal Newman hired Thomas Arnold (Jr.) at the astronomical sum of £400 per annum purely to enhance the reputation of his flagging school (Shrimpton, 2005).

The «public relations» policy at Tullabeg was most evident in the prioritisation of games at the midlands college. Organised games came to prominence late in the nineteenth-century and nowhere more so than in the British Empire. Cricket, rugby and association football spread across the Empire from their upper-class nurseries, the public schools. In terms of social status, cricket was by far the most important of the sports in both England and Ireland. By 1864, the Clarendon Commission noted that, at Harrow, boys spent fifteen hours a week playing the game, and by 1880 the game was compulsory in most public schools (Honey, 1977, p. 112). Delany is credited with having introduced cricket into Tullabeg during his time as a Master. In fact, so highly did he rate its importance that he arranged, at enormous expense, for a German Jesuit, Fr Wistoff, to be transferred to his school in order to lay the cricket «crease» in the correct manner⁹. Despite his enthusiasm, it took some time to win

⁷ The correspondence between Delany and such notables as the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Portarlington are available in, IJA: Fr Delany Papers (Boxes 350-354)

⁸ McKenna S.J., L. *Fr William Delany and his work for Irish Education*, (Unpublished MS) IJA: Lambert McKenna Papers (p. 59).

⁹ *The Clongowes Union Centenary Chronicle* (1997, p. 47).

his boys over to the game. In fact, they disliked it so much that they even cut the balls with knives and smashed bats whenever the prefects weren't looking¹⁰. Despite the unfavourable beginnings, cricket became *the* game at Tullabeg. Prominent Irish clubs such as The Phoenix, Leinster CC, Trinity College and several county elevens were all invited to Tullabeg, and entertained in fine style (Morrissey, 1975). It was not at all uncommon for the senior boys to join with the community and the opposing team for the post-match reception, presumably to engage in what we now refer to as 'networking'. Visiting teams often stayed for up to two nights in the school; on one such occasion a visiting player was heard to remark that the boys at Tullabeg were better off than his own, then attending Eton (Hone 1956). As proof of a reduction of difference, Tullabeg could hardly have asked for a better compliment.

Tullabeg also adopted the relatively new game of association football during Delany's tenure, at a time when the game was becoming much more popular in England¹¹. Perhaps more revealing was the introduction of boating into Tullabeg. In order to organise it the school won a long-running battle with the Canal Company for the use of a long stretch of water between two locks. One of the printed regulations was that «in accordance with the rule of Eton College, no boy is permitted to enter a boat until he has been declared by his prefect to be able to swim»¹². A man that suffered from ill health and insomnia for much of his life, Delany had little personal interest in sport. That he so carefully and deliberately ensured that the «right» games were being played, games that would help his boys in later life, was just one facet of his project at Tullabeg. As if the school he conjured was not evidence enough of his philosophy of education, in 1898 Delaney articulated a peculiarly elitist idea of an ideal education in front of the Royal Commission on Intermediate Education. With a stress on character building and the idea of the school as a social network, Delany echoed the ideas of Victorian public school headmasters such as Arnold and Thring when he imagined:

...a large Public School of 200 to 300 boys of all the grades, where the educational influences at work in the moulding of character in the various games of social life are fully as important an element in the production of useful citizens as the preparation for their yearly exams¹³.

In 1878, just prior to the Intermediate era in Ireland, an advertisement for Tullabeg in the *Freeman's Journal* refers to its ability to «prepare pupils for the Degrees of the London University, for the Indian Civil Service, for Woolwich, for the army, and the higher class of public examinations»¹⁴. Charging 45 guineas, Tullabeg did not burden itself with educational ideals of a particularly egalitarian nature.

¹⁰ McKenna, *Fr William Delany* (p. 59).

¹¹ *The Clongowes Union Centenary Chronicle* (1997, p. 37).

¹² Clongowes Wood Archives, School rules of Tullabeg, uncatalogued.

