

still is essential force in his work in the field in adult education, even if he got retired in the year 2005.

However, my primary intention in making this representation of Prof.Dr.Jurij Jug and his work done in the field of adult education in Slovenian society and also in European dimensions was to share some perceptions of my own as well as those derived from several individual interviews made with him and his colleagues in the last twenty years and in with him in 2006 especially, and those derived on my readings and studies on this subject, and base on these perceptions, so that we could engage in a meaningful conclusions and concrete proposals for the meritorious place in the history of adult education. There is a great treasure and in the same time an obligation to all actives in the Slovene adult education sphere if we listen to his words ...

"In spite of all, the relatively liberal Slovene system of adult education has always been attractive to creative and thinking and acting independent teachers and trainers and it has been always attractive to those seekers for new knowledge whose mind does not sleep as he is permanently searching for a new, better kind of living, even if in the contemporary post-modern society."

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Adult education in twentieth century Ireland – towards recognition of the full story. An Examination of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart (temperance movement)

Abstract: This paper examines why there is a need to redefine the people and movements we count as part of the history of adult education in twentieth century Ireland. Unlike other examinations of the history of adult education, Irish historiography has largely ignored adult and community education, leaving it unacknowledged and unaccounted for.

The growth of adult education in the later half of the twentieth century and the corresponding shift in interest groups involved in education as a discipline and adult education as a practice reflect the changing nature of Irish society. These social changes in the twentieth century came about due to a number of internal and external factors which can be seen as shifts in the national focus – from the political (cultural nationalism and independence 1900 - 1922) to the religious (Church/State relations 1922 - 1950); from the economic (1951 – 1960s) to the feminist and liberal agenda (1960s – 1970s); from mass emigration to migration and the Celtic Tiger (1980s – 2000). Of course these shifts did not strictly occur within the indicated timeframes and did not occur in isolation, rather they reflected both the internal and the international political, economical and social movements of the time (for example, 1960s student protests in France). With these changes in mind, through an examination of the temperance movement in twentieth century Ireland (the activities and leadership of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart), one can clearly see why social and religious movements, *not* traditionally examined in an adult education context, had ramifications for the roles that adult education played in Ireland.

However, one must first examine *what* history we are looking at. In redefining what is classed as the history of adult and community education, we are also redefining what historians and sociologists have hitherto viewed as important enough to be counted as part of our social history. In broad terms, given the newness of the Republic of Ireland's State – for example, compared to countries with a clear, linear history of adult education such as the United Kingdom or the United States of America – as we do not have an obvious and distinct tradition of adult education pioneers, it has not been clear where a discipline such as adult education might fit neatly into a twentieth century history dominated by the 1916 Rising, the war of

independence and the civil war. In a broad historical context, recent histories of twentieth century Ireland (for example Ferriter (2004), Kennedy (2001)) do indeed site the lack of detailed assessment of areas such as family and social pressure groups. While some historical research is leaning towards filling those gaps¹, the need for more critical studies on education, and specifically adult and community education within a social historical context as a whole, is one of the large and unnamed gaps in our historiography.

Furthermore, one must also be clear what definition or definitions of adult education one is examining and be aware of who has defined what 'counts' as adult education and in what context. One must be mindful that there are people who do not see themselves as adult educators and movements which are not classified as adult education movements throughout the century; these people and movements do form an important part of the history of adult and community education.

What History?

"There is no more significant pointer to the character of a society than the kind of history it writes or fails to write." (E.H. Carr: What is History?)

In late twentieth century Ireland, lifelong learning appeared to be the mantra of both the government and academia and informed public policy and public discourse whilst contributing to the existence of a popular notion of adult education. The measure of our success as adult educators in the twenty-first century and the success of adult education programmes is, much of the time, measured by reviewing how far we have come from this late twentieth century perspective.

And yet adult and community education still stands unwritten and unacknowledged in the history of twentieth century Ireland. Although there have been numerous analyses and studies devoted to adult and community education, principally within the academic discipline of education, many of these have been commissioned governmental or academic theoretical studies. That a history of adult education in Ireland within a twentieth century historical framework has yet to be written speaks volumes about where historians place it in our history and about the importance and influence assigned to it by sociologists.

