

**JOHN KELLS INGRAM (1823-1907)**

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Chancellor, Provost, New Fellows and Scholars, Ladies and Gentlemen;

On another glorious Trinity Monday we celebrate John Kells Ingram; author of a famous patriotic ballad, one of the finest College officers in the last century and an internationally renowned scholar.

The patriotic writings of Ingram are the main reason for his fame throughout Ireland. The Memory of the Dead was hugely influential among Irish nationalists. In this the bicentenary year of 1798 the power of Ingram's poem is apparent.

### **The Memory of the Dead**

Who fears to speak of Ninety-Eight?  
Who blushes at the name?  
When cowards mock the patriot's fate  
Who hangs his head for shame?  
He's all a knave, or half a slave,  
Who slights his country thus;  
But a true man, like you, man,  
Will fill your glass with us.

We drink the memory of the brave,  
The faithful and the few:  
Some lie far off beyond the wave,  
Some sleep in Ireland, too;  
All, all are gone; but still lives on  
The fame of those who died;  
All true men, like you, men,  
Remember them with pride.

Some on the shores of distant lands  
Their weary hearts have laid,  
And by the stranger's heedless hands  
Their lonely graves were made;  
But, though their clay be far away  
Beyond the Atlantic foam,  
In true men, like you, men,  
Their spirit's still at home.

The dust of some is Irish earth,  
Among their own they rest,  
And the same land that gave them birth

Has caught them to her breast;  
And we will pray that from their clay

Full many a race may start  
Of true men, like you, men,  
To act as brave a part.

They rose in dark and evil days  
To right their native land;  
They kindled here a living blaze  
That nothing shall withstand.  
Alas! that Might can vanquish Right-  
They fell and passed away;  
But true men, like you men,  
Are plenty here today.

Then here's their memory-may it be  
For us a guiding light,  
To cheer our strife for liberty,  
And teach us to unite-  
Through good and ill, be Ireland's still,  
Though sad as theirs your fate,  
And true men be you, men,  
Like those of Ninety-Eight.

Ingram wrote the Memory of the Dead in one night in his rooms on this site in the old House 30 in March 1843. He was in the company of the O'Regan brothers, John and Thomas, scholars who hailed from Ennis, and George Shaw, a Fellow of 1848. After much talk about 1798 he withdrew to his bedroom, leaving his friends in the outer room. He spent the night writing the poem and with diffidence showed it to Shaw on the next day. That afternoon he dropped the poem into the letterbox of The Nation newspaper and it was published in the edition of April 1, 1843. In the Irish Times we read that "by virtue of that piece of ballad poetry the name of John Kells Ingram lives today upon the lips and in the hearts of Irishmen." ( May 2, 1907). Litton Falkiner in his tribute to Ingram (1908;108) stated that " this noble requiem of the men of '98 at once took its place as the anthem of their political successors and for more than sixty years this youthful burst of enthusiasm has made the name of Ingram familiar to thousands of his fellow-countrymen to whom the graver effects of his maturer pen could scarcely have made direct appeal." Falkiner was a Unionist parliamentary candidate in South Armagh (McDowell, 1997;24) and his description of the poem as " this noble requiem of the men of '98" shows the affection in which Ingram was held by both nationalists and unionists- a vital role for TCD in Irish public life.

The air of The Memory of the Dead was composed by John Edward Piggot, a law student from Kilworth, Co. Cork who was a senior sophister in 1843. Piggot was a leading member of the Hist, and later, of the Young Ireland inner council and a judge in India. He returned to Ireland in 1870

and lived at 15 Merrion Square but died in the following year. The Memory of the Dead was also sung to the air of Auld Lang Syne.

It was the ideals of 1798 which attracted Ingram rather than subsequent interpretations along Orange and Green lines. The guests in Ingram's rooms that night could hardly be described as mainstream Irish nationalists. The O'Regans had distinguished careers in the Church of Ireland, according to Falkiner, while in the words of Webb and McDowell "Shaw was to become something of a maverick among the Fellows," as well as Junior Dean. He became Professor of Physics at Queens College Cork and on his return to Dublin was "a man-about-town" and "friend of theatrical celebrities. "Overflowing with tireless, if not clearly focussed energy, he was never at a loss for an anecdote, wit and banter, .....He contributed little, perhaps, to the education of Dublin, but a good deal to its entertainment." (1982,298).

There were two sources of inspiration for The Memory of the Dead-Ingram's participation in the College Historical Society and his radical background. Ingram supported William Hancock in his negotiations with Provost Sadlier which secured the return of the Hist as an intern society in College 1843. It had been an extern society since 1821. John Dillon, Thomas Davis and Charles Gavan Duffy were also active members of the Hist and founders of the Young Ireland movement. They had launched the Nation newspaper in October 1842 six months before it published The Memory of the Dead.

The 1798 tradition in the Hist was strong. A visitation by the Vice Chancellor, Lord Clare, after the rising, resulted in the expulsion of nineteen students, eight of whom, including Robert Emmet, were members of the Hist. Wolf Tone was a member as was his friend Whitley Stokes, whose fellowship was suspended for three years following the visitation.