¹³ Evidence of Fr William Delany (1899) *Intermediate Education (Irel) Commission (Final Report of the Commissioners)*, Dublin. Alexander Thom Co. Ltd. 1899, Col. 948, p. 46.

¹⁴ *The Freeman's Journal*, 10 August 1878.

In terms of its specifications and facilities, Delany had created a proto-public school comparable to any other serving the elite in either Britain or Ireland. He had done so from a position of disadvantage within his own order, having chosen to ignore the intended function of his school as «preparatory». The policy of inviting influential socialites was a carefully considered one; by showing them a school capable of producing boys to match England's finest, both academically and in the «games of social life», he subtly introduced the idea of equality of position to both pupil and visiting dignitary. The confidence this instilled in the boys was augmented by their spectacular success in the University of London examinations, and after 1879, in the Irish Intermediate examinations. The results obtained at Tullabeg were consistently impressive. In the period prior to its closure, 1879 to 1886, Tullabeg obtained 15 gold medals in the Intermediate examinations, exactly one fifth of those awarded in that period¹⁵. If future careers can be regarded as an indication of the educational philosophy of the school, Tullabeg happily pointed to the spectacular Imperial careers of several past pupils. When the results of the first Intermediate examinations were published in 1879, Michael O'Dwyer of Tullabeg was placed second in Ireland. After a long career in the Indian Civil Service, O'Dwyer attained enduring infamy for his aggressive enforcement of British rule in the Punjab, where he was lieutenant-governor 1913-19, and by defending the conduct of Major Dyer at the Amritsar massacre in April 1919 (O'Dwyer, 1933, preface). In 1897 Sir Nicholas O'Connor (Tullabeg, 1852-6) was appointed British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, and Sir William Francis Butler (Tullabeg, 1847-9) was Lord High Commissioner of South Africa in 1895. At home Tullabeg produced leaders in the classic «professions» such as law and medicine. In the Judiciary, Charles A O'Connor (Tullabeg, 1865-70) was appointed Master of the Rolls in 1912. In medicine, John E Matson MD (Tullabeg 1879-83) was made President of the Royal College of Physicians in 1935, a post previously held by Austin Meldon (Tullabeg, 1855-61)¹⁶. Despite such luminous success, Delany was moved sideways in 1880, and his school was wound up in 1886, partly due to the extreme expenditure of the Rector which proved controversial within the order itself (O'Neill 2014). This led to amalgamation with Clongowes Wood – the formerly ascendant school now lagging behind its own prep school. By the end of the century it had regained its position at the peak of the domestic schools. For all of Delany's work at Tullabeg, Clongowes Wood enjoyed a social reputation that couldn't be bought.

3.3. *The evolution of Clongowes Wood*

That social reputation is perhaps best exemplified by Daniel O'Connell's decision to send his sons there in 1815, just a year after it opened. O'Connell came from a Catholic landed gentry background, and was entirely representative of those patronising the school in its early years. The system of education was organised in

¹⁵ IJA: Tullabeg Papers (Box 37) Anon. (1910) *Souvenir booklet of St Stanislaus College, Tullabeg, Kings County*, Dublin: Browne and Nolan.

¹⁶ This information was obtained from an extensive Roll of Honour, compiled in *The Clongowes Union Centenary Chronicle* (1997, pp. 263-275).