What is missing then is the telling of the *story* of volunteers, "moonlighters", moral leaders, knowledge-experts, (semi) professionals involved in adult education in Ireland. What is missing is a history of 'education and learning of adults in all its forms of expression'.²

"All its forms of expression", of course, includes social

movements and groups, leaders and individuals working in and for the community, be it in healthcare, women's groups and associations such as the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart which, although religious, was, from its inception, involved in ground level community work.

Whilst this may be attributed to a perceived lack of interest or supposed (un)importance of this discipline outside educational circles, one cannot deny the significance of the fact that it was only at the beginning of the twenty-first century that the Irish government placed adult education into a formal framework and named the commitment to adult (and community) education with the publication of Learning for Life: White Paper on Adult Education in July 2000. This government commitment and naming of adult education has assigned an identity to adult educators – that of training providers – which would seem to be in conflict with the notion of adult educators as *facilitators* of learning and/or education. This training identity stems from a specific late twentieth century standpoint and points to a particular set of government and EU requirements of the type of educated citizen that is required for a twenty-first century Ireland.

If the 2000 White Paper "confirms the Government's commitment to the establishment of a national policy for lifelong learning and specifically to the establishment of a well-funded Adult Education system in the country" is this merely because "organisations like the European Commission, OECD and UNESCO uniformly promote lifelong learning as the foundation for education and training policy"?³ Or does this government commitment reflect a change in the educational needs of adults in Ireland prompted by economic and/or community needs?

*Including M.W. Ó Murchú's Adult Education in Ireland (1984); sporadic mentions in John Coolahan's Irish Education: Its History and Structure (Institute of Public Administration, Dublin, 1981); Peter Conroy's PhD thesis The history and structure of adult education in Ireland 1969-1997 (Education Department, TCD, 1998), and a more recent PhD on adult education Adult Education Policy-making in the Republic of Ireland 1997-2005. (Murtagh, Luke, Department of Adult and Community Education, NUIM, in progress).

Indeed, if one partakes in the required training and re-training as part of a lifelong learning policy, what are the rewards? The main reward for being an active and learning citizen in the twenty-first century is the perceived freedom to frequently move in the job market using the newly acquired skills which, in turn, will be built upon again as lifelong

and continuous learning carries on. The reward for the government, is of course, economic – whilst Ireland was once exporting its strongest currency in the form of a highly educated youth, the Celtic Tiger whichever way you look at it, has ensured that the economy (whether false or not) and continuing education work hand in hand to keep people moving from job to job and keep people spending. Long gone are the days of a job for life; instead we have education for life.

In accepting this identity principally as training providers merely because it gives adult educators a very clear place in society, it is often forgotten that this identity assigns specific tasks with measurable outcomes to the discipline of adult education; tasks and outcomes that do not necessarily and that should not exist in harmony with the goals and outcomes of grassroots social and community adult education. If an adolescent must find an answer to the identity questions (as Erik Erikson suggests⁴) “where did I come from?” “Who am I?” “What do I want to become?” can we say without an acknowledgement of our full history - and not solely from a late twentieth century standpoint - that we can fully answer those questions about the discipline of adult education in Ireland? Tom Inglis in his examination of the Catholic Church and its relationship with women in Ireland states that “great men, it would seem, make great history; women make only beds and dinners.”⁵ As adult educators then, are we the ones making the beds and dinners, providing the substance to those who were failed by the mainstream education system? Is adult education always going to be viewed as the Cinderella, the ‘other’, the place where people catch up with the rest of society, with the rest of education, with continuing education rather than the place where people are given a chance of a different type of education that values life experience? We must ask ourselves the question - are we doing to ourselves as adult educators what the establishment has done to women and to feminists before? Have we internalised the oppression which our adult learners have felt by constantly looking to outside disciplines for wisdom (psychology, sociology and so on), for leadership (government) or for guidance (EU agendas)? As the brief glance at Irish historiography has shown, it would seem that yes indeed, the discipline of adult education is still viewed as the ‘other’ and is not yet seen in the light of the vast and varied contribution that adult educators have made to Irish society, education and politics throughout the twentieth century and beyond.