Isaac Butt was auditor of the Hist in 1834. A year earlier he emphasised the role of the Society in producing orators who would retrieve Ireland's past glories by serving the country. "from this Society great things will be produced; we will draw around us the youthful talent of our country, and train them in that power which may enable them to benefit her. The glory of the days gone shall return with more than pristine splendour.....I do believe that the time will come, when faction shall flee away and dissension shall be forgotten; when Ireland's orators and Ireland's statesmen shall seek only their country's good; when law shall be respected and yet liberty maintained." (Budd and Hinds;59).

Ingram's ancestors were Scottish Presbyterians who had settled in County Down. His grandfather, Captain John Ingram had a linen mill at Glennane, Co. Armagh and raised at his own expense a corps of the Volunteers in 1782. According to Falkiner, Ingram, while not a member of the Young Ireland fraternity, "though his immediate acquaintances and associates included several who were in touch with the Young Ireland in its earlier stages and whose own sympathies with the United Irishmen were probably warmed by the fact that his grandfather had raised in the County Armagh, in connection with the Volunteer movement, a corps known as the Lisdrumhure or Mountnorris Volunteers..."

Ingram was six years old when his father died. His mother brought her family to Newry in order to advance their education. Since Glennane is just nine miles from Newry the loss of his father brought Ingram close to his family's radical roots. The Presbyterians of the time were heavily influenced by the ideals of the American war of independence and the French revolution. Glennane, once one of the prettiest villages in County Armagh, today is a sad place with many boarded-up houses and a memorial to sixteen local men killed in the troubles.

There was subsequent speculation that Ingram's authorship of *The Memory of the Dead* was not widely known and that he regretted that authorship. I believe that the evidence does not support the speculation on either of these points.

The fame which the poem brought Ingram was immediate, according to Falkiner. By 1845 it was arranged for voice and piano in a volume called *The Spirit of the Nation*, published by James Duffy but neither the composer nor Ingram are cited in the book. Thomas Carlyle met Ingram on a visit to Howth on July 6th and 7th, 1849 and described him as "author of the Repeal Song "True men like you men" and as " a clever indignant kind of little fellow." (Lyster; 1909; 7).

*The Memory of the Dead* was also well known to students, as Budd and Hinds confirm in the following account;- "A student, G.B. Morgan wrote from House 37 to his mother on November 10th, 1853 that at the College Historical Society opening meeting on the night before he had heard a "capital" address from John Kells Ingram. " It was Ingram who wrote the celebrated song " who fears to speak of ninety eight". He was enthusiastically cheered by the undergraduates on the commencement and the end of his speech; and also on leaving the room. The Provost , as chairman, acted very badly, leaving the room very prematurely, and thus, putting a stop to the proceedings before the time. We thus lost a speech from Butt, who was there. The undergraduates kept up shouts of 'Butt!, Butt!', while the Provost was leaving, to annoy him. Indeed the Provost behaved very shabbily." (Budd and Hinds; pp. 73-74). In their discussion of the then Provost MacDonnell, Webb and McDowell confirm that " by the time he became Provost his liberalism was wearing a bit thin." (157). Perhaps the thought of two economists in one evening, Ingram and Butt, was too much for the Provost to bear.

In 1870 a Latin version of the *Memory of the Dead* by Tyrell was published in Kottabos. There followed several Irish translations. In 1882 on St Patrick's night, *The Memory of the Dead* was printed on a concert programme at the Round Room of the Rotunda. with Dr Ingram's name appended as author. A College secret is prime example of oxymoron and Ingram's authorship of *The Memory of the Dead* must have been one of the worst kept secrets of the College then or since.

Speculation that Ingram regretted the sentiments in *The Memory of the Dead* is also unfounded. Shortly after Ingram's death on May 1st, 1907, Mr Henry Salt of Devon wrote in *The Times* that he had requested Ingram's

permission in 1892 to include *The Memory of the Dead* in his anthology *Songs of Freedom*. Ingram replied that " I am quite willing that you should print my stanzas in your volume. You will not suppose that the effusion of the youth exactly represents the convictions of the man. But I have never been ashamed of having written the verses. They were the fruit of genuine feeling." Confirmation of this is provided in Ingram's copy of *Dublin Verses by Members of Trinity College*, edited by H.A. Hinkson and published in 1894 (7). Ingram's handwritten emendation to the second stanza substitutes " the cause for which they died" for " the fame of those who died". The concluding part of the stanza in the revised version reads;

"All, all are gone- but still lives on  
The cause for which they died  
And true men, like you, men,  
Remember them with pride."

The 1894 version by emphasising the cause of 1798 might be said to be more radical than the original in 1843. There are no signs of regret for having written the original.

In 1900 Ingram published *Sonnets and Other Poems*, The prefatory note on the *Memory of the Dead* reads; " Some persons have believed or affected to believe that I am ashamed of having written it, and would gladly, if I could, disown its ownership. Those who know me do not need to be told that this idea is without foundation. I think the Irish race should be grateful to men who, in evil times, however mistaken may have been their policy, gave their lives for their country. But I have no sympathy with those who preach sedition in our own day when all the circumstances are radically altered. In my opinion no real popular interest can now be furthered by violence." (1900, 6-7).

*Sonnets and Other Poems* contains Ingram's last poem, *National Presage*, a return to the theme of *The Memory of the Dead*, published almost sixty years before.