a typical Jesuit manner, with each class assigned a master, who usually followed his boys up through the various stages – beginning in Elements, then working up through, Rudiments, Grammar I & II, Humanities and Rhetoric. It was very much a ‘European’ education and remained so through much of the nineteenth century. Lord Peter O’Brien remembered that in his time at the school (1856-8) the course of studies was almost entirely classical, but that he developed a love of Sir Walter Scott and Shakespeare nonetheless (O’Brien 1916, p. 9). While not as obvious as the transformation at Tullabeg, Clongowes had begun with a programme hardly hostile to Empire. Indeed, one of its earliest critics, Thomas Francis Meagher, attacked the school for its lack of attention to Irish history. He maintained that during his time at Clongowes in the 1830s the Jesuits «entangled us in Euclid; turned our brains with the terrestrial globe... but, as far as Ireland was concerned, they left us, like blind and crippled children, in the dark». Meagher, a famous separatist and revolutionary, ended his speech on a surprisingly limp note, «But I can’t bear to say anything against Clongowes, it is to me a dear old spot» (Griffith, 1917, p. 270). He was perhaps the first to articulate the internal struggle experienced by many of the students that emerged from Clongowes Wood in the nineteenth century; a confusion of identity all the more noticeable in the generation that emerged after the amalgamation with Tullabeg.

Costello suggests that the amalgamation had a significant effect on Clongowes, so much so that he refers to it as «new» Clongowes post-1886, «the new Clongowes opened in September 1886...Continental Clongowes was gone. In its place came a new creation, a creature of its age» (Costello, 1989, p. 53). Traditions such as the archaic class names (Rhetoric, Rudiments, etc.) were dropped in favour of the more modern labels applied to classes at Tullabeg such as Middle Grade, or Senior Grade. This was a direct result of the era of open competition in public examinations. Competition had arrived in a blaze of publicity in 1879; results obtained in the newly established Intermediate examination were printed in the daily press. This public exposure placed an entirely new pressure on Clongowes Wood to justify its reputation as the leading Catholic College. It failed. Clongowes had drifted along through the 1870s, with the absence of state exams disguising an academic malaise. When the results of the first Intermediate examinations were published in September 1879, not a single Clongowes boy had excelled in it. It only fared marginally better in 1880, scoring eight distinctions, securing for it an abysmal 20th place in Ireland¹⁷. In 1887, after the incorporation of Tullabeg, Clongowes was the top-ranked Catholic College in the Intermediate, and continued to dominate for several years, earning forty-eight distinctions in 1888, and thirty-seven in 1889¹⁸. By doing so it returned the society to a position of pre-eminence in Catholic elite education. Academic success, however, was not the only effect of the merger; a new philosophy had arrived, and met with little resistance.

The gradual transformation of Clongowes into the archetypal imitation «public school» was completed in 1897, with the founding of an Old Boys’ club, the Clongowes Union. This was a custom taken directly from the English schools. Dulwich had been

¹⁷ See Table of Results in *The Freeman’s Journal*, 23 September 1880, p. 5.

¹⁸ *The Irish Catholic*, 8 September 1888, p1; 21 September 1889, p. 4.

one of the first to set up its Union in 1873, Eton one of the last in 1898 (Whyte, 2003, p. 607). A College magazine, another feature common to public schools, *The Clongownian*, debuted two years earlier, in 1895, with a lead article by a former student proclaiming the benefits of entry into the Indian Civil Service.¹⁹ Blazers, caps and coats of arms all found their way into the school in this period, all styles imported from Eton and Winchester and part of a process of myth-making and invention of tradition so skilfully employed by schools in this period. Clongowes even had a brief flirtation with hunting under the Rectorship of Father Michael Devitt in the early 1890s. It seems that this sport, being so totally associated in popular Irish culture with the image of the Protestant aristocracy was one step too far, even for Clongowes Wood. The public image of the school was now of primary importance, and nowhere was this more evident than in the area of sports. It was a matter of concern to the Jesuits when cricket began to slip a little from its once-secure position as *the* society game in Ireland, losing some ground to the relatively new game of rugby football. A letter to the editor of the inaugural issue of *The Clongownian* reveals the tension between the advocates of various sports in the college. Written by Gerard More O'Ferrall, a senior boy, the letter suggests that the Jesuits were far from aloof to sporting trends.