Stubblefield and Keane in their Adult Education in the American Experience: from the Colonial Period to the Present examine the

history of adult education through five themes, one of which includes, “other ventures, such as reform movements and social campaigns [which] used adult education to achieve a broader social purpose.”⁶ They show how the temperance movement had a large part to play in adult education. Likewise, Fieldhouse and Associates in A History of Modern British Education are mindful of an inclusive approach when writing a history of adult education although the nature of non-formal adult education is examined in one chapter rather than in an overall approach.* Fieldhouse states several times that the “submerged” part of adult education needs to be constantly borne in mind. In the words of Allen Tough

Only a small part of the iceberg shows above the water's surface. In adult learning or adult education that small highly visible tip of the iceberg is groups of people learning...that is what adult educators have noticed and paid attention to over the years⁷

*This is partly due to the fact that this history was written by multiple authors, each of whom tackles one or more aspects of adult education in their chapter(s).

Whilst there is a shift towards a more holistic and inclusive approach to adult education with the recent formation of the Research Association of Adult and Community Education (RAACE)* and the upsurge in postgraduate research in the area combined with an ever increasing demand for taught professional postgraduate courses in the discipline, there is still a long way to go before we can claim to have a thorough understanding and analysis of the history of adult and community education in Ireland. This paper is thus a call to view and tell the history of adult education, in the words of Ranke (speaking in the 1830s) “how it really was”. It is a call to examine the full iceberg of adult and community education within an inclusive social and historical context and to be mindful in this analysis of (as John Dewey puts it) “when education served as a function of society and society as a function of education”⁸ and, I would add, when education served as a function of politics, economics and religion.

*RAACE was jointly formed in 2005 by the National Association of Adult Educators (AONTAS), the National Adult Literacy Agency (NALA) – NALA and AONTAS provided the funding for the initial feasibility study - and the National University of Ireland, Maynooth (NUIM).

What do we define as adult education?

There is properly no history only biography
Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays: History

Just as the writing of history cannot be separated from the politics of the day and current historiography, the role of adult education in twentieth century Irish society cannot be examined in isolation from the groups and individuals that named and defined it. It is clear that there is an intrinsic connection to and interaction between adult education and Irish society. To think otherwise, is to assume that there is contained in each of these entities, a stable, unchanging notion of being and an unwavering set role which is indefinitely played out.

Ó Murchú's assertion illustrates the task that is set before the historian of adult and community education in Ireland:

Historically, adult education in Ireland resembles a mosaic of initiatives and motivations, ideas and idealism, objectives and programmes with a solid foundation originally in the voluntary sector. The cumulative result is the provision of adult education services which are organisationally and structurally far from simple or uncomplicated.⁹

Yet, like any unexplored field in history, often the very reason for this lack of thorough investigation lies in the definition of what it is we are investigating. That definition is, by the very nature of its *business* in constant flux throughout the century and yet, one sturdy thread remains constant throughout – that of empowering people to better themselves. Yet, it is vital to define what we mean by adult education? By what criterion do we define it? Indeed, what definition of 'adult' do we use when referring to adult education? Do we take one's biological age as the starting point – adulthood as reaching 21 – or the legal state as defined by the right to vote, that of 18 years? Or does adult education refer solely to those who 'missed out' first time round in the traditional compulsory 'cycle' of education regardless of age or status? Or are we referring to education for adults as taking place after compulsory schooling ended – "after the end of 'childhood'" ¹⁰? Indeed, should we consider the objective of the educator when defining adult education? In other words, is it "a set of organized activities carried on by a wide variety of institutions for the accomplishment of specific educational objectives" and does it therefore form a "discrete social system [of] all the individuals, institutions, and associations concerned with the education of

adults"? ¹¹ It may be that adult education can be, indeed, all things to all men (and women) if we take the Emerson's view to the adult education conclusion and agree that while there is properly no history only biography that there is also properly no (adult) education, only (adult) learners and their "learning" history – and that it is the learners that define what adult education is to them.