"Unhappy Erin, what a lot was thine!  
Half-conquered by a greedy robber band;  
Misled by zealots, wresting laws divine  
To sanction every dark or mad design;  
Lured by false lights of pseudo-patriot league  
Through crooked paths of faction and intrigue;  
And drugg'd with selfish flatter's poisoned wine.  
Yet reading all thy mournful history,  
Thy children, with a mystic faith sublime,  
Turn to the future, confident that Fate,  
Become at last thy friend, reserves for thee,

To be thy portion in the coming time,  
They know not what- but surely something great."

In 1905 in *The Final Transition* Ingram states that *The House of Lords*, "the aristocratic chamber" and titles of honour should disappear. "The gift of

knighthoods is among the few forms of bribery still tolerated... all this false gilding will pass away with the growth of genuine Republican feeling." Ireland will be separated from the other British states and become independent. (Lyster 46). He advocated "Home-rule all round, that is of confiding the separate management of their internal affairs to England, Scotland, and Wales, severally, as well as to Ireland..... If Ireland were simply cut off from the Union, it would be difficult to interest England and Scotland in her affairs sufficiently to secure for the Irish minority the guardianship which it might possibly require." Positivism he saw crucial to the evolution of an independent Ireland. " Only by the conversion of the "Two Nations" which inhabit the island can its permanent pacification and its continuous progress be assured." (Ingram;1905;pp. 58-9).

Ingram's thoughts on the relationships between the unionist and nationalist traditions in Ireland and in the relationships between Ireland and the devolved parliaments in England, Scotland and Wales, are remarkably similar to those agreed at Stormont on Good Friday, and to be put before all voters in the island of Ireland in eleven days time. Ingram's patriotic poetry echoes down through the decades. I turn now to his lifelong service to this College.

## **INGRAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO TCD.**

John Kells Ingram was born in Templecarne, near Pettigo, County Donegal on July 7th, 1823. It is a quiet rural area where counties Donegal and Fermanagh meet. The glebe is on the Fermanagh side of the river that divides the small town and the chapel is on the Donegal side. Lieut. Robert Boteler in the Ordinance Survey Memoirs of 1834/5 wrote that " remarkable events of no kind are recorded as having taken place in this parish". Ingram's father, William, a scholar of TCD in 1790, was the Church of Ireland rector. When the Revd. Ingram died in 1829 his widow took her five children to Newry because of her late husband's wish to further their education. Ingram studied at Mr Lyons School in Newry from 1829 until 1837 and lived at 35 Hill street. He entered Trinity College, Dublin on October 13, 1837, at fourteen years of age, and obtained first place at entrance. It was the beginning of a distinguished contribution to College extending for seventy years. He gained a sizarship in 1838 and scholarship in 1840. He obtained a senior Moderatorship in Mathematics in 1842.

At the fellowship examination in 1845 he was awarded the Madden premium and in 1846 he was elected to fellowship and commenced his studies in law. He served with distinction as Professor of Oratory (1852-1866) and of English Literature (1855-1866), Regius Professor of Greek (1866-1879), Librarian (1879-1886), Senior Lecturer (1886-1893) Registrar (1893-1896) and Vice Provost (1898-1899). The breadth of Ingram's scholarship merits for him the highest accolade from McDowell and Webb. "With scholarly publications in archaeology, mathematics, etymology, medieval manuscripts, Shakespearean criticism and economics " he rightly disdained the "I am not competent to discuss" approach in which nearly every specialist takes refuge

today(1982)" (292-3.) On his administrative record they write that "the neatness and accuracy of the College records during his tenure contrast strongly with the careless and slovenly work of even such able men as Jellett and Mahaffy, for Ingram was free from the impatience and self-importance which prevent able men from carrying out routine tasks efficiently." (293).

No lectures had been held for nearly twenty years by the previous Professor of Oratory, MacDonnell, who became Provost in 1852. As Luce notes, "Ingram threw himself into his new duties with vigour and enthusiasm. In 1855 he persuaded the Board to allow him to widen the scope of his teaching to include English literature as well as oratory, the change being recognised by an alteration in the title of the chair. This led almost at once to the institution of a new moderatorship course in which English literature could be studied along with history, jurisprudence and economics." (Luce;1992;103).

Ingram was thus the founder of the School of English Literature. He had a life long interest in poetry. In 1840 at sixteen he published sonnets in Dublin University Magazine. His well received volume, Sonnets and Other Poems, described by Lyster as " a volume full of autobiography, interest and beauty"(14) and published over sixty years later in 1903.

In A Filial Tribute he thanks his widowed mother for the sacrifices which she made so that he might receive education in the classics.

"To have look'd on these Greek splendours- what a gain?

And scarcely less that I have learned to prize

The imperial Roman spirit, strong and wise,

Nor wanting in a pure poetic vein-

As in sympathetic Mantuan swain

Whose Muse "walks highest' if she seldom "flies";

..... My mother! thy laborious widow'd days

Have won for me these boons- ah! ill repaid

By this my heartfelt, but too tardy praise. (A Filial Tribute 1-11)

Our Public Orator, John Luce, will no doubt today enjoy the section of A Filial Tribute which reads;

"If I have heard with wonder and delight

The verse of Homer with triumphant chime

Breaking for ever on the shores of time."