Dear Sir, It seems to me, a lover of the Socker [sic] code, that our game hardly gets fair play just now... Is there is a long play-hour, rugby gets it. Is there an improvement in any of the football grounds, it is meant to meet the requirements of rugby. Are prizes given to encourage either game, it is for rugby they are offered. How many sets of beautiful rugby goalposts ornament the spacious football fields of the various lines, whilst, I grieve to say, there is not a single set of association goalposts on the entire expanse of the College grounds²⁰.

Association football pitches had been laid out just after amalgamation, meaning that in the interim a decision was made at management level to prioritise rugby football at the expense of association. An active interest in games was also a marked feature of elite colleges in England. At one such school, Harrow, £70,000 was spent on athletics facilities alone between 1850 and 1900, enlarging the playing fields from a mere 8 acres to 146 in the process (Whyte, 2003, p. 611). Clongowes was far from alone in their rigid adherence to English social trends. Castleknock College doubled the size of their playing fields between 1885 and 1910, by which time rugby and cricket were considered an integral part of the life of the school (Murphy, 1996, p. 62). Remembering his time at Castleknock in the mid 1870s, John Ward recalled, «games were not played to the extent to which they were later developed. We had cricket, but it hardly counted»²¹.

Cricket certainly counted at Clongowes. Remembering his friend Tom Kettle, Arthur Clery saw that the game of cricket was the determining influence in his career

¹⁹ *The Clongownian*, Issue No.1, 1895, p. 7.

²⁰ *The Clongownian*, Issue No.1, 1895, p. 43.

²¹ (1935) *St Vincent's Castleknock Centenary Record 1835-1935*. Dublin, At The Sign of the Three Candles Ltd., p. 104.

at the Bar, the only people sending any business his way «according to his account were not his many political associates, but a few old cricket acquaintances» (Lyons, 1983, p. 39). A student at Clongowes from 1894 to 1897, Kettle showed a leaning towards nationalist thinking quite early, winning an internal essay competition in 1896, aged sixteen, with a piece on Owen Roe O'Neill, a somewhat iconic figure in Irish resistance-history²². Kettle went on to publish a book that argued vigorously for Home Rule, *The Open Secret of Ireland* (1912). Kettle opened his study with these lines; «In order to understand Ireland we must begin by understanding England. On no other terms will...the Irish Question yield up its secret» (Kettle, 1912, p. 1). For Kettle, the reference point for any analysis of Ireland could only be England. It is no coincidence that Kettle felt so strongly about the English influence in Irish affairs. What he betrays here is the «duality» felt by the Catholic elite. As if to cement this duality in history, Kettle was killed fighting on the British side in World War I, having enlisted in the army along with 604 other fellow Clongownians – 94 of whom paid the heaviest price²³.

James Joyce, in *A Portrait*, has left us a revealing depiction of the 'new' Clongowes. Joyce entered the school at just six years of age, in 1888. Our first hint at a public school atmosphere comes at an early stage in the narrative. Stephen Dedalus (Joyce's semi-autobiographical protagonist) describes a class given by Father Arnall, who organises two academic teams into Lancaster and York:

It was the hour for sums. Father Arnall wrote a hard sum on the board and said;

- Now then, who will win? Go ahead York! Go ahead Lancaster!

Stephen tried his best but the sum was too hard and he felt confused (Joyce, 1916, p. 5).

The reader can sympathise with Stephen's confusion; North Kildare is quite a distance from either Lancaster or York, themselves an obvious reference to the War of the Roses. While that may be true (geographically, at any rate) it is not inconceivable that, allowing for the style of education provided at Clongowes in 1888, to compete with schoolmates against York for Lancaster might not have required a particularly vivid imagination. In *A Portrait*, a reduction in income means that Stephen might have to be taken out of Clongowes. Stephen's father reacts angrily to the idea that his son might be educated in the Christian Brothers system along with, as he puts it, «Paddy Stink and Mickey Mud» (Joyce, 1916, p. 49). The phrase reveals the preferred identification of the upper-class Irish Catholics with their English «equivalents». Joyce is himself coy about this prejudice, the fact that he himself had attended a Christian Brothers school for some three months is something he omitted from both *A Portrait* and *Stephen Hero*, its much more lengthy and detailed predecessor (Bradley, 1982, p. 84).