Looking at adult education in early twentieth century North America, Lindeman states that "the whole of life is learning...this new venture is called adult education - not because it is confined to adults but because adulthood, maturity defines its limits."¹² Interestingly enough, this early definition is echoed in the current early twenty-first century debate around the concept of 'lifelong learning' which "is invariably used in ways which highlight the significance of learning in adult life, and which promote a broad understanding of learning as a life-wide process".¹³

*The 1995 White Paper on education (page 109), for example, stated that it "empowers adults to take a more active and effective part in society".

It seems then that adult education is defined by the process of life itself; the individual learners come together in groups because they have defined themselves as adult and have a common goal of learning. They are both learning and being educated; they are self-educating and being trained. It is thus the individual adult that defines adult education in the context of adulthood, life and learning, not the groups contained within the state, the educational system or the institution. Brookfield echoes this crossover of learning and education, seeing adult education as taking place at the relevant opportunity for each individual adult ensuring that the concept of lifelong learning is not a privilege but a right which can be taken up in either a formal (documented) or an informal (undocumented) setting. We can thus broadly define adult education (without rigidly defining the "learning") as:

activities intentionally designed for the purpose of bringing about learning among those whose age, social roles, or self-perception define them as adults.¹⁴

What adult education means and its role in twentieth century Ireland waxes and wanes according to the shifts in power – the power of and the power within the government of the day, political parties, social groups and individual educators and learners. Both the observer and practitioner of adult education must thus acknowledge the history that the learners bring to the education and, in parallel, the history of the

society in which the education is taking place. As one of the most radical adult educators Paulo Freire, states:

In order to communicate effectively, educator and politician must understand the structural conditions in which the thought and language of the people are dialectically framed.¹⁵

The delivery of adult education is thus defined not solely through vested interests in adult education (for example, government led Vocational Educational Colleges, FÁS, the national training agency) but through a wide variety of religious and social movements, gatherings and political parties. One must be mindful, however, of the power of certain institutions in twentieth century Ireland when examining adult education. In terms of having the power to deliver education to the masses,

Other than the state, there has been no institution in Irish society that has had the same level of organisation and depth of resources as the Catholic Church...Through its dominance of education, health, and social welfare the Church has been largely responsible for the civilisation, moralisation, discipline and supervision of Irish people.¹⁶

Therefore to understand the history of adult education, one must not only look at the history of education or the history of the State but also the history of the churches and the role they played in education. Alongside this, social groupings either allied to the church or the state and of course church/state relations need also to be examined. Whilst adult education is about empowering people who were failed by an institutions or the traditional education system, the truth of the matter is that this is not and has not always been the case. Education and adult education has been used to achieve many outcomes which define winners and losers who are either perceived as holding power or who do indeed hold power in terms of social, economic or political capital. Whilst a simplistic aim of adult education may be an exchange of information or to impart information (banking method), the outcome of that aim differs greatly depending on what social, economic and/or political capital (power) is both held by the educated or stands to be gained by the "newly" educated. In an examination of social movements, the players involved and the play for power – power of the people, power over the people - a brief examination of the leadership and activities of Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart in early twentieth century Ireland provides an excellent case study.

Omissions in definitions of Adult Education in Ireland: An Examination of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart

In December 1898, James Cullen, a prominent Irish Jesuit (who can be seen as a moral leader in the widest sense of the word) founded the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart – popularly referred to as The Pioneers. It was no coincidence that Cullen worked in inner city Dublin, a city with a rapidly expanding population marked by poverty and uncertainty, and in laying down the extremely strict rules and regulations of the Association, was conscious of the social role that the Association could play in Ireland. As with the formation of many religious, social and political groups, timing and circumstance were everything:

Given Ireland's small size and the fact that cultural debate was being steered in a common direction by both priest and politician, temperance, while it could not entirely dictate social and cultural prerogatives, certainly found a sizeable niche in a new regenerative era.¹⁷