And Ingram's successor as Regius Professor, John Dillon, will also

" Have dwelt, deep-rapt on Plato's dreams sublime."

Alas, Provost, I could find no reference to Cicero in the classical poetry of Ingram and move instead to his growing interest in geometry;

"When closed my song-charmd boyhood's dreamy days,

Began austerer Science to invite

My spirit, seeking everywhere for light,

I learned the line and surface to appraise,

And star and planet fix'd my serious gaze." (The Religion of

Humanity,xiv).



Ingram was a deeply spiritual person. This is shown in poems on the deaths of his wife Madeline Johnston, from County Derry, in 1862 and of his son, Thomas Dunbar, in 1895. On the death of his wife Ingram wrote;

"Possessing wealth past human estimate  
In her who brought all blessings to my door,  
Now in the eternal world my treasure lies-  
From thoughts of her I borrow day by day  
Strength to my feet and and guidance on my way,  
Yet walking thus by faith, I yearn for sight-  
Yearn for her visibel presence, and the light  
That shone for me from those loving eyes." (Love and Sorrow,xvi)

Thomas was a scholar of TCD in 1890, the centenary of the election of his grandfather, and died five years later in South Africa. Ingram remembers his dead wife and son;

One sleeps in Erin, near the home she bless'd  
Where grateful hearts still worship her; and one  
Who pass'd, his active manhood scarce begun,  
And all his poet-soul yet unexpress'd,  
Lies under tamarisk boughs, where Afric's sun  
Looks down on hallow'd ground at Beaufortwest." (Winged

Thoughts,1898)

Ingram became Regius Professor of Greek in 1866. In that year he examined J.G. Swift MacNeill at entrance. MacNeill, who obtained first place, describes Ingram as " a gentleman of the very widest and most profound erudition, a great historian, a great Greek scholar, and a great exponent of philosophy" and as " a man of medium size, with hair prematurely grey and wonderfully penetrating bluish-grey eyes. He had a very kindly, reassuring manner, with a quiet demeanour which invariably commanded respect."(1925,55).

Not since 1805, according to McDowell and Webb, had any holder of the chair of Greek treated it as any more than a routine teaching office or made any contribution to Greek studies. In 1873 Ingram, Mahaffy, Tyrell and Benjamin Williamson founded *Hermethena* which, according to Dillon, "from the outset published articles and reviews of considerable importance, primarily on classical subjects, but also in such areas as philosophy and mathematics, Its reviews were much feared, and with good reason. Under the editorship of Tyrell it is fair to say that it became one of the top classical journals of the English-speaking world." (1991,247).

Appointed Librarian in 1879, Ingram proposed to the Board in June 1881 that the Book of Kells be placed in a display case in the Long Room.(Fox;1991). Ingram was President of the Library Association of Great Britain and presided at its meeting in Dublin in 1884. He was a founding trustee of the National Library of Ireland in 1878 and Vice President of The Library Association of Ireland founded in 1904.

In words which will make Ingram's successors as Senior Lecturer green with envy, McDowell and Webb state that " from 1888, he used his now relatively leisured position as Senior Lecturer to publish his History of Political Economy."

The contribution of Ingram to the life of College was without boundary. Ingram supported the admission of women to College and to Mrs Anne Jellicoe, founder and first principal of Alexandra College he dedicated his poem "To A.J. a Monody", described by Lyster as "Dr Ingram's longest flight of sustained noble excellence in verse." (9). He was secretary to the committee which commissioned and financed the statues of Burke and Goldsmith at Front Gate. The diplomatic skills which assisted the return of the Hist to College in 1843 helped heal a split between the Boat Club and Rowing Club in 1898 when Ingram chaired the crucial meeting. (West, 1991,21; Bailey, 1947;101). He was then 75 years old but "he never completely lost the idealism of his youth. He befriended student societies and clubs and on most political issues he was well to the left of his colleagues." ( McDowell and Webb; 294). The point is echoed by Luce, " to the end of his long life he retained a liberal and tolerant outlook."

Gordon Herries Davis (1991;330-1) includes Ingram in a select list such as Fitzgerald, Hamilton, Haughton, Joly, the Lloyds, A.A. Luce, Mahaffy and Salmon as scholars who passed virtually their entire adult lives within the college community and for whom "Trinity was part of their very being. It provided them with the environment necessary for the development of their intellectual creativity; it was in a very real and almost literal sense their Alma Mater."

In view of Ingram's many distinctions and his service and dedication to College the question might be asked why he did not become Provost. His biographer in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (1907-1908) states that " only his closest friends were aware of how narrowly he missed nomination for the highest position in the College, when, in 1881, Mr Gladstone, was called upon to recommend to the Crown a successor to Provost Humphrey Lloyd." (2). John Hewitt Jellett was appointed Provost, " a sound choice" according to McDowell and Webb.