²² *The Clongownian*, Issue No.3, 1896, p. 19.

²³ Final tally of «Clongownians and the War» (1919), *The Clongownian*, Issue No.3, vol. viii, p. 293.

3.4. *Elite infiltration*

In the later nineteenth century the conflict between the growing nationalist rhetoric of the Catholic middle class and the older conservative, patriotic but loyalist sensibilities of the Catholic elite sometimes produced faultlines, and Clongowes Wood produced a noticeable, sometimes comical degree of confusion. Nowhere is this more evident than in the College magazine. In *The Clongownian* one can find a lead article championing the nationalist icon Wolfe Tone followed immediately by a discussion of the pros and cons of attending Cambridge University²⁴. The following year we find a prize essay on Hugh Roe O'Donnell, another figure idolised in nationalist ideology, preceded by a list boasting of Clongowes' success rate in the Indian Civil Service examinations. That same issue provides brief sketches of the luminous careers of Clongowes past pupils in the British Army, such as Lieut-Col. Thomas Esmonde VC, Major General Cornelius Francis Clery²⁵. There are many similar examples. Reviewing the 1901 issue in his nationalist weekly *The Leader*, DP Moran honed in on a short, rather innocuous article about the wounding of a former pupil, Lt AJ Keogh of the Connaught Rangers, his reaction conveying the division between elite Catholics, sympathetic to Empire, and an increasingly politicised, nationalist and radical middle class.

What a grim commentary it is on green nationality to find the squireen's son and the son of a huxter sneaking into the British Army and the college that misguided them standing before the public as an Irish College and John Redmond MP, Vice President to the College Union!... It is evidently a mistake to call this production *The Clongownian*: it should be called *The Squireen Recruiter* or the *Tommy Atkins Gazette*²⁶.

Like Tullabeg, Clongowes Wood could point to the illustrious careers of its past pupils as proof of its ability to break into the Imperial system. In fact, during the period which we describe here, Clongowes in some senses very obviously aimed at what Bradley has called «the gradual infiltration of the system by highly educated Irish Catholics» (Bradley, 1982, p. 9). It was a mission statement well supported by the career trajectory of pupils such as Christopher Palles, Lord O'Brien and John Naish; who, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, held the offices of Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor respectively (Ball, 2005, pp. 326-31). As for Empire «infiltration», Clongowes students featured highly in the Indian Civil Service, contributing as many successful candidates in 1897 as Rugby, Winchester and Merchant-Taylor's; a point deliberately emphasised in *The Clongownian*, alongside an article praising the careers of Lieut-Col Edmund Cotter

²⁴ *The Clongownian*, Issue No.4, 1897, Theobald Wolfe Tone was the foremost of the leaders of the failed 1798 United Irishmen rebellion. He retains his central position in Irish nationalist history, alongside figures such as Pearse and Emmett.

²⁵ *The Clongownian*, Issue No.1, Vol. ii, 1898.

²⁶ *The Leader*, 3 August 1901, p353 - Ironically, Moran was himself a product of such education, he had attended Castleknock College (1880-82)

(Clongowes, 1866-8) and Lieut-Col William Reed Murphy, DSO (Clongowes, 1863-7), who had served with distinction in Burma and Afghanistan respectively²⁷. There is little to support any argument that Clongowes failed to deliver on its promise of gradual infiltration. The reduction of difference in boys at Clongowes Wood had been a spectacular success. Equality of status under the union was proven to be within the grasp of elite Catholics, if at a considerable cost.