Ireland's political position at the founding of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart ensures that an examination of the role the Association played in the development of a national character using adult education principles to pass on its message and the social context in which that message was relayed, makes for a unique case. While temperance movements elsewhere were predominantly non-Catholic organisations, in Ireland, the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, formed by the Jesuits and formally approved by Pope Saint Pius X in 1905, still remains today a large and active Catholic lay organisation. The most recent figure for the Irish population stands – after the April 2006 Census – at 4, 234,925 a figure last exceeded in the Census of 1861 when the population stood at 4.4million. This increase in the population – due both to increase in the birth-rate and migration themselves stemming from economic prosperity – has obvious implications for adult education. However, it also puts the importance of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association as a social movement in Ireland into perspective. The Association claims that:

In Ireland today 8 per cent of the population are Pioneers and a further 17 per cent abstain for other reasons. That this is now the case among a people disparagingly known at the beginning of the 20th century as the "drunken Irish" is nothing less than a moral miracle.¹⁸

Compare this to the fact that in 1983 it had a total of 170,000 members and was by a large margin, the biggest Catholic lay organisation in the country. Curiously enough, the next largest organisations at this time were the Catholic Boy Scouts and the National Federation of Youth Clubs both with 35,000 members and both with aims revolving around personal development of the youth as a process of education with the ultimate goal of service and leadership within the community.¹⁹ While these figures illustrate the size of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, its relevance to a history of adult education is not really about how many members it had in Ireland or worldwide (as it also set up associations in Jesuit strongholds such as Northern Rhodesia, India, Australia and Belgium). What interests us as adult educators is how effective a social movement the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association was; how effective it was in educating people and bringing an awareness (or indeed praxis) to the public of the problems associated with alcohol; what social capital membership brought to the individual. The effectiveness and the social capital associated with membership of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association changed alongside economic and social changes in Irish society and, as could be expected, in line with the changes in moral power the Catholic Church held in Ireland. Education has always played a large part in the formation of a particular type of national identity in Ireland, indeed has been one of the main sources of social and economic currency. One could rightly claim that "in Irish society, being well-educated has become central to attaining economic and political capital."²⁰

Alongside the use of the education system to pass on the temperance message, women were used to promote the Association and to help filter through the message to the home and to ensure the it was received at school by securing attendance of children at school. Cullen invited four prominent Dublin women to join in the first and founding meeting of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association. The four women - Anne Eagan, Lizzie Power, Mary Bury and A.M. Sullivan were all involved in charitable organisations, which illustrates the extent to which temperance advocacy was frequently combined with a variety of other spiritual and charitable endeavours – such as the establishment of homes and preventative institutions for the benefit of 'fallen' girls and women and work of the convent nuns in education and social work. The heavy involvement of women in the Association was due, in part, to Cullen's own devotion to the Virgin Mary, partly to the belief that a woman drinking to excess was far

worse than a man doing the same and partly to the premise that women would be able to influence their men folk and children at home. In fact, Cullen originally wanted to restrict membership to women only. Women were involved in the Association from its foundation and although Cullen frequently praised them at various Association rallies throughout the early twentieth century, their role has almost been written out of history as so little information exists about those involved, particularly about the four founding members. It indicates, as Ferriter rightly points out, "the extent to which reforming women can be denied their proper place in Irish history."²¹ Again, echoing the very active role of women in religious orders and the lack of studies devoted to them, the "unwriting" of women in our history, the writing of them in the shadow of the "great men" is uncannily similar to the assessment and treatment of adult education in twentieth century sociology and historiography.