Ingram's liberalism was more active than Jellett's. Ingram had the support of the Lord Lieutenant Cowper and the Attorney General. But Jellett was a more astute academic politician. An account of the Board at the time by Dickson was that it consisted " of three capables, three incapables, and one man capable of anything, the last being Jellett." (McDowell and Webb, 286). The Church of Ireland synod provided Jellett with another outlet for his political skills whereas according to Swift MacNeill, Ingram " because of his devotion to scholarship took little part in active political life and was the subject of one of Mr O'Connell's jibes that "the bird who once sang so sweetly is now caged and silent in Trinity College." Whereas Jellett was a member of the synod, Ingram "had not entered into Holy Orders and indeed it was whispered to his detriment that he held Positivist views which would be unsuitable in a head of a College founded for the advancement of true religion and useful learning". (MacNeill,56).

The 14 volume Diaries of Gladstone (Foot and Matthews, 1968-94) record no correspondence concerning either Provost Jellett or the provostial representations on Ingram's behalf. Dr Vaughan of the History School recommends that we must enquire why there is no record of the correspondence.

Perhaps there is another reason why Gladstone declined to nominate Ingram as Provost? The Irish Secretary, Lord Hartington was asked by Gladstone on December 14th, 1872, to find an adviser for the government would "be strong in special knowledge of our ground as far as we have to deal with Trinity College. We want very much some individual who looking at the matter from a Trinity College point of view and thoroughly well acquainted with the laws and working of that institution would form a perfectly dry impartial judgement on the various points of the plan, so that his criticisms might reveal to us the weak places.

Some one in short who would do for us, not as a friend but judicially, what Stopford did for me in the matter of the Irish Church." (Gladstone Diaries, 14/12/73.) Hartington recommended Ingram to Gladstone on the following day.

Ingram visited Gladstone on January 16th, 1873. "Dr Ingram came in aft(ernoon) and I was able to spend several hours with him on the Univ(ersity) question." On January 17 the diary reads, "many hours with Dr I. on the Bill and scheme; in truth, almost from breakf(ast) to dinner. Conversation with him in ev(enin)g on Homer and ancient questions." On January 18th, Gladstone wrote his memorandum to cabinet on the Bill. The memorandum included establishing a non-Collegiate element, substituting a Council for the Provost and Seven Fellows, altering the title to the University of Dublin simply, the allocation of property and absorption of the Queens University, Gladstone wrote to Ingram on January 25th and on February 1st, 11th. and 12th., the day before he introduced the Bill in the House of Commons. Gladstone wrote to Ingram again on February 14th and copied the letter on February 15th to Earl Spencer, the Irish lord lieutenant. "I send you herewith copy of a letter I have addressed to Dr. Ingram, who will now I presume return to Dublin."

Gladstone's Irish Universities Bill contained such unattractive measures as government representatives on the Board and the closure of the university at Galway on the grounds that it was uneconomic. It was defeated in Parliament on 12 March 1873 by three votes and the votes against the Bill by the Dublin University M.P.s David Plunkett and John Ball were crucial. TCD opinion on the defeat of Gladstone's Bill was unequivocal. "College was saved from the gravest threat to its future since the Jacobite occupation of 1690. But Gladstone was never to be forgiven." (McDowell and Webb, 255). Luce notes that under the Bill Trinity "would lose its autonomy and its Divinity School; it would probably lose a portion of its endowments; and worst of all, its freedom to offer its students a broad and liberal education" because of "restrictive arrangements laid down for the teaching and

examining of the "sensitive" subjects of theology, philosophy and modern history." (Luce;98).

We do not know how much the failed Universities Bill reflects the extensive advice of Ingram. Gladstone lost office because of his defeat on the Irish Universities Bill and that may have influenced his choice of Jellett over Ingram as Provost eight years later. As Gladstone's adviser Ingram was in a Catch 22 situation. If Ingram's advice was in favour of the Bill he would be identified later as the author of Gladstone's loss of office. If Ingram advised against the Bill he would be identified in Gladstone's mind as a weak advocate.

The TCD Board minutes of the time record decisions rather than debate and Ingram is not mentioned in the minutes on the University Bill. The Board minute of February 17th records that Provost Lloyd appointed a committee to prepare a petition against the proposed Bill for University Education. On February 24th the petition to be laid before the Senate was agreed by the Board and was passed by the Senate by a large majority on the following day. At Board on March 4th it was decided that Dr Ball M.P should be informed of the views of the Board. Ingram's role as Gladstone's adviser on the University Bill appears not to have been known to his contemporaries or to College historians.

His standing remained high. In regard to the Provostship MacNeill maintains that while Ingram's "failure to reach that office may have caused disappointment to him he had the consolation of knowing that in the estimate of the world of learning he was the best man for the place." (1925,55).

The success of TCD in opposing the 1873 legislation was repeated under Provost Traill in securing the exclusion of the College from the political interference of the Universities Act in 1908 and the securing of Letters Patent in 1911 "which in addition to making important constitutional changes in the College returned to it the right of making its own statutes, which had been taken by the Crown in 1637." (Statutes of TCD, 1994,(11). This protected the College's autonomy both from actual political interference from Westminster and from a Home Rule parliament. Protection for the autonomy of TCD was also secured by Provost Bernard in Section 64 of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920.

When Jellett died in 1888 the Conservatives were back in office and there was little prospect that Ingram, a liberal, would receive a nomination as successor to Jellett. The new Provost George Salmon nominated Ingram as Vice Provost in 1898.