4. Day school democratisation

Clongowes and Tullabeg were not the only schools operated by the Society in Ireland. The Jesuits had schools in Limerick, Mungret (1882-1974), and Crescent College (1859-), the latter of which briefly produced a «poor school» at St Patricks at Bedford Row in 1864 (Kenny, 2014; White, 2009). Likewise the «Jes» in Galway was founded at about the same time in 1862 (Morrissy, 2002). These provincial schools typically catered for a mix of boarders and day boarders, as well as city boys, marking them as lower down the social hierarchy than either Clongowes or Tullabeg. The same was true for Dublin. Belvedere College and Gonzaga College are both fee-charging urban day-schools based respectively in the North Inner City and the South Dublin suburbs. They both enjoy high social prestige and advertise excellent progression rates to university. But that is where the similarities end. Belvedere was created in the early 1830s as part of a wider wave of limited democratisation of educational product offered by the Jesuits across Europe. Responding to the expansion of the middle classes, as well as the professionalisation of the city, the Jesuits recognised that rural, insular, boarding schools could not easily cater for the sons of wealthy city-based white-collar occupations. And since these were becoming important accelerators of influence in society, as well as (increasingly) launching pads for a political career, it was important that elite Catholics on this trajectory should have a Jesuit educational option. Hence the foundation of schools such as Belvedere, and St Francis Xavier in Liverpool, Mount St Mary's in Derbyshire. These were all second order schools within the order itself, aiming squarely at the education of the urban middle classes. The student register at Belvedere shows a spread of pupils from nearby in the city of Dublin itself, but also a level of cosmopolitan circulation uncommon in rival schools at the time. This increased over time, so that by 1912 one finds Indian students such as Prem Banergi entering the school from a convent school in India, and the Jesuit recording his entry noting that his mother «gave free and full consent as to his attendance at religious instruction, and going to the chapel»²⁸. Alongside Prem we find returning Irish students such as Stanislas Callaghan, who had just been attending Stonyhurst College in Lancashire, or Fred Collins, whose last school had been run by the Dominicans in South Africa.

Nevertheless, right up to the present, Belvedere enjoys a second-tier status within elite schools domestically. By the mid twentieth century this internal logic or

²⁷ (1898) *The Clongowian*, Issue No.1, Vol. ii, pp. 16-19.

²⁸ Belvedere College Archives, Register 4 1900-25, p. 46. The register notes the pupil's father as Dr Ban Banergi, c/o Minerva Hotel, Rutland Square, Dublin. He was presumably working at the Rotunda Hospital across the road.

hierarchy was evident in a very famous and oft-quoted passage from a biography by CS Andrews *Dublin Made Me* (1979), quoted by Senia Pašeta and worth quoting at length here also:

At the top of the Catholic heap – in terms of worldly goods and social status – were the medical specialists, fashionable dentists, barristers, solicitors, wholesale tea and wine merchants, owners of large drapery stores and a very few owners or directors of large business firms. These were the Catholic upper middle class; they were the Castle Catholics.... They had dinner in the evening, and dressed for it. They had many servants: butlers, housekeepers, cooks, housemaids, tweenies, nannies and coachmen. They sent their sons to the English Catholic public schools at Ampleforth, Stonyhurst and Downside or, as a compromise, to Clongowes which was the top Jesuit school in Ireland... In the social scale below the Castle Catholics were the Catholic middle middle class. They were the general medical practitioners, less successful solicitors, grocers, publicans, butchers, tobacconists who did not live over their shops (when they moved from over their shops they ascended in the social scale), as well as corn merchants, civil servants, journalists, coal merchants and bank managers. In politics these people were Nationalist and from them came the municipal politicians, chiefly from among the publicans. They sent their children to be educated by the Jesuits at Belvedere College, to the Holy Ghost Fathers in St Mary's or the Marist Catholic University School (Andrews, 1979, p. 10).