Similar to the power of the Church, the success of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association was based on creating a sense of pride and belonging amongst its members who could be easily identified by the Pioneer pin that they were obliged to wear. As "the strength of the Catholic Church in Ireland is indicated in its ability to get people to rank their allegiance to the Church primary to, for example, their allegiance to a political party, professional association, voluntary association, community or family to which they belong"²², so too the strength of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association lay in getting people to rank their allegiance to it as naturally as they would rank their allegiance to their country or community. Unlike the temperance movement in England which, in the twentieth century, had values which largely were no longer valid in English life, the movement in Ireland went from strength to strength, particularly in the first half of the century as membership became equated with a particular type of national identity. The social capital that membership brought reflected the powerful position of the Catholic Church in society, particularly in the 1940s and 1950s when the Association was at its height. Similar to the Church's reward system, the Association's spiritual message revolved around being a good moral citizen who abstained from alcohol and thus provided a good example to others who would be rewarded in the afterlife. (We are reminded by this, of course, that the reward the government promises to highly - and continuously - trained citizens of twenty-first century Ireland are in this life rather than the afterlife). The portrait of a member of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association was in direct contrast to descriptions of

“drunken” Irish in the late nineteenth century and at times throughout the twentieth century, and showed a moral, pure, educated and abstinent good citizen who worked for his or her community.²³ In its annual of 1907 – 1908, the Gaelic Athletics Association which, alongside student priests, women and the Gaelic League, was also concerned with promoting the same image of the Irish alongside the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association, described the ‘Ideal Gael’ as “a matchless athlete, sober, pure in mind speech and deed...loving his religion and his country with a deep and restless love, earnest in thought and effective in action.”²⁴

In 1912 Cullen established a weekly ‘Pioneer Column’ in the *Irish Catholic* newspaper which was to become one of the longest running regulars in Irish newspaper history (February 1912 to October 1921). The column reflected Cullen’s personal stance from linking the state of the national character with alcohol, to the nationalist cause and portraying the reality of the slums of Dublin. While there tended to be sweeping assertions and exaggerations, the constant each week was that it was always done in the context of the need for education. Alongside his column, Cullen’s *Temperance Catechism* which he designed for schools and colleges highlighted the importance of not forgetting to help the poor. While contemporary Jesuits tended to educate a middle class in preparation for future leadership roles, Cullen was “more intent on highlighting miserable slum conditions and the amount of money being spent on drink that could have been used so productively if spent on physical and moral improvement.” Cullen often “absolved the drinkers themselves from blame due to their social and political subjection”.²⁵ Cullen’s style of leadership and constant references to the inequalities in Irish society whilst still focusing on the spiritual element shows that he can indeed “be viewed as a modern and innovative campaigner in Irish social history.”²⁶ If as Paulo Freire says “The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people”²⁷, then Cullen, through his constant public references to and reflections on to the living conditions and political needs of the people, was indeed a radical adult educator. If he was able to bring people to a state of consciousness where they could see their environment as it really was and become empowered to change – of course, change through membership of the Association and the promotion of the temperance philosophy - it could be said that Cullen was indeed a moral (and social) leader in the adult education sense

of the term. Perhaps the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association is not exaggerating when it claims that

The Pioneer Total Abstinence Association has been a major influence in Irish life all through the 20th century, raising awareness of the need for care in the use of alcohol and more recently, drugs.²⁸

Whilst the identity that the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association prescribed for members in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century reflected Cullen’s personal devotions as outlined, the change in leadership after his death in 1921 left the Association with less of a charismatic moral leader but with a highly organised structure of local Associations which functioned exceptionally well in recruitment. Throughout the thirties, forties and fifties, the Association became more specific in the interest groups that it allied itself to in order to promote membership. With this, Cullen’s focus on the immediate problems alcohol abuse brought to communities faded and was replaced with a focus on emphasising the religious element to the movement. The fact that at the 1924 Silver Jubilee celebrations many of the banners and placards contained socio-economic and political concerns illustrated Cullen’s influence; the fact that there was to be a strict ban on these type of banners in future celebrations (the Golden Jubilee in 1949 and the Diamond Jubilee in 1959) illustrated the strict religious focus and end of an era for the Association. What it also reflected, however, was the changing nature of Irish society and the shifts in power in Church/State relations.