This was a golden age in TCD. According to McDowell and Webb the tercentenary in 1892 " marks the beginning of the decade in which the reputation of the College was higher than ever before or since. For it can be fairly said that of the Fellows and Professors of the closing years of the century over a quarter were men whose scholarship was already, or was shortly to become, widely recognised outside Ireland, while at least another quarter had substantial scholarly achievements which would make their names well known in Ireland to the general world of intellect and outside it to men in their own field of learning." (284). Ingram was thus a leading light

in a bright constellation. We now move to his international scholarly reputation.

### **INGRAM THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOLAR**

Ingram was elected to the Royal Irish Academy in 1847. For forty three years he served on its governing body. He was secretary for eighteen years and vice president for twelve. He was president from 1892 to 1896. In his presidential address he referred to the Academy as " a common ground on which Irishmen, otherwise of different views, may meet as friends, for mutual assistance and encouragement in the pursuit of truth, in the cultivation of letters and in the illustration of our national memorials." This was an echo of the unity theme, "and teach us to unite", of his patriotic poem of almost fifty years before.

Ingram was a founder in 1847 of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, then known as the Dublin Statistical Society. The first meeting was held in Dr Hancock's rooms in 16 Botany Bay in October 1847 some 38 years before the American Economics Association was founded in 1885 and 44 years before the Royal Economics Society was founded in 1891. Ingram later wrote that " it was the pressure of social problems then imperatively demanding attention that led its youthful founders to attempt the establishment of such an institution" adding that " it has not occupied itself with dilettante statistics, collected with no special purpose, and tending to no definite conclusion. It has from the first applied itself, in the spirit of earnest enquiry, to the most important questions affecting the condition of the country." (Ingram,1864; Daly, 1997;13). Ingram's words " the spirit of earnest enquiry" were chosen by Mary Daly as the title of her book commemorating 150 years of the society this year when Professor Dermot McAleese is president. The goal of an improved society through scientific investigation was derived from the positivism of Auguste Comte, a philosophy which heavily influenced Ingram.

The influence of Comte made Ingram critical of prevailing trends in economics. In his address as President of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society to the British Association for the Advancement of Science in Dublin in 1888, he dealt with the issue of whether economics could claim to be properly scientific in character and criticism that " Some of the cultivators of the older branches of research but half recognised the right of Political Economy and Statistics to citizenship in the commonwealth of science, and it was not obscurely intimated that these studies would do well to relinquish pretensions which could not be sustained." Ingram made four major criticisms of contemporary economics.

- (1) that the study of economics ought to be systematically combined with that of other aspects of social existence;
- (2) that the excessive tendency to abstraction and to unreal simplifications should be checked;
- (3) that the a priori deductive method should be changed for the historical; and
- (4) that that economic laws and the practical prescriptions founded on them should be conceived and expressed in a less absolute form.

To Ingram, economics is one branch of the general science of sociology. In turn sociology has an importance and interest transcending that of every other department of human knowledge. The most serious mistake made by economists since the middle period of the nineteenth century was to isolate their study. He believed that "either as a fruitful branch of speculation, or as an important source of practical guidance, political economy would cease to command attention, unless it were linked in close connection with the general science of society, unless, in fact, it should be subsumed under and absorbed into Sociology." (Falkiner;1908,119). The integration of economics into sociology is based also on Comte, the first writer to popularise the term sociology.

In regard to the excessive abstraction argument he criticised Ricardo in particular "for viciously abstract presentations of concepts." For example man is not just labour. He is before all things a man and a member of society. He is usually head of a household and he is a citizen. In Ingram's labour market master and workman fulfill different but equally necessary parts in a joint social enterprise. In his address to the Trades Union Congress of 1888 Ingram listed adequate wages, a well regulated home and education as "the true means of achieving the end of all your efforts- a better and nobler life for the workman of the future."

He believed that economists exaggerate immensely the office of deduction in their investigations. In the historical approach they would examine also factors such as political institutions, family arrangements, religious beliefs, morals and customs. He felt that there was a "too absolute character" in the theoretical and practical conclusions of economists".

These ideas formed the basis for his History of Political Economy (1888) on which Ingram's international reputation was built. The work proved immensely popular and was translated into German and Spanish (1890), Polish and Russian (1891), Italian and Swedish(1892), French(1893), Czech(1895), and Japanese (1896). Ingram's ideas were close to those of the German Historical School which was influential between the 1840s and the 1880s in the works of Wilhelm Roscher, Bruno Hildebrand, Karl Knies and Gustav Schmoller. The translator of the German edition (1890) welcomes it as "in harmony with the most advanced speculation in Political Economy of German thinkers". (Lyster;32).