This hierarchy was then reiterated by one of Aline Courtois's interviewees in her groundbreaking sociological study *Elite Schooling and Social Inequality*, who was asked to detail the current internal pecking order of elite schools in Ireland. Her respondent, Andrew, answered that «Blackrock, Clongowes, St Michaels, they would be the richest, the wealthiest, the business classes, whereas let's say Belvedere, Gonzaga, would be more the elite professions». This widely acknowledged hierarchy then bears fruit in a statistical snapshot of current elites in Ireland also. Courtois plots data from several editions of *Who's Who In Ireland?* Which showed that schools such as Clongowes Wood enjoyed a 3% share of the listings in such directories, more or less exactly the same as a school such as Eton enjoys in the British equivalent. Belvedere lagged a little behind, with about 2% (Courtois, 2017, pp. 34-55, 55-61).

Gonzaga College is most often referenced in the public domain as one of Ireland's most consistently high performing schools academically, and is by far the most recent establishment discussed in this article, having been founded in 1950 in the south Dublin suburb of Ranelagh. This reputation for academic excellence is extrapolated using fairly crude measurement of student progression to university and the average points totals in the exit examination for secondary education in Ireland, the Leaving Certificate (Borooah, Dineen & Lynch, 2010). Both of these relate to one another and are of course socially and culturally constructed as well as a product of the excellent standard of teaching. Unlike Belvedere the surrounding neighbourhood is one of the wealthiest in Dublin, and thus the student catchment is already predisposed to come from a highly educated domestic environment, as well as a wealthy one. In 2007 the *Irish Independent* published conditions of access for some of Ireland's

«top-performing» schools, and it noted that Gonzaga operated a policy whereby it insisted that applicants must live south of the river Liffey (property on the south side of the river is far more expensive than the north), and that places would be offered to sons of former students first and foremost, and otherwise 120 families would be interviewed and then 40 boys chosen²⁹. These are explicitly elitist conditions, of course, and show a familial and social bias that has long been associated with south Dublin fee-charging schools. As with Belvedere, Gonzaga charges a relatively low fee of just over €6000 for its tuition, and thus is theoretically accessible to a majority of upper middle class Irish families. In practice, its numbers are usually in the 500s, about half that of Belvedere³⁰. The fact that Gonzaga continues to thrive points to a long term commitment to academic «achievement» that may be said to have been a priority for the Jesuits in Ireland since the time of Delaney at Tullabeg.

A recent article by Todd Morrissey, perhaps the most prominent historian of the Jesuits in Ireland, details the long commitment to working class populations in Dublin city. Morrissey traces this pattern in Jesuit ministry all the way back to Peter Kenney, who founded Clongowes Wood in 1814, and was himself a product of the Dublin working class. This commitment remained in the realm of ministry rather than formal or accredited education, right up until the mid twentieth century, when several priests who were particularly animated by the poor housing conditions in places like Summerhill and Ballymun, began also to provide tuition aimed at re-entry into the education system. In 1951 the Catholic Workers College was founded, and was a joint initiative with University College Dublin. It provided back-to-work extramural tuition programme delivered at Ranelagh in south Dublin (Morrissey, 2014). This marks the first systemized attempt to serve this social class or constituency, which of course in many senses shows an elite commitment to noblesse oblige, rather than a fundamental recalibration of Jesuit principles in Ireland.

5. Legacy

Irish elite education continues to be segmented most obviously in the second tier of education. At primary or elementary level there is not the same culture of expensive tuition that we see elsewhere in the world, and at third level there is no Jesuit or elite Catholic university in existence that might segment the market as it does in the United States for example. Thus, the social «game» continues to be visible only really at secondary and intermediate level. And here the Jesuits continue to dominate Catholic elite education, with some competition from the Benedictines at Glenstal, the Vincentians at Castleknock, and the Holy Ghost Fathers at Blackrock. Depending on your viewpoint this may mean that there has been little innovation or change in elite education in Ireland, or that these schools continue to provide the correct product for the elite and the socially aspirant.