While the Association targeted the Garda Síochána (Irish Police Force) and the Army with the intention of getting those with public civic responsibilities to make abstention from drink attractive, in Eoin O’Duffy, Chief Commissioner of the Garda Síochána, whilst an enthusiastic promoter and a contributor to the 1924 celebrations who also marched to Rome with 400 Garda Síochána in 1929, they had an ally who was later to become “a fascist with a fondness for guzzling whiskey.”²⁹ A more reliable ally was to come in the form of the founder of the rural self-help group, Muintir na Tíre (people of the land), which is traditionally viewed as part of the history of adult education in Ireland.³⁰ Canon Hayes, (like Cullen) stressed the social side of the Association and, contrary to Flinn’s leadership (and beyond), he befriended alcoholics and believed that pubs and moderate drinking did have a positive contribution to make to Irish society. Hayes described the invitation to deliver the keynote address at the Golden Jubilee in 1949 as “the greatest occasion on which I

was ever asked to speak”³¹ and indeed Hayes brought just the right populist touch to the celebrations which attracted over 80,000 Pioneers. By this stage, the Association was working closely with the first European branch of Alcoholics Anonymous (which had arrived in Dublin in 1946) in trying to highlight the growing problem of drink addiction in Irish society and had also set up a Pioneer magazine which, while the official mouthpiece of the Association, also enabled it to tackle temperance on a wider scale, including on social, political and economic terms. Hayes, through Muintir na Tíre, of course, organised non-alcoholic socials and certainly played his part in both the practical education of adults – through the provision of classes and setting up of community groups – and spiritual education through his involvement with the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association.

Hayes, like Cullen, it must be said, could be viewed as another moral leader in the history of adult education. Indeed, both Cullen’s and Hayes’s stance was echoed in 1964 by the Assistant Spiritual Director of the Association, the Jesuit Fr Mullin. He condemned the Government’s path of trying to solve the problem of alcohol consumption through legislative measures* and returned to Cullen’s consensus that education was the key. In effect what he was doing was challenging the traditional view of the Association that spiritual matters should always come before the social by aiming to adopt a co-ordinated policy of information with active social (and adult education) movements such as the Irish Countrywomen’s Association, Muintir na Tíre and the Saint Vincent de Paul Society. Ironically, the strict rules that Cullen set up were, by this stage an ingrained and unmoveable tradition whereby the spiritual message had to take precedence over the social. Hence, unable to change the system, we see a few years later, in 1967, Mullin underpinning his social message with the spiritual one of Vatican II, calling for a return to a charitable reading of scriptures.

Whilst a brief overview of the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart, concentrating on the early and mid-twentieth century period, shows that it was, in its ethos, primarily a spiritual and religious organisation, Association leaders such as Cullen and Mullin (to a lesser extent) endeavoured to empower people to improve their living conditions and quality of family life through encouraging abstinence. The structure of the Association which included representatives travelling around the country recruiting and actively forming community groups, which, although they were under the umbrella of the Association, were actively

involved in community work. Through various allied leaders – from the dubious O’Duffy to the populist Hayes – and work with other organisations such as Alcoholics Anonymous, the Association ensured that a knowledge and understanding of alcoholism reached people and areas that it would not have reached without it.

* It should be noted that the Government also had a vested interest in the consumption of alcohol in terms of revenue through taxes in drink consumption.

Indeed one can assert that the Association empowered and challenged an entire population to examine their attitudes to and behaviour around the consumption of alcohol. In 1980, the Fianna Fáil Minister for Agriculture, Ray MacSharry congratulated the Association for providing a forum for the broadcasting of ideas “that would otherwise, in all probability, never be brought to public attention.”³²

Whilst the Association’s achievements throughout the twentieth century were numerous, it was not without internal and external conflicts and neither were its allegiances to the aforementioned groups always smooth or straightforward. However, the fact remains that the use of education as a discipline and adult education as a practice by the Association remains unknown by the general public. What is called for then, is not only a re-examination of the history of adult and community education in twentieth century Ireland, but a re-assessment of social movements such as the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart, in the light of this revision of Ireland’s twentieth century social and educational history.