In his preface to the Japanese edition Ingram hoped that the work might help "to preserve the Japanese mind from the narrowness which so long beset our Western labours on this subject (of economics)... simply to transplant to the soil of Japan the imperfect solutions at which we have arrived would fail to satisfy her wants."(Lyster;38)

-The contribution of Ingram, Cliff Leslie, and John Elliott Cairnes made TCD the leading English language centre of the Historical School. "In the United States Ingram was one of the forces producing what with some exaggeration was called "the new economics" ..He helped to set in motion forces which culminated in the formation of the American Economics Association in 1885..The American Economics Association fittingly recognised the services of Dr Ingram by making him an honorary member in 1891"( Ely;1915;xii). In 1893 he was conferred with an honorary degree of

LL.D. from Glasgow. Between 1882 and 1888 he wrote the entries in Encyclopaedia Britannica on Pierre Leroux, Cliffe Leslie, John McCulloch, George van Maurer, William Petty, Francois Quesnay, Karl Rau, David Ricardo, Jean Baptiste Say, Adam Smith, Jacques Turgot, and Arthur Young. He also wrote the entries on sumptuary laws and slavery. From 1891 to 1896 Ingram wrote the entries in Palgrave's Dictionary of Economics on Cliff Leslie, Frederich List, and Karl Marx. He also wrote on labour and trade issues as well as on positivism. Ingram's international fame at this time is well captured in a letter from the Professor of Economics at Harvard to his opposite number at Columbia. Frank Taussig wrote to Edward Seligman; "Have you seen Ingram's article in the volume of Britannica, recently issued, on Political Economy? It is an excellent sketch of the history of political economy, the best in our language, by all odds. It is just what I want, as a book of general reference for the students in one of next year's courses." (May 1886)

Richard Ely, of Johns Hopkins, summarises the impact of Ingram as follows; "A more humane and genial spirit has taken the place of the old dryness and hardness which once repelled so many of the best minds from the study of Economics and won for it the name of 'the dismal science'. In particular, the problem of the Proletariat, of the condition and future of the working classes- has taken a powerful hold on the feelings, as well as the intellect, of Society, and is studied in a more earnest and sympathetic spirit than at any former time." (ibid;xix).

In the end the Historicists were incorporated into the mainstream. As Sir Eric Roll states " tacitly, the indispensability of both branches of economic enquiry, the historical-realistic and the abstract-analytical, was mutually admitted." (1961;310). In the best works both branches are usually combined. Without the historical-realistic branch much of modern economics in the abstract analytical stream becomes in the words of James Trevithick of TCD and Kings, Cambridge, "A spot-the-word competition." Indeed it is frequently claimed that for advancement in that branch of economics the fewer people who can understand a journal article, the better. On the other hand an absence of abstract analysis and exclusive reliance on the historical-realistic branch is mere description of the status quo without an intellectual dimension. For example, attempts to explain the high growth of both output and employment in the Irish economy in recent years- the so-called Celtic Tiger- would be futile if they relied on traditional theories of economic growth. The investment ratio in Ireland is now lower than a decade ago but factors such as education, deregulation and free trade in product and factor markets, the 1993 devaluation of the Irish pound without inflationary impacts, order in the public finances, demographic change, increased participation of women in the labour force etc. have translated lower investment into more output growth and output growth into more employment growth than ever before in Ireland.

Ingram stated that the members of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society ' do not, as such, seek to intrude into the province of the politician. Our business is to discover and demonstrate, by the application of scientific principles, the legislative action appropriate to each phase of society and each

group of economic conditions. At what precise time, and in what particular form, our conclusions should be adopted in practice is a question of political expediency, which those who are acquainted with the varying exigencies of public life can determine better than we. But it is encouraging to know that in endeavouring by our researches and discussions to overthrow error and to establish truth, we are labouring at no unpractical-no hopeless task; that any wise suggestion developed here may one day become a beneficent reality, a living agency for good; and that thus, without sitting on the councils of the State, or mingling in the strife of parties, we may, each of us, do something towards the improvement of the institutions of our country." (Falkiner;123).

Ingram became a follower of Comte in 1851 and visited him four years later in Paris. In the positivist system there are three stages in the development of the human mind; the theological, the metaphysical and the positive. To serve humanity it is necessary to know humanity. The regeneration of society is to be accomplished by the subordination of politics to morals, by the moralisation of capital, by the renovation of the family and by a higher conception of marriage. All enquiry into causes or ultimate origins is abandoned. The study of humanity is substituted for revealed religion. God is replaced by humanity. The object of love is humanity, a unity of all men and women, past, present and to come, whose lives are devoted to the well being and progress of the race. The positivist church in London was adorned with the busts of the saints of humanity. The services included addresses and positivist hymns. Huxley, an opponent, described positivism as catholicism without Christianity to which the Comtist response was to describe positivism as catholicism plus science. (Encyclopaedia Britannica,6 and 18).

Ingram died on May 1, 1907 at this home 38 Upper Mount Street, where he lived since 1884 Previously he lived at 2 Wellington Road since his marriage in 1862. The tributes paid were fulsome. The Times noted that Ingram had filled "nearly all the important offices with which the College could reward his industry and brilliant learning" and that "those who worked with Ingram in Trinity College were persuaded that he was the best educated man in Europe." (May 2,1907) The Irish Times stated that "in Dr Ingram, Ireland loses her ripest scholar and one of her most lovable and interesting personalities"(May 2, 1907). The student writers in TCD stated that "an intense love of humanity, finding expression in his opposition to oppression was the key-note to his life" and that the secret of Dr Ingram's great influence was "his quiet earnestness, zeal and sincerity in every work which he undertook and his sympathetic encouragement of the young men who were willing to catch the spirit of his teaching." (May 8, 1907).