Since their re-establishment in the early decades of the nineteenth century the Jesuits have successfully maintained a position at the pinnacle of Catholic elite

²⁹ *Irish Independent*, 13 October 2007.

³⁰ For the most recent data on fees and numbers for the fee-charging Irish sector see 'The rise of private schools: 'There's a lot more money around' *Irish Times*, 28 December 2018.

education. They have navigated their way through intense overseas and domestic competition, as well as negotiated a re-orientation of their product in a post-colonial context after 1922. When the college celebrated its centenary in 1914 both the Pope and the *The Times* (London) noted the event, and the Pope even sent a congratulatory message³¹; *The Times* was more effusive in its praise, devoting an entire column to the «Famous Irish School»³². The drift towards an Anglocentric ethos and public school imitation began in tandem with a wider drift in education across the British Empire. It was locally accelerated at Tullabeg by Fr Delany's sympathy with public school ideology, albeit in a school that had advertised an English mercantile education as early as the 1850s. While hardly a clear or linear progression to the Clongowes Wood of the 1890s it has nevertheless been shown that there was a gradual shift towards all things English, a process that culminated firstly in boating according to the rules of Eton in 1870s Rahan, Co. Offaly and further along the line, a Clongowes Wood with all the external trappings of English public schools such as Winchester, Harrow or Rugby. Other elite colleges such as Blackrock and Castleknock experienced similar effects. Patrick Heffernan, later a doctor in the Indian Medical Service, recalled that at Blackrock in 1895, he and his fellow students «took in all the best of the British reviews and weekly magazines.... We all believed in the British Empire, and many of us looked forward to a career in its service» (Heffernan, 1958, p. 27).

The «Britishness» of the Irish Jesuit elite education must also be considered alongside the wider European regional pattern of Catholic elite education. Very few studies have attempted to connect the pattern of transnational educational migration in this way. Westphalian, Swiss, and Silesian students at Stella Matutina in Feldkirch, or the Benedictine Kremsmunster Abbey were offered a similar habitus to that of Irish boys attending Clongowes or Stonyhurst, but their upward mobility was instead aiming towards advancement in the Hapsburg Empire (Padberg, 1969; Hochedlinger, 1999, Cohen 1996). In English Jesuit Colleges at the time one finds the sons of the Russian nobility alongside Latin and Southern American magnates. Likewise, in Eastern Europe one finds diversity among the regional elites attending Jesuit schools at Chyrów, with Ukrainian and Polish elites sitting side by side (Królikowska, 2017; Bartnicka, 2015). All across Europe we find the Jesuits competing for regional elites and sub elites in this period, and the Irish Jesuits are part of this transnational pattern. Not Irish only, but Catholic and cosmopolitan, and seeking to offer a product that would nonetheless advance the interests of a domestic rival or emerging elite.

The imitation of public school culture must be seen as a matter of preferred class identification. For Catholics of a certain class, the Union of Ireland and Great Britain provided a unique opportunity for upward social mobility. Reducing superficial difference was of primary importance to this. The Jesuits, mindful of their clientele, provided an education that actively reduced external difference in an Empire context, and simultaneously produced difference in an Irish context. Both outcomes worked to the advantage of the boys educated by them. The transfer of powers in 1922 altered that philosophy only in its application – it was the first year in its long history

³¹ *The Irish Independent*, 1 June 1914, p. 6.

³² *The Times*, 29 May 1914, p. 10.

that the Clongowes produced teams that competed in Gaelic Games outmatches.³³ A carefully considered nod to the eventual victory of Irish-Ireland nationalist ideologies, certainly, but also a firm indication that no matter what society awaited them, the Jesuit Fathers would endeavour to mould their boys in such a way as to advance in it.

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³³ Clongowes lost - For a report on the game, played against the National University 14 March 1922, see (1922) *The Clongownian*, Issue No.3, Vol. ix. P. 330.

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