Whilst the Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart is always seen in the context of the institution of the Catholic Church, adult and community education is always seen in the context of the institution of the State. With the government’s naming of adult education in the 2000 White Paper, it is time to view adult education in the context of society, social movements and individual learners. In other words, it is time to view and examine adult education on its own grounds. It is time to reclaim adult education from the State and take it back to the community – with the training mantra of the government and resulting ‘rationalisation’, ‘industrialisation’ and ‘economic-isation’ of adult education we are losing sight of its power to empower. The grass roots are becoming overgrown with the weeds of officialdom. It is only through an examination of both sides of the coin – the shiny, polished official history of adult education (formal) and the not-so-shiny, forgotten history of the un-formal and non-formal history of

adult education – that this can be achieved. In this way adult and community education will finally form a part of Ireland's official, standard twentieth century history.

Endnotes

- 1 For example the contribution of parish confraternities and associations to the religious and social history of modern Ireland which does include an examination of educational contributions (NUIM)
- 2 Savicevic, Dusan (1999) referred to in Reischmann, Jost (2003) *Why Andragogy?* Bamberg University, Germany <http://www.andragogy.net>.
- 3 Department of Education and Science (2000) *Learning for Life: White Paper on Adult Education* (Dublin: Stationary Office) both quotes - p54.
- 4 For an analysis of Erik Erikson's theories see Muuss, R.E. (1996) *Theories of Adolescence* (6th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill).
- 5 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p178.
- 6 Stubblefield, Harold W. and Keane, Patrick (1994) *Adult Education in the American Experience: from the Colonial Period to the Present* (Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco), p8.
- 7 Quoted in Fieldhouse, Roger with Associates (1996) *A History of Modern British Adult Education* (NIACE, Leicester) pviii.
- 8 Referred to in Giroux, Henry A and McLaren, Peter (eds (1989) *Critical Pedagogy, The State and Cultural Struggle* (State University of New York Press) pxvii Introduction
- 9 Ó Murchú, Micheál (1984) *Adult Education in Ireland: Adult Education in Europe Studies and Documents: Vol 21 – 22* (Edited by the European Centre for Leisure and Education, Prague) p56.
- 10 Fieldhouse, Roger with Associates (1996) *A History of Modern British Adult Education* (NIACE, Leicester) pvii.
- 11 Knowles, Malcolm (1980) *The Modern Practice of Adult Education: From Pedagogy to Andragogy*. (Chicago: Association Press) p25.
- 12 Lindeman, E. (1926) *The Meaning of Adult Education*. (New Republic, New York) p6.
- 13 Field, J.(2005) 'Social capital and lifelong learning', The encyclopaedia of informal education, www.infed.org/lifelonglearning/social_capital_and_lifelong_learning.htm
- 14 Merriam, S. and Brockett, R. (1997) *The Profession and Practice of Adult Education*. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass) p8.
- 15 Freire, Paulo (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Penguin, this edition 1996) p77.
- 16 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p39 – 40.
- 17 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p29.

- 18 Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart – Official Website see <http://pioneertotal.ie/pioneer/fc?action=pioneeringDifference>
- 19 For full listing see Inglis, Tom *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (1997 Gill and Macmillan, this edition, UCD press 1998), pp53 – 6.
- 20 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p65.
- 21 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p40.
- 22 Inglis, Tom (1997) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland* (This edition, UCD press 1998, Dublin) p82.
- 23 For more detail on this see Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin)
- 24 Quoted in Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p47.
- 25 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p69 – 70.
- 26 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p74.
- 27 Freire, Paulo *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Penguin, 1970, this edition 1996) p76- 7.
- 28 Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart – Official Website see <http://pioneertotal.ie/pioneer/fc?action=pioneeringDifference>
- 29 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p106.
- 30 See for example, Ó Murchú, Micheál (1984) *Adult Education in Ireland: Adult Education in Europe Studies and Documents: Vol 21 – 22* (Edited by the European Centre for Leisure and Education, Prague)
- 31 Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p160.
- 32 *Pioneer* magazine, October 1980, quoted in Ferriter, Diarmaid (1999) *A Nation of Extremes: The Pioneers in Twentieth-century Ireland* (Irish Academic Press, Dublin) p257.

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