Professor, and later Provost, Bernard in a sermon in College chapel on the Sunday after Ingram's death stated the fact that Ingram believed that the teaching of Christ would be superseded by Comte is "one of those perplexing anomalies of the human mind." (Evening Mail, May 6th, 1907).

Tyrell's obituary of Ingram on May 2nd recounts that "like many brilliant men who were young in the middle of the last century, he fell under the influence of Auguste Comte and, (unlike many of them) maintained even to



old age a belief in that arid and unsatisfying philosophy." Tyrell went on to state that " we are not willing to pronounce on the merits or demerits of the Comtian philosophy" but added that "to us it seems to offer a stone for bread."

Ingram's funeral service in College Chapel on May 3rd, 1907 was without religious doubts. Mahaffy presided and read the lesson. The chapel and the College mace were draped in black in mourning. The chapel choir was praised for its renditions of Croft, Purcell, Psalm 90, the anthem How Blest are the Departed, and Rock of Ages. Ingram's sons and sons in law led the mourners. The Lord Chancellor, Mr Justice Andrews represented the government. Ingram's academic colleagues and student friends, and his colleagues from the Royal Irish Academy were just part of a very large congregation. The funeral took place to Mount Jerome where the Revd. Canon J.H.Walsh D.D. was the officiating clergyman. In the Ingram vault rest also his mother, wife, his infant son Francis Ernest (1866) and his younger daughter Florence Beatrice (1918).

### **COMMEMORATION.**

In 1955 Ingram's elder daughter, Madeline Townley Balfour, of the Townley Hall estate between Slane and Drogheda died. Her distant cousin, David Crichton offered the estate to College on favourable terms. At the same time John Kells Ingram junior, the last surviving member of the Ingram family, died in South Africa, leaving the bulk of his valuable estate to TCD. (Mitchell, 1957, 21). The bequest provided most of the purchase price. The estate was named the John Kells Ingram Farm and the object of College was to provide students with a practical demonstration of an efficient, and profitable, farm and forest. The chairman of the management committee was Professor Frank Mitchell. A moderatorship course in agriculture was established in 1959/60 and the Kellogg Foundation and the American government assisted the project.

Alas, the project failed. No new students were enrolled after 1963/64 and the farm was sold to the Department of Lands in 1968.

Frank Mitchell continued to live at Townley Hall until his death last November. He provided useful assistance with this discourse when I received his generous hospitality at Townley Hall on November 1st and we had an entire afternoon's discussion of Ingram. This discourse may indeed be Frank Mitchell's last joint publication. I want to thank also the late Dr Webb, Dr McDowell, Vice Provosts Spearman and Mayes and the economists, historians and churchmen who helped so much in the preparation of this discourse. I wish to thank also Professor Brian Boydell and Nicholas Carolan of The Irish Traditional Music Archive for helping to establish that not only can College claim the author of The memory of the Dead in Ingram but in John Edward Piggot, the composer of its music, as well.

In the Tercentenary Trinity Week in 1892 Ingram addressed the celebratory dinner. Two of his themes are important today- the community of

scholarship and the role of the university in society. As we welcome today our guests from Oxford and Cambridge let us recall the welcome from Ingram. " I will not enter into any eulogy of Oxford, or of her sister of Cambridge, who is habitually united with her in our thoughts. If I did so, I might be met with the old reply, Quis Vituperavit? Their history is one of the national glories; their noble roll of worthies is familiar to us all and we know what an important part they have played in originating some of the most memorable movements in English thought. We in Trinity College have felt their influence ; their example has stimulated us; their kindness has encouraged us. They have behaved towards us in the true spirit of older sisters; and for this I am sure that every Dublin man who hears me is sincerely grateful and will join with me in the hope that the present celebration will draw yet closer the bonds of mutual goodwill which have hitherto happily united us." On the world community of universities and their autonomy Ingram urged his audience as follows; " Let us comprise in one comprehensive act of thought all of the universities of the world which have responded to our call from London to Melbourne and Calcutta, from Leyden to Bologna, from Yale and Harvard to Vienna and St Petersburg. Wherever such an institution has been established, we ought to regard it as a stronghold founded for the defence or true Science and sound Learning, and for carrying on the perennial warfare against ignorance, sciolism, prejudice and error." (Tercentenary Festival of the University of Dublin, 1894, 132-3.)

Richardson's Trinity Monday poem says that " The day seemed so splendid that I even attended the Discourse on Skelton, not a theme to be dwelt on." John Kells Ingram is indeed a theme to be dwelt on. 1998 is the 200th anniversary of the events commemorated in *The Memory of the Dead* and the centenary of Ingram's election as Vice Provost. By then he was an international scholar of the highest repute and had contributed handsomely to the work of the College in English, Classics and Economics and held most of the College officerships. 1998 is also the thirtieth anniversary of our reluctant sale of the Kells Ingram Farm. We have a much greater memorial of John Kells Ingram. He wrote that " the true servant of Humanity....will think of the future of those he leaves behind. He will hope that his life, notwithstanding its imperfections, may have produced such impressions as will remain with them, or often recur to them, inspiring noble impulses and promoting beneficent deeds." (Ingram, 1904,145)

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