

invaluable support of the parochial clergy, and that its success might have been long postponed.

For years his reputation as an educationist had been established. He kept himself well in touch with the latest methods of instruction in special subjects and with such systems as those devised for the blind and deaf and dumb. He joined the Senate of the Royal University in April, 1883, but resigned with Cardinal MacCabe when the Senate rejected an important motion proposed by the Cardinal on behalf of the Irish bishops. As Commissioner of Primary (1895-1901) and Intermediate (1892-1909) education he was prominent in promoting many educational reforms, though towards the end he confessed inability to follow what was to be gained by all the theories of the later experts. His organisation of the Catholic headmasters in 1878 to participate in the Intermediate system had far-reaching effects. Many doubted the capacity of the unendowed Catholic schools to compete with the established Protestant endowed schools. Dr. Walsh had no such doubts, and with Father Delany, S.J.'s report of Tullabeg's success at London University, he was able to encourage the timid. The Conference not only drew up recommendations that were virtually adopted by the Board, but had the satisfaction of witnessing the competitive success of the Catholic schools. A real revolution was thus effected in the public estimate of the relative standard of Catholic and non-Catholic schools, and it paved the way for the settlement of the University question. Although never an admirer of the intermediate system with its written examinations, its former absence of inspection, and its failure to ensure the real work of education, he recognised that the Intermediate Act was the first impartial legislation between denominational schools.

The position of Catholics in Primary and University education was very different. Both systems were based and worked on principles repudiated by the Church; their governing bodies were nominated to secure a non-Catholic majority, or at any rate an even balance, while in the distribution of state aid, large sections of Catholics were wholly or partially unable to benefit. To do away with these inequalities the new Archbishop set out to do battle. His exposition of Catholic educational grievances in his *Statement of the Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics in the Matter of Education* (1890), and *The Irish University Question* (1897) form a valuable history of the educational struggle of the previous sixty years. His chief attacks on the National Board were directed against the Model Schools, the disabilities of the Training Colleges, and the restrictions on religious education. To secure the recognition of the denominational system he joined the National Board in February, 1895. Within two months he had, with the help of Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, obtained a majority of twelve against four in its favor and a breakdown of the Board's non-possimus attitude towards schools like those of the Christian Brothers. It was a wonderful victory indeed, but when a two-thirds majority of the Board, representing about 90 per cent. of the Irish people, demanded the reform, Mr. Morley, the Chief Secretary of a Home-Rule Government, refused it. Mr. Balfour, his successor in the denominational Conservative Government, persisted in the same disregard. Dr. Walsh never forgave Morley for his weakness and this desertion of political principles. His efforts, however, for the Denominational Training Colleges met with complete success. Especially notable was the repayment by the Government of the building grants, in which Dr. Walsh had the collaboration of Mr. Sexton in Parliament.

The crowning achievement of his life was the National University, making, as it did, the concession of something like equality to Catholics in university education. While still President of Maynooth, he exposed, chiefly by questions addressed by Mr. Sexton in Parliament, the inefficiency of the Queen's Colleges and their waste of public money. Every misrepresentation he ruthlessly followed up and exposed, until the Government's only escape from humiliating exposure was the grant of a Commission of Inquiry which fully established the President's accusations. As Archbishop he brought forward and galvanised the Catholic claim in regard to university education. Of the solutions put forward by the bishops, since 1871—an exclusively Catholic university, or a Catholic college or colleges in a common university—he strongly supported

the establishment of a Catholic college in the University of Dublin on the same footing as Trinity College. This was the solution proposed by Mr. Bryce in 1907, and withdrawn in favor of the present National University scheme of 1908, through the opposition of Trinity College and other vested interests. While throughout he had the wholehearted support of the Irish episcopate, especially of Dr. Healy and Dr. O'Dwyer, and among the Irish Party of Mr. Dillon, the final victory of this long, and at times apparently hopeless, struggle was due to Dr. Walsh. When the first meeting of the Senate took place on December 17, 1908, he was as a matter of course elected first Chancellor.

Education was essentially his sphere, but it was the land question that first made him known at every hearth-side in Ireland. It was the stand he induced the trustees of Maynooth College to make against the Leinster Lease in 1879 and his evidence at the Bessborough Commission (November, 1880) that exposed how Acts of Parliament passed for the benefit of the tenant could be legally nullified by the landlord. His evidence on this occasion is a masterly marshalling of facts, and the ensuing controversy with the landlord's agent remains one of his most able and crushing *tours de force*. The effect of the Maynooth protest became evident in the new Land Act on which he wrote his popular *Plain Exposition*. His grasp of the intricacies of the complex question, his irrefutable exposition of documentary facts, the authority of his name, were of invaluable assistance to the Irish Parliamentary Party. But most of all his sympathy as Archbishop with the poor and oppressed and evicted, his defence of their honesty against landlord and alien calumnies, made him a national idol.

Consulted by Lord Carnarvon at the time of the Ashbourne Act he suggested the system of decennial reductions of the annuity which formed a popular feature of that Act. He lost no opportunity of reconciling the respective interests of landlord and tenant. In August, 1887, he suggested a Round Table Conference of accredited representatives of the landlords and tenants to devise an equitable and final settlement of the Land Question. But he was sixteen years before his time and the landlord body rejected the proposal. In 1902, when the landlords were in a more reasonable frame of mind, he once again brought forward his proposal, though the Conference which led to the Act of 1903 was not realised until a virtual invitation had come from Mr. George Wyndham. Writing of this Conference Davitt says (*Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*, p. 205): "The origin of this conference is, to some extent, a matter of doubt. The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Walsh, a lifelong friend of land reform, proposed a gathering of this kind earlier in the year 1902. Mr. T. M. Healy also advocated a similar meeting." So did Mr. Talbot-Crosbie, and others before the late Captain Shawe Taylor entered on the scene. The success of the Conference was a tribute to Dr. Walsh's foresight.

His defect was aloofness. His accurate mind made him prefer to treat business on paper rather than by mouth. The dread of entanglement and of loss of time contributed to make him shun society and discourage visitors. One of the reasons that led to his leaving Cardinal MacCabe's residence was its position in a crowded thoroughfare. But no man who so grudged inroads on his time hesitated less to sacrifice himself for the common good. His civic sense was only second to his ecclesiastical. The Dublin Trades Council has rightly acknowledged his services to labor in trade disputes. Public bodies found him a diligent worker and perfect chairman. Democratic in the best sense of the word, he believed in the capacity of popularly elected bodies and had faith in the ultimate judgement of the people. He knew they might go astray for a time, but that it was impossible to deceive them for ever. What he did dread was the machine in politics operating through the bogus convention. He favored proportional representation and the Swiss referendum. Despite his retired life he knew the people better than most politicians and kept closely in touch with public opinion. To the end he kept the promise he made on his home-coming, to keep himself clear of every sinister influence counter to the interests of his country and people. He truckled to no prejudice and sought no distinction from alliances with personages hostile to Ireland. He used to call at the Lodge to write his name